SOCIOLOGY OF RACE AND ETHNICITY



Jennifer Ounjian
Contra Costa College

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

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SOCIOLOGY OF RACE AND ETHNICITY

A REMIX BY JENNIFER OUNJIAN

About the Book and the Authors/Contributors

About this book: Sociology of Race and Ethnicity

This textbook is so perfectly called a *remix*. It is a combination of the work of many different authors who have all contributed to the growing body of Open Educational Resources (OER). I have selected pages and chapters from Anthropology, Sociology, Social Justice Studies, Ethnic Studies, Social Work, and Psychology since a multidisciplinary approach allows us to learn from the best work in many fields but most of the content comes from two other OER textbooks: **Race and Ethnic Relations in the U.S.: An Intersectional Approach** and **Introduction to Ethnic Studies.** You can learn about each of these texts below.

According to Ambroise-Thomas (2023) the idea of a remix originated in the 1960s and 1970s when Jamaican reggae and dub artists began experimenting with reworking and manipulating existing recordings. Over time, the remix has also emerged as a distinct art form, with many artists and producers choosing to focus primarily on creating remixes. This shift in focus has given rise to a new wave of creative expression, as remixers reinterpret and re-imagine existing tracks to create entirely new musical experiences. Remix culture has had an impact on many forms of media, from music to film and television, and now, in Open Educational Resources.

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Jennifer Ounjian, Creator/Remixer/Contributor



Jennifer is a tenured professor at Contra Costa College and department chair for the Psychology Department. She also teaches at Madera Community College in Ethnic Studies and Psychology. Jennifer earned her BA in African American Studies with a minor in Armenian Studies at CSU Fresno, MA in Afro-American Studies (Sociology concentration) at UCLA, and MA and EdD (ABD) in Counseling Psychology at Argosy University. She has worked in higher education for over 20 years in a variety of positions starting with TRiO programs in East Los Angeles and Pasadena, a decade in academic management, and now 12 years in the faculty ranks. Jennifer has foundhas a cherished creative and intellectual outlet in OER and ancillary development in addition to online course instructional design and curriculum development. You will find several contributions from her to this book listed as "Our Local Stories" documenting the history of minoritized populations in the Central Valley of California.

About the Book: Race and Ethnic Relations in the U.S.: An Intersectional Approach

This open text was compiled by seven diverse, community college sociology faculty from Long Beach City College, Cerritos College, and Rancho Santiago College. With an eye on social justice and intersectionality, the text provides a sociological analysis of the history, demographics, and contemporary experiences of the following race-ethnic groups: African Americans, Asian American Pacific Islanders, Euro Americans, Latinx, Native Americans, Middle Eastern Americans. This text is suitable for a sociology course on race and ethnic relations or a social justice studies introductory course.

About the Authors/Contributors

Erika Gutierrez, Author/Contributor

Erika is a tenured sociology/ethnic studies professor at Santiago Canyon College, and she occasionally teaches part time at Long Beach City College.

Dr. Janét Hund, Author/Contributor



Dr. Janét Hund is a tenured full-time professor in Sociology at Long Beach City College; she currently serves at the Social Sciences Department Chair. She began her full-time tenure at Long Beach City College in 1997. Janét recently earned her EdD in Community College Leadership from National American University. She earned her M.A. in Sociology at Arizona State University and her B.A. in Sociology/Minority Studies at Wichita State University. After incorporating OER texts for years in her Introduction to Sociology and Modern Social Problems courses, she desired to adopt OER material for her Race & Ethnic Relations in the U.S. course. She is appreciative of a former student trustee who called her attention to the OER movement nearly a decade ago. She is committed to her personal and professional growth to better serve our diverse student body. Her children, Jonas and Jakobi Oware, created images, charts and tables found throughout this book.

Shaheen Johnson, Author/Contributor



Shaheen Johnson is a tenure-track full-time professor in Sociology at Long Beach City College. She received her M.A. and B.A. in Sociology from California State University, Dominguez Hills. She is passionate when it comes to serving low-income, first-generation college students. Through her personal experience as a low-income, first-generation college student, she is able to empathize with students and relate to many of their struggles. By offering OER material in her courses, it's one barrier that she is happy to remove in an effort to ease the financial burden many students carry.

Carlos Ramos, Author/Contributor



Carlos Ramos is a tenured full-time professor of Sociology at Long Beach City College who began teaching sociology at the college level in 2001. Carlos earned a B.A. in Sociology/Psychology from the University of Southern California (USC) and an M.A. in Sociology from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). He recently completed the OER transition of his Introduction to Sociology and Modern Social Problems courses, and they are now zero-cost textbook courses, without having to sacrifice academic rigor. He recently worked closely with Long Beach City College colleagues to create a zero-cost textbook and course materials for the course, Race and Ethnic Relations in the United States, and plans to create and adopt OER materials the course, Sociology of Latinos, in Summer 2021.

Lisette Rodriguez, Author/Contributor



Currently a tenure-track full-time Sociology faculty member at Long Beach City College, Lisette Rodriguez received her M.A. in Sociology from California State University Northridge and a B.A. in Sociology with a minor in Latin American Studies from the University of California Santa Barbara. She has 17 years of experience working with college students both inside and outside of the classroom. In addition to her work as a sociology faculty, she has also developed and managed student access, equity, diversity, service learning and international education programs. Lisette is an avid world traveler and has coordinated study abroad and international service learning programs for students in seven countries throughout Latin America and Europe. Through her work, she hopes to empower and motivate students to be passionate about sociology and inspired to impact, question and change the world around them.

Joy Tsuhako, Author/Contributor



Joy Tsuhako is a tenure-track faculty member in the Department of Sociology at Cerritos College, which was the first school she attended before transferring to Cal State Long Beach to earn a Bachelor's in Sociology with an emphasis on global issues and social change. She completed her Master's at Cal State Fullerton and wrote a thesis titled, "Lived Experiences of Young, Urban, Fundamentalist Latinas: Understandings and Negotiations of Cultural and Faith-Based Values." She teaches Introduction to Sociology, Social Problems, Race and Ethnic Relations in the U.S., and Cultural Diversity in addition to advising the Sociology and Environmental clubs at Cerritos College.

David Goto, Contributor



David Goto is the tenured full-time Pacific Coast Campus and Reference Librarian at Long Beach City College. He earned his Associates Degree from Fullerton College, B.A. in American History and M.A. in American and European History from CSU Fullerton. His M.L.I.S. was earned at San Jose State University with an emphasis in academic and special libraries. Before working as an adjunct librarian at Long Beach City College, he was an adjunct at Fullerton College, Cypress College, Chapman University, and Orange Coast College. His first attempt at OER was a series of guides he created at Cypress College and Fullerton College in 2006-2007. The first OER guide he created at LBCC was in 2015. With a passionate interest in our students and faculty, he is available at the LBCC Library reference desk on most days of the week.

About the book: Introduction to Ethnic Studies

This Open Educational Resource (OER) is written by six Ethnic Studies faculty across six California Community College districts. It is organized around key learning objectives that help introduce learners to the disciplines of Ethnic Studies. This includes chapters highlighting key theories and concepts from the four core disciplines of Ethnic Studies: Africana/African American/Black Studies; American Indian/Native American Studies; Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies; and Chicanx and Latinx Studies. In addition, several chapters review fundamental frameworks and topics in Ethnic Studies including: how Ethnic Studies came to be; white supremacy and racisms; intersectionality; the racial wealth gap; mass incarceration and policing; and resistance and solidarity movements. Since its inception in 1968, students have demanded relevant curriculum that centers on their experiences and struggles as racialized communities of color. This OER textbook will focus on examples of self-determination, liberation

struggles, decolonialism, sovereignty, dismantling oppressive power structures, and anti-racism in a collective effort toward building a just and equitable society.

Authors by Chapter

- Chapter 1: Introduction - By Kay Fischer
- Chapter 2: The Ongoing Struggle for Ethnic Studies - By Dr. Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick
- Chapter 3: Africana/African American/Black Studies - By Dr. Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick and Dr. Teresa Hodges
- Chapter 4: American Indian/Native American Studies - By Dr. Melissa Leal and Dr. Tamara Cheshire
- Chapter 5: Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies - By Kay Fischer and Dr. Teresa Hodges
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- Chapter 11: Social Movements: Resistance and Solidarity - By Dr. Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick and Kay Fischer

Kay Fischer, M.A. (she/her/hers)



Kay Fischer is an instructor of Ethnic Studies at Chabot College in Hayward, CA, where 100% of Ethnic Studies courses are proudly zero or low textbook cost. She is also an advisor to the Stay Woke Collective club and part of Chabot's Movement learning community, focused on Asian American and Pacific Islander culture and experiences. As a former community college student, Kay transferred from De Anza College to UC Berkeley and majored in Ethnic Studies, where she found her voice and roots in student organizing. She has an MA in Teaching from USF and an MA in Asian American Studies from SF State. Besides teaching, Kay organizes around issues of decolonization, peace and reunification in the Korean peninsula, and justice for so-called "Comfort Women."

Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick, M.A., Ph.D. (he/él)



Dr. Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick is an Instructor of Ethnic Studies at Cuesta College, Mellon/American Council of Learned Societies Community College Faculty Fellow, poet, scholar, and author. He earned a BA in Ethnic Studies with a minor in Indigenous Studies in Natural Resources and the Environment from California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo. His MA and PhD in Sociology were achieved at the University of California, Santa Barbara, as a Health Policy Research Scholar funded by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. His work with and for Chicanx and Latinx communities is rooted in a commitment to family and community on California's Central Coast and in Michoacán, Mexico (Purépecha). Dr. Espinoza-Kulick shares stories about culture, health equity, and community leadership as a host of Central Coast Voices on the National Public Radio (NPR) station *KCBX*. His work has been published in *Oxford University Press*, the *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *Health Promotion Practice*, and regional news outlets like *El Latino*, *Santa Maria Times*, and the *Santa Barbara Independent*.

Ulysses Acevedo, M.A. (he/him)



Ulysses Acevedo is an instructor of Ethnic Studies at Foothill College in Los Altos Hills, CA. After transferring from community college, Ulysses attended San Francisco State University, earning a B.A. in Latina/o Studies and an M.A. in Ethnic Studies. Informed by his own experience as the first person in his family to attend college, the focus of his research has been the role of identity-based student group participation on retention and completion rates for Chicano men at community colleges. In the past he has taught courses have included traditional face-to-face on-campus classes; both asynchronous and synchronous online classes; and dual-enrollment community college classes taught off-campus, including at middle, high, adult and continuation schools.

Teresa Hodges, Ph.D. (she/her/hers/siya)



Teresa Hodges is an instructor of Ethnic Studies at Cuyamaca College in El Cajon, CA. She was a California State University Chancellor's Doctoral Incentive Program Scholar (2018-2019). She has her Ph.D. in Education from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, an M.A. in Asian American Studies from San Francisco State University, and a B.A. in Ethnic Studies from UC San Diego. Her work centers Critical Mixed Race Studies, Asian American Studies, Black Studies, Feminist Studies, and Comparative Ethnic Studies. She aims to cultivate transformative educational experiences that help others to heighten their consciousness, develop deeper connections to community, and inspire action that promotes change in the world around them.

Melissa Leal, Ph.D. (she/her/hers)



Dr. Melissa Leal is an enrolled member of the Ohlone/Costanoan Esselen Nation. She earned her Ph.D. In Native American Studies from the University of California, Davis and currently teaches and serves as the Ethnic Studies Department Chair and Tribal Liaison at Sierra College. Her research focuses on contemporary film, music, dance and other performance arts in indigenous communities. She has worked with tribes and tribal youth for more than 20 years focusing on education, language revitalization, and California Indian Studies.

Tamara Cheshire, Ed.D. (she/her/they/them)



Pictured left to right Dr. Tamara Cheshire and Jordan Burkart

Dr. Tamara Cheshire (Lakota) is a Native American Scholar and the Chair of the Ethnic Studies Department at Folsom Lake College. She is the Co-Chair of the Los Rios District Ethnic Studies Faculty Council, a member of the California Community College Ethnic Studies Faculty Council and is serving on the California Community College Chancellor's Office/ASCCC Ethnic Studies Taskforce. She has her doctorate in Educational Leadership from Sacramento State, her MA in Interdisciplinary Studies and BS degree in American Studies with Ethnic Studies emphasis and discipline focus in Native American Studies from Oregon State. She has published several articles, chapters, and a book about the barriers faced by and the resiliency of Native American students in higher education.

Jordan Burkart is a Native American student at Sacramento State majoring in Photography.

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Chapter Summaries

How We've Organized the Chapters

In this resource, we've organized learning objectives typically addressed in an "Intro to Ethnic Studies" class or courses similar to this, and considered the CSU Ethnic Studies core competencies within the following ten chapters:

Chapter 2: "The Ongoing Struggle for Ethnic Studies"

In Chapter 2: "The Ongoing Struggle for Ethnic Studies," Espinoza-Kulick examines how Ethnic Studies was birthed out of struggle, which helps to define this unique discipline. Students will uncover the basic frameworks used in Ethnic Studies such as Indigeneity and Transformative Resistance. Starting with examples of counter-hegemonic knowledge production outside academia, Espinoza-Kulick writes about the ways our communities have sustained our heritage in the face of genocide, settler-colonialism, slavery, and other systems of oppression that attempted to strip communities of their languages, cultures, spiritual practices, and ancestral connections. This chapter also explores the ways people of color have resisted educational oppression including leading the longest student strike in the United States, which was for a Third World College at San Francisco State in 1968. Espinoza-Kulick emphasizes how this discipline moved students beyond examination of oppression into resistance and social change work. Readers will also understand how the discipline has grown and evolved over the past five decades, while countering threats against Ethnic Studies.

Chapter 3: "Africana/African American/Black Studies"

In Chapter 3: "Africana/African American/Black Studies," Espinoza-Kulick and Hodges review various political, historical, cultural, and theoretical perspectives and struggles related to Black communities in the U.S. through a Black Studies framing. Starting with examining ideologies and movements related to civil rights and liberation, Chapter 3 also digs into some pre-colonial African history, the impacts of slavery, resistance and abolition, the Reconstruction Era, and Jim Crow policies. It moves on to various examples of how structural and systemic racism continue to impact Black Americans today, such as mass incarceration and educational inequity. Finally, this chapter considers cultural and media representations of Black women in racialized and gendered ways and makes connections to liberation movements of today including Black Lives Matter and Black Feminism.

Chapter 4: "American Indian/Native American Studies"

Cheshire and Leal present Chapter 4: "American Indian/Native American Studies," in which they discuss how American Indian Studies and Native American Studies were advocated by Indigenous leaders, along with various movements of Native rights during the 1960s. The authors also identify exactly how American Indian Studies and Native American Studies are distinct from other academic disciplines that "study" Native Americans. Starting with "Indigenous Ways of Knowing," Cheshire and Leal review various Native creation stories that have been passed down and inform how to live and how Native peoples are rooted in this land. This chapter describes specific ways that California Native women have resisted colonization and missionization and how their experiences and identities are "place-based." Further, Chapter 4 introduces students to key concepts and theories in this discipline such as sovereignty and settler colonialism, while also explaining the impact of colonialism on Native American communities, such as mass removal from their lands and forced assimilation policies. Lastly, the authors review various contemporary directions for resistance and self-determination led by Native Americans, such as the LandBack movement and sustaining the land through traditional ecological knowledge.

Chapter 5: "Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies"

Fischer and Hodges introduce readers to Chapter 5: "Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies." This chapter dives into various themes related to the diverse Asian American and Pacific Islander communities. Starting with data displaying the broad representation of the political-racial category of "Asian American," the authors review the impact of Orientalism and other racialized perspectives of Asian Americans. They discuss connections to the legacy of western imperialism and wars, as well as instances when Asian Americans came together under a pan-ethnic banner and worked in solidarity with other minoritized groups. Readers will grasp the impact of anti-Asian immigration policies, the exploitation of Asian immigrant labor, and the politics of Asian American ethnic enclaves on the development of the Asian American community. Finally, the authors center Pacific Islander voices while addressing the importance of distinguishing Pacific Islander history, culture, and experiences from Asian Americans, such as Pacific Islander experiences in education, with militarization, and climate change.

Chapter 6: "Chicanx and Latinx Studies"

In Chapter 6: "Chicanx and Latinx Studies" Espinoza-Kulick and Acevedo break down various terminology used in this ever-expanding discipline, while introducing readers to the development of Chicanx and Latinx Studies in higher education. They continue by analyzing autonomous education for Latinx children, examples of student-led resistance such as the East LA Blowouts of 1968, and student-centered organizing and organizations that formed in this era, such as M.E.Ch.A. The authors review the impact of Chicana feminism and the roles that racialization and identity play in diverse Chicanx/Latinx communities, such as Indigenismo, Mestizaje, and Afro-Latinidad. Chapter 6 also examines the impact of migration and immigration policies, emphasizing both exclusionary laws and practices and how communities advocate for immigrant justice. Lastly, the authors highlight current topics in this discipline including health equity and struggles over political representation.

Chapter 7: "White Supremacy, Racisms, and Racial Formation"

For Chapter 7, "White Supremacy, Racisms, and Racial Formation," Hodges begins by explaining how the concept of dehumanization is centered in white supremacy and whiteness. Upon "contact" with Native Americans and people from Africa, European colonizers began constructing false ideas about socially constructed categories of "race" that "othered" non-Europeans, helping to justify colonization, genocide, slavery, wars, and land dispossession. Hodges further connects these ideologies to the theory of racial formation and explains how racism functions structurally and institutionally in connection to the possessive investment in whiteness, hegemony, and oppression. Readers are also introduced to the lasting impacts of these ideologies such as how whiteness is normalized in institutions and fields like education, technology and health. Lastly, readers explore how whiteness is normalized even among children, and how normalization of whiteness and extensions of whiteness onto nationality continues to harm and divide people living in the U.S.

Chapter 8: "Intersectionality: Centering Women of Color"

In Chapter 8, "Intersectionality: Centering Women of Color," Fischer unfolds the importance of intersectionality as one of the core frameworks in Ethnic Studies, while centering writings, theories, and experiences of women of color. Starting by breaking down the intersectionality of race, gender, sexuality, and class, readers will be exposed to theories presented by Black feminists and other women of color as they (re)define feminism for themselves. Chapter 8 also applies this framework to the reproductive justice movement, starting with historical examples of people resisting attempted controls of their bodies, including forced sterilization, eugenics, and how leaders have advocated for full access to reproductive care, including abortion. Finally, the framework of intersectionality is also applied to love, radical self-love, and self-care as forms of resistance, particularly for women of color and Queer, Trans, and Non Binary people of color.

Chapter 9: "The Racial Wealth Gap"

Acevedo introduces the concept of wealth inequality and how it intersects with race in Chapter 9: "The Racial Wealth Gap." He explains how in a capitalist nation like the U.S., wealth is connected to access to or lack of access to basic necessities such as housing, medicine, food, and education. He complicates our understanding of wealth inequality by introducing the concept of decolonization and the importance of centering *testimonios* when focusing on the impact of wealth inequality for Black Indigenous and People of Color (BIPOC) communities. The chapter begins with how there are disparities along race when it comes to access to wealth and barriers against communities of color when it comes to housing and jobs. Even perceptions of who has access to wealth are influenced by one's race, with most people in the U.S. falsely believing that Black Americans have similar access to wealth as whites. Further, the chapter analyzes the ways in which the racial wealth gap originated in colonization and slavery and makes comparisons to the board game Monopoly, albeit rigged against people of color. Connections are made to how financial systems today help to reinforce these inequities such as practices that allow employers to not hire system-impacted people or policies that enforced racial segregation in housing. The chapter concludes by providing examples of counter narratives such as the movement for reparations.

Chapter 10: "The State of Human Caging: Incarceration, Policing, and State-Sanctioned Violence"

Chapter 10: "The State of Human Caging: Incarceration, Policing, and State-Sanctioned Violence," authored by Acevedo and Fischer, begins by defining the prison industrial complex. The authors make a connection to the role of privatization of prisons, and how BIPOC are disproportionately represented in imprisonment rates. They also break down how prison labor is exploited as a loophole in the 13th amendment which was supposed to abolish slavery, but allowed slave-labor "as punishment for crime." Prison

abolitionist Angela Davis even calls the prison labor or chain gang system a reincarnation of slavery. This is connected to the use of criminalizing and caging immigrants, a practice named crimmigration. In the following section, the authors explain the War on Drugs and how it was used as a "colorblind" vehicle to drive millions of mostly poor people of color into prisons, and legalize discrimination in housing and employment. Part of the success of the carceral system involves the internalization of the myth that Black people are criminal and that "bad" people are behind bars and deserve to be there. The authors move on to examine the history of policing, dispelling the myth that police are here to "protect" average citizens. Upon further examination, it's revealed that policing has a history of suppressing certain populations with roots in capitalism, white supremacy, imperialism, settler-colonialism, and slavery, with specific analysis of how gender, race, and class intersect with policing and police violence. In relation, the chapter considers the impact of racial profiling by police, including the post-9/11 detention, deportation, and surveillance of South Asian, Arab and Muslim communities. Next, the authors review the school-to-prison pipeline and the militarization of our schools, and finally, uncover various alternatives to policing and imprisonment, such as the prison abolition movement and restorative justice programs in schools.

Chapter 11: "Social Movements: Resistance and Solidarity"

Finally, the authors of this OER close with Chapter 11: "Social Movements: Resistance and Solidarity," written by Espinoza-Kulick and Fischer. As a field that came out of student protest, Ethnic Studies emphasizes the importance of struggle and resistance in order to build a just society. This chapter begins with exposure to various frameworks for action that will help readers gain an understanding of the theories applied to dismantle oppressive systems like white supremacy and capitalism. Frameworks include Indigenous Sovereignty, art as resistance, Queer/Trans critiques, Disability Justice, and more. The authors then examine various applications of activist frameworks on influential resistance movements starting with some based in the U.S., such as the Civil Rights Movement, Asian American Movement, and other liberatory movements centered on race and culture from the 1960s and 70s. Labor movements are given significant attention in Chapter 11 with a focus on domestic workers and agricultural laborers, particularly the Delano Grape Strike and the Filipinx and Chicanx collaboration. The next section focuses on transnational organizing work with a lens on the justice for "comfort women" campaign. And finally, Chapter 11 ends by examining more recent struggles around environmental justice, racial justice, and gender justice.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Back Matter

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

1: Introduction

Learning Objectives

- Describe the fundamental values, concepts, and historical context of Ethnic Studies and Sociological scholarship;

1.1: Sociological Perspective and Ethnic Studies
1.2: Growth and Expansion of Ethnic Studies
1.3: Summary/Review
1.4: References

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1.1: Sociological Perspective and Ethnic Studies

"I can't breathe." George Floyd repeated this phrase at least 20 times while held on the ground in police custody on May 25, 2020 (Singh, 2020). During the 9 1/2 minutes in which Officer Derek Chauvin pressed his knee on Floyd's neck, depriving him of his breath, Floyd repeatedly called out "Mama," though his mother was already deceased. Following Floyd's lynching, multiracial Black Lives Matter mass protests erupted immediately in Minneapolis, Los Angeles, New York, Portland, and countless cities and towns throughout the U.S. and the world. Protesters pushed for justice and reforms to challenge systemic racism in policing, including defunding and disbanding police departments. In many cases, though not all, police unleashed riot gear and tear gas on the mostly non-violent protesters. In response to the mass protests and in a rare case of police accountability of excessive use of force, Chauvin and three other Minneapolis police officers were fired and charged with Floyd's murder.



Figure **1.1.1**: This artistic image of George Floyd, with flowers and protest signs, is a tribute to Floyd's life - and death on May 25, 2020, as well as the protests that spread worldwide. (CC BY-SA 2.0; Chad Davis via Flickr)

The Problem of the Color Line

"The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line," W.E.B DuBois (1868-1963) wrote in The Souls of Black Folk in 1903. A civil rights activist and the first African American to earn a PhD in Sociology from Harvard, DuBois wrote about African Americans' socioeconomic and sociopolitical circumstances following the Civil War and post-Reconstruction amidst Jim Crow America. Answering his own question about how it feels to be a problem, DuBois wrote:

> After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world — a world which yields him no self-consciousness but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this **double consciousness**, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One feels his two-ness — an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife, — this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging, he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He does not wish to Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa; he does not wish to bleach his Negro blood in a flood of white Americanism, for he believes—foolishly, perhaps, but fervently—that Negro blood has yet a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without losing the opportunity of self-development.

DuBois edited *The Crisis* during the Harlem Renaissance, and he was an early member of the Niagara Movement, an organization dedicated to socio-political reform for African Americans which later became the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People). DuBois was the first African American president of the American Sociological Society. As a young man, he believed in the promise of the United States as a country where all people could be equal and free.

It appears that the problem of the 21st century is still race. Yet, as intersectional scholar Kimberle Crenshaw explains, our frames should include an analysis of both gender and race to better understand the complexity of the human condition.

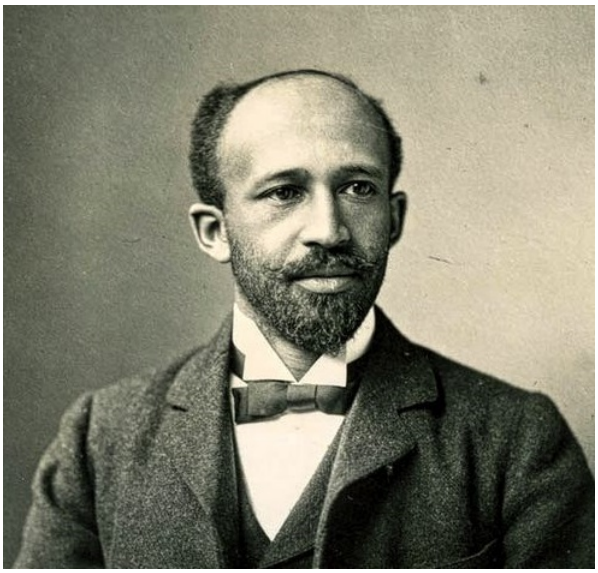


Figure **1.1.2**: Portrait of W.E.B. Du Bois taken around 1907. (CC PDM 1.0; Unknown via Wikipedia)

What is Sociology?

Sociology is the systematic study of society and social interaction. To carry out their studies, sociologists identify cultural patterns and social forces and determine how they affect individuals and groups. One way sociology achieves a more complete understanding of social reality is by focusing on the importance of the social forces affecting our behavior, attitudes, and life chances. This focus emphasizes social structure, the social patterns through which a society is organized. Sociology provides a lens for understanding the human condition and the structural forces influencing our behavior and attitudes.

Yet, we are often not aware of the impact of these societal forces. Most Americans probably agree that we enjoy a great amount of freedom. And yet perhaps we have less freedom than we think. Although we have the right to choose how to believe and act, our society, culture, and social institutions affect many of our choices in ways we do not even realize. Perhaps we are not as distinctively individualistic as we might like to think. The struggle over state shut-downs, social distancing, and mandatory masks in public threw this debate over freedom into the spotlight during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Further, take the right to vote. The secret ballot is one of the most cherished principles of American democracy. We vote in secret so that our choice of a candidate is made freely and without fear of punishment. That is all true, but it is also possible to predict the candidate for whom any one individual will vote if enough is known about the individual. Again, our choice (in this case, our selection of a candidate) is affected by many aspects of our social backgrounds and, in this sense, is not made as freely as we might think.



Figure **1.1.3**: Rainbow colors at the white House celebrating marriage equality, following the 2015 Supreme Court Decision, Obergefell v. Hodges, legalizing gay marriage. (CC BY-SA 2.0; osseous via Flickr)

To illustrate this point, consider the 2008 presidential election between Democrat Barack Obama and Republican John McCain. Suppose a room is filled with 100 randomly selected voters from that election. Nothing is known about them except that they were between 18 and 24 years of age when they voted. Because CNN exit poll data found that Obama won 66% of the vote from people in this age group, a prediction that each of these 100 individuals voted for Obama would be correct about 66 times and incorrect

only 34 times. Someone betting $1 on each prediction would come out $32 ahead ($66 – $34 = $32), even though the only thing known about the people in the room is their age.

Now let's suppose we have a room filled with 100 randomly selected white men from Wyoming who voted in 2008. We know only three things about them: their race, gender, and state of residence. Because exit poll data found that 67% of white men in Wyoming voted for McCain, a prediction can be made with fairly good accuracy that these 100 men tended to have voted for McCain. Someone betting $1 that each man in the room voted for McCain would be right about 67 times and wrong only 33 times and would come out $34 ahead ($67 – $33 = $34). Even though young people in the United States and white men from Wyoming had every right and freedom under our democracy to vote for whomever they wanted in 2008, they still tended to vote for a particular candidate because of the influence of their age (in the case of the young people) or of their gender, race, and state of residence (white men from Wyoming).



Figure 1.1.4: "Vote Here Vote Aquí" sign in multiple languages. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; myJon via Flickr)

Consider the lead-up to the 2020 Presidential campaign. Former President Donald Trump stoked racial strife and polarization during his presidency and through this campaign cycle. With his positive references to white power during the Charlottesville protests and his infamous tweets chastising protesters as thugs, blaming COVID-19 on China, or refusing to demand that the far-right Proud Boys "stand down," he catered to his base who hold more polar views from the rest of the nation, including more staunch opposition to immigration. With unwavering support, nearly 80% of white Evangelical voters checked the box for Trump (Gjelten, 2020). As the votes of the 2020 election have been tallied, Joe Biden and running mate Kamala Harris, the first-ever woman of color on a major political party ticket, won the popular vote by more than 7 million votes (Sullivan & Agiesta, 2020). Though there were unique niches and overall increasing numbers of voters of color supporting Trump, such as Cuban and Venezuelan Americans in Florida, the overwhelming majority of people of color cast a vote for the Biden-Harris ticket, including Latinx and Native American populations in Arizona who helped turn the state blue. A majority of men voted for Trump while the majority of women voted for Biden. Although Trump made gains with all groups of women from 2016 to 2020 elections, a consistently high majority of Black women cast their vote for the Biden-Harris ticket. By contrast, the overwhelming majority of the white electorate cast a vote for Trump, though a smaller percentage of white men voted for Trump as compared to 2016. Similar to four years earlier, race and gender (and religion) proved to be influential factors in voter tendency in 2020.



Figure 1.1.5: Candid pictures of the following: President Joe Biden, Vice-President Kamala Harris, and former President Donald Trump. (CC BY-NC-SA; left, middle, right; Creative Commons)

Yes, Americans have freedom, but our freedom to think and act is constrained at least to some degree by our social structures - by society's standards and expectations and by the many aspects of our social backgrounds. This is true for the kinds of important

beliefs and behaviors just discussed, and it is also true for less important examples. What color of mask did you wear during COVID-19? Was it a designer mask? Did it have a message? What social forces impacted your choice of mask?

The social structure plays an integral role in the **social location** (i.e., place or position) people occupy in society. Your social location is a result of cultural values and norms from the time-period and place in which you live. Culture affects personal and social development including the way people will think or behave. Cultural characteristics pertaining to age, gender, race, education, income, religion, sexuality, disability and other social factors influence the location people occupy at any given time.

Furthermore, social location influences how people perceive and understand the world in which we live. People have difficulty being objective in all contexts because of their social location within cultural controls and standards derived from values and norms. Objective conditions exist without bias because they are measurable and quantifiable (Carl, 2013). Subjective concerns rely on judgments rather than external facts. Personal feelings and opinions from a person's social location drive subjective concerns. The **sociological imagination** is a tool to help people step outside subjective or personal biographies and look at objective facts and the historical background of a situation, issue, society, or person (Carl, 2013).

Thinking Sociologically

The time period we live in (history) and our personal life experiences (biography) influence our perspectives and understanding of others and the world. Our history and biography guide our perceptions of reality, reinforcing our personal bias and subjectivity. Relying on subjective viewpoints and perspectives leads to the diffusion of misinformation and fake news that can be detrimental to our physical and socio-cultural environment and negatively impact our interactions with others. We must seek out facts and develop knowledge to enhance our objective eye. Using valid, reliable, proven facts, data, and information establishes credibility and makes better decisions for the world and ourselves.

1. Consider a socio-cultural issue you are passionate about and want to change or improve.
2. What is your position on the issue? What ideological or value-laden reasons or beliefs support your position? What facts or empirical data support your position?
3. What portion of your viewpoint or perspective on the issue relies on personal values, opinions, or beliefs compared to facts?
4. Why is it important to identify and use empirical data or facts in our lives rather than relying on ideological reasoning and false or fake information

According to C. Wright Mills (1959), the sociological imagination requires individuals to "think themselves away" from examining personal and social influences on people's life choices and outcomes. Large-scale or macro sociological influences help create an understanding of the effect of the social structure and history on people's lives. Whereas, small-scale or microsociological influences focus on interpreting personal viewpoints from an individual's biography. Using only a micro-sociological perspective leads to an unclear understanding of the world from biased perceptions and assumptions about people, social groups, and society (Carl 2013).

In The Sociological Imagination (1959), Mills presented his classic distinction between personal troubles and public issues. Personal troubles refer to a problem affecting individuals that the affected individual, as well as other members of society, typically blame on the individual's own failings. Examples include such different problems as police brutality, immigration, mass incarceration, hate crimes, sexual harassment, and unemployment. Public issues, whose source lies in the social structure and culture of a society, refer to a social problem affecting many individuals. Thus, problems in society help account for problems that individuals experience personally. Mills, feeling that many problems ordinarily considered private troubles are best understood as public issues, coined the term sociological imagination to refer to the ability to appreciate the structural basis for individual problems.

To illustrate Mills's viewpoint, let's use our sociological imagination to understand some important contemporary social problems. We will start with unemployment, which Mills himself discussed. If only a few people were unemployed, Mills wrote, we could reasonably explain their unemployment by saying they were lazy, lacked good work habits, and so forth. If so, their unemployment would be their own personal trouble. However, when millions of people are out of work, unemployment is best understood as a public issue because, as Mills (1959) explained, "the very structure of opportunities has collapsed. Both the correct statement of the problem and the range of possible solutions require us to consider the economic and political institutions of the society, and not

merely the personal situation and character of a scatter of individuals." The unemployment rate rose dramatically during the severe economic downturn that began in 2008, yet had reduced to its lowest level before the COVID-19 pandemic. Once COVID-19 hit, millions of people in the U.S. lost their jobs through no fault of their own. While some individuals are undoubtedly unemployed because they are lazy or lack good work habits, a more structural explanation focusing on lack of opportunity and forced shut-downs is needed to explain why so many people were out of work as this book went to press. Though experienced as a personal trouble, unemployment can better be understood through analysis as a public issue. According to a Pew Research Center study, unemployment rates among African Americans have exceeded the unemployment rates of Euro-Americans over the past six decades (Desilver, 2013). Current unemployment trends are no different.



Figure **1.1.6**: Protest against police brutality in Uptown, banners reading 'Stop Police Brutality' and 'Education Not Incarceration'. (CC BY 2.0; Fibonacci Blue via Flickr)

Next, we can consider the police brutality against African Americans and the Latinx Community. Emmett Till. Amadou Dialou. Aiyana Stanley-Jones. Trayvon Martin. Michael Brown. Eric Garner. Breonna Taylor. George Floyd. Andres Guardado. Sean Monterrossa. Each of these senseless killings (and countless more) have presented immense personal troubles for family and friends of these victims. However, the long historical timeline illustrates these combined murders tell a story about lynching, of structural racism and unequal policing and injustice against African Americans and the Latinx Community. Created by African American women, Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, the Black Lives Matter movement has called out the structural roots of this state sponsored violence.



Figure **1.1.7**: Black Lives Matter artistic tribute to Breonna Taylor with inscription, "Say Her Name." (CC BY-NC-SA; Flickr)

Finally, the global COVID-19 pandemic has presented the world with severe uncertainty. Personal troubles range from families devastated by the passing of a loved one, essential medical workers caring for COVID-19 patients on the frontline, and a shut-down of our public space that has confined many to their homes. Yet, an analysis of the unprepared public health system to manage this crises, lack of national political leadership, lack of access to (quality) health care in communities of color, combined with the high risk that poor communities face, illustrates the public issues surrounding the pandemic; economic and health care systems serve to only exacerbate the social inequalities that pre-dated COVID-19. Additionally, the rise of hate crimes against Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) communities during COVID-19 further illustrates the how sociological imagination can be employed to consider the personal impact of these hate crimes as well as the public, structural roots of this racism.

Sociological Perspective

A key basis of the **sociological perspective** is the concept that the individual and society are inseparable. It is impossible to study one without the other. Incorporating a sociological perspective reminds us that we are always participating in something larger than ourselves. Using our sociological imagination, we can begin to see our micro, personal troubles in the context of macro, public issues. Perhaps then, we can better understand the complexity of our social life as well as the social change and resistance that may serve to improve the human condition.

Introducing the Struggle for Ethnic Studies

Ethnic Studies is the critical and interdisciplinary study of race, ethnicity, and Indigeneity, focusing on the experiences and perspectives of diverse Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) communities. The field of Ethnic Studies and the various disciplines like Black Studies/Africana Studies, Asian American Studies, Pacific Islander Studies, Arab American Studies, American Indian/Native American Studies, and Chicanx/Latinx and Latinx Indigenous Studies all work to center the knowledge and expertise of historically minoritized groups. Ethnic Studies has always been interdisciplinary in nature, meaning that it combines the strengths and perspectives of multiple disciplines. Scholars in the field of Ethnic Studies have also maintained a critique of the ways in which other disciplines have been associated with systems of power and domination. This has led to a critique of disciplines themselves, including the idea of a “canon” that many disciplines use to define a core set of authors, perspectives, and works that make up the foundation of the field.

There is no singular beginning to Ethnic Studies or a set of scholars who wrote the field into existence. It emerged out of struggles and the long histories of communities of color and Indigenous peoples who value education for its potential to transform lives, inspire change, raise awareness, and disrupt systems of power and exploitation.

Key Takeaways

- DuBois considered that the problem of the 20th century was the problem of the color line; sociologists consider that the problems of the 21st century continue to revolve around race.
- Sociology provides a lens for understanding the human condition and the structural forces and structures that influence our behavior, attitudes, social interaction, and society at large while Ethnic Studies helps to center the knowledge and expertise of historically minoritized groups.
- Using the tools of the sociological imagination and the sociological perspective help people to understand we are always participating in something larger than ourselves.
- The tools of Ethnic Studies allow us to identify, apply, and analyze theory and knowledge produced by minoritized communities as people explore issues central to each group.

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1.2: Growth and Expansion of Ethnic Studies

Early Days of Ethnic Studies

Throughout the 1960s, colleges and universities were the sites of student-led protests for racial justice, environmental justice, gender liberation, and in opposition to the war in Vietnam. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale met at Merritt College in Oakland, California, where they were inspired by the writings of the Black radical author, Franz Fanon. A sign on the Merritt College campus is shown in Figure 2.4.12.4.1. They began a student group called Soul Students Advisory Council and advocated for the first Black Studies program, before going on to found the Black Panther Party (Rojas, 2010). At the same time, similar efforts were underway throughout California and across the country. The Black Student Union at San Francisco State College (SFSC) was started in 1963 by activists who had trained with the Black Panther Party and SNCC (Rojas, 2010). The organization supported the small minority of Black students at SFSC at the time and sought to increase enrollment. In 1966, Jimmy Garret from SNCC arrived on campus to mobilize and organize Black students (Rojas, 2010).

At SFSC, the administration allowed students to teach each other courses not included in the traditional curriculum through the Experimental College. Students resisted any attempt to control the content of these courses, including invited speakers. The culture and operations of the Experimental College attracted radicalized Black students. Students, especially leaders in the Black Student Union, used the Experimental College to build the Black Studies curriculum. By 1968, the Black Studies curriculum covered history, social sciences, and the humanities, including courses like Sociology of Black Oppression, American Institutions, Culture in Cities, Composition, Modern African Thought and Literature, Recurrent Themes in Twentieth Century Afroamericano Thought, Creative Writing, Avant-Garde Jazz, Play Writing, and Black Improvisation.



Figure 1.2.1: Merritt College. (CC BY 4.0; Photo by Jordan Burkart)

The Longest Student Strike

George Murray was a beloved English instructor at SFSC, who was known for his vocal critiques of racism and the Vietnam War. He also served as the Minister of Education for the Black Panther Party. After he was fired on November 1, 1968, student leaders from the BSU and **Third World Liberation Front (TWLF)** started a strike. The TWLF was a multi-ethnic coalition of students that were awoken to the fact that they were being taught in ways that were dominating and irrelevant to themselves (Maeda, 2012), and included a coalition of the Black Student Union (BSU), Latin American Student Organization (LASO), Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action (ICSA), Mexican American Student Confederation, Philippine (now Pilipino) American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE), La Raza, Native American Students Union, and Asian American Political Alliance. These movements built on intergenerational traditions of protest and advocacy that informed the emergent groups that formed, established, and nurtured Ethnic Studies (Delgado, 2016). Penny Nakatsu was one of the strike's leaders, and her speeches emphasized the importance of connecting student oppression with U.S. Imperialism and Militarism that creates adverse conditions throughout Third World countries. Nesbit Crutchfield was also a prominent leader in the organization and the first striker to be arrested. He spent over a year in jail.

Police officers used militarized tactics on strikers, including directly assaulting students. The College's President at the beginning of the strike, Robert Smith, was initially sympathetic to students and interested in hearing out their demands. However, the administration quickly replaced President Smith with Samuel Ichiyé Hayakawa, who represented the interests of the predominantly

white California State College Board of Trustees and then California Governor Ronald Raegan. The TWLF made a conscious choice in their organizing to center the leadership of students of color. However, the strike also garnered support from white students and community members, as well as the faculty union, a local chapter of the American Federation of Teachers. The strike lasted for nearly five months and at its peak, had halted nearly all classes and college operations. Although the protestors were met with hostility, resistance, arrests, and violence, they countered this with a strategy called the "War of the Flea," which focused on disruptive tactics that would pressure the administration to take action. For example, protestors checked out massive amounts of books from the library, disrupted classes to encourage students to join the strikes, and staged massive public demonstrations with music and chanting (Rojas, 2010).

Outcomes of the Strike

In the end, the strikers won nearly all of their demands, including the creation of a Black Studies Department, the funding of 11.3 new full-time equivalent faculty positions, a new Associate Director of Financial Aid, the creation of an Economic Opportunity Program (EOP) with 108 students admitted for Spring 1969 in this program, as well as 500 seats committed for non-white students in the Fall of 1969 with 400 additional slots for EOP students, and a commitment to creating the School of Ethnic Studies (Rojas, 2010). The School of Ethnic Studies later became San Francisco State University's College of Ethnic Studies, which includes Africana Studies, American Indian Studies, Asian American Studies, Latina/Latino Studies, and Race and Resistance Studies. The strikers' unmet demands included that Dr. Nathan Hare and George Murray were both denied faculty employment in the newly formed Black Studies program. Despite these losses, to this day, the strike remains *the* longest student strike in U.S. history and is a testament to the power of student mobilization (Delgado, 2016; Maeda, 2012; Rojas, 2010).

Sidebar: San Francisco State College Strike Demands

Black Student Union Demands

1. That all Black Studies courses being taught through various departments be immediately part of the Black Studies Department and that all the instructors in this department receive full-time pay.
2. That Dr. Hare, Chairman of the Black Studies Department, receive a full-professorship and a comparable salary according to his qualifications.
3. That there be a Department of Black Studies which will grant a Bachelor's Degree in Black Studies; that the Black Studies Department chairman, faculty and staff have the sole power to hire faculty and control and determine the destiny of its department.
4. That all unused slots for Black Students from Fall 1968 under the Special Admissions program be filled in Spring 1969.
5. That all Black students wishing so, be admitted in Fall 1969.
6. That twenty (20) full-time teaching positions be allocated to the Department of Black Studies.
7. That Dr. Helen Bedesem be replaced from the position of Financial Aid Officer and that a Black person be hired to direct it; that Third World people have the power to determine how it will be administered.
8. That no disciplinary action will be administered in any way to any students, workers, teachers, or administrators during and after the strike as a consequence of their participation in the strike.
9. That the California State College Trustees not be allowed to dissolve any Black programs on or off the San Francisco State College campus.
10. That George Murray maintain his teaching position on campus for the 1968-69 academic year.

Third World Liberation Front Demands

1. That a School of Ethnic Studies for the ethnic groups involved in the Third World be set up with the students in each particular ethnic organization having the authority and control of the hiring and retention of any faculty member, director, or administrator, as well as the curriculum in a specific area study.
2. That 50 faculty positions be appropriated to the School of Ethnic Studies, 20 of which would be for the Black Studies program.
3. That, in the Spring semester, the College fulfill its commitment to the non-white students in admitting those who apply.
4. That, in the fall of 1969, all applications of non-white students be accepted.
5. That George Murray and any other faculty person chosen by non-white people as their teacher be retained in their positions.

The tenacity of the strikers inspired students at the University of California, Berkeley (UCB) to form their own Third World Liberation Front in January 1969, who began a separate strike for Ethnic Studies at UCB (Delgado, 2016). Strikers called for a Third World College, but the administration ultimately formed a Department of Ethnic Studies. Throughout the country, racial justice and student activism were front and center, leading to a cascade of activism for Ethnic Studies programs, including the core disciplines of Black Studies, Chicano Studies, Asian American Studies, and American Indian Studies. In 1969, Chicana/o/x activists came together at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB) and published El Plan de Santa Barbara, a document that united diverse activists from around the state of California and laid out a roadmap for Chicana/Chicano Studies, as well as programs to increase the retention, engagement, and success of students from minoritized backgrounds (see Chapter 6, section 6.2: "Roots and Resistance- The Development of Chicanx and Latinx Studies"). UCSB created the first Chicano Studies department in the University of California in 1970, now Chicana and Chicano Studies; and eventually formed the first PhD program in the field in 2003. California State University, Los Angeles was also a forerunner in this area and established a Mexican American Studies program, which became the Department of Chicano Studies in 1971, and is now called the Department of Chicana(o) and Latina(o) Studies.

Ethnic Studies as a Site of Growth

In the over fifty years since the founding of Ethnic Studies as an academic field, it has grown substantially to include a range of scholarly associations, degree-granting programs at all levels of higher education, growth in the K-12 education system, inclusion within general education curricula, and as a site of struggle and solidarity for racial justice, decolonization, and intersectionality. Subsequent generations of students and scholars have added to the field of Ethnic Studies and expanded its potential for liberatory praxis. As an interdisciplinary field committed to a relevant education, Ethnic Studies has always been a dynamic project that can change and grow.

Scholarly Associations and Degree Programs

Scholarly associations are voluntary organizations of professional researchers who organize the exchange of ideas through activities like conferences where scholars present and share their work, newsletters, peer-reviewed publications, scholarships, and research grants. Within Ethnic Studies fields, many scholarly organizations exist which focus on specific disciplines and populations of scholars. Some of these predate the 1968 protests for Ethnic Studies, like the Association for the Study of African American Life and History, founded in 1915, which is the group responsible for Black History Month. The Association for Ethnic Studies was formed in 1972, just four years after the San Francisco State College strike began. The National Association for Chicano Social Scientists first began in 1972 and later became the National Association for Chicano Studies in 1973. Due to the activist of feminist scholars and their allies, the group changed its name to the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies in 1995, which remains the name today. However, a single association is often not enough to reflect the diversity and complexity of an academic field. For example, Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social was founded in 1982, focusing on Chicana/Latina scholarship separately from what was known as the National Association for Chicano Studies at the time.

With respect to the other core disciplines of Ethnic Studies, the National Council for Black Studies began in 1975 to help provide a structure to the growing fields of Africana/Black Studies, bringing together scholars of the African diaspora studying various aspects of the global experience of Blackness. In 1979, the Association for Asian American Studies was formed to organize this discipline. The American Indian Studies Association was formed in 1999 to develop the fields of American Indian, Alaskan Native, and Indigenous Studies. As well, the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association was formed in 2007 and publishes the journal, *Native American and Indigenous Studies* with the University of Minnesota Press. Academic associations typically encourage student participation and have specific opportunities and scholarships available to students in that field. There are also associations within other disciplines that utilize a racial justice or decolonial lens, such as the Association of Black Sociologists, the Black Women's Studies Association, and the Association of Indigenous Anthropologists.

There are a range of degree programs that are offered in Ethnic Studies fields, reflecting the complexity and depth of experiences among people of color and Indigenous peoples in the United States and around the world. Ethnic Studies programs are united in their shared focus on power and domination, as well as a connection to real-world struggles for justice and equity. This is distinguished between traditional fields of regional studies, cultural studies, and American Studies. For example, researchers who study African cultures, traditions, history, and science may offer a program in African Studies or a degree specific to a region or

country on the continent. These programs are distinct from a Black Studies program or Africana Studies program, which focuses on the self-determination and struggles of Black communities in the U.S. or in a transnational context. Ethnic Studies programs may offer degrees in Comparative Ethnic Studies, which addresses multiple historically defined racialized groups, or with a specific concentration in disciplines like Black Studies, African American Studies, Africana Studies, Native American Studies, Indigenous Studies, American Indian Studies, Chicanx and Latinx Studies, Asian American Studies, Critical Pacific Islands & Oceania Studies, Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diasporas, and Critical Middle East/Southwest and North Africa Studies.

Institutional Growth and Policies

While Ethnic Studies has grown as an academic discipline, it has always maintained its connection to community collaborations and ensuring that scholarship and education are useful to communities affected by historical violence, settler-colonialism, and systems of exploitation. Student activists are a key force in Ethnic Studies, and groups like BSU (Black Student Union) and MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicanx de Aztlán or the Chicanx Student Movement of Aztlan) build student leadership, advocate for equity and policy change, and develop relationships with historically underserved communities in higher education. Students have also been a major part of advancing Ethnic Studies programs and speaking out when they face budget cuts and administrative threats. For instance, in 1999, the Third World Liberation Front at UCB emerged once more and organized hunger strikes to protest the proposed cuts to both funding and faculty support for the Ethnic Studies department. The movement also included rallies, sit-ins, and building occupations, and managed to stop the cuts to the department and generated an administrative commitment to establishing a research center that was eventually called the Center for Race & Gender. In 2016, the TWLF emerged again, this time at San Francisco State University, also staging hunger strikes as part of a strategy to pressure the administration into making investments in the College of Ethnic Studies. The College faced a nearly $250,000 deficit in funding, with the University failing to provide adequate financial resources to cover the salaries of all faculty and permanent staff. The student demonstrations, including a 10-day hunger strike and camping overnight on campus grounds, led to university administrators committing a total of over $650,000 to both address the shortfall and expand the faculty for teaching high-quality and innovative Ethnic Studies courses.

Ethnic Studies classes are a great opportunity for students to deepen their knowledge and passion for these topics. Educators have also shown that these classes have general benefits for all students, as well as campus communities as a whole (Bonilla, Dee, and Penner, 2021). This has led faculty advocates and administrators to establish Ethnic Studies as a *general education graduation requirement*. In 2020, the California state legislature passed Assembly Bill 1460 (authored by Assemblymember Shirley Weber), which changed the general education curriculum to include Ethnic Studies as a graduation requirement for all 23 campuses in the California State University (CSU) system. The CSUs enroll nearly half a million students (485,550 in 2022) and are the largest public research university system in the world. The legislative directive in AB 1460 made it so that all students must take an Ethnic Studies class taught in an Ethnic Studies department, separate from any related diversity or multiculturalism requirements. This acknowledged the status of Ethnic Studies as a distinct field of scholarship. The California Community Colleges followed suit by establishing Ethnic Studies as a graduation requirement, while the University of California system Academic Council is considering both an Ethnic Studies graduation requirement and admission requirement for high school students hoping to attend the UC.

Ethnic Studies curriculum has a long history in the K-12 educational context as well. In 1970, the Native American Materials Development Center created a K-6 curriculum for Navajo children that included both historical content and culturally relevant pedagogies. As early as 1993, the Berkeley Unified School District created a 9th grade course in Ethnic Studies and made it a graduation requirement. In 2007, Kailu High School in Hawai'i established Ethnic Studies as a required 9th-grade course for all students. In 2014, El Rancho Unified in Pico Rivera, CA, created a high school requirement for Ethnic Studies. The Ethnic Studies Now Coalition helped to spread the successes of Ethnic Studies to other communities, including through advocacy as well as sharing resources. With more and more districts adopting Ethnic Studies, statewide advocates in California moved to formalize the curriculum and establish a framework for Ethnic Studies teachers. Campus programs like the UCLA Center X / Teacher Education Program, Exito at UCSB, and XITO (Xicanx Institute for Teaching and Organizing) have started to train educators interested in working in this growing field.

Threats Against Ethnic Studies

While Ethnic Studies scholarship and curriculum have seen substantial growth over 50 years, this has always been threatened by counter-movements and institutional resistance. In 1998 in Tucson, Arizona, the school district established a Mexican American Studies program that grew to 48 course offerings and was the largest Ethnic Studies program in any school district nationwide. The department offered student support and facilitated teachers' and parents' involvement in Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x student success, which directly increased graduation rates and grades in all classes (Cabrera, Milem, and Marx, 2012). In 2010, state lawmakers passed Arizona House Bill 2281, which dismantled the program. The ban was overturned in 2017, as it was deemed racist and unconstitutional. The rhetoric from this law, which claimed to restrict teachers from promoting "resentment toward a race or class of people" or advocating "ethnic solidarity instead of the treatment of pupils as individuals," re-emerged in 2021 as conservative activists passed statewide bans on **Critical Race Theory** to intimidate K-12 educators working to have discussions about race and ethnicity in their classrooms. Despite this political hostility and counter-mobilization, Ethnic Studies educators and others invested in student equity and success continue to work at the front lines to inspire students and ensure that the next generation has access to a relevant education.

As California has continued to formalize and institutionalize Ethnic Studies, scholars and activists have contended over the boundaries of the field and its purpose for higher education and society. In 2021, California Governor Gavin Newsom signed Assembly Bill 101 (authored by Assemblymember Jose Medina), which established that all high school districts will be required to offer Ethnic Studies by the 2025-2026 school year and require an Ethnic Studies course for graduation by 2029-2030. Prior to establishing an Ethnic Studies requirement, the state Department of Education adopted an Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum in March 2021. The first draft of the Model Curriculum included lessons on the occupation of Palestine and its connection to Third World solidarity movements in the United States. However, the final draft removed this content and emphasized General Ethnic Studies, along with the four core disciplines centered on historically defined racial groups: African American Studies, Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x Studies, Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies, and Native American Studies, along with sample lessons on Jewish Americans and Arab Americans. The **Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum** was created by independent scholars as a guide for K-12 educators that also includes Arab American Studies, along with Intersectional and Comparative Ethnic Studies. This group of educators is working to ensure that diverse perspectives within Ethnic Studies are continuously cultivated and represented.

Sidebar: Contention over the California Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum

In 2019, the California Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Advisory Committee convened at the California Department of Education in Sacramento. The convening began with a land acknowledgment, showing a commitment to Indigenous peoples. And, the first draft of the high school curriculum incorporated the attempted genocide and resistance of California Natives. In its first version, the model curriculum had a lesson about land acknowledgment as well as protection of sacred sites, but they were removed. By 2022 when the final version was published, the Indigenous (Mayan) inspired poem, In Lak'Ech, was removed from the approved Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum for high schools.

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1.3: Summary/Review

Conclusion

In summary, the social structure plays an integral role in the social location (i.e., place or position) people occupy in society. Your social location is a result of cultural values and norms from the time-period and place in which you live. Culture effects personal and social development including the way people will think or behave. Cultural characteristics pertaining to age, gender, race, education, income and other social factors influence the location people occupy at any given time.

The field of Ethnic Studies is a dynamic source of inquiry and action. As we have explored its history, we can see that it joins many roots of resistance with a commitment to a relevant education. It is also particular to the racialized history of higher education in the United States and the resistance and liberation movements of the 1960s. While activist movements respond to the emerging needs brought about in the larger political environment, each generation has invested in Ethnic Studies as a source of education, research, and sharing knowledge to inspire further liberation and pursuits of justice. The need for Ethnic Studies is apparent when considering the long history of educational institutions in reproducing systemic oppression, including violence at the hands of educational institutions as well as exclusion from high-quality schools. Fortunately, Ethnic Studies has been shown time and time again to help improve disparities in school achievement and contribute to a more positive, inclusive school culture.

Further, while Ethnic Studies was developed as the educational arm of broader struggles of decolonization and racial justice, it has also taken on its own life through the students and educators who carry out creative pedagogies and put knowledge into action. This has also led to the field becoming a target for politicization by outside commentators and stakeholders who consciously organize misinformation campaigns using the media and local activist networks. In the face of many misconceptions about Ethnic Studies, students and educators alike benefit from the knowledge and approach of Ethnic Studies scholarship. The future of the field depends entirely on today's students, who will come to shape the direction of the social movements that are central to the unfolding discipline and become the next generation of scholars to build innovative solutions to persistent systems of injustice in our society.

Key Terms

- **Geohistorical Macroscales of Ethnic Studies:** A perspective put forward by Tolteka Cuahutin to describe the dynamic principles that guide Ethnic Studies scholarship in terms of scope and approach:
  - Indigeneity and Active Roots,
  - Coloniality, Dehumanization, and Genocide,
  - Hegemony and Normalization; and,
  - Decoloniality, Regeneration, and Transformational Resistance.
- **Coloniality, Dehumanization, and Genocide:** Systems of oppression that are carried out through political, cultural, and militarized means, leading to the assault on Native and Indigenous lifeways.
  - **Colonialism**: the control or governing influence of one nation over a dependent area or people. It involves the subjugation of one people by another, often through military force or political control. Colonialism can also involve the exploitation of resources and the imposition of foreign cultural values on the colonized population.
  - **Dehumanization**: Dehumanization is **t**he psychological process of demonizing the enemy, making them seem less than human and hence not worthy of humane treatment. This can lead to increased violence, human rights violations, war crimes, and genocide.
  - **Genocide**: certain acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group
- **Double-consciousness**, the sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others
- **Hegemony:** Systems by which violence and exploitation are maintained in regular patterns to advantage socially dominant groups and maintain the oppression of Black, Indigenous, and people of color communities, including women and non-binary people, as well as people of diverse faiths, abilities, and immigration statuses.
- **Decoloniality, Regeneration, and Transformational Resistance:** Going beyond revealing and examining violence and pain to bring students and education into the work of transformation, resistance, and social change.
  - **Decoloniality**: critically examining and dismantling colonial power structures and ideologies while reclaiming and revitalizing indigenous knowledge, cultural practices, and ways of being. In essence, decoloniality seeks to move beyond the

limitations of colonial thinking and create more just and equitable systems. :

- **Transformative Resistance:** a type of resistance that goes beyond simply opposing or resisting a situation; it actively seeks to transform it. This involves acknowledging and critiquing oppressive structures, while also developing a sense of agency and a desire for positive change, both individually and collectively.

- **Native and Indigenous Pedagogies:** Diverse perspectives in tribal communities that are commonly place-based and incorporate the cultural, historical, environmental, economic, and literary context of local Indigenous realities.
- **Colonial Education:** Settler institutions that have attempted erasure and genocide of Indigenous lifeways, including the government and Church-run Boarding Schools in the United States and Canada.
- **Third World Liberation Front (TWLF):** A multi-ethnic coalition of students that were awoken to the fact that they were being taught in ways that were dominating and irrelevant to themselves (Maeda, 2012), and included a coalition of the Black Student Union (BSU), Latin American Student Organization (LASO), Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action (ICSA), Mexican American Student Confederation, Philippine (now Pilipino) American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE), La Raza, Native American Students Union, and Asian American Political Alliance
- **Critical Race Theory:** A legal perspective put forward by scholars to identify the link between U.S. laws and the structure of racism, with the goal of better ending racial discrimination and disparities. This perspective has been misrepresented by conservative activists.
- **Sociological imagination** a tool to help people step outside subjective or personal biography, and look at objective facts and the historical background of a situation, issue, society, or person.
- **Minoritized** a term used in place of *minority* (noun) to highlight the social oppression that minoritizes individuals. The term minoritized uses active voice to reveal the system of social oppression that is often rendered unseen through the use of passive voice within the term minority.

Reflection Questions

1. Review some of the demands from the Third World Liberation Front in Section 1.2 of this chapter. Do any of these resonate with your experience on our own campus? What demands would you make of your administration? How would you modify or update these demands for your own context?
2. Ethnic Studies as a field has grown in tandem with the constituent disciplines. What are the advantages of focusing on specific community formations, such as in Black Studies, Chicanx and Latinx Studies, Native American and Indigenous Studies, Arab American Studies, or Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies? What are the advantages of a comparative Ethnic Studies perspective?
3. The field of Ethnic Studies is deeply rooted in activist traditions. This has included linking the work happening in classrooms and through education to the diverse struggles of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color groups. Reflecting on the students, families, and individuals that you learned about in this chapter, what are some strategies that lead to social change? Consider how these strategies relate to your own life or the things you have witnessed around you.
    - For a more focused exercise, consider directing the prompt to a specific activist group. For example, you may want to focus on the San Francisco State College Strikes for Ethnic Studies in 1968-1969.
    - You can access more primary documents and digital recordings from the Strike from the SFSU Diva Archive and SF State College Strike Collection at the SFSU Library.
    - To see the full Black Studies Curriculum from Spring 1968, you can visit the SFSU Digital Collections.
4. Educational institutions can promote freedom, self-determination, and justice, but they have also been places of elite domination, white supremacy, and settler-colonialism. Considering the schools you attended and where you have lived, what patterns have you witnessed? You may want to focus on examples of barriers and exclusion, positive work for inclusion and equity, or both.
    - Be sure to verify assumptions about the demographics of a school or neighborhood. For colleges and universities, you can find racial demographic information on websites like College Factual or by searching your school's website. You can look up information about demographics in a specific place by using the US Census website.
5. The time period we live (history) and our personal life experiences (biography) influence our perspectives and understanding about others and the world. Our history and biography guide our perceptions of reality reinforcing our personal bias and subjectivity. Relying on subjective viewpoints and perspectives leads to diffusion of misinformation and fake news that can be

detrimental to our physical and socio-cultural environment and negatively impact our interactions with others. We must seek out facts and develop knowledge to enhance our objective eye. By using valid, reliable, proven facts, data, and information, we establish credibility and make better decisions for the world and ourselves.

- Consider a socio-cultural issue you are passionate about and want to change or improve.
- What is your position on the issue? What ideological or value-laden reasons or beliefs support your position? What facts or empirical data support your position?
- What portion of your viewpoint or perspective on the issue relies on personal values, opinions, or beliefs in comparison to facts?
- Why is it important to identity and use empirical data or facts in our lives rather than relying on ideological reasoning and false or fake information

Activities

Role Play Discussion: Strategizing for Social Change

- For this activity, divide the class into three groups. Each group will represent a different constituency in the strike for Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State College: the Third World Liberation Front, the faculty union, and the anti-war groups who supported the strike.
- In these groups, the class will address a series of scenarios that mirror the experiences of the strikers and the college.
- Students should situate their responses to the circumstance based on their understanding of the text and historical examples referenced in the chapter and course material. Consider priorities, tactics, and context.

Scenario:

- A local newspaper ran coverage of a demonstration where a number of strikers were arrested. In the description of the events, they negatively characterized the students that were arrested and consistently called the strikers violent. Another demonstration is planned for the next day, and many student activists want to respond to the newspaper directly. Others have suggested focusing the demonstration on more peaceful tactics to avoid arrests and being called violent again. Your three groups are tasked with how to move everyone forward. What options would you consider? How would you decide who will do what? Take into account that there is limited time to communicate messages to your supporters.

Ethnic Studies is…

- Each student will provide a creative response to the prompt, “Ethnic Studies is…” that is rooted in what you have learned from this chapter and the class. The response should be brief, about one sentence, and may highlight a definition of Ethnic Studies or what Ethnic Studies means to that individual.
  - This could take on different formats for different learners and styles. For example, using an Online Discussion board in an online course, students could post their short replies to the prompt and have an opportunity to view one another's. You can also have students provide their brief reply with a video recording or by completing a template image.
- Based on the format option(s) that individuals can submit, the group’s collective responses should be compiled and made available for discussion.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

2: Key Theoretical Concepts

2.1: Defining Race

2.1.1: Multiracial Americans

2.2: Ethnicity and Religion

2.3: Social Identity and Stratification

2.4: What is Intersectionality?

2.5: Social Change and Resistance

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2.1: Defining Race

Questioning the Biological Definition of Race

From a biological perspective, **race** refers to a category of people who share certain inherited physical characteristics, such as skin color, facial features, and stature. Most people think of race in biological terms, and for more than 300 years, or ever since white Europeans began colonizing populations of color elsewhere in the world, race has indeed served as the “premier source of human identity” (A. Smedley, 1998, p. 690).

Phenotype and Genotype

Phenotype refers to the composite observable traits and behaviors of an individual or group. **Genotype** refers to a person’s genetic makeup.

Phenotype is thus the physical manifestation of genotype. The most noticeable phenotype difference is skin tone: some groups of people have very dark skin, while others have very light skin or brown skin. Other differences also exist. Some people have very curly hair, while others have very straight hair. Some individuals have thin lips, while others have thick lips. Some people tend to be relatively tall, while others tend to be relatively short. Some have oval eyes, while others have round eyes. In the past, theorists have posited categories of race based on various geographic regions, ethnicities, skin colors, and more. Their labels for racial groups have connoted regions (Mongolia and the Caucus Mountains, for instance) or skin tones (Black, white, yellow, and red, for example).

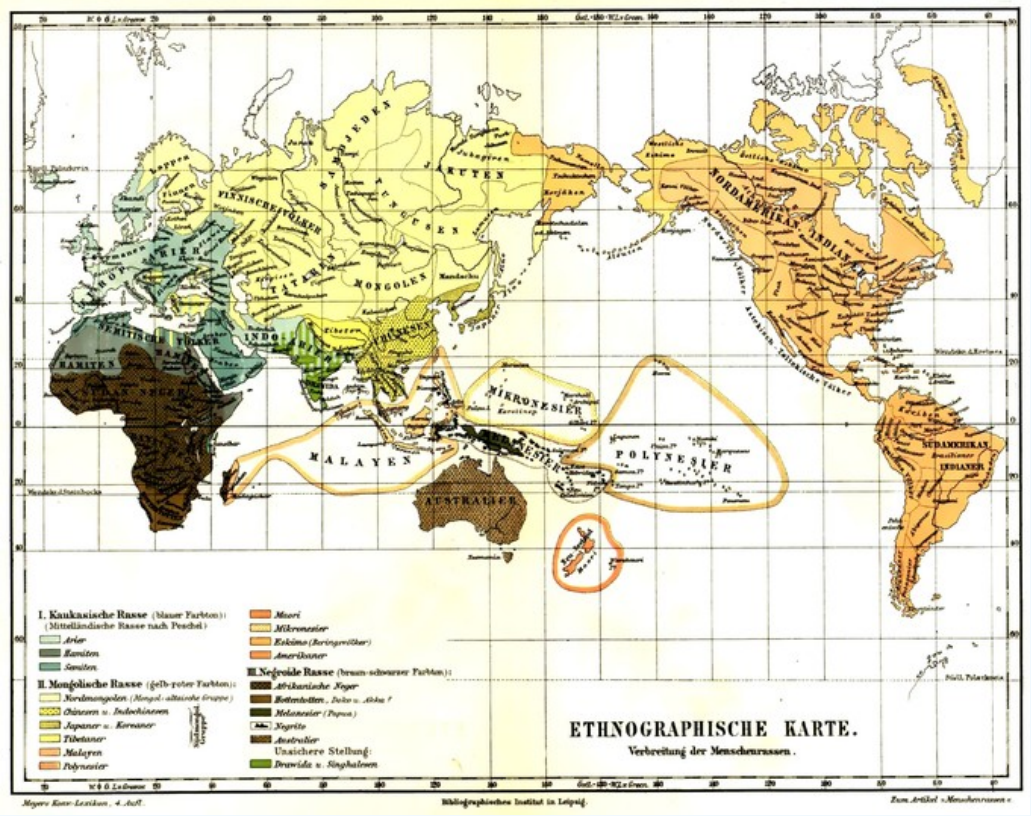


Figure **2.1.1**: Meyers's ethnographic map, late 19th-Century. (CC PDM 1.0; Wikimedia)

An example of an early modern attempt at racial categorization, this map depicts the three great races, according to Meyers Konversationslexikon, a major encyclopedia in the German language in the late 1800s. The subtypes of the "Mongoloid" race are shown in yellow and orange tones, those of the "Europid/Caucasoid" race in light and medium grayish green-cyan tones, and those of the "Negroid" race in brown tones. Dravidians and Sinhalese are in olive green, and their classification is

described as uncertain. The Mongoloid race sees the widest geographic distribution, including all of the Americas, North Asia, East Asia, Southeast Asia, and the entire inhabited Arctic.

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It is certainly easy to see that people in the United States and around the world differ physically in some obvious ways. Race has been used as a classification system to categorize humans in a variety of ways. Using such physical differences as their criteria, scientists at one point identified as many as nine races: African, American Indian or Native American, Asian, Australian Aborigine, European (more commonly called “white”), Indian, Melanesian, Micronesian, and Polynesian (A. Smedley, 1998).

Although people certainly do differ in the many physical features that led to the development of such racial categories, anthropologists, sociologists, and many biologists question the value of these categories and thus the value of the biological concept of race (A. Smedley, 2007). For one thing, we often see more physical differences within a race than between races. For example, some people we call “white” (or European), such as those with Scandinavian backgrounds, have very light skins, while others, such as those from some Eastern European or Middle Eastern backgrounds, have much darker skins. In fact, some “whites” have darker skin than some “Blacks,” or African Americans. Some whites have very straight hair, while others have very curly hair; some have blonde hair and blue eyes, while others have dark hair and brown eyes. Because of interracial reproduction going back to the days of slavery, African Americans also differ in the darkness of their skin and in other physical characteristics. In fact it is estimated that about 80% of African Americans have some white (i.e., European) ancestry; 50% of Mexican Americans have European or Native American ancestry; and 20% of whites have African or Native American ancestry. If clear racial differences ever existed hundreds or thousands of years ago (and many scientists doubt such differences ever existed), in today’s world these differences have become increasingly blurred.

Another reason to question the biological concept of race is that an individual or a group of individuals is often “assigned” to a race based on arbitrary or even illogical grounds. A century ago, for example, Irish, Italians, and Eastern European Jews who left their homelands for a better life in the United States were not regarded as white once they reached the United States but rather as a different, inferior (if unnamed) race (Painter, 2010). The belief in their inferiority helped justify the harsh treatment they suffered in their new country. Today, of course, we call people from all three backgrounds white or European. Many individuals under the umbrella labels of Latinx or **MENA** (Middle East and North Africa) may also be classified as white, but that does not mean they see themselves as white. Many in these groups do not feel represented in discussions of race. As quoted by Jad Elharake, a former University of Michigan student, "A MENA category would represent a diverse set of dismissed identities with specific needs," yet the 2020 Census failed to include such a category (Alshammari, 2020).



Figure **2.1.2**: "Jesus is Middle Eastern" billboard. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Dean.Chahim via Flickr)

In this context, consider someone in the United States who has a white parent and a Black parent. What race is this person? American society usually calls this person Black or African American, and the person may adopt the same identity (as does Barack Obama, who had a white mother and African father). But where is the logic for doing so? This person, including President Obama, is as much white as Black in terms of parental ancestry. Or consider someone with one white parent and another parent that is the

child of one Black parent and white parent. This person thus has three white grandparents and one Black grandparent. Even though this person's ancestry is thus 75% white and 25% Black, this person is likely to be considered Black in the United States and may well adopt this racial identity. This practice reflects the traditional "**one-drop rule**" in the United States that defines someone as Black if the person has at least one drop of "Black blood," and that was used in the antebellum South to keep the enslaved African population as large as possible (Wright, 1993). Yet in many Latin American nations, this person would be considered white. In Brazil, the term Black is reserved for someone with no European (white) ancestry at all. If we followed this practice in the United States, about 80% of the people we call "Black" would now be called "white." With such arbitrary designations, race is more of a social category than a biological one.



Figure **2.1.3**: Former President Barack Obama had an African father and a white mother. Obama identifies himself as African American. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Steve Jurvetson via Flickr)

A third reason to question the biological concept of race comes from the field of biology itself and more specifically from the study of genetics and human evolution. Starting with genetics, people from different races are more than 99.9% the same in their DNA (Begley, 2008). To turn that around, less than 0.1% of all the DNA in our bodies accounts for the physical differences among people that we associate with racial differences. In terms of DNA or genotype, then, people with different racial backgrounds are much more similar than dissimilar. In a December, 2003, Scientific American article, Bamshad and Olson, two geneticists working on mapping the human genome, concluded that "race" does not exist genetically.

According to evolutionary theory, the human race began thousands and thousands of years ago in sub-Saharan Africa. As people migrated around the world over the millennia, natural selection took over. It favored dark skin for people living in hot, sunny climates (i.e., near the equator), because the heavy amounts of melanin that produce dark skin protect against severe sunburn, cancer, and other problems. By the same token, natural selection favored light skin for people who migrated farther from the equator to cooler, less sunny climates, because dark skin there would have interfered with the production of vitamin D (Stone & Lurquin, 2007). Evidence shows physical differences in human appearance including skin color are a result of human migration patterns and adaptations to the environment (Jablonski, 2012). Evolutionary evidence thus reinforces the common humanity of people who differ in the rather superficial ways associated with their appearances: we are one human species, homo sapiens sapiens, composed of people who happen to look different. Nonetheless, people use physical characteristics to identify, relate, and interact with one another.

✔ Thinking Psychologically

What's the difference between race and ethnicity?

The APA defines *race* as "the social construction and categorization of people based on perceived shared physical traits that result in the maintenance of a sociopolitical hierarchy, while *ethnicity* is a particular type of culture (e.g., language, food, music, values, and beliefs) related to common ancestry and shared history (Markus, 2008; A. Smedley & Smedley,

> 2005; as cited in American Psychological Association, APA Task Force on Race and Ethnicity Guidelines in Psychology, 2019 pg. 5)

Race as a Social Construct

The reasons for doubting the biological basis for racial categories suggest that race is more of a social category than a biological one. Another way to say this is that race is a **social construction**, a concept that has no objective reality but rather is what people decide it is (Berger & Luckmann, 1963). In this view race has no real existence other than what and how people think of it; what matters is the social meaning attached to race.



Figure **2.1.4**: Rachel Dolezal speaking at Spokane rally May 2015. Born to white parents, Dolezal has identified and passed as a Black woman without possessing any verifiable African ancestry. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Aaron Robert Kathman via Wikimedia)

Although race is a social construction, it is also true that things perceived as real are real in their consequences. Because people do perceive race as something real, it has real consequences. Even though so little of DNA accounts for the physical differences we associate with racial differences, that low amount leads us not only to classify people into different races but to treat them differently—and, more to the point, unequally—based on their classification. Yet modern evidence shows there is little, if any, scientific basis for the racial classification that is the source of so much inequality.

Social science organizations including the American Association of Anthropologists, the American Sociological Association, and the American Psychological Association have all taken an official position rejecting the biological explanations of race. Over time, the typology of race that developed during early **racialized science** has fallen into disuse, and the social construction of race is a more sociological way of understanding racial categories. In Race as Biology is Fiction, Racism as a Social Problem is Real, Smedley & Smedley (2005) wrote that "racialized science, with its emphasis on identifying immutable differences between racial groups, can be expected only to maintain and reinforce existing racial inequality, in that its adherents indirectly argue that no degree of government intervention or social change will alter the skills and abilities of different racial groups." Research in this school of thought suggests that race is not biologically identifiable and that previous racial categories were arbitrarily assigned, based on pseudo science, and used to justify racist practices (Omi & Winant, 1994; Graves, 2003). From the 17th through the 19th centuries, the merging of folk beliefs about and scientific explanations of group differences produced what social anthropologist Audrey Smedley has called an "**ideology of race**" which, often in the name of (racialized) science, serves to justify the racial hierarchy and racial hegemony. "Race is a means of creating and enforcing social order, a lens through which differential opportunity and inequality are structured" (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Further, they argue that the most important "criterion of status" remains to be the distinction between white and Black.

According to historian Milton Meltzer, the rise of the transatlantic slave trade created an incentive to categorize human groups in order to justify the subordination of Africans as slaves. As Europeans began to sort themselves and others into groups based on

physical appearance, they attributed to individual members of these groups certain behaviors and capacities that were supposedly deeply ingrained. These supposed physical, intellectual, behavioral, and moral differences soon became part of common folk belief.

During the time of slavery in the U.S. South, the skin tone of enslaved peoples lightened over the years as babies were born from the union, often in the form of rape of enslaved individuals, by slave owners and other whites. As it became difficult to tell who was “Black” and who was not, many court battles over people’s racial identity occurred. People who were accused of having Black ancestry would go to court to “prove” they were white in order to avoid enslavement or other problems (Staples, 1998). Litigation over race continued long past the days of slavery. In a relatively recent example, Susie Guillory Phipps sued the Louisiana Bureau of Vital Records in the early 1980s to change her “official” race to white. Phipps was descended from a slave owner and a slave; thereafter, her other ancestors were white. Despite this fact, she was called “Black” on her birth certificate because of a state law, echoing the “**one-drop rule**,” that designated people as Black if their ancestry was at least 1/32 Black (meaning one of their great-great-great grandparents was Black). Phipps had always thought of herself as white and was surprised after seeing a copy of her birth certificate to discover she was officially Black because she had one African ancestor about 150 years earlier. She lost her case, and the U.S. Supreme Court later refused to review it (Omi & Winant, 1994).

Relatedly, the tradition of hostility between the English and the Irish was a powerful influence on early European thinking of the Irish as an inferior “race.” The atrocities committed against the Irish by the English veterans of the war in Ireland in the early 1600s would be repeated against American Indians/Alaska Natives (AI/AN) (Takaki, 2008). Both AI/AN and Mexican Americans lost their land, and often their lives, due in part to Manifest Destiny, the Mexican American War, and whites' belief in their god-given (superiority and) right to inhabit (and steal) lands in which people were already living. As will be discussed further in Chapter 6.1, Irish Americans were treated similar to African Americans during the 1800s; it was not until they "became white" that the stigma of their Irish ancestry would be erased and they would gain access to property, power and privilege, similar to other whites.

Following World War II, alongside empirical and conceptual problems with “race,” evolutionary and social scientists were acutely aware of how beliefs about race had been used to justify discrimination, apartheid, slavery, and genocide. This questioning gained momentum in the 1960s during the U.S. civil rights movement and the emergence of numerous anti-colonial movements worldwide. The social construction of race has developed within various legal, economic, and sociopolitical contexts, and may be the effect, rather than the cause of major race-related issues. Race has real, material effects in housing discrimination, in the legal process, in policing practices, in education, in workplace discrimination, and many other domains of society characterized by institutionalized practices of preference and systemic oppression. As a result, racial groups possessing relatively little power often find themselves excluded or oppressed. Law enforcement officers often utilize race to profile suspects, a term commonly referred to as **racial profiling**. This use of racial categories is frequently criticized for perpetuating an outmoded understanding of human biological variation, and promoting stereotypes.

Racial Formation

Sociologists Omi and Winant’s theories of **racial formation** describes race development as a socio-historical process involving political struggle and that “race is a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies" (Omi & Winant, 1994).

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Socioeconomic factors, in combination with early but enduring views of race, have led to considerable suffering within disadvantaged racial groups. Racial discrimination often coincides with racist mindsets, whereby the individuals and ideologies of one group come to perceive the members of outgroups as both racially defined and morally inferior. Such practices illuminate how far-removed modern understanding of race is from biological qualities. In modern society, some people who consider themselves “white” actually have more melanin (a pigment that determines skin color) in their skin than other people who identify as ”Black.” Consider the case of the actress Rashida Jones. She is the daughter of a Black man (Quincy Jones) and a white woman, and her best-known roles include Ann Perkins on *Parks and Recreation*, Karen Filippelli on *The Office*, and Zooey Rice in *I Love You Man*, none of whom are Black characters. In some countries, such as Brazil, class is more important than skin color in determining racial categorization. People with high levels of melanin may consider themselves "white" if they enjoy a middle-class lifestyle. On the other hand, someone with low levels of melanin might be assigned the identity of "Black" if he or she has little education or money.

The social construction of race is also reflected in the changing labels for racial categories; these labels change with the times. It's worth noting that race, in this sense, is also a system of labeling that provides a source of identity; specific labels fall in and out of favor during different social eras. For example, the category "negroid," popular in the nineteenth century, evolved into the term "negro" by the 1960s, which shifted to Black as a result of the Black Power and Black Nationalist movements declaring "Black is Beautiful," and in contemporary times "African American" may also be used. This term was intended to celebrate the multiple identities that a Black person might hold, but this word choice is not without its problems: it lumps together a large variety of ethnic groups under an umbrella term while excluding others who could accurately be described by the label but who do not meet the spirit of the term. For example, actress Charlize Theron is a blonde-haired, blue-eyed "African American." She was born in South Africa and later became a U.S. citizen. Is her identity that of an "African American" as most of us understand the term? Further, many Black Americans do not have knowledge of African cultural roots and thus may reject the label of African American. In Chapter 1.4, more discussion is provided on the changing U.S. Census categories for race.



Figure **2.1.5**: Businesses located in Little Saigon (Orange County, California) advertise cosmetic surgeries geared towards "beautifying" Vietnamese American women. (Janét Hund)

Aside from labels, a society's conceptualization of beauty is also intertwined with race, racism, and colorism, as light skin phenotype is often correlated with beauty within the dominant society and social institution of mass media. According to the research of Eugenia Kaw, Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI) women's decision to undergo cosmetic surgery is an attempt to escape persisting racial prejudice that correlates their stereotyped genetic physical features ("small, slanty" eyes and a "flat" nose) with negative behavioral characteristics, such as passivity, dullness, and a lack of sociability. When AAPI women elect for cosmetic surgery, it is more often double eyelid, sculpted nose or breast enlargement. The women in Kaw's study indicated that they chose their surgeries to improve their social status, and to gain "symbolic capital," thus prestige. "(The medical establishment and U.S. culture) are able to motivate women to view their feelings of inadequacy as individually motivated, as opposed to socially induced, phenomena, thereby effectively convincing them to participate in the production and reproduction of the larger structural inequalities that continue to oppress them" (Kaw, 1993).

Racialization

Racialization is assigning a racial category to someone especially that has not had a designation before (Omi and Winant, 2014). This typically refers to the way that people were categorized historically such as laws that dictated who can identify as white. In a general sense, racialization is designating a race to someone even if it is a different designation from what they actually identify themselves as or a different designation from what someone else has told them. For example, people might racialize mixed race people differently if they are deemed racially ambiguous. People may also racialize people based on their own contexts. For example, if someone has dark skin and curly hair and they're walking around New York City, one might automatically think the person is Dominican due to the presence of Dominican people in New York City that might have dark skin and curly hair. This means that their context, or the conditions around them, influence how they racialize others. Even when someone or a group is racialized by others, not only does it mean that a lot of times such signification is not accepted by the individual or group, but that such characterization of a racial group is often forced onto minoritized groups.

Sociologists also use the term **racialization** which refers to the processes by which a group of people is defined by their "race." Processes of racialization begin by attributing racial meaning to people's identity and, in particular, as they relate to our institutional systems, such as housing, employment, mass media, and education. In societies in which white people have economic, political,

and social power, processes of racialization have emerged from the concept of a racial hierarchy in these social systems. The visible effects of racialization are the resulting racial inequalities such as police brutality, substandard housing, and under-funded education. To be racialized is to be oppressed and imposed upon by the dominant group.

The exploitation, control and exclusion associated with racialization leads to people being singled out for unique treatment on the basis of real or imagined physical characteristics. Hence, racialized peoples are assigned racial categories leading to stigmatization and marginalization. While a stigma is a mark of disgrace, to be marginal is to be denied full access to social, political, economic, and cultural power and social institutions.

Various racialized caricatures can be found in mass media such as Black Face or Yellow Face characters prevalent in the last century. African American men have been portrayed as criminal or violent, while African American women have been portrayed as sassy or aggressive. The Latinx population has been racialized by their sex appeal, Latinas as spicy and Latinos as the Latin Lover. Racialization of the Latinx population is further discussed in Chapter 8.5. Conversely, Asian American men are regarded on the big screen as having no sex appeal, while Asian American women have been portrayed as sex slaves. Consistent images of American Indians/Alaska Natives equate with the portrayal as "savages" or lacking human qualities.

Minority Group & Dominant Group

Whereas racialization is an active process engaged in by society, the use of minority and dominant groups is more passive labeling. Sociologist Louis Wirth (1945) defined a **minority group** as “any group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society resulting in differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination.” Minority group status can be based on social categories such as age, gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity, religious beliefs, disability or socioeconomic class status. Minority groups are not necessarily numerical minorities (Griffiths, Keirns, Strayer, Cody-Rydzewsk, Scaramuzzo, Sadler, Vyain, Byer & Jones, 2015). For example, a large group of people may be a people of color because they lack social power. In fact, the South African system of apartheid (a system of de jure discrimination) was a major indicator that a people of color is socially and not numerically defined, as 90% of the population of South Africa is Black but until the very early 1990s they were the people of color and the 10% of the population who are white were the dominant group. The physical and cultural traits of people of colors “are held in low esteem by the dominant or majority group which treats them unfairly” (Henslin, 2011, p. 217).

According to Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris (1958), a people of color is distinguished by five characteristics: (1) unequal treatment and less power over their lives, (2) distinguishing physical or cultural traits like skin color or language, (3) involuntary membership in the group, (4) awareness of subordination, and (5) high rate of in-group marriage. In addition to communities of color, additional examples of people of colors might include the LBGTQ+ group, religious practitioners whose faith is not widely practiced where they live, and people with disabilities.

The **dominant group** has greater power, prestige, property (wealth), and status in society and receives greater, automatic privileges. As a result, the dominant group uses its position to discriminate against those that are different. Historically known as WASP (white Anglo Saxon Protestant), the dominant group in the United States is represented by white, middle-class, Protestant people of northern European descent (Doane, 2016). A dominant group is positively privileged (Weber,1978), unstigmatized (Rosenblum & Travis, 2011) and generally favored by the institutions of society, (Marger, 1996) particularly the social, economic, political, and educational systems.

Minority groups can garner power by expanding political boundaries or through expanded migration, though both of these efforts do not occur with ease and require societal support from both communities of color and dominant group members. The loss of power among dominant groups threatens not only their authority over other groups, but also the privileges and way of life established by the dominant group. In Chapter 6.3, white privilege and challenges to white supremacy are discussed.

As there is some controversy with using the concept of people of color, due to the often inferior and pejorative connotation with this label, efforts are made throughout this book to use the concepts, **people of color** or **communities of color**. The use of these concepts seeks to call attention to the commonalities of experience that Black or African Americans, American Indian/Alaska Natives (AI/AN), Latinx, and Asian American Pacific Islanders (AAPI) share - though as ensuing chapters will also show, the groups have their own distinct history and contemporary experiences.



Figure 2.1.6: "'We are not a minority!!" mural with tribute to Che Guevara, originally painted in 1978 as part of the Chicano Park Struggle in San Diego, California. (CC BY 2.0; rizobreaker via Flickr)

Conclusion

David K. Shipler (1997) felt compelled to observe that there is “no more intractable, pervasive issue than race” and that when it comes to race, we are “a country of strangers.” Sociologists and other social scientists have warned that the conditions of people of color have actually been worsening (Massey, 2007; Wilson, 2009). Despite the historic election of Barack Obama in 2008 as the first president of color, race remains an “intractable, pervasive issue.” As the old French saying goes, plus ça change, plus la meme chose (the more things change, the more they stay the same). Indeed, it would be accurate to catapult back to Du Bois and thus paraphrase him, that “the problem of the 21st century is the problem of the color line.” Evidence of this continuing problem appears in much of the remainder of this chapter and text.

Debates continue in and among academic disciplines as to how race should be understood. Most social scientists and biologists believe race is a social construct, meaning it does not have a basis in the natural world but is simply an artificial distinction created by humans. As a result of this understanding, some researchers have turned from conceptualizing and analyzing human variation by race to doing so in terms of populations, dismissing racial classifications altogether. In the face of the increasing rejection of race as a valid classification scheme, many social scientists have replaced the word race with the word “ethnicity” to refer to self-identifying groups based on shared religion, nationality, or culture.

Key Takeaways

- Race has a biological component (e.g. phenotype and genotype) resulting in classification systems of different racial groups, depending on the time period and geographical location.
- Sociologists question the consideration of race as a biological categorization due to the social construction of race and the fact that human beings have far more biological similarities than differences.
- Racial ideology, racial formation, racialization, and racialized science are concepts that help to understand that race is important in this society due to its social meaning which is marked by struggle, division, and hierarchy.
- Various labels (e.g. minority group, dominant group, marginalized group, people of color, and communities of color) are used to identify racial groups.

Contributors and Attributions

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2.1.1: Multiracial Americans

While sociologists do not favor a biological definition of race, a discussion of people with "more than one race" reflects a reference to the "biological" aspect of race. In reality, we have a complex history of identifying and categorizing individuals who are **multiracial**, more than one race - which reflects the role of the social construction of race.

We have already mentioned the example of President Obama, who as the product of an African father and white mother, identifies as a Black man. As another example, the famous (and now notorious) golfer Tiger Woods was typically called an African American by the news media when he burst onto the golfing scene in the late 1990s, but in fact his ancestry is one-half Asian (divided evenly between Chinese and Thai), one-quarter white, one-eighth Native American, and only one-eighth African American (Leland & Beals, 1997). Woods has jokingly used the term, Cablinasian, as his race-ethnic grouping - a creative way to reference his diverse background.

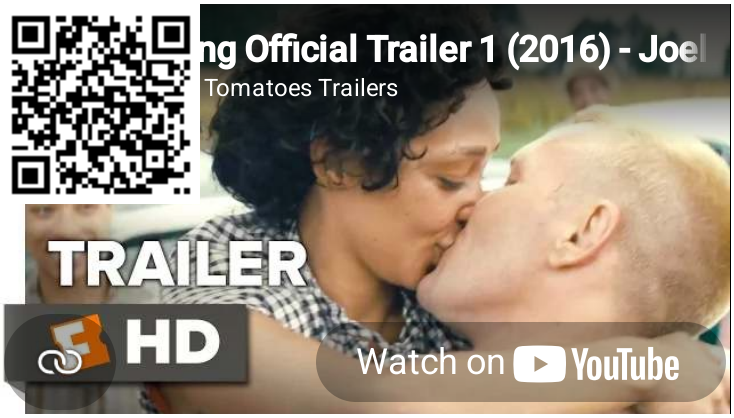
Prior to the twentieth century, interracial marriage (referred to as **miscegenation**) was extremely rare, and in many places, illegal.

Anti-Miscegenation Laws

These anti-miscegenation laws were first passed in the 1600s to prevent freed Black slaves from marrying whites. Later versions added persons of Asian origin or ancestry to the list of groups forbidden to marry Whites. While early examples of such anti-miscegenation laws singled out those of "Mongoloid" origin specifically, they were later amended to include Filipinos (who claimed that they were of "Malay" origin) and Asian Indians (who characterized themselves as "Aryan" in origin).

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Discussed further in Chapter 2.3, **amalgamation,** often used as a synonym for miscegenation, is the process by which a marginalized group and a dominant group combine to form a new group. In the United States, anti-miscegenation laws flourished in the South during the Jim Crow era. Part of the root of white supremacy has revolved around the fear of miscegenation, highlighted in the film Birth of a Nation (1915), which glorified the Ku Klux Klan as a savior of white women from "Black" men who were portrayed in Blackface. Decades later reflecting changing times, Sydney Poitier and Katharine Houghton, portrayed an interracial couple in Guess Who's Coming to Dinner (1967).



Video 2.1.1.1: Richard and Mildred Loving, an interracial couple, are sentenced to prison in Virginia in 1958 for getting married. The film "Loving" chronicled their experiences with discrimination. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; Fandango Movieclips Trailers via YouTube)

As the above trailer conveys, in that same year, Loving v. Virginia Supreme Court decision struck the last anti-miscegenation law from the books, declaring such laws unconstitutional. Prior to this, the 1945 War Brides Act allowed American GIs to marry and then bring their wives over from Japan, China, the Philippines, and Korea. The 1965 Immigration Act (discussed further in Chapter

3.4 and Chapter 9.4) inadvertently enhanced intermarriages across races. Increasingly during the modern era, the removal of miscegenation laws and a trend toward equal rights and legal protection against racism have steadily reduced the social stigma attached to **racial exogamy** (exogamy refers to marriage outside a person's core social unit). In the later part of the twentieth century and in the twenty-first century, attitudes and behaviors have changed. Recently, some drew parallels between Loving v. Virginia and the Obergefell vs. Hodges (2015) decision which legalized gay marriage in the entire U.S.

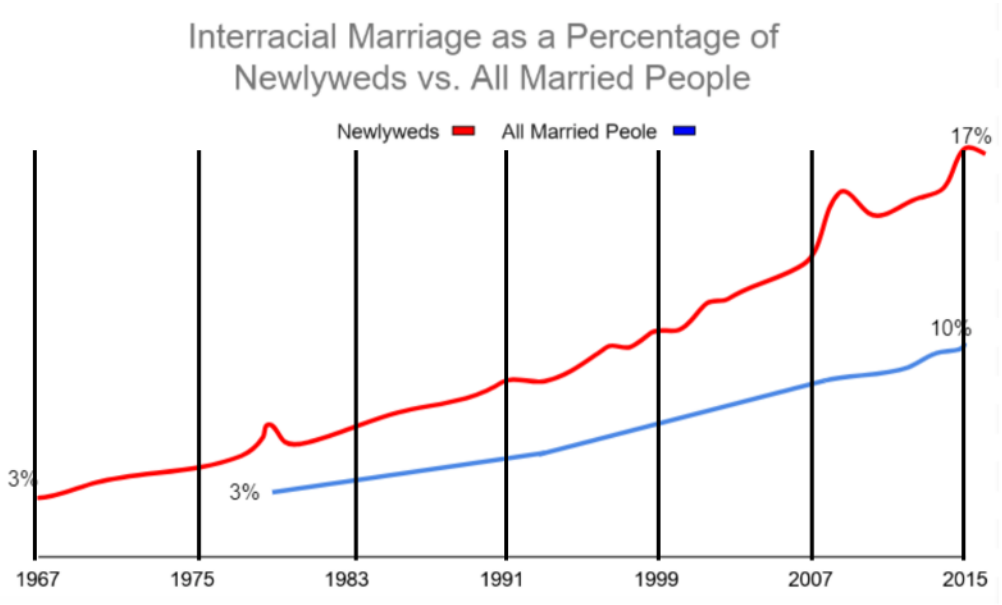


Figure **2.1.1.2**: Interracial Marriage as a Percentage of Newlyweds vs. All Married People. In 1967, interracial marriages represented 3% of all newlyweds. Interracial marriages have experienced a steady increase since that time. In 2015, interracial marriages represented 17% of all newlyweds and 10% of all married people. (Chart created by Jonas Oware from data courtesy of the Pew Research Center)

As shown in Figure 1.4.2, both the overall intermarriage rates and the newlywed intermarriage rates are on the increase. The share of married couples with spouses of different races increased nearly fourfold from 1980 (1.6%) to 2013 (6.3%) (U.S. Census). Honolulu, Hawaii is the city with the highest percentage of interracial marriages in the U.S. As shown in Table 1.4.3 below the most common intermarriage is between Latinx and white, with a slightly higher percentage of these marriages with Latino husband-white wife. This is followed by Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI) and white, the latter of which overwhelming consist of a white husband and AAPI wife.

Table **2.1.1.3**: Trends of Intermarriage Couples. (Chart created by Jonas Oware from data courtesy of the Pew Research Center)

	Husband-Wife	Wife-Husband	Total
White-Latinx	22%	20%	42%
White-Multiracial	11%	4%	15%
White-Black	7%	5%	12%
Latinx-Black	1%	4%	5%
White-AI/AN	2%	1%	3%
Latinx-AAPI	2%	1%	3%
Latinx-Multiracial	1%	2%	3%

Thinking Sociologically

A range of groundbreaking films have portrayed interracial relationships. Often, these movies used the trials and tribulations of racially and ethnically mixed lovers as a platform to challenge racial constructs, racism, ethnocentrism and heterosexism (Little, 2020). These films include: Island in the Sun, Westside Story, Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?, La Bamba, Jungle Fever, Mississippi Masala, The Joy Luck Club, The Watermelon Woman, Fools Rush In, Loving, Liberty Heights, and Something New. Watch one or more of these films and use a sociological perspective and your sociological imagination to consider prevailing social forces impacting and impacted by these films.

More than One Race

During the peculiar institution of slavery when the white sexual subordination of enslaved African women did result in children of mixed race, these children were usually considered Black, and therefore, property. This reflected the one drop rule discussed earlier in Chapter 1.2. There was no concept of multiple racial identities with the possible exception of the **Creole**. Creole society developed in the port city of New Orleans, where a mixed-race culture grew from French and African inhabitants. Unlike in other parts of the country, “Creoles of color” had greater social, economic, and educational opportunities than most African Americans.

The categories for race on the Census have changed over time. **Mulatto** was a racial category on the Census from 1850-1920 (except 1900), characterizing someone of any perceptible trace of African blood. In 2000, the U.S. Census added the option for individuals to identify themselves as "more than one race." Prior to this Census, people could only choose one race.

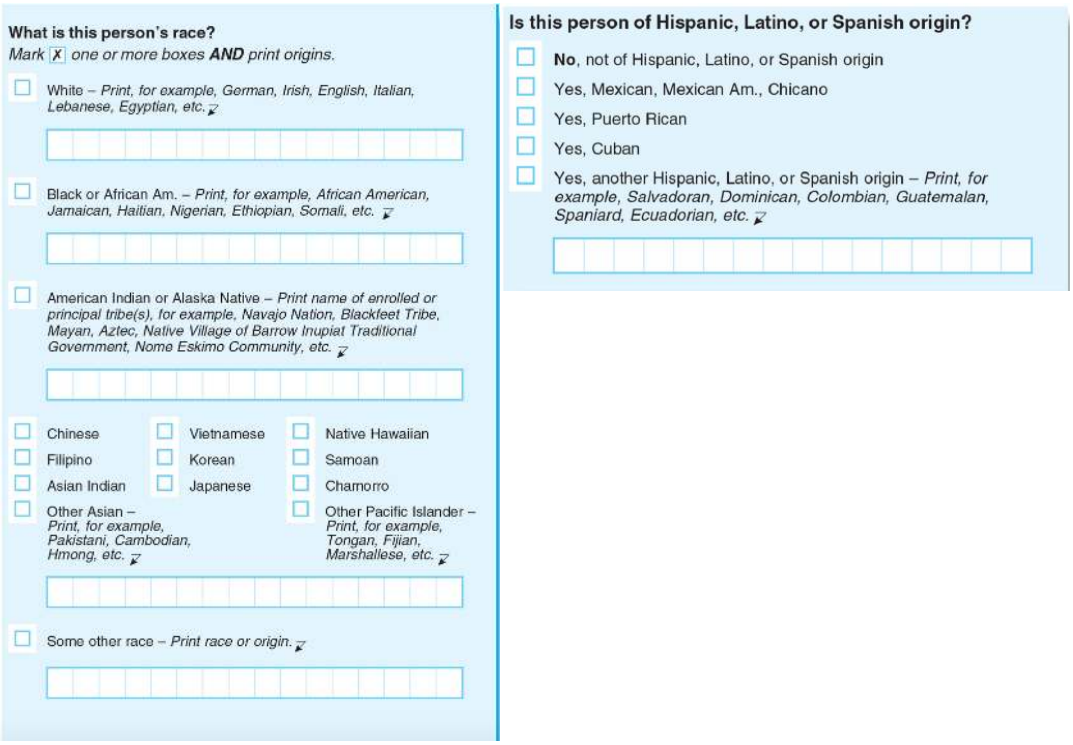


Figure **2.1.1.4**: 2020 U.S. Census Bureau Questionnaire. (CC PDM 1.0; United States Census)

The above Figure 1.4.4 conveys that the U.S. Census currently measures race-ethnicity in two separate questions. The first question determines if the person is Latinx while the second question is determining "race," as defined by the Census - though these categories would undoubtedly appear different if sociologists created these Census categories. The racial categories on the Census do not reflect a category for Latinx, though many do write in Mexican American or Central American, yet the majority of Latinx responded as white, per the 2010 census results. For a brief time in 1930, Mexican was a racial category on the Census. In 1921, the country of Mexico abandoned its category for race on the Census, recognizing the amalgamated ancestry of Mexicans, mestizo/mestiza. The category of **mestizo/mestiza** refers to individuals with a mixture of Indigenous and Spanish descent, hence the origin of Mexican people. In fact, Latinx may identify as white, Black, Native American, Asian, or other racial group.

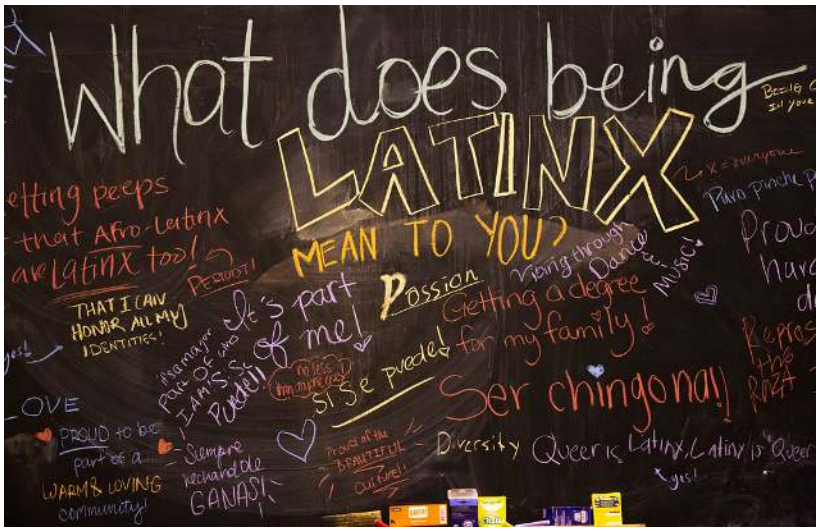


Figure **2.1.1.5**: Hispanic/Latinx Heritage Month Celebration 2019. Hand-written words on sign answering question: What does being Latinx mean to you? (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; CSUF Photos via Flickr)

As explained further in Chapter 9.1, Hapa is a Hawaiian word for individuals who have mixed ethnicity. Hapa can be used to describe individuals who are mixed with Asian descent. Hapa haole is a word that characterizes individuals who are mixed with white/European.

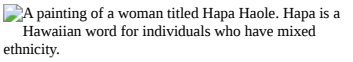

A painting of a woman titled Hapa Haole. Hapa is a Hawaiian word for individuals who have mixed ethnicity.

Figure **2.1.1.6**: "Hapa Haole," portrait of a mixed Hawawaiian woman. (CC PDM 1.0; Grace Hudson via Wikimedia)

A growing number of people chose multiple races to describe themselves on the 2010 Census. Of those, 89% identify as having two racial backgrounds, classified as bi-racial. In 2010, 2.9% of people who completed the U.S. Census identified as more than one race. As shown in Figure 1.4.7, the largest groups in descending order were white-Black, white-Asian, white-American Indian, white-Black and white-some other race. Including the option of checking more than one race has most impacted the American Indian/Alaska Native (AI/AN) population. This group increased by more than 160% between 1990 and 2010, with the biggest growth attributed to individuals who marked AI/AN and one other race. Though increasing in recent decades, the first notable cohort of multiracial Asian Americans offspring resulted from marriages after the 1945 War Brides Act. Decades later, approximately 25,000 Amerasians, offspring of U.S. GIs and Vietnamese women, were allowed to immigrate to the U.S. following the Vietnamese Amerasian Homecoming Act of 1988; the Amerasian population had faced challenging discrimination and hostility in Vietnam following the U.S. war in Vietnam that ended in the fall of Saigon and "reunification" of Vietnam in 1975.

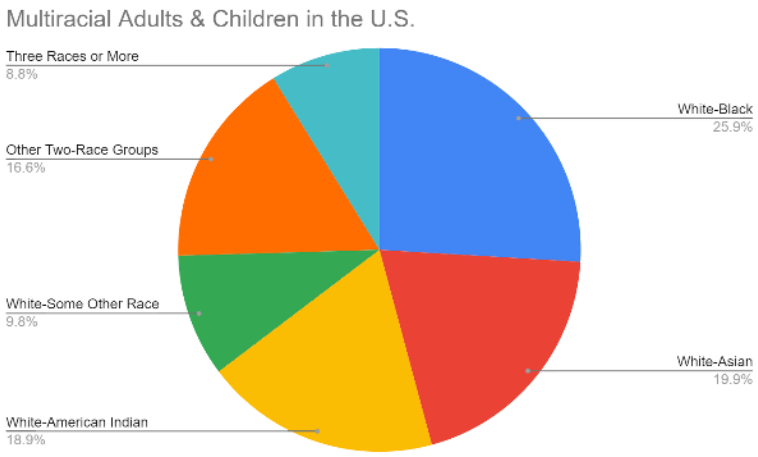


Figure **2.1.1.7**: Multiracial Adults and Children in the United States. (Chart created by Jonas Oware from data courtesy of the Pew Research Center)

Multiracial: Category or Identity

Taking into account how adults describe their own race as well as the racial backgrounds of their parents and grandparents, which the Census does not do, the Pew Research estimates that 6.9% of the U.S. population could be considered **multiracial**, defined as more than one race. People categorized into this group will no doubt continue to grow as multiracial babies are on the increase and comprised 10% of all U.S. babies in 2013 (Parker, Menasce Horowitz, Morin & Lopez, 2015).



Figure **2.1.1.8**: Multiracial brothers at the beach. Brothers of Ghanaian and German American background enjoy a day at the beach with brothers of Argentinean and white background. (Janét Hund)

Yet, the majority (61%) of multiracial individuals do not actually identify with the category of multiracial (Parker et al., 2015). Many identify with only one of their parent's racial background, while others identify with the family and community in which they were raised. Still others may change how they identify over the course of their lives. Similarly, multiracial individuals believe others perceive them as only one race, the one that is most "obvious."

Further, only about a third (34%) of all multiracial Americans think they have a lot in common with other adults who are the same racial mix that they are, while only half as many (17%) think they share a lot with multiracial Americans whose racial background is different from their own (Parker et al., 2015).

For many whose racial descent is comprised of more than one race, DuBois' concept of double consciousness or "two-ness" may ring true. Additionally, the concept of **marginality**, the status of being between two groups or cultures, can describe the experiences of multiracial people who may be pushed to pick one race or another or may not fit in comfortably with either racial group. As society is full of racial socialization, labels and messaging about racial groups, multiracial individuals must navigate through this racial landscape and develop their racial identity which may or may not connect to their multiracial descent. Most multiracial people indicate they are more open (than non-multiracial individuals) to other cultures, so perhaps their backgrounds lends them to cultural competency, as discussed at the end of the the last section, 1.3.

Key Takeaways

- A complex history characterizes the experiences of amalgamation, (anti-)miscegenation, and multiracial individuals.
- Interracial marriages are increasing, with the largest group being Latinx-white marriages.
- An increasing percentage of individuals in the U.S. are multiracial, yet multiracial people do not identify that way.

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2.2: Ethnicity and Religion

Ethnicity

Because of the meaning attached to race, many social scientists prefer the term ethnicity in speaking of people of color and others with distinctive cultural heritages. In this context, **ethnicity** refers to the shared social, cultural, and historical experiences, stemming from common national, ancestral, or regional backgrounds, that make subgroups of a population different from one another. Similarly, an **ethnic group** is a subgroup of a population with a set of shared social, cultural, and historical experiences; with relatively distinctive beliefs, values, and behaviors; and with some sense of identity of belonging to the subgroup. So conceived, the terms ethnicity and ethnic group avoid the biological connotations of the terms race and racial group and the biological differences these terms imply. At the same time, the importance we attach to ethnicity illustrates that it, too, is in many ways a social construction, and our ethnic membership thus has important consequences for how we are treated.



Figure 2.2.1: "Native American Son," young boy Pow Wow dancer in full regalia. (CC BY 2.0; Bob.Rosenberg via Flickr)

People who identify with an ethnic group share common cultural characteristics (e.g., nationality, history, language, religion, etc.). Ethnic groups select rituals, customs, ceremonies, and other traditions to help preserve shared heritage (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). Lifestyle requirements and other identity characteristics such as geography and region influence how we adapt our ethnic behaviors to fit the context or setting in which we live. Culture is also key in determining how human bodies grow and develop such as food preferences and diet, and cultural traditions promote certain activities and abilities including physical well-being and sport (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). Someone of Mexican descent living in Southern California who is a college professor will project different ethnic behaviors than someone of the same ethnic culture who is a housekeeper in Las Vegas, Nevada. Differences in profession, social class, gender, and region will influence each person’s lifestyle, physical composition, and health though both may identify and affiliate themselves as Mexican.

Not all people see themselves as belonging to an ethnic group or view ethnic heritage as important to their identity. People who do not identify with an ethnic identity either have no distinct cultural background because their ancestors come from a variety of cultural groups and offspring have not maintained a specific culture, instead have a blended culture, or they lack awareness about their ethnic heritage (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). It may be difficult for some people to feel a sense of solidarity or association with any specific ethnic group because they do not know where their cultural practices originated and how their cultural behaviors adapted over time. In some instances, individuals may practice **symbolic ethnicity,** emphasis on ethnic food and ethnically associated political issues rather than deeper ties to one's heritage (Gans, 1979), such as an Irish American celebrating St. Patrick's Day as the only measure of their Irish ethnicity. What is your ethnicity? Is your ethnic heritage very important, somewhat important, or not important in defining who you are? Why?

Race & Ethnicity

Like race, the term ethnicity is difficult to describe and its meaning has changed over time. And like race, individuals may be identified or self-identify with ethnicities in complex, even contradictory, ways. For example, ethnic groups such as Irish, Italian, Russian, Jewish, and Serbian might all be groups whose members are predominantly included in the racial category "white." Conversely, the ethnic group British includes citizens from a multiplicity of racial backgrounds: Black, white, Asian, and more, plus a variety of racial combinations. These examples illustrate the complexity and overlap of these identifying terms. Ethnicity, like race, continues to be an identification method that individuals and institutions use today—whether through the census, affirmative action initiatives, non-discrimination laws, or simply in personal day-to-day relations.

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Figure **2.2.2**: Altar at Hollywood Forever Cemetery, Los Angeles, during Dia de los Muertos celebration, November 2019. (Sofia Beas)

Mexican Americans comprise an ethnic group, and their ethnicity may be measured by any of the following: Spanish language, holidays such as Dia De Los Muertos (Day of the Dead), food such as tamales, adoration of the Virgin de Guadalupe, and values such as **familism**, higher emphasis placed on the family unit in terms of support and obligation,(in contrast to dominant culture's individualism). Mexican Americans comprise the largest ethnic group under the racial-ethnic umbrella group of Latinx Americans; Latinx in itself though is not an ethnic group as there is great diversity of different ethnic groups under this umbrella such as: Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Guatemalans, Salvadorans, Argentineans, etc. all of which may have distinct history, language, religion, and values. As discussed in the next section of this chapter, Latinx would also not be considered a distinct racial group, according to the U.S. Census.

Native American or American Indian/Alaska Native (AI/AN) is also an umbrella racial-ethnic group rather than a distinct ethnic group. There are more than 500 distinct AI/AN nations or ethnicities with Navajo/Dine, Cherokee, and Lakota/Dakota/Nakota Sioux being three of the largest. Each of these nations retains some aspects of their cultural heritage. For example, in Arizona, the Hopi Nation is located "inside" of the Dine reservation (which extends into Utah and New Mexico), but the Hopi and Dine nations have distinct cultural patterns, including language, religion, food, and housing.

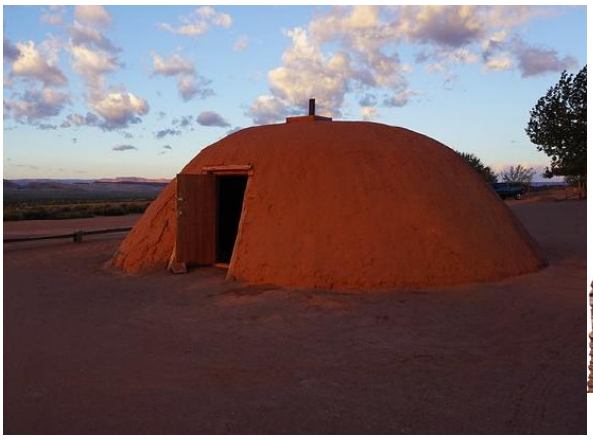




Figure **2.2.3**: (left) Traditional Navajo hogan in Monument Valley, Arizona. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Jim Crossly via Flickr) Figure **2.2.4**: (right) Traditional Hopi house is on the south rim of the Grand Canyon. (CC BY-NC 2.0; dev2r via Flickr)

Another umbrella group is Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI) with a large number of ethnic groups under this category including Chinese, Japanese, Cambodian, Filipino, Vietnamese, Asian Indian, etc. Following the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, the U.S. has experienced increasing immigration from a variety of Asian countries, and it is common for AAPI groups to maintain many aspects of their culture, not the least of which is language. As shown in Table 1.3.5, of the top 10 languages spoken in the U.S., several emanate from Asia or the Pacific Islands: Chinese, Tagalog, Vietnamese, and Korean.

Table **2.2.5**: Detailed Languages Spoken at Home and Ability to Speak English for the Population 5 Years and Over: 2009-2013 (Chart created by Jakobi Oware from Census.gov)

Language	Population	Percentage
English	231,122,908	79.29%
Spanish	37,458,470	12,85%
Chinese	1,867,485	0.64%
Tagalog	1,613,346	0.55%
Vietnamese	1,399,936	0.48%
French	1,253,560	0.43%
Korean	1,117,343	0.38%
German	1,063,275	0.36%
Arabic	924,374	0.32%
Russian	879,434	0.30%

Not all Black or African Americans identify with specific cultural traits of their African or Caribbean ancestors. Nonetheless, signifiers of Black ethnicity may include the following: food such as collard greens, language such as Creole, Southern Baptist religion, annual family reunions, and the musical genre of jazz. Certainly, recent African or Caribbean immigrants from Nigeria, Ethiopia, Ghana, Jamaica, and Haiti often maintain aspects of their ethnicity, including language and food, in contemporary U.S.

The sense of identity many people gain from belonging to an ethnic group is important for reasons both good and bad. As one of the most important functions of groups is the identity they give us, ethnic identities can thus give individuals a sense of belonging and a recognition of the importance of their cultural backgrounds. The term ethnic pride captures the sense of self-worth that many people derive from their ethnic backgrounds. More generally, if group membership is important for many ways in which members of the group are socialized, ethnicity certainly plays an important role in the socialization of millions of people in the United States and elsewhere in the world today.

A downside of ethnicity and ethnic group membership is the conflict they create among people of different ethnic groups. History and current practice indicate that it is easy to become prejudiced against people with different ethnicities from our own, particularly if those ethnic groups are not "white." Around the world today, ethnic conflict continues to rear its ugly head. The 1990s and 2000s were filled with “ethnic cleansing” and pitched battles among ethnic groups in Eastern Europe, Africa, and elsewhere. Our ethnic heritages shape us in many ways and fill many of us with pride, but they also are the source of much conflict, prejudice, and even hatred, as the story about George Floyd's lynching that began this chapter so sadly reminds us. Do you also recall that the day President Donald Trump declared his candidacy for President was also the day he castigated the Mexican nationality with derogatory labels, thus justifying his appeal for a border wall?

Ethnic Enclaves

Ethnic enclaves are neighborhoods with high concentrations of one particular ethnic group, usually resulting from immigration patterns. You can identify an ethnic enclaves because they tend to share these characteristics:

1) members of ethnic group live in close proximity;

2) support the traditional values customs and ways of life of that ethnic group;

3) maintain social services such as employment networks, political clubs, civic organizations and houses of worship;

4) establish retail stores where traditional foods clothing household goods and utensils are sold;

5) develop and sustain native language newspapers and sometimes radio and TV stations;

6) provide employment and social and sometimes financial support for new immigrants;

7) permit new immigrants to adapt to a new country without experiencing serious levels of culture shock and homesickness.

In general, ethnic enclaves provide a safe haven with a variety of social supports for new immigrants that serve to ease their transition into a new and different culture.

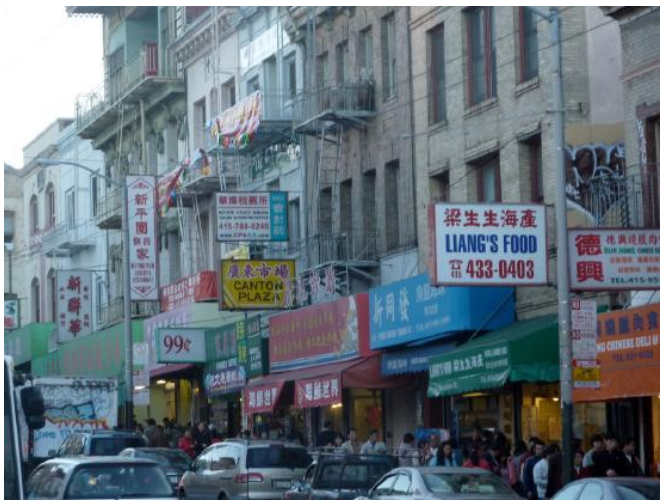


Figure **2.2.6**: Busy Chinatown ethnic enclave with many people walking on sidewalk. Various store signs (in English and Chinese). (CC BY 2.0; koles via Flickr)

These enclaves offer economic opportunities to immigrants and mechanisms for maintenance of immigrant cultures, but also the potential exploitation of immigrant labor, often based on gender. The enclaves of Asian and Latinx immigrants emerging since the 1960s, compliments of the 1965 immigration policy, compare to earlier enclaves of Jewish and Italian immigrants at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. In recent decades, enclaves can potentially serve as agents for social mobility of immigrant populations. Enclaves may also hinder assimilation into mainstream U.S. culture. A preponderance of ethnic enclaves are found in urban and suburban parts of the country such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, Miami, Washington, D.C., and New York. These enclaves can be characterized by a host of benefits and challenges.

Why Have Some Ethnic Enclaves Survived While Others Have Not?

Sociologists Alejandro Portes and Robert Manning have studied ethnic enclaves and have argued that for an ethnic enclave to survive, it requires early immigrants to arrive with business skills and funds or access to funds. Ethnic enclaves survive over more than two generations only when there is a constant migration stream from the country of origin that lasts over more than two generations. Ethnic enclaves, once they have served their purpose of socializing new immigrants into American culture, tend to disappear as later generations follow the traditional assimilation pattern and move further and further out into the wider society.

Our Local Story: Ethnic Enclave: Armenian Town, Fresno CA 2.2.1

Armenian Town



Figure **2.2.6.1**: Holy Trinity Church Fresno CA (National Registry of Historical Places via Flickr)

"Armenian Town" was an ethnic enclave in Fresno, CA. located next to Chinatown, the city's first confined enclave for "undesirables," west of the tracks and next door to Volga German town.

Between the mid 1870's to early 1880's the first Armenians arrived in Fresno and soon other Armenian settlers followed. They had fled persecution and massacres in their homeland in Turkey, and many of the first wave of exiles had come to the San Joaquin Valley with educational degrees and money but were not allowed to purchase homes in white neighborhoods. Those who arrived penniless went to work in the fields and fruit packing houses alongside the railroad tracks downtown. It was there they built a community.

But how do we know it is an ethnic enclave?

As stated earlier in this section, ethnic enclaves tend to have the following characteristics. You can see below how Armenian Town met this criteria.

1) members of ethnic group live in close proximity

- There was a 60 block area in the southeast part of town on the west side of the Southern Pacific railroad tracks known as Armenian Town.

2) support the traditional values customs and ways of life of that ethnic group;

- Various social groups, churches, businesses, political organizations, and clubs were developed. In 1885 the Ararat Cemetery was established.

3) maintain social services such as employment networks, political clubs, civic organizations and houses of worship;

- The first Armenian church, Holy Trinity, was originally built in 1900 (and then rebuilt in 1914 after a fire) and shortly after the Pilgrim Armenian Congregational Center was built in 1901. Triple X Fraternity (1918) and Armenian Assembly were some of the many social organizations started. Later the Armenian American Citizens' League (1931), California Armenian Home for the Aged (1952), and Armenian Community School (1977) were established.

4) establish retail stores where traditional foods clothing household goods and utensils are sold;

- Stores such as Valley Lahvosh Bakery and Seropian's grocery were in the area in addition to barbers, rug merchants, jewelers, tailors, and shoemakers. Later Hanoian's grocery (1912), OK Market (1915), and New England market (1923) were opened.

- Seen in the picture below, Akbar Setrakian's Fresno Fruit Palace, located on Mariposa Street (today the site would be across from the Security Bank Building), was one of the best places to buy fruit in 1914. Setrakian is standing at center with clerk Ed Peters to his left.



Figure 2.2.6.2: "Fresno Fruit Palace" by Fresno Historical Society is in the Public Domain

5) develop and sustain native language newspapers and sometimes radio and TV stations;

- In 1890 the Fresno Armenian Library Union was developed, the *Kaghakatzy* (The Citizen) was the first Armenian newspaper, and followed by *Asbarez* (Arena) newspaper in 1908.

6) provide employment and social and sometimes financial support for new immigrants;

- Many Armenians worked in the packing houses, farms, and ranches owned and operated by other Armenians. By 1908 over 16,000 acres of farmland were being farmed by Armenians.

7) permit new immigrants to adapt to a new country without experiencing serious levels of culture shock and homesickness.

- The Armenian Relief Society was founded in 1915 to provide humanitarian services to all Armenians in the US and Armenia. There is evidence of multiple social organizations, business, and religious groups as well as Armenian language newspapers, and arts community. As the population of Armenians expanded in the Central Valley, additional communities were formes, generally around farming and churches such as in Fowler and most notably Yettem (Eden), the only settlement in America established and inhabited by Armenians.

In general, ethnic enclaves provide a safe haven with a variety of social supports for new immigrants that serve to ease their transition into a new and different culture. Because of the war effort in the 1940s, prejudice, and the expansion of the highway system, the Armenian population moved from Old Armenian Town toward the edges of the city or local country. While the church and a few businesses remain, efforts to maintain the area for it's historical significance have been minimally successful.

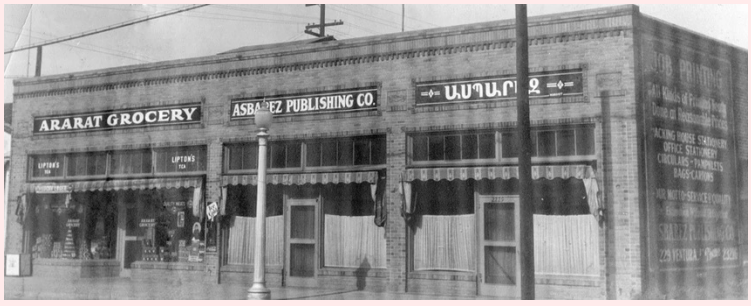


Figure 2.2.6.2.1: "Armenian's Ararat Grocery Store Feb 1937" by Fresno Historical Society is in the Public Domain

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Ethnocentrism and Cultural Relativism

People have a tendency to judge and evaluate each other on a daily basis. Assessing other people and our surroundings is necessary for interpreting and interacting in the social world. Problems arise when we judge others using our own cultural standards. Sociologists call the practice of judging or evaluating others through our own cultural lens, **ethnocentrism.** This practice is a cultural universal. People everywhere think their culture is true, moral, proper, and right (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). By its very definition, ethnocentrism creates division and conflict between social groups whereby mediating differences is challenging when everyone believes they are culturally superior and their culture should be the standard for living.

The ethnocentrism of Europeans, and then later Euro-Americans, led to an ideology, based primarily on the low-technology hunter-gatherer lifestyle and animistic religion of the Native Americans, that the Native Americans were inferior, "savages," and sub-human. As discussed further in Chapter 5, this ideology eventually led to “the only good Indian is a dead Indian” philosophy which began with such events as the Trail of Tears in the 1830's and culminated in the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890. The “butchering” at Wounded Knee as Black Elk describes it (Neihardt, 1932) marked the last battle between Native Americans and the military forces of the United States. However, there were still skirmishes between farmers and ranchers and Native Americans as late as the 1920's. In fact, the term “Redskin” comes from a bounty set aside by the United States government for any Indian found outside a reservation without papers. The policy was for Indians “dead or alive” and the bloody, red, skins of the Indians brought as much bounty as a body. An extension of this ethnocentrism is found in another ideology popularized by the educator William Henry Pratt, "kill the Indian, save the man." Operationalized in the treatment of Native American children during the boarding school era, any cultural aspect of one's Native American nation (e.g., language, food, dress, religion, hairstyle, etc.) was replaced with Euro American ways (i.e. English language, Christianity, etc.). Children were punished for attempting to practice the culture and language of their ancestors.



Figure **2.2.7**: Textbook co-author practicing cultural relativism in Battambang, Cambodia where a woman shared the local way to clean teeth: chewing betel leaves, areca nuts, and tobacco. (Janét Hund)

In contrast, **cultural relativism** is understanding a culture on its own terms. From a culturally relativist lens, judging a culture by the standards of another is objectionable. It seems reasonable to evaluate a person’s values, beliefs, and practices from their own cultural standards rather than to judge against the criteria of another (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). Learning to receive cultural differences from a place of empathy and understanding serves as a foundation for living together despite variances. Like many aspects of human civilization, culture is not absolute but relative suggesting values, beliefs, and practices are only standards of living as long as people accept and live by them (Boas, 1887). Developing knowledge about cultures and cultural groups different from our own allows us to view and consider others from their cultural lens.

Sometimes people act on ethnocentric thinking and feel justified disregarding cultural relativism. Overcoming negative attitudes about people who are culturally different from us is challenging when we believe our culture and thinking are justified. Consider the issue of language. Countless anecdotal stories from various parts of the U.S. reveal that people speaking a language other than English have been shouted at to "speak English here!" Consider an even more controversial issue such as female circumcision or female genital mutilation. From a culturally relativist lens, female circumcision is a rite of passage in some cultures and confers a sense of identity and participation in one's community, as described in a biographical account, Aman, by a Somali woman.

However, this Somali woman would view a Westerner referring to this cultural practice as female genital mutilation as ethnocentric. This example reveals how challenging it can be to consider different cultural practices that may be in conflict with one's own values. Still, the tool of cultural relativism is an important one that students of sociology can consider when developing a deeper understanding of ethnicity.

Religion

Religion is malleable and adaptive for it changes and adapts within cultural and social contexts. Human groups have diverse beliefs and different functions of their faith and religion. Historically, religion has driven both social union and division (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). When religious groups unite, they can be a strong mobilizing force; however, when they divide, they can work to destroy each other. Religion may be formal or informal (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). Someone who is a member of an organized religious group may attend religious services. Whereas, someone participating in informal religion may or may not be a member of an organized religious group, yet may experience a communal spirit, solidarity, and togetherness with others through shared experiences. Religion is a vehicle for guiding values, beliefs, norms, and practices. It can be an important measure of an ethnic group.

Seeking religious freedom, Puritans migrated to the U.S. to practice their religious devotion, an act which was persecuted or denied in their homeland. Yet, American Indians/Alaska Natives (AI/AN), such as the Lakota who practiced the Ghost Dance in 1890, have not always experienced religious freedom in the U.S. In its early centuries, the U.S. was a Christian nation. Sometimes, as in the boarding school experience which was generally forced upon AI/AN children, Christianity replaced traditional AI/AN beliefs. Increasingly so, the U.S. has become less Christian, though Christianity is still the dominant religious group. According to the Pew Research Center (2019), the percentage of individuals in the U.S. who identify as Christian is 65% which represents a significant decline from 2009 in which 75% identified as Christian. Additionally, immigration from Asia and Latin America particularly, has impacted Christian and non-Christian faiths. A brief introduction to some of the diversity of religious denominations follows.

Hinduism

The oldest religion in the world, Hinduism originated in the Indus River Valley about 4,500 years ago in what is now modern-day northwest India and Pakistan. It arose contemporaneously with ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures. With roughly one billion followers, Hinduism is the third-largest of the world's religions. Hindus believe in a divine power that can manifest as different entities. Three main incarnations—Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva—are sometimes compared to the manifestations of the divine in the Christian Trinity. Multiple sacred texts, collectively called the *Vedas*, contain hymns and rituals from ancient India and are mostly written in Sanskrit. Hindus generally believe in a set of principles called **dharma** (reflected in the above figure), which refer to one's duty in the world that corresponds with "right" actions. Hindus also believe in **karma**, the notion that spiritual ramifications of one's actions are balanced cyclically in this life or a future life (reincarnation). As illustrated below, in the the prayer to Saraswati, goddess of knowledge for wisdom, in Indian philosophy there is a distinction between Jnana (knowledge) which is sterile and pointless unless transformed to Bhakti, where the knowledge gained is applied to everyday life, how we relate to people with love and care, how we perceive the world around us and protect its life-giving resources, how we solve day to day problems for oneself and others through the application of knowledge to work for solution.



Figure **2.2.8**: Prayer to Saraswati, goddess of knowledge for wisdom. (Dr. Ramchandran Sethuraman)

Buddhism

Buddhism was founded by Siddhartha Gautama around 500 B.C.E. Siddhartha was said to have given up a comfortable, upper-class life to follow one of poverty and spiritual devotion. At the age of thirty-five, he famously meditated under a sacred fig tree and vowed not to rise before he achieved enlightenment (*bodhi*). After this experience, he became known as Buddha, or "enlightened one." Followers were drawn to Buddha's teachings and the practice of meditation, and he later established a monastic order. Buddha's teachings encourage Buddhists to lead a moral life by accepting the four Noble Truths: 1) life is suffering, 2) suffering arises from attachment to desires, 3) suffering ceases when attachment to desires ceases, and 4) freedom from suffering is possible by following the "middle way." The concept of the "middle way" is central to Buddhist thinking, which encourages people to live in the present and to practice acceptance of others (Smith, 1991). Buddhism also tends to de-emphasize the role of a godhead, instead stressing the importance of personal responsibility (Craig, 2002).



Figure **2.2.9**: Buddhist Temple in Richmond, California. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; su-lin via Flickr)

Judaism

Judaism is the religion, philosophy, and way of life of the Jewish people. Jews with European heritage are called Ashkenazi Jews, while Jews from the Middle East are called Sephardic Jews, or Mizrachim. American Jews, also known as Jewish Americans, are American citizens of the Jewish faith or Jewish ethnicity. The Jewish community in the United States is composed predominantly of Ashkenazi Jews who emigrated from Central and Eastern Europe, and their U.S.-born descendants. Individuals from all Jewish ethnic divisions are also represented, including Sephardi Jews, Mizrahi Jews, and a number of converts. The American Jewish community manifests a wide range of Jewish cultural traditions, as well as encompassing the full spectrum of Jewish religious

observance. In fact, many Jewish people identify as secular rather than as religious. American Jews are more likely to be atheist or agnostic than most Americans, especially so compared with Protestants or Catholics. A more detailed discussion of the diversity of Jewish Americans is provided in Chapter 10.



Figure **2.2.10**: Hannakuh, Jewish festival of lights, meal on table. (CC-BY 4.0; Ksenia Chernaya via Pexels)

Islam

The followers of Islam, whose U.S. population is projected to double in the next twenty years, are called Muslims (Heimlich, 2011). As Chapter 10 explains, American Muslims come from various backgrounds, and are one of the most racially diverse religious groups in the United States according to a 2009 Gallup poll. Immigrant communities of Arab and South Asian descent make up the majority of American Muslims. Native-born American Muslims are mainly African-Americans who make up about a quarter of the total Muslim population, and many of them associate with the **Nation of Islam**. Many of these have converted to Islam during the last seventy years. Conversion to Islam in prison and in large urban areas has also contributed to its growth over the years.

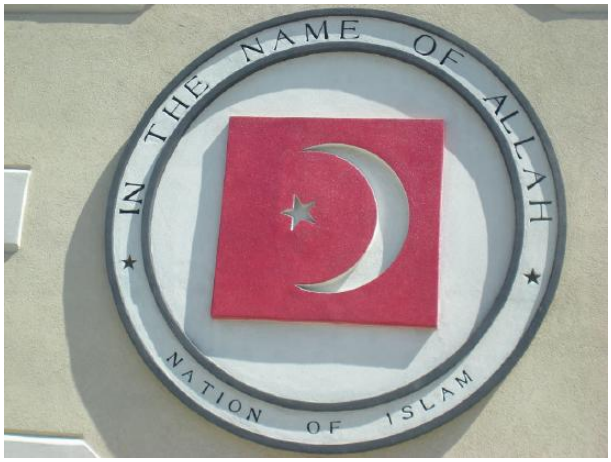


Figure **2.2.11**: Nation of Islam crescent moon and star emblem in Indianapolis, Indiana. Inscription reads: In the name of Allah, Nation of Islam. (CC BY 2.0; sarahstierch via Wikimedia/Flickr)

Christianity

Today the largest religion in the world, Christianity began 2,000 years ago in Palestine, with Jesus of Nazareth, a charismatic leader who taught his followers about *caritas* (charity) or treating others as you would like to be treated yourself.

The sacred text for Christians is the Bible. While Jews, Christians, and Muslims share many of same historical religious stories, their beliefs diverge. In their shared sacred stories, it is suggested that the son of God—a messiah—will return to save God's followers. While Christians believe that he already appeared in the person of Jesus Christ, Jews and Muslims disagree. While they

recognize Christ as an important historical figure, their traditions don't believe Jesus to be the son of God, and their faiths see the prophecy of the messiah's arrival as not yet fulfilled.

There are at least 24 denominations of Christianity in the U.S., with Catholicism being the largest. The remaining groups fall under the label of Protestant.

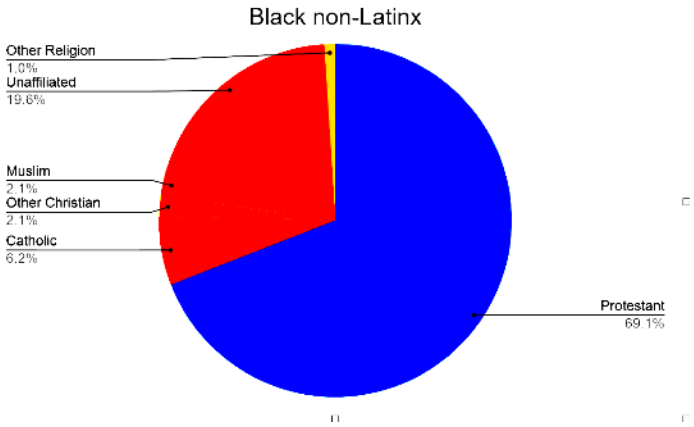
Table **2.2.12**: Christian Denominations in the United States. (U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 2012)

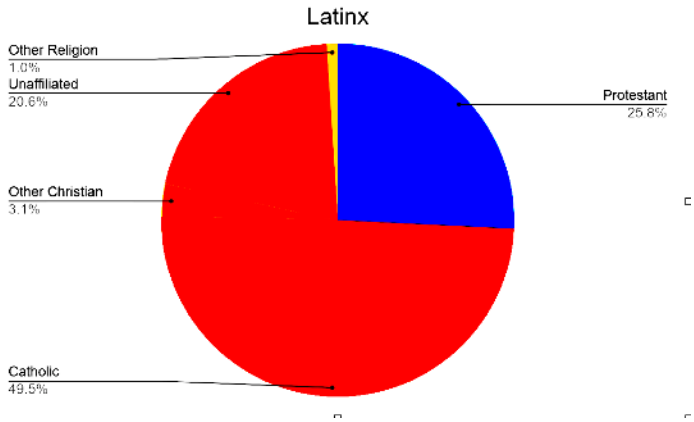
Denomination Name	Inclusive Membership
Roman Catholic Church	68,503,456
Southern Baptist Convention	16,106,088
United Methodist Church	7,774,931
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints	6,058,907
Church of God in Christ	5,499,875
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.	5,000,000
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America	4,542,868
National Baptist Convention of America, Inc.	3,500,000
Assemblies of God	2,914,669
Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)	2,770,730
African Methodist Episcopal Church	2,500,000
National Missionary Baptist Convention of America	2,500,000
Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (LCMS)	2,312,111
Episcopal Church	2,006,343
Churches of Christ	1,639,495
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America	1,500,000
Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, Inc.	1,500,000
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church	1,400,000
American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A	1,310,505
Jehovah's Witnesses	1,162,686
United Church of Christ	1,080,199
Church of God (Cleveland, TN)	1,076,254
Christian Churches and churches of Christ	1,071,616
Seventh-Day Adventist Church	1,43,606
Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.	1,010,000



Figure **2.2.13**: A Mexican Church. (CC BY 2.0; Tri Nguyen | P h o t o g r a p h y via Flickr)

The patterns of religious identity among major racial and ethnic groups vary significantly. According to Jones (2017) and as shown in Figure 1.3.14, nearly 70% of white Americans identify as Christian, and 3/4 of African Americans identify as Christian. More than 1/4 of white Americans are Evangelical Protestant, with 1/5 identifying as Protestant (non-Evangelical), and less than 1/5 are Catholic. Over the past few decades, the Catholic religious denomination has become less white and more Latinx. A greater percentage of African Americans identify as Protestant (nearly 70%) with only 6% identifying as Catholic. Latinx are also predominantly Christian, with almost half identifying as Catholic and only 1/4 identifying as Protestant. Amongst Asian Americans Pacific Islanders (AAPI), more than 1/3 identify as Christian and more than 1/4 are not affiliated with a religious denomination. As AAPI reflect the most religious diversity of all the groups featured in the above figure, more than 1/10 of AAPI identify as Hindu and a lesser amount identify as Buddhist or Muslim, approximately 6% in each respective group.





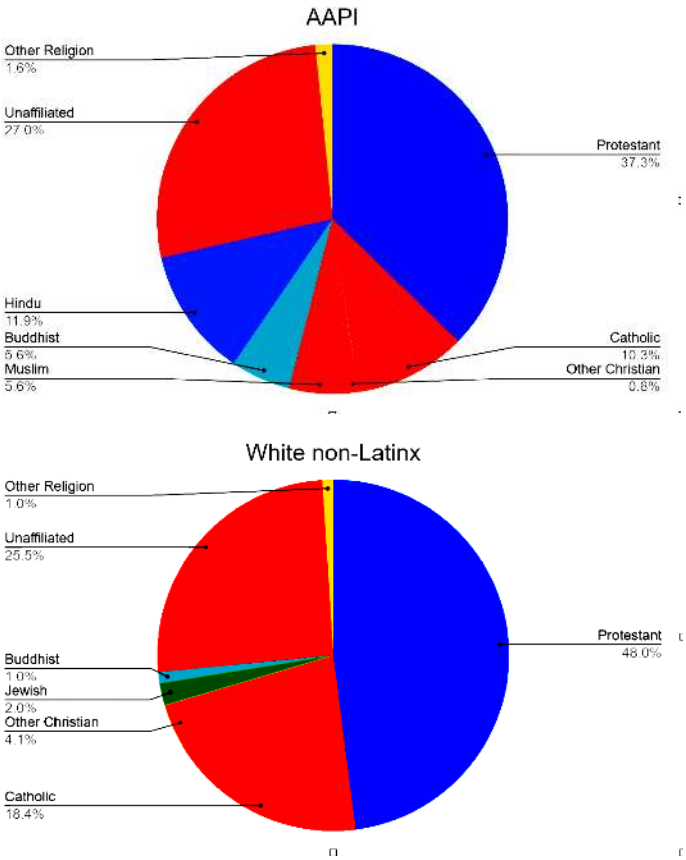


Figure **2.2.14**: Religious affiliation by ethnic groups in the United States. (Charts created by Jonas Oware with data from the PRRI)

Thinking Sociologically

Is there an ethnic enclave near you? Have you ever visited there? What are the identifying characteristics of this ethnic enclave, such as food, language, religion, music, holidays?

Alternatively, have you ever visited a religious house of worship (e.g. temple, mosque, synagogue, church) outside of your own religion, if you have one? If you have visited a different house of worship, how did you feel during your visit? If you have never visited a different house of worship, would you consider doing so? Why or why not?

Cultural Intelligence and Cultural Competency

In a culturally diverse society, it is becoming increasingly important to be able to interact effectively with others. Our ability to communicate and interact with each other plays an integral role in the successful development of our relationships for personal and social prosperity. Building **cultural intelligence** requires active awareness of self, others, and context (Bucher, 2008). Self-awareness requires an understanding of our cultural identity including intrinsic or extrinsic bias we have about others and social categories of people. Cultural background greatly influences perception and understanding, and how we identify ourselves reflects on how we communicate and get along with others. It is easier to adjust and change our interactions if we are able to recognize our own uniqueness, broaden our percepts, and respect others (Bucher, 2008). We must be aware of our cultural identity including any multiple or changing identities we take on in different contexts as well as those we keep hidden or hide to avoid marginalization or recognition.



Figure **2.2.15**: Man Looking in Front of Mirror (CC BY 4.0; Min An via Pexels)

According to the National Education Association, **cultural competence** is having an awareness of one's own cultural identity and views about difference in addition to having the ability to learn and build on the varying cultural and community norms of students and their families. Three concepts that characterize cultural competence are self-awareness, education, and interaction (Young Adult Library Services Association - YALSA). Self-awareness involves recognizing the significance of culture in one's own life and in the lives of others. Education relates to an individual's ability to fully integrate members of diverse groups into services, work, and institutions in such a way that the lives of the individuals being served and those of the people delivering service are enhanced. Interaction concerns understanding and respecting cultural backgrounds other than one's own through engaging with individuals from diverse ethnic, linguistic, and socioeconomic strata.

Active awareness of others requires us to use new cultural lenses. We must learn to recognize and appreciate commonalities in our culture not just differences. This practice develops understanding of each other's divergent needs, values, behaviors, interactions, and approach to teamwork (Bucher, 2008). Understanding others involves evaluating assumptions and cultural truths. Our cultural lenses filter perceptions of others and condition us to view the world and others in one way blinding us from what we have to offer or complement each other (Bucher, 2008). Active awareness of others broadens one's sociological imagination to see the world and others through a different lens and understand diverse perspectives. Becoming more culturally intelligent and culturally competent can ultimately help us to interact and work together more effectively and compassionately.

Key Takeaways

- Ethnicity and ethnic groups are characterized by common culture, language, religion, food, holidays, traditions, history, ancestry, nationality; race and ethnicity should be understand as distinct though possibly related concepts.
- Ethnic enclaves are neighborhoods with high concentrations of one particular ethnic group, usually resulting from immigration patterns.
- People may employ any of the following when responding to other ethnic backgrounds: cultural relativism, ethnocentrism, cultural competence.
- Religion (e.g. Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, Christianity) may overlap with race and/or ethnicity.

Contributors and Attributions

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2.3: Social Identity and Stratification

Social Identity

Social identity refers to the way individuals define themselves in relation to the social groups they belong to. These groups can be based on various characteristics, such as race, gender, nationality, religion, or occupation. Social identity is a central concept in social psychology and sociology which highlights the importance of group membership in shaping personal self-concept, behavior, and attitudes.

Social identity is influenced by several factors:

Group Membership: Social identity is primarily based on the groups to which individuals belong. These groups can be formal or informal, and include categories such as “I am a woman,” “I am a student,” or “I am Latino.” Each of these group labels helps to define who a person is and how they relate to the larger social world.

Emotional Significance: Group memberships often carry emotional weight, shaping the individual’s connection to their groups. This emotional connection can influence self-esteem, as people tend to derive a sense of pride or value from their group identities. For instance, someone who identifies strongly with their national heritage may feel pride in being part of that group.

Social Comparison: Social identity is often formed through comparisons with others. People evaluate their group relative to other groups, which can lead to in-group favoritism (preferring one’s own group) or out-group discrimination (viewing other groups less favorably). These comparisons often shape intergroup relations and can lead to social conflict.

Collective Identity: Social identity extends beyond the individual to encompass the group as a whole. This collective identity influences how individuals behave, interact with others, and perceive themselves within the larger social context. Group norms, values, and behaviors are often internalized as part of the individual's sense of self.

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979)

Henri Tajfel and John Turner’s Social Identity Theory (SIT) provides a framework for understanding how group membership influences social behavior. According to this theory, there are three primary processes involved in the formation and maintenance of social identity:

1. **Social Categorization**
   The process of classifying individuals and groups into categories (e.g., race, gender, political affiliation). This helps individuals make sense of the world by grouping people based on shared characteristics.
2. **Social Identification**
   Once categorized, individuals adopt the identity of their group. They align their attitudes, behaviors, and self-perception with the norms and values of the group to which they belong. This process helps solidify their connection to the group.
3. **Social Comparison**
   In this phase, individuals compare their own group (the in-group) to other groups (out-groups). These comparisons often lead to positive bias toward the in-group and negative stereotypes about out-groups, sometimes leading to intergroup conflict or discrimination.

Examples of Social Identity

Social identity can manifest in various forms, influencing both personal and social experiences:

- A person who identifies as **Black** may connect deeply with a shared cultural history and collective experiences of racial discrimination, which can influence their worldview and interactions with others.
- Someone who identifies as **American** may feel a sense of national pride and solidarity with others who share the same nationality, which influences their attitudes toward national issues and global affairs.
- An individual working in a corporate environment might identify as a **business professional**, adopting specific behaviors, attire, and language associated with this role.

The Role of Social Identity in Society

Social identity plays a crucial role in shaping both individual lives and societal structures. Its impact can be seen in various contexts:

- **Inclusion & Belonging**
  Social identity can foster a sense of belonging, as group memberships provide individuals with connection and meaning within their social world.
- **Conflict & Discrimination**
  Social identity can also contribute to intergroup conflict. When individuals or groups perceive differences or inequalities, these can lead to stereotypes, prejudice, and even social exclusion.
- **Political & Social Movements**
  Shared social identities often serve as the foundation for collective action. Activist groups based on social identities—such as feminist, LGBTQ+, and civil rights movements—use their collective identity to advocate for social change and equality.
- **Mental Health**
  An individual's connection to social identities can influence their self-esteem and mental well-being. A strong, positive social identity can enhance a person's sense of self-worth, while conflicting or marginalized identities may lead to challenges related to self-perception.

Social identity is a fundamental aspect of human experience, influencing how individuals define themselves, interact with others, and engage with society. Understanding social identity is crucial for analyzing group dynamics, social behavior, and issues related to inequality and conflict. The process of identifying with groups shapes personal identity, collective behaviors, and broader societal structures, making it an essential concept in social psychology and sociology.

While social identity shapes how individuals understand themselves and relate to others, it also plays a critical role in the distribution of power and privilege in society. When certain social identities are valued over others, they become the foundation for systemic inequalities. **Systems of oppression** exploit these identities to create and maintain hierarchies that advantage dominant groups while marginalizing others. Understanding how social identity connects to these systems reveals the structural forces that shape discrimination, privilege, and resistance in society.

Systems of Oppression

Social identity shapes how individuals perceive themselves and how society perceives them. However, these identities do not exist in isolation. They are embedded within broader social structures that determine access to power, privilege, and opportunity. When certain social identities are valued over others, they become the foundation for **systems of oppression**—institutionalized and systemic ways in which dominant groups maintain power while marginalized groups experience discrimination and exclusion. These systems actively reinforce inequality, restrict social mobility, and perpetuate disparities across generations.

Understanding Systems of Oppression

Systems of oppression operate at three levels:

- **Individual:** Personal biases, stereotypes, and discriminatory behaviors that reinforce social hierarchies.
- **Institutional:** Policies and practices within organizations (e.g., education, healthcare, the legal system) that systematically disadvantage certain groups.
- **Societal:** Cultural norms, laws, and traditions that uphold power imbalances and maintain privilege for dominant identities.

These systems are **deeply rooted in American history and culture**, shaping the structure of society from laws and policies to everyday social interactions. Whether intentional or structural, oppression ensures that certain groups are consistently privileged while others face systemic barriers to success.

Key Features of Systems of Oppression

- Designed to **maintain dominance and control** over marginalized groups.
- Enforced through **laws, policies, culture, and institutions** (e.g., government, education, media, criminal justice).
- Includes **racism, sexism, ableism, classism, homophobia, transphobia**, and other forms of discrimination.

- Justified by ideological beliefs, such as **meritocracy, biological determinism, or religious doctrines**.

These structures ensure that dominant groups (those with social, economic, and political power) have greater access to privilege, opportunities, and resources, while non-dominant groups face barriers, exclusion, and oppression.

The Role of Social Identity in Oppression

Whether we are aware of it or not, we all have multiple social identities—such as race, gender, class, sexual orientation, and disability status. Each of these identities exists within a hierarchy, where dominant groups hold greater power and non-dominant groups face limitations or disadvantages.

For example, in the context of race, dominant members (often those in power) can bestow benefits on those they consider "normal" while restricting opportunities for those labeled as "other." A person belonging to a non-dominant group may experience oppression in the form of social exclusion, economic disadvantages, legal barriers, or even direct harm from individuals, institutions, or cultural practices.

Oppression creates deep suffering, but attempting to compare or rank different forms of oppression can be counterproductive. Such comparisons diminish lived experiences and divide communities that should be working together toward equity and justice. Many individuals experience multiple layers of oppression based on intersecting social identities. This concept, known as **intersectionality**, highlights how different forms of oppression interact to create unique challenges for individuals who belong to more than one marginalized group. We will explore this theory in the next section.

✔ Example 2.3.1

Think about it!

It can be hard to talk about oppression no matter what side you find yourself on. However, these conversations are needed to develop a deeper understanding of the issues and prevent further harm. An effective way to enter into these kinds of conversations is by thinking through your own social identity.

Explore your own social identities using this handout (PDF)

Do this “Social Identity Timeline Activity” with one or more people.

Find relevant handouts here.

Learn More: Download this fact sheet on privilege and oppression in American society from Kalamazoo College.

Source: Resource adapted for use by the Program on Intergroup Relations, University of Michigan; Resource hosted by LSA Inclusive Teaching Initiative, University of Michigan.

Social Stratification

Both **systems of oppression** and **social stratification** deal with societal structures that affect individuals’ opportunities and experiences, but they operate differently in scope, function, and intent. In general, all societies are stratified along one or more lines comprised of race/ethnicity, sex/gender, age, religion, disability, and/or social class or **socioeconomic status (SES)**, which is a measured by similar levels of income, education, and occupation.

Social stratification refers to the hierarchical ranking of individuals or groups in a society based on factors such as wealth, income, education, occupation, power, and prestige. It is a structured form of inequality that determines access to resources and opportunities. Sociologist Craig Oettinger defines stratification as who gets what and how much they get over time. According to Abercrombie and Urry (1983), social differences become social stratification when people are ranked hierarchically along some dimension of inequality whether this be income, wealth, power, prestige, age, ethnicity or some other characteristic. Sociologists use the term social stratification to describe the system of social standing.

Key Features:

- Exists in all societies, though the extent varies.

- Can be based on class, race, gender, ethnicity, caste, or other factors.
- Often seen as a **neutral system** that organizes social roles and economic functions.
- Includes open (e.g., class system, where mobility is possible) and closed systems (e.g., caste system, where mobility is highly restricted).
- Can exist **without intentional harm**, though it often results in inequality.

Systems of oppression shape stratification. For example:

- The **U.S. class system** is a form of stratification, but **classism, racism, and sexism** make it harder for marginalized groups to move upward.
- **Gender inequality in wages** is a form of stratification but is **reinforced by systemic sexism**.



Figure **2.3.1** and **2.3.2**: (left) Two individuals on escalator inside building. In the upper echelons of the working world, people with the most power reach the top. (CC BY-NC 2.0; Alex Proimos via Flickr). (right) The people who live in these houses most likely share similar a similar social class, with similar levels of income and education. (CC BY 2.0; Orin Zebest via Flickr).

In the United States, people like to believe everyone has an equal chance at success. An emphasis on self-effort perpetuates the belief that people control their own social standing. However, sociologists recognize that social stratification is a society-wide system that makes inequalities apparent. While there are always inequalities between individuals, sociologists are interested in larger social patterns. Stratification is not about individual inequalities, but about systematic inequalities based on group membership, social classes, and the like. No individual, rich or poor, can be blamed for social inequalities. The structure of society affects a person's social standing. Although individuals may support or fight inequalities, social stratification is created and supported by society as a whole.

One key determinant of social standing is the social standing of our parents. Parents tend to pass their social position on to their children. People inherit not only social standing but also the cultural norms that accompany a certain lifestyle. They share these with a network of friends and family members. Social standing becomes a comfort zone, a familiar lifestyle, and an identity. This is one of the reasons first-generation college students do not, as a whole, tend to fare as well as students whose parents graduated from college.

Recent Economic Changes and U.S. Stratification

The most significant threat to the relatively high standard of living we are accustomed to in the United States is the decline of the middle class. The size, income, and wealth of the middle class have all been declining since the 1970s. This is occurring at a time when corporate profits have increased more than 141 percent, and CEO pay has risen by more than 298 percent (Popken, 2007).

As a result of the Great Recession that rocked our nation’s economy in the last decade, many families and individuals found themselves struggling like never before. The nation fell into a period of prolonged and exceptionally high unemployment. While no one was completely insulated from the recession, perhaps those in the working classes felt the impact most profoundly. Before the recession, many were living paycheck to paycheck or even had been living comfortably. As the recession hit, they were often among the first to lose their jobs. Unable to find replacement employment, they faced more than loss of income. Their homes were foreclosed, their cars were repossessed, and their ability to afford healthcare was taken away. This put many in the position of deciding whether to put food on the table or fill a needed prescription. While some recovered from the Great Recession, others have struggled to improve their socioeconomic status.



Figure **2.3.3**: "COVID-19 Sequoyah." This statue of Sequoyah, originator of the Cherokee language, is show wearing a mask during the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic. (CC BY-SA 2.0; Gerry Dincher via Flickr)

The COVID-19 pandemic roiled across the U.S. in 2020, with working class and poor Americans most at-risk for contracting this virus and most at-risk for facing financial challenges associated with COVID-19. In a study conducted by Finch and Finch (2020) on the cases of and deaths from COVID-19 during the first ten weeks of the pandemic in the U.S., counties with higher poverty rates experienced more cases and deaths than more affluent counties. The results of this study also suggest that essential workers (e.g., public sanitation, grocery stores, and delivery services) tend to occupied by lower-paid employees who may not have equal access to testing for the virus. These workers may also be less able to quarantine away from their families, as compared to health care workers. Additionally, low-income, under-resourced communities tend to suffer more from diabetes, heart disease, and pulmonary disease, pre-existing conditions which put these individuals at higher risk for COVID-19. Communities of color, particularly Latinx, American Indian/Alaskan Native, Pacific Islander, and African American, have experienced disproportionate cases and deaths from COVID-19. The following socioeconomic factors explain the disproportionate impact: discrimination; healthcare access and utilization; occupation; educational, income and wealth gaps; and housing (Center for Disease Control, 2020). In addition to being at greater risk for COVID-19 infection, as Figure **2.3.4** indicates, 52% of lower income individuals in the U.S. are experiencing an economic fall-out from COVID-19 while only 32% upper income individuals are experiencing this fall-out (Parker, Horowitz & Brown, 2020).

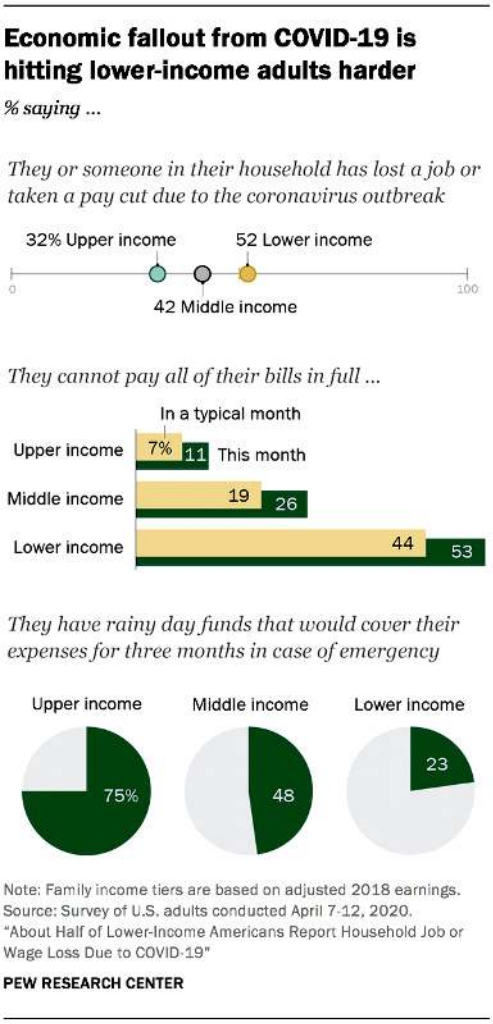


Figure **2.3.4**: Economic fallout from COVID-19. (Used with permission; About half of lower-income Americans report household job or wage loss due to covid-19, Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2020))

Social Class Stratification

A **class system** is based on both social factors and individual achievement; it affords the opportunity for mobility or movement. A **social class** consists of a set of people who share similar status with regard to factors like wealth, income, education, and occupation. Yet, a social class stratification system or ranking creates inequality in society and determines one's social position in terms of these factors. A **caste system** is based on an ascribed status such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age, or disability, and is characterized by a lack of mobility. Unlike caste systems, class systems are open. In a class system, occupation is not fixed at birth.

A person's class status or SES influences their personal and social identity. Marx and Engels (1967) suggested there is a social class division between the capitalists who control the means of production and the workers. Weber previously ranked individuals on their wealth, power, and prestige (Weber [1968] 1978). The calculation of **wealth** comprises one's assets minus their debts; for sociologists, wealth is often equated with (ownership of) property. For sociologists such as Melvin Oliver and Thomas Shapiro, authors of Black Wealth, White Wealth, wealth matters more than income because great wealth is likely to be inherited or ascribed whereas income is earned in a day, week, month or year. **Power** is the ability to influence others directly or indirectly while **prestige** is the esteem or respect associated with social status (Carl, 2013). In 1985, Erik Wright interjected that people can occupy contradictory class positions throughout their lifetime. Dennis Gilbert and Joseph Kahl (1992) developed a six-tier model portraying the U.S. class structure including underclass, working-poor, working, lower middle, upper middle, and capitalists. The social class model depicts the distribution of property, prestige, and power among society based on income, education, and occupation.

Though family and other societal models help guide a person toward a career, personal choice also plays a role. In theory, people are free to gain a different level of education or employment than their parents. They can also socialize with and marry members of other classes, which allows people to move from one class to another. These **exogamous marriages** represent unions of spouses from different social categories. Marriage in these circumstances is based on values such as love and compatibility rather than on social standing or economics. Though social conformities still exist that encourage people to choose partners within their own social class, people are not as pressured to choose marriage partners based solely on those elements. Marriage to a partner from the same social background is an **endogamous** union.

While the U.S. is often viewed as a class system, it also has remnants of a racial caste system associated with history and legacy of slavery, forced removal of Native Americans, and polices and practices associated with colonialism and Manifest Destiny. Many systemic efforts to deny African Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans the right to vote, equal education, and ownership of land characterize our history of racial caste. Contemporary racial inequalities characterized by voter suppression, unequal educational outcomes, wealth, and income echo this history.

Each class lifestyle requires a certain level of wealth in order to acquire the material necessities and comforts of life (Henslin, 2011). The correlation between the standard of living and quality of life or **life chances** (e.g., opportunities and barriers) influence one's ability to afford food, shelter, clothing, healthcare, other basic needs, and luxury items. A person's standards of living including income, employment, class, and housing affects their identity.



Figure **2.3.5**: Man Praying on Sidewalk with Food in Front of Him. (CC BY 4.0; Sergio Omassi via Pexels)

Social class serves as a marker or indication of resources. These markers are noticeable in the behaviors, customs, and norms of each stratified group (Carl, 2013). People living in impoverished communities have different cultural norms and practices compared to those with middle incomes or families of wealth. For example, the urban poor often sleep on cardboard boxes on the ground or on sidewalks and feed themselves by begging, scavenging, and raiding garbage (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). Middle income and wealthy families tend to sleep in housing structures and nourish themselves with food from supermarkets or restaurants.

Language and fashion also vary among these classes because of educational attainment, employment, and income. People will use language like "white trash" or "welfare mom" or "thug" to marginalize people in working classes and use distinguished labels to identify the upper class such as "noble" and "elite." Sometimes people engage in conspicuous consumption or purchase and use certain products (e.g., buy a luxury car or jewelry) to make a social statement about their status (Henslin, 2011). Nonetheless, the experience of poor people is very different in comparison to others in the upper and middle classes, and the lives of people within each social class may vary based on their position within other social categories including age, disability, sexuality, gender, race-ethnicity, region, and religion.

Thinking Sociologically

Could you survive in poverty, middle class, or wealth? In her book A Framework for Understanding Poverty (2005), Dr. Ruby K Payne presents lists of survival skills needed by different societal classes. Test your skills by answering the following questions:

Could you survive in . . . (mark all that apply)

1. ____ find the best rummage sales.
2. ____ locate grocery stores' garbage bins that have thrown away food.

3. ____ bail someone out of jail. ____ get a gun, even if I have a police record.
4. ____ keep my clothes from being stolen at the laundromat.
5. ____ sniff out problems in a used car.
6. ____ live without a checking account.
7. ____ manage without electricity and a phone.
8. ____ entertain friends with just my personality and stories.
9. ____ get by when I don't have money to pay the bills.
10. ____ move in half a day.
11. ____ get and use food stamps.
12. ____ find free medical clinics.
13. ____ get around without a car.
14. ____ use a knife as scissors.

Middle Class know how to....

1. ____ get my children into Little League, piano lessons, and soccer.
2. ____ set a table properly.
3. ____ find stores that sell the clothing brands my family wears.
4. ____ use a credit card, checking and /or savings account.
5. ____ evaluate insurance: life, disability, 20/80 medical, homeowners, and personal-property.
6. ____ talk to my children about going to college.
7. ____ get the best interest rate on my car loan.
8. ____ help my children with homework and don't hesitate to make a call if I need more information.

Wealth, check if you....

1. ____ can read a menu in French, English and another language.
2. ____ have favorite restaurants in different countries around the world.
3. ____ know how to hire a professional decorator to help decorate your home during the holidays.
4. ____ can name your preferred financial advisor, lawyer, designer, hairdresser, or domestic-employment service.
5. ____ have at least two homes that are staffed and maintained.
6. ____ know how to ensure confidentiality and loyalty with domestic staff.
7. ____ use two or three "screens" that keep people whom you don't wish to see away from you
8. ____ fly in your own plane, the company plane, or the Concorde.
9. ____ know how to enroll your children in the preferred private schools.
10. ____ are on the boards of at least two charities.
11. ____ know the hidden rules of the Junior League.
12. ____ know how to read a corporate balance sheet and analyze your own financial statements.
13. ____ support or buy the work of a particular artist.

Dr. Michael Eric Dyson, a Georgetown University sociology professor, explains the "race vs. class" conversation, in which the racial divide of the middle and working-class works against people's self-interests and benefits the wealthy and powerful. In 2012, he stated,

What we have to tell our white brothers who are working class, blue-collar cats, is that "you are in the same boat as most African Americans and most Latino people. You suffer from the economy equally. If you allow elite politicians to manipulate you into believing that your real enemy is a Black guy who works along side you in a factory where you are both inhaling toxic chemicals that will lead both of you to die early. As opposed to this elite figure in the American political echelon or corporate structure that is living off of your anxiety about this Black guy, you are going down in defeat."

Dyson challenges working class whites to recognize their common social class experiences with most people of color, hypothesizing that when white people begin to understand how they have been manipulated by white elites to focus on race rather than class, a multi-racial working class solidarity may unfold.



Figure **2.3.6**: Michael Eric Dyson attending a candlelight vigil on the 44th anniversary of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination, at the King memorial in Washington D.C. (CC BY 2.0; Jean Song/MEDILL via Wikimedia)

Racial Stratification

Probably the best way to begin to understand racial and ethnic inequality in the United States is to read first-hand accounts by such great writers of color as Maya Angelou, Toni Morrison, Piri Thomas, Richard Wright, and Malcolm X, all of whom wrote moving, autobiographical accounts of the bigotry and discrimination they faced while growing up. Sociologists and urban ethnographers have written their own accounts of the daily lives of people of color, and these, too, are well worth reading. One of the classics is Elliot Liebow's (1967)Tally's Corner, a study of Black men and their families in Washington, DC.



Figure **2.3.7**: "Haskell Indian Nations University" sign in Lawrence, Kansas. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; miracc via Flickr)

Statistics also give a picture of racial and ethnic inequality in the United States. We can begin to get a picture of this inequality by examining racial and ethnic differences in such life chances as income, education, poverty, unemployment and home ownership, as provided in the Table 1.5.8. The data for Native Americans is not provided in here, but their numbers resembles Black and Latinx populations. For example, according to the Pew Research Center, in 2012, 17% of Native Americans earned a college degree while the poverty rate for Native Americans was 26%.

Table **2.3.8**: Socioeconomic Indicators by Race-Ethnicity (2014-2015). (Chart created by Jonas Oware with data from the Pew Research Center)

Socioeconomic Indicators	Black	AAPI	White	Latinx
College Degree (% of 25 year+ adults)	23	53	36	15
High School Completion (% of 25 years adults)	88	89	93	67
Home Ownership (% of Householders Owning a Home)	43	57	72	45
Household Income	$43,000	$77,900	$71,300	$43,000
Poverty (% in poverty)	26	12	10	24
Unemployment Rate (%)	10.3	3.6	4.5	7.6

Additionally, a persistent racial wealth gap has characterized U.S. history. The median net worth for white households has far exceeded that of Black households through recessions and booms over the last three decades. Following the Great Recession, the median net worth for Black families declined more than for white families. In fact, the ratio of white family wealth to Black family wealth is higher today than at the start of the century, with white family wealth netting ten times more than Black family wealth (McIntosh, Moss, Nunn & Shambaugh, 2020). Figure 1.5.9 below provides a glimpse at the 2016 racial wealth gap.

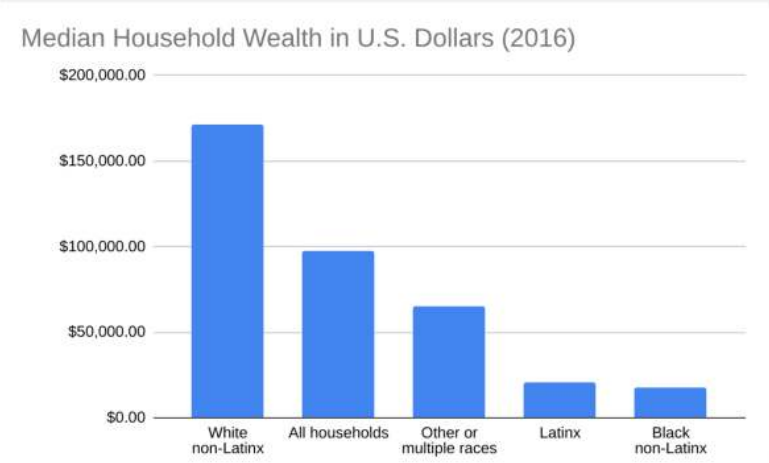


Figure 2.3.9: Median Household Wealth in U.S. Dollars (2016). While all households averaged just under $100,000 in wealth, white non-Latinx household held more than $160,000 in wealth with Latinx and Black households averaging well under $20,000. Other or multiple races households averaged approximately $60,000 in wealth. (Chart created by Jonas Oware with data from Statista)

The data is clear: U.S. racial and ethnic groups differ dramatically in their life chances. Compared to whites, for example, Blacks, Latinx, and Native Americans have much lower family incomes and much higher rates of poverty; they are also much less likely to have college degrees. In addition, Blacks and Native Americans have much higher infant mortality rates than whites: Black infants, for example, are more than twice as likely as white infants to die. Still, these comparisons obscure some differences within some of the groups just mentioned. Among Latinos, for example, Cuban Americans have fared better than Latinos overall, and Puerto Ricans worse. Similarly, among Asian American Pacific Islanders (AAPI), people with Chinese and Japanese backgrounds have fared better than those from Cambodia, Korea, and Vietnam.

Gender Stratification

Each of us is born with physical characteristics that represent and socially assign our sex and gender. **Sex** refers to our biological differences, and **gender** the cultural traits assigned to females and males (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). While our physical make-up distinguishes our sex, society and our social interaction implicates the **gender socialization** process we will experience throughout

our life. **Gender identity** is an individual's self-concept and their association with femininity, masculinity and perhaps questioning of these social categories. Children learn gender roles and acts of sexism in society through socialization (Griffiths, Keirns, Strayer, Cody-Rydzewsk, Scaramuzzo, Sadler, Vyain, Byer & Jones, 2015). Children become aware of gender roles between the ages of two and three and by four to five years old; they are fulfilling gender roles based on their sex (Griffiths et al., 2015). Nonetheless, gender-based characteristics do not always match one's self or cultural identity as people grow and develop.

1. Why do people need and use gender labels?
2. Why do people create gender roles or expectations?
3. Do gender labels and roles influence limitations on individuals or the social world? Explain.

Gender stratification focuses on the unequal access females have to socially valued resources, power, prestige, and personal freedom as compared to men based on differing positions within the socio-cultural hierarchy (Light, Keller, & Calhoun, 1997). Traditionally, society treats women as second-class citizens in society. The design of dominant gender ideologies and inequality maintains the prevailing social structure, presenting male privilege as part of the natural order (Parenti, 2006). Theorists suggest society is a male dominated patriarchy where men think of themselves as inherently superior to women resulting in unequal distribution of rewards between men and women (Henslin, 2011).



Video **2.3.10**: Race - The Power of an Illusion: How the Racial Wealth Gap Was Created. (Close-captioning and other settings appear at the bottom of the screen.) (Fair Use; California Newsreel via Vimeo: https://vimeo.com/133506632)

Media portrays women and men in stereotypical ways that reflect and sustain socially endorsed views of gender (Wood, 1994). Media affects the perception of social norms including gender. People think and act according to stereotypes associated with one's gender broadcast by media (Goodall, 2016). Media stereotypes reinforce **gender inequality** of girls and women. According to Wood (1994), the underrepresentation of women in media implies that men are the cultural standard and women are unimportant or invisible. Stereotypes of men in media display them as independent, driven, skillful, and heroic lending them to higher-level positions and power in society.



Figure **2.3.11**: Gender equality, woman using laptop and man in background on laptop. (CC BY-NC-SA; Flickr)

According to Pew Research Trends (2020) on average, women make 85% of men's earnings, though this gap has narrowed over recent decades and varies widely based on the job/occupation, education level, race, and ethnicity. Women outnumber men amongst college graduates, yet male college graduates out-earn female college graduates. Inequality in career pathways, job placement, and promotion or advancement result in an income gap between genders affecting the buying power and economic vitality of women in comparison to men. Today's society is encouraging gender flexibility resulting from cultural shifts among women seeking college degrees, prioritizing career, and delaying marriage and childbirth.

Still, women continue to face challenges associated with inter-partner violence, including rape. Depictions in the media emphasize male dominant roles and normalize violence against women (Wood, 1994). Culture plays an integral role in establishing and maintaining male dominance in society ascribing men the power and privilege that reinforces subordination and oppression of women.

Your task is to find the ten words on the sex-role inventory trait list below that are most often culturally associated with each of the following labels and categories: femininity, masculinity, wealth, poverty, President, teacher, mother, father, minister, or athlete. Write down the label or category and ten terms to compare your lists with other students.

1. self-reliant	21. reliable	41. warm
2. yielding	22. analytical	42. solemn
3. helpful	23. sympathetic	43. willing to take a stand
4. defends own beliefs	24. jealous	44. tender
5. cheerful	25. leadership ability	45. friendly
6. moody	26. sensitive to other's needs	46. aggressive
7. independent	27. truthful	47. gullible
8. shy	28. willing to take risks	48. inefficient
9. conscientious	29. understanding	49. act as leader
10. athletic	30. secretive	50. childlike
11. affectionate	31. makes decisions easily	51. adaptable
12. theatrical	32. compassionate	52. individualistic
13. assertive	33. sincere	53. does not use harsh language
14. flatterable	34. self-sufficient	54. unsystematic
15. happy	35. eager to soothe hurt feelings	55. competitive
16. strong personality	36. conceited	56. loves children
17. loyal	37. dominant	57. tactful
18. unpredictable	38. soft-spoken	58. ambitious
19. forceful	39. likable	59. gentle
20. feminine	40. masculine	60. conventional

Compare your results with other students in the class and answer the following questions:

1. What are the trait similarities and commonalities between femininity, masculinity, wealth, poverty, President, teacher, mother, father, minister, and athlete?
2. How are masculinity and femininity used as measures of conditions and vocations?

Stratification and Sexual Orientation

Sexual orientation is a physical, emotional and perhaps spiritual expression of sexual desire or attraction. Culture sets the parameters for sexual norms and habits. Enculturation dictates and controls social acceptance of sexual expression and activity. Eroticism like all human activities and preferences, is learned and malleable (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). Sexual orientation labels categorize personal views and representations of sexual desire and activities. Many people ascribe and conform to the sexual labels constructed and assigned by society. Because sexual desire or attraction is inborn, people within the socio-sexual dominant group (e.g., heterosexual) often believe their sexual preference is “normal.” However, heterosexual fit or type is not normal. History has documented diversity in sexual preference and behavior since the dawn of human existence (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012).

Individuals develop sexual understanding around middle childhood and adolescence (APA, 2008). There is no genetic, biological, developmental, social, or cultural evidence linked to homosexual behavior. The difference is in society’s discriminatory response to homosexuality likely derived from **heteronormativity** or the belief that heterosexuality is the default, preferred or normal mode of sexual orientation. Alfred Kinsley was the first to identify sexuality is a continuum rather than a dichotomy of gay or straight (Griffiths et al., 2015). His research showed people do not necessarily fall into the sexual categories, behaviors, and orientations constructed by society (e.g., heterosexual and homosexual). Eve Kosofky Sedgwick (1990) expanded on Kinsley’s research to find women are more likely to express homosocial relationships such as hugging, handholding, and physical closeness. Whereas, men often face negative sanctions for displaying homosocial behavior in the U.S. society, such social interaction is extremely normal in many parts of the world including sub-Saharan Africa.



Figure **2.3.12**: Emotional expression of sexual identity. Two men smiling, head to head, nose to nose. (CC BY-NC-SA; Pexels)

Society ascribes meaning to sexual activities (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). Variance reflects the cultural norms and sociopolitical conditions of a time and place. Since the 1970s, organized efforts by LGBTQIA+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer or Questioning, Intersex, and Asexual or Allied) activists have helped establish gay culture and civil rights (Herdt, 1992). For example, in 2020, the Supreme Court decision in Bostock v. Clayton County, Georgia, protects gay, lesbian, and transgender from employment discrimination. **Gay culture** provides social acceptance for persons rejected, marginalized, and punished by others because of sexual orientation and expression. **Queer theorists** are reclaiming the derogatory label of "queer" to help in broadening the understanding of sexuality as flexible and fluid (Griffiths et al., 2015).

Stratification by Age and Disability

Our numeric ranking of age is associated with particular cultural traits. Even the social categories we assign to age express cultural characteristics of that age group or cohort. Age signifies one’s cultural identity and social status (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). Many of the most common labels we use in society signify age categories and attributes. For example, the terms "newborns and infants" generally refer to children from birth to age four, whereas "school-age children" signifies youngsters old enough to attend primary school.

Generations have **collective identity** or shared experiences based on the time-period the group lived. Consider the popular culture of the 1980s to today. In the 1980s, people used a landline or fixed line phone rather than a cellular phone to communicate and

went to a movie theater to see a film rather than downloaded a video to a mobile device. Therefore, someone who spent their youth and most of their adulthood without or with limited technology may not deem it necessary to have or operate it in daily life. Whereas, someone born in the 1990s or later will only know life with technology and find it a necessary part of human existence. Those born in 2020 or after will only know life as experienced during COVID-19 or post-COVID-19 and will thus likely be more dependent on video games and social media for everyday social interaction.

Because there are diverse cultural expectations based on age, there can be conflict between age cohorts and generations. **Age stratification** theorists suggest that members of society are classified and have social status associated to their age (Riley, Johnson & Foner, 1972). Conflict often develops from age associated cultural differences influencing social and economic power of age groups. For example, the economic power of working adults conflicts with the political and voting power of the retired or elderly.

Age and generational conflicts are also highly influenced by government or state-sponsored milestones. In the United States, there are several age-related markers including the legal age of driving (16 years old), use of tobacco products (21 years old), consumption of alcohol (21 years old), and age of retirement (65-70 years old). Regardless of knowledge, skill, or condition, people must abide by formal rules with the expectations assigned to the each age group within the law. Because age serves as a basis of social control and reinforced by the state, different age groups have varying access to political and economic power and resources (Griffiths et al., 2015). For example, the United States is the only industrialized nation that does not respect the abilities of the elderly by assigning a marker of 65-70 years old as the indicator for someone to become a dependent of the state and an economically unproductive member of society.



Figure **2.3.13**: Woman in Black Dress Standing on Sidewalk, Wearing Black Mask During COVID-19 Pandemic. (CC BY-NC-SA; Pexels)

In addition to age, disability is another status that may confer stratification. The term disability does not mean inability and it is not a sickness (US National Library of Medicine, 2007.) There are many different types of disabilities and disabled persons in the United States as well as throughout the world. While no one definition can adequately describe all disabilities, the universally-accepted definition describes a **disability** as “any physical or mental impairment that substantially limits a major life activity” (U.S. Department of Justice, ADA, 2007.) The term disability includes cognitive, developmental, intellectual, physical, and learning impairments. Some disabilities are congenital (present at birth), or the result of an accident or illness, or age-related.

"The social constructionist view perceives the problem of disability situated within the minds of non-disabled people individually as prejudice, and collectively as the manifestation of hostile social attitudes and practices based upon negative assumptions of impairment" (Barnes & Oliver, 1993, p. 14). This view perceives the inequalities associated with disability as the outcome of the institutionalized practices of contemporary society.

The **1990 Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA)** prohibits discrimination against people with disabilities in the areas of employment, transportation, public accommodations, communications and access to state and local government programs and services. The ADA is a significant civil rights law designed to eliminate the obstacles of employment and guarantee education for

disabled individuals. The ADA offers protection to persons with a physical or mental impairment which limits one or more of their life activities, and requires employers to extend “reasonable accommodations” to these persons. Though the status of disability is no longer viewed simply as a medical problem, sociology has yet to fully consider disability in mainstream sociological discourse and analysis to parallel the stratification of social class, gender, race-ethnicity and sexuality (Barnes & Olive, 1993).

Key Takeaways

- The study of social stratification, or the unequal distribution of resources provides another lens in how to better understand race and ethnic relations.
- Society is stratified by race, social class, gender, sexuality, disability and age.

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2.4: What is Intersectionality?

Intersectionality

While it is useful to consider how the study into each of the aspects identified in Section 2.3 (race, social class, gender, sexuality, disability, age) can provide a distinct understanding of our society and social stratification, there may be a better way to understand these categories and the structures they inhabit: use of an intersectional lens.

The term intersectionality is largely recognized as being coined in 1989 by professor of law, Dr. Kimberlé Crenshaw. In Dr. Crenshaw's 2016 TED talk, "The urgency of intersectionality," she conducted an exercise with her audience about people killed by the police. The majority recognized the names of Black men, including Eric Garner, Mike Brown, Tamir Rice and Freddie Gray. But when she began to read aloud the names of African American *women* who were killed by police, including Michelle Cusseaux, Tanisha Anderson, and Meagan Hockaday, most of the audience members didn't know these names. All were African Americans killed by police, and only gender separated the second set of names. Crenshaw points out that Black women have "slipped through our consciousness because there were no frames for us to see them….But it doesn't have to be this way" (Crenshaw, 2016).

For Kimberle Crenshaw, intersectionality was born of an analysis of the intersection of race and gender. Her analysis of legal cases involving discrimination experienced by African American women involved not only racism but also sexism, yet legal statutes and precedents provided no clear analysis of their intersection, but instead treat them as separate social categories. To understand the intersection of these social categories resulting in their ill treatment, both forms of oppression would need to considered jointly. Crenshaw advocates for social scientists to integrate race and gender into their "frames" to better capture the complexity of life experiences, particularly the experiences impacting African American women.

Embracing Our Whole Selves

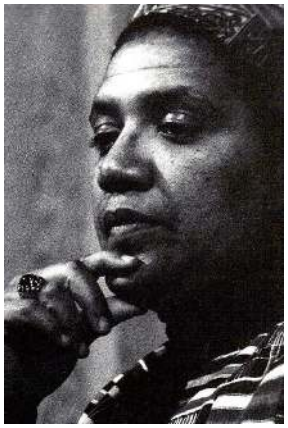


Figure **2.4.1**: Feminist and poet, Audre Lorde in 1980. (Licensed under CC BY 2.0; Photo by K. Kendall)

Writer, Audre Lorde (Figure **2.4.1**), a self-described "black, lesbian, mother, warrior, poet," also wrote about intersectionality. In her paper "Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Redefining Difference" (1980), Lorde explained how the Western framing of society was limited to understanding human differences in simplistic, hierarchical, and binary oppositions: good/bad, superior/inferior, dominant/subordinate, etc. As someone whose intersectional identities left her "defined as other, deviant, inferior, or just plain wrong," (1998, p. 144) Lorde explains how this practice of othering stems from an idea she calls the **mythical norm**. The mythical norm is the standardization of "white, thin, male, young, heterosexual, christian, and financially secure" people, and anyone who falls outside of this so-called "norm" is othered (p. 116). Lorde (1980) explained that she is, "constantly being encouraged to pluck out some one aspect of [her]self and present this as the meaningful whole, eclipsing or denying the other parts of self. But this is a destructive and fragmenting way to live" (p. 120). Intersectionality is a process of identifying and embracing *all* aspects of one's identity, and Lorde (1980) emphasizes how this practice allows us to fully see one another's humanity, as there is strength in diversity and difference. As a Black and Queer feminist who's faced marginalization in white feminist spaces, Lorde (1980) proclaims her identity, stating: "Now we must recognize differences among women who are our equals, neither inferior nor superior, and devise ways to use each other's difference to enrich our visions and our joint struggles" (p. 122). Meaning, such divisive othering, and old divisions, patterns, or frames are limited and will never lead toward the liberation of oppressed peoples.

If we are to dispense old frames that exclude our experiences, what are new frames we can apply that will center the experiences of UndocuQueer people, Trans refugees, and **women of color**, or cis and trans women who are not racialized as white, including Black, Arab, Asian, Chicana/x, Indigenous, Latina/x, Pacific Islander, and mixed race women, for example? If we don't apply an intersectionality lens to understanding police violence, for example, we'll miss the fact that Black women are just as impacted as Black men. Without an intersectionality lens, we wouldn't be able to understand the ways in which Julio Salgado and other UndocuQueers experience the intersection of migration and sexuality. Without an intersectionality framing, we wouldn't be able to recognize the way that Audre Lorde, as a Black lesbian feminist, would be marginalized in white middle class feminist spaces for being Black, and Black feminist spaces, for being a lesbian.

The Framing of Intersectionality



Figure 2.4.2: A Say Her Name print to raise funds for the global art sale Printmakers Against Racism fundraiser. (Licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; by Desiree Aspiras)

Example 2.4.1

Crenshaw tells the story of Emma DeGraffenreid: an African American woman whose claim of race and gender discrimination against a local car manufacturing plant was dismissed. Seeking better employment for her family, she applied for a job and was not hired, and Ms. DeGraffenreid believed she wasn't hired because she was a Black woman. The argument used by the judge for dismissing her suit was that the employer did hire African Americans and the employer did hire women. What wasn't pointed out was that typically men were hired for industrial positions and only white women were hired for secretarial or front-office work. The courts were unable to recognize a type of double discrimination that Emma DeGraffenreid faced. Instead, they refused to allow Ms. DeGraffenreid to put two causes of action together, as the judge believed that she would have preferential treatment. Crenshaw asked,

> Why wasn't the real unfairness law's refusal to protect African-American women simply because their experiences weren't exactly the same as white women and African-American men? Rather than broadening the frame to include African-American women, the court simply tossed their case completely out of court (Crenshaw, 2016).

Years later Crenshaw developed a frame to help us recognize Ms. DeGraffenreid's challenge, one that would allow judges to see and understand her story. Crenshaw developed the term intersectionality - using an analogy of an intersection: one road representing a workforce structured by race, the other road by gender. Ms. DeGraffenreid, as a Black woman, was positioned where these roads overlapped, simultaneously experiencing gender and racial discrimination. African American women, and other women of color, and other socially marginalized people, face discrimination and challenges as a result of intersectionality: intersections of race and gender, homophobia, transphobia, immigration status, religious bias, and more, to create unique challenges. Intersectionality is a framing to help us raise our consciousness around the ways that oppressive social systems interlock and shape our lives. As Dr. Crenshaw connects back to the issue of Black women killed by police, she explains that intersectionality "expos[es] the tragic circumstances under which African American women die" (Crenshaw, 2016).

Black feminist sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (1990) further developed intersection theory, which suggests we cannot separate the effects of race, social class, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability, and other attributes. ‘‘The events and conditions of social and political life and the self can seldom be understood as shaped by one factor . . . . Intersectionality as an analytic tool gives people better access to the complexity of the world and of themselves’’ (Collins, 1992, p.2). We are all shaped by the forces of racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, ageism, and ableism, though we are likely impacted very differently by these forces.



Figure **2.4.2**: Intersectionality bubbles Misty McPhetridge BSSW

When we examine race and how it can bring us both advantages and disadvantages, it is important to acknowledge that the way we experience race is shaped, for example, by our gender, social class, sexual orientation, age, disability and other statuses which are structured into our social systems. Multiple layers of disadvantage intersect to create the way we experience race, evidenced in concepts such as **double jeopardy** or **triple jeopardy** when an individual has two or three potentially oppressive statuses, respectively. For example, if we want to understand prejudice, we must understand that the prejudice focused on a Euro American woman because of her gender is very different from the layered prejudice focused on a poor Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI) woman, who is affected by stereotypes related to being poor, being a woman, and her race-ethnic status. In contrast, writer Alice Walker suggested these individuals instead may have double or triple insights into the human condition. Rosenblum and Travis (2011) have argued that what one notices in the world depends in large part on the statuses one occupies . . . thus we are likely to be fairly unaware of the statuses we occupy that privilege us . . . [and] provide advantage and are acutely aware of those . . . that yield negative judgments and unfair treatment.

Collins (1990) writes that not all African American women experience life, and hence life chances, the same. A middle class heterosexual, Christian African American woman has more privileges than a poor, lesbian African American transgender woman. In fact, Collins explains that there are no pure oppressors or pure victims. In the previous example, this more privileged African American woman may be oppressed based on her gender and race-ethnicity, but she may be oppressive based on her religion, social class, and sexuality.

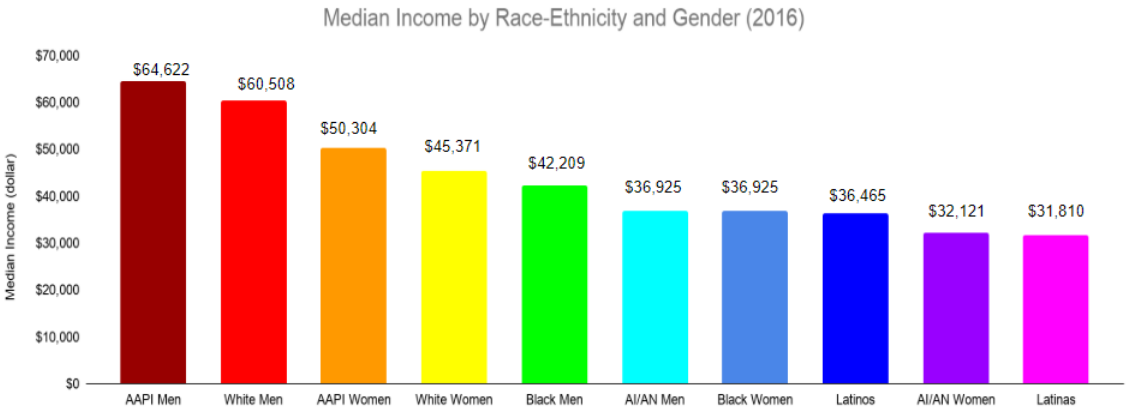


Figure **2.4.3**: Median Income by Race-Ethnicity and Gender (2016). AAPI Men Medium Income: $64,622; White Male Medium Income: $60,508; AAPI Women Medium Income: $50,304; White Women Medium Income: $45,371; Black Men Medium Income: $42,209; AI/AN Men and Black Women Medium Income $36,925; Latinos Medium Income $36,465; AI/AN Women Income: $32,121; and Latinas Medium Income: $31,810. (Chart created by Jonas Oware with data from the U.S. Census Bureau / U.S. Census Bureau)

A variety of public issues may be considered using an intersectional lens; thus, the chapters in this book provide a discussion of intersectionality as the authors of this textbook recognize the utility, complexity and path towards social change that intersectionality offers. Figure 2.3.3 above illustrates the intersection of race-ethnicity, social class and gender with regards to the income gap. Just as Latinas on average have the lowest income in the above chart, during COVID-19, Latinas also faced disproportionate job loss and unemployment. What we don't see in this chart though is the impact of ethnic background, education, sexuality or other social categories that impact our social structures. Looking at the U.S. Congress, an intersectional analysis informs us that most of our Senators and representatives in the House are Euro American men. While the blue wave in 2018 ushered in more women, particularly more women of color such as Alexandria Ocasio Cortez and Sharice Davids, the first Native American lesbian Congresswoman, time will tell if Congress will alter significantly to reflect the changing U.S. demographics.

On the point of police violence, one of the co-founders of #BlackLivesMatter, Alicia Garza, wrote in a contribution to *The Feminist Wire* titled "A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement":

> Black Lives Matter is a unique contribution that goes beyond extrajudicial killings of Black people by police and vigilantes….Black Lives Matter affirms the lives of Black queer and trans folks, disabled folks, Black-undocumented folks, folks with records, women and all Black lives along the gender spectrum. It centers those that have been marginalized within Black liberation movements. It is a tactic to (re)build the Black liberation movement (Garza, 2014).

Garza calls attention to the ways in which state-sanctioned violence is uniquely burdened by Black women, poor Black people, incarcerated Black people, Queer and Trans Black people, undocumented Black people, and Black people with disabilities. This is another important call for applying the intersectional framing, especially as #BlackLivesMatter has turned into one of the largest global movements for social change of our time.

Women and Trans Women of Color of 1960s - 80s Liberation Movements:

Although Crenshaw is credited with coming up with the term intersectionality, it's important to recognize the long legacy of intellectual work produced by women of color who identified this concept decades earlier before the term was coined and popularly applied. According to Sociologists Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge who wrote a book on intersectionality, women of color who participated in social movements of the 1960s to '80s met "the challenges of colonialism, racism, sexism, militarism, and capitalist exploitation" (2016, p. 64) and because they were impacted by more than one of these systems of power, they applied foundational concepts of intersectionality in their work.

The movements of the '60s and '70s embraced a racial consciousness, rejecting generations of Eurocentric and colonial ideas of white supremacy and racial hierarchy. While rooted in nationalist framing, these culturally and racially based organizations also began to build coalitions and solidarity with other groups, addressing methods of dismantling the status quo and advocating for basic access to power for disenfranchised communities. While women of color were leaders and members of these movements, sexism, heterosexism, and male chauvinism prevailed and women and LGBTQ members faced abuse and marginalization. Divisions were also prevalent in the women's movement and gay liberation movement of the time, especially when led by middle-class white women and cisgender gay white women and men, who reinforced racism or simply ignored the voices of women of color and LGBTQ peple of color. Frustrated by the limitations of male-centric nationalist organizations and white-led women's and gay liberation organizations, Black feminists created their own groups, and published their own ideas around intersectionality and dismantling racism and sexism "using the epithet 'black feminist'" (Collins and Bilge, 2016, p. 65).

Sidebar: Marsha P. Johnson (1945 - 1992) and Sylvia Rivera (1951 - 2002) - Trans Activists

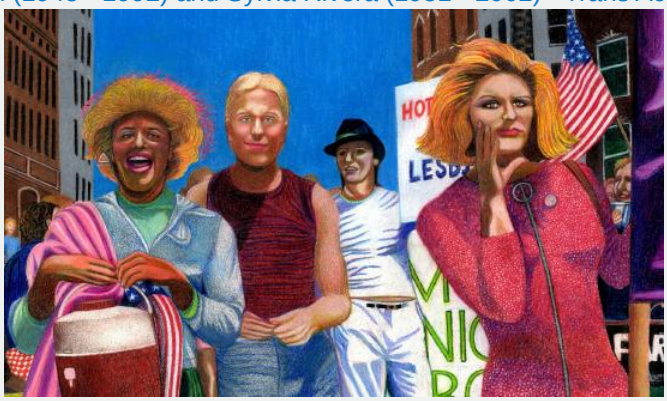


Figure 2.4.5: Marsha P. Johnson, Joseph Ratanski, and Sylvia Rivera march in the 1973 Gay Pride Parade in NYC. (Licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0; by Gary LeGault)

Marsha “Pay-it-no-mind” Johnson and Sylvia Rivera were best friends. Although largely uncredited for their activism in the mainstream until fairly recently, both were fearless leaders for gay and trans rights before terminology like “transgender” or LGBTQ existed. They advocated for Queer people, the homeless, poor people, and sex workers. Both participated in the Stonewall Uprising (1969) and Gay Liberation Front. Together, they founded STAR - Street Transvestite (later Transgender) Action Revolutions. STAR provided shelter for homeless LGBTQ youth of color, many of whom got into sex work in order to survive.

Marsha was from New Jersey and Sylvia was born in the Bronx, New York. As trans women of color (Marsha was Black, Sylvia was Puerto Rican and Venezuelan) they faced discrimination from white middle-class gay communities. Marsha was well known on Christopher Street in New York for her colorful and flamboyant outfits, typically including flowers and fruits on her head. She was unabashedly herself and famous for her generosity, standing up for the most vulnerable of our society and serving as a drag mother. Sylvia was often bullied for her interest in feminine makeup and fashion, leaving her home at only 10 years old. She expressed her gender identity in multiple ways including effeminate boy/male, “half-sister,” transvestite, drag queen, street queen, and transgender (Aue, 2019, pp. 74-76; Morris and Keller, 2021, pp. 742 - 744).

As sex workers who didn’t conform to gender binaries, and often homeless, both Marsha and Sylvia faced violence and harassment from clients, police, and bystanders and were arrested multiple times. They also struggled with mental illness and substance abuse. Marsha later became an AIDS activist, sharing that she was HIV positive in an interview in 1992. Marsha’s body was found floating in the Hudson River that same year. The police ruled it a suicide, but many of her friends suspected that Marsha was murdered (Aue, 2019, pp. 74-76; Pierceson, 2020, pp. 227-228). Sylvia died at the age 51 due to kidney cancer (Morris and Keller, 2021, pp. 742 - 744).

Both Marsha and Sylvia demanded the inclusion of trans people and gender identity in the mainstream gay liberation movement. At the 1973 Pride March, they were told to march in the back with all drag queens, so that gays who were “more palatable” could be presented prominently, but they refused to be shut out of a movement they fought for and marched ahead anyway. Sylvia was heckled while speaking on a stage at Washington Square Park, calling out white middle class marchers for their discrimination of trans people of color, who frequently were jailed and beaten, yet never acknowledged. In her now widely recognized speech, named Sylvia’s “Y’all Better Quiet Down” speech, she testifies to the violence she’s faced and yells, “I believe in gay power, I believe in us getting our rights, or else I would not be out there fighting for our rights” (LoveTapesCollective, 2019). She invites marchers to visit the STAR office, where people are “trying to do something for all of us, and not men and women that belong to a white middle-class club—and that's what you all belong to! REVOLUTION NOW! GAY POWER!” (Morris and Keller, 2021, pp. 742 - 744; Keller and Morris, 2021, pp. 466-467; LoveTapesCollective, 2019).

Collins and Bilge wrote:

> African American women understood that addressing the oppression they faced could not be solved by race-only, or class-only or gender-only or sexuality-only frameworks. Thus early statements of intersectionality permeated black feminist

> intellectual production because other women of colour developed similar sensibilities and because the social context of social movement activism provided venues for working on these ideas (Collins 2000) (2016, pp. 65-66).

One such important piece of document that articulated this political and intellectual perspective was the Combahee River Collective (CRC)'s "A Black Feminist Statement" (1977). This collective of black feminists lesbians were deeply entrenched in racial justice and gender justice movements. Collins and Bilge point out that earlier texts had been written about the concept of intersectionality, such as the 1970 volume *The Black Woman* edited by Toni Cade Bambara, Frances Beal's essay, "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female" (1969), and abolitionist and feminist, Sojourner Truth's "Ain't I a Woman" speech (1840) which is noted as "a benchmark for intersectional sensibilities" (2016, p. 68). However, these contributions are often overlooked, as the writers didn't have as large an audience as the CRC, nor the context of social movement organizing. By the time CRC developed, there was a larger network of black feminist activism which helped propel the CRC's statement to a wider audience.

The statement starts out by affirming the collective's commitment "to struggle against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression" which they named as interlocking systems of oppression (Smith, 2000, p. 264). They recognized the long trajectory of Black women resistance, and although not all would identify as feminists, the CRC pointed out how daily interactions with oppressive forces led Black women to develop a political ideology rooted in antiracism and antisexism.

Embracing self-love and self-value, the CRC saw the importance of identity politics and that only Black women could liberate themselves. They rejected Queenhood and simply asked to be seen as full human beings. They explicitly named the framing of intersectionality, writing, "We also find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives, they are most often experienced simultaneously" (Smith, 2000, p. 267). They connected intersecting identities with interlocking systems of power, stating, "...the liberation of all oppressed peoples necessitates the destruction of the political-economic systems of capitalism and imperialism as well as patriarchy" (Smith, 2000 pp. 267-268).

In addition to highlighting their political philosophies, the CRC statement chiefly pointed out the challenges faced by Black lesbian feminist intellectuals and activists, such as meeting multiple forms of oppression at once (racism, sexism, heterosexism, and classism), leading to psychological stresses and feelings of isolation, but also less material access to political power and resources. Still, they maintained the power of this positionality, writing, "We might use our position at the bottom, however, to make a clear leap into revolutionary action. If Black women were free, it would mean that everyone else would have to be free since our freedom would necessitate the destruction of all the systems of oppression" (Smith, 2000 p. 270).

✔ Thinking Sociologically

How does intersectionality enhance our understanding of race and ethnicity? What types of social problems may be better understood by using an intersectional lens?

Key Takeaways

- An intersectional lens informs us that we cannot separate the effects of race, social class, gender, sexual orientation, age, and disability, as these can rather be understood in their complexity and thus their intersection.

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2.5: Social Change and Resistance

Social change refers to the transformation of culture, behavior, social institutions, and social structure over time. Social change has impacted race and ethnic relations over the course of U.S. history, often in the form of pendulum swings or simultaneous, competing social changes.

Sources of Social Change

There are many sources of social change which include: modernization; population growth and composition; culture and technology; natural environment; social institutions; and social movements. These sources of social change impact the climate of race and ethnic relations in the United States.

Modernization and Urbanization

As societies become more modern, they become larger and more heterogeneous. Traditional ways of thinking decline, and individual freedom and autonomy increase. **Modernization** refers to the process of increased differentiation and specialization within a society, particularly around its industry and infrastructure. Modernization increases as populations move from rural to urban spaces leading to **urbanization**, the rise and growth of cities. Urban residents tend to be more tolerant than rural residents of nontraditional attitudes, behaviors, cultures, and lifestyles. Immigrants from more traditional societies who move into urban settings also experience this modernization and urbanization which in turn has a ripple effect on family dynamics and one's home country.

Population Growth and Composition

Three of the factors that determine population growth are fertility, mortality, and net migration. Over the next four decades, as fertility rates are projected to continue to fall and modest increases are projected for the overall level of net international migration, the U.S. population is projected to continue to grow. While the current U.S. population is more than 330 million, the population of the U.S. is projected to exceed 400 million before 2050, as shown in Figure 2.5.1. In 2019, millennials,

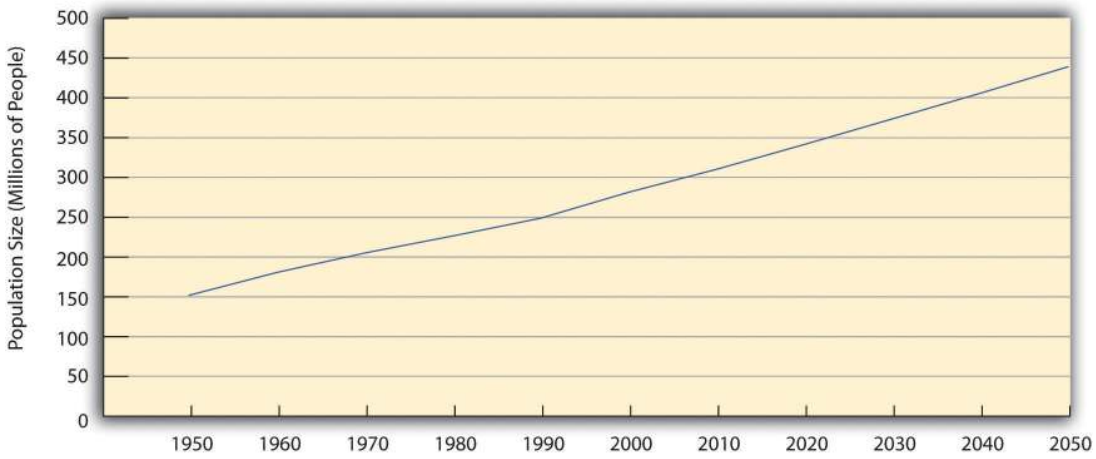


Figure **2.5.1**: Population projection. (CC PDM 1.0; via U.S. Census Bureau)

those ages 23 to 38, outnumbered Baby Boomers (ages 55 to 73), according to the U.S. Census. Millennials are more educated, more racially and ethnically diverse, slower to marry than previous generations were at the same age, and are putting off childbirth. The immigrant share of the U.S. population is nearing an all-time high percentage of the U.S. population, at 13.6% of the U.S. population in 2017. However, the numbers of undocumented immigrants have been decreasing over the past decade.

As the final chapter in this book, Chapter 13, further explains, the United States is projected to become more racially and ethnically diverse in the coming years, thus a majority people of color nation, or a **plurality nation**. As shown in Figure 2.5.2, among those under 18, the U.S. is already a majority people of color country.

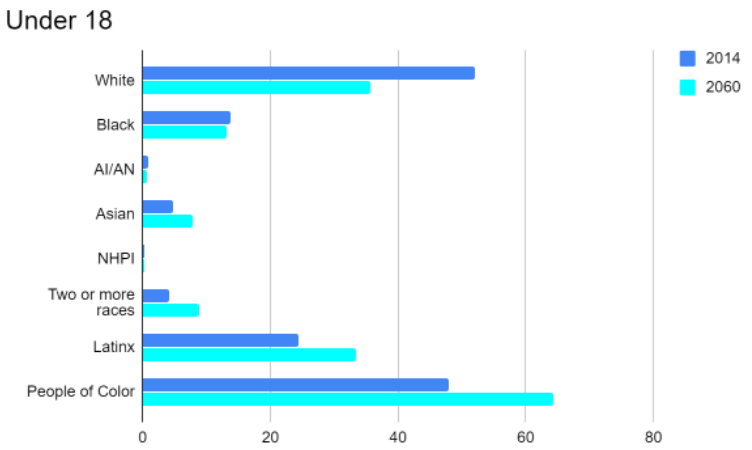


Figure **2.5.2**: Population Distribution by Race, Under 18. Whereas white children represent a slight majority of all children 2014, people of color are projected to represent a significant majority of all children by 2060. White and Latinx children are projected to comprise more than 30% each by 2060, and children of two or more races are projected to double in number by 2060. (Charts created by Jonas Oware with data from the U.S. Census Bureau)

Culture & Technology

Technology allows us to eliminate communication boundaries and interact with each other on a global scale. **Globalization** is typically associated with the creation of the world-spanning free market and global reach of capitalist systems resulting from technological advances (Back, Bennett, Edles, Gibson, Inglis, Jacobs & Woodward, 2012). However, globalization has the unintended consequences of connecting every person in the world to each other. In this era, everyone's life is connected to everyone else's life in obvious and hidden ways (Albrow, 1996). We are moving beyond local, state, and national identities to broader identities developing from our global interactions forming transnational communities.

With the world in flux from globalization and technological advances, people are developing **multiple identities** apparent in their local and global linkages. Cultural identity is becoming increasingly contextual in the postmodern world where people transform and adapt depending on time and place (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). Approximately two-thirds of U.S. adults are online connecting with others, working, studying, or learning (Griswold, 2013). The increasing use of the Internet makes virtual worlds and cybersocial interactions powerful in constructing new social realities. Having a networked society allows anyone to be a cultural creator and develop an audience by sharing their thoughts, ideas, and work online. Amateurs are now cultural creators and have the ability to control dissemination of their creations (Griswold 2013). Such as the use of social media and mass protests in outrage against the police killing of George Floyd in 2020, the instant responses and connections to others beyond time and place immediately impact our lives, and we have the technology to react quickly with our thoughts and actions.

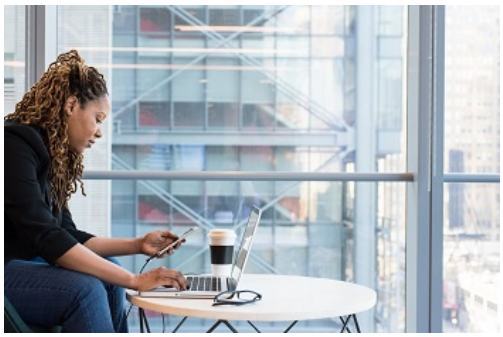


Figure **2.5.3**: Woman Wearing Black Long Sleeved Shirt Using Laptop. (CC BY 4.0; Christina Morillo via Pexels)

Technology can create positive change leading to advances in medical technology, agricultural technology, or educational technology impacting childbirth, respective impacting climate change, and children's learning. Drawbacks include the increasing gap between the technological haves and have-nots—sometimes called the **digital divide**—which occurs both locally and globally. Further, there are added security risks: the loss of privacy, the risk of total system failure, and the added vulnerability created by technological dependence. These threats impacted the 2016 U.S. election and are bound to further impact future elections.

Natural Environment

Environmental changes are one of the many sources of social change. Our worst environmental problems are the result of human activity. **Climate change** is the term now used to refer to long-term shifts in temperatures due to human activity and, in particular, the release of greenhouse gases into the environment. One effect of climate change is more extreme weather. We see the clearest evidence of this impact when a major hurricane, an earthquake, or another natural disaster strikes. In January 2010, for example, a devastating earthquake struck Haiti and killed more than 250,000 people, or about 2.5 percent of that nation's population. The effects of these natural disasters on the economy and society of Haiti will certainly also be felt for many years to come. Droughts, floods, hurricanes, and fires are some of the expected impacts of climate change in the next century. These natural disasters, as with the prevalence of **environmental racism**, environmental injustice that occurs within a racialized context both in practice and policy, will likely have a more dramatic impact on communities of color and poor populations, as we saw with the effects of Hurricane Katrina in 2005.



Figure **2.5.4**: "Cultures and Land at Risk." National Climate Assessment image of Indigenous man walking on ice. Climate change threatens life of 566 Indigenous Nations. (CC BY 2.0; NASA Goddard Photo and Video via Flickr)

Social Institutions

Each change in a single social institution leads to changes in all social institutions, including family, education, politics, economics, religion, mass media, health care, and the criminal justice system.

For example, the industrialization of society meant that large families no longer needed to produce enough manual labor to run a farm. Further, new job opportunities were close to urban centers, where living space was at a premium. The result is that the average family size shrunk significantly, and men were separated from their families for longer time periods.

Our contemporary society reflects other changes in our social institutions. Defined by the increasing mass incarceration rates in the U.S. since the 1980s, the cradle-to-prison pipeline has most severely impacted African American families. As many urban jobs were outsourced to less industrialized countries in the 1980s, the rise of the illicit drug market provided economic "opportunities" for those left behind in these urban communities. Harsh drug laws sent many non-violent drug offenders behind bars for decades, if not lifetimes. The lyrics of musical artists such as Tupac, at the turn of the last century, conveyed the struggles in urban communities surrounding drugs, poverty, and the police. Countless children were raised in single-parent homes, as Tupac's song *Dear Mama* depicts. (Though 1/4 of all families in the U.S. today are single-parent households, most African American children are currently raised by single parents.) Being raised in a low-income, single-parent family has a high potential to impact quality family time, sometimes resulting in lesser educational outcomes.

Connecting dysfunctional social institutions, Shirley Better presented the term **web of institutional racism** to explain the interrelated impact of substandard housing, poor schooling opportunities, lack of job opportunities, and inadequate health care.

Social Movements

A **social movement** may be defined as an organized effort by a large number of people to bring about or impede social change. Defined in this way, social movements might sound similar to special interest groups, and they do have some things in common. However, a major difference between social movements and special interest groups lies in the nature of their actions. Special-interest groups normally work within the system via conventional political activities such as lobbying and election campaigning. In contrast, social movements often work outside the system by engaging in various kinds of protests, including demonstrations, picket lines, sit-ins, and sometimes outright violence. These rallies, demonstrations, sit-ins, and silent vigils are often difficult to ignore. With the aid of news media coverage, these events often throw much attention on the problem or grievance at the center of the protest and bring pressure to bear on the government agencies, corporations, dominant groups or people of color, or other targets of the protest.

Types of Social Movements

We know that social movements can occur on the local, national, or even global stage. Are there other patterns or classifications that can help us understand them? Sociologist David Aberle (1966) addresses this question by developing categories that distinguish among social movements by considering what it is the movement wants to change and how much change it wants. Over time, Sociologists have identified several types of social movements according to the nature and extent of the change they seek. This typology helps us understand the differences among the many kinds of social movements that existed in the past and continue to exist today (D. A. Snow & Soule, 2009).

1. Reformative (partial social change)

One of the most common and important types of movement is the reform movement. **Reformative** movements seek to change something specific about the *social* structure. They may seek a more limited change but are targeted at the entire population. They may be progressive or regressive.

- **Progressive examples**
  - *Historical* examples include the abolitionist movement before the Civil War, the woman suffrage movement after the Civil War, the Southern civil rights movement, the gay rights movement, and the environmental movement.
  - *Contemporary* examples of reform movements include "Buy Nothing Day," which protests the rampant consumerism of Black Friday, the DREAMers movement for immigration reform, and the Black Lives Matter movement.
- **Regressive examples**
  - Conservative reformative movements attempt to restore the institutions and values of the past by eliminating existing ones. They seek to uphold society's values and institutions and generally resist attempts to alter them.
  - For example, the preservationist side of the environmental movement advocates for saving or restoring wilderness and natural areas by ending or limiting access and use by tourists and business interests.

Reactionary

- R**eactionary movements seek to block or undo change** to the social structure. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and the Minutemen militia represent examples of reactionary movements. Both of these movements reflected white supremacy, while the KKK projected anti-Black, anti-Jewish, and anti-immigrant attitudes, and the latter reflected **nativism**, the policy and practice of promoting the interests of "native" inhabitants against those of immigrants.
- In their attempt to return the institutions and values of the past by doing away with existing ones, conservative, reactionary movements seek to uphold the values and institutions of society and generally resist attempts to alter them. In contemporary society, white nationalism represents a reactionary movement that grew as a result of the "birther movement," trying to sway public opinion that President Obama was not born in the U.S. and expanded during President Trump era with the rise of hate groups and hate crimes against Asian American Pacific Islanders, immigrants, Mexicans, and African Americans. Such conservative, reactionary movements may elicit polarizing attitudes and behaviors reflecting a different type of social movement. Some Sociologists feel Reactionary movements should be in their own category.

2. Alternative movements (partial individual change)

Alternative movements are typically focused on limited *individual* social change and specific changes to individual beliefs and behavior. Examples include Alcoholics Anonymous, Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD), and Planned Parenthood. These movements are "meaning-seeking" and focus on a specific segment of the population. Their goal is to provoke radical change or spiritual growth in **individuals**. Some sects fit into this category.

Self-Help

- Two other types of movements are *self-help* movements and *religious* movements. As their name implies, self-help movements involve people trying to **improve aspects of their personal lives**; examples of self-help groups include Alcoholics Anonymous and Weight Watchers.

3. Transformative/Revolutionary (complete change)

Transformative or revolutionary movements seek to completely change every aspect of society—their goal is to **change all of society in a dramatic way.** They extend one large step further than a reform movement in seeking to overthrow the existing government and bring about a new one and even a new way of life.

- Examples include the Civil Rights Movement or the political movements, such as a push for communism.
- The United States, French, Mexican, and other national revolutions fall under this category.

4. Redemptive (total individual change)

These movements are "meaning-seeking" and focus on a specific segment of the population. Their goal is to provoke radical change or spiritual growth in **individuals**. Some sects fit into this category.

Religious

- Religious movements aim to **reinforce religious beliefs** among their members and to convert other people to these beliefs. Early Christianity was certainly a momentous religious movement, and other groups that are part of a more general religious movement today include the various religious cults. Sometimes, self-help and religious movements are difficult to distinguish from each other because some self-help groups emphasize religious faith as a vehicle for achieving personal transformation.

Other helpful categories that are helpful for sociologists to describe and distinguish between types of social movements include:

- **Scope**: A movement can be either reform or radical. A reform movement advocates changing some norms or laws, while a radical movement is dedicated to changing value systems in some fundamental way. A reform movement might be a green movement advocating a sect of ecological laws or a movement against pornography, while the American Civil Rights movement is an example of a radical movement.
- **Type of Change**: A movement might seek change that is either innovative or conservative. An innovative movement wants to introduce or change norms and values, like moving towards self-driving cars, while a conservative movement seeks to preserve existing norms and values, such as a group opposed to genetically modified foods.
- **Targets**: Group-focused movements focus on influencing groups or society in general, such as attempting to change the political system from a monarchy to a democracy. An individual-focused movement seeks to affect individuals.
- **Methods of Work**: Peaceful movements utilize techniques such as nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience. Violent movements resort to violence when seeking social change. In extreme cases, violent movements may take the form of paramilitary or terrorist organizations.
- **Range**: Global movements, such as communism in the early 20th century, have transnational objectives. Local movements are focused on local or regional objectives such as preserving a historic building or protecting a natural habitat.

✔ Voting Rights, A *Reformative* Social Movement

On March 7, 1965, African American leaders, including Dr. Martin Luther King, jr. and the late Congressman John Lewis, led a march of 600 people in an attempt to walk the 54 miles (87 km) from Selma to the state capital in Montgomery. Only six blocks into the march, however, state troopers and local law enforcement attacked the peaceful demonstrators with billy clubs, tear gas, rubber tubes wrapped in barbed wire, and bullwhips. They drove the marchers back to Selma. The national broadcast

showing footage of lawmen attacking unresisting marchers seeking the right to vote provoked a national response. Eight days after the first march, Lyndon Johnson delivered a televised address to garner support for the voting rights bill he had sent to Congress. In it he stated:

> *But even if we pass this bill, the battle will not be over. What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and state of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life. Their cause must be our cause too. Because it is not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And we shall overcome.*

Johnson signed the **Voting Rights Act of 1965** on August 6. The 1965 Act suspended poll taxes, literacy tests, and other subjective voter tests. It authorized federal supervision of voter registration in states and individual voting districts where such tests were being used. The act had an immediate and positive impact for African Americans. Within months of its passage, 250,000 new Black voters had been registered. Within four years, voter registration in the South had more than doubled.

Understanding how to organize a social movement to pursue social change is one of the areas studied by sociologists. The insights gained from these studies can provide movement members the tools they need to succeed.

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Impact of Social Movements

There are many examples of profound changes brought about by social movements throughout U.S. history (Amenta et al., 2010; Meyer, 2007; Piven, 2006). The abolitionist movement called attention to the evils of slavery and increased public abhorrence for that “peculiar institution” of slavery. The women's suffrage movement eventually won women the right to vote with the ratification of the 19th Amendment in 1920, though this right was primarily experienced only by Euro-American women. As discussed further in chapters 6 and 13, the Civil Rights Movement resulted in the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, policies which aimed to promote equality and non-discrimination. In recent years, the following social movements have surfaced, with particular attention to the topics of race, social class, and gender: immigration rights, the Occupy Movement, the No Dakota Access Pipeline defending Native American land and sovereignty, the #metoo movement against sexual harassment, the gay rights movement, poor people's campaign, white nationalism, and the Black Lives Matter movement.



Figure 2.5.5: "Protest against ALEC (American Legislative Exchange Council) by the Occupy movement and others." (CC BY 2.0; Fibonacci Blue via Flickr)

Social movements may have biographical consequences. Several studies find that people who take part in social movements during their formative years (teens and early 20s) are often transformed by their participation. Their political views change or are at least reinforced, and they are more likely to continue to be involved in political activity and to enter social change occupations. In this manner, writes one scholar, “people who have been involved in social movement activities, even at a lower level of commitment, carry the consequences of that involvement throughout their life” (Giugni, 2008, p. 1590).

Thinking Sociologically

Which source of social change has most positively or negatively impacted race and ethnic relations in history? And, which source of social change is most positively or negatively impacting race and ethnic relations today? Lastly, what social change do you predict will most positively or negatively impact race and ethnic relations through the mid 21st century?

Resistance

According to Hollander and Einwohner (2004), sociologists define resistance in terms of action and opposition. Action connects to active behavior in opposition to injustice perpetuated by the dominant culture. As individuals, we have personal agency, but we are limited in our ability to make the societal changes we may like to make. As social scientists, Kammeyer et al. (1996) explain, "there are massive social forces that make change difficult; these social forces include government, large and powerful organizations, and prevailing norms, values, and attitudes." As individuals protesting against these official forces and social norms, we have minimal power. Yet, Kammeyer et al. (1996) remind us that if we combine forces with others who share our convictions, if we organize ourselves and our groups, and if we map out a course of action, we may be able to bring about numerous and significant changes in the prevailing social order. Through participation in a social movement, we can break through the "social constraints that overwhelm us as individuals" (Kammeyer et al., 1996).



Figure **2.5.6**: Illustrated Poster of Woman Wearing a Mask, Signifies Resistance. (CC BY 4.0; Markus Spiske via Pexels)

Throughout U.S. history, many individuals, groups, and social movements have strived to resist the dominant forces of oppression and colonialism and blocked life chances. Tecumseh/Shooting Star/Panther Crossing the Sky (1768-1813), a leader of the Shawnee Nation known as "the Prophet," resisted the Euro-American land conquest and military might. Tecumseh envisioned a pan-Indian Red Nation united against Euro-American encroachment on the native land. In Tecumseh's words, "a single twig breaks easily, but the bundle of twigs is strong. Someday I will embrace our brother tribes and draw them into a bundle and together we will win our country back from the whites." While his pan-Indian movement was not successful in drawing together a multitude of American Indian nation leaders, and the U.S. military might have defeated this movement, this history reminds us of the foundation of resistance in this country.



Figure **2.5.7**: Conceptual prototype of a United States $20 featuring a portrait of Harriet Tubman, produced by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing in 2016. (CC PDM 1.0)

Abolitionist Harriet Tubman (1820-1913) conducted numerous voyages to free hundreds of enslaved Africans from the southern U.S. to the north, including the U.S. and Canada. Working as a "conductor" in the Underground Railroad, Tubman and others resisted the dehumanization of the peculiar institution of slavery in pursuit of freedom. With their activist roots in the abolition movement, many early suffragists such as Angelina and Sarah Grimke as well as Sojourner Truth sought to gain the right to vote for all women, despite the fact that many suffragists were split on the issue of including the vote for African American women.

In the 1960s, resistance movements were led by Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King jr (1925-1968) with the mainstream civil rights movement as well as by the Black Nationalist/Black Power movement with Malcolm X (1925-1965) in the forefront. Both of these movements challenged racial, inhumane treatment in the U.S., and both of these leaders extended their gaze to the global scene, recognizing U.S. militarism abroad and reflecting upon colonial attitudes in the southern hemisphere. While Malcolm X recognized the independence movements in Africa as resistance against European colonialism, Dr. King was particularly critical of the U.S. involvement in the "American War" in Vietnam. Still, competing white supremacist organizations, including police commissioners, politicians, and the Ku Klux Klan, pushed back against these resistance movements. Back in the U.S., the Chicano Moratorium (1970) called attention to the lost lives of enlisted Chicanos and the disenfranchisement of Chicano communities in U.S. cities, particularly Los Angeles and San Diego and thus questioned the involvement of Chicanos in fighting a war abroad when they were not experiencing democracy at home. In the same time period, the American Indian Movement kicked off in Minneapolis in 1969 to stand against white control of schools, economic institutions, and Native American religious practices.



Video **2.5.8**: Andra Day - "Rise Up" (Lyrics). (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; 7clouds via YouTube)

In the first few decades of the 21st century, many examples of collective efforts at challenging institutional power can be understood. Rise Up by Andra Day (click the video above) has been tied to the Black Lives Matter movement. The #metoomovement called attention to sexual harassment; one of the key victories of this resistance movement was the sentencing of

media mogul Harvey Weinstein, convicted of 2 counts of sexual harassment and rape. Pro-immigration rallies and marches in U.S. cities in 2006 expressed hope for undocumented people, with eyes on the prize of comprehensive immigration reform, which has yet to be realized. Yet, DACA, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, an executive order passed by President Obama in 2012, reflected one win for this movement - against a backdrop of anti-immigrant sentiment that fueled Trump's Presidential bid. In 2016, in Standing Rock, North Dakota, Lakota leaders such as Madonna Thunderhawk organized resistance against the capitalist venture, the Dakota Access Pipeline, uniting hundreds of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples against the corporate pipeline through sacred land, with the potential to pollute sacred water.



Figure **2.5.9**: "Defend DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) Protest." Individuals carry signs reading "Defend DACA" and "Stand with Dreamers." (CC BY 2.0; mollyktadams via Flickr)



Figure **2.5.10**: "Rally against the Dakota Access Pipeline." Individuals carry signs reading "Keep it in the ground: Break free of fossil fuels." (CC BY 2.0; Fibonacci Blue via Flickr)



Figure **2.5.11**: Young child holds sign, "Kids Against Racism." (CC BY 2.0; Tim Pierce via Flickr)

As stated in the opening of this chapter, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the mass protests that erupted following the police killing of George Floyd sparked a national and international movement against police brutality and systemic racism. Amidst the increase

in hate crimes reported in Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI) communities during the COVID-19 crisis, AAPI groups held protests against these acts of violence and hate speech such as "Chinese Virus" and "Kung Flu" and "go back home."

The U.S. has a rich history of resistance against oppression and white supremacy. How will the U.S. fare moving into the middle part of the 21st century?

In the words of George Takei (the famous voice from Star Trek and survivor of the Japanese Internment Campus during WWII) published in The Advocate (2016),

In today's political environment, we find ourselves again outsiders, forming a core of those opposed to the powers in Washington and in many of our state capitals… It is axiomatic that little worth fighting for has ever come without a fight… We truly have grown stronger together, and with each new assault upon our dignity and humanity, we will grow stronger still.

So, welcome to the resistance. It's where the next heroes of our movement will emerge. Be ready. Be vigilant. Be strong.

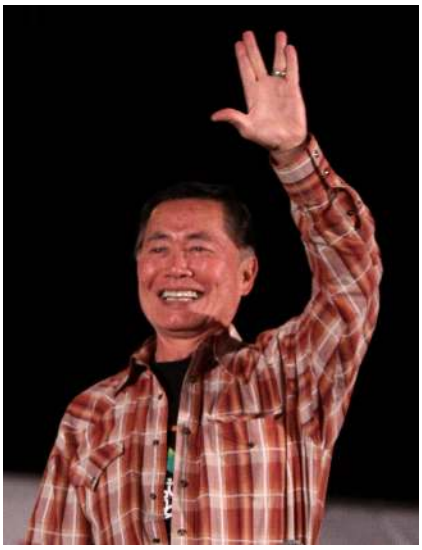


Figure 2.5.12: Actor and activist, George Takei, uses hand gesture which signifies resistance. (CC BY-SA 3.0; Gage Skidmore via Creative Commons)

Key Takeaways

- Sources of social change that may impact race and ethnic relations include: modernization and urbanization, population growth and composition, culture and technology, natural environment, social institutions and social movements.
- Resistance and resistance social movements throughout history illustrate how individuals and groups have responded against dominant forces of oppression, colonialism, and blocked life chances.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

3: Sociological Theories and Patterns of Intergroup Relations

3.1: What is a Theory?

3.2: Sociological Theoretical Perspectives

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3.1: What is a Theory?

Sociologists study social events, interactions, and patterns, and they develop a theory in an attempt to explain why things work as they do. In sociology, a **theory** is a way to explain different aspects of social interactions and social structures as well as to create a testable proposition, called a **hypothesis,** about society (Allan, 2006).

For example, although suicide is generally considered an individual phenomenon, Émile Durkheim was interested in studying the social factors that affect it. He studied social ties within a group, or **social solidarity**, and hypothesized that differences in suicide rates might be explained by religion-based differences. Durkheim gathered a large amount of data about Europeans who had ended their lives, and he did indeed find differences based on religion. Protestants were more likely to commit suicide than Catholics in Durkheim's society, and his work supports the utility of theory in sociological research.

Theories vary in scope depending on the scale of the issues that they are meant to explain. **Macro-level theories** relate to large-scale issues and large groups of people, while **micro-level theories** look at very specific relationships between individuals or small groups. **Grand theories** attempt to explain large-scale relationships and answer fundamental questions such as why societies form and why they change. Sociological theory is constantly evolving and should never be considered complete. Classic sociological theories are still considered important and current, but new sociological theories build upon the work of their predecessors and add to them (Calhoun, 2002).

In sociology, a few theories provide broad perspectives that help explain many different aspects of social life, and these are called paradigms. **Paradigms** are philosophical and theoretical frameworks used within a discipline to formulate theories, generalizations, and the experiments performed in support of them. Students are encouraged to shift their paradigms by considering a variety of perspectives and content covered in this textbook. To test your ability to shift paradigms, what do you see in this picture? When was the picture taken, and where?



Figure **3.1.1**: Swastika picture taken by Janét Hund. (Janét Hund via jhund@lbcc.edu)

If you guessed Nazi Germany during WWII, *you are incorrect!* Taken in 2001, this photo is of a residence in Taiwan; the swastika on the front door communicates it is a Buddhist household, welcoming visitors. Throughout Asia and Indigenous societies worldwide, the swastika symbolizes peace, happiness, love, and long life - not hatred, anti-semitism, racism, or violence which many associate with the swastika symbol, due to the atrocity of the Holocaust during German-occupied Europe from 1941-1945. Considering different paradigms is important to understand our vast human history and contemporary society.

Three paradigms have come to dominate sociological thinking, because they provide useful explanations: structural functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interactionism. These are discussed further in the next section as well as two more recent theoretical contributions: intersectionality and critical race theory.

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3.2: Sociological Theoretical Perspectives

We can examine issues of race and ethnicity through five different sociological perspectives: **functionalism**, **conflict theory**, **symbolic interactionism, intersection theory,** and **critical race theory**. As you read through these theories, ask yourself which one makes the most sense and why. Do we need more than one theory to explain racism, prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination?

Table 3.2.1: Sociological Theories or Perspectives. Different sociological perspectives enable sociologists to view social issues through a variety of useful lenses.

Sociological Theories or Perspectives. Different sociological perspectives enable sociologists to view social issues through a variety of useful lenses.

Sociological Paradigm	Level of Analysis	Focus
Structural Functionalism	Macro or Mid	The way each part of society functions together to contribute to the whole. Practices and policies may lead to dysfunction.
Conflict Theory	Macro	The way inequalities contribute to social differences and perpetuates racial and ethnic disparities in power.
Symbolic Interactionism	Micro	One-to-one interactions and communications. The meaning attached to racial an ethnic labels and images.
Intersection Theory	Multi	The way multiple social categories such as race, gender, class, sexuality, intersect to produce unique forms of discrimination and oppression.
Critical Race Theory	Multi	Centering race in the examination of social phenomena and inequality.

Functionalism

In the view of functionalism, racial and ethnic inequalities must have served an important function in order to exist as long as they have. This concept, of course, is problematic. How can racism and discrimination contribute positively to society? A functionalist might look at “functions” and “dysfunctions” caused by racial inequality. Nash (1964) focused his argument on the way racism is functional for the dominant group, for example, suggesting that racism morally justifies a racially unequal society. Consider the way slave owners justified slavery in the antebellum South, by suggesting Black people were fundamentally inferior to white and preferred slavery to freedom.

According to Robert Merton, the **manifest functions** of social institutions and their policies are intended to produce beneficial outcomes. The **latent functions** of social institutions and their policies are not deliberate or intended but still produce beneficial outcomes. For example, while it is not an intended outcome, schools in an urban community may lead to an increase in interracial friendships and relationships, which is a beneficial outcome for the larger community and society. According to Merton, a dysfunction would be considered a harmful latent outcome of an institutional policy or practice. For example, New York City's "Stop-and-Frisk" policy was intended to provide police officers with more latitude in questioning and apprehending potential criminals. However, the policy led to a disproportionate stopping and detention of Black and Latinx men and ultimately deemed as unconstitutional by the courts. In addition to unfair racial harassment, latent dysfunction would also include a growing distrust in the police and racial minorities feeling unsafe in their own neighborhoods.

Another way to apply the functionalist perspective to racism is to discuss the way racism can contribute positively to the functioning of society by strengthening bonds between in-groups members through the ostracism of out-group members. Consider how a community might increase solidarity by refusing to allow outsiders access. On the other hand, Rose (1951) suggested that dysfunctions associated with racism include the failure to take advantage of talent in the subjugated group, and that society must divert from other purposes the time and effort needed to maintain artificially constructed racial boundaries. Consider how much money, time, and effort went toward maintaining separate and unequal educational systems prior to the Civil Rights Movement.

Conflict Theory

Conflict theories are often applied to inequalities of gender, social class, education, race, and ethnicity. A conflict theory perspective of U.S. history would examine the numerous past and current struggles between the white ruling class and racial and ethnic minorities, noting specific conflicts that have arisen when the dominant group perceived a threat from the people of color. In the late nineteenth century, the rising power of Black Americans after the Civil War resulted in draconian Jim Crow laws that severely limited Black political and social power. For example, Vivien Thomas (1910–1985), the Black surgical technician who helped develop the groundbreaking surgical technique that saves the lives of "blue babies" was classified as a janitor for many years, and paid as such, despite the fact that he was conducting complicated surgical experiments. The years since the Civil War have showed a pattern of attempted disenfranchisement, with gerrymandering and voter suppression efforts aimed at predominantly minority neighborhoods.

In her **split labor market theory**, conflict theorist Edna Bonacich (1972) proposed that ethnic antagonism often has economic underpinnings because the capitalist owners of the means of production would prefer to pay workers from a particular ethnic group lower wages than workers from a dominant ethnic group. According to Bonacich, this will naturally lead to resentment and ethnic antagonism between these groups of workers. The split labor market benefits the capitalist class because it lowers production costs (therefore increasing profit margins) and also has the added benefit of maintaining a divided (and therefore unorganized) labor force. According to this framework, the split labor market would help to explain the ethnic antagonism that exists between white workers in the United States and undocumented workers from Latin America.

Symbolic Interactionism

For symbolic interactionists, race and ethnicity provide strong symbols as sources of identity. In fact, some interactionists propose that the symbols of race, not race itself, are what lead to racism. Famed interactionist Herbert Blumer (1958) suggested that racial prejudice is formed through interactions between members of the dominant group. Without these interactions, individuals in the dominant group would not hold racist views. These interactions contribute to an abstract picture of the subordinate group that allows the dominant group to support its view of the subordinate group, and thus maintains the status quo. An example of this might be an individual whose beliefs about a particular group are based on images conveyed in popular media, and those are unquestionably believed because the individual has never personally met a member of that group. Another way to apply the interactionist perspective is to look at how people define their race(s) and the race of others. As discussed in Chapter 1.2 with regards to the social construction of race, since some people who claim a white identity have a greater amount of skin pigmentation than some people who claim a Black identity, how did they come to define themselves as Black or white?

Thinking Sociologically

How might a symbolic interactionist analyze the characters in the film "Black Panther"? In what ways might the film and characters challenge racist and negative stereotypes? Do you think films like "Black Panther" have the potential to change society? Why or why not?

Culture of prejudice refers to the argument that prejudice is embedded in our culture. We grow up surrounded by images of stereotypes and casual expressions of racism and prejudice. Consider the casually racist imagery on grocery store shelves or the stereotypes that fill popular movies and advertisements. It is easy to see how someone living in the Northeastern United States, who may know no Mexican Americans personally, might gain a stereotyped impression from such sources as Speedy Gonzalez or Taco Bell's talking Chihuahua. Because we are all exposed to these images and thoughts, it is impossible to know to what extent they have influenced our thought processes.



Figure **3.2.2**: "T'Challa Black Panther Movie Poster 2017 NYC 4981" (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Brechtbug via Flickr)

Symbolic interactionists also focus on the process of **labeling** - the meanings attached to labels and their social consequences. The social construction of race is reflected in the way names for racial categories change with changing times. It's worth noting that race, in this sense, is also a system of labeling that provides a source of identity; specific labels fall in and out of favor during different social eras. A symbolic interactionist might say that this labeling has a direct correlation to those who are in power and those who are labeled. For instance, if a teacher labels their students as either "intelligent and motivated" or "slow and lazy" based on racial and ethnic stereotypes, this could impact interactions in the classroom and may also lead to an internalization of those stereotypes and lower academic performance (Rist, 1970; Steele, 2010). Indeed, as these examples show, labeling theory can significantly impact a student's schooling.

Intersection Theory



Figure **3.2.3**: Patricia Hill Collins speaking at the Festival Latinidades in 2014. (CC BY-SA 2.0; festival_latinidades via Flickr)

As discussed in Chapter 1.5, Black feminist sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (1990) developed intersection theory, which suggests we cannot separate the effects of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and other attributes. When we examine race and how it can bring us both advantages and disadvantages, it is important to acknowledge that the way we experience race is shaped, for example, by our gender and class. Multiple layers of disadvantage intersect to create the way we experience race. For example, if we want to understand prejudice, we must understand that the prejudice focused on a white woman because of her gender is very different from the layered prejudice focused on a poor Asian woman, who is affected by stereotypes related to being poor, being a woman, and her ethnic status.

"Intersectionality is not just a form of inquiry and critical analysis but necessarily also a form of praxis that challenges inequalities and opens a collective space for both recognizing common threads across complex experiences of injustice and responding to them

politically" (Ferree, 2018). Using an intersectional lens to analyze social systems, it is useful to consider how capitalism, racism, sexism, heterosexism, ageism, and/or ableism intertwine to stratify society and impact life chances for individuals and groups. Collins & Bilge (2020) combine the critical inquiry into inequalities and stratification with critical praxis to advance social justice. Thus, intersectionality is not only a lens and theory but also a potential solution to social problems, reminding sociologists that the many status intersections of race, social class, gender, sexuality, age and/or disability should be considered when seeking remedies to social ills.

Check out this video of Kimberlé Crenshaw explaining the premise of intersectionality:



Video **3.2.4**: Professor Kimberlé Crenshaw Defines the Urgency of Intersectionality. (Close-captioning available on Ted.com.)

Critical Race Theory

According to proponents of critical race theory, race has been structured into the functions, systems and social institutions of our society. Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate (1995) laid the justification for considering a critical race theory of education. “Critical race theory in education, like its antecedent in legal scholarship, is a radical critique of both the status quo and the purported reforms” (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 62). Delgado and Stefancic (2001) provided a foundational understanding of critical race theory by considering the following six elements:

1. “racism is ordinary, not aberrational” (p. 7)
2. “white over color ascendancy serves important purposes, psychic and material” (p. 7)
3. the social construction of race
4. racialization
5. intersectionality
6. unique voices from people of color

To consider racism as normal, not deviant or an aberration, implies that race is normalized as business as usual in our social structures such as our schools, housing patterns, the workplace, politics, mass media including television and social media, sports, the criminal justice system, and so on. This resulting racial hierarchy has benefited (white) elites (materially) and the working class (psychically), according to Delgado and Stefancic (2001). For example, social justice policies (e.g. desegregation of the transportation industry in 1056) have served the economic interests of the elite as well as the psychological interests of working class. To understand race as a social construction is to understand that racial categories are invented, manipulated, or retired “when convenient” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 7). Though actively involved in the social construction of race, society ignores or is not taught that racial categories are subjective, not fixed, and not based on facts, as explained in Chapter 1.2.

When individuals are racialized, they are stereotyped, minimized, often in the form or caricatures. Within the institution of higher education, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) noted that racialization and marginalization result in African American students coming to the university as "intruders" (p. 60). Further, Robin DiAngelo (2018) revealed that 84% of our college professors are white (p. 31). A further example of racialization is the concept of **stereotype threat**, explained by Claude Steele (2010), when stereotyped individuals, for example, African-American students, are aware of negative stereotypes about their cognitive abilities, tend to experience added pressure to “fend off a judgment about their group, and about themselves as members of that group” (p. 54).

Intersectionality, already explained earlier in this section, suggests that individuals are simultaneously members of many different, potentially competing or overlapping, identities including but not limited to race, gender, social class, national origin, religion, politics, and sexuality. This tenet can help to understand how the experiences of Black women and Latinas, for example, may vary if they are upper class and lesbian versus if they are working class and heterosexual. “If we pay attention to the multiplicity of social life, perhaps our institutions and arrangements will better address the problems that plague us” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 56). Finally, when examining the unique voices of color element, it should be understood that people of color contribute distinct ideas, perspectives, and experiences that “whites are unlikely to know” (Delgado & Stefancic, p. 9). Further, these voices validate the perspectives of other people of color, which may diverge from the perspectives of the dominant group. For example, Ibram X. Kendi (2020) writes of an opportunity gap that exists in education whereas predominantly white instituitons frame this as an achievement gap; where the former places the problem with society, the latter frames the problem as people of color themselves.



Figure 3.2.5: "RACISM" (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Gregor Maclennan via Flickr)

Finally, critical race theorists pose a variety of social reforms. Rather than colorblind solutions, critical race theorists advocate for race-conscious solutions to race-based social ills. "The system applauds affording equality of opportunity but resists programs that assure equality of results" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, *p.* 23). For example, the institutional research performed by Janét Hund (2019) found when African American and Latinx community college students were taught by same race-ethnic faculty, their course completion rates were higher; this research suggests that hiring more African American and Latinx faculty would serve to improve the course completion rates for African American and Latinx colleges students.

Summary

Functionalist views of race study the role dominant and marginalized groups play to create a stable social structure. Conflict theorists examine power disparities and struggles between various racial and ethnic groups. Interactionists see race and ethnicity as important sources of individual identity and social symbolism. The concept of culture of prejudice recognizes that all people are subject to stereotypes that are ingrained in their culture. Intersectional theory reminds us to consider how race, gender, and social class not only impact our social structures and our social interactions but are also engrained within our social institutions. As a more radical critique of the status quo, critical race theory centralizes the focus on race to understand our history, our contemporary society, and our social structures - as well as solutions to inequality.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

4: Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism

4.1: Socialization and Culture

4.2: Stereotypes and Prejudice

4.3: Discrimination

4.4: Racism

4.5: Reducing Discrimination

4.5.1: Affirmative Action

4.6: Social Change and Resistance

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4.1: Socialization and Culture

Socialization is the process through which people are taught to be proficient members of a society. It describes the ways that people come to understand societal norms and expectations, to accept society's beliefs, and to be aware of societal values. Socialization helps people learn to function successfully in their social worlds. How does the process of socialization occur? How do we come to adopt the beliefs, values, and norms that represent its nonmaterial culture? This learning takes place through interaction with various agents of socialization, like peer groups and families, plus both formal and informal social institutions.

Socialization is critical both to individuals and to the societies in which they live. It illustrates how completely intertwined human beings and their social worlds are. First, it is through teaching culture to new members that a society perpetuates itself. If new generations of a society don't learn its way of life, it ceases to exist. Whatever is distinctive about a culture must be transmitted to those who join it in order for a society to survive.

Agents of Socialization

Social groups often provide the first experiences of socialization. Families, and later peer groups, communicate expectations and reinforce norms. People first learn to use the tangible objects of material culture in these settings, as well as being introduced to the beliefs and values of society.

Family is the first agent of socialization. Mothers and fathers, siblings and grandparents, plus members of an extended family, all teach a child what he or she needs to know. For example, they show the child how to use objects (such as clothes, computers, eating utensils, books, bikes); how to relate to others (some as "family," others as "friends," still others as "strangers" or "teachers" or "neighbors"); and how the world works (what is "real" and what is "imagined"). As you are aware, either from your own experience as a child or from your role in helping to raise one, socialization includes teaching and learning about an unending array of objects and ideas.

Sociologists recognize that race, social class, religion, and other societal factors play an important role in socialization. For example, poor families usually emphasize obedience and conformity when raising their children, while wealthy families emphasize judgment and creativity (National Opinion Research Center, 2008). This may occur because working-class parents have less education and more repetitive-task jobs for which it is helpful to be able to follow rules and conform. Wealthy parents tend to have better educations and often work in managerial positions or careers that require creative problem solving, so they teach their children behaviors that are beneficial in these positions. This means children are effectively socialized and raised to take the types of jobs their parents already have, thus reproducing the class system (Kohn, 1977). Likewise, children are socialized to abide by gender norms, perceptions of race, and class-related behaviors.

A **peer group** is made up of people who are similar in age and social status and who share interests. Peer group socialization begins in the earliest years, such as when kids on a playground teach younger children the norms about taking turns, the rules of a game, or how to shoot a basket. As children grow into teenagers, this process continues. Peer groups are important to adolescents in a new way, as they begin to develop an identity separate from their parents and exert independence. Additionally, peer groups provide their own opportunities for socialization since kids usually engage in different types of activities with their peers than they do with their families. Peer groups provide adolescents' first major socialization experience outside the realm of their families. Interestingly, studies have shown that although friendships rank high in adolescents' priorities, this is balanced by parental influence.

The social institutions of our culture also inform our socialization. Formal institutions—like schools, workplaces, and the government—teach people how to behave in and navigate these systems. Other institutions, like the media, contribute to socialization by inundating us with messages about norms and expectations.

School and classroom rituals, led by teachers serving as role models and leaders, regularly reinforce what society expects from children. Sociologists describe this aspect of schools as the **hidden curriculum**, the informal teaching done by schools.

For example, in the United States, schools have built a sense of competition into the way grades are awarded and the way teachers evaluate students (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). When children participate in a relay race or a math contest, they learn there are winners and losers in society. When children are required to work together on a project, they practice teamwork with other people in cooperative situations. The hidden curriculum prepares children for the adult world. Children learn how to deal with bureaucracy,

rules, expectations, waiting their turn, and sitting still for hours during the day. Schools in different cultures socialize children differently in order to prepare them to function well in those cultures. The latent functions of teamwork and dealing with bureaucracy are features of U.S. culture.

Schools also socialize children by teaching them about citizenship and national pride. In the United States, children are taught to say the Pledge of Allegiance. Most districts require classes about U.S. history and geography. As academic understanding of history evolves, textbooks in the United States have been scrutinized and revised to update attitudes toward other cultures as well as perspectives on historical events; thus, children are socialized to a different national or world history than earlier textbooks may have done. For example, information about the mistreatment of African Americans and Native American Indians more accurately reflects those events than in textbooks of the past.

Religion is an important avenue of socialization for many people. The United States is full of synagogues, temples, churches, mosques, and similar religious communities where people gather to worship and learn. Like other institutions, these places teach participants how to interact with the religion's material culture (like a mezuzah, a prayer rug, or a communion wafer). For some people, important ceremonies related to family structure—like marriage and birth—are connected to religious celebrations. Many religious institutions also uphold gender norms and contribute to their enforcement through socialization. From ceremonial rites of passage that reinforce the family unit to power dynamics that reinforce gender roles, organized religion fosters a shared set of socialized values that are passed on through society.

Mass media distribute impersonal information to a wide audience, via television, newspapers, radio, and the Internet. With the average person spending over four hours a day in front of the television (and children averaging even more screen time), media greatly influences social norms (Roberts, Foehr, & Rideout 2005). People learn about objects of material culture (like new technology and transportation options), as well as nonmaterial culture—what is true (beliefs), what is important (values), and what is expected (norms).

Socialization by Race and Ethnicity

✔ Racial-Ethnic Socialization

Racial-ethnic socialization is defined as the processes by which children acquire the behaviors, perceptions, values, and attitudes of an ethnic group, and come to see themselves and others as members of the group.

This section is licensed CC BY-SA. Attribution: Racial-Ethnic Socialization (Wikipedia) (CC BY-SA 3.0)

The previously stated agents of socialization such as parents, mass media, and peers are significant teachers of how children see their own race or ethnicity - as well as how they view other groups and individuals. None of us are born racist, ethnocentric, or culturally competent. Racism is a learned trait.

The American Psychological Association explains that racial socialization should be understood differently depending on the race of children:

> Parents of Black children, along with parents of other ethnically underrepresented youth, are tasked with teaching their children how to navigate, and sometimes even survive, a society that may give messages that undermine parents' efforts. Parents often must counteract messages their youth receive from broader society including the media, and the judicial, educational and health systems, to name a few. The way in which parents teach their youth how to navigate the often contradictory messages or teach them what it means to be Black is called racial socialization (Gaskin, 2015).

Though parents may tailor these messages to their children differently depending on a child's skin tone, gender, age, or sexual orientation, Gaskin (2015) identifies the following communication that parents may have with their children of color:

1. Messages emphasizing pride in being Black or a person of color
2. Warnings about racial inequalities
3. Messages that de-emphasize the importance of race (sometimes called a "color-blind" approach) and instead may emphasize that hard work will ensure someone can overcome racism
4. Mistrust of other ethnic groups
5. Silence about race and racial issues

White parents are generally unlikely to discuss race or racism for that matter in any direct fashion with their white children, but of some white families do have these discussions. More frequently, the norm for many white children is learning color-blindness, which sociologists identify as a form or racism (discussed in this Chapter 4.4) or white silence. Additionally, white racial socialization tends to be a process by which white youth "learn what it means to be white in a society that currently values whiteness" (Michael & Bartoli, 2014). With their focus on racial socialization provided by schools, Michael & Bartoli (2014) explain that schools should be educating children on the following: understanding systemic racism, learning how anti-racist action is relevant to all, and understanding stereotypes and their counternarratives (stories that counter the stereotypes). Ultimately, this learning would align with critical race analysis (see critical race theory in Chapter 3).

As evidenced in Figure 4.1.1 below, many young white Americans were actively involved in the nationwide protests in the summer of 2020, in support of Black Lives Matter, representing a unique moment in U.S. history, a unique moment in the socialization of white Americans.



Figure **4.1.1**: "White Silence Is Violence." (CC BY 2.0; Tim Pierce via Flickr)

Cultural Hierarchies

Cultural distinctions make groups unique, but they also provide a social structure for creating and ranking cultures based on similarities or differences. A cultural group's size and strength influences their power over a region, area, or other groups. Cultural power lends itself to social power that influences people's lives by controlling the prevailing norms or rules and making individuals adhere to the dominant culture voluntarily or involuntarily.

Culture is not a direct reflection of the social world (Griswold, 2013). Humans mediate culture to define meaning and interpret the social world around them. As a result, dominant groups are able to manipulate, reproduce, and influence culture among the masses. Common culture found in society is actually the selective transmission of elite-dominated values (Parenti, 2006). This practice known as **cultural hegemony** suggests, culture is not autonomous, it is conditionally dictated, regulated, and controlled by dominant groups. The major forces shaping culture are in the power of elite-dominated interests which make limited and marginal adjustments to appear as though culture is changing in alignment with evolving social values (Parenti, 2006). The culturally dominating group often sets the standard for living and governs the distribution of resources.

Social and Cultural Capital

Social and cultural relationships have productive benefits in society. Research defines **social capital** as a form of economic (e.g., money and property) and cultural (e.g., norms, fellowship, trust) assets central to a social network (Putnam, 2000). The social networks people create and maintain with each other enable society to function. However, the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1972) found social capital produces and reproduces inequality when examining how people gain powerful positions through direct and indirect social connections. Social capital or a social network can help or hinder someone personally and socially. For example,

strong and supportive social connections can facilitate job opportunities and promotions that are beneficial to the individual and their social network. Weak and unsupportive social ties can jeopardize employment or advancement that are harmful to the individual and social group as well. People make cultural objects meaningful (Griswold, 2013). Interactions and reasoning develop cultural perspectives and understanding. The “social mind” of groups process incoming signals influencing culture within the social structure including the social attributes and status of members in a society (Zerubavel, 1999). Language and symbols express a person’s position in society and the expectations associated with their status. For example, the clothes people wear or car they drive represents style, fashion, and wealth. Owning designer clothing or a high performance sports car depicts a person’s access to financial resources and worth. The use of formal language and titles also represent social status such as salutations including your majesty, your highness, president, director, chief executive officer, and doctor.



Figure **4.1.2**: Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002). (CC PDM 1.0; Wikimedia).

People may occupy multiple statuses in a society. At birth, people are **ascribed** social status in alignment to their physical and mental features, gender, and race. In some cases, societies differentiate status according to physical or mental disability as well as if a child is female or male, or a racial minority. According to Dr. Jody Heymann, Dean of the World Policy Analysis Center at the UCLA Fielding School of Public Health, "Persons with disabilities are one of the last groups whose equal rights have been recognized" around the world (Brink, 2016). A report by the World Policy Analysis Center (2016) shows only 28% of 193 countries participating in the global survey guarantee a right to quality education for people with disabilities and only 18% guarantee a right to work.

In some societies, people may earn or **achieve** social status from their talents, efforts, or accomplishments (Griffiths, Keirns, Strayer, Cody-Rydzewsk, Scaramuzzo, Sadler, Vyain, Byer, & Jones, 2015). Obtaining higher education or being an artistic prodigy often correspond to high status. For example, a college degree awarded from an “Ivy League” university weighs higher in status than a degree from a public college. Similarly, talented artists, musicians, and athletes receive honors, privileges, and celebrity status.

Additionally, the social and political hierarchy of a society or region designates social status. Consider the social labels within class, race, ethnicity, gender, education, profession, age, and family. **Labels** defining a person’s characteristics serve as their position within the larger group. People in a majority or **dominant group** have higher status (e.g., rich, white, male, physician, etc.) than those of the marginalized or **subordinate group** (e.g., poor, Black, female, housekeeper, etc.). Overall, the location of a person on the social strata influences their social power and participation (Griswold, 2013). Individuals with inferior power have limitations to social and physical resources including lack of authority, influence over others, formidable networks, capital, and money.

Social status serves as method for building and maintaining boundaries among and between people and groups. Status dictates social inclusion or exclusion resulting in **cultural stratification** or hierarchy whereby a person’s position in society regulates their cultural participation by others. Cultural attributes within social networks build community, group loyalty, and personal and social identity.

People sometimes engage in status shifting to garner acceptance or avoid attention. As discussed in Chapter 1.1, DuBois (1903) described the act of people looking through the eyes of others to measure social place or position as double consciousness. His research explored the history and cultural experiences of American slavery and the plight of Black folk in translating thinking and

behavior between racial contexts. DuBois' research helped sociologists understand how and why people display one identity in certain settings and another in different ones. People must negotiate a social situation to decide how to project their social identity and assign a label that fits (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). Status shifting is evident when people move from informal to formal contexts. Our cultural identity and practices are very different at home than at school, work, or church. Each setting demands different aspects of who we are and our place in the social setting.

This short video summarizes Pierre Bourdieu's (1930-2002) theory of **cultural capital** as the cultural knowledge that serves as currency that helps us navigate culture and alters our experiences and the opportunities available to us. The video discusses three different forms of cultural capital: embodied state, objectified state, and institutionalized state with examples of each type that students can apply to their own lives. At the end of the video, discussion questions are included to assist students in applying the concept of cultural capital to what is happening in the world today.



Video **4.1.3**: According to Pierre Bourdieu, cultural capital is the cultural knowledge that serves as the currency that helps us navigate a culture and alters our experiences and the opportunities available to us. This theory focuses on the embodied, objectified and institutionalized states of capital and is significantly important in assisting us in understanding inequality in education and other social structures. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (CC BY-SA; Sociology Live! via YouTube)

Sociologists find cultural capital or the social assets of person (including intellect, education, speech pattern, mannerisms, and dress) promote social mobility (Harper-Scott & Samson, 2009). People who accumulate and display the cultural knowledge of a society or group may earn social acceptance, status, and power. Bourdieau (1991) explained the accumulation and transmission of culture is a social investment from **socializing agents** including family, peers, and community. People learn culture and cultural characteristics and traits from one another; however, social status effects whether people share, spread, or communicate cultural knowledge to each other. A person's social status in a group or society influences their ability to access and develop cultural capitol.

Cultural capital provides people access to cultural connections such as institutions, individuals, materials, and economic resources (Kennedy, 2012). Status guides people in choosing who and when culture or cultural capital is transferable. Bourdieu (1991) believed cultural inheritance and personal biography contribute more to individual success than intelligence or talent. With status comes access to social and cultural capital that generates access to privileges and power among and between groups. Individuals with cultural capital deficits face social inequalities (Reay, 2004). If someone does not have the cultural knowledge and skills to maneuver the social world she or he occupies, then she or he will not find acceptance within a group or society and access to support and resources.

Thinking Sociologically

Cultural capital evaluates the validity of culture (i.e., language, values, norms, and access to material resources) on success and achievement. You can measure your cultural capital by examining the cultural traits and patterns of your life. The following questions examine student values and beliefs, parental and family support, residency status, language, childhood experiences focusing on access to cultural resources (e.g., books) and neighborhood vitality (e.g., employment opportunities), educational and professional influences, and barriers affecting college success (Kennedy, 2012).

1. What are the most important values or beliefs influencing your life?

2. What kind of support have you received from your parents or family regarding school and your education?
3. How many generations has your family lived in the United States?
4. What do you consider your primary language? Did you have any difficulty learning to read or write the English language?
5. Did your family have more than fifty books in the house when you were growing up? What type of reading materials were in your house when you were growing up?
6. Did your family ever go to art galleries, museums, or plays when you were a child? What types of activities did your family do with their time other than work and school?
7. How would you describe the neighborhood where you grew up?
8. What illegal activities, if any, were present in the neighborhood where you grew up?
9. What employment opportunities were available to your parents or family in the neighborhood where you grew up?
10. Do you have immediate family members who are doctors, lawyers, or other professionals? What types of jobs have your family members had throughout their lives?
11. Why did you decide to go to college? What has influenced you to continue or complete your college education?
12. Did anyone ever discourage or prevent you from pursuing academics or a professional career?
13. Do you consider school easy or difficult for you?
14. What has been the biggest obstacle for you in obtaining a college education?
15. What has been the greatest opportunity for you in obtaining a college education?
16. How did you learn to navigate educational environments? Who taught you the “ins” and “outs” of college or school?

Cultural Hegemony

The very nature of cultural creation and production requires an audience to receive a cultural idea or product. Without people willing to receive culture, it cannot be sustainable or become an object (Griswold, 2013). Power and influence play an integral part in cultural creation and marketing. The ruling class has the ability to establish cultural norms and manipulate society while turning a profit. Culture is a commodity and those in a position of power to create, produce, and distribute culture gain further social and economic power.

Culture producing organizations such as multinational corporations and media industries are in the business of producing mass culture products for profit. These organizations have the power to influence people throughout the world. Paul Hirsch (1972) referred to this enterprise as the **culture industry system** or the “market.” In the culture industry system, multinational corporations and media industries (i.e., cultural creators) produce an excess supply of cultural objects to draw in public attention with the goal of flooding the market to ensure receipt and acceptance of at least one cultural idea or artifact by the people for monetary gain.

The culture industry system produces mass culture products to generate a culture of consumption (Grazian, 2010). The production of mass culture thrives on the notion that culture influences people. In line with the humanities’ perspective on culture, multinational corporations and media industries, believe they have the ability to control and manipulate culture by creating objects or products that people want and desire. This viewpoint suggests **cultural receivers**, or the people, are weak, apathetic, and consume culture for recognition and social status (Griswold, 2013). If you consider the cultural object of buying and owning a home, the concept of owning a home represents attaining the “American dream.” Even though not all Americans are able to buy and own a home, the cultural industry system has embedded home ownership as a requisite to success and achievement in America.



Figure 4.1.4: Street Lights of Times Square. (CC BY 4.0; Jose Francisco Fernandez Saura via Pexels)

In contrast, **popular culture** implies people influence culture. This perspective indicates people are active makers in the creation and acceptance of cultural objects (Griswold, 2013). Take into account one of the most popular musical genres today, rap music. The creative use of language and rhetorical styles and strategies of rap music gained local popularity in New York during the 1970s and entered mainstream acceptance in mid-1980s to early '90s (Caramanica, 2005). The early developments of rap music by the masses led to the genre becoming a cultural object.

Latinos are the largest and fastest growing ethnic group in the United States. The culture industry system is seeking ways to profit from this group. As multinational corporations and media industries produce cultural objects or products geared toward this population, their cultural identity is transformed into a new subculture blending American and Latinx values, beliefs, norms, and practices. Phillip Rodriguez is a documentary filmmaker on Latinx culture, history, and identity. He and many other race and diversity experts are exploring the influence of consumption on American Latinx culture.

1. Research the products and advertisements targeting Latinos in the United States. Describe the cultural objects and messaging encouraging a culture of consumption among this group.
2. What type of values, beliefs, norms, and practices are reinforced in the cultural objects or projects created by the culture industry system?
3. How might the purchase or consumption of the cultural objects or products you researched influence the self-image, identity, and social status of Latinos?
4. What new subculture arises by the blending of American and Latinx culture? Describe the impact of uniting or combining these cultures on Latinos and Americans.

Today, rap music like other forms of music is being created and produced by major music labels and related media industries. The culture industry system uses media gatekeepers to regulate information including culture (Grazian, 2010). Even with the ability of the people to create popular culture, multinational corporations and media industries maintain power to spread awareness, control access, and messaging. This power to influence the masses also gives the hegemonic ruling class, known as the culture industry system, the ability to reinforce stereotypes, close minds, and promote fear to encourage acceptance or rejection of certain cultural ideas and artifacts.

Contributors and Attributions

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4.2: Stereotypes and Prejudice

Stereotypes

Stereotypes are oversimplified generalizations about groups of people. Stereotypes can be based on race, ethnicity, age, gender, sexual orientation—almost any characteristic. They may be positive (usually about one's own group, such as when women suggest they are less likely to complain about physical pain) but are often negative (usually toward other groups, such as when members of a dominant racial group suggest that a subordinate racial group is stupid or lazy). In either case, the stereotype is a generalization that doesn't take individual differences into account.

Where do stereotypes come from? In fact new stereotypes are rarely created; rather, they are recycled from subordinate groups that have assimilated into society and are reused to describe newly subordinate groups. For example, many stereotypes that are currently used to characterize Black people were used earlier in American history to characterize Irish and Eastern European immigrants. While cultural and other differences do exist among the various American racial and ethnic groups, many of the views we have of such groups are unfounded and hence are stereotypes. An example of the stereotypes that white people have of other groups appears in Figure 4.2.1 "Perceptions by Non-Latino white Respondents of the Intelligence of white and Black Americans", in which white respondents in the General Social Survey (GSS), a recurring survey of a random sample of the US population, are less likely to think Blacks are intelligent than they are to think whites are intelligent.

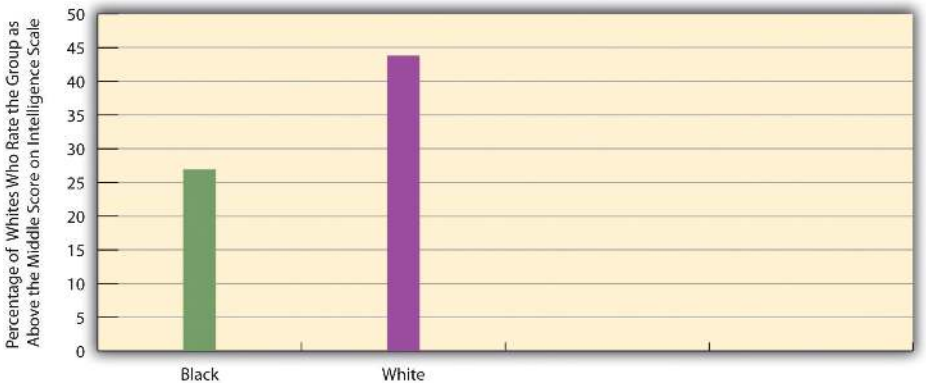


Figure **4.2.1**: Perceptions by Non-Latino white Respondents of the Intelligence of white and Black Americans. (CC BY 2.0; Data from General Social Survey)

Stereotypes of Latinx Population

Often exhibited in negative caricatures or terms, stereotypical representation of Hispanic and Latino/a characters are typically negatively presented and attack the entire ethnic group's morality, work ethic, intelligence, or dignity. Even in non-fiction media, such as news outlets, Hispanics are usually reported on in crime, immigration, or drug-related stories than in accomplishments. The stereotypes can also differ between men and women. Hispanic or Latino men are more likely to be stereotyped as unintelligent, comedic, aggressive, sexual, and unprofessional, earning them titles as "Latin lovers," buffoons, or criminals. That often results in the individuals being characterized as working less-respectable careers, being involved in crimes (often drug-related), or being uneducated immigrants. Hispanic characters are more likely than non-Hispanic white characters to possess lower-status occupations, such as domestic workers, or be involved in drug-related crimes. Hispanic and Latina women, similarly, are typically portrayed as lazy, verbally aggressive, and lacking work ethic. The stereotypes are furthered in pseudo-autobiographical characters like George Lopez, who lacks higher education and is written around humor, and Sofia Vergara, who is portrayed as an immigrant woman marrying a rich man and is often mocked for her loud and aggressive voice.

A very common stereotype, as well as mentality, is that all Hispanic/Latino individuals have the same ethnic background, race, and culture but there are really numerous subgroups, with unique identities. Americans tend to explain all of Latin America in terms of the nationalities or countries that they know. For instance, in the Midwest and the Southwest, Latin Americans are largely perceived as Mexicans, but in the East, particularly in the New York and Boston areas, people consider Latin Americans through their limited interactions with Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. In Miami, Cubans and Central Americans are the reference group for interpreting Latin America. The idea of homogeneity is so extensive in US society that even important politicians tend to treat Latin America as

a culturally-unified region. Hispanic/Latino Americans become a homogenous group, instead of their actual individual cultures, qualities, and differences.

Stereotypes of East Asians in the United States

Stereotypes of East Asians, like other ethnic stereotypes, are often portrayed in the mainstream media, cinema, music, television, literature, internet, and other forms of creative expression in American culture and society.

These stereotypes have been largely and collectively internalized by society and have mainly negative repercussions for Americans of East Asian descent and East Asian immigrants in daily interactions, current events, and government legislation. Media portrayals of East Asians often reflect an Americentric perception rather than realistic and authentic depictions of true cultures, customs and behaviors. East Asian Americans have experienced discrimination and have been victims of hate crimes related to their ethnic stereotypes, as it has been used to reinforce xenophobic sentiments.

Fictional stereotypes include Fu Manchu and Charlie Chan (representing a threatening, mysterious Asian character and an apologetic, submissive, "good" East Asian character).Asian men may be depicted as misogynistic predators, especially in WW II-era propaganda. East Asian women have been portrayed as aggressive or opportunistic sexual beings or predatory gold diggers, or as cunning "Dragon Ladies." This contrasts with the other stereotypes of servile "Lotus Blossom Babies", "China dolls", "Geisha girls", or prostitutes. Strong women may be stereotyped as Tiger Moms, and both men and women may be depicted as a model minority, with career success.

Stereotypes of Indigenous peoples

Worldwide stereotypes of Indigenous peoples include historical misrepresentations and the oversimplification of hundreds of Indigenous cultures. Negative stereotypes are associated with prejudice and discrimination that continue to impact the lives of indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples of the Americas are commonly called Native Americans (United States excluding Alaska and Hawaii), Alaska Natives, or First Nations people (in Canada). The Circumpolar peoples, often referred to by the English term Eskimo, have a distinct set of stereotypes. Eskimo itself is an exonym, deriving from phrases that Algonquin tribes used for their northern neighbors. It is believed that some portrayals of natives, such as their depiction as bloodthirsty savages have disappeared. However, most portrayals are oversimplified and inaccurate; these stereotypes are found particularly in popular media which is the main source of mainstream images of Indigenous peoples worldwide.

The stereotyping of American Indians must be understood in the context of history which includes conquest, forced displacement, and organized efforts to eradicate native cultures, such as the boarding schools of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which separated young Native Americans from their families in order to educate and to assimilate them as European Americans.

Stereotypes of African Americans

Dating back to the period of African enslavement during the colonial era, stereotypes of African Americans are largely connected to the persistent racism and discrimination they faced while residing in the United States. Nineteenth-century minstrel shows used white actors in blackface and attire supposedly worn by African-Americans to lampoon and disparage Blacks. Some nineteenth century stereotypes, such as the sambo, are now considered to be derogatory and racist. The "Mandingo" and "Jezebel" stereotypes sexualizes African-Americans as hypersexual. The Mammy archetype depicts a motherly Black woman who is dedicated to her role working for a white family, a stereotype which dates back to Southern plantations. African-Americans are often stereotyped to have an unusual appetite for fried chicken.

In the 1980s and following decades, emerging stereotypes of Black men depicted them as drug dealers, crack addicts, hobos, and subway muggers. Jesse Jackson said media portray blacks as less intelligent. The magical Negro is a stock character who is depicted as having special insight or powers, and has been depicted (and criticized) in American cinema. Stereotypes of Black women include being depicted as welfare queens or as angry Black women who are loud, aggressive, demanding, and rude.

Stereotype Threat

As we learned earlier, stereotypes are generalized thoughts that influence our beliefs about others but also beliefs about ourselves and even our own performance on important tasks. In some cases, these beliefs may be positive, and have the effect

of making us feel more confident and better able to perform tasks. On the other hand, sometimes these beliefs are negative, and they have the effect of making us perform more poorly just because of our knowledge about the stereotypes.

One of the long-standing puzzles in the area of academic performance concerns why African American students in the United States perform more poorly on standardized tests, receive lower grades, and are less likely to remain in school in comparison with White students, even when other factors such as family income, parents' education, and other relevant variables are controlled. Steele and Aronson (1995) tested the hypothesis that these differences might be due to the activation of negative stereotypes. They hypothesized that African American students are aware of the inaccurate stereotype that 'African American students are intellectually inferior to White students,' and this stereotype creates a negative expectation. This negative expectation then interferes with students' performance on intellectual and academic tests through fear of confirming that stereotype.

Results confirmed that African American college students performed worse, in comparison with their prior test scores, on math questions taken from the Graduate Record Examination (GRE) when the test was described to them as a diagnostic measure of their mathematical abilities (and thus when the stereotype was relevant) but performance was not influenced when the same questions were framed as a problem-solving activity.

In another study, Steele and Aronson found that when African American students were asked to indicate their race before they took a math test (a way to activating the stereotype), they performed more poorly than they had on prior exams, whereas the scores of White students were not affected by first indicating their race. Steele and Aronson argued that thinking about negative stereotypes that are relevant to the task that you are performing creates stereotype threat, which leads to decreased performance. That is, the negative impact of race on standardized tests may be caused, at least in part, by the performance situation itself. When the threat was present, African American students were negatively influenced by it.

Research has found that the experience of stereotype threat can help explain a wide variety of performance declines among those who are targeted by negative stereotypes. For instance, when a math task is described as diagnostic of intelligence, Latinos and particularly Latinas perform more poorly than do Whites (Gonzales, Blanton, & Williams, 2002). Similarly, when stereotypes are activated, children with low socioeconomic status perform more poorly in math than do those with high socioeconomic status, and psychology students perform more poorly than do natural science students (Brown, Croizet, Bohner, Fournet, & Payne, 2003). Even groups who typically enjoy advantaged social status can be made to experience stereotype threat. White men performed more poorly on a math test when they were told that their performance would be compared with that of Asian men (Aronson, Lustina, Good, Keough, & Steele, 1999), and Whites students performed more poorly than African American students on a sport-related task when it was described to them as measuring their natural athletic ability (Stone, 2002).

Stereotype threat is created in situations that pose a significant threat to self-concern, such that our perceptions of ourselves as important, valuable, and capable individuals are threatened. In these situations, there is a discrepancy between our positive concept of our skills and abilities and the negative stereotypes suggesting poor performance. When our stereotypes lead us to be believe that we are likely to perform poorly on a task, we experience a feeling of unease and status threat. Stereotype threat is not, however, absolute and manipulations that affirm positive characteristics about oneself or one's group are successful at reducing stereotype threat (Alter, Aronson, Darley, Rodriguez, & Ruble, 2010; Greenberg et al., 2003; McIntyre, Paulson, & Lord, 2003). In fact, just knowing that stereotype threat exists may influence performance and possibly alleviate its negative impact (Johns, Schmader, & Martens, 2005).

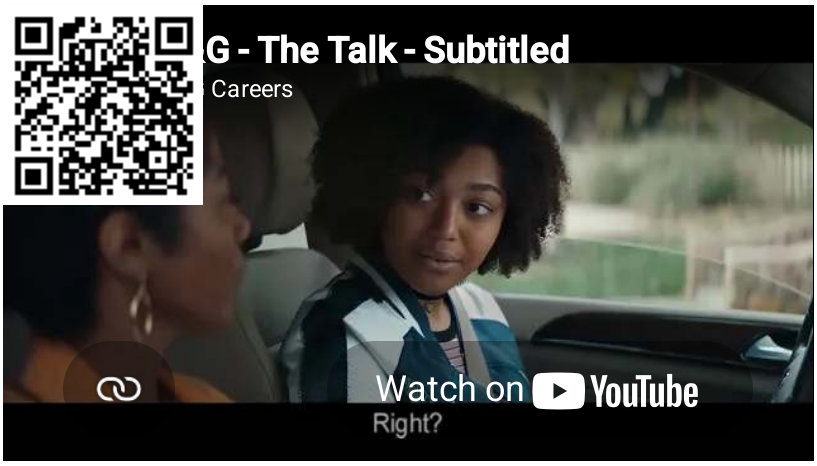
- **13.9: Stereotype Threat** by L. D. Worthy, Trisha Lavigne, & Fernando Romero is licensed CC BY-NC-SA 4.0. Original source: https://open.maricopa.edu/culturepsychology.

Explaining Prejudice

Prejudice refers to the beliefs, thoughts, feelings, and attitudes someone holds about a group. A prejudice is not based on experience; instead, it is a prejudgment, originating outside actual experience. Prejudice may be based on a person's political affiliation, sex, gender, social class, age, disability, religion, sexuality, language, nationality, criminal background, wealth, race, ethnicity, or other personal characteristic. The discussion in this section will largely focus on racial prejudice.

The 1970 documentary, Eye of the Storm, illustrates the way in which prejudice develops, by showing how defining one category of people as superior (children with blue eyes) results in prejudice against people who are not part of the favored category; Jane Elliot, then a 3rd grade teacher, conducted her "Blue Eyes/Brown Eyes" exercise to give her students a difficult, hands-on experience with prejudice and discrimination.

Where does racial and ethnic prejudice come from? Why are some people more prejudiced than others? Scholars have tried to answer these questions at least since the 1940s, when the horrors of Nazism were still fresh in people's minds. Theories of prejudice fall into two camps, social-psychological and sociological. We will look at social-psychological explanations first and then turn to sociological explanations. We will also discuss distorted mass media treatment of various racial and ethnic groups.



Video 4.2.5: "The Talk" highlights the painful, but necessary conversations Black parents have with their children to help prepare them for prejudices they may face growing up in a society that judges them based on the color of their skin. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; P&G (Procter & Gamble) via YouTube)

Social-Psychological Explanations of Prejudice

One of the first social-psychological explanations of prejudice centered on the **authoritarian personality** (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). According to this view, authoritarian personalities develop in childhood in response to parents who practice harsh discipline. Individuals with authoritarian personalities emphasize such things as obedience to authority, a rigid adherence to rules, and low acceptance of people (out-groups) not like oneself. Many studies find strong racial and ethnic prejudice among such individuals (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). But whether their prejudice stems from their authoritarian personalities or instead from the fact that their parents were probably prejudiced themselves remains an important question.

Another early and still popular social-psychological explanation is called **frustration theory (or scapegoat theory)** (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, & Sears, 1939). In this view individuals with various problems become frustrated and tend to blame their troubles on groups that are often disliked in the real world (e.g., racial, ethnic, and religious minorities). These minorities are thus scapegoats for the real sources of people's misfortunes. Several psychology experiments find that when people are frustrated, they indeed become more prejudiced. In one early experiment, college students who were purposely not given enough time to solve a puzzle were more prejudiced after the experiment than before it (Cowen, Landes, & Schaet, 1959).

Sociological Explanations of Prejudice

One popular sociological explanation emphasizes conformity and socialization and is called **social learning theory**. In this view, people who are prejudiced are merely conforming to the culture in which they grow up, and prejudice is the result of socialization from parents, peers, the news media, and other various aspects of their culture. Supporting this view, studies have found that people tend to become more prejudiced when they move to areas where people are very prejudiced and less prejudiced when they move to locations where people are less prejudiced (Aronson, 2008). If people in the South today continue to be more prejudiced than those outside the South, as we discuss later, even though legal segregation ended more than four decades ago, the influence of their culture on their socialization may help explain these beliefs.

Children and Our Future - Growing Up as Farmworkers' Kids

In the large agricultural fields of California work thousands of farmworkers and their families. Adults and children alike live in poor, crowded conditions and do backbreaking work in the hot sun, day after day after day.

Because their parents are migrant workers, many children attend a specific school for only a few weeks or months at most before their parents move to another field in another town or even another state. At Sherwood Elementary School in Salinas, California, in the heart of the state's agricultural sector, 97 percent of students live in or near poverty. With their Latino backgrounds, more than three-fourths do not speak English well or at all, and many of their parents cannot read or write their own language, Spanish.

At the Sherwood school, according to a news report, many students "sleep beneath carports and live in such cramped quarters that their parents take them to the local truck stop to wash up before school." A local high school teacher said many of his students see little of their parents, who spend most of their waking hours working in the fields. "They have little brothers and sisters to take care of, maybe cook for. Yet they're supposed to turn in a 10-page paper by tomorrow? I mean, it's unreal."

These conditions have grievous consequences for California's migrant farmworker children, almost half of whom fail to complete high school. The principal of the Sherwood Elementary School said the key strategy for her faculty and school was "understanding where the students come from but also having high expectations."

The plight of farmworkers' children is just one aspect of the difficulties facing Latino children around the country. Thanks to reproduction and immigration, the number of Latino children nationwide has grown significantly during the past few decades: in 2009, 23 percent of US kindergarten children were Latino, compared to only 10 percent in 1989. These growing numbers underscore the need to pay attention to the health and welfare of Latino children.

Against this backdrop, it is distressing to note that their health and welfare is not very good at all. About one-third of Latino children live in poverty. The average Latino child grows up in a poor neighborhood where almost half of the residents do not speak English fluently, where the schools are substandard, and where the high school dropout and teen unemployment rates are high. A number of factors, including their ethnicity, poverty, language barriers, and the immigrant status of many of their parents, limit Latino children's access to adequate health care and various kinds of social services.

Amid all these problems, however, the situation of California's farmworker children stands out as a national embarrassment for a prosperous country like the United States. As the country struggles to end racial and ethnic inequality, it must not forget the children of Salinas who have to use a truck stop to wash up before school.

Sources: P. L. Brown, 2011; Landale, McHale, & Booth, 2011; Tavernise, 2011Brown, P. L. (2011, March 13). Itinerant life weighs on farmworkers' children. *New York Times*, p. A18; Landale, N. S., McHale, S., & Booth, A. (Eds.). (2011). *Growing up Hispanic: Health and development of children of immigrants*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press; Tavernise, S. (2011, February 8). Among nation's youngest, analysis finds fewer whites. *New York Times*, p. A14.

The mass media plays a key role in how many people learn to be prejudiced. This type of learning happens because the media often present people of color in a negative light. By doing so, the media unwittingly reinforce the prejudice that individuals already have or even increase their prejudice (Larson, 2005). Examples of distorted media coverage abound. Even though poor people are more likely to be white than any other race or ethnicity, the news media use pictures of African Americans far more often than those of whites in stories about poverty. In one study, national news magazines, such as Time and Newsweek, and television news shows portrayed African Americans in almost two-thirds of their stories on poverty, even though only about one-fourth of poor people are African Americans. In the magazine stories, only 12 percent of the African Americans had a job, even though in the real world more than 40 percent of poor African Americans were working at the time the stories were written (Gilens, 1996). In a Chicago study, television news shows there depicted whites fourteen times more often in stories of good Samaritans, even though whites and African Americans live in Chicago in roughly equal numbers (Entman & Rojecki, 2001). Many other studies find that newspaper and television stories about crime and drugs feature higher proportions of African Americans as offenders than is true in arrest statistics (Surette, 2011). Studies like these show that the news media "convey the message that Black people are violent, lazy, and less civic minded" (Jackson, 1997, p. A27).

A second sociological explanation emphasizes economic and political competition and is commonly called **group threat theory** (Quillian, 2006). In this view, prejudice arises from competition over jobs and other resources and from disagreement over various political issues. When groups vie with each other over these matters, they often become hostile toward each other. Amid such hostility, it is easy to become prejudiced toward the group that threatens your economic or political standing. A popular version of this basic explanation is Susan Olzak's (1992) **ethnic competition theory** which holds that ethnic prejudice and conflict increase when two or more ethnic groups find themselves competing for jobs, housing, and other goals.

The competition explanation is the macro equivalent of the frustration/scapegoat theory already discussed. Much of the white mob violence discussed earlier stemmed from whites' concern that the groups they attacked threatened their jobs and other aspects of their lives. Thus lynchings of African Americans in the South increased when the Southern economy worsened and decreased when the economy improved (Tolnay & Beck, 1995). Similarly, white mob violence against Chinese immigrants in the 1870s began after the railroad construction that employed so many Chinese immigrants slowed and the Chinese began looking for work in other industries. Whites feared that the Chinese would take jobs away from white workers and that their large supply of labor would drive down wages. Their assaults on the Chinese killed several people and prompted the passage by Congress of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 that prohibited Chinese immigration (Dinnerstein & Reimers, 2009).



Figure **4.2.6**: Chinese emigration to America: sketch on board the steam-ship Alaska, bound for San Francisco. During the 1870s, whites feared that Chinese immigrants would take away their jobs. (CC PDM 1.0; UC Berkeley via Wikimedia)

Correlates of Prejudice

Since the 1940s, social scientists have investigated the individual correlates of racial and ethnic prejudice (Stangor, 2009). These correlates help test the theories of prejudice just presented. For example, if authoritarian personalities do produce prejudice, then people with these personalities should be more prejudiced. If frustration also produces prejudice, then people who are frustrated with aspects of their lives should also be more prejudiced. Other correlates that have been studied include age, education, gender, region of country, race, residence in integrated neighborhoods, and religiosity. We can take time here to focus on gender, education, and region of country and discuss the evidence for the racial attitudes of whites, as most studies do in view of the historic dominance of whites in the United States.

The findings on gender are rather surprising. Although women are usually thought to be more empathetic than men and thus to be less likely to be racially prejudiced, recent research indicates that the racial views of (white) women and men are in fact very similar and that the two genders are about equally prejudiced (Hughes & Tuch, 2003). This similarity supports group threat theory, outlined earlier, in that it indicates that white women and men are responding more as whites than as women or men, respectively, in formulating their racial views.

Findings on education and region of country are not surprising. Focusing again just on whites, less educated people are usually more racially prejudiced than better-educated people, and Southerners are usually more prejudiced than non-Southerners (Krysan, 2000). Evidence of these differences appears in Figure 4.2.7, which depicts educational and regional differences in a type of racial prejudice that social scientists call social distance, or feelings about interacting with members of other races and ethnicities. The General Social Survey asks respondents how they feel about a "close relative" marrying an African American. Figure 4.2.7 shows

how responses by white (non-Latino) respondents to this question vary by education and by Southern residence. Whites without a high school degree are much more likely than those with more education to oppose these marriages, and whites in the South are also much more likely than their non-Southern counterparts to oppose them. To recall the sociological perspective, our social backgrounds certainly do seem to affect our attitudes.

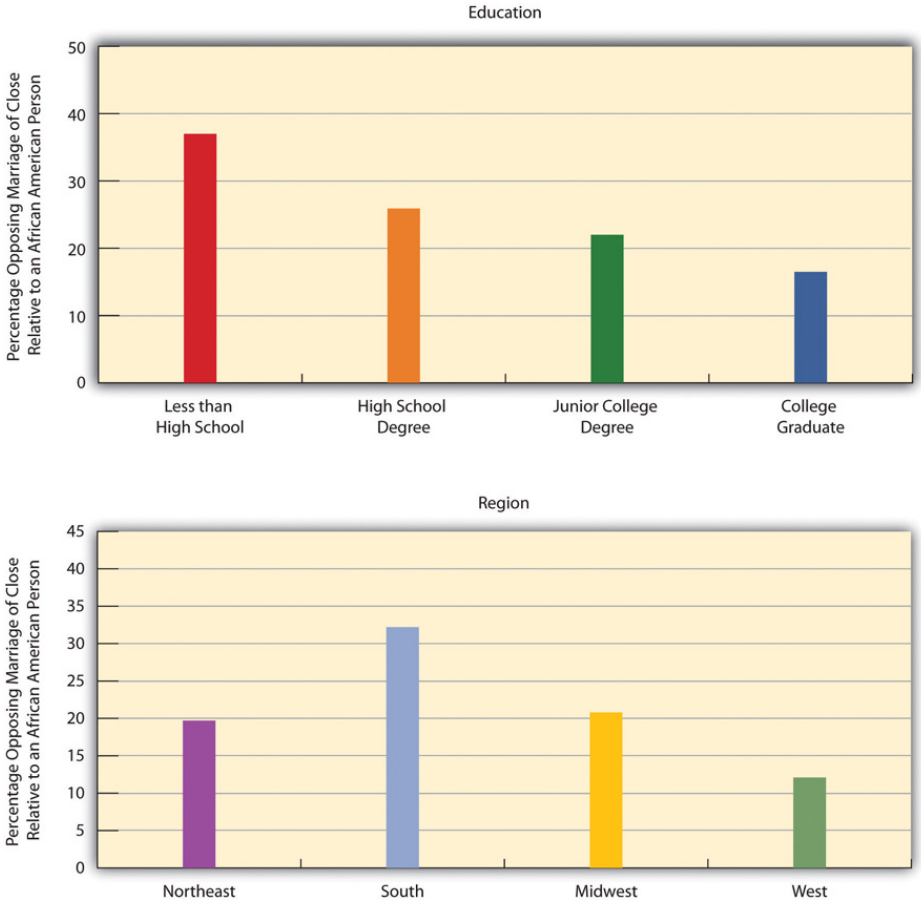


Figure **4.2.7**: Education, Region, and Opposition by Non-Latino whites to a Close Relative Marrying an African American (CC BY 2.0; Data from General Social Survey)

The Changing Nature of Prejudice

Although racial and ethnic prejudice still exists in the United States, its nature has changed during the past half-century. Studies of these changes focus on whites' perceptions of African Americans. Back in the 1940s and before, an era of overt Jim Crow racism (also called traditional or old-fashioned racism) prevailed, not just in the South but in the entire nation. This racism involved blatant bigotry, firm beliefs in the need for segregation, and the view that Blacks were biologically inferior to whites. In the early 1940s, for example, more than half of all whites thought that Blacks were less intelligent than whites, more than half favored segregation in public transportation, more than two-thirds favored segregated schools, and more than half thought whites should receive preference over Blacks in employment hiring (Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997).

The Nazi experience and then the civil rights movement led whites to reassess their views, and Jim Crow racism gradually waned. Few whites believe today that African Americans are biologically inferior, and few favor segregation. So few whites now support segregation and other Jim Crow views that national surveys no longer include many of the questions that were asked a half-century ago.

But that does not mean that prejudice has disappeared. Many scholars say that Jim Crow racism has been replaced by a more subtle form of racial prejudice, termed laissez-faire, symbolic, or modern racism, that amounts to a "kinder, gentler, antiBlack ideology" that avoids notions of biological inferiority (Bobo, Kluegel, & Smith, 1997, p. 15; Quillian, 2006; Sears, 1988). Instead, it involves stereotypes about African Americans, a belief that their poverty is due to their cultural inferiority, and opposition to government

policies to help them. Similar views exist about Latinos. In effect, this new form of prejudice blames African Americans and Latinos themselves for their low socioeconomic standing and involves such beliefs that they simply do not want to work hard.

Evidence for this modern form of prejudice is seen in Figure 4.2.8, which presents whites' responses to two General Social Survey (GSS) questions that asked, respectively, whether African Americans' low socioeconomic status is due to their lower "in-born ability to learn" or to their lack of "motivation and will power to pull themselves up out of poverty." While only 8.5 percent of whites attributed Blacks' status to lower innate intelligence (reflecting the decline of Jim Crow racism), about 48 percent attributed it to their lack of motivation and willpower. Although this reason sounds "kinder" and "gentler" than a belief in Blacks' biological inferiority, it is still one that blames African Americans for their low socioeconomic status.

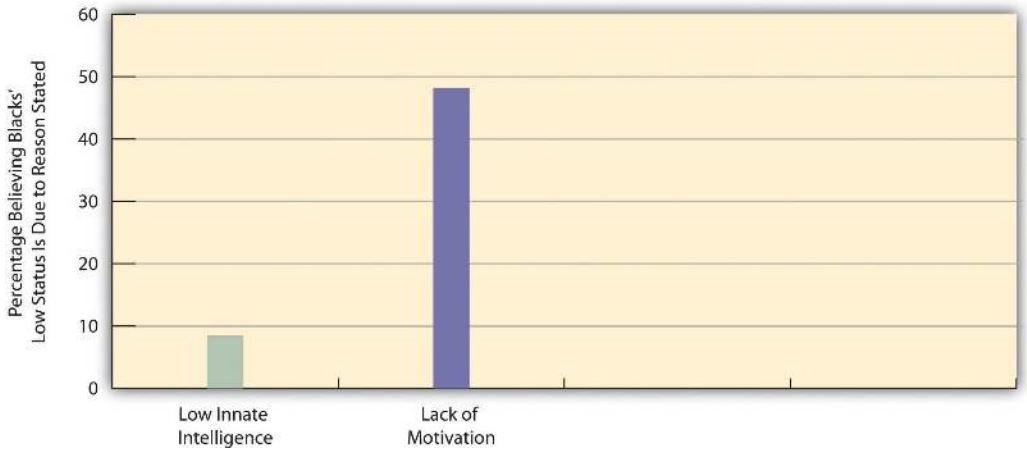


Figure **4.2.8**: Attribution by Non-Latino whites of Blacks' Low Socioeconomic Status to Blacks' Low Innate Intelligence and to Their Lack of Motivation to Improve. (CC BY 2.0; Data from General Social Survey)

Implicit Bias



Figure **4.2.10**: Microaggressions. (Courtesy of Shutterstock.com)

- Implicit biases are attitudes or stereotypes that unconsciously affect our actions, decisions, and understanding.
- Implicit biases can be positive (a preference for something or someone) or negative (an aversion to or fear of something or someone).
- Implicit biases are different from known biases that people may choose to conceal for social or political reasons. In fact, implicit biases often conflict with a person's explicit and/or declared beliefs.
- Implicit biases are formed over a lifetime as a result of exposure to direct and indirect messages. The media plays a large role in this formation process.
- Implicit biases are pervasive: everyone has them.
- Implicit biases are changeable, but research shows that this process takes time, intention, and training.

In this video, CNN journalist Van Jones gives a brief overview of implicit bias and references some of the ways it has manifested in recent events.



Video 4.2.11: Van's research on the concept of Implicit Bias and the role it is playing in race relations today. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; CNN on Rebuild the Dream via YouTube)

The Kirwan Institute is a leader in the field of implicit bias research. Watch their video, in which they explore some of the ways that individual impacts of implicit bias can compound to create large negative impacts for people of color.

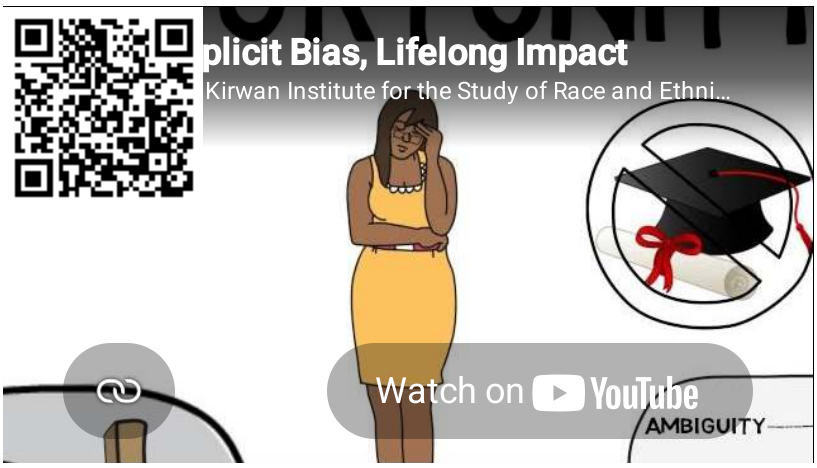


Figure 4.2.12: "Implicit Bias, Lifelong Impact." (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; The Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity via YouTube)

Microaggressions

Implicit biases can impact our relationships and interactions with each other in many ways, some of which are described in the research findings listed above. One way that implicit biases can manifest is in the form of **microaggressions**: subtle verbal or nonverbal insults or denigrating messages communicated toward a marginalized person, often by someone who may be well-intentioned but unaware of the impact their words or actions have on the target. Examples of common microaggressions include statements like:

- Where are you really from?
- What are you?
- You don't act like a normal Black person.
- You're really pretty for a dark-skinned girl.

Microaggressions can be based on any aspect of a marginalized person's identity (for example, sexuality, religion, or gender). Individual microaggressions may not be devastating to the person experiencing them; however, their cumulative effects over time can be large. The Tumblr blog Microaggressions, which aims to "mak[e] visible the ways in which social difference is produced and policed in everyday lives," describes this as follows:

Often, [microaggressions] are never meant to hurt – acts done with little conscious awareness of their meanings and effects. Instead, their slow accumulation during a childhood and over a lifetime is in part what defines a marginalized experience, making

explanation and communication with someone who does not share this identity particularly difficult. Social others are microaggressed hourly, daily, weekly, monthly.

In his research, Dr. Derald Wing Sue found that **BIPOC** (Black Indigenous People of Color) experience microaggressions every day – from the time they get up in the morning until they go to bed at night. In his workshops, Sue asks white people in the room these questions:

Do you know what it's like to be a Black person in this society where you go into a subway and you sit down and people never sit next to you? Do you know what it's like to pass a man or a woman, and they suddenly clutch their purses more tightly?

As he notes, many whites have never thought about how this feels because they don't live this reality. It is invisible to them. By asking this question, Sue's goal is to make the invisible visible, to get white people (and all people) to "see" the microaggressions BIPOC experience on a daily basis, and to challenge them to understand how those microaggressions negatively impact the daily lived experiences of BIPOC.

To learn more about how young people experience microaggressions, watch this video, in which college students share their personal stories related to this issue.



Video **4.2.13**: "Microaggressions in the Classroom." (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; Focused.Arts.Media.Education. via YouTube)

What's the Impact on BIPOC?

Pervasive implicit bias and microaggressions do more than simply cause BIPOC to "feel bad." Constant exposure to racism in both implicit and explicit forms can have cumulative and serious impacts on BIPOC. Researchers are only now beginning to identify and understand some of these impacts. For example, scientists have begun linking prolonged racism-related stress to racial health disparities such as differences in maternal mortality rates between Black and white women. Other racial health disparities, such as differing rates of asthma and diabetes across racial groups, may also be linked to the stress impact of racism. Stress hormones, while harmless in small doses, are toxic with prolonged exposure, and can cause permanent damage to the nervous, cardiovascular, immune, and endocrine systems.

In addition to health disparities, the so-called "racial achievement gap" in education has also been attributed at least in part to the presence of implicit bias, stereotypes, and microaggressions. In the 1990s, psychologists Claude Steele and Joshua Aronson provided empirical evidence for the impact of stereotype threat (discussed earlier as understood by critical race theory in Chapter 2.2) on academic performance. The idea behind stereotype threat is that awareness of negative stereotypes about one's racial group raises stress and self-doubt among students, who then perform worse. Over two decades of data show that stereotype threat is common and consequential. For a summary of this phenomenon and related studies, read the American Psychological Association's "Research in Action" page.

In her research, Dr. Patricia F. Katopol looks at the impact of stereotype threat on the use of library reference services by BIPOC, specifically African American college students at primarily white institutions. Katopol argues that stereotype threat may be an element of information anxiety – an element that leads many Black students to attempt to find all of the information they need on their own rather than having to interact with librarians who they perceive as judging them. To learn more about stereotype threat in

library settings, read her article Avoiding the Reference Desk: Stereotype Threat in Library Leadership & Management, an open-source journal.

In each of these cases, current research is challenging our notions of cause and effect when it comes to implicit bias, stereotypes, racism, and life outcomes. Rather than attributing the causes of disparate life outcomes to inherent racial differences, this research asks us to consider racism itself as the cause. Kendi (2020) detests the use of the word "microaggression," as he argues it is actually racist abuse (racism) and should be labeled as such.

Key Takeaways

- Social-psychological explanations of prejudice emphasize authoritarian personalities and frustration, while sociological explanations emphasize social learning and group threat.
- Education and region of residence are related to racial prejudice among whites; prejudice is higher among whites with lower levels of formal education and among whites living in the South.
- Jim Crow racism has been replaced by symbolic or modern racism that emphasizes the cultural inferiority of people of color.
- Racial prejudice among whites is linked to certain views they hold about public policy. Prejudice is associated with lower support among whites for governmental efforts to help people of color and with greater support for a more punitive criminal justice system.
- Implicit biases, microaggressions, and stereotypes are interrelated concepts. Implicit biases are developed through exposure to stereotypes and other forms of misinformation over time. These implicit biases can then lead well-intentioned people to commit microaggressions against people of color, Native people, and others with marginalized identities.

Think About it

1. Think about the last time you heard someone say a remark that was racially prejudiced. What was said? What was your reaction?

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4.3: Discrimination

Discrimination

Often racial and ethnic prejudice leads to discrimination against the subordinate racial and ethnic groups in a given society. **Discrimination** in this context refers to the arbitrary denial of rights, privileges, and opportunities to members of these groups. The use of the word arbitrary emphasizes that these groups are being treated unequally not because of their lack of merit but because of their race and ethnicity.

Usually prejudice and discrimination go hand-in-hand, but Robert Merton (1949) stressed this is not always so. Sometimes we can be prejudiced and not discriminate, and sometimes we might not be prejudiced and still discriminate. Table 4.3.1 illustrates his perspective. The top-left cell and bottom-right cell consist of people who behave in ways we would normally expect. The top-left one consists of "active bigots," in Merton's terminology, people who are both prejudiced and discriminatory. An example of such a person is the white owner of an apartment building who dislikes people of color and refuses to rent to them. The bottom-right cell consists of "all-weather liberals," as Merton called them, people who are neither prejudiced nor discriminatory. An example would be someone who holds no stereotypes about the various racial and ethnic groups and treats everyone the same regardless of her or his background.

Table 4.3.1: Robert Merton's view on the levels of discrimination. (Adapted from Merton, R. K. (1949). Discrimination and the American creed. In R. M. MacIver (Ed.), Discrimination and national welfare (pp. 99–126). New York, NY: Institute for Religious Studies.)

	Prejudiced?	
	Yes	No
Discriminates?		
Yes	Active bigots	Fair-weather liberals
No	Timid bigots	All-weather liberals

The remaining two cells of Table 4.3.1 are the more unexpected ones. On the bottom left, we see people who are prejudiced but who nonetheless do not discriminate; Merton called them "timid bigots." An example would be white restaurant owners who do not like people of color but still serve them anyway because they want their business or are afraid of being sued if they do not serve them. At the top right, we see "fair-weather liberals," or people who are not prejudiced but who still discriminate. An example would be white store owners in the South during the segregation era who thought it was wrong to treat Blacks worse than whites but who still refused to sell to them because they were afraid of losing white customers.

Explaining Racial and Ethnic Inequality

Biological Inferiority

As discussed in Chapter 1.2, one long-standing (racist) explanation is that Blacks and other people of color are biologically inferior: They are naturally less intelligent and have other innate flaws that keep them from getting a good education and otherwise doing what needs to be done to achieve the American Dream. As discussed earlier, this racist view is no longer common today. However, whites historically used this belief to justify slavery, lynchings, the harsh treatment of Native Americans in the 1800s, and lesser forms of discrimination. In 1994, Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray revived this view in their controversial book, The Bell Curve (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994), in which they argued that the low IQ scores of African Americans, and of poor people more generally, reflect their genetic inferiority in the area of intelligence. African Americans' low innate intelligence, they said, accounts for their poverty and other problems. Although the news media gave much attention to their book, few scholars agreed with its views, and many condemned the book's argument as a racist way of "blaming the victim" (Gould, 1994).

Cultural Deficiencies

Another explanation of racial and ethnic inequality focuses on supposed cultural deficiencies of African Americans and other people of color (Murray, 1984). These deficiencies include a failure to value hard work and, for African Americans, a lack of strong

family ties, and are said to account for the poverty and other problems facing these minorities. As we saw earlier, more than half of non-Latino whites think that Blacks' poverty is due to their lack of motivation and willpower. Ironically some scholars find support for this cultural deficiency view in the experience of many Asian Americans, whose success is often attributed to their culture's emphasis on hard work, educational attainment, and strong family ties (Min, 2005). If that is true, these scholars say, then the lack of success of other people of color stems from the failure of their own cultures to value these attributes.

How accurate is the cultural deficiency argument? Whether people of color have "deficient" cultures remains hotly debated (Bonilla-Silva, 2009). Many social scientists find little or no evidence of cultural problems in minority communities and say the belief in cultural deficiencies is an example of symbolic racism that blames the victim. Citing survey evidence, they say that poor people of color value work and education for themselves and their children at least as much as wealthier white people do (Holland, 2011; Muhammad, 2007). Yet other social scientists, including those sympathetic to the structural problems facing people of color, believe that certain cultural problems do exist, but they are careful to say that these cultural problems arise out of the structural problems. For example, Elijah Anderson (1999) wrote that a "street culture" or "oppositional culture" exists among African Americans in urban areas that contributes to high levels of violent behavior, but he emphasized that this type of culture stems from the segregation, extreme poverty, and other difficulties these citizens face in their daily lives and helps them deal with these difficulties. Thus even if cultural problems do exist, they should not obscure the fact that structural problems are responsible for the cultural ones.

Structural Problems

A third explanation for US racial and ethnic inequality is based in conflict theory and reflects the blaming-the-system approach. This view attributes racial and ethnic inequality to structural problems, including institutional and individual discrimination, a lack of opportunity in education and other spheres of life, and the absence of jobs that pay an adequate wage (Feagin, 2006). Segregated housing, for example, prevents African Americans from escaping the inner city and from moving to areas with greater employment opportunities. Employment discrimination keeps the salaries of people of color much lower than they would be otherwise. The schools that many children of color attend every day are typically overcrowded and underfunded. As these problems continue from one generation to the next, it becomes very difficult for people already at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder to climb up it because of their race and ethnicity.

Individual Discrimination

The discussion so far has centered on **individual discrimination**, or discrimination that individuals practice in their daily lives, usually because they are prejudiced but sometimes even if they are not prejudiced. Individual discrimination is common, as Joe Feagin (1991), a former president of the American Sociological Association, found when he interviewed middle-class African Americans about their experiences. Many of the people he interviewed said they had been refused service, or at least received poor service, in stores or restaurants. Others said they had been harassed by the police, and even put in fear of their lives, just for being Black. Feagin concluded that these examples are not just isolated incidents but rather reflect the larger racism that characterizes US society.



Figure **4.3.2**: In February 2012, neighborhood watch volunteer George Zimmerman fatally shot 17-year-old Trayvon Martin as Martin was walking back from a 7-Eleven carrying some Skittles and iced tea. (CC BY-SA 2.0; Michael Fleshman via Flickr)

To many observers, the fatal shooting of Trayvon Martin in February 2012 was a deadly example of individual discrimination. Martin, a 17-year-old African American, was walking in a gated community in Sanford, Florida, as he returned from a 7-Eleven with a bag of Skittles and some iced tea. An armed neighborhood watch volunteer, George Zimmerman, called 911 and said Martin looked suspicious. Although the 911 operator told Zimmerman not to approach Martin, Zimmerman did so anyway; within minutes Zimmerman shot and killed the unarmed Martin and later claimed self-defense. According to many critics of this incident, Martin's only "crime" was "walking while Black." As an African American newspaper columnist observed, "For every Black man in America, from the millionaire in the corner office to the mechanic in the local garage, the Trayvon Martin tragedy is personal. It could have been me or one of my sons. It could have been any of us" (Robinson, 2012).

Much individual discrimination occurs in the workplace, as sociologist Denise Segura (Segura, 1992) documented when she interviewed 152 Mexican American women working in white-collar jobs at a public university in California. More than 40 percent of the women said they had encountered workplace discrimination based on their ethnicity and/or gender, and they attributed their treatment to stereotypes held by their employers and coworkers. Along with discrimination, they were the targets of condescending comments like "I didn't know that there were any educated people in Mexico that have a graduate degree."

Institutional Discrimination

Individual discrimination is important to address, but at least as consequential in today's world is **institutional discrimination**, or discrimination that pervades the practices of whole institutions, such as housing, medical care, law enforcement, employment, and education. This type of discrimination does not just affect a few isolated people of color. Instead, it affects large numbers of individuals simply because of their race or ethnicity. Sometimes institutional discrimination is also based on gender, disability, and other characteristics.

In the area of race and ethnicity, institutional discrimination often stems from prejudice, as was certainly true in the South during segregation. However, just as individuals can discriminate without being prejudiced, so can institutions when they engage in practices that seem to be racially neutral but in fact have a discriminatory effect. Individuals in institutions can also discriminate without realizing it. They make decisions that turn out, upon close inspection, to discriminate against people of color even if they did not mean to do so.

The bottom line is this: Institutions can discriminate even if they do not intend to do so. Consider height requirements for police. Before the 1970s, police forces around the United States commonly had height requirements, say five feet ten inches. As women

began to want to join police forces in the 1970s, many found they were too short. The same was true for people from some racial/ethnic backgrounds, such as Latinos, whose stature is smaller on the average than that of non-Latino whites. Of course, even many white males were too short to become police officers, but the point is that even more women, and even more men of certain ethnicities, were too short.

This gender and ethnic difference is not, in and of itself, discriminatory as the law defines the term. The law allows for bona fide (good faith) physical qualifications for a job. As an example, we would all agree that someone has to be able to see to be a school bus driver; sight therefore is a bona fide requirement for this line of work. Thus even though people who are blind cannot become school bus drivers, the law does not consider such a physical requirement to be discriminatory.

But were the height restrictions for police work in the early 1970s bona fide requirements? Women and members of certain ethnic groups challenged these restrictions in court and won their cases, as it was decided that there was no logical basis for the height restrictions then in effect. In short (pun intended), the courts concluded that a person did not have to be five feet ten inches to be an effective police officer. In response to these court challenges, police forces lowered their height requirements, opening the door for many more women, Latino men, and some other men to join police forces (Appier, 1998). Whether police forces back then intended their height requirements to discriminate, or whether they honestly thought their height requirements made sense, remains in dispute. Regardless of the reason, their requirements did discriminate.

Institutional discrimination affects the life chances of people of color in many aspects of life today. To illustrate this, we turn briefly to some examples of institutional discrimination that have been the subject of government investigation and scholarly research.

Health Care

People of color have higher rates of disease and illness than whites. One question that arises is why their health is worse. One possible answer involves institutional discrimination based on race and ethnicity.

Several studies use hospital records to investigate whether people of color receive optimal medical care, including coronary bypass surgery, angioplasty, and catheterization. After taking the patients' medical symptoms and needs into account, these studies find that African Americans are much less likely than whites to receive the procedures just listed. This is true when poor Blacks are compared to poor whites and also when middle-class Blacks are compared to middle-class whites (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, 2003). In a novel way of studying race and cardiac care, one study performed an experiment in which several hundred doctors viewed videos of African American and white patients, all of whom, unknown to the doctors, were actors. In the videos, each "patient" complained of identical chest pain and other symptoms. The doctors were then asked to indicate whether they thought the patient needed cardiac catheterization. The African American patients were less likely than the white patients to be recommended for this procedure (Schulman et al., 1999).

Why does discrimination like this occur? It is possible, of course, that some doctors are racists and decide that the lives of African Americans just are not worth saving, but it is far more likely that they have unconscious racial biases that somehow affect their medical judgments. Regardless of the reason, the result is the same: African Americans are less likely to receive potentially life-saving cardiac procedures simply because they are Black. Institutional discrimination in health care, then, is literally a matter of life and death.



Figure **4.3.3**: "Health Insurance," piggy bank image illustrating the cost of health care which many cannot afford. (CC BY-SA 2.0; 401(K) 2013 via Flickr)

It is also significant to note that the Latinx population has the highest uninsured rates of any racial or ethnic group within the United States. In 2017, the Census Bureau reported that 49.0% of Latinx had private insurance coverage, as compared to 75.4% for non-Latinx whites (United States Department of Health and Human Services, 2019). In 2017, 38.2% of all Hispanics had public health insurance coverage, as compared to 33.7% for non-Hispanic whites (ibid). Most Americans have health insurance through their employers, as the country does not ensure that all Americans have insurance. This "business as usual" practice has had a disproportionately negative impact on the Latinx population. As explained in an American Medical Association article, "the structural drivers that have led to health inequity in Latinx communities have been exacerbated by COVID-19 and have contributed to the disproportionate impact of the pandemic on these communities" (Robeznieks, 2020).

Mortgages, Redlining, and Residential Segregation

When loan officers review mortgage applications, they consider many factors, including the person's income, employment, and credit history. The law forbids them to consider race and ethnicity. Yet African Americans and Latinos are more likely than whites to have their mortgage applications declined (Blank, Venkatachalam, McNeil, & Green, 2005). Because members of these groups tend to be poorer than whites and to have less desirable employment and credit histories, the higher rate of mortgage rejections may be appropriate, albeit unfortunate.

To control for this possibility, researchers take these factors into account and in effect compare whites, African Americans, and Latinos with similar incomes, employment, and credit histories. Some studies are purely statistical, and some involve white, African American, and Latino individuals who independently visit the same mortgage-lending institutions. Both types of studies find that African Americans and Latinos are still more likely than whites with similar qualifications to have their mortgage applications rejected (Turner, Freiberg, Godfrey, Herbig, Levy, & Smith, 2002). We will probably never know whether loan officers are consciously basing their decisions on racial prejudice, but their practices still amount to racial and ethnic discrimination whether the loan officers are consciously prejudiced or not.

There is also evidence of banks rejecting mortgage applications for people who wish to live in certain urban, supposedly high-risk neighborhoods, and of insurance companies denying homeowner's insurance or else charging higher rates for homes in these same neighborhoods. Practices like these that discriminate against houses in certain neighborhoods are called **redlining**, and they also violate the law (Ezeala-Harrison, Glover, & Shaw-Jackson, 2008). Because the people affected by redlining tend to be people of color, redlining, too, is an example of institutional discrimination.



Figure **4.3.4**: Banks have rejected mortgage applications from people who wish to live in certain urban, high-risk neighborhoods. This practice, called redlining, violates the law. (CC BY 2.0; Taber Andrew Bain via Flickr)

Mortgage rejections and redlining contribute to another major problem facing people of color: residential segregation. Housing segregation is illegal but is nonetheless widespread because of mortgage rejections and other processes that make it very difficult for people of color to move out of segregated neighborhoods and into unsegregated areas. African Americans in particular remain highly segregated by residence in many cities, much more so than is true for other people of color. The residential segregation of African Americans is so extensive that it has been termed **hypersegregation** and more generally called American apartheid (Massey & Denton, 1993).

In addition to mortgage rejections, a pattern of subtle discrimination by realtors and homeowners makes it difficult for African Americans to find out about homes in white neighborhoods and to buy them (Pager, 2008). For example, realtors may tell African American clients that no homes are available in a particular white neighborhood, but then inform white clients of available homes. The now routine posting of housing listings on the Internet might be reducing this form of housing discrimination, but not all homes and apartments are posted, and some are simply sold by word of mouth to avoid certain people learning about them.

The hypersegregation experienced by African Americans cuts them off from the larger society, as many rarely leave their immediate neighborhoods, and results in concentrated poverty, where joblessness, crime, and other problems reign. For several reasons, then, residential segregation is thought to play a major role in the seriousness and persistence of African American poverty (Rothstein, 2012; Stoll, 2008).

Employment Discrimination

Title VII of the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 banned racial discrimination in employment, including hiring, wages, and firing. However, African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans still have much lower earnings than whites. Several factors explain this disparity. Despite Title VII, however, an additional reason is that people of color continue to face discrimination in hiring and promotion (Hirsh & Cha, 2008). It is again difficult to determine whether such discrimination stems from conscious prejudice or from unconscious prejudice on the part of potential employers, but it is racial discrimination nonetheless.

A now-classic field experiment documented such discrimination. Sociologist Devah Pager (2003) had young white and African American men apply independently in person for entry-level jobs. They dressed the same and reported similar levels of education and other qualifications. Some applicants also admitted having a criminal record, while other applicants reported no such record. As might be expected, applicants with a criminal record were hired at lower rates than those without a record. However, in striking evidence of racial discrimination in hiring, African American applicants without a criminal record were hired at the same low rate as the white applicants with a criminal record.

Dimensions of Racial and Ethnic Inequality

Racial and ethnic inequality manifests itself in all walks of life. The individual and institutional discrimination just discussed is one manifestation of this inequality. We can also see stark evidence of racial and ethnic inequality in various government statistics. Sometimes statistics lie, and sometimes they provide all too true a picture; statistics on racial and ethnic inequality fall into the latter category. Table 4.3.5 presents data on racial and ethnic differences in income, education, and health.

Table **4.3.5**: Racial and ethnic differences in income, education, and health. (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0; Data from the U.S Census in Dimensions of Racial and Ethnic Inequality via Social Problems: Continuity and Change)

	White	African American	Latino	Asian	Native American
Median family income, 2010 ($)	68,818	39,900	41,102	76,736	39,664
Persons who are college educated, 2010 (%)	30.3	19.8	13.9	52.4	14.9 (2008)
Persons in poverty, 2010 (%)	9.9 (non-Latino)	27.4	26.6	12.1	28.4
Infant mortality (number of infant deaths per 1,000 births), 2006	5.6	12.9	5.4	4.6	8.

The picture presented by Table 4.3.5 is clear: US racial and ethnic groups differ dramatically in their life chances. Compared to whites, for example, African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans have much lower family incomes and much higher rates of poverty; they are also much less likely to have college degrees. In addition, African Americans and Native Americans have much higher infant mortality rates than whites: Black infants, for example, are more than twice as likely as white infants to die.

Although Table 4.3.5 shows that African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans fare much worse than whites, it presents a more complex pattern for Asian Americans. Compared to whites, Asian Americans have higher family incomes and are more likely to hold college degrees, but they also have a higher poverty rate. Thus many Asian Americans do relatively well, while others fare relatively worse, as just noted. Although Asian Americans are often viewed as a “model minority,” meaning that they have achieved economic success despite not being white, some Asians have been less able than others to climb the economic ladder. Moreover, stereotypes of Asian Americans and discrimination against them remain serious problems (Chou & Feagin, 2008). Even the overall success rate of Asian Americans obscures the fact that their occupations and incomes are often lower than would be expected from their educational attainment. They thus have to work harder for their success than whites do (Hurh & Kim, 1999).

The Increasing Racial/Ethnic Wealth Gap

Racial and ethnic inequality has existed since the beginning of the United States. Social scientists have warned that certain conditions have actually worsened for people of color since the 1960s (Hacker, 2003; Massey & Sampson, 2009). Recent evidence of this worsening appeared in a report by the Pew Research Center (2011), as evidenced in Figure 4.3.6. The report focused on racial disparities in wealth, which includes a family’s total assets (income, savings and investments, home equity, etc.) and debts (mortgage, credit cards, etc.). The report found that the wealth gap between white households on the one hand and African American and Latino households on the other hand was much wider than just a few years earlier, thanks to the faltering US economy since 2008 that affected Blacks more severely than whites.

According to the report, whites’ median wealth was ten times greater than Blacks’ median wealth in 2007, a discouraging disparity for anyone who believes in racial equality. By 2009, however, whites’ median wealth had jumped to twenty times greater than Blacks’ median wealth and eighteen times greater than Latinos’ median wealth. White households had a median net worth of about $113,000, while Black and Latino households had a median net worth of only $5,700 and $6,300, respectively (Figure 4.3.6). This racial and ethnic difference is the largest since the government began tracking wealth more than a quarter-century ago.

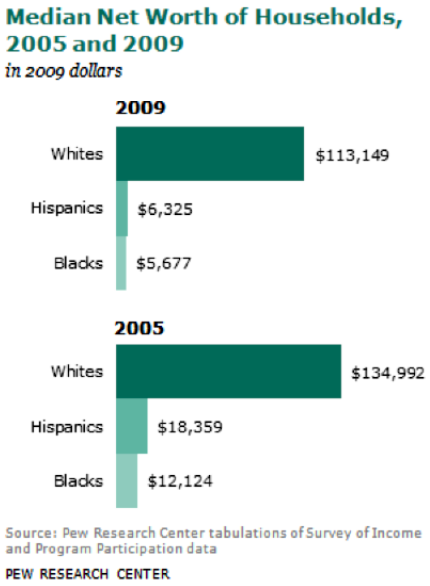


Figure 4.3.6: The Racial/Ethnic Wealth Gap (Median Net Worth of Households in 2009). (Used with permission; Wealth Gaps Rise to Record Highs Between whites, Blacks, Latinx. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2011))

A large racial/ethnic gap also existed in the percentage of families with negative net worth—that is, those whose debts exceed their assets. One-third of Black and Latino households had negative net worth, compared to only 15 percent of white households. Black and Latino households were thus more than twice as likely as white households to be in debt.

The Hidden Toll of Racial and Ethnic Inequality

An increasing amount of evidence suggests that being Black in a society filled with racial prejudice, discrimination, and inequality takes what has been called a "hidden toll" on the lives of African Americans (Blitstein, 2009). African Americans on the average have worse health than whites and die at younger ages. In fact, every year there are an additional 100,000 African American deaths than would be expected if they lived as long as whites do. Although many reasons probably explain all these disparities, scholars are increasingly concluding that the stress of being Black is a major factor (Geronimus et al., 2010).

In this way of thinking, African Americans are much more likely than whites to be poor, to live in high-crime neighborhoods, and to live in crowded conditions, among many other problems. As this chapter discussed earlier, they are also more likely, whether or not they are poor, to experience racial slights, refusals to be interviewed for jobs, and other forms of discrimination in their everyday lives. All these problems mean that African Americans from their earliest ages grow up with a great deal of stress, far more than what most whites experience. This stress in turn has certain neural and physiological effects, including hypertension (high blood pressure), that impair African Americans' short-term and long-term health and that ultimately shorten their lives. These effects accumulate over time: Black and white hypertension rates are equal for people in their twenties, but the Black rate becomes much higher by the time people reach their forties and fifties. As a recent news article on evidence of this "hidden toll" summarized this process, "The long-term stress of living in a white-dominated society 'weathers' Blacks, making them age faster than their white counterparts" (Blitstein, 2009, p. 48).

Although there is less research on other people of color, many Latinos and Native Americans also experience the various sources of stress that African Americans experience. To the extent this is true, racial and ethnic inequality also takes a hidden toll on members of these two groups. They, too, experience racial slights, live under disadvantaged conditions, and face other problems that result in high levels of stress and shorten their life spans.

Thinking Sociologically

1. If you have ever experienced individual discrimination, either as the person committing it or as the person affected by it, briefly describe what happened. How do you now feel when you reflect on this incident?
2. Do you think institutional discrimination occurs because people are purposely acting in a racially discriminatory manner? Why or why not?

3. Which of the three explanations of racial and ethnic inequality makes the most sense to you? Why?
4. Why should a belief in the biological inferiority of people of color be considered racist?

Key Takeaways

- People who practice racial or ethnic discrimination are usually also prejudiced, but not always. Some people practice discrimination without being prejudiced, and some may not practice discrimination even though they are prejudiced.
- Although a belief in biological inferiority used to be an explanation for racial and ethnic inequality, this belief is now considered racist.
- Cultural explanations attribute racial and ethnic inequality to certain cultural deficiencies among people of color.
- Structural explanations attribute racial and ethnic inequality to problems in the larger society, including discriminatory practices and lack of opportunity.
- Individual discrimination is common and can involve various kinds of racial slights. Much individual discrimination occurs in the workplace.
- Institutional discrimination often stems from prejudice, but institutions can also practice racial and ethnic discrimination when they engage in practices that seem to be racially neutral but in fact have a discriminatory effect.

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4.4: Racism

Racism

The terms stereotype, prejudice, discrimination, and racism are often used interchangeably in everyday conversation, but sociologists do not view them as the same. While prejudice is not necessarily specific to race, **racism** is a doctrine of racial supremacy that sees one racial category as somehow superior or inferior to others. The Ku Klux Klan is a racist organization; its members' belief in white supremacy has encouraged over a century of hate crime and hate speech.

According to Ibram X. Kendi (2020), racism is a marriage of racist policies and racist ideas that produces and normalizes racial inequities. Kendi defines a **racist** as someone who is supporting a racist policy through their actions or inaction or expressing a racist idea. Further, **racial inequity** is defined as when two or more race-ethnic groups are not standing on equal footing - which is a result of racist policies or ideas (Kendi, 2020). For Kendi, the polar of a racist is an **anti-racist**, one who is supporting an anti-racist policy through their actions or expressing an anti-racist idea. To say that one is not racist is a hollow statement as it is devoid of action. In Chapter 12.1, equity is further explained, but like anti-racism, it requires action to counter racial inequities.

Institutional racism refers to the way in which racism is embedded in the fabric of society. For example, the disproportionate number of Black men arrested, charged, and convicted of crimes may reflect racial profiling, a form of institutional racism. (At the end of this section, various types of racism are further defined, with examples).

Sociologists, in general, recognize "race" as a social construct. This means that, although the concepts of race and racism are based on observable biological characteristics, any conclusions drawn about race on the basis of those observations are heavily influenced by cultural ideologies. Racism, as an ideology, exists in a society at both the individual and institutional level.

While much of the research and work on racism during the last half-century or so has concentrated on "white racism" in the Western world, historical accounts of race-based social practices can be found across the globe. Kendi reminds us though that a person of any race-ethnic background could be racist. Racism can be broadly understood to encompass individual and group prejudices and acts of discrimination that result in material and cultural advantages conferred on a majority or a dominant social group. So-called "white racism" focuses on societies in which white populations are the majority or the dominant social group. In studies of these majority white societies, the aggregate of material and cultural advantages is usually termed "white privilege."

Racism in the United States traces the attitudes, laws, practices and actions which discriminate against various groups in the United States based on their race or ethnicity; while most white Americans enjoy legally or socially sanctioned privileges and rights which have at various times been denied to members of other ethnic or minority groups. European Americans, particularly affluent white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, are said to have enjoyed advantages in matters of education, immigration, voting rights, citizenship, land acquisition, bankruptcy, and criminal procedure throughout United States history.

Racism against various ethnic or minority groups has existed in the United States since the colonial era. African Americans in particular have faced restrictions on their political, social, and economic freedoms throughout much of United States history. Native Americans have suffered genocide, forced removals, and massacres, and they continue to face discrimination. In addition, East, South, and Southeast Asians along with Pacific Islanders have also been discriminated against. Hispanics have continuously experienced racism in the United States despite the fact that many of them have European ancestry. Middle Eastern groups such as Jews, Arabs, and Iranians continuously face discrimination in the United States, and as a result, some people who belong to these groups do not identify as, and are not perceived to be, white.



Figure 4.4.1: A man holding sign during Iranian hostage crisis protest in 1979. (CC PDM 1.0; Library of Congress (Marion S. Trikosko) via Wikimedia)

Racism has manifested itself in a variety of ways, including genocide, slavery, segregation, Native American reservations, Native American boarding schools, immigration and naturalization laws, and internment camps. Formal racial discrimination was largely banned by the mid-20th century and over time, coming to be perceived as being socially and morally unacceptable. Racial politics remains a major phenomenon, and racism continues to be reflected in socioeconomic inequality. In recent years research has uncovered extensive evidence of racial discrimination in various sectors of modern U.S. society, including the criminal justice system, business, the economy, housing, health care, the media, and politics. In the view of the United Nations and the U.S. Human Rights Network, "discrimination in the United States permeates all aspects of life and extends to all communities of color."

Anti-Middle Eastern Sentiment

Anti-Middle Eastern sentiment is feelings and expression of hostility, hatred, discrimination, or prejudice towards the Middle East and its culture, and towards persons based on their association with the Middle East and Middle Eastern culture.

Anti-Middle Eastern racism has a long history in the United States, although it had generally been limited to Jews until recent decades. It is suggested by Leo Rosten that as soon as they left the boat, Jews were subject to racism from the port immigration authorities. The derogatory term kike was adopted when referring to Jews (because they often could not write so they may have signed their immigration papers with circles – or kikel in Yiddish). In early films, such as Cohen's Advertising Scheme (1904, silent), Jews were stereotyped as "scheming merchants," often with exaggerated West Asian racial features such as big, hooked noses, big lips, small eyes, black curly hair, and olive and/or brown-colored skin.

From the 1910s, Southern Jewish communities were attacked by the Ku Klux Klan, who objected to Jewish immigration, and often used "The Jewish Banker" in their propaganda. In 1915, Leo Frank was lynched in Georgia after being convicted of rape and sentenced to death (his punishment was commuted to life imprisonment). The second Ku Klux Klan, which grew enormously in the early 1920s by promoting "100% Americanism", focused its hatred on Jews, as well as Catholics and African Americans.

In 1993, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee confronted The Walt Disney Company about anti-Arab racist content in its animated film *Aladdin*. At first, Disney denied any problems but eventually relented and changed two lines in the opening song. Members of the ADC were still unhappy with the portrayal of Arabic characters and the referral to the Middle East as "barbaric".

Figure 4.4.2: Iranian Revolution anniversary 2017. (CC BY 4.0; Mohammad Hassanzadeh via Wikimedia)

Since 9/11, anti-Middle Eastern racism has risen dramatically. A man in Houston, Texas, who was shot and wounded after an assailant accused him of "blowing up the country", and four immigrants shot and killed by a man named Larme Price, who confessed to killing them as revenge for the September 11 attacks. Price said he was motivated by a desire to kill people of Arab descent after the attacks. Although Price described his victims as Arabs, only one was from an Arab country. This appears to be a trend; because of stereotypes of Arabs, several non-Arab, non-Muslim groups were subjected to attacks in the wake of 9/11,

including several Sikh men attacked for wearing their religiously-mandated turban. Price's mother, Leatha Price, said that her son's anger at Arabs was a matter of mental illness, not ethnic hatred.

A 2007 survey by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) concluded that 15% of Americans hold anti-Semitic views, which was in-line with the average of the previous ten years, but a decline from the 29% of the early sixties (The Marttila Communications Group). The survey concluded that education was a strong predictor, "with most educated Americans being remarkably free of prejudicial views" (Ibid). The belief that Jews have too much power was considered a common anti-Semitic view by the ADL. Other views indicating anti-Semitism, according to the survey, include the view that Jews are more loyal to Israel than America, and that they are responsible for the death of Jesus of Nazareth. The survey found that anti-Semitic Americans are likely to be intolerant generally, e.g. regarding immigration and free-speech. The 2007 survey also found that 29% of foreign-born Hispanics and 32% of African-Americans hold strong anti-Semitic beliefs, three times more than the 10% for whites. A 2009 study published in Boston Review found that nearly 25% of non-Jewish Americans blamed Jews for the financial crisis of 2007–2008, with a higher percentage among Democrats than Republicans; 32% of Democrats blamed Jews for the financial crisis, versus 18% for Republicans.

Anti-Asian Sentiment

Asian Americans, including those of East Asian, South Asian, and Southeast Asian descent, have experienced racism since the first major groups of Chinese immigrants arrived in America. The Naturalization Act of 1790 made Asians ineligible for citizenship. First-generation immigrants, children of immigrants, and Asians adopted by non-Asian families are still impacted by discrimination. During the Industrial Revolution in the United States, labor shortages in the mining and rail industries were prevalent. Chinese immigrant labor was often used to fill this gap, most notably with the construction of the First Transcontinental Railroad, leading to large-scale Chinese immigration. These Chinese immigrants were seen as taking the jobs of whites for cheaper pay, and the phrase Yellow Peril, which predicted the demise of Western Civilization as a result of Chinese immigrants, gained popularity.

In 1871, one of the largest lynchings in American history was committed against Chinese immigrants in Los Angeles, California. It would go on to become known as the Chinese massacre of 1871. The 1879 Constitution of the California prohibited the employment of Chinese people by state and local governments, as well as by businesses that were incorporated in California. Also, the 1879 constitution delegated power to local governments in California to remove Chinese people from within their borders. The federal Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 banned immigration of Chinese labourers for ten years after thousands of Chinese immigrants had come to the American West. Several mob attacks against Chinese people took place, including the Rock Springs massacre of 1885 in Wyoming in which at least 28 Chinese miners were killed and 15 injured, and the Hells Canyon massacre of 1887 in Oregon where 34 Chinese miners were killed.

Recently, the COVID-19 pandemic, which started in the city of Wuhan, Hubei, China, in December 2019, has led to an increase in acts and displays of sinophobia as well as prejudice, xenophobia, discrimination, violence, and racism against people of East Asian, North Asian and Southeast Asian descent and appearance around the world. With the spread of the pandemic and formation of hotspots, such as those in Asia, Europe, and the Americas, discrimination against people from these hotspots has been reported.



Figure **4.4.3**: "Unexpected meeting" (CC BY 2.0: Go-tea 郭天 via Flickr)

According to a June 2020 Pew Research study, 58% of Asian Americans and 45% of African Americans believe that racist views toward them had increased since the pandemic. There were a few thousand incidences of xenophobia and racism against Asian Americans between 28 January and 24 February 2020, according to a tally compiled by Russell Jeung, professor of Asian American Studies at San Francisco State University. An online reporting forum called "Stop AAPI Hate" recorded "650 direct reports of discrimination against primarily Asian Americans" between 18 and 26 March 2020, this later increased to 1,497 reports by 15 April 2020, and most targets were of Chinese (40%) and Korean (16%) descents. According to a WHYY-FM report (21 April 2020), incidents of anti-Asian racism, including discrimination, racial slurs and violent attacks, especially towards Chinese Americans, were caused both by white Americans and African-Americans; most cases remain unreported to the authorities.

Former U.S. President Donald Trump frequently referred to COVID-19 as the "Chinese Virus" and the "China Virus" in an attempt to point to its origin, a term considered to be anti-Chinese and racist. He later argued this was "not racist at all" after lawmakers including Elizabeth Warren raised objections about the statement. Trump also stated on Twitter, on 23 March 2020, that the

coronavirus was not Asian Americans' fault and their community should be protected. Trump brushed off the alleged use of the derogatory term "Kung Flu" by a White House official to refer to COVID-19 when asked by a reporter during a media session on 18 March 2020. Eventually he pulled back on the "Chinese Virus" name due to Asian communities facing increased number of racist taunts and incidents as the illness spread across the U.S. however, at his Tulsa, Oklahoma rally on 20 June, Trump referred to the virus as "Kung Flu." On 14 March 2020, more than 200 civil rights groups in the United States demanded that the House of Representatives and Senate leadership publicly denounce the growing amount of anti-Asian racism related to the pandemic and take "tangible steps to counter the hysteria" around the coronavirus, offering the passage of a joint resolution denouncing the racism and xenophobia as one solution.

Types of Racism

A general definition of racism has been provided above. Yet, in reality, sociologists have identified multiple types of racism, which are defined and described below. The analysis of these different types of racism provides more depth and complexity which can help to better diagnose, critically analyze, and potentially remedy racism.

Thinking Sociologically

Color-blind racism is defined as the use of race-neutral principles to defend the racially unequal status quo. While a mainstream definition of color-blindness suggests that race or racial classification does not affect a person's life chances or opportunities, sociologists such as Bonilla-Silva argues that this more subtle form of racism ignores race and structural racism and is the dominant ideology in the U.S. Yet, as shown below structural racism permeates every aspect of our lives, and color blind racism ignores the structural inequalities that disproportionately affect people of color.

- Example: "We are all equal" and "race doesn't matter" are phrases uttered and may sound but, but in reality these phrases ignore structural problems such as the prison industrial complex, poverty, the wealth gap, and educational inequailties - all of which hamper the life chances of people of color which means we do not all have equal chances.
- How can we reach a point where our differences are acknowledged and even celebrated or where are unequal life experiences are understood as real?

Environmental racism: Structurally analogous to environmental sexism, environmental racism involves a conceptual association between people of color and nature that marks their dual subordination (Bullard, 1983). Environmental racism is seen in the deliberate targeting of communities of color for toxic waste disposal and the siting of polluting industries(Ibid). It is racial discrimination in the official sanctioning of the life-threatening presence of poisons and pollutants in communities of color (Ibid). And, it is racial discrimination in the history of excluding people of color from the mainstream environmental groups, decision-making boards, commissions, and regulatory bodies (Ibid).

- Example: Government-sanctioned lead-contaminated drinking water in Flint, Michigan, disproportionately impacting the African-American population.
- What race-ethnic representation exists in your local, appointed and elected municipalities (government), including those that regulate water and air pollution? What environmental groups exist in your community to provide checks on these governing boards, particularly with regards to the communities populated by people of color?

Ideological racism: An ideology that considers a groups' unchangeable physical characteristics to be linked in a direct, causal way to psychological or intellectual characteristics and that, on this basis, distinguishes between superior and inferior groups (Feagin & Feagin, 1998).

- Example: The justification of slavery as "saving" Africans from their homeland's "primitive culture;" Manifest Destiny that purported Euro-Americans God-given rights to the lands in the eastern United States at the expense of Native Americans who were symbolized as "savages;" former President Trump's statements on the campaign trail linking Mexicans to rapists and criminals.
- How can the stereotypes that shape ideological racism be challenged or changed - on an individual level, in our families, in the media, and in society at large?

Internalized racism: Members of the target group are emotionally, physically, and spiritually battered to the point that they begin to actually believe that their oppression is deserved, is their lot in life, is natural and right, and that it doesn't even exist

(Yamato, 2004).

- Example: A person of color who hates their skin color and wishes to marry out of their race-ethnic group so their children will be of lighter complexion. Another example: the root of the alcohol problem in Indigenous communities can be traced to the effects of colonization, internalizing the colonizer's message (i.e. American Indians are inferior or "savage").
- In some communities and families, internalized racism has been in the works over centuries. What types of mental health supports exist in your communities or schools that may serve to address internalized racism?

Inter-group or inter-personal racism: This is the racism that occurs between individuals or groups; it is the holding of negative attitudes towards a different race or culture (Safe Places for the Advancement of Community and Equity). Interpersonal racism often follows a victim/perpetrator model (Ibid). Within poor communities, ignorance and suspicion of groups or individuals of a different race-ethnic background may result in tension between various race-ethnic groups.

- Example: In urban spaces such as Los Angeles, Long Beach, Chicago, New York City, poor Latinx, Asian, and African American gangs fight each other rather than the capitalist system that perpetuates class inequalities.
- Can you identify examples of multiracial coalitions in your community? One such multiracial collective is Californians for Justice, located in Oakland, San Jose, Fresno, and Long Beach, which is a statewide youth-powered organization fighting for racial justice, particularly in our public schools.

Intra-group racism: Racist attitudes and behaviors against people of your "same racial group." Colorism is a type of intra-group racism which is the ranking or judgment of individuals based on skin tone (Schaefer, 2019).

- Example: A light-skinned person of color who evaluates a dark-skinned person of color as inferior; a wealthy person of any particular "race" who speaks pejoratively of less financially wealthy individuals in their "race."
- Have you ever experienced colorism in your family, community, or social media? How did you respond to this colorism, or how could have you responded to it?

Modern racism: White beliefs that serious anti-Black (or anti-Mexican, anti-Arab, anti-Asian, etc.) discrimination does not exist today and that African Americans (or other communities of color) are making illegitimate demands for social changes. (Feagin & Feagin, 1998). This type of racism may be understood as color-blind racism.

- Example: One white male (David C.) in the film, The Color of Fear, was sure he was not racist at all and sure that racism is a thing of the past and only a figment in the imagination of the minds of African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, etc.



Video 4.4.4: The Color of Fear Trailer. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; StirFry Seminars & Consulting via YouTube)

- In this film, through dialoguing with other men of color and white men, David C. barely begins to understand white privilege and the systems of power that oppress people of color. Another male featured in the film, Roberto, acknowledges that unmasking white privilege is painful, as he proclaims,"The cure of the pain is in the pain." How would you respond to someone who proclaims that racism is not real, but is rather an illusion or a figment of one's imagination?

Structural racism/Systemic racism: A shorthand term for the many systemic factors that work to produce and maintain racial inequities in America today. These are aspects of our history and culture that allow the privileges associated with "whiteness" and the disadvantages associated with "color" to remain deeply embedded within the political economy. Public policies, institutional practices and cultural representations contribute to structural racism by reproducing outcomes that are racially inequitable. (The Aspen Institute)

- Example: The criminal justice system contributes to systemic racism through over-policing of communities of color, disproportionate police brutality experienced by people of color, and disproportionate mass incarceration of Black men.
- The Summer 2020 protests called to dismantle systemic racism in this country, particularly in policing. What do you think needs to happen to rid this country of system racism that is evident in our laws, schooling, mass media, criminal justice system, political representation, employment patterns, etc.?

Subtle, covert racism: Hidden, camouflaged, pernicious racism.

- Example: Merriam-Webster's Dictionary definitions of racially-coded labels such as Black, minority, and savage all contain derogatory meanings.
- What do you think is more harmful to our society: overt (obvious) racism or subtle, covert racism? While laws may address overt racism such as hate crimes, addressing covert racism may be far more challenging. How might we raise children in a way to prevent subtle, covert racism?

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- Racism in the United States Asian Americans (Wikipedia) (CC BY-SA 3.0)
- List of incidents of xenophobia and racism related to the COVID-19 pandemic (Wikipedia) (CC BY-SA 3.0)

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4.5: Reducing Discrimination

Learning Objectives

- Review the causes of discrimination and the ways that we can reduce it.
- Summarize the conditions under which intergroup contact does or does not reduce prejudice and discrimination.

We have seen that social categorization is a basic part of human nature and one that helps us to simplify our social worlds, to draw quick (if potentially inaccurate) conclusions about others, and to feel good about ourselves. In many cases, our preferences for ingroups may be relatively harmless—we may prefer to socialize with people who share our race or ethnicity, for instance, but without particularly disliking the others. But categorizing others may also lead to prejudice and discrimination, and it may even do so without our awareness. Because prejudice and discrimination are so harmful to so many people, we must all work to get beyond them.

Discrimination influences the daily life of its victims in areas such as employment, income, financial opportunities, housing and educational opportunities, and medical care. Discrimination has been blamed for the large percentage of Blacks living in poverty and for their lack of access to high-paying jobs (Williams & Rucker, 1996). Blacks have higher mortality rates than Whites for 8 of the 10 leading causes of death in the United States (Williams, 1999) and have less access to and receive poorer-quality health care, even controlling for other variables such as level of health insurance. Suicide rates among lesbians and gays are substantially higher than rates for the general population, and it has been argued that this in part due to the negative outcomes of prejudice, including negative attitudes and resulting social isolation (Halpert, 2002). And in some rare cases, discrimination even takes the form of hate crimes such as gay bashing.

More commonly, members of minority groups also face a variety of small hassles, such as bad service in restaurants, being stared at, and being the target of jokes (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003). But even these everyday “minor” forms of discrimination can be problematic because they may produce anger and anxiety among stigmatized group members and may lead to stress and other psychological problems (Klonoff, Landrine, & Campbell, 2000; Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999). Stigmatized individuals who report experiencing more exposure to discrimination or other forms of unfair treatment also report more depression, anger, and anxiety and lower levels of life satisfaction and happiness (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001).

Of course most of us do try to keep our stereotypes and our prejudices out of mind, and we work hard to avoid discriminating (Richeson & Shelton, 2007). But even when we work to keep our negative beliefs under control, this does not mean that they easily disappear. Neil Macrae and his colleagues (Macrae, Bodenhausen, Milne, & Jetten, 1994) asked British college students to write a paragraph describing a skinhead (a member of a group that is negatively stereotyped in England). One half of the participants were asked to be sure to not use their stereotypes when they were judging him, whereas the other half simply wrote whatever came to mind. Although the participants who were asked to suppress their thoughts were able to do it, this suppression didn’t last very long. After they had suppressed their stereotypes, these beliefs quickly popped back into mind, making it even more likely that they would be used immediately later.

But stereotypes are not always and inevitably activated when we encounter people from other groups. We can and we do get past them, although doing so may take some effort on our part (Blair, 2002). There are a number of techniques that we can use to try to improve our attitudes toward outgroups, and at least some of them have been found to be effective. Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hermsen, and Russin (2000) found that students who practiced responding in nonstereotypical ways to members of other groups became better able to avoid activating their negative stereotypes on future occasions. And a number of studies have found that we become less prejudiced when we are exposed to and think about group members who have particularly positive or nonstereotypical characteristics. For instance, Blair, Ma, and Lenton (2001) asked their participants to imagine a woman who was “strong” and found that doing so decreased stereotyping of women. Similarly, Bodenhausen, Schwarz, Bless, and Wanke (1995) found that when White students thought about positive Black role models—such as Oprah Winfrey and Michael Jordan—they became less prejudiced toward Blacks.

Reducing Discrimination by Changing Social Norms

One variable that makes us less prejudiced is **education**. People who are more educated express fewer stereotypes and prejudice in general. This is true for students who enroll in courses that are related to stereotypes and prejudice, such as a course on gender and ethnic diversity (Rudman, Ashmore, & Gary, 2001), and is also true more generally—education reduces prejudice, regardless of what particular courses you take (Sidanius, Sinclair, & Pratto, 2006).

The effects of education on reducing prejudice are probably due in large part to the new **social norms** that people are introduced to in school. **Social norms** define what is appropriate and inappropriate, and we can effectively change stereotypes and prejudice by changing the relevant norms about them. Jetten, Spears, and Manstead (1997) manipulated whether students thought that the other members of their university favored equal treatment of others or believed that others thought it was appropriate to favor the ingroup. They found that perceptions of what the other group members believed had an important influence on the beliefs of the individuals themselves. The students were more likely to show ingroup favoritism when they believed that the norm of their ingroup was to do so, and this tendency was increased for students who had high social identification with the ingroup.

Sechrist and Stangor (2001) selected White college students who were either high or low in prejudice toward Blacks and then provided them with information indicating that their prejudiced or unprejudiced beliefs were either shared or not shared by the other students at their university. Then the students were asked to take a seat in a hallway to wait for the next part of the experiment. A Black confederate was sitting in one seat at the end of the row, and the dependent measure was how far away the students sat from her.

As you can see in Figure 12.8, high prejudice students who learned that other students were also prejudiced sat farther away from the Black confederate in comparison with high prejudice individuals who were led to believe that their beliefs were not shared. On the other hand, students who were initially low in prejudice and who believed these views were shared sat closer to the Black confederate in comparison with low prejudice individuals who were led to believe that their beliefs were not shared. These results demonstrate that our perceptions of relevant social norms can strengthen or weaken our tendencies to engage in discriminatory behaviors.

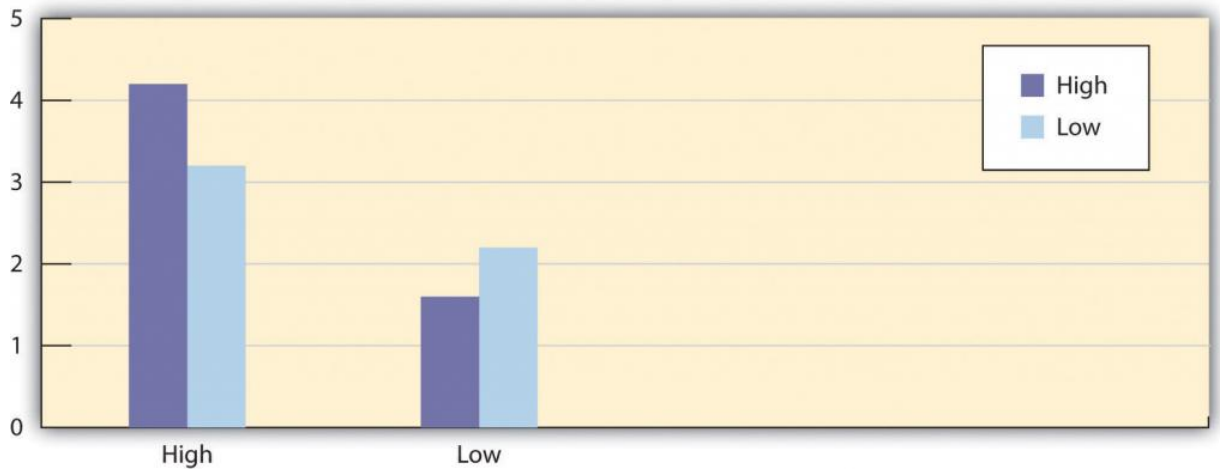


Figure 12.8 The Role of Norms in Intergroup Behavior

White college students who were low in prejudice toward Blacks sat closer to the Black confederate when they had been told that their beliefs were shared with other group members at their university. On the other hand, White college students who were high in prejudice sat farther away from the Black confederate when they had been told that their beliefs were shared with other group members at their university. Data are from Sechrist and Stangor (2001).

The influence of social norms is powerful, and long-lasting changes in beliefs about outgroups will occur only if they are supported by changes in social norms. Prejudice and discrimination thrive in environments in which they are perceived to be the norm, but they die when the existing social norms do not allow it. And because social norms are so important, the behavior of individuals can help create or reduce prejudice and discrimination. Discrimination, prejudice, and even hate crimes such as gay bashing will be more likely to continue if people do not respond to or confront them when they occur.

What this means is that if you believe that prejudice is wrong, you must confront it when you see it happening. Czopp, Monteith, and Mark (2006) had White participants participate in a task in which it was easy to unintentionally stereotype a Black person, and as a result, many of the participants did so. Then, confederates of the experimenter confronted the students about their stereotypes, saying things such as “Maybe it would be good to think about Blacks in other ways that are a little more fair?” or “It just seems that you sound like some kind of racist to me. You know what I mean?” Although the participants who had been confronted experienced negative feelings about the confrontation and also expressed negative opinions about the person who confronted them, the confrontation did work. The students who had been confronted expressed less prejudice and fewer stereotypes on subsequent tasks than did the students who had not been confronted.

As this study concluded, taking steps to reduce prejudice is everyone’s duty—having a little courage can go a long way in this regard. Confronting prejudice can lead other people to think that we are complaining and therefore to dislike us (Kaiser & Miller, 2001; Shelton & Stewart, 2004), but confronting prejudice is not all negative for the person who confronts. Although it is embarrassing to do so, particularly if we are not completely sure that the behavior was in fact prejudice, when we fail to confront, we may frequently later feel guilty that we did not (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Hill, 2006).

Reducing Prejudice Through Intergroup Contact

One of the reasons that people may hold stereotypes and prejudices is that they view the members of outgroups as different from them. We may become concerned that our interactions with people from different racial groups will be unpleasant, and these anxieties may lead us to avoid interacting with people from those groups (Mallett, Wilson, & Gilbert, 2008). What this suggests is that a good way to reduce prejudice is to help people create closer connections with members of different groups. People will be more favorable toward others when they learn to see those other people as more similar to them, as closer to the self, and to be more concerned about them.

*The idea that **intergroup contact** will reduce prejudice*, known as the **contact hypothesis**, is simple: If children from different ethnic groups play together in school, their attitudes toward each other should improve. And if we encourage college students to travel abroad, they will meet people from other cultures and become more positive toward them.



Video **4.5.1**: Intergroup Contact Hypothesis (also known as Intergroup Contact Theory) provides an example of reducing prejudice. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; Emily Andre via YouTube)

One important example of the use of intergroup contact to influence prejudice came about as a result of the important U.S. Supreme Court case ***Brown v. Board of Education*** in 1954. In this case, the Supreme Court agreed, based in large part on the testimony of psychologists, that busing Black children to schools attended primarily by White children, and vice versa, would produce positive outcomes on intergroup attitudes, not only because it would provide Black children with access to better schools, but also because the resulting intergroup contact would reduce prejudice between Black and White children. This strategy seemed particularly appropriate at the time it was implemented because most schools in the United States then were highly segregated by race.

The strategy of busing was initiated after the Supreme Court decision, and it had a profound effect on schools in the United States. For one, the policy was very effective in changing school makeup—the number of segregated schools decreased dramatically during the 1960s after the policy was begun. Busing also improved the educational and occupational achievement of Blacks and

increased the desire of Blacks to interact with Whites, for instance, by forming cross-race friendships (Stephan, 1999). Overall, then, the case of desegregating schools in the United States supports the expectation that intergroup contact, at least in the long run, can be successful in changing attitudes. Nevertheless, as a result of several subsequent U.S. Supreme Court decisions, the policy of desegregating schools via busing was not continued past the 1990s.

Although student busing to achieve desegregated schools represents one prominent example of intergroup contact, such contact occurs in many other areas as well. Taken together, there is substantial support for the effectiveness of intergroup contact in improving group attitudes in a wide variety of situations, including schools, work organizations, military forces, and public housing. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conducted a meta-analysis in which they reviewed over 500 studies that had investigated the effects of intergroup contact on group attitudes. They found that attitudes toward groups that were in contact became more positive over time. Furthermore, positive effects of contact were found on both stereotypes and prejudice and for many different types of contacted groups.

The positive effects of intergroup contact may be due in part to increases in other-concern. Galinsky and Moskowitz (2000) found that leading students to take the perspective of another group member—which increased empathy and closeness to the person—also reduced prejudice. And the behavior of students on college campuses demonstrates the importance of connecting with others and the dangers of not doing so. Sidanius, Van Laar, Levin, and Sinclair (2004) found that students who joined exclusive campus groups, including fraternities, sororities, and minority ethnic organizations (such as the African Student Union), were more prejudiced to begin with and became even less connected and more intolerant of members of other social groups over the time that they remained in the organizations. It appears that memberships in these groups focused the students on themselves and other people who were very similar to them, leading them to become less tolerant of others who are different.

Although intergroup contact does work, it is not a panacea because the conditions necessary for it to be successful are frequently not met. Contact can be expected to work only in situations that create the appropriate opportunities for change. For one, contact will only be effective if it provides information demonstrating that the existing stereotypes held by the individuals are incorrect. When we learn more about groups that we didn't know much about before, we learn more of the truth about them, leading us to be less biased in our beliefs. But if our interactions with the group members do not allow us to learn new beliefs, then contact cannot work.

When we first meet someone from another category, we are likely to rely almost exclusively on our stereotypes (Brodt & Ross, 1998). However, when we get to know the individual well (e.g., as a student in a classroom learns to know the other students over a school year), we may get to the point where we ignore that individual's group membership almost completely, responding to him or her entirely at the individual level (Madon et al., 1998). Thus contact is effective in part because it leads us to get past our perceptions of others as group members and to individuate them.

When we get past group memberships and focus more on the individuals in the groups, we begin to see that there is a great deal of variability among the group members and that our global and undifferentiating group stereotypes are actually not that informative (Rothbart & John, 1985). Successful intergroup contact tends to reduce the perception of outgroup homogeneity. Contact also helps us feel more positively about the members of the other group, and this positive affect makes us like them more.

Intergroup contact is also more successful when the people involved in the contact are motivated to learn about the others. One factor that increases this motivation is *interdependence*—a state in which the group members depend on each other for successful performance of the group goals (Neuberg & Fiske, 1987). The importance of interdependence can be seen in the success of cooperative learning techniques, such as the *jigsaw classroom* (Aronson, Blaney, Stephan, Sikes, & Snapp, 1978; Aronson, 2004).

The **jigsaw classroom** is an approach *to learning in which students from different racial or ethnic groups work together, in an interdependent way, to master material*. The class is divided into small learning groups, where each group is diverse in ethnic and gender composition. The assigned material to be learned is divided into as many parts as there are students in the group, and members of different groups who are assigned the same task meet together to help develop a strong report. Each student then learns his or her own part of the material and presents this piece of the puzzle to the other members of his or her group. The students in each group are therefore interdependent in learning all the material. A wide variety of techniques, based on principles of the jigsaw classroom, are in use in many schools around the United States and the world, and research studying these approaches has found that cooperative, interdependent experiences among students from different social groups are effective in reducing negative stereotyping and prejudice (Stephan, 1999).

In sum, we can say that contact will be most effective when it is easier to get to know, and become more respectful of, the members of the other group and when the social norms of the situation promote equal, fair treatment of all groups. If the groups are treated unequally, for instance, by a teacher or leader who is prejudiced and who therefore treats the different groups differently, or if the groups are in competition rather than cooperation, there will be no benefit. In cases when these conditions are not met, contact may not be effective and may in fact increase prejudice, particularly when it confirms stereotypical expectations (Stangor, Jonas, Stroebe, & Hewstone, 1996). Finally, it is important that enough time be allowed for the changes to take effect. In the case of busing in the United States, for instance, the positive effects of contact seemed to have been occurring, but they were not happening particularly fast.

Let's consider in the next section still another way that intergroup contact can reduce prejudice—the idea that prejudice can be reduced for people who have friends who are friends with members of the outgroup—the extended-contact hypothesis.

Research Focus

The Extended-Contact Hypothesis

Although the contact hypothesis proposes that direct contact between people from different social groups will produce more positive attitudes between them, recent evidence suggests that *prejudice can also be reduced for people who have friends who are friends with members of the outgroup*, even if the individual does not have direct contact with the outgroup members himself or herself. This hypothesis is known as the *extended-contact hypothesis*. Supporting this prediction, Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, and Ropp (1997) found in two correlational studies that college students who reported that their own friends had friends who were from another ethnic group reported more positive attitudes toward that outgroup than did students who did not have any friends who had outgroup friends, even controlling for the participants' own outgroup friendships.

Wright et al. (1997) also tested the extended-contact hypothesis experimentally. Participants were four groups of 14 students, and each group spent a whole day in the lab. On arrival, 7 participants were assigned to the "green" group, and 7 to the "blue" group, supposedly on the basis of similar interests. To create strong ingroup identity and to produce competition between the groups, the group members wore blue and green t-shirts and engaged in a series of competitive tasks. Participants then expressed their initial thoughts and feelings about the outgroup and its members.

Then, supposedly as part of an entirely different study, one participant was randomly selected from each group, and the two were taken to a separate room in which they engaged in a relationship-building task that has been shown to quickly create feelings of friendship between two strangers. Then the two members from each team were then reunited with their original groups, where they were encouraged to describe their experience with the other group member in the friendship-building task.

In the final phase, the groups then engaged in another competitive task, and participants rated their thoughts and feelings about the outgroup and its members again. As you can see in the following figure, and supporting the extended-contact hypothesis, results showed that the participants (including those who did not participate in the closeness task themselves) were more positive toward the outgroup after than before the two team members had met. This study, as well as many other studies, supports the importance of cross-group friendships in promoting favorable outgroup attitudes (Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Tropp, 2008; Shook & Fazio, 2008).

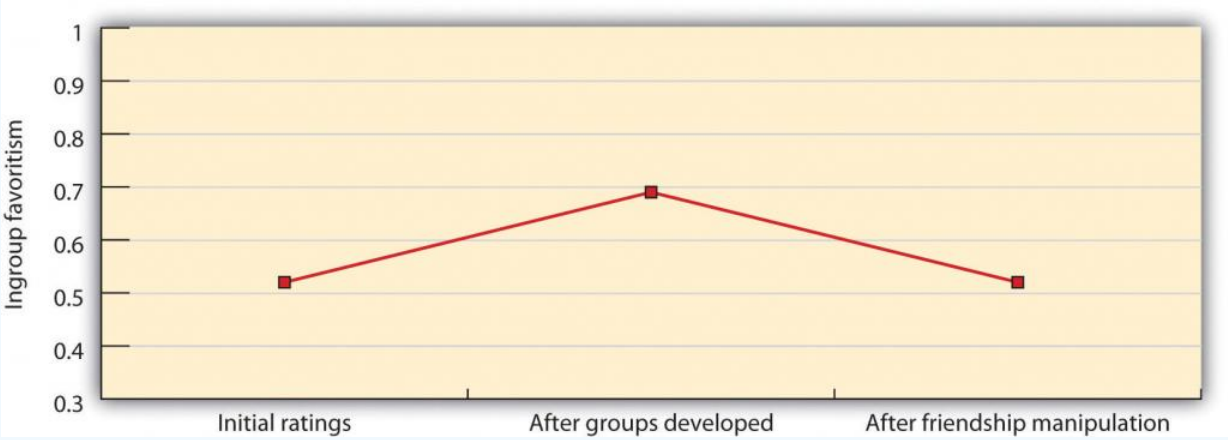


Figure 12.9 The Extended-Contact Hypothesis

This figure shows how members of the two groups, which were in competition with each other, rated each other before and after the experimental manipulation of friendship. You can see that group relationships, which were becoming more negative, changed to being more positive after the intervention. Data are from Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, and Ropp (1997).

Moving Others Closer to Us: The Benefits of Recategorization

The research on intergroup contact suggests that although contact may improve prejudice, it may make it worse if it is not implemented correctly. Improvement is likely only when the contact moves the members of the groups to feel that they are closer to each other rather than further away from each other. In short, groups are going to have better attitudes toward each other when they see themselves more similarly to each other—when they feel more like one large group than a set of smaller groups.

This fact was demonstrated in a very convincing way in one of the most well known of all social psychological studies. In the "**Robbers' Cave Experiment,**" Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, and Sherif (1961) studied the group behavior of 11-year-old boys at a summer camp. Although the boys did not know it, the researchers carefully observed the behaviors of the children during the camp session, with the goal of learning about how group conflict developed and how it might be resolved among the children.

During the first week of the camp, the boys were divided into two groups that camped at two different campsites. During this time, friendly relationships developed among the boys within each of the two groups. Each group developed its own social norms and group structure and became quite cohesive, with a strong positive social identity. The two groups chose names for themselves (the Rattlers and the Eagles), and each made their own group flag and participated in separate camp activities.

At the end of this one-week baseline period, it was arranged that the two groups of boys would become aware of each other's presence. Furthermore, the researchers worked to create conditions that led to increases in each group's social identity and at the same time created negative perceptions of the other group. The researchers arranged baseball games, a tug-of-war, and a treasure hunt and offered prizes for the group that won the competitions. Almost immediately, this competition created ingroup favoritism and prejudice, and discrimination quickly followed. By the end of the second week, the Eagles had sneaked up to the Rattlers' cabin and stolen their flag. When the Rattlers discovered the theft, they in turn raided the Eagles' cabin, stealing things. There were food fights in the dining room, which was now shared by the groups, and the researchers documented a substantial increase in name-calling and stereotypes of the outgroup. Some fistfights even erupted between members of the different groups.

The researchers then intervened by trying to move the groups closer to each other. They began this third stage of the research by setting up a series of situations in which the boys had to work together to solve a problem. These situations were designed to create interdependence by presenting the boys with *superordinate goals*—goals that were both very important to them and yet that required the cooperative efforts and resources of both the Eagles and the Rattlers to attain. These goals involved such things as the need to pool money across both groups in order to rent a movie that all the campers wanted to view, or the need to pull together on ropes to get a food truck that had become stuck back onto the road. As the children worked together to meet these goals, the negative perceptions of the group members gradually improved; there was a reduction of hostility between the groups and an emergence of more positive intergroup attitudes.

This strategy was effective because it led the campers to perceive both the ingroup and the outgroup as one large group ("we") rather than as two separate groups ("us" and "them"). As differentiation between the ingroup and the outgroup decreases, so should ingroup favoritism, prejudice, and conflict. The differences between the original groups are still present, but they are potentially counteracted by perceived similarities in the second superordinate group. *The attempt to reduce prejudice by creating a superordinate categorization* is known as the goal of creating a common ingroup identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2008), and we can diagram the relationship as follows:

interdependence and cooperation → common ingroup identity → favorable intergroup attitudes.

A substantial amount of research has supported the predictions of the **common ingroup identity model.** For instance, Samuel Gaertner and his colleagues (Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989) tested the hypothesis that interdependent cooperation in groups reduces negative beliefs about outgroup members because it leads people to see the others as part of the ingroup (by creating a common identity). In this research, college students were brought to a laboratory where they were each assigned to one of two teams of three members each, and each team was given a chance to create its own unique group identity by working together. Then, the two teams were brought into a single room to work on a problem. In one condition, the two teams were told to work together as a larger, six-member team to solve the problem, whereas in the other condition, the two teams worked on the problem separately.

Consistent with the expected positive results of creating a common group identity, the interdependence created in the condition where the teams worked together increased the tendency of the team members to see themselves as members of a single, larger team, and this in turn reduced the tendency for each group to show ingroup favoritism.

But the benefits of **recategorization** are not confined to laboratory settings—they also appear in our everyday interactions with other people. Jason Neir and his colleagues (Neir et al., 2001) had Black and White interviewers approach White students who were attending a football game. The dependent measure was whether or not they agreed to help the interviewer by completing a questionnaire. However, the interviewers also wore hats representing either one of the two universities who were playing in the game. As you can see in Figure 12.10, the data were analyzed both by whether the interviewer and the student were of the same race (either both White or one White and one Black) and also by whether they wore hats from the same or different universities. As expected on the basis of recategorization and the common ingroup identity approach, the White students were significantly more likely to help the Black interviewers when they wore a hat of the same university as that worn by the interviewee. The hat evidently led the White students to recategorize the interviewer as part of the university ingroup, leading to more helping. However, whether the individuals shared university affiliation did not influence helping for the White participants, presumably because they already saw the interviewer as a member of the ingroup (the interviewer was also White).

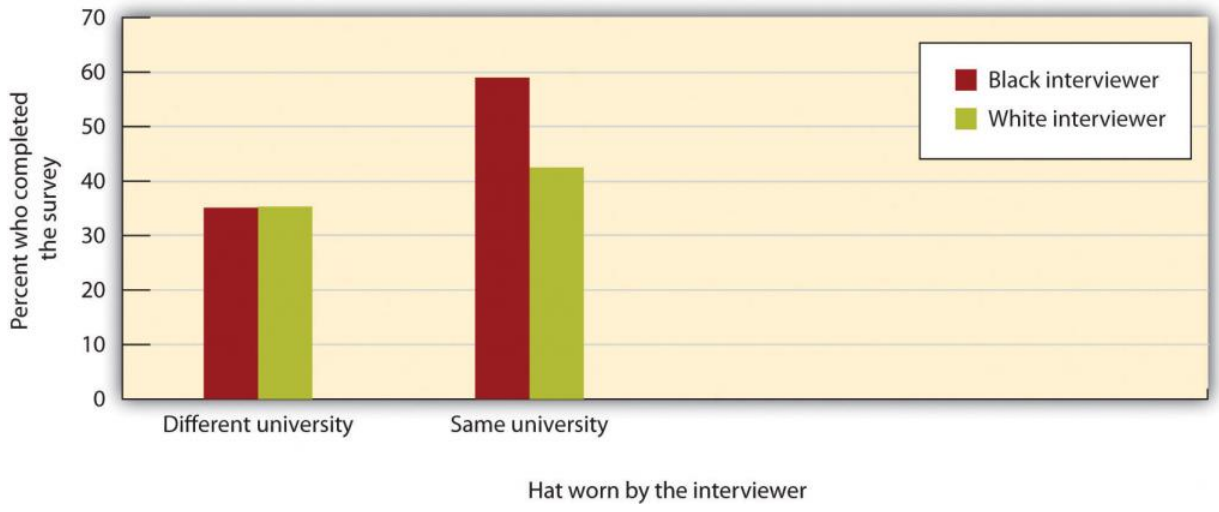


Figure 12.10 Recategorization and Helping Behavior

In this field study, White and Black interviewers asked White students attending a football game to help them by completing a questionnaire. The data were analyzed both by whether the request was to a White (ingroup) or Black (outgroup) student and also by whether the individual whose help was sought wore the same hat that they did or a different hat. Results supported the common

ingroup identity model. Helping was much greater for outgroup members when hats were the same. Data are from Neir et al. (2001).

Again, the implications of these results are clear and powerful. If we want to improve attitudes among people, we must get them to see each other as more similar and less different. And even relatively simple ways of doing so, such as wearing a hat that suggests an ingroup identification, can be successful.

Key Takeaways

- Changing our stereotypes and prejudices is not easy, and attempting to suppress them may backfire. However, with appropriate effort, we can reduce our tendency to rely on our stereotypes and prejudices.
- One approach to changing stereotypes and prejudice is by changing social norms—for instance, through education and laws enforcing equality.
- Prejudice will change faster when it is confronted by people who see it occurring. Confronting prejudice may be embarrassing, but it also can make us feel that we have done the right thing.
- Intergroup attitudes will be improved when we can lead people to focus more on their connections with others. Intergroup contact, extended contact with others who share friends with outgroup members, and a common ingroup identity are all examples of this process.

Exercises and Critical Thinking

1. Does your college or university support efforts to increase intergroup contact? If so, do the efforts seem to be successful in reducing prejudice?
2. Have you ever confronted or failed to confront a person who you thought was expressing prejudice or discriminating? Why did you confront (or not confront) that person, and how did doing so make you feel?
3. Imagine you are a teacher in a classroom and you see that some children expressing prejudice or discrimination toward other children on the basis of their race. What techniques would you use to attempt to reduce these negative behaviors?

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4.5.1: Affirmative Action

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action has been a contentious measure to address equity. The Legal Information Institution at Cornell Law defines affirmative action this way:

> Affirmative action is defined as a set of procedures designed to; eliminate unlawful discrimination among applicants, remedy the results of such prior discrimination, and prevent such discrimination in the future. Applicants may be seeking admission to an educational program or looking for professional employment. In modern American jurisprudence, it typically imposes remedies against discrimination on the basis of (at the very least) race, creed, color, and national origin (Legal Information Institute).

Affirmative action programs were begun in the 1960's to provide people of color and women access to jobs and education to make up for past discrimination. President John F. Kennedy was the first known official to use the term, when he signed an executive order in 1961 ordering federal contractors to “take affirmative action” in ensuring that applicants are hired and treated without regard to their race and national origin. Six years later, President Lyndon B. Johnson added sex, race and national origin as demographic categories for which affirmative action should be used. Johnson gave a very famous speech about it in 1965:

You do not take a person who has been hobbled by chains, liberate him, bring him up to the starting line, and then tell him that he's free to race against all the others and still justly believe that you have been completely fair (Le, 2001).

Although many affirmative action programs remain in effect today, court rulings, state legislation, and other efforts have limited their number and scope. Despite this curtailment, affirmative action continues to spark much controversy, with scholars, members of the public, and elected officials all holding strong views on the issue (Cohen & Sterba, 2003; Karr, 2008; Wise, 2005). One area in particular that has been a subject of much debate, is college admissions.

History of Affirmative Action in Court

One of the major court rulings on affirmative action, was the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision in Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (1978). Allan Bakke was a 35 year old white man who had twice been rejected for admission into the medical school at the University of California, Davis. At the time he applied, UC Davis had a policy of reserving 16 seats in its entering class of 100 for qualified people of color to make up for their underrepresentation in the medical profession. Bakke’s college grades and scores on the Medical College Admission Test were higher than those of the people of color admitted to UC Davis either time Bakke applied. He sued for admission on the grounds that his rejection amounted to reverse racial discrimination on the basis of his being white (Stefoff, 2005).

The case eventually reached the Supreme Court, which ruled 5–4 that Bakke must be admitted into the UC Davis medical school because he had been unfairly denied admission on the basis of his race. As part of its historic but complex decision, the Court thus rejected the use of strict racial quotas in admission as it declared that no applicant could be excluded based solely on the applicant’s race. At the same time, however, the Court also declared that race may be used as one of the several criteria that admissions committees consider when making their decisions. For example, if an institution desires racial diversity among its students, it may use race as an admissions criterion along with other factors such as grades and test scores.

In 2014 the Students for Fair Admission representing a group of Asian-American students rejected by Harvard, filed a lawsuit against the University. The students challenged Harvard's admissions process, arguing that Harvard caps the number of spots available to Asian students and claiming that the only way to truly ensure that Asian Americans stand an equal chance in admissions is if race is completely removed from the process. In 2019 a federal judge ruled that Harvard could legally consider a person’s race in the application process to create a more diverse student body, thus upholding affirmative action. The case was appealed by Students for Fair Admissions, and is expected to go before the Supreme Court.

The Debate

Opponents of affirmative action cite several reasons for opposing it. Affirmative action, they say, is reverse discrimination and, as such, is both illegal and immoral. Opponents of affirmative action argue that the people benefiting from affirmative action are less qualified than many of the whites with whom they compete for employment and college admissions. In addition, opponents say,

affirmative action implies that the people benefiting from it need extra help and thus are indeed less qualified. This implication stigmatizes the groups benefiting from affirmative action.



Figure 4.5.1.1: Working together as a team. (CC PDM 1.0; RawPixel via LifeofPix)

In response proponents of affirmative action give several reasons for favoring it. Many say it is needed to make up not just for past discrimination and lack of opportunities for people of color but also for ongoing discrimination and lack of opportunity. For example, because of their social networks, whites are much better able than people of color to find out about and to get jobs (Reskin, 1998). If this is true, people of color are automatically at a disadvantage in the job market, and some form of affirmative action is needed to give them an equal chance at employment. Proponents also say that affirmative action helps add diversity to the workplace and to the campus. Many colleges, they note, give some preference to high school students who live in a distant state in order to add needed diversity to the student body; to "legacy" students—those with a parent who went to the same institution—to reinforce alumni loyalty and to motivate alumni to donate to the institution; and to athletes, musicians, and other applicants with certain specialized talents and skills. If all of these forms of preferential admission make sense, proponents say, it also makes sense to take students' racial and ethnic backgrounds into account as admissions officers strive to have a diverse student body. Further, proponents argue that claims of reverse discrimination are emotion-based not fact-based.

Proponents add that affirmative action has indeed succeeded in expanding employment and educational opportunities for people of color, and that individuals benefiting from affirmative action have generally fared well in the workplace or on the campus. In this regard research finds that African American students graduating from selective U.S. colleges and universities after being admitted under affirmative action guidelines are slightly more likely than their white counterparts to obtain professional degrees and to become involved in civic affairs (Bowen & Bok, 1998).

As this brief discussion indicates, several reasons exist for and against affirmative action. A cautious view is that affirmative action may not be perfect but that some form of it is needed to make up for past and ongoing discrimination and lack of opportunity in the workplace and on the campus. Without the extra help that affirmative action programs give disadvantaged people of color, the discrimination and other difficulties they face are certain to continue. The timeline of U.S. Supreme Court decisions pertaining to affirmative action provides an understanding of how the Court has shaped affirmative action policy and practice.

The Impact of Affirmative Action

The impact of banning Affirmative Action in California public universities led to the implementation of a Comprehensive Review in 2002 at the University of California for admitting students, which serves to apply weight to other admission factors, i.e., "students experiences and personal circumstances" and not just SAT scores and GPA (Johnson et al., 2008, p.1). Johnson et al. (2008) also point out that the post-Proposition 209 declines are also significant because

1. "the percentage of UC-eligible African American high school graduates rose from 2.8% to 6.2% (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 2004)" and

2. “the number of African American applications to UC campuses has increased by 65% since 1997 (UCOP, 2007b; UCOP 2007c). (Johnson et al., 2008, pg.1).

These statistics show that there was a decrease in African American students at UC campuses despite them meeting criteria. Chacon (2008) points out that:

the implementation of Proposition 209 has done nothing to address the disadvantages faced by underrepresented minorities in California’s primary and secondary education system. Instead, Proposition 209 simply has taken away one tool, however "artificial," that could have remediated some of those inequalities (Chacon, 2008).

Further, she writes that some Proposition 209 proponents advocate for “class-conscious strategies” because they claim the issue is not race (Chacon, 2008); others claim that considering race is “polarizing” and worsens when we do things like place high regard for race in policies like affirmative action (Chacon, 2008).

Students of color have disproportionately inequitable educational experiences. For example, Solorzano and Ornelas (2004) point out that whites made up 49% of AP courses in the state’s “top 50 high school” while Latinos only comprised 16% and Blacks 5% (Johnson et al., 2008, p. 5). Such a statistic might show how Blacks and Latinos are less in AP classes and are therefore considered less competitive for admissions slots and that race, not just class, is a factor. But as the second point about how the implementation of Proposition 209 does not address equity in K-12, it therefore ignores the root of the problem. This is epitomized by the claim that considering race in policy is “polarizing” because it would likely be polarizing if one is not an advocate for educational access for all and instead hopes to maintain the status quo. It is true that affirmative action enables other *criteria* for admissions, but there is still the same *expectation* for students to perform as well as those at the same school as those who were not admitted under affirmative action. Further, affirmative action is consistent with Brown v. Board of Education in providing access to education that students of color may not have otherwise due to the lack of preparation they faced from institutional racism (such as tracking) present in their schooling. Affirmative action recognizes the inequities and potential of students of color.

Sidebar: Abigail Fisher v. Affirmative Action

Abigail Fisher, a white woman, fought against affirmative action in court in 2013 and 2016 for her spot at the University of Texas, Austin, citing that the reason she didn’t get admitted was because it favored students of color over her. Ultimately, Fisher lost her case. Cases like hers and others are highlighted in this 2022 PBS update, "The evolution of affirmative action cases, from Bakke to Fisher" which provides links to the cases and to where-are-they-now with some of those who brought affirmative action to court.

The 2023 Ruling

In a historic decision, the U.S. Supreme Court effectively ended the use of Affirmative Action in college admissions in 2023. The cases, *Students for Fair Admissions v. President & Fellows of Harvard College* and *Students For Fair Admissions v. University of North Carolina* — argued whether the Supreme Court should overrule *Grutter v. Bollinger*, the 2003 case that held that race may play a limited role in college admissions. In practice, race often functions as a tiebreaker when universities are deciding among many well-qualified students. By a vote of 6-3, the justices ruled that the admissions programs used by the University of North Carolina and Harvard College violate the Constitution’s equal protection clause, which bars racial discrimination by government entities.

The majority opinion concluded that a colorblind criteria must be used in admissions. Justice Clarence Thomas stated that the decision "sees the universities' admissions policies for what they are: rudderless, race-based preferences. ... Those policies fly in the face of our colorblind Constitution."

The opposing justices noted that erasing part of an applicants identity will eliminate the gains made towards equity in college admissions thereby "subvert(ing) the constitutional guarantee of equal protection by further entrenching racial inequality in education, the very foundation of our democratic government and pluralistic society," as stated by Justice Sotomayor.

Read the entire decision here: https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/22pdf/20-1199_hgdj.pdf



Figure 4.5.1.2: "Supreme Court" (CC BY 2.0; TexasGOPVote.com via Flickr)

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4.6: Social Change and Resistance

Now that we have examined prejudice, discrimination and racism in the United States, what have we found? Did the historic election of Barack Obama as president in 2008 signify a new era of equality between the races, "post-racial" as many observers wrote, or did his election occur despite the continued existence of pervasive racial and ethnic inequality?

On the one hand, there has been cause for hope. Legal segregation is gone. The vicious, “old-fashioned”, overt racism that was so rampant in this country into the 1960s declined dramatically since that tumultuous time (though such racism is on the uptick). People of color made have made important gains in several spheres of life, and African Americans and other people of color now occupy some important elected positions in and outside the South, a feat that would have been unimaginable a generation ago. Perhaps most notably, Barack Obama has African ancestry and identifies as an African American, and on his 2008 election night people across the country wept with joy at the symbolism of his victory. Certainly progress has been made in US racial and ethnic relations. In a surprise win in 2018, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez has become one of the most outspoken members in the U.S. House. Kamala Harris is now the first female, and first person of color, to hold the position of Vice-President of the U.S. In a 2021 competitive run-off election in Georgia, Reverend Raphael Warnock claimed victory, and he became the 11th African American elected to the U.S. Senate.

On the other hand, there is also cause for despair. Old-fashioned racism has been replaced by a modern, symbolic racism that still blames people of color for their problems and reduces public support for government policies to deal with their problems. Remember how Asian Americans were stigmatized and blamed for COVID-19? Institutional discrimination remains pervasive, and hate crimes, cross burnings, and white supremacist rallies remain all too common. Pervasive is also suspicion of people based solely on the color of their skin, as the Trayvon Martin, George Floyd, and Breonna Taylor tragedies reminds us. And, Obama's election triggered the racist "birther movement" - which erroneously charged that he was not born in the United States - and perhaps fueled the alt-right, white supremacist backlash that has reared its head many times in the past several years, most recently with domestic terrorism at the U.S. Capitol riot on January 6, 2021.

Why is it Important to Reduce Racial Prejudice and Racism?

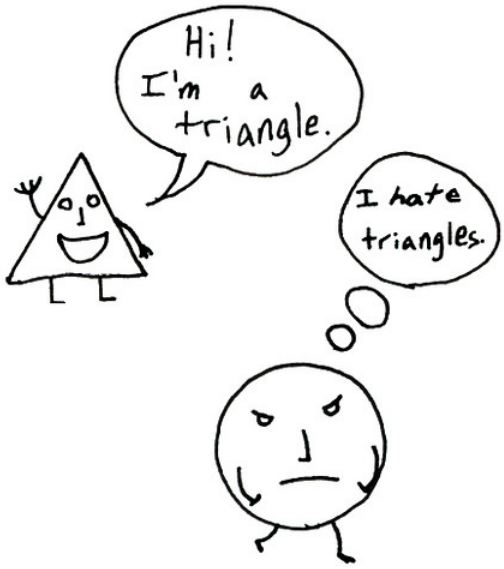


Figure **4.6.2**: "Prejudice" image illustrates a triangle introducing itself to a circle who in turn replies, "I hate triangles." (CC BY-NC 2.0; DanAllison via Flickr)

Here are some reasons why racial prejudice and racism should be reduced:

- They impede or prevent the object of racism from achieving his or her full potential as a human being.
- They impede or prevent the object of racism from making his or her fullest contribution to society.
- They impede or prevent the person or group engaging in racist actions from benefiting from the potential contributions of their victim, and, as a result, weaken the community as a whole.

- They increase the present or eventual likelihood of retaliation by the object of racist actions.
- They go against many of the democratic ideals upon which the United States and other democracies were founded.
- Racism is illegal, in many cases.

Racial prejudice and racism feed on each other. If racial prejudice is not reduced, it could lead to racism, and if racism is not addressed, it could lead to more prejudice. This is why strategies to address discrimination on the basis of race should be thorough and multifaceted so that both individual attitudes and institutionalized practices are affected.

In addition, here are some examples of why racial prejudice and racism should be addressed in your community building effort if more than one racial or ethnic group is involved:

- Every participant in your effort has his or her own understanding of the world and how it works. The European American residents in the neighborhood don't understand why the new immigrants from Guatemala have to stand at the street corner to get work (they are commonly referred to as day laborers). They think it is because they are either "illegal" or too lazy to find full-time jobs. Part of the problem is that the residents have not had the opportunity to debunk these stereotypes through direct interaction and contact with the day laborers and to hear their stories.
- Every participant in your effort is polite, respectful, and empathetic towards each of the others, and understands that in order to address a common concern, they all have to work together; yet, they have not been able to engage a representative from the Black members in their community. It helps to understand why Black folx have traditionally been "left out" and how important it is to keep finding ways to engage them.
- The board of directors of a local community center gets together to discuss ways to improve the center so that it is more welcoming to people from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. They come up with ideas such as hiring more culturally diverse staff, posting notices in different languages, hosting food festivals, and celebrating various cultural events. It helps the participants to understand that even though they are taking the first steps to becoming culturally sensitive, their institutional policies may still be racist because they have not included anyone from the various racial and ethnic groups to participate in the strategic planning process, thereby not sharing their power.

Addressing racial prejudice and racism also means dealing with racial exclusion and injustice. Ultimately, this means that your community building effort is promoting democracy, a value of the United States and its Constitution.

In other words, there are both moral and sometimes legal reasons to act against racism. There are also strong pragmatic reasons as well. Racial prejudice and racism can harm not only the victims, but also the larger society, and indirectly the very people who are engaging in the acts. What's more, some important new research suggests that in some cases, racist actions can cause physiological harm to the victims. For example, a recent review of physiological literature concludes:

> Interethnic group and intraethnic group racism are significant stressors for many African-Americans. As such, intergroup and intragroup racism may play a role in the high rates of morbidity and mortality in this population (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999).

Before you decide on the best activities and strategies, do the following:

- Learn about your community (e.g., what groups live there, what has been the nature of their relationships, what incidents have occurred in the past due to racial prejudice or racism).
- Document activities in your community that reflect racial prejudice or racism. Documentation will show proof that there is a problem, especially when the community is in denial that racism exists.
- Invite a group of people to participate in the planning process, if appropriate (e.g., the advocates who always take action, the representatives of each group, the people who are affected).
- Understand the depth of the problem (e.g., it's a new problem because of a group of newcomers, or it's an old problem that won't go away).
- Identify and understand the kinds of policies that may need to be challenged.
- Determine the short-term and long-term, if any, goals of your strategy (e.g., change people's attitudes and/or change an institutional policy).
- Consider how far the selected strategy(ies) will take your community (e.g., as far as initial awareness, or all the way to electing officials from the under-represented groups).

- Consider what existing resources you can build on and what additional assistance or resources you may need (e.g., anti-racism training, funding, or buy-in from the mayor).
- Consider how much time you have (e.g., are you responding to a crisis that needs to be dealt with immediately, to the need to curb a festering issue, or to the desire to promote the value of diversity).
- Review your strategies to ensure that they deal with racial prejudice and racism at the individual, community, and institutional levels, and they link dialogue to action.

Things You Can Do in the Workplace: From Reducing Racial Prejudice to Reducing Racism

- Actively recruit and hire a racially and ethnically diverse staff.

While it's not enough just to fill your staff with a rainbow of people from different backgrounds, representation from a variety of groups is an important place to start. Contact minority organizations, social groups, networks, media, and places where people of different ethnic and cultural groups congregate or access information. If you use word-of-mouth as a recruitment tool, spread the word to members of those groups, or key contact people. Also, consider writing an equal-opportunity policy for hiring and promoting staff.

- Actively recruit culturally and ethnically diverse board members, executives, and managers.

Racial prejudice can be reduced if the staff becomes diverse and raises the awareness of each other, but racism is reduced when power is shared by the leadership.

In order to move beyond racial prejudice and ensure inclusiveness, your organization’s board members and executives should reflect the communities or constituencies it serves. For instance, one group decided to reserve a certain number of slots on its governing board for representatives of the cultural and ethnic groups in the community.

- Talk to the people of color on your staff and ask them what barriers or attitudes they face at work. Examine your newsletter or other publications and look out for negative portrayals, exclusion, or stereotypes.

Find out how you can improve your workplace for members from diverse racial and ethnic groups that work there. This will not only give you some practical ideas about what you need to work on, but it will also signify that the needs of every group is taken seriously. Look around at any artwork you have in your offices. Are any groups represented in a stereotypical way? Is there diversity in the people portrayed? For example, if all the people in the clip art used in your newsletter are European Americans, you should make an effort to use clip art that shows a bigger variety of people.

- Form a permanent task force or committee dedicated to forming and monitoring a plan for promoting inclusion and fighting racism in your workplace.

Racial prejudice is reduced by developing relationships and ensuring that materials are culturally sensitive, but racism is reduced when there is a permanent task force or committee that becomes part of the governance structure to ensure inclusive and just institutional policies.

Things You Can Do in the Media: Reducing Racial Prejudice to Reducing Racism

- Write letters to the editor of your local newspaper or contact your local TV and radio station when the coverage is biased or when there is no coverage at all.

The media plays a powerful role in conveying messages to the public. Racial prejudice exists in the media if, for instance, the reporters always reveal the cultural or ethnic background of a group of loitering youth when they are persons of color, but not otherwise. Writing a letter or contacting the local media stations will help increase their staff’s awareness about the implications of the prejudiced way in which they cover the news.

- Organize a coalition of leaders from diverse communities and from the local media groups to discuss how they can work together to address the way people from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds are presented in the media.

Having a long-term vision of how the community and media representatives can work together will help address racism at the institutional level. In order to do this, it is advisable to organize the community leaders and media representatives separately to discuss their issues and then facilitate a meeting between them. This will provide you and the facilitator a chance to know about the concerns and challenges before convening everyone.

- Contact the local media and organize presentations.

You can contact and organize presentations to educate the staff about the values and traditions of diverse groups and help them understand the negative implications of their coverage related to race and ethnicity.



Figure **4.6.4**: "Chinese New Year news coverage" image illustrates the importance of news coverage of diverse communities. (CC BY 2.0; Gary Soup via Flickr)

- Pressure the local media organizations to develop and enforce policies for hiring staff from different racial and ethnic background.

You can help broker relationships between the media organizations and organizations that serve a specific cultural or ethnic group (e.g., NAACP, National Council of La Raza) so that networks can be developed to distribute job announcements.

In order to get information about how to cover different cultural and ethnic groups, media representatives can seek advice from the following:

- Asian American Journalists Association
- South Asian Journalists Association
- National Association of Black Journalists
- National Association of Hispanic Journalists

Things You Can Do in the Schools: Reducing Racial Prejudice to Reducing Racism

- Form a diversity task force or club. Recognize holidays and events relating to a variety of cultural and ethnic groups.

This can be done in a school or university setting. Your diversity group can sponsor panel discussions, awareness activities, and cultural events to help prevent racism. Observing and conducting educational activities about events like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, Juneteenth, and other dates of significance to people of colors provides an opportunity for students to learn about the history of different cultural and ethnic groups and reduce misinformed or inaccurate perceptions.

- Conduct field trips to historical places that represent struggles against racism or places that embody the values and traditions of another group of people.



Video 4.6.5: Six ways to be an anti-racist educator, with Dena Simmons. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use: Edutopia via YouTube)

- Work to include anti-racism education in your school's curriculum. Develop a strategy to change racist policies in your school.

Recognizing the traditions of other cultural and ethnic groups and developing intercultural relationships will reduce racial prejudice. Examine and change school policies that perpetuate exclusion of some cultural or ethnic groups.

Develop procedures for dealing with racist acts and provide incentives (e.g., extra credits, special recognition) for efforts to promote cross-racial understanding.

Lobby your school board to make changes or additions to the curriculum to teach anti-racism and to provide seed grants to teachers or instructors to help them conduct research and activities about racism and to promote anti-racist values and principles.

Examine the recruitment, application, and admissions process for students, teachers, and staff from different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Things You Can Do in Your Neighborhood: Reducing Racial Prejudice to Reducing Racism

- Welcome all newcomers. Make "safe zone" signs or stickers.

Form a committee to welcome anyone who moves into your neighborhood regardless of what they look like. Send representatives from your committee or neighborhood association over to the new person's house with flowers, a fruit basket, or some other small gift and say, "We're glad you're living here. We welcome you." Some neighborhoods have made small signs or stickers for their homes that read, "We welcome good neighbors of all traditions, backgrounds, and faiths." These stand in contrast to the small signs in many yards that warn would-be intruders of the particular security system they've had installed.



Figure **4.6.6**: Welcoming sign on a community church near rural Oakridge, Oregon. Sign presents a welcome, with no exceptions, to all: homeless, LGBT, poor, Muslim, brown, Black, and refugee. (Janét Hund via jhund@lbcc.edu)

Write articles about different cultures and their traditions in the neighborhood newsletter or newspaper. Place advertisements about different cultural celebrations.

- Identify and change policies that are exclusive and maintain the status quo.

Making someone feel a part of your neighborhood helps to reduce racial prejudice. Addressing redlining (the illegal practice of a lending institution denying loans or restricting their number for certain areas of a community) reduces racist policies.

Organize a committee of lawyers, real-estate agents, lending institutions, and community and civil rights leaders to conduct a study and present the facts to the local government. If there is a neighborhood association or council, consider if it is representative of the

neighborhood's demographics and diversity. If not, develop strategies for engaging leaders (formal and informal) from the underrepresented groups.

Things You Can Do in Your Community: Reducing Racial Prejudice to Reducing Racism

- Organize a cleanup or rebuilding campaign to erase racist graffiti or eliminate vandalism. Put up "Hate Free Zones" signs in the community.

Doing something as a community to repair physical damage done by racism shows that the people in your town won't stand for such displays of hatred. It also can attract media attention to your cause and put a positive spin on a negative situation.

- Organize a city-wide coalition of community leaders made up of representatives from the different cultural and ethnic groups, as well as different community sectors (e.g., police, schools, businesses, local government) to examine their existing policies and determine what needs to change.

Doing something as a group of residents demonstrates the individuals' commitment to reduce prejudice. Creating a governing body that represents institutional leaders helps to reduce racism at the institutional level.

Reviewing hiring and contracting policies in the city government will help change institutional norms that could be perpetuating economic disparities.

- Identify and support new candidates from different racial and ethnic groups to run for city council and other community-wide governing bodies.

Conducting candidate forums and voter registration drives will increase residents' knowledge about the candidates and what they stand for, and increase the candidates' accountability to their constituents should they win.

> ***Examples:***
> *St. Francis De Sales Central Elementary Cleanup Campaign*
> *In Morgantown, West Virginia, a convenience store had been painted with racist skinhead graffiti. After their teacher showed them a video on how another town had fought hate, a 6th grade class at St. Francis De Sales Central Elementary decided that if the graffiti was left alone, it would give the impression that the community didn't care about racism. The kids got together and painted over the graffiti, earning them the thanks of the state Attorney General and publicizing their point.*
>
> *Toronto Coalition Against Racism*
> *In the summer of 1993, Toronto experienced a rise in increasingly violent racism, much of which was directed at Tamil immigrants. Much of the violence was being done by neo-Nazis. Eventually, a large protest was held, with 3,000 people led by the Tamil community chanting "Immigrants In! Nazis Out!"*
>
> *The people who organized the protest went on to form the Toronto Coalition Against Racism. TCAR is a coalition of 50 community-based anti-racist and social justice organizations. According to its website, TCAR has been involved in many community actions since forming, including:*
>
> - *Opposing a ban placed on Filipino youth from entering a local mall*
> - *Working with the Somali community to oppose harassment by security guards and landlords at a housing complex*
> - *Mobilizing the public through forums and actions in defense of immigrant and refugee rights*

> - *Supporting the Tamil Resource Center as it struggled to rebuild its library and office after a firebombing in May 1995*

- Put together a community forum or town event on racism.

Give citizens a chance to talk about how racism affects your community can give you insight into how people feel on the subject, ideas on what you and others can do to combat racism, a chance to let people who share similar concerns to network with each other, and to publicly let racists know that your community will not stand for racism in its midst.

- Create an intentional strategy that engages local government, business, education, media, and other leaders to demonstrate the commitment to eliminate racism in the institutions in your community.

Conducting public forums and events will increase awareness and reduce racial prejudice. Working in a coalition made up of cross-sector leaders and developing a clear plan will move your community towards a more sustainable effort to eliminate racism.

Bringing together leaders to create a strategy that deliberately, systematically, and explicitly deals with racism will enable your community to have a longer-term vision for a just and healthy community. Each institution should find a way for how it can contribute to eliminating racism in its policies and practices. The media should be involved to help get the word out. Credible leaders need to take a public stand to promote and validate the effort. Work to ensure that diversity is valued and included in the city government's mission statement

- Make an effort to support events that celebrate the traditions of different cultural and ethnic groups.

This can be as simple as including such events on the community calendar and actively publicizing them. Your organization can also co-sponsor these events to show its support.

- Organize vigils, anti-racism demonstrations, protests, or rallies.

If a racist group or incident occurred in your community, organizing a vigil, demonstration or public protest will not only give you and others some effective way to respond, but also help give hope to your community by having everyone come.

> *After September 11, various immigrant communities held vigils to express their sympathy for the World Trade Center and Pentagon victims and their families, speak out against anti-Muslim acts, and show their commitment and loyalty to the United States.*
>
> *The Center for Healthy Communities in Dayton, Ohio hosted a community forum titled "Race, Ethnicity and Public Policy: A Community Dialogue" in the fall of 1997. This community forum gave a panel of local expert as well as members of the audience the chance to ask mayoral and city commission candidates questions about the impact of racism on the Dayton community and the role it plays in local public policy decisions. More than 150 people attended, including state and local officials, community organizers, clergy, citizens, and students.*

> ***South Orange/Maplewood Coalition on Race's long-term vision for an integrated community***
> *The Coalition developed strategies at the individual, community, and institutional levels to foster and support an integrated neighborhood. The Coalition is planning to conduct study circles to provide residents an opportunity to build relationships. A community-wide activity was to invite Beverly Daniel Tatum to a community forum to talk about racism and how it affects our children's education. The Coalition worked with local bookstores to first sell Ms. Tatum's book at a reduced cost and to publicize the community forum. During the community forum after Ms. Tatum's presentation, small group discussions were held by facilitators that the Coalition provided. At the institutional level, there is*

> *loan program for homebuyers that is designed to encourage and improve neighborhood diversity in particular areas of the community where one race is underrepresented. They also worked closely with the school district to "reinvent" a school to become a "Lab school," which has attracted a more diverse student population to the school, and increased demand among people of different races for the neighborhood around the school.*

Things You Can Do as an Individual: Fighting Racial Prejudice to Fighting Racism

You don't have to form a group to do something about racism. As an individual, there are many steps that you can take to reduce another person's prejudice, including:

- Make a commitment to speak up when you hear racial slurs or remarks that signal racial prejudice.
- Take advantage of events and other informational materials during Black History Month or Hispanic Heritage Month and make it a point to learn something new about different cultures.
- Think about ways to improve your workplace to promote racial understand and equity. Be proactive about making suggestions.
- If you are a parent, give your child opportunities to attend events about other cultures. Integrate different traditions about parenting and children's festivals into your parent teacher association and your child's school. Work with the teachers to coordinate such opportunities.

Changing people's attitudes and institutional practices is hard but necessary work. A commitment among individuals, organizations, and institutions to valuing diversity is essential for healthy communities. Changes will not happen overnight, but you can begin to take small steps towards making a difference, as suggested in this section. These small steps build the foundation for more organized, deeper, and larger efforts to build inclusive communities, a topic that will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Summary

As we all learn how to be more committed and caring to each other, we will build a strong foundation for change in our communities. The stronger the trust and commitment people have, as individuals and between groups, the more effective they will be in uniting around important issues.

Contributors and Attributions

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

5: American Indian/Native American Studies

By Dr. Melissa Leal and Dr. Tamara Cheshire

Learning Objectives

- Analyze and articulate concepts such as decolonization, sovereignty, self-determination, imperialism, and settler colonialism as analyzed in Native American Studies/American Indian Studies.
- Identify Indigenous Ways of Knowing and recognize theories and knowledge produced by Native American/American Indian communities to describe critical events, histories, cultures, intellectual traditions, lived-experiences and social struggles with emphasis on agency and group-affirmation.
- Critically analyze the intersectionality of race, class, gender, sexuality, tribal citizenship, sovereignty, and language in Native American/American Indian communities.
- Describe the historical and contemporary experiences of Native Americans/American Indians in the United States and critically review how struggle, resistance, solidarity, and liberation, are relevant.
- Describe and actively engage with anti-racist and anti-colonial issues and the practices and movements in Native American/American Indian communities to build a just and equitable society.

5.1: History and Demographics
5.2: Indigenous Ways of Knowing
5.3: Core Concepts and Theories
5.4: Invasion, Occupation, Imperialism and Hegemony
5.5: American Indian/Indigenous Identity and Intersectionality
5.6: Perspectives and Future Directions
5.7: Summary/Review
5.8: References

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5.1: History and Demographics

Introduction to American Indian/Native American Studies

"Powerful storytelling can create pathways of empathy and understanding across cultural, racial and socioeconomic divides that were built up to keep us separated from one another." -Frank Waln from In Their Own Words

-American Writers Museum May 2, 2019

As a special note to the reader, we the authors of this chapter will be using Indian, **American Indian**, Native, and **Native American** interchangeably throughout this chapter. We humbly realize that we cannot cover everything there is to know about American Indian Studies/Native American Studies in this one single chapter. The information provided is meant to be an overview of the foundational knowledge in this core discipline area of Ethnic Studies: American Indian/Native American Studies. We would like to encourage you to take Native American Studies courses, and do your own research about any of the content and topics raised in this chapter.

Land Acknowledgement

"That was our hunting ground and you have taken it from us. This is what sits heavy [on our hearts] and the hearts of all nations." -Cornstalk, Shawnee chief

The greatest struggle for American Indians has been over their land. To understand this struggle is to understand our genocidal history and the role we have played and continue to play in systems in which power and resources, such as land, are distributed unequally.

The authors of this chapter acknowledge that we are writing in the unceded territory of California, home to nearly 200 tribal nations. We acknowledge and honor the original inhabitants of our various regions. By taking a moment to honor these ancestral grounds that we are on, we support the resilience and strength that all Indigenous people have shown worldwide. The Miwok are one of the tribal nations in our area. Below is a photo of a bust of a Miwok dancer done by Miwok artist Jim Plamondon.



Figure **5.1.1**: Miwok Dancer Bust done in Metal by Artist Jim Plamondon dedicated in 1992, 2012. (Public Domain; Carol Highsmith via Wikimedia Commons)

Land Acknowledgement Statements must be created in collaboration with local sovereign tribal nations. Land Acknowledgement Statements should be read at the beginning of meetings, events, graduation, orientation, convocation and be included on your college's website and course syllabi. These statements are important because they recognize that local tribes continue to exist and are part of the community. Contacting local tribes is the first step in this collaboration, which has the capacity to result in a great opportunity to build a working relationship and help serve Native American students on your campus.

If you are interested in finding out what Indigenous lands your U. S. city are on, please text your city name and state (e.g., Long Beach, California) to (907) 312 - 5085. This chapter will use the terms Native Americans and **AI/AN** (American Indian/Alaska Natives) given that there is no specific consensus among scholars regarding terminology. Moreover, some Indigenous people prefer

to be identified by their Nation. Lastly, the concept of **Indigenous**, people who live or have lived within the past several centuries in non-state societies, will be utilized to discuss people and cultures that existed in the United States prior to European contact.

American Indian/Native American Studies: An Academic Discipline

American Indian Studies (AIS) or Native American Studies (NAS) is an academic discipline that formally began in the late 1960's when Native American student activists coordinated with Asian American, Chicana/o/x, Puerto Rican and Black students to demand change within higher education. During this time, American Indian students at San Francisco State (Student Kouncil of Intertribal Nations - SKINS), Berkeley, UCLA and UC Davis were speaking out about American Indian rights, criticizing federal Indian policy and laws, discussing American Indian identity, and seeking to preserve tribal cultures.

Student activism focused attention on the inequity evident in the low enrollment and success rates of Black, Chicano, Asian American and American Indian students on college campuses as well as the lack of coverage of these core groups within the college curriculum. American Indians had long been the subject of study in disciplines like sociology, history, art and anthropology, but these disciplines only viewed Native people from an "outsider" perspective, treating us as subjects of study, often reinforcing stereotypes. Vine Deloria Jr., enrolled member of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, author, historian and activist for Native American rights, concerned with the establishment of federal policy based on inaccurate academic studies, often criticized anthropologists and historians in his writings (ie. Custer Died for your Sins: An Indian Manifesto).

American Indian students and community leaders including Indian activists from the American Indian Movement (AIM), United Native Americans (UNA) and the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) as well as other organizations influenced the national political climate by providing information to the media that the general public did not know, which in turn pressured a response from the federal government and local colleges and universities. This movement specifically addressed broken treaties, unlivable conditions on reservations, and the lack of fair and equitable representation of Native people in academia and scholarly research.

While other disciplines may "study" and teach about Native people, American Indian Studies (AIS) or Native American Studies (NAS) provides the voices, social struggles, contributions and lived experiences of Native people culturally, socially, economically, legally, politically, and academically. AIS/NAS actively promotes the sustained and thriving existence of Native peoples and sovereign tribal nations with an emphasis on agency and group-affirmation. To accomplish this, AIS/NAS encourages important research to identify critical issues relevant to Native communities. This commitment to Native communities distinguishes AIS/NAS from other academic disciplines. One could argue that NAS or AIS began way before the 1960's in that Native voices can be heard speaking about justice and equity, establishing laws and governing councils, as well as sustainable land and environmental policies of nations, if one listens, from the beginning of our existence. But that is the point…if one listens.

Background in America

American Indians have been on this continent much longer than any other racial or ethnic group. According to the **Bering Strait theory**, sometime between 17,000 and 30,000 years ago, hunter-gatherers from Siberia came across the frozen Bering Strait, or across a land bridge formed during the Ice Age, in search of game. Over the millennia, they became the people we call Native Americans or American Indians. They are the Indigenous people of the North and South American continents (Dunn, 2010). However, this theory has been challenged from both from a philosophical angle (Deloria, 1995) and from new research uncovered from an evolutionary genetic approach (Daley, 2016; Ewen, 2017).

Pre-European Contact

It is difficult to determine how many Native Americans existed in the United Stated prior to European contact. Emmanuel Domenech (1860) estimated that the Native American population pre-European contact was between 16 to 17 million people. Years later, a more generally accepted scientific estimate was provided by James Mooney (1928) in which he estimated that the North American "aboriginal" population was 1.2 million at the onset of European contact. A more recent estimate has been provided by Matthew Snipp (1986) in which he places the pre-European contact population from 2 to 5 million. The population figures discussed are only estimates and some scholars suggest that the Indigenous American population pre-European contact was larger than the last estimate Snipp (1986) provided.

Post-European Contact

Race and ethnicity have torn at the fabric of American society ever since the time of Christopher Columbus, when about 1 million Native Americans were thought to have populated the eventual United States. By 1900, their numbers had dwindled to about 240,000, as tens of thousands were killed by white settlers and U.S. troops and countless others died from disease contracted from people with European backgrounds. Scholars have stated that this mass killing of Native Americans amounted to genocide (Wilson, 1999).

European colonization of the Americas was detrimental to the Indigenous populations. **Colonization** is the act of taking land by a foreign group or nation, most frequently through force, and then settling in the newly acquired territory which displaces the original Indigenous people to those lands. War, famine, forced removal, lack of immunity to European diseases, and the exploitation of this lack of immunity as intentional "biological" warfare, such as blankets infected with diseases, decimated American Indians (Snipp, 1989). Using the estimates mentioned above and U. S. Census data, Figure 5.1.2 below shows the early dramatic decrease and gradual recent increase of the Native American population, specifically American Indian and Alaska Native (AI/AN) alone (meaning not mixed with other race-ethnic groups).

In the United States, **settler-colonialism** is the specific type of colonization practiced. According to Morris (2019), "We can begin by defining settler-colonialism as it relates specifically to Indigenous peoples of North America. The goal of settler-colonization is the removal and erasure of Indigenous peoples in order to take the land for use by settlers in perpetuity." Once lands have been colonized, European settlers move into the lands usually cleared by European colonizers and further expanded these settlements both spatially and temporally. This results in the continued and, most frequently, permanent displacement of Indigenous communities from their ancestral homelands.

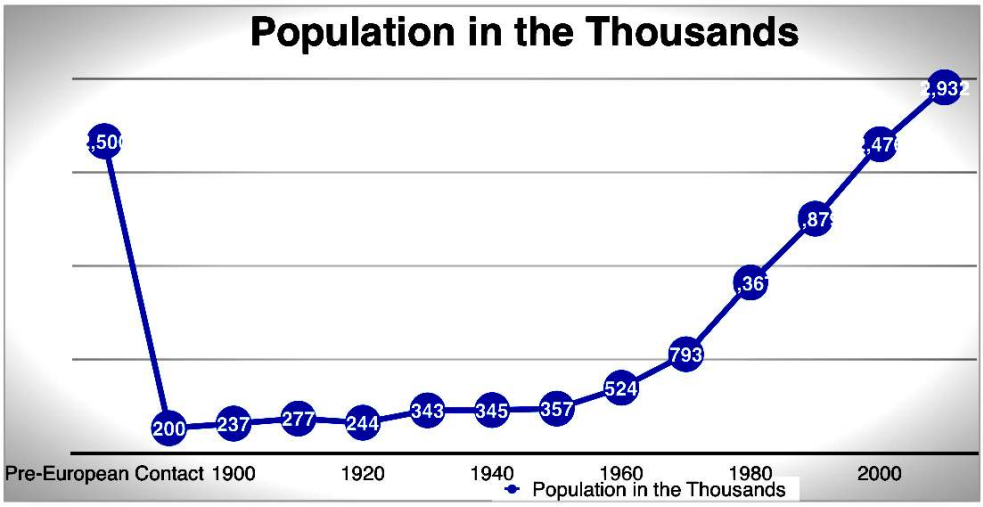


Figure **5.1.2**: American Indian and Alaska Native Alone by Year. Pre-European contact, the American Indian and Alaska Native population is estimated to have been more than 2.5 million; the population plummeted to 200,000 at the onset of European contact. It remained static until the 1960s, after which time the population steadily increased to nearly 3 million in 2000. (Data from Spinden, 1928; Snipp, 1986; Thornton, 2001; 2000 and 2010 U. S. Census Bureau)

Reservations

Concerning modern American Indians, Gary Sandefur, a professor of social work and sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and an affiliate of the Institute for Research on Poverty writes:

“How American Indians came to be concentrated on reservations is a complicated story that most Americans know only very little about from their courses in American history in high school and college. The isolation and concentration of American Indians began very early, but it received its first legal justification in the Indian Removal Act of 1830. Subsequent to the passage of this legislation, most of the Indians who were located east of the Mississippi were relocated to areas west of the river...Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the federal government revised its principal approach to the "Indian problem" to one of forced assimilation rather than forced isolation. This change in policy was in part motivated by awareness that the quality of life on the isolated reservations was very, very low. The concerns about the reservations resembled in many respects the current analyses of problems in the central city...The next major attack on the reservation system occurred in the early 1950s. Public opinion and

political leaders were distressed by the miserable living conditions on Indian reservations, on the one hand, and the special legal relationship between American Indian groups and the federal government, on the other hand. In 1953, termination legislation was passed and signed into law. The intent of this legislation was to end the special relationship between Indian tribes and the federal government. Reservations would cease to exist as independent political entities...Since the 1950s the proportion of the American Indian population living on reservations has declined from over 50 percent to approximately 25 percent in 1980. This decline has been due to the migration of American Indians away from these impoverished, isolated areas. In 1980, 336,384 American Indians lived on reservations. Although some of these reservations are quite small, 250,379 Indians lived on 36 reservations with populations of 2,000 or more. Three-quarters of these Indians lived on the 18 reservations that had poverty rates of 40 percent or higher. In other words, approximately 14 percent of all American Indians in 1980 lived on large reservations with poverty rates of 40 percent or higher (Sandefur, 1989)."

Though most AI/AN do not live on reservations, the table below conveys the largest reservations.

Table **5.1.3**: Largest Native American Reservations. (Data from the U. S. Census Bureau (2010))

American Indian Reservation	American Indian or Alaska Native (Alone or in Combination)
Navajo (AZ, NM, UT)	169,321
Pine Ridge (SD, NE)	16,906
Fort Apache (AZ)	13, 014
Gila River (AZ)	11,251
Osage (OK)	9,920
San Carlos (AZ)	9,901
Rosebud (SD)	9,809
Tohono O'oodham (AZ)	9,278
Blackfeet (MT)	9,149
Flathead (MT)	9,138

Demographics

The only fully nonimmigrant ethnic group in the United States, Native Americans once numbered in the millions but by 2010 made up only 0.9 percent of U.S. populace (U.S. Census, 2010). Currently, about 2.9 million people identify themselves as Native American alone, while an additional 2.3 million identify themselves as Native American mixed with another ethnic group (Norris, Vines, & Hoeffel, 2012).

Table **5.1.4**: American Indian and Alaska Natives, 2010. (Data from the U. S. Census Bureau (2010); Norris, Vines, and Hoeffel (2012))

	Alone	Alone or in combination (two or more groups)
All American Indians and Alaska Natives	2,932,248	5,220,579
American Indians	2,164,193	3,631,571
Alaska Natives	122,990	168,786

There are about 3 million Native Americans currently living in the US. Their tribal affiliations (as of census 2000) are 16% Cherokee, 12% Navajo, 6% Chippewa, 6% Sioux, 4% Choctaw, 46% all other tribes; the ten largest nations are detailed in the table below. Less than 2% of the US population is Native American with 22.3% living on reservations and trust lands; 10.2% living in tribal jurisdiction statistical areas; 2.7% in tribal designated statistical areas; 2.4% in Alaska native village statistical areas. However, the largest group of American Indians, 62.3%, do not live on traditional tribal lands or reservations. The geographical distribution is as follows: 6.25% of all American Indians live in the Northeast U.S., 17.93% of all American Indians live in the Midwest U.S., 30.21% of all American Indians live in the Southern U.S., and 45.59% of all American Indians live in the Western U.S. (U. S. Census Bureau).

Table 5.1.5: American Indian or Alaska Native Population by Tribal Grouping. (Data from the U. S. Census Bureau (2010); Norris, Vines, and Hoeffel (2012))

Tribal Grouping	One Tribal Grouping Reported
1. Navajo	286,731
2. Cherokee	284,247
3. Ojibwa/Chippewa	112,757
4. Sioux	112,176
5. Choctaw	103,916
6. Apache	63,193
7. Lumbee	62,306
8. Pueblo	49,695
9. Creek	48,352
10. Iroquois	40,570

Native Americans speak: English, Spanish, French, and over 150 Native Languages and thousands of dialects. American Indians come from: United States, Mexico, Canada, Central America, South America. Although some Indigenous languages have survived, there are several languages that are at risk of becoming extinct. While it is difficult to estimate how many Indigenous languages have been lost, a recent estimate suggests that in the United States, it has been at least 125 languages (Koyfman, 2017).

Table 5.1.6: Major Tribal Languages. (Data from the 2006 - 2010 American Community Survey in Siebens and Julian (2011))

Tribal Grouping	One Tribal Grouping Reported
1. Navajo	169,471
2. Yupik (Alaska)	18,950
3. Dakota (Sioux)	18,616
4. Apache	13,083
5. Keres (Pueblo)	12,495
6. Cherokee	11,610
7. Choctaw	10,343
8. Zuni	9,686
9. Ojibwa	8,371
10. Pima	7,270

Currently, Native Americans are more likely to live in a city rather than a reservation, as the figure conveys below. The trend towards urbanization began to increase after the passage of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, then dropped a bit leading up to the 1953 Termination Act. Urbanization then sharply increased in the 1950s with multiple government programs created to encourage Native Americans to move to the cities, such as the establishment of American Indian Centers and after 1962, the Employment Assistant Program (Healey & O'Brien, 2015; Schaefer, 2015).

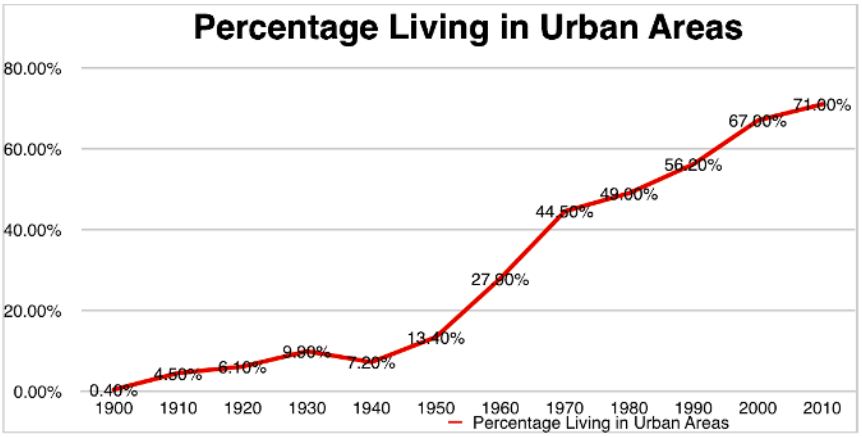


Figure **5.1.7**: Urbanization of American Indians, 1900 - 2010. (Data from Thornton, 2001; 2000 and 2010 U. S. Census Bureau)

The urbanization trend is supported by the 2010 U. S. Census data which indicates that U. S. cities hold the largest number of Native Americans, as shown in Table 5.1.8. California is the state with the largest Native American population.

Table **5.1.8**: Ten Places with the Largest American Indian or Alaska Natives, 2010. (Data from the U. S. Census Bureau (2010))

Place	Alone or in Combination
1. New York City	111,749
2. Los Angeles	54,236
3. Phoenix	43,724
4. Oklahoma City	36,572
5. Anchorage	36,062
6. Tulsa	35,990
7. Albuquerque	32,571
8. Chicago	26,933
9. Houston	25,521
10. San Antonio	20,137

Assuming these demographic trends continue as conveyed in USA Facts, the Native American population will continue to rise, demonstrating American Indian resilience.

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5.2: Indigenous Ways of Knowing

We Have Always Been Here and We Shall Remain

Salmon was presented to me and my family through our religion as our brother. The same with the deer. And our sisters are the roots and berries. And you would treat them as such. Their life to you is just as valuable as another person's would be.

-Margaret Saluskin, Yakama

We have always been here. We learned to respect and appreciate the land, water, plants and animals as living beings, and know them as our equals, as family; because without them there is no us. We were created here, and we shall remain.

Each nation has their own creation story telling of the way things came to be: plants, animals, water, rivers, lakes, rain, the earth, mountains, valleys, wind, fire, stars and people. Not only do these stories tell us about ourselves and our creation, but they reveal how everything is related, connected, and intertwined. Important information is passed down generation after generation in stories. For example, there is the Karuk story about how fire came to the people; and the Iktomi (the spider) trickster stories among the Lakota that teach us about how Iktomi lives in each of us when we trick others and laugh about it. We also understand that it is not fun being the one who is tricked and through this we learn humility and to laugh at our response to being tricked in the first place. These stories teach us about how things came to be and how they still continue to affect us every day.

Reasons *why* we plant, *what* we plant, *how* we plant and how we harvest sustainably is passed on through storytelling. Stories tell us about what to gather and hunt as well as when to do so. Some stories tell us about medicine, while other stories warn us of poison and sometimes one plant can be both depending on how you prepare it. Specific stories can only be told during certain times of the year. Every story has a lesson which often includes how to behave and how not to behave in certain situations. Our creation stories root us here in our homelands in North America. These stories reveal our ties to everything here and provide evidence that attest to this as our homeland, our place of creation. Our stories are not fairytales. They teach us how to live in the world.

Anthropologists are quick to put dates on our existence in North America because of their colonized mindset to attempt to "prove" we have no history or "not enough" history in our homelands to lay claim to it. By trying to date our existence closer to the invasion of the Americas, they are attempting to dismiss our connection to our place of origin and our creation. The Bering Strait Theory is one such attempt. More and more evidence is being found that dates the bodies of our ancestors before the Ice Ages. We don't need their scientific evidence to prove we were created here, we have our stories of creation that mention in detail specific locations with landmarks, extreme weather events, stars and their locations in the sky to document our creation, existence, and so much more. It is the scientist who needs our stories and **Indigenous ways of knowing** to connect the past to the present and future survival of humankind. If you ask an American Indian person how long they have been in a place, their response will most likely be "since time immemorial."

Sidebar: Maidu Creation Story by Harry Fonseca



Figure 5.2.1: Creation Story, 2000. (Public Domain; Harry Fonseca, Smithsonian)

In northern California Maidu belief, the world begins with *Helin Maideh* (Great Person), who first created water and air. He floated on a raft with Turtle at the beginning in that formless world with no sun, no moon, no stars. He was lonely, so he thought into creation *Kodoyampeh* (World Maker), and together, the three set out to make the world. Turtle dove into the water over and over for days on end—until finally he returned with a tiny bit of earth from the bottom of the waters.

They took the dirt, formed it into a cake, anchored it with four white feathered ropes, and that became the world, with its hills and mountains, lakes and streams. *Helin Maideh* next made the animals, fishes, birds and plants. Then the three set out to populate the earth. There are many stories and many versions, but in one, *Kodoyampeh* put a willow stick under each arm, and went to sleep. When he woke, the first man and woman were there to greet him.

Kodoyampeh made the world comfortable for First People, with food and fire, and changing seasons: Rain Season (*kummini*), Leaf Season (*yominni*), Dry Season (*ilaknom*), and Falling Leaf Season (*matminni*). He gave them songs and stories to tell to their children and grandchildren (*Harry Fonseca: Maidu Creation Stories*, 2020).

Indigenous ways of knowing refers to the way of knowing that a band or tribe of people accumulates over generations of living in and experiencing a specific environment, resulting in them making sense of their world. Indigenous ways of knowing inform decision-making about fundamental aspects of day-to-day life. This knowledge is integral and fundamental to Indigenous cultures that encompasses language systems, sustainable resource use practices, cultural and social interactions, ritual and spirituality. Today Indigenous ways of knowing are one of the core concepts taught in American Indian/Native American Studies.

There are currently 574 federally recognized Tribes, Nations, Bands, Pueblos, Native communities and villages. The Federal Register (*Federal Register Request Access*, n.d.. Indian Entities Recognized) published by the Bureau of Indian Affairs maintains the current list of tribes eligible for funding and services from the federal government and more importantly recognizes that tribes have a "unique" political relationship with the U.S. federal government. This relationship, as well as problems and issues that arise from a structurally racist government, as well as the ramifications of colonialism, and the resiliency of Native people will be discussed throughout this chapter. There are even more Tribes that are not Federally Recognized. There are many reasons for this, including but not limited to: false claims of extinction by anthropologists/census takers, genocide, and the very difficult Federal Acknowledgement Process.

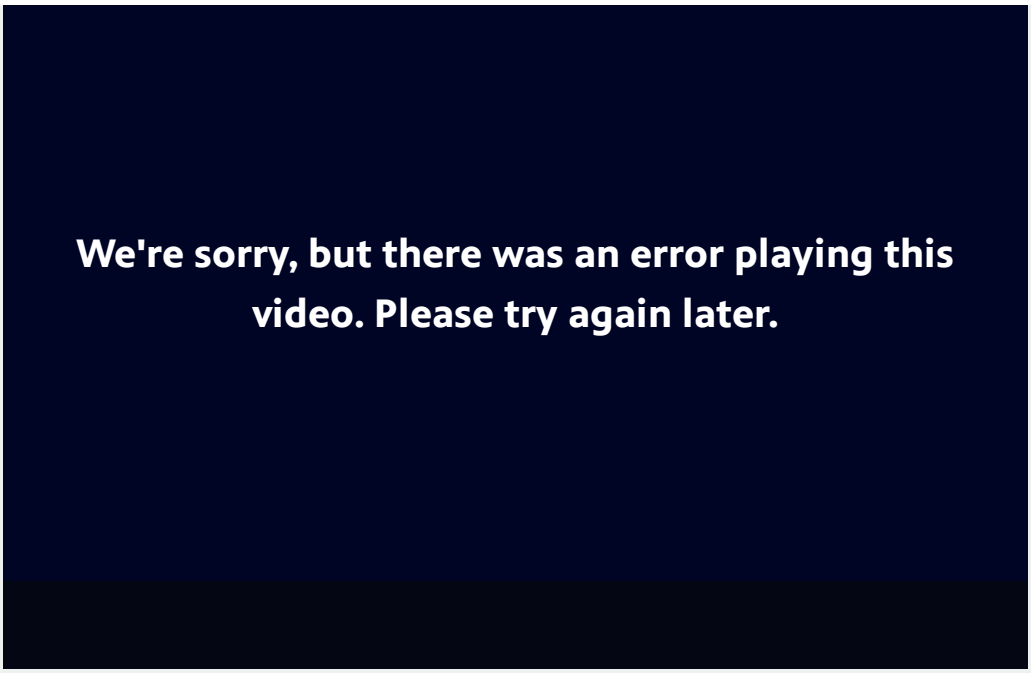
California - A Place Based History and Approach

A **place-based learning** approach recognizes meanings and stories in the land, and celebrates the connection to Indigenous ways of knowing and being. Environmental history and Indigenous experience are intricately linked and carry a cultural responsibility to the land and the people. Learning about the relationship with place as family, is important and should not be separated. The authors of this chapter are including this section to provide you with that connection, specifically between California Native women and the land where we live.

Prior to colonization of what is now called the “State of California,” American Indians lived fairly peaceful lives amongst each other. Resources (food, shelter, medicine, clothing, etc) were plentiful and the land was tended in a method that ensured bountiful and continuous harvests of staple foods like acorn and other nuts and grasses. To find out more about this connection between the people and the land please see the Sidebar: Tending The Wild below.

Sidebar: Tending The Wild series on PBS

The PBS series, Tending The Wild, reveals the environmental knowledge of Native people across California and explores how they have actively shaped and tended the land for millennia, developing a deep understanding of plant and animal life. This documentary series reveals the balance between nature and how traditional practices can inspire a new generation of Californians to live sustainably within their environment.



Throughout different sections of this chapter, the reader will find timelines in order to put into context and in relationship to each other, important events happening to American Indians/Native Americans in the United States. It is important to recognize that United States federal policy has swung like a pendulum back and forth, seemingly in favor of Native people and then against them; but the reader must understand the context of such events and how all federal policy has been in opposition to tribal sovereignty, Native people and their survival.

Sidebar - Timeline - Important Events in California Indian History After Colonization by the U.S. 1800's

- 1834 - The California missions ended after Mexico became independent of Spain. The newly independent Mexican government eventually passed laws that called for an end to the mission system through a process called “secularization.”
- 1848 – Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo - Signed between the United States of America and Mexico to end the Mexican-American War. This Treaty gave the U.S. ownership of California.
- 1849 – Gold Rush – Devastated Indian communities in California. Those people and tribes that had survived colonization and missionization now had bounties on their heads as settlers flocked to California in search of gold and wealth. The California Indian population dramatically decreased (Exact numbers vary between sources).
- 1850 – California State Constitution was ratified.
- 1851-52 – Eighteen unratified Treaties with California Indians. These unratified treaties allowed the State of California to take Indian land without paying for it.
- 1853- 1857 – Seven military reserves established by Congress.
- 1863 – Section 3 of the Act for the Governance and Protection of Indians was repealed. Indians in California could no longer legally be indentured servants.
- 1881-82 – State Superior Court decides that Indians on land grants can stay, however this decision was reversed on appeal to the Federal Court.
- 1883 – “On the Conditions and Needs of the Mission Indians of California” was published as a special report to the Commissioner of Indians Affairs by Jackson-Kinney.
- 1887 – Dawes Allotment Act permits granting of lands to individual Indians on and off reservations.

Missionization

In an effort to not glorify the Mission system and the horrible acts that took place because of the Missions, this chapter will not describe the creation of the California Mission system by Spain and the Catholic Church (this is a practice of decolonization).

However, it will highlight California Native women who have made significant contributions to this world with their actions, words, and being.

Toypurina (Kimivit - Gabrielino - Tongva)

The invasion of Spanish people destroyed the land. The Spanish efforts to steal and occupy the land was what some authors call a dual revolution. The Spanish were also concerned with dominating the land and thus cleared the land for agricultural and pastoral production. Clearing the land was often the first step in settler colonialism. Spanish colonists also introduced livestock which then devastated the usual and accustomed places that California Indian people hunted, fished, gathered, and harvested. Domesticated livestock grew exponentially in California. The livestock were just set free to graze and roam, consuming grasses and acorns on which indigenous people subsisted. Livestock overgrazed areas and that allowed plants native to Europe to replace native plants and scare away deer and other animals.

In an attempt to regain control over their lands (and bodies) and prevent further decimation by livestock and missionaries, Kumeyaay shot cattle at night and killed animals when they came too close to their towns. Some indigenous people did more. In 1784, a Tongva man named Nicolas Jose, an alcalde at Mission San Gabriel, went to the town of Japchavit and met Toypurina. Toypurina was known as a healer and they spoke about attacking the mission. Jose gifted her with beads in exchange for her to call together the unbaptized indigenous peoples from the area. Toypurina agreed and gathered people together to plan an attack. However, on the night of the planned attack, someone had betrayed the Tongva and the Mission guards were ready for them. Toypurina was captured and she and other leaders of the rebellion were put on trial.

When asked about the attack, Toypurina is quoted as saying that she participated in it because she ‘‘was angry with the Padres and the others of the Mission, because they had come to live and establish themselves on her land.’’ Spanish officials found her and the three other men on trial to be guilty of leading the attack. The three men were held at the prison (presidio) in San Diego, and Toypurina was imprisoned at the prison in San Gabriel while they awaited word of their punishment. In June 1788, nearly three years later, their sentences arrived from Mexico City: Nicolás José was banned from San Gabriel and sentenced to six years of hard labor in irons at the most distant penitentiary in the region. Toypurina was banished from Mission San Gabriel and sent to the most distant Spanish mission. She ended up at Mission San Carlos Borromeo as an exile. She continued to move for the rest of her life and eventually passed away in 1799 at Mission San Juan Bautista. Toypurina's story is an example of indigenous resistance (Akins & Bauer, 2021).

Sidebar: Toypurina: A Legend

This article titled "Toypurina: A Legend Etched in the Landscape of Los Angeles" by Maria John on KCET.org reviews the significance of Toypurina by examining various murals and artwork in L.A.

The following timeline is important for readers to see significant points throughout California history that have impacted California Indians and tribes.

Sidebar - Timeline - Important Events in California Indian History After Colonization by the U.S. 1900's

- 1905-06 – Kelsey (Special Indian Agent) conducts a census of non-reservation Indians. It counted at least 11,755 Indians that were not supported by the United States Government.
- 1917 – State court rules that non-reservation Indians are State citizens.
- 1924 – U.S. citizenship granted to all Indians.
- 1928 – California Indian Jurisdictional Act – Allowed the State of California to sue the United States on behalf of the Indians of California.
- 1933 – 1st Roll of California Indians.
- 1934 – Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) – also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act – was enacted to decrease federal control of American Indian Affairs and increase Indian self-government.
- 1944 – United States Court of Claims issues judgment in favor of California Indians, $17.5 million for land minus $12 million in expenses.

- 1946 – Indian Claims Commission Act – Created the Indian Claims Commission to hear any long standing claims of Indian tribes against the United States.
- 1953 – Public Law 280 – A federal law that states that the State may assume jurisdiction over reservation Indians. California becomes a mandatory PL 280 state.
- 1954-55 – California Indians Claims Case hearings in the Bay Area
- 1955 – 2nd Roll of California Indians. Indian people on this roll would be given $150.00 per capita payment.
- 1958 – California Rancheria Termination Act - 41 Rancherias vote for termination. The Act called for the distribution of the rancheria communal lands and assets to individual tribal members. 1,300 people/families received allotments of land.
- 1963-64 – California Indians vote to accept compromise for land settlement claim.
- 1969 – Occupation of Alcatraz Island – created a modern period of activism in Indian Country.
- 1969 September – Indians on the Hoopa reservation in Northern California believe the BIA has short changed them by as much as 500,000 dollars. They are complaining of the housing provided for them after the flooding of the Trinity and Klamath Rivers in 1964. BIA records show that as much as $427,000 - $1,417,000 has not been accounted for.
- May 18, 1970 – the Elem Pomo Indians reoccupied Mu-Do-N Island (Rattlesnake Island) in Clear Lake, California. They claimed the island was illegally acquired by Boise-Cascade Corporation.
- June of 1970 – the Pit River Nation began to reassert its ownership of ancient lands in California. Many Indians are arrested as the government refuses to recognize their rights.
- July 1970 – DQ University was incorporated as a tax exempt, non-profit institution. The initial incorporators were Kenneth Martin (Assiniboine), David Risling (Hoopa, Yurok, Karok), and Jack Forbes (Powhatan).
- October 29-30, 1970 – Senator George Murphy's Office issues a press release dated October 28, that the DQ-U site is to go to the University of California. This is in spite of the fact that DQ-U has submitted the only legally complete request for the site.
- November 3, 1970 – Native American students occupy the former Army communication facility between Davis and Winters in support of DQ-U. DQ-U trustees initiate court action to prevent the illegal transfer of the site to the University of California.
- November of 1970 – about 24 Pomo (and other) activists occupied an abandoned CIA spy post near Santa Rosa. Used in the 1950's to monitor foreign broadcasts, it had been vacant for a decade. They were forcibly removed 3 days later with 5 arrests. Ultimately, though, title to this land was transferred to the Pomo (intertribal). It is now the Ya-Ka-Ama ("Our Land," in Pomo) American Indian Learning Center, just as had been demanded in 1970. It maintains a nursery for endangered and other Native plants, carries out related economic development projects, and educational and cultural programs, supported and participated in by all the Pomo bands.
- 1972 – 3rd Roll of California Indians, $668.51 per person settlement.
- 1980's – Tillie Hardwick, a Pinoleville Pomo, sued the U.S. on the behalf of the terminated Pomo reservations. Victory restored federal status to 17 small California reservations, including many -- but not all -- Pomo bands, which continue their struggle for federal recognition.

Dr. Cutcha Risling Baldy
(Hupa, Yurok and Karuk and an enrolled member of the Hoopa Valley Tribe in Northern California)

Dr. Cutcha Risling Baldy (Native American Studies, Humboldt State University) researches Indigenous feminisms, California Indians and decolonization. In her blog post titled "Give It Back: Publishing and Native Sovereignty," Cutcha writes:

> I've become obsessed with the idea of finding out what would happen if I started mourning loss of land, loss of lives, loss of fish - if my grief was on display. As an academic I've internalized the message that somehow the work isn't supposed to be deeply personal. Like I don't carry the blood of my ancestors in my veins, blood that has run rivers red as we held on to the bodies of slaughtered children and wailed into the night sky asking ourselves "why" or "what are we supposed to do now?"
>
> Like we didn't sing or dance for all those we lost. Like that song doesn't come from me now. Like I don't close my eyes and hug my daughter just a little bit tighter at night because there was a time when they would have ripped her from my arms and sold her. And I would never stop looking for her. I would do anything to find her again. Like my ancestors didn't search until they couldn't search any longer. Like we don't continue to search, or grieve even now.

> And we live here in this space that they stole from us. This place where we buried our beloved. Where we sing and dance and laugh and love. This place where we cried tears of joy and sadness and from laughing so hard our stomachs hurt and from hurting so hard we thought we'd never laugh again (2020).

In just 3 short paragraphs Dr. Cutcha Risling Baldy describes what it is like to be a California Indian woman today. She bids us to think about land theft, loss and destruction. She makes us think about the significance of intergenerational trauma and how violence doesn't just hurt the victim. Cutcha calls us to think about missing and murdered indigenous women and places that California Native people deem sacred. Her life is place based. She speaks and writes from an internal place that is spiritually, emotionally, and intrinsically connected to where her ancestors and she were raised, and where their creation happened. Colonization may have pushed many of us from our homelands, but we return. See more on Dr. Risling Baldy's work on the Hupa Coming-of-Age Dance as decolonizing praxis under Chapter 8, section 8.6: Transformational Liberation through Love.

Deborah A. Miranda (Ohlone/Costanoan Esselen Nation, Chumash)

In her phenomenal book titled *Bad Indians, A Tribal Memoir (2013)*, Deborah Miranda writes, "Stories are their chief knowledge," wrote the padre from Mission San Juan Bautista. Yes — and they are, still. May it always be so" (p.xx).

She knew that the best way to tell the history of her people was to share stories. In this book, she tells stories specifically about her family and her life but all California Indians can relate. Moving through locations and time periods, Deborah teaches us about the results of missionization and later settler invasion and colonialism. She invites us into the world of a descendant of a survivor and she reminds us, as Cutcha does, that what the land and the people experienced during the first wave of colonization and genocide is still felt by the land and the people today. She places women and "women's issues" at the forefront of all of her work. In an article titled "Saying the Padre Had Grabbed Her": Rape is the Weapon, Story is the Cure," Dr. Miranda writes about the rape of a girl named Vicenta by a Padre at the Mission. Below is an excerpt from that paper.

> Why does Isabel Meadows tell Harrington this story about a girl named Vicenta who is raped by a priest and tells? And why do I retell this story now, so long afterwards? Why discuss sexual violence as part of reclaiming and reinventing a California Indian identity? Why give room to these particular destructive powers when trying to harness the creative powers necessary to create our mosaic history? I know these are questions that people will ask, even members of my own tribal community. The short answer is a brief and brutal fact: California Indian women have still not healed from the tragedy of Missionization, colonization, and the violence it inflicted on our bodies. As mentioned earlier, 86% of rapes against Indian women are committed by non-native men; this is unusual in a crime which, among other ethnic/racial groups, does not typically cross racial lines to any great degree (Miranda, 2010, p. 93).

Stories hold truths and the only way that the history of these places can be told is if these stories remain at the forefront. American Indian women have and continue to suffer from extreme rates of violence. That violence occurred on or near the land that was the place of creation for their people. How can we not have a place based history in California? The places that we live in, and come from, are seeping with the story of that land. So how then do California Indian people begin to heal?

Something Inside is Broken By Dr. Melissa Leal (Ohlone/Costanoan Esselen Nation)

She woke up this morning, thinking about being broken

About pieces of her body being torn apart

Away from her core and stretching her soul a million miles.

She wondered if her mother and grandmother and great-grandmother felt that way

Or maybe what she felt was older than all of them?

Maybe that feeling was from another time and place

She remembered seeing a struggle, a fight between peoples

A desperate attempt to eradicate what was, and remains so powerful

The blood memory of generations of women

Who were connected to the trees and rocks

Who lived by the water and learned from the birds

A people who sang and danced out of love

Who prayed for renewal

A people who carried generations of strength in their bones

Whose veins flowed profusely with the blood of the sacred

She saw these women in her dreams, mere shadows of light

Moving within the darkness

Resilient

Beautiful

Resiliently beautiful

With copper skin, kissed by the sun

Given the breath of life from the Creator herself

The dream seemed like a distant memory

A thought she once had or a story she once heard

She wasn't sure of the time nor the place

She wasn't able to identify each face in the shadows

But when she woke up that morning she knew that

Something inside was broken.

Our Local Story: Yokuts and Mono Tribes

The San Joaquin Valley was initially settled by the Yokuts, the native people of the region, whose arrival dates back between 50,000 and 7,000 years ago. They established sixty-three separate tribes in the valley, connected by blood and language. The Mono inhabited the upper reaches of Fresno County's major rivers. Along the San Joaquin, they were concentrated in the thirty-mile stretch between the northern edge of Millerton Lake and Fullers Meadow, and extended northward on Fine Gold and Willow creeks. To the south, they occupied the Kings upriver from Trimmer, and lived bear the North and Middle forks, and the Mill and Mill Flat creeks.

For thousands of years, the Fresno County region was a peaceful valley with native villages along rivers and abundant wildlife like elk, antelope, horses, and salmon. Valley oak trees provided acorns, a dietary staple. Each tribe had its own chief, sub-chief, and a secretary of state called the *winatun*.



Men hunted for game and fish, while women gathered berries, insects, eggs, and acorns. The Mono people inhabited the upper reaches of the major rivers in Fresno County and had flexible inter-tribal relations, engaging in trade, ceremonies, and marriages with neighboring tribes.

With the exception of the Chowchilla Tribe, the Yokuts were peaceful, mainly facing threats from grizzly bears. However, their way of life was disrupted when Spanish missionaries, European explorers, American trappers, and gold miners arrived in the valley during the 19th century. These outside groups introduced diseases, causing a significant decline in the indigenous population. Under American rule, Native people lost their land and had no legal rights, becoming laborers in various industries. The Federal government eventually established "Rancherias" as a way to provide land for landless Native Americans, though these were smaller than traditional reservations.

Figure 5.2.2: "Monache woman with children, 1895-96" by Fresno Historical Society is in the Public Domain.

Resources

Fresno County Historical Society (n.d.) Time Travelers: *Native Americans of the San Joaquin Valley. Retrieved from https://www.valleyhistory.org/native-americans*

In summary, the land that is now called “California” has many names. Each of the unique tribal groups in California called this large area of land something different. However, their homelands and rivers, creeks, bays all had specific names to them and other names for neighboring peoples. A person cannot understand the history of California without first understanding the stories of those places that hold significance to California Indian peoples. Stories hold truths and these stories are intricately connected to the people and place, from the past to the present, and are revealed in the resiliency of the people and places that we live and come from.

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5.3: Core Concepts and Theories

Concepts and Theories in American Indian/Native American Studies

And while I stood there I saw more than I can tell and I understood more than I saw; for I was seeing in a sacred manner the shapes of all things in the spirit, and the shape of all shapes as they must live together like one being.

-Black Elk

The following are important core concepts and theories in American Indian/Native American Studies.

Sovereignty

Sovereignty is a political concept that refers to dominant power or supreme authority. In modern democracies, sovereign power rests with the people and is exercised through representative bodies such as Congress or Parliament. A sovereign tribe would exercise power without limitation and work on behalf of their people without external interference by the federal government. The term also carries implications of autonomy; to have sovereign power is to be beyond the power of others to interfere.

Native people have a unique legal history with the U.S. federal court system that centers on sovereignty between Native nations and the United States. In Felix Cohen's (1941) Handbook of Federal Indian Law, the principles of **tribal sovereignty** are expressed as:

> adherence to three fundamental principles: (1) An Indian tribe possesses, in the first instance, all the powers of any sovereign state. (2) Congress renders the tribe subject to the legislative power of the United States and, in substance, terminates the external powers of sovereignty of the tribe. . . . (3) Those powers are subject to qualification by treaties and by express legislation by Congress, but save as thus expressly qualified, full powers of internal sovereignty are vested in the Indian tribes and in their duly constituted organs of government (pp. 122-123).

Native scholars argue that because of the unique legal status of Native peoples in the United States, Native American Studies should focus primarily on the defense of Native sovereignty. According to Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, "The major reason for the development of Native American Studies as a discipline was to defend indigenous nationhood" (1997, p. 11). Cook-Lynn's illustration of Native Studies is one of a unique discipline that focuses on Native people's lived experiences, geographies and languages which is different from an etic, so called "scientifically objective" perspective filled with implicit biases and colonial judgment more commonly found in other disciplines like history, anthropology and sociology.

Understanding Native Sovereignty movements, like the Red Power movement, is vital, but it is also important to note that these movements were informed by other social justice movements including the Civil Rights and Black Power movements (see Chapter 11, page 11.3: U.S. Civil Rights and Liberatory Movements). As these movements coincided, informed, and affirmed each other, the exchange between them allowed for greater insight into the oppression each had experienced including the impact of settler colonialism. Vine Deloria Jr. in his (1970) work, *We Talk, You Listen,* argued that sovereignty could be used as a critical framework for any group seeking liberation (p. 118), and in so being, political power and coalition building between diverse groups could be used to dismantle settler colonialism. We are stronger together and this is where power lies, in our ability to be allies and co-conspirators.

Self-Determination

Self-determination refers to the social movements, legislation, and beliefs by which Native American tribes in the United States exercise **self-governance** and decision making on issues that affect their own people. Self-determination is an integral piece of sovereignty and the right of a people to decide upon its own form of government, without outside influence and relates to the freedom and free will of the people of a given area to determine their own political status and independence. Self-determination includes tribal self-governance and intellectual self-determination (Teves et al., 2015). When tribes institute their own court systems, have their own tribal police, develop their own K-12 tribal schools and/or tribal colleges, these are acts of self-determination and sovereignty.

Colonization

Colonization is the process of using power and assuming control through war, force, genocide, slavery, and intimidation of someone else's territory, resources, culture and identity; and forcing one's own culture, systems of law, government, and religion upon the remaining Indigenous group survivors. According to Ward Churchill (2003), "If rape is violence…then so too is the interculture analogue of rape: colonial domination" (pg. 244). The invaders from Europe colonized the Americas as well as other areas of the world including Africa, India, Asia, Australia, New Zealand, etc.

Often it is mentioned as an "excuse" for colonization happening in the first place that "everyone" or all cultures "colonize," employing Conflict Theory. There is an assumption by the colonizers that tribes in the Americas also "colonized" other tribes, but this is not the case. Colonization did not take place amongst tribes or in the Americas, not until Europe invaded in the 15th century.

Colonialism

Colonialism is the power and practice fueled by a rapist mentality (Churchill, 2003) of one country or group of people to subjugate and enslave other people and their sovereign nations through establishing colonies with the goal of economic dominance, taken by force or through deception, the land and resources from Indigenous peoples.

The process of colonization often includes forced assimilation or the imposition of religion, language, economic systems, and other cultural practices from the colonizing group. According to Churchill (2003), "so long as Native North America remains internally colonized, subject to racial codes, unindemnified for the genocide and massive expropriations we've suffered—and continue to suffer—genocide, colonialism, racism and wholesale theft will remain the signal attributes of American mentality and behavior" (pg. xiv). Churchill's (2003) point about the continuation of genocide and land theft is well taken.

Tribes continuously have to fight the federal government to make sure they honor treaties in order to maintain their homelands and the limited resources on those lands, including rights to clean water. Within the last ten years, the Water Protectors of Standing Rock, a movement which began in early 2016, joined in solidarity against the proposed route of the more than 1,000 mile Dakota Access Pipeline, just north of the Standing Rock reservation. In February of 2022, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, "withdrew as a cooperating agency from the U.S Federal government's ongoing environmental assessment of the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL), citing lack of transparency by the U.S Army Corps of Engineers" (Sutherland, 2022). The reason for the withdrawal was due to the concerns raised about an inadequate emergency response plan in case a large spill occurred affecting the tribe's water supply.

Settler Colonialism, also known as Anti-Indigenous Settler Colonialism Theory

Settler Colonialism refers to an invasive group or culture that actively occupies and attempts to destroy through genocidal acts to replace/erase Native peoples and cultures (Wolfe, 1999; Wolfe, 2006), often appropriating parts of the Indigenous cultures during that process. This theft also includes the power to re-identify the Indigenous population and subsume an important piece of their identity as being the "rightful" inhabitants of this land, thereby reinforcing racist nativism.

There are three important points to Settler Colonialism:

1. Invaders come to permanently occupy the land.
2. Settler Colonialism is not a singular event; it is more of an ongoing, persistent strategy to eliminate Native tribal populations in order to claim sovereign rights and assert jurisdiction over Native land.
3. Settler Colonialism actively and continuously functions to eliminate Native people while at the same time promoting and asserting the false narratives of "settler belonging" or "Manifest Destiny," which will be discussed later in the chapter, in order to eliminate challenges of sovereignty by Native people. The concept of "*terra nullis"* is often promoted through this false narrative, that the land was "unoccupied" at the time of the European invasion; and this is just the beginning.

Settler Colonialism which "destroys to replace" (Itsuji Saranillio, in Teves, Smith & Raheja, 2015) adopts and promotes the same rapist genocidal mentality as colonialism, should actually be termed "invader colonialism" because to use the term "settler" seems to be innocuous and implies that the land and the people needed to be "settled" because it was/they were "wild" and "out of control" at the time of the invasion. This is directly related to Brian Baker's (2011) work which will be covered in more detail later on in this chapter on stereotypes of Native people as "wildly roaming the land," somehow unaware of the productivity inherent within the soil itself and therefore "undeserving" of the right of occupancy or "ownership."

The fact is that Native people lived sustainably for hundreds of thousands of years in the Americas prior to the European invasion. When Europeans arrived in North America in the late 15th century, they believed that the land was "untouched" by human hands and unoccupied because of how clean and clear the water was and how the soil was so rich, providing for abundant resources. This was not by chance, but because of sustained, managed work by Native peoples who learned how to live within the environment without depleting resources or causing permanent environmental damage.

Racist Nativism

This term is not what it seems to be in that it is based in white supremacy and how white Americans consider themselves to be "Native" to the United States, due to their forced take over of the land and genocidal acts against the original Native inhabitants. One could argue that Racist Nativism is rooted in the genocide and assimilation of the original Native inhabitants of North America who remained, and the subsuming of Native identity by white America. White America then positions itself as the Native rather than the "'foreigner" and uses this power to identify and oppose the "non-white foreigner", which "creates the defense and protection of a nationalistic identity, where the foreigner becomes a perceived threat to the nationalistic identity" (Perez Huber, 2010, p. 80). Racist Nativism is used to connect white supremacy, power and ownership to U.S. soil (Perez Huber, et. al. 2008); and institute who is "suitable" to be an "American".

United Nations Definition of Genocide

As established at the U.N. convention of 1948, any one of five acts is considered genocide if "committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group":

1. killing members of the group;
2. causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
3. deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
4. imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
5. forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The term "genocide" is often incorrectly used to describe extreme examples of mass murder, the death of vast numbers of people. Genocide can be an "act in progress." Genocide does not have to be complete to be considered genocide. By identifying government policies that are created to enact (the process of) genocide, we can prevent the end result. American Indian Studies/Native American Studies scholars consider that genocide has been and continues to be committed against Native people.

Political not Racial

Native nations have their own names for themselves and their people, from their own languages, but Native people also occupy, "a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of their identities" (Brayboy, 2006, pp. 429). This was established in the 1974 Supreme Court ruling that federal relationships with tribes are political, not racial, in nature. In Morton v. Mancari, the Supreme Court held that the federal government's special treatment of Indians is political and non-racial when it "can be tied rationally to the fulfillment of Congress' unique obligation toward the Indians" (*Morton V. Mancari, 417 U.S. 535 [1974]*). The federal government itself has a unique "trust" relationship with tribes in that the relationship is based on treaties.

Tribal Critical Race Theory

Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCRT) is a framework that allows for the analysis of programs and problems experienced by Native Americans or American Indians within systems or institutions (Brayboy, 2006). TribalCRT addresses the legal, social and political aspects of the relationship between the United States federal government and American Indians (Brayboy, 2006), which is very complex because tribes have sovereignty, a domestic dependent nation status and treaty rights that guarantee resources until the end of time. TribalCRT is related but distinct from Critical Race Theory.

According to Brayboy (2006), the nine tenets of Tribal Critical Race Theory address how colonization is "endemic" and how all federal U.S. policies are "rooted in imperialism, white supremacy and a desire for material gain" (p. 429). Establishing this country on this premise automatically creates a racist governmental system that is meant to "other," disenfranchise and take advantage of all people of color. In addition, governmental and educational policies toward Native peoples are intimately linked to assimilation (Brayboy, 2006).

Nine Tenets of Tribal Critical Race Theory (Brayboy, 2006)

1. colonization is endemic;
2. U.S. policies pertaining to Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain;
3. Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of their identities;
4. Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification;
5. the concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens;
6. governmental and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation;
7. tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups;
8. stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are therefore real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being;
9. theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change (pp. 429-430).

Brayboy (2006) identified three types of knowledge that coexist: cultural knowledge, the knowledge of survival, and academic knowledge. To review, cultural knowledge (also known as cultural capital) encompasses everything a person knows as a member of a particular cultural group, specifically what individuals know as members of tribal nations. Knowledge of survival or resistance capital/survivance incorporates adaptation strategies that have been learned as well as the personal choice made with the community to change and adapt in order to survive. Knowledge of survival promotes resilience, another significant factor added to the theoretical framework. It is important to combine multiple forms of knowledge in order to manifest the power for change. Brayboy (2006) explained that “power is rooted in a group‘s ability to define themselves, their place in the world, and their traditions” (p. 435). Power is essential and equates to inherent sovereignty. Because power is based in the community, it is shared (Brayboy, 2006). What follows is the ability to meet the needs of the people through the rights to self-identify, self-govern, and self-educate.

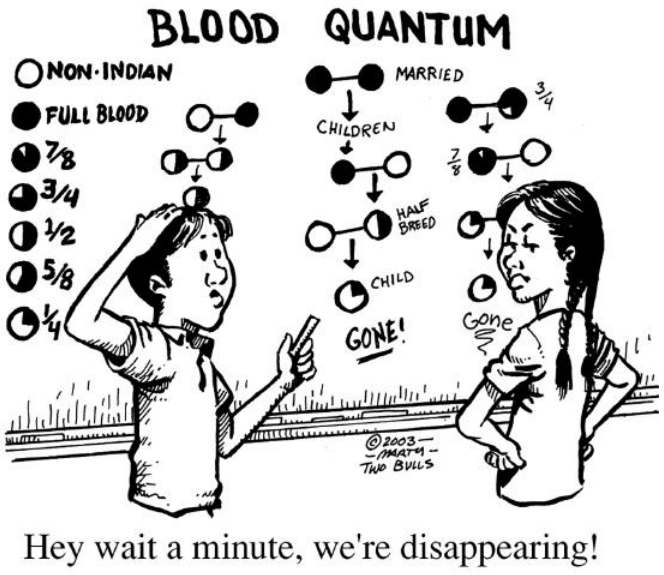
Another fundamental aspect of TribalCRT is recognizing that governmental policies toward Native people have promoted and reinforced assimilation (Brayboy, 2006). Early treaties guaranteed federal resources for Natives (Klug & Whitfield, 2003), but the interpretation and implementation of resources was left to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The BIA’s perspective promoted assimilation and the abandonment of tribal culture and language (Brayboy, 2006; Klug & Whitfield, 2003). However, attempts at complete assimilation have failed (Brayboy, 2006).

The ultimate goal of TribalCRT is social change (Brayboy, 2006; Williams, 1997). Scholars who adopt TribalCRT as a working philosophy confront inequity and assimilation practices. Researchers strive to create systems or make change in organizations that will address the needs of Indigenous people and their communities (Burkhart, 2004).

Tribal Critical Race Theory at its core challenges the notion that institutions “serve as bastions of objectivity, meritocracy, color blindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity” (Ramirez, 2011, p. 46). These frameworks expose color blindness and race neutrality for what they really are, a strategy to avoid addressing oppression, discrimination, and inequity within the system to maintain power and privilege for the dominant groups in American society (Calmore, 1992; Delgado, 1989; Villalpando, 2004).

Blood Quantum

American Indians have been racialized, but our identity is a political one. Blood quantum was introduced, “in 1705 by the Colony of Virginia, which adopted the ‘Indian Blood law’ [used] to reduce the civil rights of Indigenous people with ½ or greater blood quantum” (Livermont, Blood Quantum Blues, WERNATIVE). It is important to note that Tribal Nations did not use blood quantum to determine membership until it was adopted and imposed by the U.S. federal government to trace race between generations of Native people in order for the U.S. federal government to not have to fulfill their treaty obligations to tribes. If there are no Native people, then there can be no Native tribes.



Hey wait a minute, we're disappearing!

Figure 5.3.1: Blood Quantum: Hey wait a minute, we're disappearing! 2003. (CC BY-NC 4.0; Marty Two Bulls)

Image 4.3.1 is a cartoon of two students looking at each other after they have written on a chalk board how blood quantum is making them disappear with the caption beneath stating, "Hey wait a minute, we're disappearing!" This image represents how blood quantum is making our tribes disappear one person at a time.

According to the U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), an American Indian or Alaska Native is a person, “who has blood degree from and is recognized as such by a federally recognized tribe or village (as an enrolled tribal member) and/or the United States” (BIA, 2017, p. 1). According to Pevar (2012), “Congress has the authority to limit tribal sovereignty over membership determination, but unless Congress acts, each tribe enjoys the exclusive right to determine tribal membership for tribal purposes" (p. 90). The fact that the U.S. government has taken control of identifying Native people in the first place through treaties and laws reveals that racism exists within the structure of the federal government which opposes tribal sovereignty and self-determination of Native nations, impacting Indian identity.

The U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) issues certification of degree of Indian or Alaska Native Blood (CDIB) to tribal members. The CDIB recognizes the individual’s relationship to an enrolled member or members of a federally recognized tribe and states the person’s name, tribe, "blood quantum" of the individual, and birth date. American Indian or Alaska Native peoples are the only group in the United States that the federal government continues to demand calculated lineal ancestry to acknowledge formal belonging because of their economic ties through treaties to sovereign tribal nations. The U.S. Federal government, through treaty responsibility, is required to provide housing, food, jobs and education to federally recognized tribes; so the fewer recognized tribal members, the more likely a tribe will no longer exist and the federal government will no longer be required to fulfill their treaty obligations.

The only comparable example in U.S. history is the "one drop rule" of African American blood which states that if a person has a “single drop” of "Black blood," that person will be identified as Black. This rule is also known as the "one Black ancestor rule" and some courts have called it the "traceable amount rule." For American Indians, the rule is the opposite. The federal government wants Native people to "blood quantum out" in order to not be considered Native. In this way the federal government is systematically "assimilating" Native people into becoming "non-Native" so that tribes cannot count these people as tribal citizens. This means that the federal government will not have to fulfill their treaty obligations to tribes because there will be no more tribes due to there being no tribal citizens.

Blood quantum is determined through a formula that reduces by half each generation that is intermarried with someone other than a member of that same tribe going back to enrollees who were originally counted on Census rolls created by the federal government. There are many issues with blood quantum including self-determination, or the sovereign right of tribes to determine their own citizenship vs. the federal government imposing this requirement.

The way blood quantum works is that for each generation that does not marry someone who is a tribal member of the same tribe, with at least the same amount of blood quantum, the percentage of Native blood reduces by half. For example if someone is 100% Lakota, has a child with someone who is 100% non-Native, then the child would be 50% or half Lakota and 50% or half non-Native. Now if both parents are from different tribes then the child is 50% or half one tribe and 50% or half the other, but the tricky part is that the child can't be an enrolled member of both tribes based on the federal government's regulations; they can only be enrolled in one tribe. If that child grows up and has a child with someone who is not from either tribe, then their child's blood quantum reduces by half again or to 25% or one-quarter Native, which is often the threshold for enrollment. It only takes intermarrying (having a child with someone who is not the same tribe as you) of 3 generations to "blood quantum out" of tribal enrollment, where a child is not necessarily considered Native American/American Indian anymore and cannot be enrolled in any of their tribes.

Some tribes have opted to use heritage, documented descendancy or lineal descent from enrolled members as a qualification for tribal membership in addition to possessing a minimum fraction of Native blood (there are many tribes that don't use blood quantum at all). The most common requirement is one-fourth but some tribes require as little as one-thirty-second. As you can imagine, this also has many issues including but not limited to access to birth records, if they exist, death records, if they exist, and problems with the initial lists the federal government created where people often changed or altered Native names when translating them into English.

Because tribes are self determined, sovereign nations, blood quantum is not the only means by which a person can be considered American Indian/Alaska Native. As stated earlier, lineal descent is one way, but other factors include, "a person's knowledge of [their] tribe's culture, history, language, religion, familial kinship, and how strongly a person identifies as American Indian or Alaska Native" (BIA, 2017, p. 1). To make this even more complicated, the U.S. federal government determines which sovereign tribal nations are federally recognized. This in turn affects who can legally claim to identify as American Indian or Alaska Native.

Eligibility criteria for tribal enrollment (or membership) will differ from tribe to tribe. It is important to note that tribes have inherent authority to determine membership qualifications. The Supreme Court recognizes that tribes have the right, "to define [their] own membership for tribal purposes has long been recognized as central to its existence as an independent political community" (Reclaim Justice as Key to Self-Governance, Indian Country Today, 12/6/2006). Enrollment eligibility criteria is listed in the tribe's constitution. A person cannot be enrolled in more than one tribe and tribes also have rights to disenroll and adopt persons into the tribe (Pevar, 2012).

Federal Recognition, Treaties and Trust

A federally recognized tribe is one that has an established, ratified treaty through the U.S. Congress. Federal recognition was established by the federal government in order to make land deals or **treaties** with tribes. Through recognizing tribal sovereignty, the federal government could establish bills of sale, and develop a "trust" relationship with tribes. A "trust"relationship also known as the 'doctrine of trust responsibility', refers to the fact that the federal government has "power over and responsibility" to tribes at the same time, specifically in regard to "promises enshrined in treaties" (Day, 2019). Treaties are considered the "supreme law of the land" (Article 6 of the U.S. Constitution), in effect forever and therefore equivalent to federal laws. However, the outcome of *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* held that Congress has authority to change the stipulations of treaties based on Due Process and Just Compensation (Pevar, 2012). This has resulted in an untenable relationship between tribes and the federal government. For example, the federal government can terminate federal recognition at any time, which effectively ends the obligations of the federal government towards the tribe, thereby breaking treaties made with that tribe. Every treaty ever made between the federal government and Native tribes has been broken by the federal government.

Every treaty ever made between the federal government and Native nations (over 500) consists of three important points:

1. Native tribes being recognized as sovereign nations with land;
2. Native tribes being forced or coerced to "give up" land;
3. in exchange for being provided the same or similar resources for all time to continue the tribe's existence.

New borders and behavior of tribal members were also negotiated. Remember, every treaty has been broken by the U.S. federal government. The rights, protections, and services provided by the United States to individual American Indians and Alaska Natives come from their enrollment in a federally recognized tribe. Federally recognized tribes have a government-to- government

relationship with the U.S. The "trust relationship" has certain legally enforceable obligations and responsibilities from the U.S. federal government to enrolled tribal members.

California - 18 Unratified Treaties

While the history of the Federal-Indian relationship in California shares some common characteristics with that of Native people elsewhere in the United States, it is different in many aspects. It includes the unprecedented magnitude of non-native migration into California after the discovery of gold in 1848, nine days before the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; the Senate's refusal to ratify the 18 treaties negotiated with California tribes during 1851-52; and the lawless nature of California's settlement after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, including State sanctioned efforts to "exterminate" the indigenous population.

Under pressure from the California Congressional delegation, the United States Senate not only refused to sign the 18 treaties that had been negotiated, but they also took extraordinary steps to place the treaties in hiding. Between the un-ratified treaties and the Land Claims Act of 1851 (established to determine the validity of prior Spanish and Mexican land grants), most California Indians became homeless.

Major shifts in federal Indian policy at the national level during the late 19th century exacerbated what the federal government had deemed "Indian problems" in California. Passage of the General Allotment Act in 1887 opened part of the limited lands in California to non-Indian settlement. In 1905 the public was finally advised of the 18 unratified treaties. Citizens sympathetic to the economic and physical distress of California Indians encouraged Congress to pass legislation to acquire isolated parcels of land for homeless California Indians. Between 1906 and 1910 a series of appropriations were passed that provided funds to purchase small tracts of land in central and northern California for landless Indians of those areas. The land acquisitions resulted in what has been referred to as the Rancheria System in California.

In 1934, with the passage of the **Indian Reorganization Act** (IRA), the reconstituting of tribal governments included the Bureau of Indian Affair's supervision of elections among California tribes, including most of the Rancheria groups. Although many tribes accepted the provisions of the IRA, few California tribes benefited economically from the IRA because of the continuing inequities in funding of Federal Indian programs.

Beginning in 1944, forces within the BIA began to propose partial liquidation of the Rancheria system. Even the limited efforts to address the needs of California Indians at the turn of the century and again through passage of the IRA were halted by the federal government when it adopted the policy of termination. California became a primary target of this policy when Congress slated forty-one California Rancherias for termination pursuant to the Rancheria Act of 1958. During the past quarter century, judicial decisions and settlements have restored 27 of the 38 Rancherias that were terminated under the original Rancheria Act. Additional tribes have since then been restored as a result of Acts of Congress." United States Department of the Interior, Indian Affairs (Schneider, Leal, 2019).

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5.4: Invasion, Occupation, Imperialism and Hegemony

Genocide in the US - Colonialism Beyond Columbus

We survive war and conquest; we survive colonialism, acculturation, assimilation; we survive beatings, rape, starvation, mutilation, sterilization, abandonment, neglect, death of our children, our loved ones, destruction of our land, our homes, our past and our future. We survive, and we do more than just survive; we bond, we care, we fight, we teach, we nurse, we bear, we feed, we earn, we laugh, we love, we hang in there no matter what.

-Paula Gunn-Allen, 1992

As explained earlier in this chapter, genocide occurred in the United States. Colonialism itself is an act of genocide and needs to be recognized as such, but it is more complicated when you add Imperialism on top of Manifest Destiny and the Doctrine of Discovery.

Imperialism

Imperialism is an exploitative relationship between the United States and Tribes. The clearest example of imperialism in US history is the treatment of Native people. Treaties between the US government and Native nations recognized tribes as sovereign. The creation of the reservation system and the acquisition of reservation land in violation of treaties are textbook examples of imperialism and colonialism. The federal government created policies designed to promote either assimilation or extermination. Native lands were taken through conquest and incorporated into US territories, while Native Americans themselves were forced onto reservations and initially denied citizenship.

Sidebar - Timeline Native History in the U.S. from 1778 - 1885

- 1778 - First Treaty between the United States and the Leni Lenape or Delaware
- 1789 - The United States Constitution becomes effective. Congress has the power to regulate Commerce with foreign Nations and with Indian Tribes. The Constitution also provides that "the laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance of; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land", thus superseding any other laws.
- 1790 - Congress passes the first Indian Trade and Intercourse Act which was modified in 1834. The Act prohibits conveyances of an Indian tribe's interests in land unless the conveyance is negotiated in the presence of a federal commissioner and ratified by Congress.
- 1831- Federal trust doctrine first described by the Supreme Court. In Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, and in the 1832 decision of Worcester v. Georgia, Chief Justice John C. Marshall articulated the roots of the federal trust doctrine and affirmed that Indian affairs was the province of federal rather than state regulation. In Cherokee Nation, an original action in the Supreme Court, the Tribe sought to enjoin Georgia from taking tribal land and imposing burdensome regulations on the Tribe. Chief Justice Marshall termed tribes "domestic dependent nations," with the federal/tribal relationship resembling "that of a ward to his guardian." The Court, ultimately, held that it lacked jurisdiction to hear an original action brought by a tribe against a state.
- 1832 - the Court revisited Georgia's attempt to control the Tribe in Worcester v. Georgia. Worcester, a minister and federal postmaster, and another non-Indian challenged their conviction in the Georgia courts for unlawfully residing on the Cherokee Reservation without a state license. The Court invalidated the state law and confirmed the Nation's sovereign rights under various treaties, including the right of self-governance and the right to occupy its own territory to the exclusion of the citizens of Georgia and of Georgia laws. According to Chief Justice Marshall, the "Cherokee nation . . . is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, . . . in which the laws of Georgia can have no force . . . ." The Court described Georgia's attempts to regulate the Cherokee as "interfere[ing] forcibly with the relations established between the United States and the Cherokee nation, the regulation of which, according to settled principles of our constitution, are committed exclusively to the government of the union."

- 1838 - Jackson’s Forced removal of the Cherokees begins. The election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 led to a change in the previous policy of seeking voluntary removal by eastern Indian tribes to western lands. In 1838, Jackson ordered the Army to begin forced removal of the Cherokees. The forced migration became known as the "Trail of Tears." Several other east coast tribes were also impacted and forcefully removed from their homelands.
- 1849 - Responsibility for Indian affairs transferred to the Department of Interior. The authority over Indian affairs was transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior pursuant to a statute that created the Interior Department. This change, however, did not precipitate a shift in federal policy, which continued to emphasize removal from eastern states. And despite the transfer, Congress continued to debate for a number of years whether the War Department should regain authority over Indian affairs.
- 1854 - First allotment of Indian tribal lands. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, George Manypenny, advocated reducing the size of reservations in combination with allotting portions of the reservation in severalty to individual Indians. In Manypenny's view providing Indians with private real property would help to establish "habits of industry and thrift as will enable them to sustain themselves."
- 1871 - An end to treaty making with Tribes. In 1871, Congress enacted an appropriations Act that included a rider stating "[t]hat hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty" This was because the House of Representatives was jealous of the power the Senate had in enacting treaties with tribes.
- 1885 - Major Crimes Act enacted. In 1883, the Supreme Court in Ex parte Crow Dog, 109 U.S. 556, overturned the conviction of Crow Dog for the murder of Spotted Tail, both members of the Brule Band of Sioux. The General Crimes Act, which at the time provided the basis for criminal law in Indian country, excluded "crimes committed by one Indian against the person or property of another." Such acts generally were dealt with under tribal law, rather than through federal prosecution. Crow Dog's prosecution took place on the theory that an 1868 Treaty with the Sioux had implicitly repealed the Indian exception to the General Crimes Act. The Supreme Court reversed Crow Dog's conviction, ruling that "[t]o justify such a departure, in such a case, requires a clear expression of the intention of Congress, and that we have not been able to find." In the wake of Ex parte Crow Dog, Congress enacted the Major Crimes Act in 1885. As enacted, the legislation provided that seven offenses, including murder and manslaughter, that, if committed against "another Indian or other person" within a territory or on an Indian reservation, constituted crimes under federal law. The Major Crimes Act in effect repealed the Indian exception to the General Crimes Act for certain crimes. The Major Crimes Act, as amended, is codified at 18 U.S.C. section 1153.

The Doctrine of Discovery and Manifest Destiny

According to the Upstander Project (2023), the **Doctrine of Discovery** established a spiritual, political, and legal justification for colonization and the seizure of land not inhabited by Christians. Foundational elements of the doctrine can be found in a series of papal decrees, beginning in the 1100's, which included expressions of territorial sovereignty for Christian monarchs supported by the Catholic Church. Two papal decrees that stood out include:

1. "Romanus Pontifex" in 1455, granting the Portuguese a monopoly of trade with Africa and authorizing the enslavement of local people;
2. “Inter Caetera” in 1493 to justify Christian European explorers’ claims on land and waterways they allegedly discovered, and promote Christian domination and superiority, and has been applied in Africa, Asia, Australia, New Zealand, and the Americas.

If an invader proclaims to have “discovered” the land in the name of a Christian European monarch, reports his “discovery” to the European rulers and returns to occupy the land, it is now his, even if someone else was there first. Furthermore, the “discoverer” can label the previous occupant’s way of living on the land as "inadequate" according to European standards, which justifies their claim to the land. This ideology supported the dehumanization of Native people, their dispossession, murder, and forced assimilation. The doctrine supported white supremacy as white European settlers claimed they were “instruments of divine design” and possessed cultural superiority.

In an 1823 Supreme Court case, Johnson v. M'Intosh, the Doctrine of Discovery became part of U.S. federal law and was used to dispossess Native peoples of their land. In a unanimous decision, Chief Justice John Marshall writes, “that the principle of

discovery gave European nations an absolute right to New World lands” and Native peoples certain rights of occupancy (*Johnson & Graham’s Lessee V. McIntosh, 21 U.S. 543, 1823*).

The Doctrine of Discovery was the inspiration for Manifest Destiny, which justified American expansion westward by propagating the belief that the U.S. was destined to control all land from the Atlantic to the Pacific and beyond.



Figure 5.4.1: "American Progress", 1872. (Public Domain; John Gast via Wikimedia Commons)

Manifest Destiny, coined in 1845 by newspaper editor John O’Sullivan, is the idea that white, Christian Americans were divinely ordained to "settle" (invade and steal) North America. This included a belief in the inherent superiority of white Americans as well as the conviction that they were destined by the Christian God to “conquer” the people and territories of North America. The ideology of Manifest Destiny was used to justify extreme measures to murder and decimate Native populations in order to “free” the land from its inhabitants, including forced removal and violent extermination. Proponents of Manifest Destiny advocated for and pursued a policy of removal. The ideology of Manifest Destiny inspired a variety of measures designed to commit genocide through removal or destruction the Native population that already inhabited North America.

Sidebar - Timeline Native History in the U.S. from 1921 - 1948

- 1921 - Snyder Act encourages spending for tribal needs. The Snyder Act authorized appropriations "for the benefit, care, and assistance of Indians throughout the United States." This legislation facilitated the passage of regular Indian appropriation bills to fund activities by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
- 1924 - Indian Citizenship Act enacted, The Citizenship Act of 1924 granted American citizenship to "all non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States." Indians would not have to go through a naturalization process.
- 1928 - Merriam Report published. The "allotment" period (beginning in 1887) created numerous health and welfare problems, which were detailed in this multi-year study undertaken by the Brookings Institute. The Report documented extensive poverty, disease, poor educational opportunity, and massive dislocation of Indians from their homelands. It recommended numerous changes, including the creation of a commission to hear Indian claims. The Report was a precursor to significant changes in federal policy.
- 1934 - Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). In 1934, Congress enacted the IRA to encourage tribes to revitalize their self-government, to take control of their "business and economic affairs," and to assure a solid territorial base by putting a halt to the loss of tribal lands through allotment. This sweeping legislation manifested a sharp change of direction in federal policy toward tribal sovereignty, replacing the assimilationist policy that had been in place since the General Allotment Act of 1887. The IRA prohibited any further allotment of reservation lands, extended indefinitely the periods of trust or restrictions on alienation of Indian lands, provided a mechanism for the acquisition of trust land for tribes, and prohibited any transfer of Indian lands (other than to the tribe or by inheritance) except exchanges authorized by the Secretary as "beneficial for or compatible with the proper consolidation of Indian lands and for the benefit of cooperative organizations." The overriding purpose of the IRA, however, was broader than remedying the negative effects of the General Allotment Act. As the Supreme Court has said, Congress sought to "establish machinery whereby Indian tribes would be able to assume a greater degree of self-government, both politically and economically." Congress thus authorized

Indian tribes to adopt their own constitutions and bylaws and to incorporate. Congress also authorized the Secretary to take specified steps to improve the economic and social condition of Indians, including: adopting regulations for forestry and livestock grazing on Indian units, assisting financially in the creation of Indian-chartered corporations, making loans to Indian-chartered corporations out of a designated revolving fund "for the purpose of promoting the economic development" of the Tribes, paying tuition and other expenses for Indian students at vocational schools, and giving preference to Indians for employment in positions relating to Indian affairs. Of particular significance to the current work of the Section, Section 5 of the IRA authorizes the Secretary of the Interior "in his discretion," to "acquire. . .any interest in lands. . . within or without existing reservations, . . . for the purpose of providing land for Indians." The acquired lands "shall be taken in the name of the United States in trust for the Indian tribe or individual Indian." Pursuant to authority expressly delegated to the Secretary to prescribe regulations "carrying into effect the various provisions of any act relating to Indian affairs," the Secretary has issued regulations governing the implementation of his authority under Section 5 to take land into trust.

- 1943 - Tribal leaders create the National Congress of American Indians. The group sought to promote tribal interests at a national level.
- 1946 - Indian Claims Commission established. In 1946, Congress enacted the Indian Claims Commission Act (ICCA), which created the Indian Claims Commission (ICC), establishing a novel mechanism for Indian tribes to bring past claims against the United States. The cognizable claims under the ICCA included "claims in law or equity arising under the Constitution, laws, treaties of the United States, and Executive orders of the President," as well as claims for lack of "fair and honorable dealings that are not recognized by any existing rule of law or equity." Moreover, neither laches nor statute of limitations constitute permissible defenses to claims brought under the ICCA. Claims that had arisen prior to enactment of the statute were to be filed by 1951. Monetary compensation was the sole remedy available to the ICC. The Commission concluded its work in 1978 and transferred its remaining cases to the Court of Claims.
- 1948 - "Indian Country" defined. In 1948, Congress codified existing federal common law regarding what constitutes "Indian county" for purposes of federal criminal jurisdiction. The Supreme Court subsequently has applied the Indian country definition to determine the scope of tribal jurisdiction.

Removal, Reservations/Rancherias and Relocation

Often known as the 3R’s, removal, reservations/rancherias, and relocation greatly affected Native people both individually and collectively. Tribal systems rely on community and the collective ability of our people to work together within a familiar environment to survive. Once we are moved and relocated, we are no longer in a familiar place with family or community. We are forced to try to survive on our own without any help. What happens to our traditions and what are the ramifications to our families, our tribes?

Removal

In 1830, President Andrew Jackson (also known by his political platform as “the Indian killer”) signed the Indian Removal Act, which empowered the federal government to take Native-held land east of Mississippi and forcibly remove and relocate Native people from their homes in Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, Florida, and Tennessee to “Indian territory”, or what is now Oklahoma. Tribes affected were the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw and Seminole. From the southeast alone, the federal government moved roughly 60,000 people to eastern Oklahoma. This atrocity known as the Trail of Tears, which occurred up until 1907 resulted in tens of thousands of Native Americans dying or being murdered after being forcefully removed from their homes in error. The “Trail of Tears” is well known but there was not just one “Trail of Tears”; there were many instances where the federal government used their military to forcibly remove and relocate tribes. For example, in California in the 1860’s, the Concow Maidu were forcibly moved to Round Valley.

Known as the Nome Cult Trail or the Conkow Trail of Tears, which began on August 28, 1863; on that day, the Conkow Maidu people were rounded up by armed soldiers and began a grueling march from Chico to Round Valley. Of the 461 Conkow Maidu who began the journey, only 277 remained by the time they reached Round Valley. One hundred and fifty who were too exhausted, sick or malnourished to continue the journey had been left behind five days into the journey with only enough food to last them for a month. Others died of sickness, exhaustion, starvation, or thirst, while two managed to escape en route. Dorothy Hill writes in "The Indians of Chico Rancheria:" "Indian versions of the cruel hardships that their ancestors encountered on the drive to Round Valley are more explicit than the government accounts" (Hill, 1978).

According to Beth Stebbins' book, *The Noyo:* "The problems that had beset the coastal reservation were carried over to the Round Valley reservation" (Stebbins, 1986) a number of first-person accounts of conditions on the Nome Cult reservation described hard-working Native Americans who labored on the farm and yet had not the means to obtain clothing, nor had they received clothing allotments in two years. There were no schools for the children, a dire scarcity of supplies, and "no substantial buildings erected for the Indians to live in," according to Condition of the Indian Tribes: Report of the Joint Special Committee (1865):

> Life on Nome Cult Farm was difficult in other respects as well. Not only did the original inhabitants of Round Valley, the Yuki, now have to confine their lives to only a small portion of their own ancestral land — Nome Cult Farm — they also had to live side by side with strangers from a number of other Native American tribes. Some of the tribes were enemies of the Yuki, and none had a common language (KCET, 2018).

Ethnic cleansing has been defined as the attempt to get rid of (through deportation, displacement or even mass killing) members of an ethnic group. Ethnic cleansing is also the systematic forced removal of ethnic, racial, and religious groups from a given area, often with the intent of making a region ethnically homogeneous. Removal policies were acts of ethnic cleansing, and meant to take land from Native American tribes and place it in the hands of white invaders.

The ideology of Manifest Destiny was also used to justify extreme measures to murder and decimate Native populations in order to "free" the land from its inhabitants, including forced removal and violent extermination. Proponents of Manifest Destiny led by the US government advocated for and pursued a policy of Indian Removal. The ideology of Manifest Destiny inspired a variety of measures designed to commit genocide through removal or destruction of Native people reinforcing settler colonialism, racist nativism and white supremacy.

Reservations/Rancherias

Reservations were one mechanism by which the federal government thought that they would be able to deal with "the Indian problem." A federal Indian reservation is an area of land reserved for a tribe or tribes under treaty or other agreement with the United States, executive order, federal statute or administrative action as permanent tribal homelands, and where the federal government holds title to the land in trust on behalf of the tribe. Journalist Simon Moya-Smith (Lakota) writes "Indian reservations were first established as prison camps. The U.S. gave each prison camp a number. The Pine Ridge prison camp, for example, is prison camp 334. Then, the U.S. documented each Native by assigning them a number, too. That's why, today, we have enrollment numbers" (Moya-Smith, 2018). In California, most of the "reservations" are actually called rancherias. Rancherias were formed as land set aside for homeless Indians.

Approximately 56.2 million acres are held in trust by the United States federal government for various Indian tribes and individuals. There are approximately 326 Indian land areas in the U.S. administered as federal Indian reservations (i.e., reservations, pueblos, rancherias, missions, villages, communities, etc.).

The largest reservation is the 16 million-acre Navajo Nation Reservation located in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. One of the smallest is a 6 mile rectangular parcel in Oregon where the Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Confederated Tribe's Council Office is located. Many of the smaller reservations are less than 5 miles long or wide. Native landholdings have decreased over the years (156 million acres in 1881 to 50 million in 1934) (Dunbar Ortiz, 2014, p. 11-12).

The fact that Native Americans, once confined to **reservations and rancherias**, did not have the resources to take care of themselves, tied into this stereotype and false imagery. Blaming Native people for their own impoverished conditions when they had nothing to do with it, helped to ingrain the "lazy Indian" image into the American psyche.

Relocation

Congress passed a resolution (House Resolution No. 108, 83rd Congress, August 1, 1953) beginning a federal policy of termination, through which American Indian tribes would be disbanded and their land sold. A companion policy of "relocation" moved Indians off reservations and into urban areas. Operation Relocation of 1952, which moved reservation Natives to urban areas, promised transportation, training, work and housing. This happened in major cities across the nation, including Chicago, Dallas-Fort Worth, Denver, Detroit, Los Angeles, Oakland, San Francisco, Portland, etc. Relocation was successful in moving a majority of Natives to urban locations. By 1980, 50% of Native people lived in urban areas. The goal was to assimilate Natives by encouraging them to marry non-Natives. But this plan somewhat backfired. Although intermarriage occurred, many urban Indians

did not melt into urban White America. Instead, they looked for ways to remain Native. Intertribal pow-wows were a way to retain connections and traditions. Urban Indians created ways to remain Native and never surrendered their identities.

Dawes Act

Sidebar - Laws and Acts 1887

- 1887 - General Allotment Act - The General Allotment or Dawes Act established the allotment of tribal land in severalty to individual Indians and the abolition of the tribal system as the major tenets of federal Indian policy. The Act authorized the President to survey reservations and allot lands to individual Indians for use as agricultural or grazing lands. Title to these lands was to continue to be held in trust for 25 years, at which point the land would be patented to the individual in fee. The program, as it developed, led to a considerable amount of land losing its trust protection and being sold to non-Indians. As a result, by 1900, Indians retained approximately one-half of the land that they had held in 1881. Congress did not revisit Indian policy or the allotment approach in a comprehensive manner until 1934.

The 1887 **Dawes Allotment Act** was a way in which the federal government could obtain reservation land, established through treaties. Between 1870-1900, federal Indian policy changed from treaty making, removal, establishing reservations and warfare to a new policy meant to break up reservations and tribal lands. The Dawes Act, named after Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts, authorized the President to break up reservation land into small allotments parceled out to individual Native Americans, encouraging farming. The key term here is "individual":

> To each head of a family, one-quarter of a section; To each single person over eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section; To each orphan child under eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section; and To each other single person under eighteen years now living, or who may be born prior to the date of the order of the President directing an allotment of the lands embraced in any reservation, one-sixteenth of a section (Dawes Act, 1887).

Although this act did not initially apply to all tribes because several were exempt, Dawes was another effort to assimilate Native people into American society, break treaty rights and obligations of the federal government and ultimately economically benefit the federal government once more through the stealing and selling of Native land. Through this effort of assimilation, the federal government did not have to follow their treaty obligations to provide for tribes in exchange for Native land, because they could just take it.

The Dawes Act abolished tribal governments and recognized state and federal laws as superseding tribal sovereignty. Individual Indians were listed on rolls in order for the Department of the Interior to determine eligibility for land distribution. Further excuses were used to promote the act including listing individual land ownership as a way to protect American Indian property rights. Removing land from tribal possession meant the disruption and obstruction of tribal governance, sovereignty, traditions and way of life. To make matters worse, land allotted to individuals was usually unsuitable for farming, which was required in order to maintain individual land ownership. In addition, individuals could not afford all the necessary resources like tools, animals, seeds and supplies necessary to begin, let alone maintain a farm. Tribes were left unpaid or underpaid for the land allotments which often were too small to farm. Native people often were not able to afford the taxes on the property, so it began to be confiscated by the state; which was an issue for the federal government. Allotments were also outright sold to non-Native individuals, resulting in extensive loss of tribal lands. The Dawes Act (1887) document can be found at the National Archives website.

Prior to the Dawes Act, tribes relied on treaty rights to protect their land claims, especially when it came to the federal government attempting to take more and more tribal land. Treaty rights protected original agreements between tribes and the federal government. After the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887 and the Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock (1903) Supreme Court's decision; Congress could apply any Act to Native Americans regardless of prior treaty rights. This court ruling allowed for the federal government to have superior power over Indian tribes.

Assimilation, Boarding Schools and Adoption

Over 100,000 Native American children were forced to attend **boarding schools**. The main primary role of this education for Indian girls was to inculcate patriarchal norms and desires into Native culture, so that women would lose their places of leadership in Native communities (Smith, 2004, p. 89-90).

Another federal government assimilation initiative and prime example of cultural imperialism that was allegedly done for the "benefit" of Native people was the creation of boarding schools. Richard Henry Pratt founded Carlisle Indian School at an abandoned military barrack in Carlise, Pennsylvania. Pratt believed that Native people and cultures were inferior and proposed that the cultures be eradicated through forced assimilation of Native children, in order to “kill the Indian to save the man.” Pratt and others recognized that it would be much easier to assimilate children rather than adults, and easier still if the government could separate children from their families and tribes.

Whether they attended Haskell Industrial Training School in Lawrence, Kansas, Sherman Institute in California, Chemawa Indian School in Oregon, or anyone of the 367 schools in United States, Native children were forbidden from practicing their ceremonies and traditions, and would be punished if they spoke about their families or spoke their tribal language. Violence against children was sanctioned through corporal punishment. Girls were taught to be maids and domestic servants for white households and boys were taught farming and industrial labor. If parents resisted, their children would be taken by force.

For a comprehensive list of Native American Boarding schools in the United States please see the PDF created by the National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition.

Adoption

The boarding schools closed because they were no longer affordable for the federal government to support. The Bureau of Indian Affairs worked with the states and turned to the adoption of Native children to white parents and families. They utilized the state’s family court systems and child protective services to institute systemic racism in policies and procedures in order to kidnap Native children from their families. It was an extension of what the Bureau of Indian Affairs had done previously with the boarding schools, but this time it was sanctioned by the state, who received funds from the federal government as incentive.

Indian Child Welfare Act

Sidebar - Laws and Acts 1978

- 1978 - Indian Child Welfare Act - Congress passed ICWA in response to the alarmingly high rate of Native children being separated from their parents, extended families, and tribal communities.

The 1978 Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) was established in response to previous assimilationist policies by the U.S. federal government. Beginning with boarding schools and then adoptions of Native children to non-Native parents and moving to high numbers of Indian children forcibly removed from their families by public and private agencies and placed in non-Native foster homes, the Indian Child Welfare Act was meant to keep Indian children with Indian families. The actual act can be found under the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 (25 USC §§ 1901-63) at the Tribe Court Clearinghouse.

ICWA itself provides preference of who can foster and adopt Native American children. Preference goes in the following order: first to Native family members, this includes extended family like grandparents, aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters, cousins, etc.; second, the tribe the child belongs to; third, any Native family, regardless of tribe. It is important to note that this law applies to states and state agencies, not to tribes. Although federally recognized tribes have the right to petition the state courts that Native children be placed in their care with Native foster parents on reservations, often state judges refuse this placement and elect to place Native children in local non-Native foster homes. We must ask why would judges choose to place Indian children in foster care with non-Indian parents/families? The answer to this question is financial gain. The more Native children placed in foster care, the more money the state receives for these children.

Termination

Sidebar - Laws and Acts 1952 - 1970

- 1952 - House of Representatives signs termination policy. The House of Representatives endorsed a resolution calling on a committee to propose legislation "designed to promote the earliest practicable termination of all federal supervision and control over Indians."

- 1953 - House Resolution on termination passes. Congress unanimously adopted House Concurrent Resolution 108 stating that it was "the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all of the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship." Among other things, it specifically called for the termination of the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin. Subsequently, the Tribe was informed that unless it agreed to termination it would not receive funds that had previously been awarded by the Indian Claims Commission. Numerous other tribes also were terminated by specific statutes following the approval of the Resolution.
- 1954 - Congress terminates a group of tribes. In 1954, Congress enacted legislation terminating the Southern Paiute of Utah, the Alabama and Coushatta Indians of Texas, the Klamath of Oregon, the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin, and other tribes and bands in Oregon. Congress terminated additional tribes over the next eight years.
- July of 1970 - President Richard Nixon formally ended the termination policies established in the 1950's and announced a new policy of "self-determination without termination." The administration introduces 22 legislative proposals supporting Indian self-rule.

Termination occurred in 1953 when the U.S. Congress adopted an official policy of termination declaring that the goal was to, "as rapidly as possible make Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States" (House Concurrent Resolution 108). The real goal of termination was the theft of Native lands; and a companion policy was the "relocation" of Native people off reservations into urban areas. From 1953 to 1964, 109 tribes were terminated, and federal responsibility and jurisdiction were turned over to state governments. Approximately 2,500,000 acres of trust land was removed from protected status (sold to non-Natives) and 12,000 Native Americans lost tribal affiliation as well as resources guaranteed through treaty for all time.

State Recognition and State Law PL 280

Sidebar - Laws and Acts 1953 - 1976

- 1953 - Public Law 280 enacted. Congress enacted a statute that delegates to five states criminal and civil jurisdiction over Indian lands within their boundaries.
- 1976 - Supreme Court limits reach of Public Law 280 - In Bryan v. Itasca County, the Supreme Court ruled that Public Law 280, which was enacted in 1953, does not provide for state regulatory power over Indian lands.

Public Law 280 which was passed in 1953 is a federal law of the United States establishing a method whereby States may assume criminal jurisdiction over reservation Indians and to allow civil litigation that had come under tribal or federal court jurisdiction to be handled by state courts. State governments and tribes disapproved of the law. Tribes disliked states having jurisdiction without tribal consent and state governments resented taking on jurisdiction for these additional areas without additional funding. With mutual dissent, additional amendments to Public Law 280 have been passed to require tribal consent in law enforcement and in some cases, the states have been able to return jurisdiction back to tribes and the federal government. However, the act mandated a transfer of federal law enforcement authority to state governments in six states. Mandatory PL-280 states are: Alaska (except the Metlakatla Indian Community), California, Minnesota (except the Red Lake Reservation), Nebraska, Oregon (except the Warm Springs Reservation), and Wisconsin.

Decolonization

Decolonization may be defined as the active resistance against colonial powers, and a shifting of power towards political, economic, educational, cultural, independence and power that originate from a colonized nation's own Indigenous culture. This process occurs politically and also applies to personal and societal, cultural, political, agricultural, and educational deconstruction of colonial oppression. Per Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang: "Decolonization doesn't have a synonym"; it is not a substitute for 'human rights' or 'social justice', though undoubtedly, they are connected in various ways (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Decolonization demands an indigenous framework and a centering of Indigenous land, Indigenous sovereignty, and Indigenous ways of thinking (Tuck & Yang, 2012).

Decolonization refers to fighting back against the ongoing colonialism and colonial mentalities that permeate all institutions and systems of government. Decolonizing actions must begin in the mind, and that creative, consistent, decolonized thinking shapes and empowers the brain, which in turn provides a major prime for positive change. Undoing the effects of colonialism and working toward decolonization requires each of us to consciously consider to what degree we have been affected by not only the physical aspects of colonization, but also the psychological, mental, and spiritual aspects.

Stereotypes, Othering and Invisibility

Brian Baker discusses othering and the stereotypes of Native people in his chapter “Imaginary Indians: Invoking Invented Ideas in Popular and Public Culture” (Baker, et. al., 2011). Baker establishes that the purpose for his article is to provide an analysis related to imaginary Indians based on ideas invented by members of white American culture that functioned to set Indians apart from society as the “other.” Baker begins with a discussion of the relevance of being relegated to the status of “other” as it relates to public and popular culture. He argues that in order to understand the ideas of imaginary Indians, one must decolonize the mind.

Baker’s four interrelated dimensions of imaginary Indians include:

1. Indians roaming the land
2. Indians as children
3. Wild and dancing Indians
4. Indians as redskins and warriors (via mascots)

In Baker’s (2011) article, Native men are portrayed as violent, Native women as hyper-sexualized, and both are in need of care like children, from the "great white father," forcing a patriarchal, patronizing, treatment onto Native people. This false narrative and oppressive treatment dehumanizes Native people while at the same time supports westward expansion by the "brave pioneers" and reinforces settler colonialism.

The group that becomes the "other" in American political, economic and cultural institutions, experiences invisibility and visibility in their daily lives. The "other" is invisible because they are ignored and unnoticed while at other times the "other" is visible but only through stereotypes. In both situations, the ideas that are invented and invoked play a key role in how individuals within a group experience their lived status as the other, despite the fact that invented ideas are rooted in an imaginary world (Baker, 2011).

Stereotypes about Native people were created and used by Americans to rationalize and justify settler colonialism, manifest destiny, white supremacy, and ultimately racist nativism. These stereotypes continue to exist in American popular culture because of the desire to keep Native Americans within the category of the “other.” Understanding the powerful reality of colonialism and institutional racism, we must deconstruct and examine our basic ideas that we have been socialized into accepting uncritically.

Americans invented ideas about imaginary Indians as a way to explain and validate the effective ways in which they subjugated Native peoples who became Indians.

Indians roaming the land....

Invented stereotypes have become so effectively institutionalized within the framework of public culture that they have been ingrained into the American imagination. The imaginary Indian wandering aimlessly over the land was a powerful political philosophy central to Manifest Destiny in that it validated the idea that Indians did not “settle” on the land because they “roamed” over it; implying there was something wrong with them because they could and would not “settle” in the same way colonists did, therefore they had no “rights” to the land.

White American lawmakers and officials in the Bureau of Indian Affairs exploited “roam” and “wander” in reference to Indians in order to justify how the U.S. would deal with the so-called “Indian problem.” Eventually it became necessary to constrain the roaming Indians and limit their human existence on the landscape by drawing reservation boundaries around them in order to enclose and isolate them from American society. Once relegated to an inhumane existence on reservations where it was not possible to support their families, the roaming Indians no longer existed as obstacles to Americans who were provided with the opportunity to "settle" and bring "civilization" to the landscape.

Devaluing Indigenous ways of knowing and living within their environment while at the same time not having to “conquer” it, is a way to colonize and stereotype cultures who have lived and thrived here for hundreds of thousands of years. In so doing,

minimizing Indigenous existence is another way of making an excuse for taking the land and killing the people, effectively sanctioning genocide.

Indians as children....



Figure 5.4.2: "Seven Indian children of uneducated parents", 1897. (Public Domain; Photo by Francis Benjamin Johnston, via Wikimedia Commons)

Throughout the 19th century, American political officials increasingly described Indians as children who needed to be cared for. In this way, they could create a parent-child relationship, not only controlling Native people but also their resources. Framed as "children," Native people could not be trusted to take care of themselves or even be around others because they were not responsible, they were lazy and greedy, like children.

Federal policy, through various Acts, laws, Executive Orders and court rulings, created a guardian status for the federal government with inherent authority over the Indian as a '"ward" of the court. The American government created the idea of the "Great Father" who cared for the "red children" who, due to their "inherent cultural inferiority," required constant American paternalistic guidance.

The fact that Native Americans, once confined to reservations, did not have the resources to take care of themselves, reinforced this stereotype and false imagery. Blaming Native people for their own impoverished conditions when they had nothing to do with it, helped to ingrain the "lazy Indian" image into the American psyche. Uncle Sam being the Great Father taking care of his "red children" whom he inherited when he came to this continent, is also a metaphor for why Uncle Sam doesn't take very good care of his 'red children' and provides them with inferior food; because it is an excuse or punishment for them being lazy and non-productive like other '"hard working" white? Americans.

Wild and Dancing Indians....

Wild and dancing Indians have been a long standing stereotype that has been reinforced in adult and children's literature as well as children's movies like *Peter Pan.* If you have ever seen Disney's *Peter Pan*, you will know about the "wild dancing Indians." In addition, you may also be able to make the connection to the Hollywood "cowboy and Indian" movies where the stereotypes of the imaginary Indian prevails. These images regulate Indians to the status of "other" in American society and simply equates Indian with "deviant, uncontrollable behavior," which is similar to the previous imagery of the Indian as the child. On the flip side, drinking and debauchery are often associated with adult Indians. This bleeds into the idea that the Native American male is a wild savage that can't be trusted, especially around white women. In the example below, Frank Waln who is an award winning Sicangu Lakota Hip Hop artist and music producer from the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota uses the song "What makes the red man red" in Disney's Peter Pan as a base for his rap song to call out the pervasive stereotypes. Waln has is BA in Audio Arts and Acoustics from Columbia College in Chicago. Waln has three Native American Music Awards. He has written for various publications including *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, and Society* and *The Guardian*. Frank Waln travels the world telling his story through performance and doing workshops focusing on self-empowerment and expression of truth.

Sidebar: Lyrics to "What makes the red man red" by Frank Waln

Watch this video and listen to this song by Frank Waln –What makes the red man red?

[Intro]
Personally, I should prefer to see the aborigines
And the Indians, too!
And the Indians, too!
This should be most enlightening
What makes the red man red?
Teach 'em all about red man

[Chorus]
What made the red man red?
What made the red man red?
What made the red man red?
What made the red man red?
Teach 'em all about red man (red man)

[Verse 1]
Your history books (lies)
Your holidays (lies)
Thanksgiving lies and Columbus Day
Tell me why I know more than the teacher
Tell me why I know more than the preacher
Tell me why you think the red man is red
Stained with the blood from the land you bled
Tell me why you think the red man is dead
With a fake headdress on your head
Tell me what you know about thousands of nations
Displaced and confined to concentration camps called reservations
We died for the birth of your nation
Hollywood portrays us wrong (like savages)
History books say we're gone (like savages)
Your god and church say we're wrong (savages)
We're from the Earth, it made us strong

[Chorus]
Many moons, red man fought paleface
What made the red man red?
What made the red man red?
What made the red man red?
What made the red man red?
Please, you want to stay here and grow up like, like savages?

[Verse 2]
Savages is as savage does
The white man came and ravaged us
Caused genocide, look in my eyes
And tell me who you think the savage was
Savages?
Savages?
Their great celebration continued into the night

[Bridge]
Manifest destiny arrested what's best for me

They kill my culture, America made a mess of me
You inherited everything we die for and all we get is a goddamn mascot
Manifest destiny arrested what's best for me
They kill my culture, America made a mess of me
You inherited everything we die for and all we get is a goddamn mascot
Redskin, red-redskins, redskins, redskin, those redskins
Many moons the red man fought paleface
Sometimes you win, sometimes we win
You made me red when you killed my people
Made me red when you bled my tribe
Made me red when you killed my people
(Like savages, like savages)

[Chorus: The Chief & Frank Waln]
The real true story of the red man
The real true story of the red man
No matter what is written or said
What made the red man red?
All the lies that you spread
What made the red man red?
All the blood that you bled
What made the red man red?
All the lies that you spread
What made the red man red?
You, you

[Outro]
Pale-face savages
Pale-face savages
Go out and catch a few Indians
Savages

Indians as Redskins and Warriors

During the timeframe when Americans imposed the most constraints over Native people preventing them from practicing their religions and speaking their languages, preventing them from asserting important dimensions of their indigenous identities, Americans became more fascinated with and began to “play Indian” in reference to their imaginary world relating to Indians. Some scholars say this is when the American psyche, riddled with guilt for the genocide they had committed, attempted to make amends by taking over complete control of Indigenous identity, glorifying the “fight til the end” when there were “no more” Native people, thereby rendering the Native people left, invisible.

Since the 1700’s non-Natives have literally collected and worn cultural artifacts to “play Indian” reflecting dominant cultural interpretations and ideas about Indians. “When the symbolic dimensions of Indian are invoked in reference to the material objects associated with the idea of Indian, the assumption is that one passes through racial and ethnic boundaries to become Indian” (Baker, 2011, p. 353). Thus the ability to play Indian by members of the dominant society in the context of popular culture is intimately tied to the invented ideas that reflect American racism towards Indians. In this imaginary world, all Indians are the same.

The imaginary Indian has also been invented as a mascot and team name in American sports and has been institutionalized in popular culture. Indians are conceptualized as “fierce heathen warriors” inherently prone to “being cold-blooded and cunning” in their ability to fight and kill. Indians have been set apart in popular culture with purposeful stereotypes and derogatory names like redskins, wahoos and wagonburners.

Mascots have been argued by non-Natives to be something that should “honor” Indians because of the qualities the mascot stands for; but this is based on the imaginary Indian, and not true histories and identities, ignoring Native American voices. The erasure of real Indians is the issue. The very concept and name "redskin" is directly connected to genocide. The team "redskin" comes from the bounties that were paid to settlers for bringing in the scalps/heads/bodies of dead Indians. Team owners and many Americans choose to ignore and hide behind ignorance in their refusal to acknowledge this fact.

It is extremely difficult to change ideas associated with the imaginary Indian because the reality is that those ideas have been effectively institutionalized within the frameworks of public culture and ingrained in the American psyche. Children today still act on the legacy of stereotypes created more than 400 years ago through a history of colonialism. Native people today are still being defined as the “other” through the use of stereotypes including the use of the “chief” or “redskin” as mascots. As long as the imaginary Indian continues to have an existence in American popular and public culture as a “redskin warrior,” Indians in America will continue to experience institutionalized racism due to their colonially imposed status as the “other” (Baker, 2011).

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5.5: American Indian/Indigenous Identity and Intersectionality

Indigenous Personality

Much of this chapter has been dedicated to the etic approach for understanding personality which posits that personality is innate, biological and universal but still acknowledges that culture plays an important in shaping personality by way of geography (environment), resources, and social supports.

Indigenous Personality is a perspective that suggests personality can only be understood and interpreted within the context of the culture. In this way personality is considered emic, meaning that it is culturally specific and can only understood within the culture from which it originates. This means that personality is not something that can be measured by a universal test.

The indigenous approach came about in reaction to the dominance of Western approaches to the study of personality in non-Western settings (Cheung et al., 2011). Because Western-based personality assessments cannot fully capture the personality constructs of other cultures, the indigenous model has led to the development of personality assessment instruments that are based on constructs relevant to the culture being studied (Cheung et al., 2011). Although there is debate within the indigenous psychology movement about whether indigenous psychology represents a more universalistic or a more relativistic approach (Chakkarath, 2012), most of these 10 characteristics are advocated by the majority of those in the indigenous psychology movement.

Indian, American Indian, Native and Native American Identity

The terms Indian, American Indian, Native and Native American have been used interchangeably in academia to refer to a specific population of people having origins in any of the tribal homeland locations within the United States. These terms can also apply to an individual identity of a person who maintains cultural identification through tribal affiliation, enrollment or community recognition (Stony Brook, 2011). It is important to understand the legal and political nature of identity terminology for this core group. American Indian is not simply an ethnicity but also a legal status. American Indians are citizens of separate nations, i.e. the Navajo Nation or the Ohlone/Costanoan Esselen Nation, as well as U.S. citizens.

Indian, American Indian, Native and Native American are all problematic in that these terms were not created by the people themselves and are racialized and political terms employed by the U.S. government to legally lump uniquely diverse nations together. Christopher Columbus began the confusion because he just didn't know where he was and believed he was in Asia in search of a new trade route and gold, when he landed on Taino shores. The term Indian comes from *Indios* which was a term used by Spain and Portugal to mean a member of any of the indigenous peoples of America or eastern Asia. A very important point that needs to be made here is that Indians, American Indians, Natives and Native Americans are not related to Indians from India or Indian Americans. Please do not make this mistake.

Perspective on American Indian Identity Development (Perry G. Horse, 2005)

Perry G. Horse proposes five influences that affect Native American "consciousness" which can provide a framework for understanding the development of Native American students. **Note: Horse does not refer to this idea as an identity model. This is not a linear stage model that youth will progress through in order.**

1. "the extent to which one is grounded in one's Native American language and culture, one's cultural identity"

2. "the validity of one's American Indian genealogy"

3. "the extent to which one holds a traditional American Indian general philosophy or worldview (emphasizing balance and harmony and drawing on Indian spirituality)"

4. "one's self-concept as an American Indian"

5. "one's enrollment (or lack of it) in a tribe" (p. 65).

Gender

"Remember your birth, how your mother struggled to give you form and breath. You are evidence of her life and her mother's, and hers. Remember your father, his hands cradling your mother's flesh, and maybe her heart, too and maybe not. He is your life also." - Joy Harjo, Creek

As with other societies, AI/AN communities encountered gendered matters particularly over chores/obligations such as child rearing, hunting, gathering, trade, etc. Given that Native American Nations are not a monolith, gender roles are rather diverse and do not necessarily follow traditional gender roles as seen more frequently among Euro-Americans. Moreover, the concept and acceptance of a third gender/sex was embraced among some AI/AN groups. In the following discussion, it becomes clear that gender continues to be a salient status/characteristic that can have significant impacts within Indigenous communities.

Women and Power

Among Indigenous peoples, most tribes were **patrilineal** (tracing descent through the father's line) while about 25% were **matrilineal** (tracing descent through mother's side). In many societies, women had considerable power and respect and often held positions of chief, physician, politician, and warrior (Benokraitis, 2014). However, post European contact, the concept of land ownership was introduced and land could only be held by men given historical laws of coverture which prevented women from owning/holding property. For example, following tradition, Cherokee land was passed down from generation to the next by the women. "This matrilineal pattern was abandoned in favor of the European pattern of men's ownership when the Cherokee attempted (futilely, as it turned out) to acculturate and avoid relocation under the Indian Removal Act of 1830" (Evans, 1989; Healey & O'Brien, 2015). Moreover, early in their encounters with Europeans, the Indigenous societies of the Northwest were able to conduct trade on their own terms. They gradually shifted their focus from getting resources for their own subsistence to getting trade items. In some cases, this led to the over-exploitation of some resources. The Europeans did not like trading with women, a task in which they had traditionally participated. The arrival of missionaries in the nineteenth century further reduced the status of women, as they did not see trade as an appropriate role for women. As a result, the status of women became reduced. Formerly, women were held in high esteem in many Indigenous cultures; for example, the Iroquois Women's Council could veto any policy set forward by the Iroquois Confederacy. Nations such as the Hopi were matrilineal and **matrilocal** (a newly married/created couple lives with the wife's/woman's side of the family), and clan names were chosen by women and that land stewardship followed the mother. In contrast and as a result of the trade with Europeans, the chiefs (men) became richer and their political power solidified because the Europeans preferred to work with one individual they saw as being in power.

Despite the efforts to keep AI/AN women from positions of power, there has been a modern resurgence of Native American women elected to positions of power. In 1985, Wilma Mankiller became the first female Cherokee Principal Chief, which she sustained for 10 years (Nagel, 1996). Given the glass ceiling breakthrough by Wilma Mankiller, more Indigenous women were recognized for their leadership and elected to office. Some current notable examples are Deb Haaland (Laguna Pueblo) and Sharice Davids (Ho-Chunk Nation) both of whom represent the first two Native American women elected to U.S. Congress in 2018, as well as, reelected in 2020 (Aratani, 2020). Another important example is Winona LaDuke (Ojibwe) who was the first AI/AN woman to run on the presidential ticket, as the vice presidential candidate, with Ralph Nader both in 1996 and 2000 (Bitetti). The trend of AI/AN women in Congress continues as Yvette Herrell (Cherokee) was elected to the House of Representatives in 2020. Perhaps we will soon see a Native American woman as a Senator and/or as the President of the United States. President-elect Biden has nominated Deb Haaland for Secretary of Interior; this marks a significant shift for national politics as: she would be the first Indigenous woman appointed to a Presidential Cabinet, she has led environmental justice efforts, and this position represents coming full-circle with the centuries of inhumane treatment of Indigenous communities from the Department of Interior and formerly the Department of War.

Women and Health

In the 1970s, medical doctors from the United States Public Health Service's Indian Health Services branch, whose mandate is to provide health care on Indian reservations, often forcibly, sterilized, without their knowledge or consent, more than 25,000 American Indian women on several reservations. This practice of forced sterilizations continued into the 1990s. The rationale was that the women were too poor to manage children and that the doctors and nurses were providing indispensable help to these women by limiting their child bearing. A further argument was that sterilization was prevention for fetal alcohol syndrome in alcoholic American Indian women. How far should government go in protecting us from ourselves? Does the government have a legitimate concern regarding what we do with our bodies? Should the poor be prevented from having children? Should alcoholic or drug addicted women be allowed to get pregnant?

Gender and Ethnicity

Two-Spirit (also **two spirit** or **twospirit**) is a modern umbrella term used by some Indigenous North Americans to describe gender-variant individuals in their communities.The term was adopted in 1990 at an Indigenous lesbian and gay international gathering to encourage the replacement of the anthropological term berdache. It is a spiritual role that is recognized and confirmed by the Two-Spirit's Indigenous community. While some have found the term a useful tool for intertribal organizing, not all Indigenous cultures conceptualize gender this way, and most tribes use names in their own languages. While pan-Indian terms are not always appropriate or welcome, the term has generally received more acceptance and use than the term it replaced.



Figure 5.3.15.3.1: Two-spirited marchers at San Francisco Pride Parade in 2014. (CC BY 4.0; Sarah Stierch via Wikimedia)

Third and fourth gender roles traditionally embodied by two-spirit people include performing work and wearing clothing associated with both men and women. Not all tribes/nations have rigid gender roles, but, among those that do, some consider there to be at least four genders: feminine woman, masculine woman, feminine man, and masculine man.

The presence of male-bodied two-spirits "was a fundamental institution among most tribal peoples" and, according to Will Roscoe (1991), both male- and female-bodied two-spirits have been documented "in over 130 North American tribes, in every region of the continent."

Before the late twentieth-century, non-Native (e.g., non-Native American/Canadian) anthropologists used the generic term berdache/bərˈdæʃ/ to identify an Indigenous individual fulfilling one of many mixed gender roles in their tribe, but that term has now fallen out of favor. Anthropologists primarily used it to identify feminine Native men. Its etymology, however, has meant that it is now considered outdated and potentially offensive: it derives from the French bardache (English equivalent: "bardash") meaning "passive homosexual," "catamite" or even "male prostitute." Bardache, in turn, derived from the Persian بردہ barda meaning "captive," "prisoner of war," "slave." Spanish explorers who encountered two-spirits among the Chumash people called them "joyas," the Spanish for "jewels."

Use of berdache has generally been replaced by the self-chosen two-spirit, which, in 1990, gained widespread popularity during the third annual intertribal Native American/First Nations gay and lesbian conference in Winnipeg. Two-spirit is a term chosen to express the Native/First Nations' distinct approach to gender identity and variance in contrast to the imposed non-Native in addition to replacing the otherwise imposed and non-Native terms of berdache and gay.

"Two-spirited" or "two-spirit" usually indicates a Native person who feels their body simultaneously manifests both a masculine and a feminine spirit, or a different balance of masculine and feminine characteristics than usually seen in masculine men and feminine women.

Two-spirit individuals are viewed in some tribes as having two identities occupying one body. Their dress is usually a mixture of traditionally male and traditionally female articles, or they may dress as a man one day, and a woman on another. According to Dr. Sabine Lang (1998), a German anthropologist, many tribes have distinct gender and social roles. Some specific roles sometimes held by male assigned at birth two-spirits include:

- conveyors of oral traditions and songs (Yuki);
- foretellers of the future (Winnebago, Oglala Lakota);
- conferrers of lucky names on children or adults (Oglala Lakota, Tohono O'odham);
- potters (Zuni, Navajo, Tohono O'odham);

- matchmakers (Cheyenne, Omaha, Oglala Lakota);
- makers of feather regalia for dances (Maidu);
- special role players in the Sun Dance (Crow, Hidatsa, Oglala Lakota).

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5.6: Perspectives and Future Directions

We Are Still Here

It is this spirit of hope, determination, bravery, courage, and ferocious love that creates resilient people and resilient recovery from loss and trauma. It is this spirit that will help American Indian people today and tomorrow.

-Belcourt-Dittloff, 2006

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, Native nations are sovereign, domestic dependent nations that have survived imperialism, colonization, settler colonialism, white supremacy, the doctrine of discovery and manifest destiny. We have survived acts of genocide, assimilation, boarding schools, termination, removal and relocation; and we have done more than survive, we have thrived and kept our traditions and cultures alive for over 500 years. The following discussed topics are just a few ways we have fought for our right to exist and have succeeded.

Land, Water and Mineral Rights

Land, water and mineral rights are often protected through treaties; but remember treaties, the supreme law of the land, can be broken and all of them have been, by the federal government. The only recourse tribes have is to take the federal government to court, through the federal justice system, up to the Supreme Court. It is a long, costly and arduous process and the Supreme Court has the ability to deny hearing a case. Previous Supreme Court Judges, like Justice Marshall, recognize the bias within the system and have written opinions about the rights of tribes and limitations. The primary point is that legal protections are set in precedence and land, water, fishing, timber and mineral rights are somewhat protected for tribes, whether they are outlined in treaties or not. If they are not outlined in treaties, they are called “reserved rights,” which are rights that were never given up through treaty. Rights to land and resources must be expressly outlined and given up through treaty, otherwise, they remain reserved rights to the land and resources that can be accessed by the tribe and tribal members.

Federally recognized tribes today that have reservations and resources on those reservations can utilize and invest in those resources for the tribe to be financially stable and somewhat financially independent from the federal government, but there are always federal restrictions. States have also often attempted to intervene between tribes and the federal government in order to benefit financially from both entities.

The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) passed by the U.S. Congress in 1934, encouraged tribes to take control of their “business and economic affairs” to insure a solid land base by putting a halt to the loss of tribal lands through allotment (Dawes). The IRA was a sharp change in direction in federal policy leaning towards tribal sovereignty, replacing assimilationist policies that had been in place since the late 1800’s. The IRA prohibited any further allotment of reservation lands. It also provided a way for tribes to purchase land back and place it in trust through the Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs. The IRA of 1934 was meant to further establish tribal self-government politically and economically. Through the IRA, Congress authorized tribes to adopt their own constitutions and bylaws. Furthermore, Congress authorized the Secretary of the Interior to take steps to improve the social and economic conditions of Native people by adopting regulations for forestry, livestock grazing on lands in trust and/or reservation lands, assist in the creation of chartered corporations, make loans to these corporations out of a revolving fund to protect economic development of tribes, pay tuition and other expenses for Native students at vocational schools, and giving preference to Native workers for employment related to Indian Affairs. What is even more important about the IRA is that it authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to acquire lands “within or outside of existing reservations” to be placed in trust for Native people and tribes. The key word is “trust.” Individual and tribal ownership is still an issue with the federal government and they must maintain their patriarchal, regulatory role in maintaining land for tribes.

Traditional Ecological Knowledge

Tribes have utilized traditional ecological knowledge for hundreds of thousands of years to sustainably manage their homelands. This knowledge ranges from the understanding of waterways to use of fire and controlled burns to replenish soils. Only recently have indigenous people actually been heard in the conversations on how to care for the land and what is called the "environment." The concept that we, human beings, are also the environment is only beginning to be acknowledged. One of the many teachings that relates to the importance of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) is the 7th generation principle. Tribal peoples understand

that living in this world requires that we have an understanding and respect for generations before us and also for at least 7 generations after us. This is one of the principles that helps us to understand why we need to care for the earth. The concept of 7 generations comes form the Haudenosaunee, but all tribal nations have a concept of caring for the world for future generations.

> The Peacemaker taught us about the Seven Generations. He said, when you sit in council for the welfare of the people, you must not think of yourself or of your family, not even of the generation. He said, make decisions on behalf of the seven generations coming, so that they may enjoy what you have today.
>
> -Oren Lyons, Faithkeeper, Onondaga Nation

Sidebar - Timeline Native History in the U.S. from 1900 - 2007

- 1934 – Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) – also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act – was enacted to decrease federal control of American Indian Affairs and increase Indian self-government.
- 1952 - Arizona v. California litigation begins. The longest-running water rights litigation began in 1952 with the filing of an original action in the Supreme Court by Arizona against California seeking a division of the waters of the Colorado River. The United States subsequently intervened to protect federal water rights, including reserved water rights held for the benefit of five Indian tribes (for the Fort Mojave, Fort Yuma (Quechan), Chemehuevi, Colorado River, and Coocopah Indian Reservations).
- 1964 Survival of American Indians (SAIA) formed and staged "fish-ins" to preserve off reservation fishing rights in Washington State. Those who participate in the fish-ins later help the occupiers on Alcatraz. Fishing and land rights protests continued throughout the 1960's and early 1970's.
- 1973 - United States files treaty fishing rights case in Michigan - The United States filed a lawsuit on behalf of the Bay Mills Indian Community to obtain a clear determination of the Community's right to fish in areas of Lakes Michigan, Huron, and Superior ceded under an 1836 treaty. Several other tribes intervened, and the treaty right was initially confirmed by a 1979 decision. After that ruling, the parties entered into a consent decree in 1985 in which Great Lakes fishery was allocated among the parties by lake, zones, species, and catch limits. After that decree expired in 2000, it was replaced by a new agreement.
- 1977-78 the U.S. Congress passed approximately 59 laws that help redefine tribal issues regarding water rights, fishing rights, and land acquisition. Some land is returned to the tribes and issues of self-governance are further clarified.
- 1979 - Important tribal fishing rights decision issued - In Washington v. Washington State Commercial Passenger Fishing Vessel Association, the Supreme Court held that, in general, tribal fishing rights under treaties that contain a phrase reserving for tribes the "right of taking fish [off reservation] at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations" entitle tribes to "take a fair share of the available fish." According to the Court's interpretation of a series of treaties protecting tribal fishing rights in western Washington, a "fair share" allows Indians to secure as much as 50 percent of a fishing harvest, "but no more than, is necessary to provide the Indians with a livelihood--that is to say, a moderate living." Thus, Fishing Vessel and other rulings support the proposition that certain treaties create an enforceable right to take fish. This also reserves the right to protect fish.
- 1984 - Environmental Protection Agency issues Tribal policy - The agency stated that "in keeping with the federal trust responsibility, [EPA] will assure that Tribal concerns and interests are considered whenever EPA's actions and/or decisions may affect reservation environments."
- 1987 - Clean Water Act amended to include a provision treating tribes as akin to states - In the mid-1980's, Congress began to amend federal pollution control statutes to treat tribes like states. In 1986, Congress amended the Clean Water Act to include such a provision. In 1990, Congress included such a provision in the Clean Air Act.
- 1988 - Wyoming Supreme Court issues important water rights decision - In 1977, the State of Wyoming began proceedings to determine all of the water rights in all of the river systems in the State. This included determining all water rights within the Big Horn River basin, which includes the Wind River Reservation inhabited by the Eastern Shoshone and the Northern Arapahoe Tribes. The Tribes and the United States, on its own behalf for federal lands and as trustee for the Tribes, participated in the proceedings. In a landmark decision, the Wyoming Supreme Court in 1988 ruled that Congress, through the Treaty of Fort Bridger, reserved water rights for agricultural use on the Reservation. The Tribes were awarded almost 500,000 acre-feet of reserved rights with a priority date (the date the water right was established) of the Treaty. The U.S.

Supreme Court affirmed the decision by an equally divided Court. Since that ruling, the Wyoming Supreme Court has also held, among other things, that the Tribes can use their water rights only for agricultural purposes, and that the State Engineer's office has administrative authority over all water rights (although the State must turn to the courts to take enforcement action against the Tribes).

- 1999 - Supreme Court issues major off-reservation tribal hunting, fishing, and gathering rights decision - The Indian Resources Section is frequently involved in litigation protecting tribal off-reservation treaty rights to hunt, fish, and gather ("usufructuary rights"). The Supreme Court's ruling in Minnesota v. Mille Lacs Band of Chippewa Indians, holding that the Chippewa retained rights on lands ceded to the United States in 1837, was a significant victory and a clear statement of tribal rights.
- 2007 - Off-reservation tribal hunting, fishing, gathering rights settlement reached in Michigan. The United States filed a lawsuit in 1973 in order to honor and enforce commitments the federal government made to the Ottawa and Chippewa Indian Nations in the 1836 Treaty of Washington. In that treaty, the Ottawas and Chippewas ceded lands and waters that encompass much of Michigan and the Great Lakes but, in return, retained hunting and fishing rights within the ceded territory.

Economic and Resource Development

Tribes today are working on their futures through economic and resource development. As Native people, our best investment is in our people. Tribes uniquely understand this concept they are investing in our people through education and job placement. In fact, tribal nations require quite a bit of resources, including people power in order to maintain their existence. Tribal Councils and governments, legal systems, K-12 schools and colleges, human resources, resource management, health centers and hospitals, and so much more are required for a nation to be operational and serve its people. It is imperative that tribes take on as much responsibility for these services as possible to maintain self-determination and sovereignty and to remove as much influence from the federal government as possible because the federal government has proven time and again that it only has its best interest in mind when dealing with Native people, which has been to the detriment of Native people and our nations.

Sidebar - Laws and Acts

- 1988 - Indian Gaming Regulatory Act - Shortly after the Supreme Court's 1987 ruling in California v. Cabizon Band of Mission Indians, which held that California lacked authority to impose its regulatory gaming requirements on a tribal bingo operation, Congress enacted comprehensive legislation to address Indian gaming. Among other things, the statute created the National Indian Gaming Commission (NIGC). The IGRA legislation sought to provide a statutory basis for the operation of gaming by Indian tribes as a means of promoting tribal economic development, self-sufficiency, and strong tribal governments. IGRA applies only to federally recognized tribes, which may conduct gaming only on "Indian lands" within their jurisdiction. Section 20 of IGRA bars gaming on property taken into trust after October 1, 1988. There are limited exceptions to that rule, however. One is for "restored lands," under which gaming is permitted on lands taken into trust in conjunction with "the restoration of lands for an Indian tribe that is restored to Federal recognition." Subsequent litigation handled by the Indian Resources Section has frequently concerned interpretations of the Section 20 exceptions.

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act was passed in 1990. This legislation addressed protection of Native American gravesites and the repatriation of remains on federal and tribal lands and culturally significant objects from museums receiving federal aid. A number of states have enacted similar statutes like California and CalNAGPRA.

Sidebar - Laws and Acts

- 1978 - Indian Child Welfare Act - Congress passed ICWA in response to the alarmingly high rate of Native children being separated from their parents, extended families, and tribal communities.

CalNAGPRA

In 2001, the State Legislature passed AB-978, the California Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (CalNAGPRA) of 2001 (Steinberg, 2001), requiring all state agencies and museums that receive state funding and that have possession or control over collections of human remains or cultural items to provide a process for the identification and repatriation of these items to the appropriate tribes. The bill also created a Repatriation Oversight Commission with oversight authority. The intent of the legislation was to cover gaps in the federal Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (Udall, 1990) specific to the State of California.

After the Repatriation Oversight Commission remained unfunded for over a decade, the Native American Heritage Commission (Commission) was granted oversight authority. In 2018, the State Legislature added additional Commission responsibilities under AB-2836 (Gloria, 2018), including providing technical assistance to the University of California (UC) in adopting policies and procedures adopted to expedite repatriation of remaining items in its possession.

On September 25, 2020, Governor Newsom signed AB-275 (Ramos, 2020) into law, which amended CalNAGPRA and became effective on January 1, 2021. In AB-275, the State Legislature added additional Commission responsibilities, including maintaining a list of California Indian tribes and their state aboriginal territories, adopting mediation procedures, and publishing notices of completion of preliminary inventories and summaries on the State of California Native American Heritage Commission website.

Historical Trauma & Mental Health

Historical trauma is multigenerational trauma experienced by a specific cultural, racial or ethnic group. It is related to major events experienced by a particular group of people because of their status as oppressed, such as slavery, the Holocaust, forced migration, and the violent colonization of Native Americans.

Some effects of historical trauma include: experiencing poor overall physical and behavioral health, including low self-esteem, depression, self-destructive behavior, marked propensity for violent or aggressive behavior, substance misuse and addiction, and high rates of suicide and cardiovascular disease. Acute problems of domestic violence or alcohol misuse that are not directly linked to historical trauma may be exacerbated by living in a community with unaddressed grief and behavioral health needs.

Parents' experience of trauma may disrupt typical parenting skills and contribute to behavior problems in children. Compounding this familial or intergenerational trauma, historical trauma often involves the additional challenge of a damaged cultural identity (Sotero, 2006).

Considerable work has been done with communities of Native Americans, who experienced repeated massacres and traumas, including the forced removal of children to federal and mission boarding and day schools (Brave Heart, 2003). From her work with tribal communities, clinician and researcher Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart describes historical trauma as the "cumulative emotional and psychological wounding over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experience" (Brave Heart, 2003, p. 8).

Indian Health Service

Indian Health Service (IHS) is an agency within the US Department of Health and Human Services that is responsible for providing federal health services to American Indians and Alaska Natives. The provision of health services to members of federally-recognized tribes came from the special government-to-government relationship between the federal government and Indian tribes. This relationship, established in 1787, is based on Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution, and has been given form and substance by numerous treaties, laws, Supreme Court decisions, and Executive Orders. The IHS is the principal federal health care provider and health advocate for Indian people, and its goal is to raise their health status to the highest possible level. The IHS provides a comprehensive health service delivery system for approximately 2.6 million American Indians and Alaska Natives who belong to 574 federally recognized tribes in 37 states (Indian Health Service).

Politics and Activism

Sidebar - Timeline Native History in the U.S. 1955 - 1985

- 1955 - Indian Long-Term Leasing Act enacted. In 1955, Congress passed legislation that extended the maximum terms of mineral and grazing leases approved by the Secretary of the Interior.
- 1958 - Congressman secures Interior Department moratorium on Indian land sales. During the termination period, large amounts of tribal land were lost. In 1958, Senator James Murray, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs persuaded the Interior Secretary to halt further Indian land sales pending a study. The study that was subsequently prepared showed that the termination policy had been "disastrous" in its implementation.
- 1959 - Eisenhower's Interior Secretary speaks out against termination. Interior Secretary Fred Seaton signaled the end of the termination era when he stated that it is "absolutely unthinkable. . . that consideration would be given to forcing upon an Indian tribe a so-called termination plan which did not have the understanding and acceptance of a clear majority of the members of the affected tribe."
- 1961 - President Kennedy appoints Stewart Udall as Interior Secretary. The appointment of Stewart Udall led to the creation of a special task force on Indian affairs. The Task Force recommended that the termination policy be abandoned. Two members of the Task Force subsequently were appointed to lead the BIA, and under their leadership, BIA expanded reservation services.
- 1961 - Tribal representatives endorse self-determination. Representatives of numerous tribes issued a "Declaration of Indian Purpose" which stated that Indians "want to contribute to their own personal tribal improvements and want to cooperate with their Government on how best to solve the many problems in a businesslike, efficient, and economical manner as rapidly as possible."
- 1961 - the Nations Indian Youth council (NIYC) organized following the American Indian Charter Convention in Chicago to encourage greater self-sufficiency and autonomy of Native Nations.
- 1964 - was the first landing at Alcatraz. Five Sioux Indians claimed the island under the Fort Laramie 1868 Treaty enabling possession of surplus federal lands. They occupy Alcatraz for four hours, calling for the island’s transformation into a cultural center and an Indian university.
- 1965 - LaNada Boyer (Means-War Jack) relocated to San Francisco as part of the BIA Relocation program. She rejected that program as a form of termination, the federal government’s series of laws and policies intended to assimilate Native Americans into the American mainstream and became active in the Mission District which had the largest concentration of Native people in the city where she participated in the formation of the larger pan-Indian movement that flourished in urban centers.
- 1968 Summer - United Native Americans (UNA), a pan-Indian organization, is founded in the San Francisco Bay Area to promote self-determination through Indian control of Indian affairs at every level.
- 1968 July - the American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded in Minneapolis to protect the city’s Native community from police abuse and to create job training, housing and education programs.
- 1968 - LaNada Boyer (Means-War Jack) became the first Native American student to enter the University of California at Berkeley. It was at UC Berkeley that she helped to form the Native American student organization.
- 1968 - President Johnson urges end to termination and endorses self-determination. In an address to Congress, President Johnson proposed "a new goal" for federal Indian programs that specifically endorses self-determination and gives "an opportunity [for Indians] to remain in their homelands, if they choose, without surrendering their dignity; an opportunity to move to the towns and cities of America, if they choose, equipped with the skills to live in equality and dignity."
- 1968 - Indian Civil Rights Act - Congress enacted the Indian Civil Rights Act to ensure that the provisions akin to those in the Bill of Rights applied to tribal governments.
- Spring of 1969 - the Berkeley Campus Chapter of UNA joined the Third World student strike which became the catalyst for the creation of the first Native American Studies program and the Department of Ethnic Studies. Leaders of the effort were LaNada Boyer (Means-War Jack), Patty Silvas, Carmen Christy, Horace Spencer, Richard Oakes, and Jack D. Forbes. The Native American Student Alliance was formed from this and planned the 1969 Alcatraz occupation. Other plans were being developed on other California college and university campuses. Forbes drafted a proposal for a College of Native American Studies to be created on one of the University of California campuses. The State Legislature endorsed the idea.

- October of 1969 - the American Indian Center in San Francisco burned down. It had been a meeting place that served 30,000 Indian people with social programs. The loss of the center focuses Indian attention on taking over Alcatraz for use as a new facility.
- 1969 - The Native American Student Union brings together Indian college students in a California Conference. Leaders included Dennis Turner, Lanada Boyer (Means-War Jack), and many others.
- November 20, 1969 - 14 Indians landed on Alcatraz. The next day 80 to 100 Indians of 20 tribes occupy Alcatraz Island to set up an Indian Cultural Center. By November 28 about 400 Indians were on the island. They defy the federal government and set up permanent occupancy for 19 months. Native American college students are intricately involved in this occupation.
- December of 1969 - members of the American Indian Movement, led by co-founder Dennis Banks, arrived at Alcatraz. After two weeks, they returned to Minneapolis bringing new ideas about confrontational activism and land seizures as a tool to confront the federal government's Indian policies.
- March 14, 1970 - Indians began occupying BIA offices. Many occupy the Littleton, Colorado BIA office to protest anti-Indian employment policies of the Bureau.
- 1970 - Self-determination without termination announced - President Nixon announced a new direction in federal Indian policy when, in a special message to Congress on July 8, 1970, he condemned the forced termination of Indian tribes. He reiterated the federal government's responsibility to Indians but also proposed new policies to encourage Indian independence and self-determination.
- September 1970 - 50 Indians from different tribes in the U.S. climbed to the top of Mount Rushmore and announced they were "taking over", until 123,000 acres of Indian land that was unjustly taken for a gunnery range in World War II is returned.
- November of 1970 - AIM painted Plymouth Rock red and occupied the Mayflower replica on Thanksgiving Day.
- June 11, 1971 - the fifteen remaining Alcatraz occupiers were escorted off the island by U.S. marshals and FBI agents officially ending the 19 month and nine-day long occupation.
- July 4, 1971 - AIM stages a Fourth of July counter-celebration by occupying the Mount Rushmore National Monument.
- 1972 - after an 11 year effort, the Alaska Native Claims Movement negotiates a large land claims settlement giving Alaska Natives 44 million acres of land and $962.5 million. This act becomes a model for struggling Indigenous movements around the world.
- November 1972 - AIM organized the Trail of Broken Treaties; more than 2,000 Indians went to Washington on the eve of the presidential election to president Nixon with a 20 point program. They occupy the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters for seven days, demanding that the U.S. recognize tribal self-determination.
- 1973 - Menominee Restoration Act is enacted, marking the first restoration of a terminated tribe. It "reinstated all rights and privileges of the tribe or its members under Federal treaty, statute, or otherwise which may have been diminished or lost." Numerous other tribes were subsequently restored.
- 1973 Wounded Knee II - when members of the Lakota Sioux tribe with the help of AIM on the Pine Ridge Reservation attempted to have Dick Wilson, the BIA backed head of the tribal administration, impeached, they received resistance from the federal government, which wanted to keep him in power. Led by Russell Means, AIM seizes control of Wounded Knee (site of the 1890 massacre) and the perimeter is placed under siege for 71 days. More than 500,000 rounds of ammunition are fired into AIM's bunkers. Two Indians and two FBI agents were killed. Nearly 1,200 people were arrested. The end of the standoff is negotiated on May 7, with the federal government's promise that Native American grievances will be addressed. Native Americans attend one meeting with White House Representatives and are promised congressional review of their concerns and a second meeting, but no further meetings take place.
- 1973-76 - the three years following Wounded Knee II are referred to by Native people as the "Reign of Terror" as the FBI carries our intensive local surveillance, makes repeated arrests, harasses local tribal members and institutes legal proceedings against AIM leaders and supporters on the Pine Ridge reservation. The Guardians of the Oglala Nation (GOON's) affiliated with the BIA, backed by Dick Wilson control the reservation with an iron fist and often shoot first, asking questions later. The FBI does not attempt to interfere. During this time 61 homicides among AIM supporters are reported; many are never investigated.

- 1974 - Supreme Court ruled that federal relationships with tribes are political, not racial, in nature - In Morton v. Mancari, the Supreme Court held that the federal government's special treatment of Indians is political and non-racial when it "can be tied rationally to the fulfillment of Congress' unique obligation toward the Indians." Subsequent decisions have both reaffirmed the holding and made clear that it applies to the federal government's dealings with Indians generally. For example, in United States v. Antelope, the Supreme Court held in 1977 that "[f]ederal regulation of Indian tribes, therefore, is governance of once-sovereign political communities; it is not to be viewed as legislation of a 'racial' group consisting of 'Indians.'"
- June 26, 1975, two FBI agents enter Jumping Bull Ranch where a large number of AIM supporters were invited to protect the Jumping Bull elders. A shootout ensues and the two FBI agents are killed. One of the AIM defenders, Leonard Peltier, is later captured in Canada. He is extradited and convicted of murder by an all white jury. Activists continue to campaign for his exoneration and release while Peltier serves two consecutive life sentences in federal prison.
- 1975 - Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act - Congress enacted the ISDEA to permit tribes to contract with the federal government to provide certain federal services and programs to tribal members.
- 1977 - AIM sponsors talks resulting in the 1977 International Treaty Conference with the U.N. in Geneva, Switzerland.
- February 11-July 1978 - Indian participants embark on the "Longest Walk" from Alcatraz Island to Washington D.C. to symbolize the forced removal of Indians from their homelands and to draw attention to continuing problems. The action challenges the backlash movement against Indian treaty rights. They present a manifesto to the Carter administration.
- 1980 - The Supreme Court rules that the U.S. owes the Lakota Sioux interest from 1877 payment as compensation for taking the Black Hills, originally part of Indian lands. The Lakota reject the payment, hoping to reclaim the Black Hills from the U.S.
- 1985 - An AIM security camp is established on Navajo land near Big Mountain, Arizona to support the traditional Dine elders in their resistance to forced relocation.

Alcatraz, AIM and Wounded Knee



Figure 5.6.1: "San Francisco (CA, USA), Alcatraz, Barracks -- 2022 -- 3087." (CC BY-SA 4.0; Dietmar Rabich via Wikimedia Commons)

In October of 1969 the American Indian Center in San Francisco burned down. It had been a meeting place that served 30,000 Native people with social programs. The loss of the center focused Indian attention on finding a new location. Taking over Alcatraz for use as a new facility was one idea that took fruit. After all, the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie includes a provision for tribes to reclaim Native lands that were stolen by the federal government and used as military posts, forts, prisons, etc. and Alcatraz is a decommissioned federal military prison that closed because the expenditures to run the facility were too high.

On November 20, 1969, 14 Indians landed on Alcatraz and began the occupation. The next day 80 to 100 Indians from 20 different tribes landed on Alcatraz Island to set up an Indian Cultural Center. By November 28, 1969 about 400 Indians were on the island. They defied the federal government and set up permanent occupancy for 19 months until they were forced out by the armed federal marshals, FBI agents, and special forces police on June 11, 1971.

Alcatraz was an important start to the next series of events bringing national recognition to Indian issues. Native American college students who were intricately involved in the occupation, fueled the development of Native American Studies/American Indian

Studies at San Francisco State and Berkeley; the creation of the Native American Studies department at UC Davis; and the establishment of DQ University, the first tribal college in California, located at an abandoned Army Telecommunications center and government surplus land near Davis, California (Frank-Cardenas, 2019). Please take a listen to Radio Free Alcatraz - by John Trudell.

In December of 1969, members of the American Indian Movement, led by co-founder Dennis Banks, arrived at Alcatraz. After two weeks, they returned to Minneapolis, bringing new ideas about confrontational activism and land seizures as a tool to confront the federal government's Indian policies.

The American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded in 1968 in an effort to stop police harassment of Indians in the Minneapolis area. Borrowing some tactics from the Vietnam war protests of the era, AIM soon gained national notoriety. However, many mainstream Indian leaders denounced the youth-dominated group as too radical. In 1972, a faction of AIM members led by Dennis Banks and Leonard Peltier sought to close the divide by making alliances with traditional tribal elders on reservations. They had their greatest success on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, after a group of young white men murdered a Sioux man named Yellow Thunder. Although Yellow Thunder's attackers received only six-year prison sentences, this was widely seen as a victory.

Wounded Knee was the site of two conflicts between Native people and the U.S. Army and later the FBI. On December 29, 1890 the U.S. Army's 7th Cavalry surrounded a band of Ghost Dancers under BigFoot, a Lakota chief, near Wounded Knee Creek and demanded they surrender their weapons. The U.S. Army brutally murdered approximately 300 Native women, elderly men and children. Historians speculate that the soldiers of the 7th Cavalry were deliberately taking revenge for the regiment's defeat at Little Bighorn in 1876 (History.com Editors, 2022).

Again in 1973, brutal murders were happening again on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Members of the American Indian Movement occupied Wounded Knee for 71 days to protest conditions on the reservation. Two FBI AIM's growing prestige and influence, however, threatened the conservative Sioux tribal chairman, Dick Wilson. When Wilson learned of a planned AIM protest against his administration at Pine Ridge, he retreated to tribal headquarters where he was under the protection of federal marshals and Bureau of Indian Affairs police.

Rather than confront the police in Pine Ridge, some 200 AIM members and their supporters decided to occupy the symbolically significant hamlet of Wounded Knee, site of the 1890 massacre. Wilson, with the backing of the federal government, responded by besieging Wounded Knee.

During the 71 days of the siege, which began on February 27, 1973, federal officers and AIM members exchanged gunfire almost nightly. Hundreds of arrests were made, and two Native Americans were killed and a federal marshal was permanently paralyzed by a bullet wound.

The leaders of AIM surrendered on May 8 after a negotiated settlement was reached. In a subsequent trial, the judge ordered their acquittal because of evidence that the FBI had manipulated key witnesses. AIM emerged victorious and succeeded in shining a national spotlight on the problems of modern Native Americans.

The troubles at Wounded Knee, however, were not over after the siege. A virtual civil war broke out between the opposing Indian factions on the Pine Ridge reservation, and a series of beatings, shootings and murders left more than 100 Indians dead. When two FBI agents were killed in a 1975 gunfight, the agency raided the reservation and arrested AIM leader Leonard Peltier for the crime. In 1977, Peltier was convicted of killing the two FBI agents and sentenced to life in prison. To this day, Peltier's supporters continue to maintain his innocence and seek a presidential pardon for him (History.com Editors, 2022; American Indian Movement Grand Governing Council).



Figure 5.6.2: No DAPL protesors outside San Francisco City Hall, 2016. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Pax Ahimsa Gethen via Wikimedia Commons)

Figure 5.6.2 is a photo of Dakota Access Pipeline protestors standing in front of San Francisco City Hall which has "NO DAPL" sign projected onto the building.

The Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL), a $3.78 billion dollar project to build a 1,200 mile pipeline, was announced to the public in June of 2014. In September of 2014, DAPL representatives met with Chairman Archambault and the entire Standing Rock Tribal Council to discuss the proposed project, which would cut through the Tribe's historic treaty lands, sacred sites, and cross the Missouri River just upstream of the reservation. The Tribe made its overwhelming objection to the proposal absolutely clear to DAPL representatives, and promised to fight them if they proceeded in the proposed location. Here is an excerpt from the transcript from that Sept. 30th meeting:

> And just before you get started on the project, I want you to know and understand that we recognize our treaty boundaries, our Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 and 1868, which encompasses North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, South Dakota. Because of that we oppose the pipeline. We have a standing resolution that was passed in 2012 that opposes any pipeline within the treaty boundary. So just so you know coming in, this is something that the tribe is not supporting. This is something the tribe does not wish. Even though it's outside of our 1889 federal boundaries, we still recognize our treaty boundaries (David Archambault, Sept. 30th Meeting between DAPL and Standing Rock Tribal Council).

From the very start of the process, the Tribe repeatedly and vocally expressed its concerns about damage to sacred sites, risks of oil spills, and the Government's heightened responsibility to ensure that the Tribe's treaty rights were protected. DAPL construction began in June of 2016.

DAPL was designed to transport 470,000 barrels of oil a day underground from North Dakota to Illinois. The pipeline is buried nearly 4 feet deep in most areas under agricultural lands but is also situated under Lake Oahe which is one water source for the Standing Rock Sioux tribe and surrounding communities as well as the Missouri River. The Dakota Access Pipeline violates Article II of the Fort Laramie Treaty, which guarantees the "undisturbed use and occupation" of reservation lands surrounding the proposed location of the pipeline. The pipeline was completed in April of 2017 and became operational in May 2017.

What was unique about Standing Rock and the DAPL protests is that tribal members from all across the world came to be a part of this historic moment. Several hundred Water Protectors began to show up at the Oceti Sakowin camp. The North Dakota state police along with law enforcement from several other states militarized and moved in to forcibly remove protestors camped on tribal land.

Armed with batons, weapons and dressed in riot gear, law enforcement were flanked by US military tanks as they moved in to remove and arrest the Water Protectors. Water hoses were used in freezing weather, guard dogs, rubber bullets and tear gas were employed against non-armed, non-violent Water Protectors, many of whom were elders. The United Nations even called for a halt in construction of the pipeline arguing it could threaten the health and well-being of Native Americans. The United Nations further condemned the violent response to the Water Protectors by local law enforcement accusing them of unjustified and excessive force in their increasingly militarized response.

For fear of further risk of injury or death, it became clear to the Standing Rock tribal chairman that the Water Protectors needed protecting themselves and that this battle would be one for and won in the courts. He asked the Water Protectors to leave the camp and continue the fight from the safety of their homes. Water Protectors went home but many had sustained life long injuries and legal bills for warrants for their arrests that they will never be able to pay, so many are serving prison time instead, charged with felonies that will prevent them from voting in upcoming elections.

The Dakota Access Pipeline construction which was halted under the Obama administration due to public pressure, but was resumed and completed under the Trump administration, recently leaked 84 gallons of oil in April, 2022. The Standing Rock Sioux tribe is still fighting in court for the shutdown of DAPL before irreparable damage is done. To date, the Biden administration has done nothing to help shut down DAPL (Earthjustice, 2023).

Shasta Dam

Shasta Dam is the fourth highest dam in California and its 4.55 million acre-foot reservoir is the largest in the state. The dam captures water from three rivers; the upper Sacramento, McCloud, and Pit, blocking migratory fish access and affecting downstream flows in the process. Constructed and operated by the U.S. Bureau of

Reclamation, the Shasta Dam and Reservoir is the cornerstone of the giant Central Valley Project (CVP), which provides irrigation and drinking water for much of California's Central valley and areas just south of the San Francisco Bay Area.

In 2015, the Bureau of Reclamation identified a plan with the greatest level of National Economic Development (NED) benefits as one including an 18.5-foot rise of Shasta Dam, which would increase water storage capabilities behind the dam by about 13% (The Facts about Raising Shasta Dam, 2021).

This plan was advertised to improve conditions in the Sacramento River for threatened and endangered salmon and steelhead and increase the state's overall water supply reliability, but would have disastrous effects on the Winnemem Wintu and Hoopa Valley Tribes.

Tribal leaders warned that the dam raise will inundate many of the sacred cultural sites not already covered by the waters of Shasta Lake. They also oppose the dam raise because it is designed in conjunction with the Bay Delta Conservation Plan to build peripheral tunnels. The construction of the twin tunnels would hasten the extinction of Central Valley salmon and steelhead, Delta smelt, longfin smelt, green sturgeon and other species, as well as the salmon and steelhead populations of the Trinity and Klamath rivers. The "habitat restoration" proposed under the plan would also take huge areas of fertile Delta farmland out of production. Winnemem Wintu Chief Caleen Sisk, referring to corporate agribusiness interests on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley, emphasized, "Farms in the desert are killing our water systems. The selenium pollution of the water is only the tipping point, only an indicator of what is coming. Everything is threatened if the water is not allowed to go to the sea. And the rainfall that falls in the desert is as the Creator has intended," she said. She noted how the Bureau claims one of the two reasons for the dam raise is to provide a larger cold water pool to "restore" the salmon. "However, the cold water pool in place now hasn't created more salmon," Sisk said. Sisk emphasized that the loss of salmon will result in a huge catastrophe for fish, people and the planet (Winnemem Wintu say no to Shasta Dam Raise, Town Tunnels, by Dan Bacher September 27, 2013 - Center for World Indigenous Studies cwis.org).

David Martinez, Winnemem Tribal Member, pointed out the solution to restoring the salmon is not raising the dam and building the twin tunnels, but to provide passage over Shasta Dam so the winter run Chinook salmon can once again ascend the McCloud River to spawn. "A half mile channel between Dry Creek and Cow Creek can allow the salmon to migrate upriver for a lot less money than the billions it will cost to raise the dam and build the tunnels," supposedly to "restore" salmon, he noted (Winnemem Wintu say no to Shasta Dam Raise, Town Tunnels, by Dan Bacher September 27, 2013 - Center for World Indigenous Studies cwis.org).

Sisk said, "We want our salmon back and we want access to participation in the process as a viable community. In their environmental impact report, they list everything we have as 'archeological' sites. However, that's where we dance – that's where we bring our girls across the river in the puberty ceremony. To make room for the reservoir, the BOR stole our lands, destroyed our salmon run, and submerged our burial grounds and sacred sites. Many Winnemem were left homeless, and we still have yet to receive the 'like lands' that were promised to us in the 1941 Indian Lands Acquisition Act, which authorized the stealing of our land" (Winnemem Wintu say no to Shasta Dam Raise, Town Tunnels, by Dan Bacher September 27, 2013 - Center for World Indigenous Studies cwis.org).

In November of 2020, the Trump administration finalized the Shasta Dam raise plan which has led to federal funding being released to the state of California to continue the work. Protests continue (Bahouth, 2020; Bureau of Reclamation, 2022).

Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls and Two Spirit Movement



Figure **5.6.3**: Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women Protestor, 2018. (CC BY-SA 2.0; Lorie Shaull via Wikimedia Commons)

Violence against Native women contributes to the highest rates of assault, domestic abuse, sexual violence, abduction and human trafficking, murder and obliteration from society's consciousness and collective memory. Native American/Indigenous women are assaulted, raped, abducted, trafficked, murdered on a scale unimaginable among any other ethnic group on this continent. The Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women Movement (MMIW) or Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls and Two-Spirit Movement (MMIWG2S) is an Indigenous grass roots effort to restore identities in the public sphere, to show their faces and give them voice. It is a way to let them, their spirits, and their loved ones know that they are not forgotten, that they are remembered, they are loved, they are needed, they are missed and mourned.

- 1 in 3 Native women will be raped at least once during their lifetime which is more than twice the rate for any other ethnic group in the U.S.
- 86% of rapes of Native women are committed by non-Indian rapists (70%) who are white men.
- 84% of Native Women have experienced violence in their lifetime.
- 4 in10 Native women are subjected to violence by an intimate partner in their lifetimes.
- Murder is the 3rd leading cause of death among Native women.
- Native women, girls, sisters, mothers, daughters are being sold into sex slavery here in the US and Canada – Native women are being raped, beaten, forced into prostitution and worse on a daily basis in an organized way.
- sexual slavery is no longer confined to adult Indigenous women, young Native girls and boys and even babies are being sold as sexual commodities to be 'owned' and used.

The imprint of a red hand over the mouth has become the symbol of the growing MMIW movement. It stands for all the missing sisters whose voices are not heard. It stands for the silence of the media and law enforcement in the midst of this crisis. It stands for the oppression and subjugation of Native women who are now rising up to say #NoMoreStolenSisters (Native Hope, 2022).

In April of 2021, Secretary of the Interior Deb Haaland announced the formation of a new Missing and Murdered Unit (MMU) within the Bureau of Indian Affairs Office of Justice Services (BIA-OJS) to provide leadership and direction for cross-departmental and interagency work involving missing and murdered American Indians and Alaska Natives. The MMU will help put the full weight of the federal government into investigating these cases and marshal law enforcement resources across federal agencies and throughout Indian country (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2021).

The BIA's MMU website posts critical information about missing and murdered individuals, including case profiles that can be easily shared via social media, as well as ways to submit tips that could help investigators solve cases and give families closure (Indian Affairs).

Landback Movement

LANDBACK is a movement that has existed for generations with a legacy of organizing and sacrifice to “get Indigenous Lands back into Indigenous hands” (LANDBACK, 2021). The LANDBACK Campaign is a mechanism to connect, coordinate, and amplify this movement and the communities that are fighting for LANDBACK.

The closure of Mount Rushmore, return of that land and all public lands in the Black Hills, South Dakota is the cornerstone battle. Not only does Mount Rushmore sit in the heart of the sacred Black Hills, but it is an international symbol of white supremacy and colonization. To truly dismantle white supremacy and systems of oppression, we have to go back to the roots. Which is putting “Indigneous Lands back into Indigenous hands” (LANDBACK, 2021).

LANDBACK is a political framework that allows us to deepen our relationships across the field of organizing movements working towards true collective liberation. It allows us to envision a world where Black, Indigenous & POC liberation co-exists. It is a political, organizing and narrative framework from which work is done with purpose and conviction. “It is bringing our People with us as we move towards liberation and embodied sovereignty through an organizing, political and narrative framework” (LANDBACK, 2021).

LANDBACK is about “reclaiming everything stolen from Indigenous peoples: land, language, ceremony, food, education, housing, healthcare, governance, medicines and kinship” (LANDBACK, 2021).

Did you know that you can purchase land and donate it to the local tribe whose land it initially belonged to and who may still reside on or near that land? The Secretary of the Interior will put that land in trust for the tribe. So what are you waiting for?

Indian Education

In 1975, the United States Congress enacted the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, Public Law 93-638. The Act declares that the Congress recognizes a Federal obligation to be responsive to the principle of self-determination through Indian involvement, participation, and direction of educational and service program. Prior to the passing of the Act, the Amendment of 1974 added two sections to Part B, to provide the authority to fund special teacher education programs and issue fellowships to Native American students in graduate and professional programs.

Sidebar - Laws and Acts

- 1971 - DQ University, in California, was one of the first six tribal colleges and universities in the United States, all of which were founded between 1968 and 1972.
- 1972 - Indian Education Act enacted - Congress enacted the Indian Education Act providing increased federal aid for Indian education.
- 1975 - The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act gives native American control in administering federal programs and services to their communities.

As stated earlier in this chapter, education for Native people in this country has been an act by the federal government of assimilation and genocide. Our communities and tribes are still grieving from the large numbers of murders and mass graves found at many of the Boarding School sites. Many tribes and Native Parents have advocated for and started their own Indian Education programs where they work in K-12 schools to support Native students. Besides providing for the physical resources of educational materials like notebooks, paper, pencils, backpacks, rulers, erasers, protractors, etc., tutoring, cultural programming, connection to traditional ecological knowledge and language revitalization programs are some of the resources Indian Education provides. Furthermore, it provides an opportunity to be in community with other Native people whether it be from the same tribe or different tribes.

A report, "From Boarding Schools to Suspension Boards," written in 2019 by the Sacramento Native American Higher Education Collaborative and CCEAL Contributors Dr. J. Luke Wood and Mohamed Qas reveals the long term ramifications of the boarding schools (Springer, et al., 2019):

- The California statewide suspension rate for Native American children and youth is 7.2%, much higher than the statewide suspension average of 3.5%. Analyses indicated that Native American girls were suspended at a rate of 4.6%. Native American boys were suspended at a rate of 9.6%.

- Native American boys are expelled at a rate that is 4.2 times higher than the state average, representing the highest expulsion rate for any racial/ethnic or gender group. The rate has also been steadily rising over the past four years.
- Early childhood (kindergarten through third grade) is the area with the greatest suspension disparity. Native American boys are 2.5 times more likely to be suspended in early childhood education than boys in the same grade-range, while the rate is 3.7 times greater for Native American girls in comparison to the average for girls.
- The highest percentage of suspensions occurs in middle school (Grades 7 and 8). In middle school, Native American boys are suspended at a rate of 16.5%, while Native American girls are suspended at 9.1%.
- The top counties for suspending Native American boys were Modoc County, Mono County, and Lassen County. Modoc County was the top county suspending both Native American boys at 38% and Native girls at 26.1%.
- Kings County was the top expulsion county for both Native American boys and girls. Native American boys are more than 40 times more likely to be expelled in this county than the statewide average. For Native American girls, the rate is 20 times higher than the statewide average – these rates are egregiously high.
- The number one suspension district for Native American boys in California is Fortuna Union High in Humboldt County. This district suspends more than 71% of their Native American males. This is followed by Modoc Joint Unified in Modoc County at 42.5%.
- The top suspension district for Native American girls is Loleta Union Elementary in Humboldt County. In this district, 32.3% of Native American girls were suspended. This district has long struggled with its service to Native American students, having been the focus of a 2013 Office of Civil Rights investigation for its treatment of Native students.
- Lemoore Union High in Kings County was the number one expulsion district for Native American boys and the number one expulsion district for girls.

You can access the PDF of the report "From Boarding Schools to Suspension Boards: Suspensions and Expulsions of Native American Students in California Public Schools."

These high numbers of suspensions are horrendous; especially since we know that early experiences in education affect whether or not a student continues on to college and in California we have seen a massive drop, approximately 50% in Native student enrollment especially at the Community College level.

The Sacramento Native American Higher Education Collaborative of which the authors of this chapter are members, has been working since 2015 on obtaining funding to establish the Native American Student Support and Success Program (NASSSP) with the California Community College Chancellor's Office. This student services program is similar to Umoja and Puente, but focuses specifically on Native American College student recruitment, retention and success by providing services and guidance to Native students. The program was recently funded this year (2022) for five years, for up to 20 community colleges to participate.

Cultural and Language Revitalization Movements

Across Indian Country there are many tribes and Native organizations working to bring back Native languages from the brink of extinction, or as we like to say in language revitalization circles "wake them up from sleeping." It can be very difficult to find any living speakers for many of our tribal languages, let alone teachers to instruct our youth and their parents who want to learn. In California, for example, there is an organization called Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival (AICLS). This organization has been essential for many tribal groups attempting to revitalize their tribal languages. AICLS developed and hosts the Breath of Life Archival Institute for California Indigenous Languages.

> Starting in 1995, AICLS has partnered with the University of California at Berkeley to run the one-week biennial Breath of Life Language Restoration Workshop for California Indians. The objective is to assist the participants in exploring and utilizing the vast archives of California Indian languages and materials for their own efforts in language reclamation. There are lectures and workshops on linguistics to help them learn how to understand the written materials and bring them back into spoken language.
>
> Each language group is paired with a linguist who works with them intensively throughout the week, and archivists in the museums, libraries and departments housing the materials are on hand to orient the participants and help them explore the archives. As they become familiar with the available materials, participants start focusing in on a project of their choice, which is presented to the group at the end of the week. Through social events during the week and staying together in the dorms, participants often find inspiration from fellow language activists and develop useful connections.

> The “Breath of Life” concept has spread. AICLS members helped organize the “National Breath of Life Archival Institute for Indigenous Languages” in Washington D.C., first partnering with the Endangered Language Fund, and later with the Myaamia Center and the Smithsonian Institution. Now there is a “Breath of Life 2.0,” an advanced workshop for experienced Breath of Lifers to teach them how to make a database to organize and use efficiently the materials they found in university and museum archives or have in their own collections. This workshop was held at Miami University in Ohio in 2019, and was held at the University of Oregon in 2020 (AICLS, 2020).

One example (there are many) of a language program that has worked tirelessly and been successful in California is that of the Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation and the Patwin language. The Patwin language was spoken in many tribal communities in the southwest area of the Sacramento River. After acts of genocide and forced assimilation, it is considered one of the worlds most endangered languages. The Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation has focused extensively on learning the Patwin language. Their website describes this process:

> Language is beating heart of our identity and crucial to the survival of our culture. But for generations, our words and syntax were outlawed. Criminalizing the Patwin language was central to the strategy of challenging our people’s existence.
>
> By 1997, with only one documented fluent speaker of Patwin, our language was listed as one of the most at-risk languages in the world by the United Nations Atlas of Endangered Languages. That one fluent speaker—the late Bertha Wright Mitchell (1936-2018), affectionately known to many as Auntie Bertha—is responsible, more than any other single person, for enabling us stay connected to our language and our culture today.
>
> Auntie Bertha was a basketweaver and a culture bearer for our Tribe, mentoring many of our citizens in traditional ways and ceremonies. Starting in 2006, she worked with the now-credentialed language teacher Leland Kinter to teach Patwin to our children at the Yocha Dehe Wintun Academy and to our adult citizens at the Cultural Department, planting the seed for the current language-learning programs.
>
> In 2012, our primary language teacher and current Tribal Treasurer Leland Kinter earned the American Indian Languages Credential from the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing. Since then, the Tribe has published a Patwin dictionary and grammar book. Our iTunes database of Patwin words and phrases includes more than 8,000 entries. We launched a Patwin language website for Tribal Citizens, and we are now working on a history curriculum for the Academy, which we plan to share with other California schools. Just as the criminalization of our language was a weapon for denying our existence, the revitalization of our language is a powerful tool for the perpetuation of our sovereignty (Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation, 2023).

Hip Hop and American Indians

Hip Hop is powerful; it carries healing gifts and magic. Native Americans use specific songs and dances in rituals to heal people, to define identity, and to understand relationships between people and the environment. When people do not have access to these songs and dances, they seek alternative songs and dances that heal, identify, and define relationships using different methods. Hip Hop reflects social changes and transforms society. For Native Americans, being able to negotiate your status in the United States is significant because there are so many stereotypes of who is Indian and who is not and what it means to be Indian. With music, especially Hip Hop, a person or a group of people can self- situate themselves and create new identities. When we look at Hip Hop with a critical gaze, we realize that its intentions are to show us where we come from and how resilient we are as people. Music, dance, storytelling, and art are all aspects of Native American culture (and Hip Hop culture) that teach a person how to live in balance and how to make decisions for the future.

Hip Hop tells the story of people who have faced severe trauma, poverty, marginalization, genocide, slavery, and colonization and have survived it with eminence and pride. Native Hip Hop artists use Hip Hop in many ways but, more often than not, they use Hip Hop as a means to re-claim their history and to remember the strength of their people. The creators of Hip Hop, Black artists and youth from New York and the Caribbean developed a musical genre with elements that can be called "indigenousisms." Embedded in the kick and the snare, in the hip and the hop, we can see, feel, and hear their homelands (pre-colonial Africa and then even the colonial Americas). With this blood and body memory, they created what is now considered American music styles. As Amiri Baraka writes about the Blues, the same can be written about Hip Hop. What a marvelous amalgamation of sound and movement!

Indigenous Hip Hop artists use Hip Hop to express themselves and more amazingly, Hip hop has been used to revitalize language (check out **Tall Paul's song titled Prayers in a Song**) and fight against the exploitation of the land (check out the song **Oil for Blood by Frank Waln**). One of the most popular groups, Snotty Nose Rez Kids (based in Vancouver, Canada, originally from Kitamaat Village) have used Hip Hop to tell their tribal stories, share their language, give love to their matrilineal culture, and fight against the status quo. Snotty Nose Rez Kids remind us that all of those things that make us beautiful - indigenous "things" like beaded caps, shells, turquoise, and copper are more than just bling (check out the song **Boujee Natives by Snotty Nose Rez Kids**).

In California, we have multiple Hip Hop artists. Richie Ledreagle inspires youth and the community by collaborating with artists all over Turtle Island. His music tells us to smile and to love our lives but his real impact is in how he brings the American Indian music community and represents his Miwok culture (Check out the song **"I will Remain"** with fellow California Native (Pomo) Stewie G. featuring Calina Lawrence).

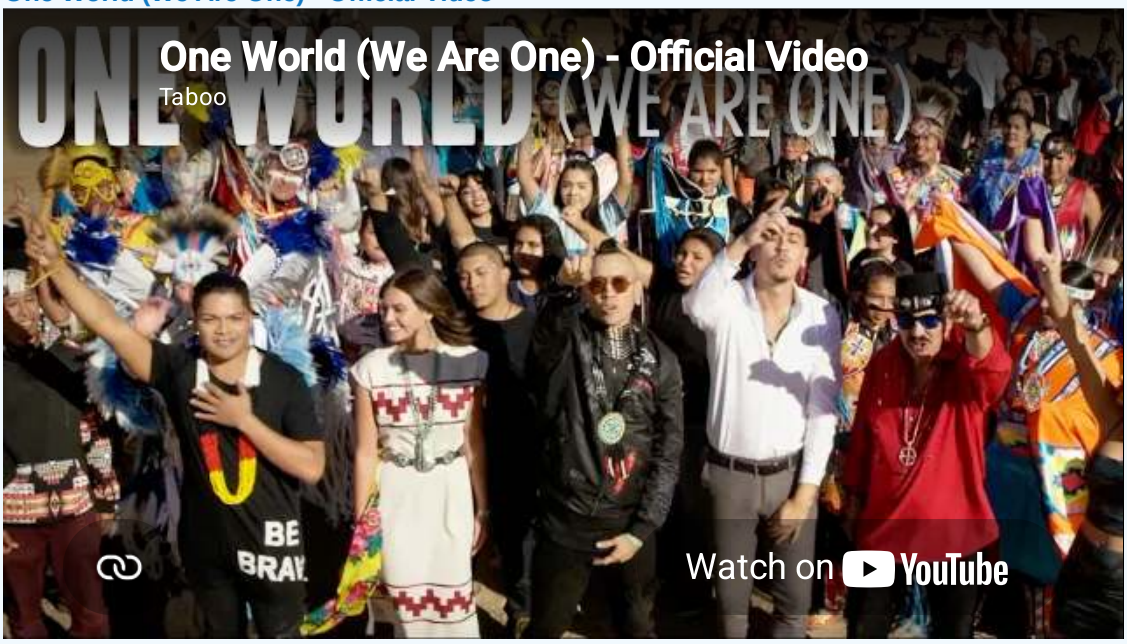
Native Hip Hop 5.6.1

Okema - Life Of A Native (Official Music Video)





One World (We Are One) - Official Video





Other songs of interest

My Land by Litefoot

Nataanii Means- Warrior

Drezus - Warpath (Directed by Stuey Kubrick)

Local Resouces

CSU Fresno American Indian Programs and Services

Central Valley Indian Health: provides comprehensive care for American Indian people: General Medicine, Health Education, Podiatry, also perinatal/WIC Services http://cvih.org

Fresno American Indian Health Project: We embrace and empower people from all tribal nations. We provide culturally-based health and wellness services supporting the mental, emotional, physical, and spiritual needs of our community. https://www.faihp.org/

First Nations Development Institute: California Tribal Fund supports California-based, California-Native-led nonprofits and tribal programs in controlling and protecting their land, water, food systems, and culture.

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5.7: Summary/Review

Conclusion

Whatever you do in life, do the very best you can with both your heart and mind. And if you do it that way, the Power of the Universe will come to your assistance, if your heart and mind are in Unity. When one sits in the Hoop Of The People, one must be responsible because All of Creation is related. And the Hurt of one is the hurt of all. And the honor of one is the honor of all. And whatever we do affects everything in the universe. If you do it that way-that is, if you truly join your heart and mind as One-whatever you ask for, that the Way it's Going to be.

-White Buffalo Calf Woman

The authors have given the readers a snapshot, a different worldview that may challenge everything you may know about US history, Native peoples, the US federal government and its treatment of Native people and tribes. We have connected this to contemporary issues facing Native people and have revealed the resiliency of Native people in dealing with continued acts of genocide, assimilation and oppression today.

While other disciplines may "study" and teach about Native people, American Indian Studies (AIS) or Native American Studies (NAS) provides the voices, social struggles, contributions and lived experiences of Native people culturally, socially, economically, legally, politically, and academically.

AIS/NAS actively promotes the sustained and thriving existence of Native peoples and sovereign tribal nations with an emphasis on agency and group-affirmation. One could argue that NAS or AIS began way before the movements of the 1960's in that Native voices can be heard speaking about justice and equity, establishing laws and governing councils, as well as enacting sustainable land and environmental policies of sovereign nations, if one listens. It is our hope you have listened and will now take political and economic action. Support Native artists, musicians and writers by buying their products. Vote for laws that support tribal sovereignty, your local tribes and their economic development. Participate in the LANDBACK movement by purchasing and donating land to your local tribes.

For more information please take a look at the timeline throughout the chapter that we have provided of events that have shaped American Indian federal policy and have affected Native people.

Key Terms

- **American Indian, Native American:** These terms relate to Indigenous people across the United States and are used interchangeably with "Indian". Individuals who identify with ancestral or cultural ties and or Native American tribes or Alaskan tribes in the United States. These individuals can be enrolled or non-enrolled members within federally recognized tribes. This research uses both terms to refer to Native people and uses these terms interchangeably to reflect the generation differences.
- **Boarding Schools**: Another federal government assimilation initiative and prime example of cultural imperialism that was allegedly done for the 'benefit' of Native people was the creation of boarding schools. Over 100,000 Native American children were forced to attend boarding schools and thousands of them died because of the neglect and mistreatment at the hands of the religious organizations that ran these schools that were funded by the federal government.
- **Dawes Allotment Act**: The 1887 Dawes Allotment Act was a way in which the federal government could obtain reservation land, established through treaties. The Dawes Act authorized the President to break up reservation land into small allotments parceled out to individual Native Americans, encouraging farming while at the same time destroying the tribal communally held land base.
- **Decolonization:** Decolonization is active resistance against colonial powers, and a shifting of power towards political, economic, educational, cultural, independence and power that originate from a colonized nation's own Indigenous culture. This process occurs politically and also applies to personal and societal, cultural, political, agricultural, and educational deconstruction of colonial oppression. Decolonization refers to fighting back against the ongoing colonialism and colonial mentalities that permeate all institutions and systems of government. Decolonizing actions must begin in the mind, and that creative, consistent, decolonized thinking shapes and empowers the brain, which in turn provides a major prime for positive change. Decolonization means a) creating and consciously using various strategies to liberate oneself, adapt to or survive

oppressive conditions; b) restoring cultural practices, thinking, beliefs, and values that were taken away or abandoned but are still relevant and necessary for survival; and c) the birthing of new ideas, thinking, technologies, and lifestyles that contribute to the advancement and empowerment of Indigenous Peoples.

- **Historical Trauma**: Historical trauma is multigenerational trauma experienced by a specific cultural, racial or ethnic group. It is related to major events experienced by a particular group of people because of their status as oppressed, such as slavery, the Holocaust, forced migration, and the violent colonization of Native Americans.
- **Indian Reorganization Act**: The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) passed by the U.S. Congress in 1934, encouraged tribes to take control of their "business and economic affairs" to insure a solid land base by putting a halt to the loss of tribal lands through allotment (Dawes). The IRA was a sharp change in direction in federal policy leaning towards tribal sovereignty, replacing assimilationist policies that had been in place since the late 1800's. The IRA prohibited any further allotment of reservation lands. It also provided a way for tribes to purchase land back and place it in trust through the Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs. The IRA of 1934 was meant to further establish tribal self-government politically and economically. Through the IRA, Congress authorized tribes to adopt their own constitutions and bylaws.
- **Indigenous Ways of Knowing**: This term relates to an alternate paradigm to occidental epistemology and ontology. According to Harris (2002), many Indigenous people view every aspect of creation as continuously interacting with one another.
- **Manifest Destiny and the Doctrine of Discovery**: Manifest Destiny, coined in 1845 by newspaper editor John O'Sullivan, is the idea that white, Christian Americans were divinely ordained to 'settle' (invade and steal) North America. This included a belief in the inherent superiority of white Americans as well as the conviction that they were destined by the Christian God to "conquer" the people and territories of North America. The ideology of Manifest Destiny was used to justify extreme measures to murder and decimate Native populations in order to "free" the land from its inhabitants, including forced removal and violent extermination. The Doctrine of Discovery established a spiritual, political, and legal justification for colonization and the seizure of land not inhabited by Christians.
- **Place-Based Learning**: A framework for incorporating cultural standards and related practices as the framework for integrating Indigenous knowledge and physical environment into Western education systems (Emekauwa, 2004).
- **Reservations and Rancherias:** Tract of land owned by a tribe or tribes held in trust status by the federal government for the Indians' benefit. Reservations were created by treaty, statute, executive order, judicial decision, or order of the secretary of the interior (Wilkins & Stark, 2011, p. 311). Often referred to as prisoner of war camps. Land set aside for homeless Indians. Unique to California.
- **Self-Determination** is an integral piece of sovereignty and the right of a people to decide upon its own form of government, without outside influence and relates to the freedom and free will of the people of a given area to determine their own political status and independence.
- **Self-Governance** is the inherent right to make decisions that affect your own people. Tribes have the right of self governance as nations.
- **Settler Colonialism** refers to an invasive group or culture that actively occupies and attempts to destroy through genocidal acts to replace/erase Native peoples and cultures (Wolfe, 1999; Wolfe, 2006).
- **Termination** occurred in 1953 when the U.S. Congress adopted an official policy of termination declaring that the goal was to, "as rapidly as possible make Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States" (House Concurrent Resolution 108). The real goal of termination was the theft of Native lands; and a companion policy was the "relocation" of Native people off reservations into urban areas.
- **Treaties** are considered the "supreme law of the land" (Article 6 of the U.S. Constitution), and are in effect forever and therefore equivalent to federal laws.
- **Tribal Sovereignty** is the right for tribes to govern themselves within US borders. The right of a tribe to make laws separate from the European and American governmental authorities, and Native American sovereignty existed long before the United States (U.S.) constitution came into existence (Wedding, Vega, & Mark, 2003, p. 131).

Discussion Questions

1. American political officials have often utilized the stereotype of 'Native people as children' who need to be 'looked after' to justify the taking of Native land and resources. In fact, the federal government successfully elevated itself to the position of 'guardian' establishing a patriarchal governing structure with an inherent authority and necessary 'obligation' to look out for

their ‘wards’. In a literal sense, Native people were legally defined and relegated to the status of ‘children’ under the tutelage of the US government as the parent. How did this ‘relationship’ impact the self determination and sovereign rights of tribes and Native people to identify themselves? How did this further impact treaties and land, water and mineral rights for Native people?
2. Dr. Michael Yellow Bird created a ‘Conceptual Model of Decolonization’, focusing specifically on action we can take to ‘Decolonize our Minds’ in that he defines decolonization as both an event and a process. Elaborate on what he means by this and how you can use the ‘Conceptual Model of Decolonization’ to make changes in your community?
3. Explain how the ‘other’ or ‘othering’ is established and the ramifications of this on Native people and identity. How exactly are Native people made into the societal "other", if they are both ‘ignored’ and ‘highlighted’ in U.S. society? Use examples like Mascots, and images of Native people in film, and literature.
4. Explain how American Indian is not an Ethnic Group? Use examples from the text and other sources to differentiate between cultural and political identities.

Reflection and Assignments

Canary Effect Video and Reflection

- The Canary Effect (2006) is a documentary film directed by Robin Davey and Yellow Thunder Woman that focuses on the horrors of genocide faced by Native Americans and the racist policies of the United States. The documentary premiered at the Tribeca Film Festival and won the Stanley Kubrick Award at the 2006 Traverse City Film Festival. This video was banned in the United States and could only be purchased in Europe when it first came out.
- Please make sure to watch "The Canary Effect" before you complete this assignment. [Writer's note: The site may not have the most accurate captioning to meets accessibility standards]
- Take a moment of self reflection and write 1-2 pages or record (audio/video) a short (3 minute or less) reflection paper. Reflect upon the following:
  - **The definition of genocide** - How does the United Nations define genocide in the movie? Did you know that the United States government purposefully took actions and is still taking action to commit genocide against Native American people today? *Governmental policies, Executive (Presidential) Orders, and laws set precedence on how to unfairly take advantage of Native people and their resources (land, water and mineral rights).*
  - Discuss 2-3 specific issues that Native Americans have faced (both historically or in present day).
  - What are your reactions/thoughts about the treatment of Native Americans in the United States?
  - Connect direct examples to the theoretical framework to help you better understand the Native American Experience and how you can become an ally.
  - What actions must take place to right these wrongs?
  - What are the barriers you perceive and how can you help remove them?
  - Reflect on your reactions to the video and whether this information has changed you in any way.

Native Land Recognition Activity

Directions

1. First we acknowledge the land, and understand that the land we currently occupy is stolen land. But who is it stolen from? Do you know?
2. For this assignment, you will be doing research on and identifying the original past and present tribe(s) whose land on which you are currently living and working.
3. We must honor these caretakers through our actions in this space and we can do this by doing some research and learning about these Native nations.
4. You will access the following at Native Land Digital. [Writer's note: We acknowledge this site may not be accessible for students using assistive technology]
5. Once on the page make sure that the territories, languages, and treaties are all toggled to on or green.
6. Type in the town where you live or work or any town or city in California that you are interested in, in the search area (line where the image of the tiny magnifying glass is located) of the same box on the top left corner of the website.
7. Results will show up in the bottom left corner of the map that include the tribe(s), their languages and treaties that were ratified.
8. After you have identified the tribe, research key facts about that tribe and their land.

Answer the following questions:

- Can you find the original Native name of the city/town/location that you researched?
- What is the language spoken by the tribe? Learn a few words and share what you learned.
- What are 3 interesting facts about the tribe? You can use historical facts but try to find out contemporary information about the tribe today.
- Can you find any pictures or images of the people? Are they older images or pictures recently taken? Why is this important?
- Why is it difficult to find any treaties that were ratified in California?

Remember to cite your sources.

Social Justice and Hip Hop Activity

1. Watch the music video Stand Up/Stand N Rock and write down two messages that you hear or see in the video and why they are important.
2. Answer the following question - when Emcee One says "this is for the rock, with prayers we stand on it." What do you think he means?
3. Using the information that you have learned in this chapter, add another verse to this song.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

6: Africana/African American/Black Studies

By Dr. Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick and Dr. Teresa Hodges

Learning Objectives

- Analyze and articulate concepts used in the field of Africana / African American / Black Studies, including Panafricanism, Black Power, Black Nationalism, discrimination, double consciousness, and controlling images;
- Apply theory and knowledge produced by Black communities to describe critical events, histories, cultures, intellectual traditions, contributions, lived experiences, and social struggles, with a particular emphasis on agency and group affirmation;
- Critically analyze the intersection of race and racism as they relate to class, gender, sexuality, religion, spirituality, in Black communities;
- Explain and assess how struggle, resistance, racial and social justice, solidarity, and liberation, as experienced, enacted, and studied by Black communities are relevant to current and structural issues such as communal, national, international, and transnational politics;
- Describe anti-racist practices to build a just and equitable society.

6.1: Introduction
6.2: History and Demographics
6.3: How We Got Here- Lifting “The Veil”
6.4: Social Institutions
6.5: Social Change and Resistance
6.5.1: Reparations
6.6: Black American Identity
6.7: Intersectionality
6.8: Summary/Review
6.9: References

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6.1: Introduction

Introduction to Africana / African American / Black Studies

The field of Africana / African American / Black Studies emerged as an academic site of inquiry and struggle in response to the needs of the ongoing movements for racial justice and civil rights. Within the institution of higher education, Africana / African American / Black Studies provides a comprehensive and interdisciplinary home for the intellectual work being done by scholars to uncover, document, analyze, and explain the complex and varied experiences of people of African origin. It also works in conjunction with efforts to increase diversity and inclusion within higher education at all levels, including students, faculty, staff, and administrators, as well as supporting broader movements for justice and inclusion that advance change in different institutions throughout society.

The Veil and Double-Consciousness

In Sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois' (1903) seminal work outlining double consciousness theory, he argued that "the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line" (p. 281). Despite reductions in **de jure racial discrimination**, which is legally codified explicit racism, improved racial attitudes among the general public, and the election of the United State's first biracial Black president, the trouble of the color line persists in reproducing racial disparities in the United States and around the globe (Alexander, 2010; Bobo, 2017; Bonilla-Silva, 2013; Williams and Collins, 2001). As exemplified by the 2016 election of a Presidential candidate who campaigned on an explicitly racist, anti-immigrant, and nationalist platform (Bobo, 2017), national discourse and political rhetoric have become more divisive while hate crimes and brutality towards people of color and immigrants have risen (Eligon, 2018).

In this context, the Du Boisian theory of double consciousness is relevant for understanding the racial politics of the 21st century. For Du Bois, **double consciousness** symbolized the psychological impact of living in a racist society for African Americans in the years following the end of slavery. Societal treatment of African Americans as a "problem" contributed to the development of the Veil, a lens through which [African Americans] viewed themselves from the perspective of White Americans. Despite being citizens, African Americans were not fully regarded as such, a plight that contemporary Black Americans and other Americans of color still experience.

The content in the preceding two paragraphs was initially published in the article "Double Consciousness in the 21st Century: Du Boisian Theory and the Problem of Racialized Legal Status" by Tiffany Joseph and Tanya Golash-Boza (2021, p. 345) in *Social Sciences*, which is licensed CC BY 4.0.

In this chapter, the terms Africana Studies, African American Studies, and Black Studies are used throughout. These terms often refer to the same body of academic scholarship and community practice, but there are important differences to note. While Africana and Black Studies refer broadly to the experiences of people with African heritage throughout the world, African American Studies are explicitly focused on the experiences of people whose family lineage includes African peoples who were enslaved in the United States. These realities differ from the experiences of African people who were never enslaved, African migrants living in various parts of the world, or the descendants of enslaved people in countries outside of the United States. For the sake of inclusion, the terms "Africana Studies" or "Black Studies" are used to signal these multiple disciplinary names.

This chapter charts an overview of relevant and foundational history that shapes the development of Africana / African American / Black Studies. In the first section, you will have the opportunity to understand the broader political and historical contexts that shaped struggles for Black liberation in the 1800s and 1900s, which had many implications for society, including the creation of Black Studies programs. This is followed by a more focused examination of how the dynamics of exploitation and resistance have been more effectively studied and understood using a Black Studies framework. In the remaining two sections, these tools are brought to life in the context of systemic, cultural, and political dynamics that are the focus of Black Studies scholars and practitioners today.

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6.2: History and Demographics

African Americans: How and Why They Came

The term African American can be a misnomer for many individuals. African Americans (also referred to as Black Americans) are a race-ethnic group of Americans with total or partial ancestry from any of the Black racial groups of Africa. The term African American generally denotes descendants of enslaved Black people who are from the United States, while some recent Black immigrants or their children may also come to identify as African-American or may identify differently.

African Americans are the largest race-ethnic group behind Euro Americans (whites) and Latinx. Most African Americans are descendants of enslaved peoples within the boundaries of the present United States. On average, African Americans are of West/Central African and European descent, and some also have Native American ancestry. According to U.S. Census Bureau data, African immigrants generally do not self-identify as African American. The overwhelming majority of African immigrants identify instead with their own respective ethnicities. This section will focus on the experience of Africans who were captured, enslaved and transported from Africa to the United States, and their offspring.

If Native Americans are the only minoritized group whose subordinate status occurred by conquest, African Americans are the exemplar minority group in the United States whose ancestors did not come here by choice. A Dutch sea captain brought the first Africans to the Virginia colony of Jamestown in 1619 and sold them as indentured servants. This was not an uncommon practice for either Blacks or whites, and indentured servants were in high demand. For the next century, Black and white indentured servants worked side by side. But the growing agricultural economy demanded greater and cheaper labor, and by 1705, Virginia passed the slave codes declaring that any foreign-born non-Christian could be a slave, and that slaves were considered property.

The next 150 years saw the rise of U.S. slavery, with Black Africans being kidnapped from their own lands and shipped to the New World on the trans-Atlantic journey known as the Middle Passage. Once in the Americas, the Black population grew until U.S.-born Blacks outnumbered those born in Africa. But colonial (and later, U.S.) slave codes declared that the child of a slave was a slave, so the slave class was created.

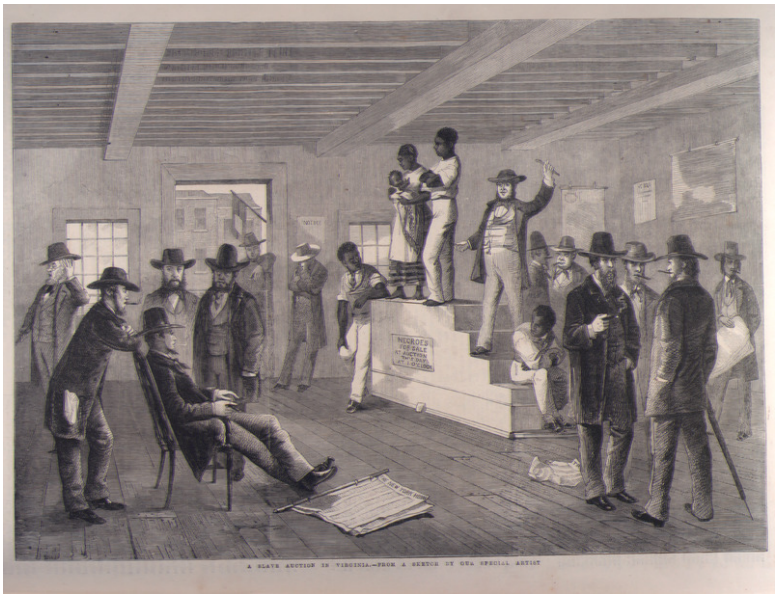


Figure **6.2.1**: Slave Auction, Richmond, Virginia. (CC PDM 1.0; via George Henry Andrews)

Justification for African Slavery

Skin color was an instrument of justifying slavery in the Americas. The Portuguese and the Spanish were among the first to bring African slaves to the Americas. In 1542, the enslaving of Indigenous peoples in its New World territories was made illegal by the government of Spain, an action that greatly expanded and facilitated the primary use of Africans in the trans-Atlantic slave trade in North America. As David Brion Davis (2008) stated, “It was not until the seventeenth century that...New

World slavery began to be overwhelmingly associated with people of Black African descent." According to Nathan Rutstein (1997), "In all of the original 13 colonies, there was the prevailing belief among whites that the Caucasian race was not only superior to the African races, but that Africans were part of a lower species, something between the ape and the human."

It is perhaps difficult to comprehend how the United States, founded on the principles of liberty, democracy and Christian values, could establish a system as inhumane as slavery. It becomes more understandable with the historical context that Black skin and slavery were considered to be a curse from God. Although slavery was driven by economic need, race and theology were used to justify it. According to Goldenberg (2017), the Bible was used as justification for slavery: "...the Bible...consigned Blacks to everlasting servitude...[and] provided biblical validation for sustaining the slave system." David Brion Davis (2008)has written extensively about the impact of the Curse of Ham on slavery and attitudes toward African Americans in the antebellum era. He stated that "the 'Curse of Ham' was repeatedly used as the most authoritative justification for 'Negro slavery' by nineteenth-century Southern Christians, by many Northern Christians, and even by a few Jews" (Davis, 2008).

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The Curse of Ham

Perhaps the most significant influence on universal attitudes and negative perceptions of people of color is the biblical story of the "Curse of Ham" found in the King James Version (1611) of the Bible in Genesis 9:18-27. The event occurs after Noah and his three sons and their families have left the ark after the Great Flood. Noah's three sons were Shem, Ham, and Japheth. One day, Noah became drunk from wine made from grapes grown in his vineyard. He fell asleep nude on the floor in his tent. Ham's two brothers, Shem and Japheth, turned away and did not view their father's naked body. Ham refused to turn away and saw Noah drunk and naked. Shem and Japheth took a garment, put it on their shoulders, and backed into the tent. They covered Noah with the garment without looking at their father's nude body. After Noah later awoke and became aware of what Ham had done, he pronounced the biblical curse, "Cursed be Canaan; the lowest of slaves shall he be to his brothers."

Historically called "The Curse of Ham," Noah's curse was actually directed at Canaan, who was the son of Ham. Noah then blessed Ham's two brothers, Shem and Japheth. It was after this event that the three sons of Noah went with their families to populate the entire earth. Canaan and his family traveled to settle in the area of the world that is now the continent of Africa. One of Ham's brothers (Japheth) went to settle in the area that is now Europe, and the other brother (Shem) went to settle with his family in the area known as Asia.

Noah's statement that Canaan would be the "lowest of slaves" to his two brothers became universally interpreted as an eternal affliction of servitude by God. The Curse of Ham was widespread throughout Europe and eventually spread to America. The Christian Bible does not mention skin color in the story of Noah's curse, but the conflating of Black skin color with the punishment of eternal servitude later became combined with the original biblical interpretation of the Curse of Ham. The text of the biblical story was translated over centuries by Muslim, Jewish, and Christian writers.

Black Identity

Findings from Pew Research Center surveys conducted in recent years show that most Black adults feel that they are part of a broader Black community in the United States and see their race as important to how they think of themselves. As conveyed in Figure 7.1.2, about three-quarters of Black adults say that being Black is extremely (52%) or very (22%) important to how they think about themselves, according to a 2019 Pew Research Center survey.

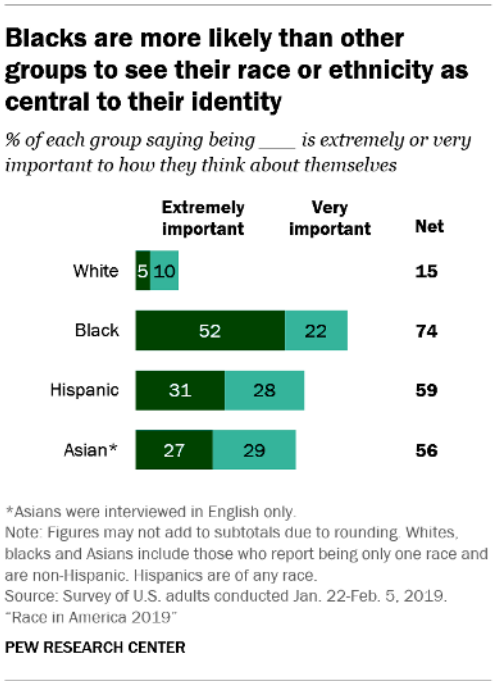


Figure **6.2.2**: Black adults are more likely than other groups to see their race or ethnicity as central to their identity. (Used with permission; Race in America 2019. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2019))

In addition, a Pew Research Center survey conducted in 2016 reveals that most Black adults (81%) said they felt at least somewhat connected to a broader Black community in the U.S., including 36% who said they felt very connected to a Black community, as shown in Figure 7.1.3

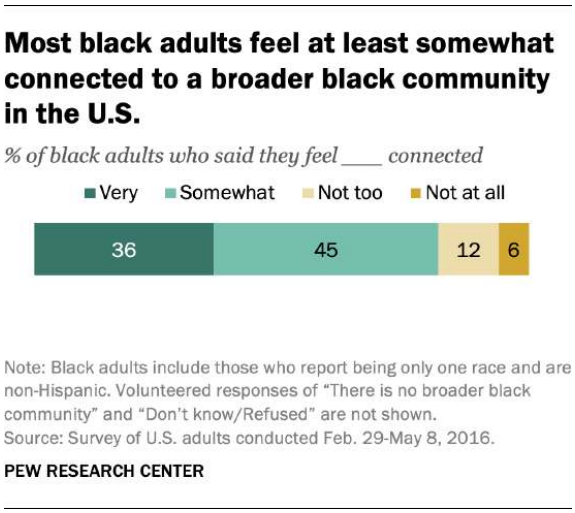


Figure **6.2.3**: Most Black adults feel at least somewhat connected to a broader Black community in the U.S.. (Used with permission; On Views of Race and Inequity, Blacks and whites Are Worlds Apart. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2016))

As presented in Figure 7.1.4, Black adults who said they feel strongly connected to a broader Black community are more likely (than those who don't have such connections) to have engaged with organizations such as the NAACP, Urban League, Black Lives Matter and Black Greek Fraternities/Sororities dedicated to improving the lives of Black Americans by donating money, attending events or volunteering their time.

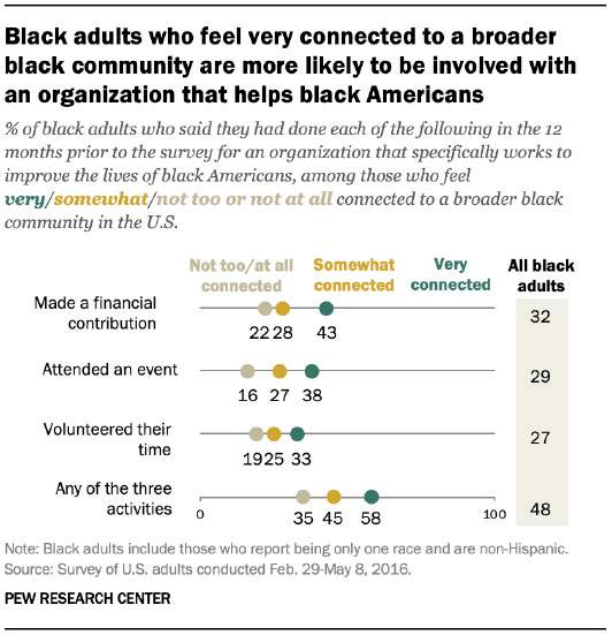


Figure 6.2.4: Black adults who feel very connected to a broader Black community are more likely to be involved with an organization that helps Black Americans. (Used with permission; On Views of Race and Inequity, Blacks and whites Are Worlds Apart. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2016))

Black Demographics

Between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of the Great Depression, nearly two million African Americans fled the rural South to seek new opportunities elsewhere. While some moved west, the vast majority of this Great Migration, as the large exodus of African Americans leaving the South in the early twentieth century was called, traveled to the Northeast and Upper Midwest. The following cities were the primary destinations for these African Americans: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Indianapolis. These eight cities accounted for over two-thirds of the total population of the African American migration.

A combination of both “push” and “pull” factors played a role in this movement. Despite the end of the Civil War and the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution (ensuring freedom, the right to vote regardless of race, and equal protection under the law, respectively), African Americans were still subjected to intense racial hatred. The rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War led to increased death threats, violence, and a wave of lynchings. Even after the formal dismantling of the Klan in the late 1870s, racially motivated violence continued. According to researchers at the Tuskegee Institute, there were thirty-five hundred racially motivated lynchings and other murders committed in the South between 1865 and 1900. For African Americans fleeing this culture of violence, northern and midwestern cities offered an opportunity to escape the dangers of the South.

In addition to this “push” out of the South, African Americans were also “pulled” to the cities by factors that attracted them, including job opportunities, where they could earn a wage rather than be tied to a landlord, and the chance to vote (for men, at least), supposedly free from the threat of violence. Although many lacked the funds to move themselves north, factory owners and other businesses that sought cheap labor assisted the migration. Often, the men moved first then sent for their families once they were ensconced in their new city life. Racism and a lack of formal education relegated these African American workers to many of the lower-paying unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. More than 80 percent of African American men worked menial jobs in steel mills, mines, construction, and meat packing. In the railroad industry, they were often employed as porters or servants (Figure 7.1.5). In other businesses, they worked as janitors, waiters, or cooks. African American women, who faced discrimination due to both their race and gender, found a few job opportunities in the garment industry or laundries, but were more often employed as maids and domestic servants. Regardless of the status of their jobs, however, African Americans earned higher wages in the North than they did for the same occupations in the South, and typically found housing to be more available.

However, such economic gains were offset by the higher cost of living in the North, especially in terms of rent, food costs, and other essentials. As a result, African Americans often found themselves living in overcrowded, unsanitary conditions, much like the tenement slums in which European immigrants lived in the cities. For newly arrived African Americans, even those who sought out the cities for the opportunities they provided, life in these urban centers was exceedingly difficult. They quickly learned that racial discrimination did not end at the Mason-Dixon Line, but continued to flourish in the North as well as the South. European immigrants, also seeking a better life in the cities of the United States, resented the arrival of the African Americans, whom they feared would compete for the same jobs or offer to work at lower wages. Landlords frequently discriminated against them; their rapid influx into the cities created severe housing shortages and even more overcrowded tenements. Homeowners in traditionally white neighborhoods later entered into covenants in which they agreed not to sell to African American buyers; they also often fled neighborhoods into which African Americans had gained successful entry. In addition, some bankers practiced mortgage discrimination, later known as "redlining," in order to deny home loans to qualified buyers. Such pervasive discrimination led to a concentration of African Americans in some of the worst slum areas of most major metropolitan cities, a problem that remained ongoing throughout most of the twentieth century.

So why move to the North, given that the economic challenges they faced were similar to those that African Americans encountered in the South? The answer lies in noneconomic gains. Greater educational opportunities and more expansive personal freedoms mattered greatly to the African Americans who made the trek northward during the Great Migration. State legislatures and local school districts allocated more funds for the education of both Blacks and whites in the North, and also enforced compulsory school attendance laws more rigorously. Similarly, unlike the South where a simple gesture (or lack of a deferential one) could result in physical harm to the African American who committed it, life in larger, crowded northern urban centers permitted a degree of anonymity—and with it, personal freedom—that enabled African Americans to move, work, and speak without deferring to every white person with whom they crossed paths. Psychologically, these gains more than offset the continued economic challenges that Black migrants faced.



(a) (b)

Figure **6.2.5**: Black men who moved north during the Great Migration often performed menial employment, including porters on the railways (a), including Pullman dining and sleeping cars (b). (CC PDM 1.0; OER Commons)

The Migrating U.S. Black Population

Although, the Black share of the total U.S. population has not changed substantially over the last two decades, the number of majority Black counties in the U.S. grew from 65 to 72 between 2000 and 2018. One contributing factor may be migration of Black Americans from the North to the South and from cities into suburbs. According to Pew Research, there are now 15 majority Black counties that were not majority Black in 2000. Among them, Rockdale County, Georgia, located about half an hour outside Atlanta, had the largest percentage point increase in the share of Black residents (from 18% in 2000 to 55% in 2018). With about 930,000 residents, Shelby County, Tennessee, which contains Memphis, was the county with the largest population to become majority Black.

Meanwhile, eight counties that were majority Black in 2000 are no longer. Three of these are large U.S. cities that the Census Bureau includes in its county estimates: Washington, D.C.; Richmond, Virginia; and St. Louis, Missouri. Washington (home to

roughly 702,000 residents in 2018) saw a 19% increase in total population during that period, while its Black population decreased by 9%. The city's share of Black residents declined by 15 percentage points, from 60% to 45%.

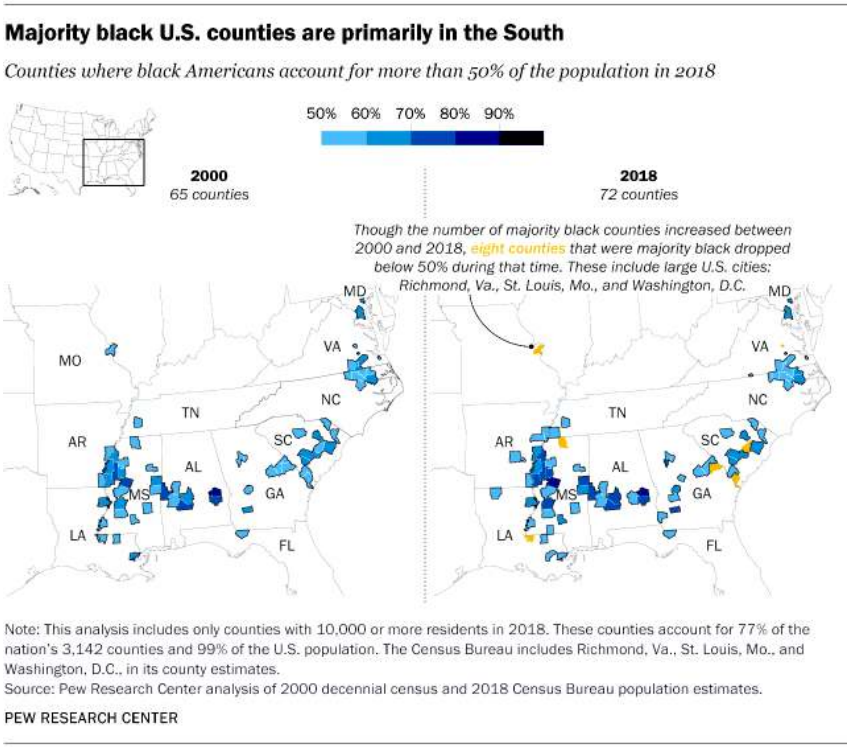


Figure **6.2.6**: Majority Black U.S. counties are primarily in the South. (Used with permission; In a rising number of U.S. counties, Hispanic and Black Americans are the majority. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2019))

Black immigrant population has increased fivefold since 1980**.** Immigrants are making up a growing number of the overall U.S. population – but the Black immigrant population is growing twice as fast. As prestented in Figure 7.1.7, there were 4.2 million Black immigrants living in the U.S. in 2016, up from 816,000 in 1980, according to a Pew Research Center analysis of U.S. Census data. Since 2000 alone, the number of Black immigrants in the U.S. has risen 71%.

According to the Pew Research Center, much of the recent growth in the Black immigrant population has been fueled by African migration. Africans made up 39% of the overall Black immigrant population in 2016, up from 24% in 2000. Still, about half of all foreign-born Blacks (49%) living in the U.S. in 2016 were from the Caribbean.

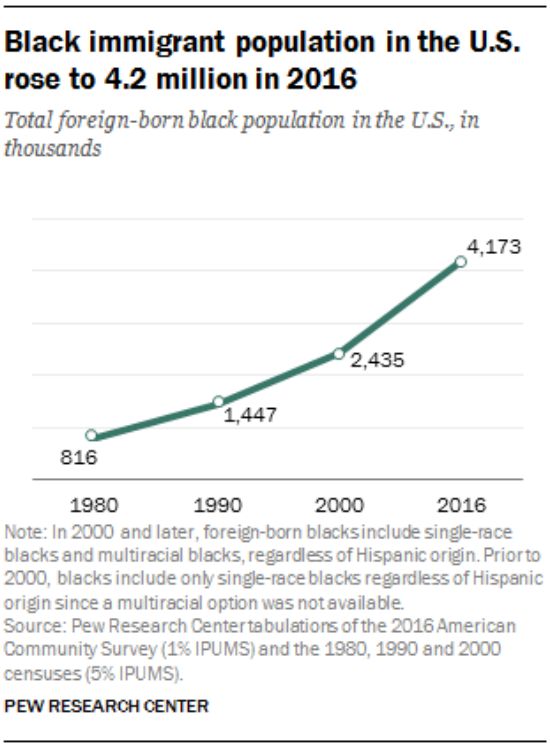


Figure **6.2.7**: Black immigrant population in the U.S. rose to 4.2 million in 2016. (Used with permission; Facts on U.S. Immigrants, 2018. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2018)

Did You Know?

- 47.8 million The Black population, either alone or in combination with one or more races, in the United States in 2018.
- 87.9% The percentage of African-Americans age 25 and older with a high school diploma or higher in 2018.
- 29.9% The percentage of the employed Black population age 16 and older working in management, business, science and arts occupations in 2018.
- 121,466 The number of Black-owned employer businesses in the United States in 2016.
- 2.2 million The number of Black military veterans in the United States nationwide in 2018.

Source: United States Census Bureau, 2019.

Our Local Stories: African American Settlers

Allensworth: The only California town founded, built, and governed by African Americans

Allensworth's restored buildings now occupy Colonel Allensworth State Historic Park.

Figure **6.2.7.5**: Colonel Allensworth State Historic Park, Allensworth, California, USA. Bobak Ha'Eri, CC BY 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons

Allen Allensworth, born into slavery in Kentucky in 1842, faced a difficult early life. At the age of 12, he was sold to different slaveholders and became a jockey. During the Civil War, he seized an opportunity for freedom by joining the Navy, rising to the rank of first class petty officer. After the war, he became a Baptist minister and chaplain in the 24th Infantry.

Allensworth saw African Americans moving west to escape discrimination and recognizing the need for unusual measures, Allensworth and Payne, a teacher, plotted the creation of an all-black community — a colony of orderly and industrious Black Americans who could control their own destiny. The two men believed that in such a community, free of the debilitating effects and limits of racism, blacks could demonstrate that they were capable of organizing and managing their own affairs. Along with two others, they formed the California Colony Home Promoting Association in 1908. They chose an area in Tulare

County for its fertile land, water availability, and affordability. By 1912, Allensworth's official population of 100 had celebrated the birth of Alwortha Hall, the first baby born in the town, and enjoyed two general stores, a post office, many comfortable homes, such as the one Allen and Josephine Allensworth built in 1910, and a newly completed school that also served as the center for the town's social and political activities. The town grew rapidly, reaching over 200 inhabitants by 1914. Colonel Allensworth, the town's founder, tragically died in 1914.

Over time, the town faced challenges, including a diminishing water supply, the Great Depression, and the migration of residents to cities for work. Public services shut down, and the population declined. By the 1970s, the population had dwindled to almost zero.

In the early 1970s, efforts began to save Allensworth as an historic monument and public park dedicated to Colonel Allensworth's memory and African American contributions to California's history. In 1974, the town site became a state historic park, leading to restorations, preservation efforts, and the interpretation of Allensworth's history.

Fowler's African American Community



Figure 6.2.8: African American family on their porch in Fowler, CA. Circa 1915 by Fresno Historical Society is in the Public Domain

Between 1890 and 1930, Fowler, California experienced rapid growth and diversity in its population. It attracted Japanese and Chinese immigrants, Latino migrant workers, Armenian refugees, and African American migrants from the southern states.

Many African American families decided to migrate from the South due to social and economic challenges following the Civil War. They saw California as a place where they could potentially own land, achieve economic stability, find social acceptance, and escape racial violence.

The lure of land ownership, particularly in the Central Valley, motivated thousands to make the journey. Promoters advertised labor demand in the burgeoning fruit industry, both locally and in national black newspapers. Land ownership was a prominent feature in these advertisements, emphasizing fruit acreage, price, accessibility to water, and rail fare.

Word of mouth and familial connections played a significant role in convincing individuals and families to relocate to the Central Valley. Once settled, these early African American pioneers established themselves in the community by buying land, starting businesses, and founding churches, contributing to the growth of a thriving African American middle-class community.

Fowler, in particular, saw the growth of its African American community, with early settlers like Julia Bell and Alex Anderson playing pivotal roles. The development of such communities closely mirrored those in larger cities within the San Joaquin Valley.

Notably, Edmond Wysinger's lawsuit against the denial of admission to the local public school for his son led to the 1890 California Supreme Court case Wysinger v. Crookshank, which ended the practice of denying black children a public education and contributed to the prohibition of discrimination in public accommodations.

Fowler's black community exemplified self-sufficiency, based on an agrarian model and Christian faith, aligning with the broader narrative of black migrant studies and community building in the area.

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6.3: How We Got Here- Lifting “The Veil”

Pre-colonial Africa

The African continent has been home to complex human societies for over 10,000 years. Families formed tribal groups and created some of the first known markers of culture and social organization, including tools, sharing resources, and agriculture. Many groups co-existed peacefully, while others fought over territory and other disputes. Before any contact with colonial outsiders, multiple large empires and kingdoms were created with systems of trade, taxation, and political representation. In Figure **6.3.1**, there is a map that has the territorial borders of kingdoms and empires located throughout the continent, with some groups overlapping land claims with one or more other groups. This includes Mali Empire, Nok Culture, Fulani Empire, Akan States, Benin, Hausa, Kingdon of Kangaba, Christian Ethiopia, Songhai Empire, Empire of Ghana, Wolof, Empire of Kanem, Fatimid Caliphate, Ayyubid Dynasty, Umayyad Caliphate, Yoruba Yorubaland, Igbo, Great Zimbabwe, Kingdom of Aksum, Kongo Kingdom, Luba State, Lunda State, Carthaginian Empire, Persian Achaemenid Empire, and The Ptolemies.

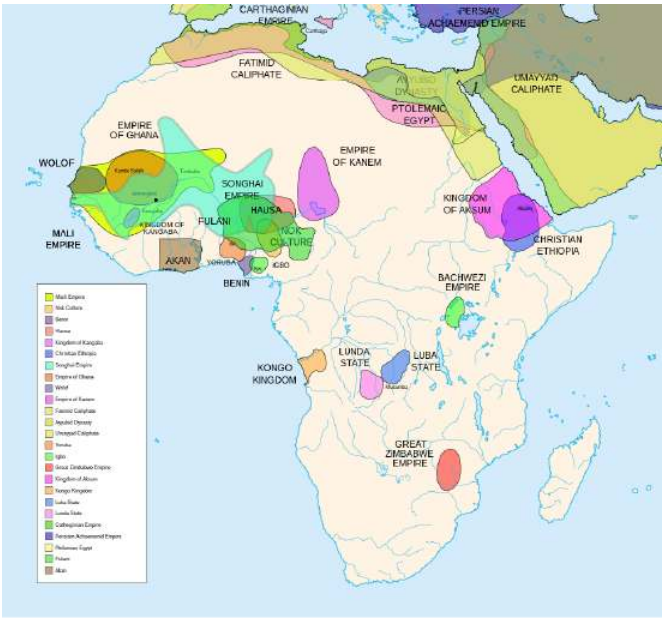


Figure **6.3.1**: Africa History Atlas (CC BY-SA 3.0; Jeff Israel via Wikimedia)

For many centuries, the tribal groups and empires of Africa operated with relative autonomy. There was no sense of African or Black identity, but people identified instead with their local context, such as the Kingdom of Kush, which bordered Egypt to the south around 1070 BCE. One of the largest and most powerful empires was the Kingdom of Aksum, which operated for nearly a thousand years in the areas now claimed by Eritrea and Ethiopia. The kingdom of Ghana was the first state with a system of political representation starting in 350 CE. Outsiders to the continent first spread influence in the 600s, with the proliferation of Islam across northern Africa. Then, in the 15th century, Europeans, beginning with the Portuguese, began to arrive in large boats and enslave large numbers of West Africans from various groups and empires (Finlayson, 2020).

Chattel Slavery

By 1700, 50,000 people were being enslaved each year, and scholars estimate that, in total, 12 million African people were captured and trafficked to the western hemisphere (Finlayson, 2020). This historical era was defined by what scholars call the **Transatlantic Triangular Trade**, which exploited the people and natural resources of West Africa and the eastern segments of North, Central, and South America for the financial benefit and production of industrialization in Europe and European colonies. In Figure **6.3.2**, a map displays visual icons representing the flow of people and products between the three regions. Arrows depict the flow of people and goods from each region. From Europe to West Africa: textiles, weapons, iron, and alcohol; From West Africa to Europe: gold, spices, and wood; From West Africa to South America: slaves; From West Africa to the Caribbean: gold, slaves, and spices; From the Caribbean to West Africa: textiles, spices, alcohol, and tools; From the Caribbean to the southeastern colonies:

slaves, spices; From southeastern colonies to the Caribbean: wood, flour, fish, and meat; From the colonies to Europe: tobacco, wood, and fur; From Europe to the colonies: textiles and luxury items.

Whatever the route taken, conditions on board reflected the outsider status of those held below deck. No European, whether convict, indentured servant, or destitute free migrant, was ever subjected to the environment which greeted the typical African slave upon embarkation. The sexes were separated, kept naked, packed close together, and the men were chained for long periods. No less than 26% of those on board were classed as children, a ratio that no other pre-twentieth century migration could come close to matching. Except for the illegal period of the trade when conditions at times became even worse, slave traders typically packed two slaves per ton. While a few voyages sailing from Upper Guinea could make a passage to the Americas in three weeks, the average duration from all regions of Africa was just over two months.

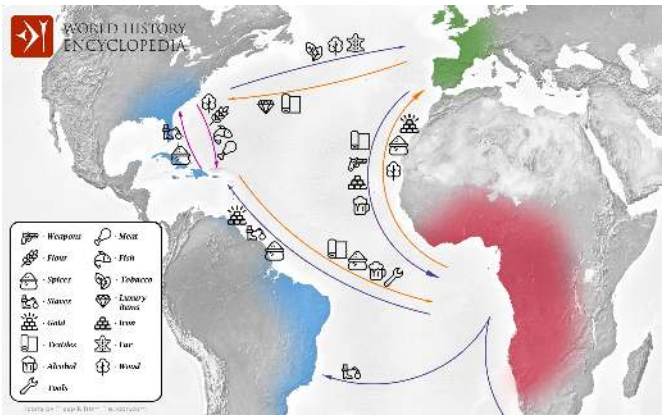


Figure **6.3.2**: Transatlantic Triangular Trade Map (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0; Olivier Lalonde via World History Encyclopedia)

Revolt and Resistance

In response to the widespread abduction and enslavement of African people, communities resisted this form of colonization and exploitation. Rebellions broke out on the ships that carried Africans to the western hemisphere, while others took their own life by jumping into the sea to avoid being enslaved and forced into hard labor. African people and their descendants have continued this legacy of resistance through a shared commitment to survival, political protest, armed rebellion, solidarity with Native Americans and Indigenous peoples, forging family connections, and building community with biological and chosen kin.

At least 250 organized rebellions were conducted that included a group of 10 or more enslaved people, and countless more small-scale and individual rebellions were carried out (Zinn, 2015). In the United States, the colonial economy was built on the labor of slaves, including the large-scale cotton plantations in the South, as well as the infrastructure, construction, and service labor industries. In Figure **6.3.3**, a painting of two Black women cotton pickers shows the central work done by enslaved women of African descent in the United States amidst the vast and prosperous fields that resulted.



Figure **6.3.3**: The Cotton Pickers (Public Domain; Winslow Homer (Illustration) via World History Encyclopedia)

At least two major uprisings did occur in the antebellum South. In 1811, a major rebellion broke out in the sugar parishes of the booming territory of Louisiana. Inspired by the successful overthrow of the white planter class in Haiti, Louisiana slaves took up

arms against planters. Perhaps as many five hundred slaves joined the rebellion, led by Charles Deslondes, a mixed-race slave driver on a sugar plantation owned by Manuel Andry.

The revolt began in January 1811 on Andry's plantation. Deslondes and other slaves attacked the Andry household, where they killed the slave master's son (although Andry himself escaped). The rebels then began traveling toward New Orleans, armed with weapons gathered at Andry's plantation. Whites mobilized to stop the rebellion, but not before Deslondes and the other rebelling slaves set fire to three plantations and killed numerous whites. A small white force led by Andry ultimately captured Deslondes, whose body was mutilated and burned following his execution. Other rebels were beheaded, and their heads placed on pikes along the Mississippi River.

The second rebellion, led by the slave **Nat Turner,** occurred in 1831 in Southampton County, Virginia. Turner had suffered not only from personal enslavement, but also from the additional trauma of having his wife sold away from him. Bolstered by Christianity, Turner became convinced that like Christ, he should lay down his life to end slavery. Mustering his relatives and friends, he began the rebellion August 22, killing scores of whites in the county. Whites mobilized quickly and within forty-eight hours had brought the rebellion to an end. Shocked by Nat Turner's Rebellion, Virginia's state legislature considered ending slavery in the state in order to provide greater security. In the end, legislators decided slavery would remain and that their state would continue to play a key role in the domestic slave trade.

The system of **chattel slavery** meant that not only were individuals enslaved, but their descendants inherited the quality of being enslaved as well. To maintain this on a large scale, a racialized ideology of dehumanization and exploitation was created, which has grown and evolved over time to reproduce inequity and injustice in different forms. This can be understood through the many laws that legally defined Black people as property. Following the American Revolution, in which settlers of European descent overtook the system of colonial rule, the U.S. Constitution was built around this system. The **three-fifths compromise** was a decision in the 1787 U.S. Constitutional Convention that determined that while enslaved people were not eligible to vote, they would be counted toward the population when determining the number of representatives from each state, but only at 3/5th the rate of the free, white population. This meant that slave-owning states would have increased representation based on the number of enslaved people in their state despite those people not being represented in elections. This was the law of the land, which was supported by Court decisions like *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. In 1856, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Black people were never meant to be included within the terms of citizenship defined by the U.S. Constitution. The government would continue to support the maintenance and growth of slavery.

Sidebar: Voting Rights and Representation

Although the three-fifths compromise is no longer officially used in counting the population for elections, it still lives on in the current-day prison system. In 48 states, individuals who are convicted of a crime lose their right to vote while serving their sentence, and in 11 states, individuals must file a special petition to restore their voting rights, even after completing all terms of punishment, probation, and parole. However, those individuals are still counted toward the population when creating district maps and determining levels of representation. Individuals are counted in the communities where they are incarcerated, and this creates a pattern where white, middle-class communities gain political standing through the increased population, despite the prison population being disproportionately low-income and people of color. For up-to-date information on this topic and details about the policy in your state, you can view the interactive map of voting rights on the Movement Advancement Project website.

Abolition Movement

Resistance to slavery is as old as the institution itself. As noted above, people who were captured for the purpose of being enslaved often fled, fought back, or willfully ended their lives to avoid themselves and their families being forced into labor. In addition, religious and political elites critiqued the institution of slavery and the economies that built their prosperity on the backs of slave labor. Prominent among these voices for freedom were free Black people who fought against racist laws to receive an education and speak for human rights. This included prominent figures like Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglas, and Harriet Tubman. Harriet Tubman, shown in Figure **6.3.4**, was also famous for her daring leadership in helping to free enslaved people and bring them to safety through a network of activists called the **Underground Railroad**. The Underground Railroad operated to provide safe hiding

spaces and routes of travel for self-emancipated people who were fleeing to places where slavery was not legal and they could begin life anew. This included Canada, Mexico, and for a period of time, the Spanish-controlled colony of Florida.



Figure **6.3.4**: Harriet Tubman (1895) (Public Domain; Horatio Seymour Squyer via Wikimedia Commons)

Abolitionist activists also created pressure to outlaw slavery and prevent its growth into new territories. Ongoing tensions between abolitionism and the proponents of slavery eventually resulted in the U.S. Civil War, a five-year struggle from 1861-1865 in which southern slave-owning states seceded from the United States in order to continue the institution of slavery. During the war, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which gave the U.S. army the legal right to free enslaved people in the confederate states. The union army eventually won the war, in part due to the bravery and hard work of Black people from the north and south who often fought in the most dangerous and perilous parts of the war. In June of 1865, union general Major General Gordon Granger arrived in Galveston, Texas, and proclaimed freedom for the people still held in bondage and slavery in Texas.

This became the basis of Juneteenth celebrations, which are observed in Mexico and the United States and commemorate the end of slavery and the hard work that led to that victory. At the end of that year, the U.S. Congress passed the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which formally abolished chattel slavery throughout the country. It states:

> Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Importantly, the amendment allows for slavery in cases where the individual is convicted of a crime. This amendment is used by federal and state governments to employ incarcerated individuals for paltry wages, at hourly rates of less than $1/hour, a system which constitutes a continued version of legal slavery (Alexander 2010). You can learn more about the prison industrial complex in the context of current systems of control and exploitation in Chapter 10.

Sidebar: Attacks on Historical Truth, Black Studies, and the 1619 Project

The institution of racialized slavery came to American shores in 1619. On the 400th Anniversary of this event, historian Nikole Hannah-Jones launched The **1619 Project** with the New York Times magazine to highlight this history and its legacy on Black communities and racial politics today. While this project is rooted in decades of peer-reviewed historical research, it has come under attack in conservative attempts to censor “Critical Race Theory,” among other aspects of discussing race, racism, and identity in schools. Critical Race Theory is an advanced legal framework that examines the relationship between U.S. laws and

systemic racism. However, there are seventeen states that have created a ban on Critical Race Theory in K-12 schools through state-level executive action or legislation, along with four states currently considering such measures, as of September 2022. For up-to-date information on this censorship, you can visit the Edweek article on the topic, which details current information about legislative efforts targeting Critical Race Theory. Similarly, state-approved textbooks in places like Texas often exclude mention of slavery or use misleading language to describe enslaved peoples as immigrant workers without mention of the historical realities that were enacted on slaves (Isensee 2015).

Reconstruction

The end of the Civil War in 1865 led to a wide-scale economic, cultural, political, and social shift in the United States. While the end of slavery was a huge achievement, the promise of equal opportunity and citizenship still faced significant resistance in the laws, traditions, and beliefs of the nation. Formerly enslaved Black communities had their basic freedom restored, but this did not undo the legacy of hundreds of years of forced labor, institutionalized sex slavery, being barred from education, intentional separation of families, and the destruction of traditional religious and cultural practices rooted in West African traditions.

The government sought to provide aid through the creation of the **Freedmen's Bureau**, and religious organizations provided basic services like food and education for children. During this time, Black people sought to exercise their right to vote and nurtured autonomous institutions of education, religion, and trade. In Figure **6.3.5**, an artistic rendition is shown of free Black men in 1867 voting in New Orleans. Although there were no reparations from the government or from employers for years of unpaid wages, Black communities used their knowledge of the land and community ties with one another to begin healing from the history of slavery and working for justice.



Figure **6.3.5**: Freedmen Voting in New Orleans (Public Domain; New York Public Library Digital Collection via Wikimedia Commons)

Sharecropping

The 13th Amendment to the constitution marked the end of slavery and led to the transition to wage labor. However, this conversion to sharecropping did not entail a new era of economic independence for former enslaved Africans but rather a continuation of internal colonialism. While they no longer faced relentless toil under the lash, freed people emerged from slavery without any money and needed farm implements, food, and other basic necessities to start their new lives. Under the sharecropping system, store owners extended credit to farmers under the agreement that the debtors would pay with a portion of their future harvest. However, the creditors charged high interest rates, making it even harder for freed people to gain economic independence.

Throughout the South, sharecropping took root, a crop-lien system that worked to the advantage of landowners. Under the system, freed people rented the land they worked, often on the same plantations where they had been slaves. Some landless whites also became sharecroppers. Sharecroppers paid their landlords with the crops they grew, often as much as half their harvest. Sharecropping favored the landlords and ensured that freed people could not attain independent livelihoods.The year-to-year leases meant no incentive existed to substantially improve the land, and high interest payments siphoned additional money away from the farmers. Sharecroppers often became trapped in a never-ending cycle of debt, unable to buy their own land and unable to stop

working for their creditor because of what they owed. The consequences of sharecropping affected the entire South for many generations, severely limiting economic development and ensuring that the South remained an agricultural backwater.

Table **6.3.6** : As shown in the Table(s) below, a sharecropper, Polly, barely made enough to pay his debts to his landowner, Presley George. (Table created by Jonas Oware from Takaki (2008))

Items bought by Polly from Presley George	Amount due to Presley George from Polly
4 3/4 Cuts of wool	$3.50
22 yds. Cloth	$11.00
5 yds. Thread	$2.50
Boarding for one child	$12.00
40 bushels of corn	$40.00
Total Payment	$69.00

Amount of work and by whom	Presley George's payment for Polly and her family's work
3 months of work by Polly	$12.00
4 months of work by Peter (son)	$32.00
4 months of work by Burrell (son	$16.00
4 months of work by Siller (daughter)	$9.00
Total Payment	$69.00

The excerpt below, extracted from The Life Stories of Undistinguished Americans as Told by Themselves further conveys the blurred line of distinction between slavery and sharecropping, "freedom," further conveying the parallel exploitation in either system:

> Slabery an' freedom (Slavery and freedom)
> Dey's mos' de same (They're mostly the same)
> No difference hahdly (No difference hardly)
> Cep' in de name. (Except in the name).

The Era of Jim Crow

The Reconstruction years saw many gains for the newly freed Black populations living in the United States at that time. However, while federal protections created a favorable political context in general, local realities were heavily influenced by regional and state laws and practices that maintained discrimination. These new laws, called **Black Codes**, were laws that created restrictions on Black people’s abilities to own property, conduct business, lease land, and move freely through public spaces. These regulations worked to keep separate the established white society from the lives of Black people.

It is unsurprising that in 1877 when federal troops were removed from the U.S. South, policies rapidly shifted to what is now called the **Jim Crow era**. This was a time when public institutions actively established racial segregation. Despite the promises of the 14th and 15th Amendments that Black people would enjoy the rights and responsibilities of full citizenship, segregation created an explicitly tiered version of citizenship. The Courts upheld this doctrine through the notion of “separate but equal,” which was codified in the 1896 decision in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case. While separate but equal was eventually struck down in the 1950s it took nearly a century of activism to achieve this fundamental civil rights perspective.

When racial identity became a legal category of inclusion and exclusion, that also meant that race had to be clearly defined. In practice, the “one drop” rule was applied to mixed-race people, meaning that if you had even one drop of Black blood, that made you legally and socially considered to be Black. While identity is much more complicated than one’s heritage or genetic material, this idea has enduring effects on the treatment of people of color in the United States.

Sidebar: Black Wall Street and the Tulsa Race Massacre

In the Greenwood District of Tulsa, Oklahoma, Black business owners and professionals had organized a prosperous and autonomous area, which included Black-owned grocery stores, newspapers, movie theaters, churches, and healthcare providers. The city was a testament to Black communities' capacity and a centralized hub of intellectual and financial capital.

Because of Jim Crow laws and a wish to support their community, residents spent their money within Greenwood, feeding the growth of the economy. A wide variety of professionals, entrepreneurs, and workers shared quality school and hospital systems, a public library, hotels, parks, and theaters in Greenwood. During this time, African Americans struggled to gain access to these features of city life because of segregation. The homes in the densely populated district ranged from thrown-together shanties to luxurious multi-story homes on "Professor's Row." Greenwood attracted nationally renowned African American leaders and activists such as Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. In fact, Booker T. Washington gave Greenwood its nickname: **Black Wall Street** due to its economic, political, and social significance.

However, in 1921, the District was massacred by a white mob for two days in one of the largest acts of racialized terrorist violence in U.S. history. Hundreds of people died or went missing, and nearly a thousand were injured. This attack was devastating not just for the victims, but it also became an enduring symbol of the threat of white violence in the face of Black prosperity, fueling the flames of white supremacy.



Figure **6.3.7** : Tulsa Race Massacre, 1921. (CC PDM 1.0; 1619126 Oklahoma Historical Society Photograph Collection (OHS) via OKHistory)

Disenfranchisement

In the South, electoral politics remained a parade of electoral fraud, voter intimidation, and race-baiting. The question was how to accomplish disfranchisement. The 15th Amendment clearly prohibited states from denying any citizen the right to vote on the basis of race. In 1890 the state of Mississippi took on this legal challenge. A state newspaper called on politicians to devise "some legal defensible substitute for the abhorrent and evil methods on which white supremacy lies." The state's Democratic Party responded with a new state constitution designed to purge corruption at the ballot box through disenfranchisement. Those hoping to vote in Mississippi would have to jump through a series of hurdles designed with the explicit purpose of excluding the state's African American population from political power.

The state first established a poll tax, which required voters to pay for the privilege of voting. Second, it stripped the suffrage from those convicted of petty crimes most common among the state's African Americans. Next, the state required voters to pass a literacy test. Local voting election officials, who were themselves part of the local party machine, were responsible for judging whether voters were able to read and understand a section of the Constitution. In order to protect illiterate whites from exclusion, the so called "understanding clause" allowed a voter to qualify if they could adequately explain the meaning of a section that was read to them. In practice these rules were systematically abused to the point where local election officials effectively wielded the power to permit and deny suffrage at will.

The disenfranchisement laws effectively moved electoral conflict from the ballot box, where public attention was greatest, to the voting registrar, where supposedly color-blind laws allowed local party officials to deny the ballot without the appearance of fraud.

Between 1895 and 1908 the rest of the states in the South approved new constitutions including these disenfranchisement tools. Six southern states also added a grandfather clause, which bestowed the suffrage on anyone whose grandfather was eligible to vote in 1867. This ensured that whites who would have been otherwise excluded would still be eligible, at least until it was struck down by the Supreme Court in 1915. Finally, each southern state adopted an all-white primary, excluded Blacks from the Democratic primary, the only political contests that mattered across much of the South.

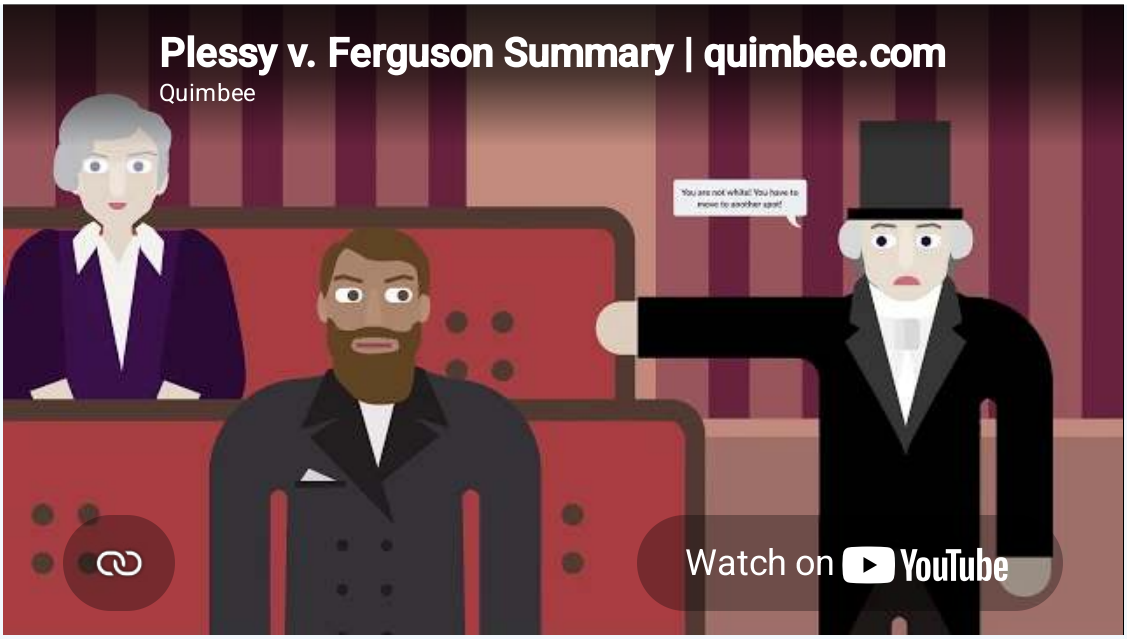
Segregation

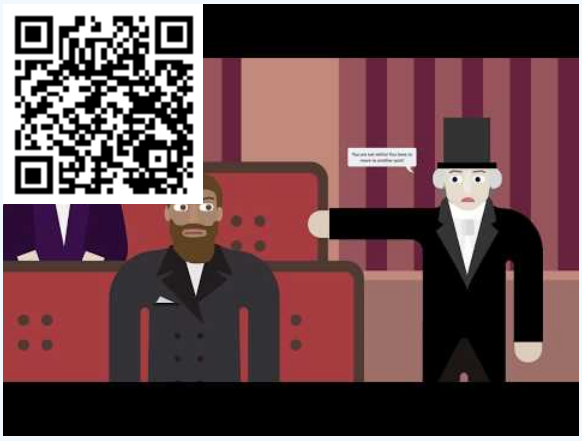
At the same time that the South's Democratic leaders were adopting the tools to disenfranchise the region's Black voters, these same legislatures were constructing a system of racial segregation even more pernicious. While it built on earlier practice, segregation was primarily a modern and urban system of enforcing racial subordination and deference. In rural areas, white and Black southerners negotiated the meaning of racial difference within the context of personal relationships of kinship and patronage. An African American who broke the local community's racial norms could expect swift personal sanctions that often included violence. The crop lien and convict lease systems were the most important legal tools of racial control in the rural South. Maintaining white supremacy there did not require segregation. Maintaining white supremacy within the city, however, was a different matter altogether. As the region's railroad networks and cities expanded, so too did the anonymity and therefore freedom of southern Blacks. Southern cities were becoming a center of Black middle class life that was an implicit threat to racial hierarchies. White southerners created the system of segregation as a way to maintain white supremacy in restaurants, theaters, public restrooms, schools, water fountains, train cars, and hospitals. Segregation inscribed the superiority of whites and the deference of Blacks into the very geography of public spaces.

As with disenfranchisement, segregation violated a plain reading of the constitution—in this case the Fourteenth Amendment. Here the Supreme Court intervened, ruling in the Civil Rights Cases (1883) that the Fourteenth Amendment only prevented discrimination directly by states. It did not prevent discrimination by individuals, businesses, or other entities. Southern states exploited this interpretation with the first legal segregation of railroad cars in 1888. In a case that reached the Supreme Court in 1896, New Orleans resident Homer Plessy challenged the constitutionality of Louisiana's segregation of streetcars. The court ruled against Plessy and, in the process, established the legal principle of separate but equal. Racially segregated facilities were legal provided they were equivalent. In practice this was rarely the case. The court's majority defended its position with logic that reflected the racial assumptions of the day. "If one race be inferior to the other socially," the court explained, "the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane." Justice John Harlan, the lone dissenter, countered, "our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law" Harlan went on to warn that the court's decision would "permit the seeds of race hatred to be planted under the sanction of law." In their rush to fulfill Harlan's prophecy, southern whites codified and enforced the segregation of public spaces.

✔ Plessy vs. Ferguson 6.3.1

Segregation was built on a fiction—that there could be a white South socially and culturally distinct from African Americans. Its legal basis rested on the constitutional fallacy of "separate but equal" as declared by Plessy v. Ferguson (1896). Southern whites erected a bulwark of white supremacy that would last for nearly sixty years. Segregation and disenfranchisement in the South rejected Black citizenship and relegated Black social and cultural life to segregated spaces. African Americans lived divided lives, acting the part whites demanded of them in public, while maintaining their own world apart from whites. This segregated world provided a measure of independence for the region's growing Black middle class, yet at the cost of poisoning the relationship between Black and white. Segregation and disenfranchisement created entrenched structures of racism that completed the total rejection of the promises of Reconstruction.





Video 6.3.1 : "Plessy v. Ferguson Summary - Quimbee.com." (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; Quimbee via YouTube)

School Segregation

Older battles over racial exclusion also confronted postwar American society. One long-simmering struggle targeted segregated schooling. Since the Supreme Court's decision in Plessy v. Ferguson (1896), Black Americans, particularly in the American South, had fully felt the deleterious effects of segregated education. Their battle against Plessy for inclusion in American education stretched across half a century when the Supreme Court again took up the merits of "separate but equal."

On May 17, 1954, after two years of argument, re-argument, and deliberation, Chief Justice Earl Warren announced the Supreme Court's decision on segregated schooling in Oliver Brown, et al v. Board of Education of Topeka, et al. The court found by a unanimous 9-0 vote that racial segregation violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court's decision declared, "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." "Separate but equal" was made unconstitutional.

Decades of African American-led litigation, local agitation against racial inequality, and liberal Supreme Court justices made Brown v. Board possible. In the early 1930s, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began a concerted effort to erode the legal underpinnings of segregation in the American South. **De jure segregation** (legal segregation) subjected racial minorities to discriminatory laws and policies. Law and custom in the South hardened anti-Black restrictions. But through a series of carefully chosen and contested court cases concerning education, disfranchisement, and jury selection, NAACP lawyers such as Charles Hamilton Houston, Robert L. Clark, and future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall undermined Jim Crow's constitutional underpinnings. Initially seeking to demonstrate that states systematically failed to provide African American

students “equal” resources and facilities, and thus failed to live up to Plessy, by the late 1940s activists began to more forcefully challenge the assumptions that “separate” was constitutional at all.



Figure **6.3.8**: The NAACP was a central organization in the fight to end segregation, discrimination, and injustice based on race. NAACP leaders, including Thurgood Marshall (who would become the first African American Supreme Court Justice), hold a poster decrying racial bias in Mississippi in 1956. (CC PDM 1.0; Al. Ravenna via Library of Congress)

Though remembered as just one lawsuit, Brown consolidated five separate cases that had originated in the southeastern United States: Briggs v. Elliott (South Carolina), Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County (Virginia), Beulah v. Belton (Delaware), Boiling v. Sharpe(Washington, D. C.), and Brown v. Board of Education (Kansas). Working with local activists already involved in desegregation fights, the NAACP purposely chose cases with a diverse set of local backgrounds to show that segregation was not just an issue in the Deep South, and that a sweeping judgment on the fundamental constitutionality of Plessy was needed.

Briggs v. Elliott had illustrated, on the one hand, the extreme deficiencies in segregated Black schools. The first case accepted by the NAACP, Briggs originated in rural Clarendon County, South Carolina, where taxpayers in 1950 spent $179 to educate each white student while spending $43 for each Black student. The district’s twelve white schools were cumulatively worth $637,850; the value of its sixty-one Black schools (mostly dilapidated, over-crowded shacks), was $194,575. While Briggs underscored the South’s failure to follow Plessy, the Brown v. Board suit focused less on material disparities between Black and white schools (which were significantly less than in places like Clarendon County) and more on the social and spiritual degradation that accompanied legal segregation. This case cut to the basic question of whether or not “separate” was itself inherently unequal. The NAACP said the two notions were incompatible. As one witness before the U. S. District Court of Kansas said, “the entire colored race is craving light, and the only way to reach the light is to start [Black and white] children together in their infancy and they come up together.”

To make its case, the NAACP marshaled historical and social scientific evidence. The Court found the historical evidence inconclusive and drew their ruling more heavily from the NAACP’s argument that segregation psychologically damaged Black children. To make this argument, association lawyers relied upon social scientific evidence, such as the famous doll experiments of Kenneth and Mamie Clark. The Clarks demonstrated that while young white girls would naturally choose to play with white dolls, young Black girls would, too. The Clarks argued that Black children’s aesthetic and moral preference for white dolls demonstrated the pernicious effects and self-loathing produced by segregation. The doll experiments illustrated one psychological effect of segregation on communities of color - **internalized racism,** an acceptance of the racial hierarchy that places whites consistently above people of color.

Identifying and denouncing injustice, though, is different from rectifying it. Though Brown repudiated Plessy, the Court’s orders did not extend to segregation in places other than public schools and, even then, while recognizing the historical importance of the decision, the justices set aside the divisive yet essential question of remediation and enforcement to preserve a unanimous decision. Their infamously ambiguous order in 1955 (what came to be known as Brown II) that school districts desegregate “with all deliberate speed” was so vague and ineffectual that it left the actual business of desegregation in the hands of those who opposed it.

In most of the South, as well as the rest of the country, school integration did not occur on a wide scale until well after Brown. Only in the 1964 Civil Rights Act did the federal government finally implement some enforcement of the Brown decision by threatening to withhold funding from recalcitrant school districts, financially compelling desegregation, but even then southern districts found loopholes. Court decisions such as Green v. New Kent County (1968) and Alexander v. Holmes (1969) finally closed some of those loopholes, such as “freedom of choice” plans, to compel some measure of actual integration.



Figure **6.3.9**: African American students who desegregated white schools, the “Little Rock Nine” (Arkansas), were escorted by, the 101st Airborne Division of the U.S. Army. (CC BY 2.0; U.S. Army via Wikimedia/Flickr)

When Brown finally was enforced in the South, the quantitative impact was staggering. In the early 1950s, virtually no southern Black students attended white schools. By 1968, fourteen years after Brown, some eighty percent of Black southerners remained in schools that were ninety- to one-hundred-percent nonwhite. By 1972, though, just twenty-five percent were in such schools, and fifty-five percent remained in schools with a simple nonwhite minority. By many measures, the public schools of the South ironically became the most integrated in the nation.

As a landmark moment in American history, Brown’s significance perhaps lies less in what immediate tangible changes it wrought in African American life—which were slow, partial, and inseparable from a much longer chain of events—than in the idealism it expressed and the momentum it created. The nation’s highest court had attacked one of the fundamental supports of Jim Crow segregation and offered constitutional cover for the creation of one of the greatest social movements in American history.

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6.4: Social Institutions

The social institutions of our culture also inform our socialization. Formal institutions—like schools, workplaces, religion and the government—teach people how to behave in and navigate these systems. Other institutions, like the media, contribute to socialization by inundating us with messages about norms and expectations. Chapter 4.3 discussed **institutional discrimination**, or discrimination that pervades the practices of whole institutions, such as housing, medical care, law enforcement, employment, and education. This section will dive deeper into the social institution of family, criminal justice system, religion, healthcare, education, economics, politics and the impact these institutions have on the lives of African Americans.

African American Family

Sociologist and author, Andrew Billingsley's (1992)**,** research on the African-American nuclear family has been divided into four parts that is used to show the differences in the family structure based on “gender, marital status, and the presence or absence of children, other relatives or non-relatives." These family sub-structures are divided up into three major structures: nuclear families, extended families, and augmented families.



Figure **6.4.1**: Image by mego-studio on Freepik

The nuclear family structure has been defined as a married couple with children. This is the traditional norm for the composition of African-American families. Yet, in 1992, Billingsley (1992) documents that 25% of African-American families were nuclear families in comparison to 36% of all U.S. families. Almost 70 percent of Black children are born to unmarried parents.

The African-American segmented nuclear I (unmarried mother and children) and II (unmarried father and children) family structures are defined as a parent–child relationship. In 1992, 94% of African-American segmented nuclear families were composed of an unmarried mother and children. Glick's research found that single parent families are twice as prevalent in African-American families as they are in other races, and this gap continues to widen.

Billingsley's (1992) research continued with the African-American extended family structure, which is composed of primary members plus other relatives. Extended families have the same sub-structures as nuclear families, with the addition of grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins and additional family members. In 1992, 47% of all African-American extended families were segmented extended family structures, compared to 12% of all other races combined. It shows that in the African-American family the extended relative is often the grandparents.

Billingsley's (1992) research revealed another type of African-American family, called the augmented family structure, which is a family composed of the primary members, plus non-relatives. A case study found that this family structure accounted for 8% of Black families in 1990. This family structure is different from the traditional nuclear family discussed earlier, as it combines the nuclear and extended family units with non-relatives.

Billingsley(1992) introduced a new family structure that branches from the augmented family structure. The African-American population is starting to see a new structure known as a non-family household. This non-family household contains no relatives.

According to Glick (1992), 37% of all households in the United States were a non-family household, with more than half of this percentage being African-Americans.

Rise in Divorce Rates

For African Americans who do marry, the rate of divorce is higher than white Americans. While the trend is the same for both African Americans and white Americans, with at least half of marriages for the two groups ending in divorce, the rate of divorce tends to be consistently higher for African Americans. African Americans also tend to spend less time married than white Americans. Overall, African Americans are married at a later age, spend less time married, and are more likely to be divorced than white Americans.

The decline and low success rate of Black marriages is crucial for study because many African Americans achieve a middle-class status through marriage and the likelihood of children growing up in poverty is tripled for those in single-parent rather than two-parent homes. Some researchers suggest that the reason for the rise in divorce rates is the increasing acceptability of divorces. The decline in social stigma of divorce has led to a decrease in the number of legal barriers of getting a divorce, thus making it easier for couples to divorce.

Breakdown of the Black Family

According to data extracted from 1910 U.S. Census manuscripts, compared to white women, Black women were more likely to become teenage mothers, stay single and have marriage instability, and were thus much more likely to live in female-headed single-parent homes. This pattern has been known as Black matriarchy because of the observance of many households headed by women.

The breakdown of the Black family was first brought to national attention in 1965 by sociologist and later Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, in the groundbreaking Moynihan Report (also known as The Negro Family: The Case For National Action). Moynihan's (1965) report made the argument that the relative absence of nuclear families (those having both a married father and mother present) in Black America would greatly hinder further Black socio-economic progress.

The African American single parent family structure has historical roots dating back to 1880. A study of 1880 family structures in Philadelphia showed that three-quarters of Black families were nuclear families, composed of two parents and children. Data from U.S. Census reports reveal that between 1880 and 1960, married households consisting of two-parent homes were the most widespread form of African-American family structures. Although the most common, married households decreased over this time period. Single-parent homes, on the other hand, remained relatively stable until 1960, after which time they rose dramatically.

In the Harlem neighborhood of New York City in 1925, 85% of kin-related Black households had two parents. When Moynihan warned in his 1965 report on the coming destruction of the Black family, however, the out-of-wedlock birthrate had increased to 25% among the Black population. This figure continued to rise over time and in 1991, 68% of Black children were born outside of marriage. U.S. Census data from 2010 reveal that more African-American families consisted of single mothers than married households with both parents. In 2011, it was reported that 72% of Black babies were born to unmarried mothers. As of 2015, at 77.3 percent, Black Americans have the highest rate of non-marital births among native-born Americans.

In 2016, only 29% of African Americans were married, while 48% of all Americans were. Also, 50% of African Americans have never been married in contrast to 33% of all Americans. In 2016 just under half (48%) of Black women had never been married which is an increase from 44% in 2008 and 42.7% in 2005. Also in 2016, 15% percent of Black men were married to non-Black women which is up from 11% in 2010. Black women were the least likely to marry non-Black men at only 7% in 2017.

Non-marital births are far more common among Blacks than whites. In 2014, roughly seven-in-ten (71%) births to Black women occurred outside of marriage, compared with 29% of births to white women (Figure **6.4.1*a***).

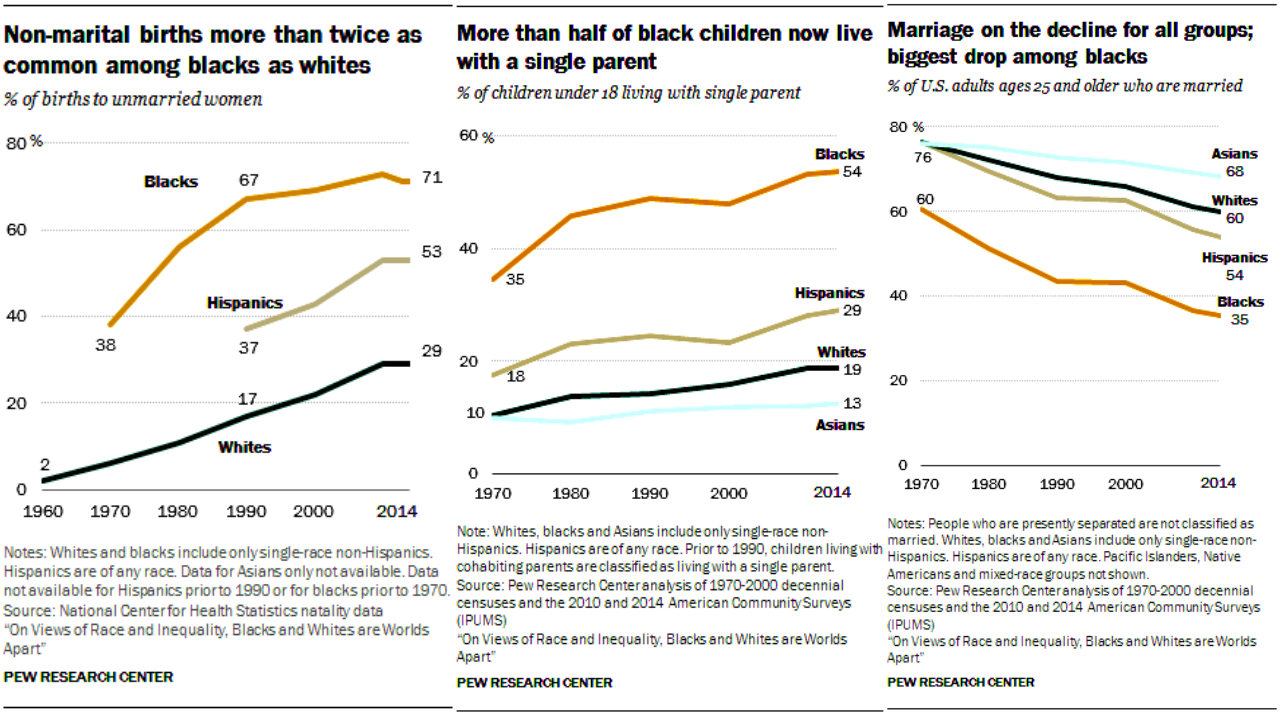


Figure **6.4.2**: (a) Non-marital births more than twice as common among Blacks as whites. (Used with permission; On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and whites Are Worlds Apart. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2016)) (b) More than half of Black children now live with a single parent. (Used with permission; On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and whites Are Worlds Apart. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2016)) (c) Marriage on the decline for all groups; biggest drop among Blacks. (Used with permission; On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and whites Are Worlds Apart. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2016))

Black children are more than twice as likely as white children to be living with just one parent. More than half (54%) of Black children did so in 2014, compared with 19% of whites. This 35-percentage point difference marks a widening of the racial gap in children's living arrangements. In 1970, 35% of Black children were living with only one parent, compared with 10% of white children (Figure **6.4.2***b*).

The marriage rate has declined across racial and ethnic groups, but the drop has been particularly dramatic among Blacks. In 2014, some 35% of Black adults ages 25 and older were married, compared with 60% of whites. In 1970, this gap was considerably smaller: fully 60% of Blacks and 76% of whites were married at that time (Figure **6.4.2***c*).

Structural barriers are often listed as the reason for the current trends in the African American family structure, specifically the decline in marriage rates. Imbalanced sex ratios have been cited as one of these barriers since the late nineteenth century, where Census data shows that in 1984, there were 99 Black males for every 100 Black females within the population. 2003 census data shows there are 91 Black males for every 100 females.

Criminal Justice System: Black Male Incarceration and Mortality

Let's also consider the link between the social institutions of family and the criminal justice system. Black male incarceration is often considered as one important explanation for the imbalanced sex ratios discussed earlier. Although Black males make up 6% of the population, they make up 50% of those who are incarcerated. This incarceration rate for Black males increased by a rate of more than four between the years of 1980 and 2003. The incarceration rate for African American males is 3,045 out of 100,000 compared to 465 per 100,000 white American males. In many areas around the country, the chance that Black males will be arrested and jailed at least once in their lifetime is extremely high. For Washington, D.C., this probability is between 80 and 90%.

Because Black males are incarcerated at six times the rate of white males, the skewed incarceration rates harm these Black males as well as their families and communities. Incarceration can affect former inmates and their future in society long after they leave prison. Those that have been incarcerated lose masculinity, as incarceration can affect a man's confirmation of his identity as a father and a breadwinner for the family. After being released from prison, efforts to reestablish or sustain connections and be active

within the family are often unsuccessful. Incarceration can be damaging to familial ties and can have a negative effect on family relations and a man's sense of masculinity. We will explore this topic in more depth later in the text.

The New Jim Crow

The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness is a book by Michelle Alexander, a civil rights litigator and legal scholar. Though the conventional point of view holds that systemic racial discrimination mostly ended with the civil rights movement reforms of the 1960s, Alexander (2020) posits that the U.S. criminal justice system uses the War on Drugs as a primary tool for enforcing traditional, as well as new modes of discrimination and oppression. These new modes of racism have led to not only the highest rate of incarceration in the world, but also a disproportionately large rate of imprisonment for African American men.

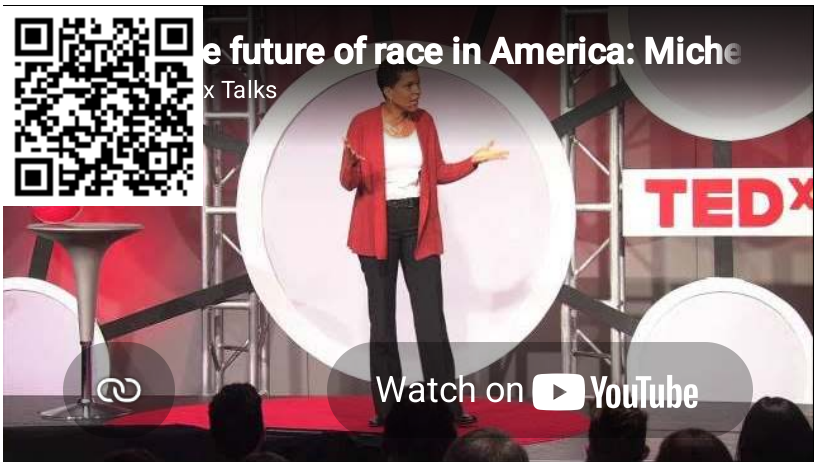


Figure 6.4.3: The future of race in America: Michelle Alexander. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; TEDx Talks via YouTube)

Alexander (2020) points out that mass incarceration is "a stunningly comprehensive and well-disguised system of racialized social control that functions in a manner strikingly similar to Jim Crow." The culmination of this social control is what the author calls a racial caste system, a type of stratification wherein people of color are kept in an inferior position. Its emergence, she believes, is a direct response to the Civil Rights Movement. It is because of this that Alexander (2020) argues for issues with mass incarceration to be addressed as issues of racial justice and civil rights. To approach these matters as anything but would be to fortify this new racial caste. Thus, Alexander (2020) aims to mobilize the civil rights community to move the incarceration issue to the forefront of its agenda and to provide factual information, data, arguments and a point of reference for those interested in pursuing the issue. Her broader goal is the revamping of the prevailing mentality regarding human rights, equality and equal opportunities in America, to prevent future cyclical recurrence of what she sees as “racial control under changing disguise”. According to the author, what has been altered since the collapse of Jim Crow is not so much the basic structure of US society, as the language used to justify its affairs. She argues that when people of color are disproportionately labeled as “criminals”, this allows the unleashing of a whole range of legal discrimination measures in employment, housing, education, public benefits, voting rights, jury duty, and so on.

Alexander (2020) argues that the War on Drugs has a devastating impact on inner city African American communities, on a scale entirely out of proportion to the actual dimensions of criminal activity taking place within these communities. During the past three decades, the US prison population exploded from 300,000 to more than two million, with the majority of the increase due to drug convictions. This led to the US having the world's highest incarceration rate. The US incarceration rate is eight times that of Germany, a comparatively developed large democracy. Alexander (2020) claims that the US is unparalleled in the world in focusing enforcement of federal drug laws on racial and ethnic minorities. In the capital city of Washington, D.C. three out of four young African American males are expected to serve time in prison. While studies show that quantitatively Americans of different races consume illegal drugs at similar rates, in some states Black men have been sent to prison on drug charges at rates twenty to fifty times those of white men. The proportion of African American men with some sort of criminal record approaches 80% in some major US cities, and they become marginalized, part of what Alexander calls "a growing and permanent "undercaste".

Religion

The range of descriptions of African American religious experiences has traditionally fallen between the sacred and the profane. Particularly, for African American religious experiences the Black Church has been viewed as the most sacred aspect of Black religious communities. Subsequently, the Black Church has been described as the driving force behind the agenda of Black leaders during the Civil Rights Movement. However, it was not the Black Church that was the defining attribute of African American religious experiences during the middle of the twentieth century; rather, it was a particular idea that many held most sacred. The way African Americans testified to their own experience can be described as a **prophetic testimony**: the notion of prophecy was the force that inspired many leaders to use their day-to-day experiences as testimonies to start a movement that went beyond accommodation with the goal of transformation. In this context, prophetic testimony must be examined through the lens of political theology alongside history. The category of political theology helps to emphasize the deep connection between faith (a theological claim) and the exercise of faith (a political claim). In other words, political theology combines pragmatic functions of faith with the way it is practiced.



Figure **6.4.4**: Cornel West, Author of Race Matters as well as Black Prophetic Fire. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Thompson Rivers University via Flickr)

Paradox in the Black Church

Paradox in the Black Church

Black Church institutions have been acknowledged as the center for social justice movements within Black communities. Yet whether it is through examining the classical period of the Civil Rights Movement or a look at modern day religious leaders, there has not been one specific way that Black communities have sought to liberate their identities from a world that has not often recognized their humanity. Past examples include the crusades of organizations such as the Nation of Islam and the Pan-African Movement, while the Black Lives Matter Movement is a current example. This has led to numerous paradoxical responses to both civil rights and social movements from Black religious organizations. The paradox that occurs across the spectrum of Black Church institutions is deeply rooted in the historical context from which the traditions have developed.

During the period of enslavement in the United States slave masters recognized that religion could be used as a form of social control, especially in Southern states. Slave owners allowed slaves to hear biblical scripture, but only in so far as it reinforced the narrative that required their subordination to their masters. Many slave owners realized that controlled religion could be used to make their slaves docile and subordinate. Slaves were typically allowed to have their own services where either a white overseer or another slave gave a sermon based on the guidance of the master. In other words, officially sanctioned Black churches were under the supervision of white pastors who used religion as a way to reinforce their social and political agenda. To further limit any form of autonomy in Black churches, laws were created that prevented slaves from assembling together for “worship” or for any other purpose between sunrises and sunsets, even with a white master present in many Southern states. The only exception to these rules occurred when the slave masters took their slaves to an ordained white minister who regularly conducted services. Furthermore, the influence of white masters on many Black Churches created a religious benevolence between slave and slave master that helped to keep intact the moral order that served to justify both the institution of slavery and the treatment of slaves. Slaveholders had a religious imperative to make money and to have a comfortable living, as long as they were faithful to God. Masters were supposed to take great interest in the slave’s security because it would benefit both the slave and the owner. They also had the responsibility of teaching the enslaved Black Americans good behavior and morality.

They believed that religious instruction of the Black slaves would promote both their morality and their religion. Black churches became the ideal institution to realize the creation of a Christian interracial community. In these communities, slave owners would benevolently rule over their slaves, who were presumed to be satisfied with their positions in life. This form of social control had some success with slaves. Most did not subscribe to the benevolent master motif that was impressed upon them, but the combination of various methods of oppression left many slaves in desperate need of hope from some source. Many who chose to challenge the dominant narrative had hope in a political freedom that was possible only in the afterlife. The language of the slave spirituals makes proclamations such as: “I'm gonna wait upon the Lord till my change comes.” This

represents one polarity in which the Black Church was pulled. Indeed, this ideology continued well beyond the period of African enslavement and into the Civil Rights Movement era.

Systemic Racism and Health

Studies across the nation show that Black women have higher mortality rates while giving birth, and Black children have higher infant mortality rates. Some of the mortality rates among women tie to the lack of quality healthcare, doctors that have a bias against them as Black women, and more. Tennis superstar Serena Williams revealed that when she gave birth to her baby, she almost died. She publicly shared that the medical staff did not listen when she told them about some of her conditions that she felt were causing complications. Studies show that from complications from childbirth, “Black patients are more than twice as likely to die than White patients (37.3 vs. 14.9 per 100,000 live births)” (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention as cited in Burris et al. 2022). Further, **“**Recent studies show that midwives are associated with improved birth outcomes, lower rates of infant death, and that Black pregnant women in the U.S. report greater satisfaction with the care they receive from midwives than from physicians" (Vedam et. al cited in Muigai, 2022 p. 86).

Muigai writes about how, historically, Black women have turned to midwives when white doctors wouldn’t treat them.

Health Inequality

A deep connection between the field of medicine and the overall treatment and perception of African American extends back to the founding of this country. Proponents used pseudo-scientific or racialized science to justify ideas about the "natural" inferiority of Blacks to justify racism and slavery. In turn, these same forces led to a health inequality—with poor care from the medical field and higher rates of serious health issues—that persist in the present. African Americans have also faced lasting barriers in gaining employment and professional recognition in the healthcare field.

From the origins and continuation of health inequality to the fight to gain access to professional medical treatment, African American health and healthcare in U.S. history are interrelated issues. African American physicians, dentists, and nurses along with Black medical schools and hospitals have done pioneering work. While traditionally receiving less attention than issues like voting, housing, and education, the African American fight for healthcare is an important component of the Black freedom struggle, and a key aspect for understanding the current state of Black Americans.

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African American Health in Early U.S. History

African American health is inextricably linked to slavery. Physician and scholar Rodney G. Hood argues that health disparities can be traced back to the period of slavery and the origins of racism, an effect he calls the "slave health deficit." The enslavement of millions of African Americans had severe and lasting health impacts, both during the period of slavery and after. The initial period of enslavement may have been the most lethal. Historians estimate that as many as 50% of Africans died before leaving the continent during capture, the forced march to slave holding areas, or waiting in pens. Somewhere between 15-20% died during the Middle Passage across the Atlantic from the fifteenth through the nineteenth century. The mortality rate varied by place of origin, conditions in captivity and on the ship, and the point of destination. As many as 675,000 died during capture, captivity, or transportation to this country. Of the 450,000 Africans who made it to the U.S., an additional 4.3% died in the period between arrival and sale, and as many as 25% perished during the "acclimation period" of their first eighteen months as they adjusted to new locations, climates, and diseases.

Enslaved individuals suffered from significant health problems. The Black infant and childhood mortality rate was double the rate for whites. Over half of all Black children were born severely underweight due to the poor treatment and lack of nutrition for pregnant slaves; many women miscarried or gave birth to stillborn babies. On average, Black mothers could nurse for only four months, compared to eight months for white babies. Early weaning, horrid living conditions, and lack of nutrition led to more than 50% of Black infants dying before the age of one.

The field of medicine both justified the poor treatment of African Americans and contributed to their health problems. Building on the writings of white intellectuals going back to at least the Greeks, leading American scientists and physicians categorized African

Americans as biologically inferior and less intelligent, or even sub-human. By the early 1800s, proponents of slavery used this pseudo-scientific argument to justify slavery. Defenders of slavery further argued that Africans were more genetically predisposed to work in the fields than whites. Thomas Jefferson advocated this position in his influential Notes on the State of Virginia (1805). While he concluded that enslaved Africans were "inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind," Jefferson argued that they possessed some qualities that made them genetically designed to labor, notably that they "seem to require less sleep" and were "more tolerant of heat." Physicians perpetuated the belief that Africans also had resistance or immunity to diseases like yellow fever.

The inequality in access to healthcare and the poor treatment by physicians in this period marked the beginning of a healthcare system based on racial discrimination. The view of African Americans as inferior and "less worthy" meant that few received proper medical care for curable afflictions. In some ways, free Blacks faced worse healthcare, with little access due to high rates of poverty and physicians who refused to treat Black patients. A two-tiered healthcare system—with greater access and treatment for whites—persisted for much of American history.

Medical Exploitation

Despite gains due to legislation, many African Americans remained distrustful of the government's involvement in healthcare. In the early twentieth century, the government funded forced sterilization programs in 32 states for tens of thousands of women, primarily people of color. Originating in the late nineteenth century, the **eugenics** movement spread in the U.S. starting in the 1900s. Eugenics was based on the concept that selective breeding should be encouraged, with government involvement, to improve society. Supported by funding from leading organizations like the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations, scientists from top universities carried out pseudo-scientific research that demonstrated supposed negative genetic traits of certain groups that should not be allowed to reproduce: the mentally ill or disabled, those deemed sexually deviant, criminals, immigrants, the indigent, and minorities. Some doctors actively engaged in **eugenicide**, killing patients or willfully neglecting them—often newborns—until they died.

Forced sterilization became the most mainstream manifestation of eugenics, with states adopting forced sterilization laws in the first decade of the twentieth century. Although masked as progressive reform (to produce the most superior citizens and to reduce government spending on providing for the "unworthy") and supported by public health advocates, scientists, physicians, and politicians, forced sterilization was a product of racism and xenophobia. In many ways, proponents promoted forced sterilization similar to the ways they advocated residential segregation (i.e., African Americans should be kept out of white neighborhoods to prevent the spread of disease) or anti-miscegenation (i.e., interracial marriage and children would produce "inferior," mixed race children, damaging to white purity). The Nazis partially modeled their own policies of sterilization and eugenicide in the 1930s and 1940s on American practices.

Eighteen Southern states adopted sterilization laws and often used them to target African American women. In 1964, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party leader and voting rights advocate Fannie Lou Hamer spoke of her own experience. In 1961, Hamer underwent surgery in Mississippi for a uterine tumor. During surgery, and without her consent, the operating physician performed an unnecessary hysterectomy. Hamer highlighted the commonality of the procedure, which she dubbed a "Mississippi appendectomy," and estimated that physicians at the hospital, without consent and with no medical need, sterilized approximately 60% of Black female patients.



Figure **6.4.5**: Examination, Tuskeegee study. (CC PDM 1.0; National Archives and Records Administration via Wikipedia)

The Black Panther Party's health program further reflected the distrust of medical institutions. As detailed earlier, physicians used enslaved African Americans for medical experiments. Hospitals and prisons continued this practice after slavery ended, and medical colleges stole African American cadavers for student training. Perhaps the most famous example of medical exploitation was the **Tuskegee Experiment**, started by the U.S. Public Health Service in 1932. The program recruited 600 Black men—399 with syphilis, and 201 not infected—for a study on the effects of the disease. Administrators promised free medical treatment for participants. However, physicians did not inform the men of the purpose of the study and did not treat the individuals who had syphilis, even after penicillin was discovered as a cure in 1947. In 1972, the Associated Press reported on the story, leading to a public outcry and investigations. Recent research has demonstrated that the history of medical exploitation, particularly the Tuskegee Experiment, has led African Americans to be more distrustful of doctors and less likely to use healthcare services, contributing to the higher mortality rare.

Continuing Health Inequality

While the immediate years after integration saw some health gains for African Americans, particularly for those who previously had no access at all, improvements largely stagnated after 1975. Starting in the 1980s, Black mortality began to increase again, and African American life expectancy declined. With white flight to the suburbs, Black residents were increasingly concentrated in urban cores with underfunded and lower-quality healthcare.

In the face of continued health disparity, African American groups again provided their own medical services. Leonidas H. Berry founded an organization named the Flying Black Medics. Sponsored by the Methodist Episcopal Church and local community groups, the group began flights in 1970 from Chicago to Cairo, Illinois, providing free medical care and supplies to poor African Americans. In the late 1960s, the Black Panther Party became involved in healthcare. The national organization required all chapters to provide health clinics due to continued health discrimination and inequality. The Panthers also launched a sickle cell anemia awareness campaign, providing education and free screening for the disease, which the organization felt was understudied and underfunded as it disproportionately affected African Americans.

In the 1980s, the increase in the Black mortality rate also corresponded with the decreased funding for hospitals that predominantly served the African American community. State aid declined dramatically, particularly with the economic recession. The number of Black hospitals rapidly plummeted as a result. From 1961 to 1988, forty-nine Black hospitals closed, including Chicago's Provident Hospital, the first Black-operated hospital in the country.

Contemporary Health Disparities Experienced by African Americans

Health inequality persists in the U.S. The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) and Prevention found that African Americans have a significantly shorter life expectancy (75.1 years) than whites (78.7). African Americans suffer from higher rates of illness and health problems; the CDC estimates that 13.6% of African Americans are in poor health compared to 9.5% of whites. The overall mortality rate has dropped for all races in the past two decades, driven by declining deaths from cancer, heart attacks, and strokes. However, African Americans still have a mortality rate 16% higher than whites (down from 33% in 1999), and are more likely to die at every age. The discrepancy is particularly notable in infant mortality—a rate of 10.93 per 1,000 for Blacks and 4.89 per 1,000 for whites—and in maternal deaths with a rate of 43.5 Black deaths per 100,000 live births compared to 12.7 white deaths per 100,000 live births. The mortality rates for African American males are also typically higher than they are for African American females. This is another explanation for the imbalanced sex ratios mentioned earlier in the discussion on the African American Family. Between 1980 and 2003, 4,744 to 27,141 more African American males died annually than African American females. This higher mortality rate helps to explain the low marriage rates for many African American females who cannot find Black partners.

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the following were the leading causes of death of Black men in 2017:

Table 6.4.6: The leading causes of death among Black men in 2017. (Data from the Disease Control and Prevention (CDC))

Non-Hispanic Black, Male, All ages	Percent
1) Heart disease	23.7%
2) Cancer	20.2%
3) Unintentional injuries	7.9%
4) Homicide	5.0%
5) Stroke	4.9%
6) Diabetes	4.3%
7) Chronic lower respiratory diseases	3.2%
8) Kidney disease	2.6%
9) Septicemia	1.7%
10) Hypertension	1.6%

For young Black men between the ages of 15 and 44, the number one cause of death in 2017 was homicide. Strikingly, the number six cause of death for Black men in this age range is police violence.

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the following were the leading causes of death of Black women in 2016:

Table 6.4.7: The leading causes of death among Black women in 2016. (Data from the Disease Control and Prevention (CDC))

Non-Hispanic Black, Female, All ages	Percent
1) Heart disease	23.1%
2) Cancer	21.8%
3) Stroke	6.4%
4) Diabetes	4.5%
5) Alzheimer’s disease	3.9%
6) Unintentional injuries	3.6%
7) Chronic lower respiratory diseases	3.4%
8) Kidney disease	3.1%
9) Septicemia	2.3%
10) Hypertension	2.0%

Health inequality reflects multiple factors: higher rates of unemployment, obesity, and poverty as well as lower rates of home ownership, education, and wealth. African Americans also continue to have less access to healthcare: 11.2% under the age of 65 do not have healthcare, compared to 7.5% of whites. Researchers have also demonstrated that racial discrimination, including from the healthcare system itself, also negatively impacts health. Inequality continues in the medical profession, too. While making up 12% of the overall population, less than 6% of physicians and surgeons are Black.

The roots of health inequality date back to the beginning of this country. Treated as racially inferior, neglected or excluded by white healthcare systems and as the victims of systematic and institutionalized racism and segregation, African Americans have suffered higher rates of disease and mortality than white Americans throughout this country's history. African Americans have fought for increased access; provided care for themselves in various forms, from enslaved midwives to Black hospitals; and made important contributions to the medical field. However, the historical vestiges of a two-tiered healthcare system remain as deeply entrenched as other aspects of structural/system racism (defined in Chapter 4.4).

Educational Inequity: Schooling

One way to understand inequity and diversity is to look at **disproportionality**, or how representation differs greatly compared to other groups or others within a group (NASP). In the two examples below, we see disproportionate rates of graduation for Black people compared to white people.

- "…the difference between blacks and whites in college graduation rates was greater in 2000 than in 1940…" (Katz, Stern, and Fader, 2005, p. 93)
- "…in 2000, 15 percent of 26-to-30-year-old African American women had graduated from college, compared to about 33 percent of white women of the same age. For men 26-30, the spread was proportionately larger: college graduates were about 29 percent of white men and a very low 12 percent of black men" (Katz, Stern, and Fader, 2005, p.94)

Sidebar: Teacher-to-student interactions

In other studies, we see how Black children and other children of color are treated differently by teachers compared to white children. This is a type of interpersonal oppression or person-to-person. For example, Darling-Hammond (2010) says,

… dozens of studies have found that teachers typically hold more negative attitudes about Black children's personality traits, ability, language, behavior, and potential than they do about White children, and that most Black students have fewer favorable interactions with their teachers than White students (Footnote: Irvine, 1990). Studies have also found that children of color are more likely to be treated differently in the classroom—neither pushed academically nor praised as much as White students—and more often punished for offenses that White students commit without consequence; they are also more likely to be suspended from school than Whites who commit the same infractions (Darling-Hammond, 2010, p. 65).

Further, institutionally Black and Latino students have experienced segregation at high rates, even in the 2000s. Darling-Hammond (2010) writes,

"During the 1990s, segregation increased further across both schools and classrooms…By 2000, 72% of the nation's Black students attended predominantly minority schools, up significantly from the low point of 63% in 1980. The proportion of students of color in intensely segregated schools also increased. Nearly 40% of African American and Latino students attend schools with a minority enrollment of 90 to 100%" (p. 35).

These examples of educational inequity demonstrate discrimination and oppression from the interpersonal to structural levels. These practices and policies within schooling perpetuate cycles of domination that have consequences on Black and brown students.



Figure **6.4.7.5**: "Picketing the separate and unequal D.C. schools: 1947." (CC BY-NC 2.0; Washington Area Spark via Flickr)

Increasingly, a college degree is the key to financial well-being, while the value of a high school diploma has diminished markedly over time. Since the 1960s, rates of college graduation have increased significantly for all major racial and ethnic groups, though large gaps persist as Blacks still trail whites in college completion, according to the 2016 Pew Research Center report (Figure **6.4.8**).

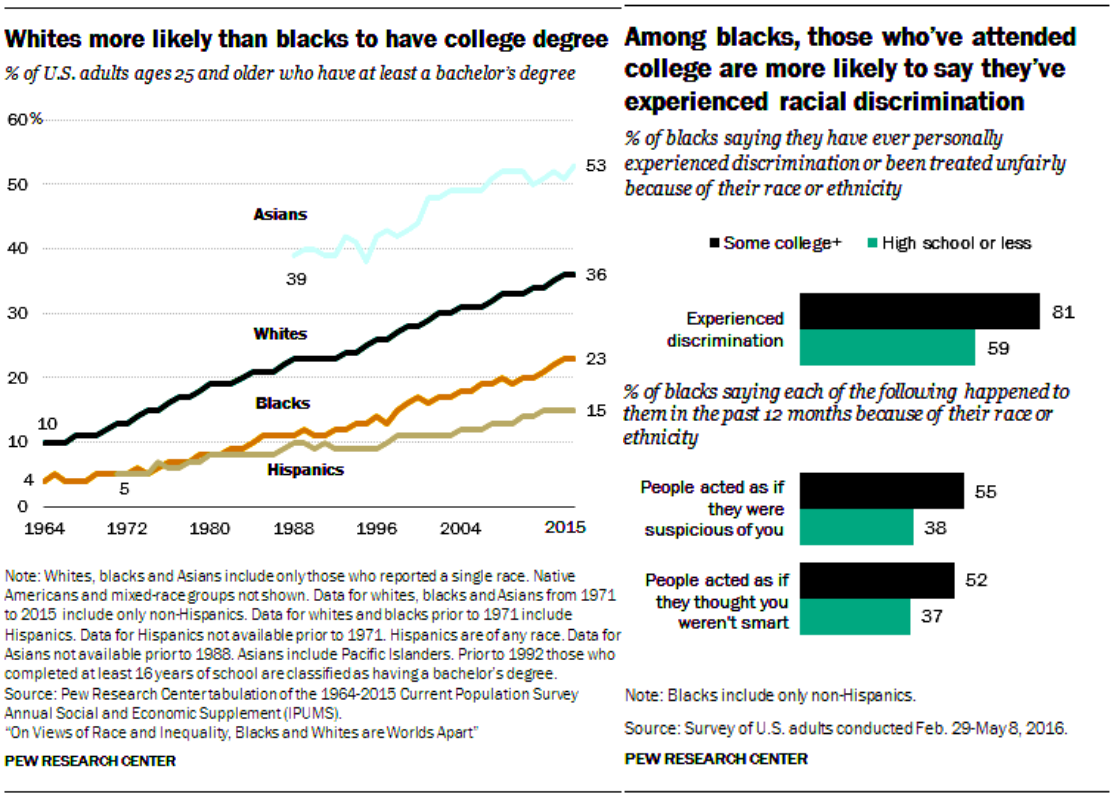


Figure **6.4.8**: (a) whites more likely than Blacks to have a college degree. (Used with permission; On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and whites Are Worlds Apart. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2016)) (b) Among Blacks, those who've attended college are more likely to say they've experienced racial discrimination. (Used with permission; Blacks With College Experience More Likely to Say They Faced Discrimination. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2019))

The 2016 Pew Research Center analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data shows that while the income gap between Black and white college-degree earners is narrower than those with less education, it still remains significant. The median adjusted household income among Black householders with at least a bachelor's degree was $82,300 in 2014, compared with $106,600 among white householders with the same level of education. Put another way, among households whose head is college-educated, Black households earn 77% what white households do (Figure **6.4.9**).

Education alone also does not close unemployment gaps between Blacks and whites. The unemployment rate for Blacks in 2015 was roughly double that of whites across all educational categories, according to the 2016 Pew Research Center's analysis of Census Bureau data.



Figure **6.4.9**: Racial gaps in household income persist (Used with permission; On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2016))

Economics

Black households have only 10 cents in wealth for every dollar held by white households (Pew Research Center, 2017). In 2016, the median wealth of non-Hispanic white households was $171,000. That's 10 times the wealth of Black households ($17,100) – which reflects a larger gap than in 2007. The Great Recession of 2007-2009 triggered a stark decline in wealth for U.S. families and further widened the already large wealth gap between white and Black households. Yet the Black-to-white wealth gap has evolved differently for families at different income levels, according to a Pew Research Center analysis of Federal Reserve data. The wealth gap increased between middle-income Black and white families, but shrank between lower-income Black and white families from 2007 to 2016. Much of the reduction in the wealth gap among lower-income families was driven by a sharp decrease in wealth for whites Figure **6.4.10**.

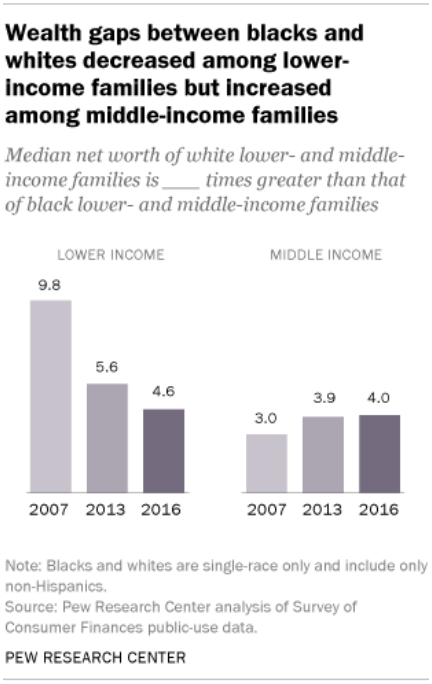


Figure **6.4.10**: The wealth gap between Blacks and Whites decreased among lower-income families but increased among middle-income families. (Used with permission; How Wealth Inequality Has Changed in the U.S. Since the Great Recession, By Race, Ethnicity and Income. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2017))

Blacks are more than twice as likely as whites to live in poverty (Income and Poverty in the United States: 2014). In 2014, about a quarter (26%) of Blacks were poor, compared with 10% of whites. The Black-white poverty gap has narrowed somewhat since the mid-1970s, when 30% of Blacks were living below the poverty line – a proportion nearly four times the share of whites living in poverty (8%).

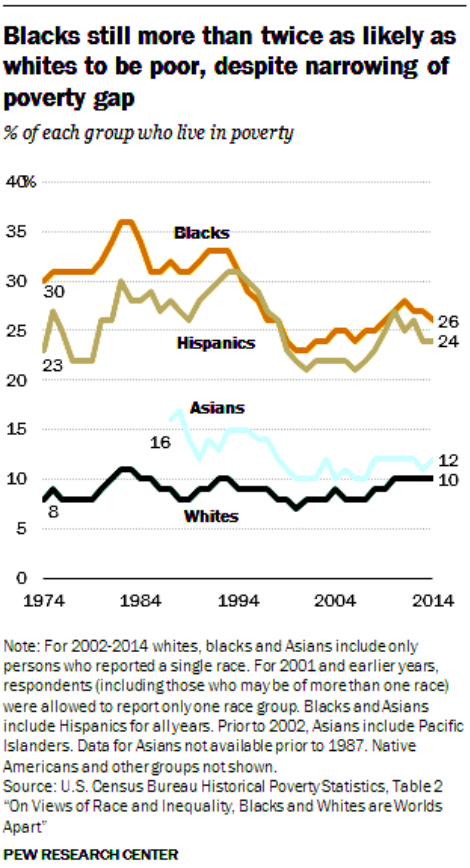


Figure 6.4.11: Blacks are still more than twice as likely as Whites to be poor, despite narrowing of poverty gap. (Used with permission; On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and whites Are Worlds Apart. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2016))

Politics

Many Blacks view political representation as a potential catalyst for increased racial equality, according to a 2016 Pew Research Center survey. Roughly four-in-ten Black adults (38%) said that working to get more Black people elected to office would be a very effective tactic for groups striving to help Blacks achieve equality.

Following Reconstruction till 1900, large numbers of Black Americans were elected to political office at the local, state and national levels. These elected officials included: Hiram Revels, first Black U.S. Senator (who was also a member of the Lumbee Nation) and Frederick Douglass, appointed President of the Freedman's Saving Bank and diplomat to the Dominican Republic. As discussed in Chapter 7.2, the Jim Crow era and backlash against the Black middle class all but contributed to the absence of Black elected officials for the better part of the 20th century. Only 11 Black senators have been elected in all of U.S. history, with the most recent being Reverand Raphael Warnock, who won a highly contested runoff in Georgia in 2021. Barack Obama, the most famous of these was elected as the first Black President. Shirley Chisholm was the first African American to run for President in 1972; in her bid to run on the Democratic Party ticket, she announced, "I am not the candidate of Black America, although I am Black and proud. I am not the candidate of the women's movement in this country, although I am a woman, and equally proud of that... I am the candidate of the people of America."

Voting

In 1870, the 15th Amendment was ratified, guaranteeing African American (men) the right to vote; however, challenges to this right included the poll tax, the grandfather clause, and literacy tests which disenfranchised countless Black voters during the Jim Crow era encompassing most of the 20th century. The 19th Amendment was passed in 1920, guaranteeing suffrage for all women, including Black women. Yet, the struggle to vote continued. The Civil Rights Movement championed voting rights in campaigns

such Freedom Summer (Mississippi) and the Selma to Montgomery (Alabama) March, registering thousands of Black voters. Fannie Lou Hamer, an organizer of Freedom Summer and co-founder of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, went to the 1964 Democratic Party Convention, attempting to be part of the official delegation, gave a blistering speech with details about voter registration suppression - which was later televised nationally and gained further support for the voting rights for Black Americans. President Lyndon Johnson signed into law the Voting Rights Act of 1965, prohibiting racial discrimination in voting. While Congress amended the Act to extend its enforcement, in the last decade, significant challenges to the enforcement have been granted by the U.S. Supreme Court, thereby negating the strength of the Voting Rights Act. Additionally, Southern states, such as Florida, Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Virginia, deny convicted felons the right to ever vote - even after they have served their sentence, a policy which disproportionately impacts the Black population which has higher incarceration rates than other race-ethnic groups. According to the Sentencing Project (2016), one in 13 African Americans of voting age is disenfranchised, which is four times greater than non-African Americans voters. Further, over 7.4 percent of the adult African American population is disenfranchised compared to 1.8 percent of the non-African American population (Sentencing Project, 2016). In Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia, more than 1 in 5 African Ameicans is a disenfranchised voter due to a felony conviction. With so many disenfrancised voters, the struggle for voting rights for Black voters is far from over. Yet, through the efforts of voting rights activists such as Stacey Abrams, who co-founded the New Georgia Project in 2014 and registered more than 500,000 new voters, the state of Georgia shifted to a predominantly Democratic state in 2020, helping the Biden-Harris ticket to clench the 2020 Presidential election.



Figure **6.4.12**: Georgia State Representative Stacey Abrams speaking at the Barbara Jordan Forum 2012. (CC BY-SA 2.0; LBJ School via Wikimedia)

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6.5: Social Change and Resistance

Black Nationalism

Inspired by the writings of Booker T. Washington, Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey became the most prominent Black Nationalist in the United States. He championed the Back-to-Africa movement, advocated for Black-owned businesses—he founded the Black Star Line, a transnational shipping company—and founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Thousands of UNIA chapters formed all across the world. In 1921, Garvey recorded a message in a New York studio explaining the object of the UNIA, which can be understood as **separatism**, an effort to create an African American community in Africa - free from whites.

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Garveyism

Marcus Garvey was born in Jamaica in 1887 and became one of the most influential and well-known political activists in the early 20th Century. In 1910, he left Jamaica for England and later the United States. He continued to call all three countries home over the course of his life. Garvey is widely credited with being the leading voice for Panafricanism. His ideology emphasized pride, empowerment, and economic prosperity for Black communities, and is so widely studied and documented it came to be known as **Garveyism**. His speeches and writing encouraged people of African descent around the world to see themselves as part of a united community that could forge solidarity for economic and political alliances, as well as cultural and religious development. For

example, the shared identity of Black people around the world was an essential mobilizing factor in the global movement to end South African Apartheid in the 1990s.

Black Power and Black Nationalism

Two political frameworks that are important for understanding Garveyism and Black Studies are Black Power and Black Nationalism. **Black Power** is a movement and political belief system that emphasizes building Black-serving institutions and leaders. The term Black Power was coined by Stokely Carmichael during a speech after being arrested for the 27th time in 1966. **Black Nationalism** is an ideology emphasizing pride in being Black, economic self-sufficiency, and Black separatism.

Panafricanism became the foundation for the idea of Blackness and Black identity, which brings together the experience of people of African heritage. This includes African people, African immigrants, and communities with origins on the African continent that have been enslaved, trafficked, and settled in various parts of the world, especially in the United States, the Caribbean, Europe, and Latin America. Marcus Garvey's legacy lives on in the political and social changes that he inspired, and he is celebrated as the first National Hero of Jamaica. Figure 3.2.13.2.1 shows a mural of Marcus Garvey in Oakland, California, sporting a military officer's outfit in a prideful, royal purple hue. This representation reflects Garvey's ongoing significance as an inspiration for militant, radical advocacy on behalf of Black people. At the end of Garvey's life in 1940, racial segregation was still legally enforced throughout the United States. It took many other activists and scholars to bring about the wide-scale changes that Garvey called for in his work.



Figure 6.5.1 Marcus Garvey mural in Oakland, CA (CC BY-NC 2.0; Thomas Hawk via Flickr)

Origins of the Civil Rights Movement

Education was but one aspect of the nation's Jim Crow machinery. African Americans had been fighting against systemic racism, a variety of racist policies, cultures and beliefs in all aspects of American life. And while the struggle for Black inclusion had few victories before World War II, the war and the **Double V campaign** as well as the postwar economic boom led to rising expectations for many African Americans. The Double V campaign was a slogan and drive to promote the fight for democracy in overseas campaigns and at the home front in the United States for African Americans during World War II. The Double V refers to the "V for victory" sign prominently displayed by countries fighting "for victory over aggression, slavery, and tyranny," but adopts a second "V" to represent the double victory for African Americans fighting for freedom overseas and at home. When persistent racism and racial segregation undercut the promise of economic and social mobility, African Americans began mobilizing on an unprecedented scale against the various discriminatory social and legal structures.



Figure **6.5.1.5**: Members of an artillery unit stand by and check their equipment while the convoy takes a break. Photograph shows African American artillery troops on march in Belgium. (CC PDM 1.0; U.S. Army via Wikipedia)

While many of the Civil Rights Movement's most memorable and important moments, such as the sit-ins, freedom rides and especially the March on Washington, occurred in the 1960s, the 1950s and 1940s were a significant decade in the sometimes-tragic, sometimes-triumphant march of civil rights in the United States - resistance which ultimately began with the antebellum movement to abolish slavery in the 1800s. Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Henry Box Brown, Nat Turner and Marcus Garvery are among those who set the stage for the Civil Rights Movement. In 1941, A. Phillip Randolf planned a massive march on Washington to protest against the exclusion that Black Americans faced when applying for defense jobs and access to the New Deal opportunities. In 1953, years before Rosa Parks' iconic confrontation on a Montgomery city bus, an African American woman named Sarah Keys publicly challenged segregated public transportation. Keys, then serving in the Women's Army Corps, traveled from her army base in New Jersey back to North Carolina to visit her family. When the bus stopped in North Carolina, the driver asked her to give up her seat for a white customer. Her refusal to do so landed her in jail in 1953 and led to a landmark 1955 decision, Sarah Keys v. Carolina Coach Company, in which the Interstate Commerce Commission ruled that "separate but equal" violated the Interstate Commerce Clause of the U.S. Constitution. Poorly enforced, it nevertheless gave legal coverage for the freedom riders years later. Moreover, it was a morale-building decision. Six days after the decision was announced, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat in Montgomery.

But if some events encouraged civil rights workers with the promise of progress, others were so savage they convinced activists that they could do nothing but resist. In the summer of 1955, two white men in Mississippi kidnapped and brutally murdered a fourteen-year-old boy, Emmett Till. Till, visiting from Chicago and perhaps unfamiliar with the etiquette of Jim Crow, allegedly whistled at a white woman named Carolyn Bryant. Her husband, Roy Bryant, and another man, J.W. Milam, abducted Till from his relatives' home, beat him, mutilated him, shot him, and threw his body in the Tallahatchie River. But, the body was found. Emmett's mother held an open-casket funeral so that Till's disfigured body could make national news. The men were brought to trial. The evidence was damning, but an all-white jury found the two not guilty. Only months after the decision the two boasted of their crime in Look magazine. For young Black men and women soon to propel the Civil Rights Movement, the Till case was an indelible lesson. Bryant later recanted the story in an interview 60 years later; nonetheless, a trail of white women weaponizing lies against Black men still persists today and can be understood in the "Karen's of 2020."



Figure 6.5.2: Emmett Till, 13-years-old, on Christmas Day, 1954. Photograph taken by Mamie Till Bradley. (Fair use; Mamie Till Bradley via Wikipedia)

Four months after Till's death, Rosa Parks refused to surrender her seat on a Montgomery city bus. Her arrest launched the Montgomery bus boycott, a foundational moment in the civil rights crusade. Montgomery's public transportation system had longstanding rules that required African American passengers to sit in the back of the bus and give up their seats to white passengers when the buses filled. Parks refused to move on December 1, 1955 and was arrested. She was not the first to protest against the policy by staying seated on a Montgomery bus, but she was the woman around whom Montgomery activists rallied a boycott.

Soon after Parks' arrest, Montgomery's Black population, organized behind the recently arrived Baptist minister, Martin Luther King, Jr., and formed the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) to coordinate a widespread boycott. During December 1955 and all of 1956, King's leadership sustained the boycott and thrust him into the national spotlight. The Supreme Court ruled against Montgomery and on December 20, 1956 King brought the boycott to a successful conclusion, ending segregation on Montgomery's public transportation and establishing his reputation as a national leader in African American efforts for equal rights.

Motivated by the success of the Montgomery boycott, King and other African American leaders looked for ways to continue the fight. In 1957, King helped create the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Unlike the MIA, which targeted one specific policy in one specific city, the SCLC was a coordinating council to helping civil rights groups across the South plan and sustain boycotts, protests, and assaults on southern Jim Crow laws and practices.

As pressure built, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the first such measure passed since Reconstruction. Although the act was nearly compromised away to nothing, although it achieved some gains, such as creating the Civil Rights Commission in the Department of Justice to investigate claims of racial discrimination, it nevertheless signaled that pressure was finally mounting for Americans to finally confront the racial legacy of slavery and discrimination.

Despite successes at both the local and national level, the Civil Rights Movement faced bitter opposition. Those opposed to the movement often used violent tactics to scare and intimidate African Americans and subvert legal rulings and court orders. For example, a year into the Montgomery Bus Boycott, angry white southerners bombed four African American churches as well as the homes of King and fellow civil rights leader E. D. Nixon. Though King, Nixon and the MIA persevered in the face of such violence, it was only a taste of things to come. Such unremitting hostility and violence left the outcome of the burgeoning Civil Rights Movement in doubt. Despite its successes, civil rights activists looked back on the 1950s as a decade of at-best mixed results and incomplete accomplishments. While the bus boycott, Supreme Court rulings and other civil rights activities signaled progress, church bombings, death threats, and stubborn legislators demonstrated the distance that still needed to be traveled.

The Nation of Islam and Malcolm X

Though most African Americans did not heed Garvey's call to return to Africa, his speeches did result in a positive impact on Black identity, lasting for decades. As tension continued to mount in cities through the 1950s and 1960s, the tone of the Civil Rights Movement changed yet again. Activists became less conciliatory in their calls for civil rights progress, embracing the more militant message of the burgeoning Black Power Movement and the late Malcolm X, a Nation of Islam (NOI) minister who had encouraged African Americans to pursue freedom, equality, and justice by "any means necessary." Prior to his death, Malcolm X and the NOI

emerged as the radical alternative to the racially integrated, largely Protestant approach of the Martin Luther King, Jr.-led civil rights movement. Malcolm advocated armed resistance in defense for the safety and well being of Black Americans, stating, “I don’t call it violence when it’s self-defense, I call it intelligence.” For his part, King and leaders from more mainstream organizations like the NAACP and the Urban League criticized both Malcolm X and the NOI for what they perceived to be racial demagoguery. King believed Malcolm’s speeches were a “great disservice” to Black Americans, claiming that X’s speeches lamented the problems of African Americans without offering solutions. The differences between Dr. King and Malcolm X represented a core ideological tension that would inhabit Black political thought throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

The Civil Rights Movement (1960's)

Mobilization for the **Civil Rights Movement** was driven by women working directly in the community in partnership with churches and religious institutions. While organizers had political goals of changing laws and policies, they also identified that community members had immediate needs for food, housing, education, and other social services. Churches often provided these services, and community members cultivated the time, capacity, and skills to participate in activism. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference brought together these religious groups to participate in the Civil Rights Movement. While women carried the movement forward on the front lines, the formal organizations and religious institutions in the Civil Rights Movement often prioritized charismatic male leaders to hold positions of authority and power (Robnett, 1997). This includes famous figures like Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (seen below) displays the statue of Martin Luther King (MLK) that is part of the U.S. Smithsonian Institute’s National Mall, alongside memorials of famous presidents like Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt. Although MLK is undoubtedly one of the most important figures in the history of Black people in the United States, he was just one of many influential leaders during this era who made change happen.

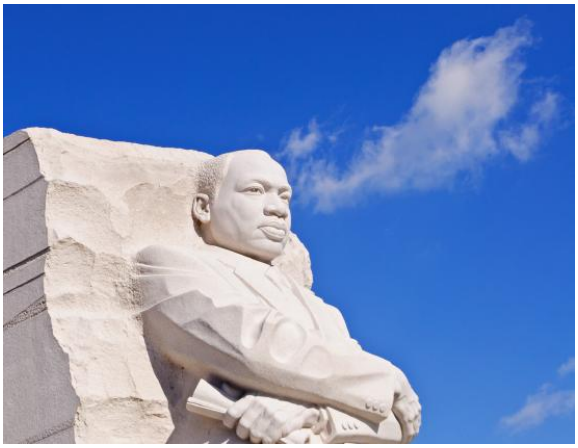


Figure **6.5.2.5**: Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial (CC BY-SA 2.0; Scalet Sappho via Flickr)

So much of the energy and character of “the sixties” emerged from the Civil Rights Movement, which won its greatest victories in the early years of the decade. The movement itself was changing. Many of the civil rights activists pushing for school desegregation in the 1950s were middle-class and middle-aged. In the 1960s, a new student movement arose whose members wanted swifter changes in the segregated South. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was founded in April 1960 and was widely recognized for their sit-ins, Freedom Rides, voter registration drives, and other direct-action campaigns. SNCC’s founding statement of purpose states, “Non-violence… seeks a social order of justice permeated by love… Justice for all overthrows injustice. The redemptive community supersedes systems of gross social immorality.”

The tone of the modern U.S. Civil Rights Movement changed at a Greensboro, North Carolina department store in 1960, when four African American students participated in a “sit-in” at a whites-only Woolworth's lunch counter. The 1960 Greensboro sit-ins were an instrumental action and also the best-known sit-ins of the civil rights movement. They are considered a catalyst to the subsequent sit-in movement, in which 70,000 people participated. Activists sat at segregated lunch counters in an act of defiance, refusing to leave until being served and willing to be ridiculed, attacked, and arrested. It drew resistance, but it forced the desegregation of Woolworth's department stores. It prompted copycat demonstrations across the South. The protests offered evidence that student-led direct action could enact social change and established the civil rights movement’s direction in the forthcoming years.

The following year, civil rights advocates attempted a bolder variation of a “sit-in” when they participated in the Freedom Rides. Activists organized interstate bus rides following a Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation on public buses and trains. The rides intended to test the court’s ruling, which many Southern states had ignored. An interracial group of Freedom Riders boarded buses in Washington D.C. with the intention of sitting in integrated patterns on the buses as they traveled through the Deep South. On the initial rides in May 1961, the riders encountered fierce resistance in Alabama. Angry mobs composed of KKK members attacked riders in Birmingham, burning one of the buses and beating the activists who escaped. Despite the fact that the first riders abandoned their trip and decided to fly to their destination, New Orleans, civil rights activists remained vigilant. Additional Freedom Rides launched through the summer and generated national attention amid additional violent resistance. Ultimately, the Interstate Commerce Commission enforced integrated interstate buses and trains in November 1961.

In the fall of 1961, civil rights activists descended on Albany, a small city in southwest Georgia. A place known for entrenched segregation and racial violence, Albany seemed an unlikely place for Black Americans to rally and demand civil rights gains. The activists there, however, formed the Albany Movement, a coalition of civil rights organizers that included members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, or, “snick”), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the NAACP. But in Albany the movement was stymied by Police Chief Laurie Pritchett, who launched mass arrests but refused to engage in police brutality and bailed out leading officials to avoid negative media attention. It was a peculiar scene, and a lesson for Southern activists.

Despite its defeat, Albany captured much of the energy of the civil rights movement. The Albany Movement included elements of the Christian commitment to social justice in its platform, with activists stating that all people were “of equal worth” in God’s family and that “no man may discriminate against or exploit another.” In many instances in the 1960s, Black Christianity propelled civil rights advocates to action and demonstrated the significance of religion to the broader civil rights movement. King’s rise to prominence underscored the role that African American religious figures played in the 1960s Civil Rights Movement. Protestors sang hymns and spirituals as they marched. Preachers rallied the people with messages of justice and hope. Churches hosted meetings, prayer vigils, and conferences on nonviolent resistance. The moral thrust of the movement strengthened African American activists while also confronting white society by framing segregation as a moral evil.

As the Civil Rights Movement garnered more followers and more attention, white resistance stiffened. In October 1962, James Meredith became the first African American student to enroll at the University of Mississippi. Meredith’s enrollment sparked riots on the Oxford campus, prompting President John F. Kennedy to send in U.S. Marshals and National Guardsmen to maintain order. On an evening known infamously as the Battle of Ole Miss, segregationists clashed with troops in the middle of campus, resulting in two deaths and hundreds of injuries. Violence despite federal intervention served as a reminder of the strength of white resistance to the Civil Rights Movement, particularly in the realm of education.



Figure **6.5.3**: The first African American student admitted to segregated Ole Miss, James Meredith, accompanied by U.S. Marshals, walks to class at the University of Mississippi in 1962. (CC PDM 1.0; Marion S. Trikosko via Library of Congress)

The following year, 1963, was perhaps the decade’s most eventful year for civil rights. In April and May, the SCLC organized the Birmingham Campaign, a broad campaign of direct action aiming to topple segregation in Alabama’s largest city. Activists used business boycotts, sit-ins, and peaceful marches as part of the campaign. SCLC leader Martin Luther King Jr. was jailed, prompting his famous handwritten Letter from Birmingham Jail urging not only his nonviolent approach but active confrontation to directly challenge injustice. The campaign further added to King’s national reputation and featured powerful photographs and video footage of white police officers using fire hoses and attack dogs on young African American protesters. It also yielded an agreement to

desegregate public accommodations in the city; activists in Birmingham scored a victory for civil rights and drew international praise for the nonviolent approach in the face of police-sanctioned violence and bombings.



Figure **6.5.4**: Images of police brutality against peaceful Civil Rights demonstrators shocked many Americans and helped increase support for the movement. (CC BY-SA; via LibreText)

White resistance magnified. In June, Alabama Governor George Wallace famously stood in the door of a classroom building in a symbolic attempt to halt integration at the University of Alabama. President Kennedy addressed the nation that evening, criticizing Wallace and calling for a comprehensive civil rights bill. A day later, civil rights leader Medgar Evers was assassinated at his home in Jackson, Mississippi. Civil rights leaders gathered in August 1963 for the March on Washington. The March called for, among other things, civil rights legislation, school integration, an end to discrimination by public and private employers, job training for the unemployed, and a raise in the minimum wage. On the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, King delivered his famous “I Have a Dream” speech, an internationally renowned call for civil rights and against racism that raised the movement’s profile to unprecedented heights. The year would end on a somber note with the assassination of President Kennedy, a public figure considered an important ally of civil rights, but it did not halt the civil rights movement.



Figure **6.5.5**: White activists, including Jewish leaders, increasingly joined African Americans, including Dr. King, in the Civil Rights Movement.
(CC PDM 1.0; National Archives via Wikimedia)

President Lyndon Johnson embraced the Civil Rights Movement, though somewhat reluctantly as he navigated between white Southern segregationists and activists such as Dr. King. The following summer, Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, widely considered to be among the most important pieces of civil rights legislation in American history. The comprehensive act barred segregation in public accommodations and outlawed discrimination based on race, ethnicity, gender, and national or religious origin.



Figure **6.5.6**: Lyndon B. Johnson sits with civil rights leaders in the White House (1964). One of Johnson's greatest legacies would be his staunch support of civil rights legislation. (CC PDM 1.0; National Archives (Yoichi Okamoto) via Wikimedia)

Direct action continued through the summer, as student-run organizations like SNCC and CORE (The Congress of Racial Equality) helped with the Freedom Summer in Mississippi, a drive to register African American voters in a state with an ugly history of discrimination. Freedom Summer campaigners set up schools for African American children and endured intimidation tactics. Even with progress, violent resistance against civil rights continued, particularly in regions with longstanding traditions of segregation.

Direct action and resistance to such action continued in March 1965, when activists attempted to march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, with the support of prominent civil rights leaders on behalf of local African American voting rights. In a narrative that had become familiar, "Bloody Sunday" featured peaceful protesters attacked by white law enforcement with batons and tear gas. After they were turned away violently a second time, marchers finally made the 70-mile trek to the state capitol later in the month. Coverage of the first march prompted President Johnson to present the bill that became the Voting Rights Act of 1965, an act that abolished voting discrimination in federal, state, and local elections with an eye on African American enfranchisement in the South. In two consecutive years, landmark pieces of legislation had helped to weaken de jure segregation and disenfranchisement in America.



Figure **6.5.7**: Five leaders of the Civil Rights Movement. From left: Bayard Rustin, Andrew Young, N.Y. Congressman William Ryan, James Farmer, and John Lewis in 1965. (CC PDM 1.0; Stanley Wolfson via Library of Congress)

And then things began to stall. Days after the ratification of the Voting Rights Act, race riots broke out in the Watts District of Los Angeles. Rioting in Watts stemmed from local African American frustrations with residential segregation, police brutality, and racial profiling. Waves of riots would rock American cities every summer thereafter. Particularly destructive riots occurred in 1967—two summers later—in Newark and Detroit. Each resulted in deaths, injuries, arrests, and millions of dollars in property damage. In spite of Black achievements, inner-city problems persisted for many African Americans. The phenomenon of **white flight**—when whites in metropolitan areas fled city centers for the suburbs—often resulted in "re-segregated" residential patterns. Limited access to economic and social opportunities in urban areas bred discord. In addition to reminding the nation that the Civil Rights Movement was a complex, ongoing event without a concrete endpoint, the unrest in northern cities reinforced the notion that the struggle did not occur solely in the South. Many Americans also viewed the riots as an indictment of the Great Society, President

Johnson's sweeping agenda of domestic programs that sought to remedy inner-city ills by offering better access to education, jobs, medical care, housing, and other forms of social welfare. This would mark the decline of the Civil Rights Movement.

Sidebar: Black Feminism

Black feminism has a long history, even if not named as such. Since slavery, Black women have fought for their human rights and dignity. Sojourner Truth and Ida B. Wells were two women who fought for intersectional frameworks long before Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term. Sojourner Truth was an enslaved woman who was famously known for her "Ain't I a Woman?" speech, where she compares the treatment by men of her as a Black woman compared to the treatment of men towards white women. Intersectionality, especially as discussed below, is central to understanding Black women's experiences and struggles. Not only is intersectionality important in identifying compounding and intersecting oppressions, but many Black women support the idea that intersectionality is the key to understanding power dynamics in everything from relations between people to impacts within larger institutions.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Black women found themselves marginalized amidst the movements for Black power and liberation. The **Combahee River Collective** was a group of women, including prominent Black lesbians, who articulated demands for recognition and power within the Black community. These demands included inclusion for sexual orientation and gender with race. Black feminists, or what many call womanists to distinguish themselves from white feminists, galvanized along with other women of color movements. For more about Combahee see Chapter 8, section 8.2 on "Women and Trans Women of Color of 1960s - 80s Liberation Movements." Black women were prominent figures in the Black Panther Party, for example, but still experienced gendered oppression even within the Party. Angela Davis wrote *Women, Race, and Class* to show the intersections between gender, race, and class. She writes, "Racism and sexism frequently converge—and the condition of white women workers is often tied to the oppressive predicament of women of color. Thus the wages received by white women domestics have always been fixed by the racist criteria to calculate the wages of Black women servants." (Davis, 1983, p. 94). For more about this see Chapter 11, section 11.4 on the Domestic Workers labor movement.

Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith co-edited *All the Women are White, All the Blacks are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave* and published in 1982. Speaking of Black Women's Studies, Hull and Smith (1982) write, "Only a feminist, pro-woman perspective that acknowledges the reality of sexual oppression in the lives of Black women, as well as the oppression of race and class, will make Black women's studies the transformer of consciousness it needs to be" (p. xxi). They are calling to center Black women's oppression in women's studies and feminism in general due to the multiple marginalization and multiple oppression of Black women.

Audre Lorde (1984 then 2000) wrote, "In a society where good is defined in terms of profit rather than in terms of human need, there must always be some group of people who, through systematized oppression, can be made to feel surplus, to occupy the place of the dehumanized inferior. Within this society, that group is made up of Black and Third World people, working-class people, older people, and women" (p. 114). I begin with this quotation because she starts her essay on "Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference" with this quotation and it emphasizes difference. This is about who is seen as different and therefore treated as less than. In her writing, Lorde especially discusses Black women, and generally that we treat difference in one of three ways: "ignore it, and if that is not possible, copy it if we think it is dominant, or destroy it if we think it is subordinate" (p. 115). Understanding the power of difference is perhaps our key to liberation, including for Black women.

bell hooks wrote *Feminism is for Everybody* and stipulated that if one isn't putting equity at the forefront and considering race/gender/class disparities as central to the cause of feminism then one isn't really for feminism. She points out, "...we could only become sisters in struggle by confronting the ways women – through sex, class, and race – dominated and exploited other women, and created a political platform that would address these differences" (hooks, 2000, p. 3). She further discusses how embracing white supremacy within the feminist movement is not feminism (p. 4), how turning our back on working-class women supports the patriarchy and is not feminism (p. 5), and even being anti-abortion is not feminism (p. 6). In this way, she warns that "lifestyle feminism" removes "politics" and attempts to claim it as feminism for all.

Black Womanism

Black womanism is a particular term that some use to separate Black feminists from white feminists. This article "A Brief History of Civil Rights in the United States: The Womanist Movement" shows a little about the history, images, and a video

about Black womanism.

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Black Power Movement

By the late 1960s, SNCC, led by figures such as Stokely Carmichael who later changed his name to Kwame Ture, had expelled its white members and shunned the interracial effort in the rural South, focusing instead on injustices in northern urban areas. After President Johnson refused to take up the cause of the Black delegates in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the 1964 Democratic National Convention, SNCC activists became frustrated with institutional tactics and turned away from the organization's founding principle of nonviolence over the course of the next year. This evolving, more aggressive movement called for African Americans to play a dominant role in cultivating Black institutions and articulating Black interests rather than relying on interracial, moderate approaches. At a June 1966 civil rights march, Carmichael told the crowd, "What we gonna start saying now is Black power!" The slogan not only resonated with audiences, it also stood in direct contrast to King's "Freedom Now!" campaign. The political slogan of **Black power** could encompass many meanings, but at its core stood for the self-determination of Blacks in political, economic, and social organizations.



Figure 6.5.8: Like Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois before them, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X represented two styles of racial uplift while maintaining the same general goal of ending racial discrimination. How they would get to that goal is where the men diverged. Marion S. Trikosko, "[Martin Luther King and Malcolm X waiting for press conference]," March 26, 1964. (CC PDM 1.0; Marion S. Trikosko via Library of Congress)

While Carmichael asserted that "Black power meant Black people coming together to form a political force," to others it meant violence. In 1966, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale formed the **Black Panther Party** in Oakland, California. The Black Panthers became the standard-bearers for direct action and self-defense, using the concept of decolonization in their drive to liberate Black communities from white power structures. The revolutionary organization also sought reparations and exemptions for Black men from the military draft. Citing police brutality and racist governmental policies, the Panthers aligned themselves with the "other people of color in the world" against whom America was fighting abroad. Although it was perhaps most well-known for its open display of weapons, military-style dress, and Black nationalist beliefs, the Party's 10-Point Plan also included employment, housing, and education. The Black Panthers worked in local communities to run "survival programs" that provided food, clothing, medical treatment, and drug rehabilitation. They focused on modes of resistance that empowered Black activists on their own terms.

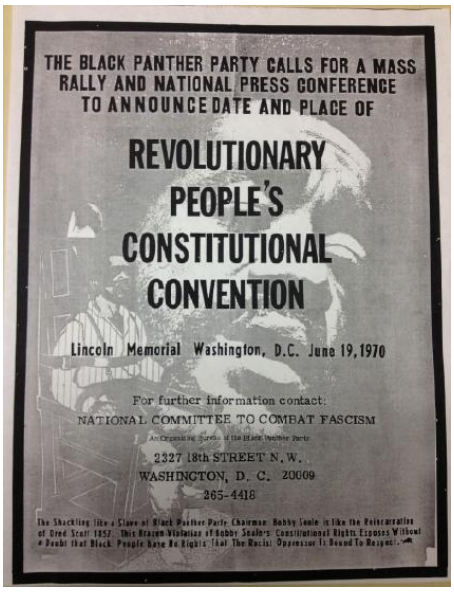


Figure **6.5.9**: The Black Panther Party used radical tactics like the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention to bring attention to the oppression of Blacks in America. (CC PDM 1.0; Gelman Library, George Washington University via Wikimedia)

By 1968, the Civil Rights Movement looked quite different from the one that had emerged out of the 1960 Greensboro sit-ins. The movement had never been monolithic, but prominent, competing ideologies had now fractured it significantly. King's assassination on a Memphis hotel room balcony in April sparked another wave of riots in over 100 American cities and brought an abrupt, tragic end to the life of the movement's most famous figure. Only a week after his assassination, President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1968, another significant piece of federal legislation that outlawed housing discrimination. Two months later, on June 6, Robert Kennedy was gunned down in a Los Angeles hotel while campaigning to be the Democratic candidate for President. The assassinations of both national leaders in succession created a sense of national anger and dissolution.

The frustration prompted dozens of national protest organizations to converge on the Democratic National Convention in Chicago at the end of August. A bitterly fractured Democratic Party gathered to assemble a passable platform and nominate a broadly acceptable presidential candidate. Outside the convention hall, numerous student and radical groups—the most prominent being Students for a Democratic Society and the Youth International Party—identified the conference as an ideal venue for demonstrations against the Vietnam War and planned massive protests in Chicago's public spaces. Initial protests were peaceful, but the situation quickly soured as police issued stern threats, and young people began to taunt and goad officials. Many of the assembled students had protest and sit-in experiences only in the relative safe havens of college campuses, and were unaccustomed to the heavily armed, big-city police force, accompanied by National Guard troops in full riot gear. Attendees recounted vicious beatings at the hands of police and Guardsmen, but many young people—convinced that much public sympathy could be won via images of brutality against unarmed protesters—continued stoking the violence. Clashes spilled from the parks into city streets, and eventually the smell of tear gas penetrated upper floors of the opulent hotels hosting Democratic delegates.

The ongoing police brutality against the protesters overshadowed the convention and culminated in an internationally televised standoff in front of the Hilton Hotel, where policeman beat protestors chanting, "the whole world is watching!" For many on both sides, the Chicago riots engendered a growing sense of the chaos rocking American life. The disparity in force between students and police frightened some radicals out of advocacy for revolutionary violence, while some officers began questioning the war and those who waged it. Many more, though, saw disorder and chaos where once they had seen idealism and progress. Ultimately, the violence of 1968 was not the death knell of a struggle simply for the end of Black-white segregation, but rather a moment of transition that pointed to the continuation of past oppression and foreshadowed many of the challenges of the future. At decade's end, civil rights advocates could take pride in significant gains while acknowledging that many of the nation's racial issues remained unresolved.

Black Liberation

Alicia Garza (2014) writes,

> I created #BlackLivesMatter with Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi, two of my sisters, as a call to action for Black people after 17-year-old Trayvon Martin was posthumously placed on trial for his own murder and the killer, George Zimmerman, was not held accountable for the crime he committed. It was a response to the anti-Black racism that permeates our society and also, unfortunately, our movements (Garza, 2014).

Black Lives Matter is intentional about focusing on Black lives as they are disregarded and made inferior. Garza further emphasizes that BLM is a movement founded by queer Black women and that there is purpose in that. She writes,

Black Lives Matter Movement

Black Lives Matter (BLM) is a decentralized political and social movement advocating for non-violent civil disobedience in protest against incidents of police brutality and all racially motivated violence against Black people. The broader movement and its related organizations typically advocate against police violence towards Black people as well as for various other policy changes considered to be related to Black liberation.



Figure **6.5.10**: The morning of November 15, 2015, Jamar Clark was shot by Minneapolis Police. (CC BY 2.0; Fibonacci Blue via Wikimedia)

In July 2013, the movement began with the use of the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter on social media after the acquittal of George Zimmerman in the shooting death of African-American teen Trayvon Martin 17 months earlier in February 2012. The movement became nationally recognized for street demonstrations following the 2014 deaths of two African Americans, that of Michael Brown—resulting in protests and unrest in Ferguson, Missouri, a city near St. Louis—and Eric Garner in New York City. Since the Ferguson protests, participants in the movement have demonstrated against the deaths of numerous other African Americans by police actions or while in police custody. In the summer of 2015, Black Lives Matter activists became involved in the 2016 United States presidential election. The originators of the hashtag and call to action, Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, expanded their project into a national network of over 30 local chapters between 2014 and 2016. The overall Black Lives Matter movement is a decentralized network of activists with no formal hierarchy.

The movement returned to national headlines and gained further international attention during the global George Floyd protests in 2020 following the killing of George Floyd by Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin. An estimated 15 million to 26 million people, although not all are members or part of the organization, participated in the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests in the United States, making Black Lives Matter one of the largest movements in United States history. The movement has advocated to defund the police and invest directly into Black communities and alternative emergency response models.

The popularity of Black Lives Matter has rapidly shifted over time. Whereas public opinion on Black Lives Matter was net negative in 2018, it grew increasingly popular through 2019 and 2020. A June 2020 Pew Research Center poll found that the majority of Americans, across all racial and ethnic groups, have expressed support for the Black Lives Matter movement.

African American Policy Forum

"Founded in 1996, The African American Policy Forum (AAPF) is an innovative think tank that connects academics, activists and policy-makers to promote efforts to dismantle structural inequality" (AAPF). They center intersectionality while advocating for

marginalized identities. Kimberlé Crenshaw, the critical legal scholar who coined the word “intersectionality”, co-founded the forum and serves as Executive Director alongside co-founder Dr. Luke Charles Harris who serves as Deputy Director. #SayHerName draws attention to Black girls and women who are victims of police violence, specifically from “racist police violence.” They highlight how Black girls and women are also impacted and not just Black men. #TruthBeTold is a campaign to bring banned books to the public and also galvanize Black voters for what was the 2022 midterm elections. There are more initiatives.

Black Girls Code

Black Girls Code is an organization that was founded to help promote equity in STEM, especially amongst Black girls and girls of color. They provide workshops that help teach girls how to code or do computer programming through fun, accessible, and culturally relevant pedagogies. From learning coding through Black joy, creating art, through video games, and more, Black Girls Code is a popular company in the tech world that has chapters and partnerships throughout the country.

Black Social Media: A New Age Revolution

A new age Black revolution is currently waging on YouTube and Black Twitter by passionate African American social media personalities determined to help Black people defeat and rise above white supremacy’s boundaries. In recent years, social media sites like Facebook,Twitter, Snapchat, Instagram, BlogTalkRadio, and YouTube have reformatted Black radicalism in the United States by providing zealous African American activists with an online platform to boldly express their concerns and gain a following by using the Internet. As a result, significant shifts in Black revolutionary thought or consciousness and new protest methods have developed in combination with the rapid growth in human dependency on computer capabilities. The new virtual home for Black resistance to white-led racial oppression is rooted inside the Black radical tradition of remaining committed to an idealized, Black liberationist goal of securing self-regulating social, political, cultural, and economic freedom for people of African descent worldwide.

Black Twitter is an online subculture largely consisting of Black users on the social network Twitter focused on issues of interest to the Black community, particularly in the United States. Black Twitter has been describe as "a collective of active, primarily African-American Twitter users who have created a virtual community ... [and are] proving adept at bringing about a wide range of sociopolitical changes" (Jones, 2013). Although Black Twitter has a strong Black American user base, other people and groups are able to be a part of this social media circle through commonalities in shared experiences and reactions to such online. Calling out cultural appropriation was a chief focus of the space in the early 2010s.



Figure 6.5.11: The aftermath of the death of Trayvon Martin brought Black Twitter to wider public attention. (CC BY 2.0; ann harkness via Flickr)

The thought leaders of Black social media are both eagerly and often hesitantly referred to as spearheads of the Black Conscious Community. The Black Conscious Community is a conglomerate of sporadically allied African Americans who advocate replacing mainstream Black philosophies and institutions with Afrocentric and Black Nationalist ideas and action. The YouTubers of focus were chosen due to their loose connections and because they are among the most influential and thought-provoking in their justifications for the complete transformation of the psyche and physical reality of all people of African descent. Many of the Black YouTube radicals are often offended by the term and categorization of “YouTube

Revolutionary" or "Web-Oblutionary" because they believe such titles diminish the importance of their online and in-person work. Yet, the label is appropriate and reflects unique characteristics that make the online Black militants' important voices in the current political and social media landscape. The new virtual presence in Black radical thinking and action amassed by these YouTube radicals are worthy of serious scholarly study because they represent a critical stage of development in Black revolutionary history and consciousness.

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6.5.1: Reparations

Racism has caused tremendous harm to many racial and ethnic groups in the United States. Many argue that in order to advance equity, this harm merits a response. One proposed solution involves providing compensation for victims of racism. **Reparations** refers to the act of repairing damage and providing restitution for past harms. One example of reparations in the United States is the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which acknowledged that a great injustice had been committed against Japanese Americans when they were interned during World War II. The act mandated that Congress pay each living victim of internment $20,000 in reparations.



Figure **6.5.1.1**: "Poston, Arizona Relocation Camp for Japanese-Americans" (CC PDM 1.0; (Hikaru Iwasaki) pingnews.com via Flickr)

Although most of the discussion around reparations is focused on the financial aspect, it is important to note that there are other very important components to a program of reparations. The first of these is recognition. Recognition involves society's acknowledgment of the anger, hurt, injustice and material loss caused by racism, and how these wrong doings continue to affect people's lives today (Yamamoto, 2009). This recognition extends to the specific experiences of racial and ethnic groups in the United States, such as how African Americans feel about slavery, Native Americans about genocide, and Japanese Americans about internment.

The second component of reparations is responsibility. This involves acknowledging that someone is responsible for the harms inflicted on racial and ethnic groups in the United States (Yamamoto, 2009). The question of responsibility often comes up with regard to slavery. Who is responsible? Individual slave owners? Their descendants? The United States government? Many are calling for reparations for African Americans. Proponents claim this would not only address the harms of slavery, but also of Jim Crow laws and ongoing discrimination in employment, housing, education, the criminal justice system etc. Opponents argue that descendants of enslaved people did not experience the oppression of slavery, noting that reparations were given to Japanese American survivors of internment during WWII, not their descendants. Another argument against reparations suggests that reparations for one group (e.g. African Americans) will open up the door for other groups (e.g. Native Americans and Mexican Americans, groups who lost land during the expansion of Manifest Destiny).

Finally, there is the question of the reparations themselves. These reparations could take the form of direct cash transfers. However, reparations do not only have to mean sending checks. In fact, many argue that reparations in the form of a one time payment, will not address the systemic barriers that continue to impact people of color. Reparations could also involve any or all of the following:

- Full and free access to college education
- Guaranteed minimum livable income
- Community development funds
- Land grants

- Construction of monuments and museums honoring the history of communities of color
- Legislation mandating ethnic studies curriculum
- Legislation that requires the government to acknowledge racial injustice and execute a plan to address its impact

According to The Movement for Black Lives, "The government, responsible corporations and other institutions that have profited off of the harm they have inflicted on Black people — from colonialism to slavery through food and housing redlining, mass incarceration, and surveillance — must repair the harm done" (2021). The harm inflicted on Black Americans ranges from the TransAtlantic Slave Trade to chattel slavery (intergenerational slavery for life) to Jim Crow to the War on Drugs to police terror/violence to redlining to poverty to health inequities to unemployment to incarceration (The Movement for Black Lives, 2021).



Video **6.5.1.2**: Ta-Nehisi Coates' full opening statement on reparations at House hearing. Author Ta-Nehisi Coates told lawmakers at a House committee hearing that the debate over reparations is "a dilemma of inheritance." Coates called out Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell for saying a day earlier that reparations were not "a good idea" because no one who is currently living is responsible. Coates told lawmakers that many of the inequalities created by slavery persist today, including in the form of economic and health disparities. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (CC PDM 1.0; PBS (Public Broadcasting Service) NewsHour via YouTube)

In The Case for Reparations, TaNehisi Coates writes,

What I'm talking about is more than recompense for past injustices—more than a handout, a payoff, hush money, or a reluctant bribe. What I'm talking about is a national reckoning that would lead to spiritual renewal. Reparations would mean the end of scarfing hot dogs on the Fourth of July while denying the facts of our heritage. Reparations would mean the end of yelling "patriotism" while waving a Confederate flag. Reparations would mean a revolution of the American consciousness, a reconciling of our self-image as the great democratizer with the facts of our history...But I believe that wrestling publicly with these questions matters as much as—if not more than—the specific answers that might be produced. An America that asks what it owes its most vulnerable citizens is improved and humane. An America that looks away is ignoring not just the sins of the past but the sins of the present and the certain sins of the future. More important than any single check cut to any African American, the payment of reparations would represent America's maturation out of the childhood myth of its innocence into a wisdom worthy of its founders.

In this expose, Coates reminds the reader that Representative John Conyers introduced (for 25 years straight) a bill, now called House Resolution 40 or the Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act, to study slavery and its lingering effects was never even voted on in Congress. Sponsored most recently in 2019 by Representative Shelia Jackson Lee, this bill has never received a vote. Coates has questioned why. Why couldn't a bill simply to study reparations ever get to a vote, let alone be passed?

Perhaps the racial reckoning appeals from the summer 2020 multiracial protests throughout the U.S. (and the world) against the police killing of George Floyd may usher into the U.S. a similar kind of response that Germany provided post WWII. Despite initial resistance to provide reparations for the inhumane harm inflicted upon Jewish people by Nazi Germany, Germany ultimately provided billions of dollars of reparation payments to Israel in the two decades following the end of the Nazi occupation (Coates, 2014). Though such reparations could never make up for the atrocious murder of more than 6 million people, Coates offers, "They

did launch Germany's reckoning with itself, and perhaps provided a road map for how a great civilization might make itself worthy of the name."



Figure **6.5.1.3**: "Israel 2009" (CC BY-SA 2.0; commensaFamily via Flickr)

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6.6: Black American Identity

Leopold Senghor (1965) has defined **Negritude** as "the awareness, defence and development of African cultural values…the sum total of the values of the civilization of the African world." For Senghor this is not a racial phenomenon, but a cultural one, based primarily on cooperation. He distinguished this cooperation from the collectivist idea we typically associate with Asian cultures by focusing more on a communal perspective. In other words, collectivist cultures may be seen as an aggregate of individuals, but in the truly communal society, whether in the family, the village, or the tribe, there is a connection from the center of each person in their heart (see also Grills, 2002; Senghor, 1971). This is what Senghor believes has always been held in honor in Africa, and it ultimately encourages dialogue with others in Africa (the White Africans, the Arab-Berbers in North Africa) and beyond, so that we can assure peace and build the "Civilization of the Universal."

Negritude, then, is a part of Africanity. It is made of human warmth. It is democracy quickened by the sense of communion and brotherhood between men. More deeply, in works of art, which are a people's most authentic expression of itself, it is sense of image and rhythm, sense of symbol and beauty. (pg. 97; Senghor, 1965)

Abiola Irele has discussed the history of Negritude as a literary and ideological movement among Black, French-speaking intellectuals in Africa. It was initially a reaction to, and in opposition to, the colonial oppression of the African people. As such, it has been criticized by some as its own form of racism (see, e.g., Irele, 1981, 2001; Tembo, 1980), or as something unique to intellectuals, as opposed to more common people in Africa. However, as noted above, Negritude is about culture, not race per se. In addition, a small but nonetheless interesting study by Tembo (1980) provided evidence that scores on an **African Personality Scale** did not differ based on sex, marital status, having been educated in rural or urban schools, or whether they wished to pursue higher education in Africa or England. Irele compared Senghor's view of Negritude to that of the existential philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre. Sartre viewed Negritude as a stage in the development of Black consciousness, a stage that would be transcended by the ultimate realization of a human society without racism. In contrast, according to Irele, Senghor's Negritude is an inner state of Black people. It is a distinctive mode of being, which can be seen in their way of life, and which constitutes their very identity (Irele, 1981). Irele finds value in the concept of Negritude "insofar as it reflects a profound engagement of African minds upon the fundamental question of the African being in history…"

At a time when Africans are trying to experiment with new ideas and institutions, adapt them to their needs in the light of their traditional value systems, there is the need for a sustained belief in oneself, and this belief can be generated and kept alive by an ideology. This has been, and still is, the function of Negritude. (pg. 86; Ghanaian scholar P. A. V. Ansah, cited in Irele, 1981)

Although the concept of Negritude is not without its critics, if one accepts its premise there are important implications for people of the Black diaspora (Irele, 2001). **Nigrescence** has been described as the process of converting from Negro to Black, i.e., rejecting the deracination imposed by Whites and embracing traditional African values and a Black identity (Parham, 2002; Parham et al., 1999; Tembo, 1980). This process of searching for one's identity can be very powerful, leading perhaps to a positive self-identity or, at least, serving as a buffer against racism and oppression (Parham & Parham, 2002). For additional information on the importance of identify formation and the development of negative identity, I refer you back to the discussion of negative personality development among Black Americans in the chapter on Erik Erikson. But what triggers this critical search for one's identity?

For people of African descent in places such as the United States, the process of Nigrescence seems to follow four stages: **pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion,** and **internalization** (Parham, 2002; Parham et al., 1999). In the pre-encounter stage, the individual views the world from a White frame of reference. They think, act, and behave in ways that devalue and/or deny their Black heritage. Then, however, they encounter personal and/or social events that do not fit with their view of society. Muhammad Ali (formerly Cassius Clay) described in vivid and shocking detail how he was refused service at a restaurant because he was Black, after he had won the Olympic gold medal in boxing and been given the key to the city by the mayor of Louisville, Kentucky (Ali & Ali, 2004)! The individual then becomes immersed in Black culture. This can be a psychologically tumultuous time. For some, everything of value must reflect some aspect of Black and/or African heritage. They withdraw from contact with other racial/ethnic groups, and strong anti-White attitudes and feelings can emerge. Eventually, however, the individual internalizes their Black identity and becomes more secure. The tension, emotionality, and defensiveness of the previous stage is replaced with a calm and secure demeanor. The individual becomes more open minded, more ideologically flexible, and although Black values move to

and remain at the forefront, there is a general trend toward being more pluralistic and nonracist, and anti-White attitudes and feelings decline (Parham et al., 1999; see also Mbalia, 1995).

Black American Racial Identity Framework **6.6.1**

Dr. William Cross Jr. is a leading theorist and researcher in the psychology and identity development of people of color. His book, “Shade of Black”, is considered a classic in the field of racial identity. This framework identifies a continuum that leads Black Americans to form a positive racial identity.

Pre-encounter: The individual absorbs many of beliefs and values of the dominant white culture, including the notion that “white is right” and “Black is wrong”. They often de-emphasize their own racial group membership and seek to assimilate and be accepted by whites. Stereotypes, omissions, and distortions, combined with an image of white superiority, to some degree socialize Black children to value the role models, lifestyles, and images of beauty of white culture over those of their own cultural group. The individual may actively or passively distance themselves from other Blacks.

Encounter: This stage begins in adolescence (middle school or high school) when a teen or young adult is forced by an event or series of events to acknowledge the impact of racism in their life. For example, being followed around by security guards at the mall, or viewing media images of police brutality against Black men and women. As a result of this, the individual may reach the conclusion that many whites will not view them as an equal and to the reality that one cannot truly be white. The individual begins to focus on identity as a member of a group targeted by racism.

Immersion/Emersion: During this transitional point in the model, the individual simultaneously desires to surround themselves with visible symbols of their own racial identity and actively avoid symbols of whiteness. The individual begins to actively seek out opportunities to explore aspects their own history and culture with support of members from their own racial background.

Internalization: Secure in their own sense of racial identity, the individual becomes willing to establish meaningful relationships with whites who acknowledge and are respective of their own self-definition. The individual is now ready to begin coalitions with members of other oppressed groups.

Internalization-Commitment: During this fifth stage, anchored in their positive sense of racial identity, individuals have found ways to translate their own personal sense of Blackness into a plan of action or a general sense of commitment to concerns of Blacks as a group, which is sustained over time.

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Critical Analysis Question

The article "Beyoncé vs Daughters of the Dust: How an American indie classic inspired Lemonade" discusses direct comparisons between Dash's *Daughters of the Dust* and Beyonce's *Lemonade*. It includes images, clips, and Black Feminist history.

How is a Black Womans' identity formation different Black male identifying individuals? Do the same stages apply? What about other or non gendered identities?

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6.7: Intersectionality

Origins of Intersectionality

This body of work, not to mention other contributions by Black feminists such as Patricia Hill Collins, Kimberlé Crenshaw, bell hooks, Audre Lorde, Barbara Smith, and others, engages in critical and important conversations about Black sexuality. Black feminists, for example, provided a theoretical lens to examine oppression referred to as intersectionality. This tool continues to be a major contribution as it examines how individuals experience oppression differently based on their social location in terms of their sexuality, gender, class, race, ability, and religion, among other identities.

Sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (1990) developed the matrix of domination/oppression, a sociological paradigm that explains issues of oppression that deal with race, class, and gender. Other forms of classification such as sexual orientation, religion, or age apply to this theory as well. In Collins' Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment, she first describes the concept of matrix thinking within the context of how Black women in America encounter institutional discrimination based upon their race and gender. A prominent example of this in the 1990s was racial segregation, especially as it related to housing, education, and employment. At the time, there was very little encouraged interaction between whites and Blacks in these common sectors of society. Collins argues that this demonstrates how being Black and female in America continues to perpetuate certain common experiences for African-American women. As such, African-American women live in a different world than those who are not Black and female. Collins notes how this shared social struggle can actually result in the formation of a group-based collective effort, citing how the high concentration of African-American women in the domestic labor sector in combination with racial segregation in housing and schooling contributed directly to the organization of the Black feminist movement. The collective wisdom shared by Black women that held these specific experiences constituted a distinct viewpoint for African-American women concerning correlations between their race and gender and the resulting economic consequences.

Kimberlé Crenshaw, the founder of the term intersectionality, brought national and scholarly credential to the term through the paper Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics in The University of Chicago Legal Forum. In the paper, she uses intersectionality to reveal how feminist movements and anti-racist movements exclude women of color. Focusing on the experiences of Black women, she dissects several court cases, influential pieces of literature, personal experiences, and doctrinal manifestations as evidence for the way Black women are oppressed through many different experiences, systems, and groups.



Figure **6.7.1**: Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (CC BY-SA 4.0; Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung via Wikipedia).

Though the specifics differ, the basic argument is the same: Black women are oppressed in a multitude of situations because people are unable to see how their identities intersect and influence each other. Feminism has been crafted for white middle-class women, hence only considering problems that affect this group of people. Unfortunately, this only captures a small facet of the oppression

women face. By catering to the most privileged women and addressing only the problems they face, feminism alienates women of color and lower-class women by refusing to accept the way other forms of oppression feed into the sexism they face. Not only does feminism completely disregard the experiences of women of color, it also solidifies the connection between womanhood and whiteness when feminists speak for "all women" (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 154) Oppression cannot be detangled or separated easily in the same way identities cannot be separated easily. It is impossible to address the problem of sexism without addressing racism, as many women experience both racism and sexism. This theory can also be applied to the anti-racist movement, which rarely addresses the problem of sexism, even though it is thoroughly intertwined with the problem of racism. Feminism remains white, and antiracism remains male. In essence, any theory that tries to measure the extent and manner of oppression Black women face will be wholly incorrect without using intersectionality.

Both intersectionality and the matrix of domination help sociologists understand power relationships and systems of oppression in society. The matrix of domination looks at the overall organization of power in society while intersectionality is used to understand a specific social location of an identity using mutually constructing features of oppression. The concept of intersectionality today is used to move away from one dimensional thinking in the matrix of domination approach by allowing for different power dynamics of different identity categories at the same time. Researchers in public health are using Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis (IBPA) Framework to show how social categories intersect to identify health disparities that evolve from factors beyond an individual's personal health.

Intersectionality can also be used to correct for the over-attribution of traits to groups and be used to emphasize unique experiences within a group. As a result, the field of social work is introducing intersectional approaches in their research and client interactions. At the University of Arkansas, the curriculum for a Master of Social Work (MSW) is being amended to include the Multi-Systems Life Course (MSLC) approach. Christy and Valandra apply an MSLC approach to intimate partner violence and economic abuse against poor women of color to explain that symbols of safety (such as police) in one population can be symbols of oppression in another. By teaching this approach to future social workers, the default recommendation for these women to file a police report is amended and an intervention rooted in the individual case can emerge.

Black Women's Representation

The sections on "Black Women's Representation" and "Images and Stereotypes of Black Women in the Media" comes from author, Hodges (2014).

Race has consequences because physical bodies have been constructed to be valued differently. Representations of race, especially skin color, have come to signify meaning and ultimately mark such associations with a race. For these reasons, portrayals of racial representations cannot be ignored. Some scholars question the relevance of cultural representation to struggles of the conditions faced by Blacks, but others posit that cultural representation still does have an impact on addressing these struggles and also reflect the conditions faced by Blacks.

Lisa Collins (2002) points out that Black women were rarely seen in American and European art history, and that the depictions that did exist of Black women were ones in which "nineteenth-century visual culture consistently linked the Black female figure with slave, sexual, and service economies" as a reflection of the history of enslavement of Black women" (p. 103). Further, Patricia Hill Collins (1999) summarizes mainstream representations that perpetuate particular notions of Black womanhood distinguishing the **controlling images of Black women**: "the "Mammy" (p.72), the "Matriarch" (p.74), the "Welfare Mother" (p.78), the "Black Lady" (p.81) and the "Jezebel/hoochie" (p.81)

Images and Stereotypes of Black Women in the Media

The Mammy, a faithfully obedient and domestic servant, is considered more "desirable" to whites because of what she is meant to model for Black behavior and Black status, especially towards whites (Hill Collins, 1999, p. 72). It is possible that the Mammy also serves to appease the white imagination to visually see Black subordination and desexualization. In the case of the Matriarch, Hill Collins (1999) describes this image as a single working mother who is blamed for the lack of achievement (i.e., academic) of her children due to her working outside of the home, and thus were "failed mammies" (p. 75). Davidson (2010) points out the catch-22 in that Black women who assume the primary role as head of household usually are still judged by the false belief that women should be in the home. In such a case, the proverbial cards are 'always stacked against' Black women. If they stay home, their children starve, but if they work, they are absent from their children's lives. In both cases, they are accused of being uncaring

mothers' (Davidson, 2010). Hill Collins (1999) points out that the controlling image of the Matriarch seeks to remove the blame of "negative phenomena plaguing the black community" (p. 76) away from structural inequities and instead directly places blame on an alleged cultural deficiency of Blacks, and especially Black single mothers.



Figure **6.7.1.5**:"Mammy dolls." (CC BY 2.0; Joel Kramer via Flickr)

For the Welfare Mother image, Hill Collins (1999) states, "African Americans [are] racially stereotyped as being lazy by blaming Black welfare mothers for failing to pass on the work ethic. Moreover, the welfare mother has no male authority to assist her" (p. 79). This stereotype and blame coincides with the image of the Matriarch but also favors heteronormativity and also ignores the fact that for a long time after welfare began, Black women were not able to receive welfare.

The fourth image, the Black Lady, is a "modern day mammy" that is a "middle class professional" that works so hard she doesn't have "time for a man" (Hill Collins, 1999 p. 81). This image is used as an example of unfair 'reverse racism' towards whites because she works in jobs that whites consider themselves to be more deserving of, but the supposed disadvantage of her blackness is pointed to as the reason for obtaining her position (p. 81).

Finally, the Jezebel or hoochie is portrayed as a sexually aggressive female that occupies a "deviant" position in sexuality due to her hypersexuality, which Hill Collins (1999) points to in mainstream rap videos. Additionally, homosexuality is pointed to as emasculating men due to being seen as emulating the hypersexuality of Black men.

Other scholars speak of controlling images that include Hill Collins' labels or a variation of them. For example, Wallace-Sanders (2002) states

Black women have historically been represented as hypersexual, ignorant, and violent female 'Negro beasts,' in addition to many other denigrating types including the long-suffering desexualized Mammy, the primitive Topsy, the exotic Jezebel, and the evil, emasculating Sapphire. These well-known stereotypes are of pathologized bodies that are specifically Black and female, and they are also found in literature and in media images from the news to contemporary music (p. 3).

Lisa Collins' (2002) summarization of these representations supports Patricia Hill Collins' "Controlling Images of Black Women" and captures the perpetuation of particular notions of Black womanhood.

Regardless of which summary of images is more encompassing, all of these images have been used to dictate discourse and policy, for example, on reproduction with the ad on a New York City billboard which stated "the most dangerous place for an African American is in the womb" on AIDS (Gray, 2005, pg. 85) and on pregnancy. Gray (2005) further adds that the representation of Blacks, for example, can be used for or against causes, such as justification for colorblindness or as part of "campaigns…against affirmative action" (p. 186). In these ways, Black visibility is often used for harm and thus supports why the negotiation of representation is still important to struggles of equity.

Black Sexuality and Origins of Discrimination

✔ Black Sexuality and Origins of Discrimination

Parmer and Gordon (2007) describe Black sexuality as "a collective cultural expression of the multiple identities as sexual beings of a group of Africans in America, who share a slave history that over time has strongly shaped the Black experiences in white America" (pg. 175). There has been a more pronounced focus on Black sexuality than on the sexuality of other ethnic

groups. Rachel et al. (2015) additionally note the absence of discourse on ‘white’ sexuality, ‘Jewish’ sexuality, ‘Native American’ sexuality, etc.. Even though there is not much work to speak of that focuses on white heterosexuality per se in the ways in which the discourse on Black sexuality has been created, it is safe to say that the dominant discourse about sexuality centers and normalizes white sexuality in general and is grounded in dominant cultural terms. It is also important to note that there has been pushback to de-center whiteness. Counternarratives, a component of Critical Race Theory as discussed in Chapter 2, question and interrogate the backdrop of whiteness (see also Chapter 9) that has been used to normalize white hegemonic sexuality on the one hand and at the same time degrade Black sexuality on the other hand. Black sexuality has historically been negatively judged against a particular kind of white sexual norms: “[t]he pathologizing of Black sexuality continued as means of affirming the superior status of Europeans while restricting the social movement of Black people by characterizing egalitarian interaction with them as undesirable” (McCruder, 2010, p. 104)

Perhaps one of the most poignant and foundational examples of debasing the female Black body with a particular emphasis on big breasts, buttocks, and other sexual body parts occurred in the early nineteenth century with the European obsession with a woman named Saartjie Baartman (1789-1815). Also known as “The Hottentot Venus,” Baartman was a Khoikhoi woman originally from southwest Africa. Essentially, Baartman was taken from her homeland in Africa to Europe, where she was put on exhibit for public viewings in England and France from 1810 until her death. Such a display of Baartman’s body was certainly a way of “Othering” her Black body, especially compared with white European women. Exhibiting Baartman was both a way of showing various aspects of Black sexuality as well as making her a spectacle. Her years on exhibition constituted more of an ongoing “freak show” than honoring Baartman or her body in any way. Green 1999 noted that “When the [public] paid to see her ‘perform’—she was held in a cage and made to dance half-naked in order to receive any food...People were so perplexed upon seeing her that they debated whether she was even human" (as cited in Barrerra 2002, pg. 410). Following her death in 1815, Baartman’s image remained on display in the form of a plaster cast of her body at the Muֹee de l’Homme in Paris, France, and her sexual body parts were preserved and kept on display until the 1970s. It was not until 2002 that Saartjie Baartman’s bodily remains were returned to her homeland in South Africa for a proper, respectful, and humane burial based on an arrangement made by South African President Nelson Mandela with the French government. Baartman's story illustrates the exoticization of the Black female body, which reified and perpetuated the Western notion of Blackness and linked it to being less than human, lascivious, and non-normative.

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Figure **6.7.2**: A female Hottentot with steatopygy (CC BY 4.0; Wellcome Collection via Creative Commons)

Setting the Stage for Negative Attitudes About Black Sexuality

While the Baartman story provides a single example of the characterization of Black sexuality, it fits with a larger picture of the social construction of race, discussed in Chapter 2, that pre-dates Baartman being put on display in Europe. Europeans formed their views of Black people as far back as the sixteenth century. When Europeans came into contact with Africans and witnessed how

they interacted sexually with other Africans and non-African individuals as well as the degree to which Africans were clothed, negative attitudes were formed about African sexuality. Historian McGruder (2010) further states that "[t]he limited apparel worn by most Africans was interpreted by Europeans as a sign of lasciviousness or lack of modesty rather than a concession to the tropical climate. Linked to this impression was a perception that the sex drives of Africans were uncontrollable." Even more insidious was the suggestion that African people were less than human, even to the extent of their being animalized. This portrayal of African people by Europeans continued for the duration not only of chattel slavery in the American South from 1619 to 1863, but also long after slavery ended into the Jim Crow Era and beyond. Another factor that influenced and perpetuated racist ideologies that concerned both sexual and non-sexual aspects of Black people involved scientific racism that was prominent from the 1600s until the end of World War II (now regarded as pseudo-science or racialized science and thoroughly disregarded as nonsense). Among the academic and professional fields that practiced scientific racism were anthropology, biological sciences, medicine, and so on, in Europe and the United States. A description of Black people from this perspective was written by the nineteenth-century French naturalist and zoologist Georges Cuvier, the same individual who dissected and preserved Baartman's sexual body parts, appeared in his book The Animal Kingdom: Arranged in Conformity with Its Organization. Among many other topics, Cuvier (1817) covered the varieties of the human species. In part, he wrote, "The Negro race is confined to the south of mount Atlas; it is marked by a Black complexion; crisp or woolly hair, compressed cranium, and a flat nose. The projection of the lower parts of the face, and the thick lips, evidently appropriate it to the monkey tribe; the hordes of which it consists have always remained in the most complete state of barbarism" (Cuvier, 1817). Such a description is not only generally dehumanizing but the likening of people of African descent to animals extends to attitudes about their sexuality. Such attitudes deriving from the observations of African people by Europeans when they first visited Africa in the sixteenth century coupled with the racist pseudo-science that was characterized by Cuvier's claims above, in part, provided a rationale for enslaving people of African descent in North America, in particularly what would become the Southern states of the U.S.

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Countering the Negativity About Black Sexuality

While it is important to mark the systemic racism (defined in Chapter 4) that has pointed to mainstream society's discomfort and fear of Black sexuality, it is equally as important to discuss actions that have fought against such injustices. It is absolutely true that Black people and their communities have been maltreated by hundreds of years of racism that have caused both symbolic and material harm. The injustices done by castigating Black individuals for their sexuality have been unconscionable. Such abuses in the forms of microaggressions and macroaggressions have had significant detrimental impacts. There is no question about how profoundly Black individuals and their communities have suffered from racism and how that translated, in part, into demonizing their sexuality. That history is real and needs to be respected and in no way covered up or misrepresented. At the same time, it is also important to point out how Black people and their allies responded and fought back in response to the prejudice and discrimination regarding Black sexual matters.

In a number of ways, resistance to fight against racism has been both realized and effective. One such example is the NAACP's response to Birth of a Nation. While it is true that many of the goals of the NAACP including censoring the film did not take hold, a number of other benefits for the NAACP and civil rights came as a result of organizing against the film. In the very early years of its existence, the NAACP focused predominantly on problematic issues that occurred almost exclusively in the South such as housing segregation and lynchings. However, once a Birth of a Nation was released, protests occurred all over the United States, as this film was a national phenomenon and relevant to more than one specific geographical area. Weinberger (2011) put it best by asserting, "What is perhaps most interesting and important about the campaign against Birth is that while it did not achieve its goals, it transformed the NAACP in ways no one could have anticipated."

The Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s constituted many African American writers, artists, and social critics who questioned and challenged the pervasive stereotypes, racism, discrimination, and prejudice that haunted Black people from the slavery era well into the Jim Crow period in American history. Besides the overarching cultural work that the Harlem Renaissance achieved, it showed progress in the area of Black sexuality, as "we now know that many of the most significant participants within the Renaissance were... [gay, lesbian, bisexual, and queer people] who found unprecedented amounts of social and intellectual freedom in 1920s New York, not to mention places like Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta" (Weinberger, 2011). Such writers

as Langston Hughes and Richard Bruce Nugent included queer themes in their writings, and Blues singer Gladys Bentley often performed in drag. Additionally, drag balls held during this period included hundreds of individuals who were cross-dressed. These are merely a few of the numerous individuals who contributed to this rich historical period. The cultural work that resulted certainly challenged the hegemonic narrative that long haunted Black Americans generally and more specifically about their sexuality.

Long before the successes of striking down the miscegenation laws nationally with the Supreme Court ruling on the Loving v. Virginia case, fearless Black activists existed. A prime example of such courage in the face of savage and deadly racism were Black feminists. One such activist was Ida B. Wells (1862-1931), a journalist, “who not only exploded the myth of bestial, white-female-obsessed Black brute but who also established remarkably sophisticated ways of thinking of lynching as a means of controlling newly emancipated—and partially enfranchised—Black American populations.” A number of other Black activists spoke out against anti-Black sentiment connected to Black sexuality. Black icons W.E.B. Dubois (1868-1963), Mary Church Terrell (1863-1954), and Walter Francis white (1893-1955) were champions who specifically challenged the stereotype of the uncivilized Black male who sexually preyed on white women.

Another positive turn occurred when miscegenation laws nationwide were overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court. The last vestige of segregation laws was ruled unconstitutional in the famous court case of Loving v. Virginia in June of 1967. As a result of this Supreme Court ruling, all laws that banned marriages between individuals of mixed racial heritage were null and void. This finding freed individuals to marry whom they wished irrespective of the racial makeup of both people in the relationship. The case was a major victory considering the entrenched widespread belief and legal backing that white and Black individuals could not have interracial sex.

Issues of Black sexuality have surfaced in many other ways through popular culture. It has been a “mixed bag” in terms of perpetuating old, harmful stereotypes on the one hand or being liberatory on the other hand. Yet, some representations cannot be so neatly categorized in one camp or the other. Hollywood movies have portrayed Black sexuality in various ways, and music icons such as Aretha Franklin, Whitney Houston, Janet Jackson, Marvin Gaye, Prince, and others have lyrics in their songs that get at the heart of sex and relationships. How about rap and hip-hop artists and their messages about (Black) sexuality? How have they contributed to the discourse on Black sexuality? How about incidents that have spurred discussion such as when Magic Johnson was diagnosed with HIV, or the Congressional hearings that ensued when Clarence Thomas was being nominated to be an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court and Anita Hill brought charges of sexual harassment? How about popular television programs that feature African Americans? How about the notion of the “Down Low” that was originally discussed as an African American male phenomenon in which presumably otherwise straight men would have sexual contact with other men in a clandestine fashion? While space constraints do not allow for fuller details, descriptions, and analyses of these various popular cultural representations of Black sexuality, they are certainly worthy of detailed analysis in terms of how they have influenced our views and discourses about Black sexuality in U.S. society.

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African-American LGBTQ Community

The African-American LGBTQ community is part of the overall LGBTQ culture. LGBTQ stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer. The LGBTQ community did not receive societal recognition until the historical marking of the Stonewall Riots in 1969 in New York at Stonewall Inn. The Stonewall riots brought domestic and global attention to the lesbian and gay community. During the first night of the Stonewall riots, LGBTQ African Americans and Latinos likely were the largest percentage of the protestors, because those groups heavily frequented the bar.

During the Harlem Renaissance, a subculture of LGBTQ African-American artists and entertainers emerged, including people like Alain Locke, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Wallace Thurman, Richard Bruce Nugent, Bessie Smith, Ma Rainey, Moms Mabley, Mabel Hampton, Alberta Hunter, and Gladys Bentley. Places like Savoy Ballroom and the Rockland Palace hosted drag-ball extravaganzas with prizes awarded for the best costumes. Langston Hughes depicted the balls as "spectacles of color." George Chauncey, author of Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940, wrote that during this period "perhaps nowhere were more men willing to venture out in public in drag than in Harlem."

Black Lesbian Identity

There has historically been a lot of racism and racial segregation in lesbian spaces. Racial and class divisions sometimes made it difficult for Black and white women to see themselves as on the same side in the feminist movement. Black women faced misogyny from within the black community even during the fight for Black liberation. Homophobia was also pervasive in the black community during the Black Arts Movement because "feminine" homosexuality was seen as undermining Black power. Black lesbians especially struggled with the stigma they faced within their own community. With unique experiences and often very different struggles, Black lesbians have developed an identity that is more than the sum of its parts – Black, lesbian, and woman. Some individuals may rank their identities separately, seeing themselves as Black first, woman second, lesbian third, or some other permutation of the three; others see their identities as inextricably interwoven.

Black Transgender People

Black transgender individuals face higher rates of discrimination than black LGB individuals. While policies have been implemented to inhibit discrimination based on gender identity, transgender individuals of color lack legal support. Transgender individuals are still not supported by legislation and policies like the LGBTQ community. New reports show vast discrimination in the black transgender community. Reports show in the National Transgender Discrimination Survey that black transgender individuals, along with non-conforming individuals, have high rates of poverty. Statistics shows a 34% rate of households receiving an income less than $10,000 a year. According to the data, that is twice the rate when looking at transgender individuals of all races and four times higher than the general Black population. Many face poverty due to discrimination and bias when trying to purchase a home or apartment. Thirty-eight percent of black trans individuals report in the Discrimination Survey being turned down property due to their gender identity, while 31% of the Black individuals were evicted due to their identity.

Black transgender individuals also face disparities in education, employment, and health. In education, Black transgender and non-conforming persons face brutish environments while attending school. Reporting rates show 49% of black transgender individuals being harassed from kindergarten to twelfth grade. Physical assault rates are at 27% percent, and sexual assault is at 15%. These drastically high rates have an effect on the mental health of black transgender individuals. As a result of high assault/harassment and discrimination, suicide rates are at the same rate (49%) as harassment to Black transgender individuals. Employment discrimination rates are similarly higher. Statistics show a 26% rate of unemployed black transgender and non-conforming persons. Many Black trans people have lost their jobs or have been denied jobs due to gender identity: 32% are unemployed, and 48% were denied jobs.



Figure **6.7.3**: "Black and Brown Transgender Lives Matter- www.peoplespower.net" (CC BY-ND 2.0; @iamsdawson via Flickr)

Black Gay Pride Movement

The Black Gay Pride movement is a movement within the United States for African American members of the LGBTQ community. Started in the 1990s, Black Gay Pride movements began as a way to provide Black LGBTQ people an alternative to the largely white mainstream LGBTQ movement. White gay prides enforce, both consciously and unconsciously, the long history of ignoring the people of color who share in the experiences. The history of segregation seen in other organizations such as nursing

associations, journalism associations, and fraternities is carried on into the black gay prides seen today. The exclusion of people of color in gay pride events plays into the existing undertones of white superiority and racist political movements. In response, the movement serves as a way for black LGBT people to discuss specific issues that are more unique to the black LGBT community and celebrate the progress of the black LGBTQ community. While the mainstream gay pride movement, often perceived as overwhelmingly white, has focused much of its energy on same-sex marriage, the Black Gay Pride movement has focused on issues such as racism, homophobia, and lack of proper health and mental care in Black communities.



Figure **6.7.4**: The flag of gay and trans pride in solidarity with Black Lives Matter. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Emercado2020 via Wikimedia)

Today, there are about 20 Black Gay Pride events all over the United States. The largest of these events have historically been D.C. Black Pride and Atlanta Black Pride. While black pride events started as early as 1988, D.C. Black Pride, which began in 1991, has been cited as one of the earliest celebrations. The D.C. Black Pride celebration started out of a tradition called the Children's Hour 15 years prior.

Economic Disparities within the African-American LGBTQ Community

Within the Black LGBTQ community many face economic disparities and discrimination. Statistically Black LGBTQ individuals are more likely to be unemployed than their non-Black counterparts. According to the Williams Institute, the vast difference lies in the survey responses of “not in workforce” from different populations geographically. Black LGBTQ individuals, nonetheless, face the dilemma of marginalization in the job market. As of 2013, same-sex couples' income is lower than those in heterosexual relationships with an average of $25,000 income. For opposite-sex couples, statistics show a $1,700 increase. Analyzing economic disparities on an intersectional level (gender and race), the Black man is likely to receive a higher income than a woman. For men, statistics shows approximately a $3,000 increase from the average income for all Black LGBTQ identified individuals, and a $6,000 increase in salary for same-sex male couples. Female same-sex couples receive $3,000 less than the average income for all Black LGBTQ individuals and approximately $6,000 less than their male counterparts. The income disparity amongst black LGBTQ families affects the lives of their dependents, contributing to poverty rates. Children growing up in low-income households are more likely to remain in the poverty cycle. Due to economic disparities in the black LGBTQ community, 32% of children raised by gay Black men are in poverty. However, only 13% of children raised by heterosexual Black parents are in poverty and only 7% for white heterosexual parents.

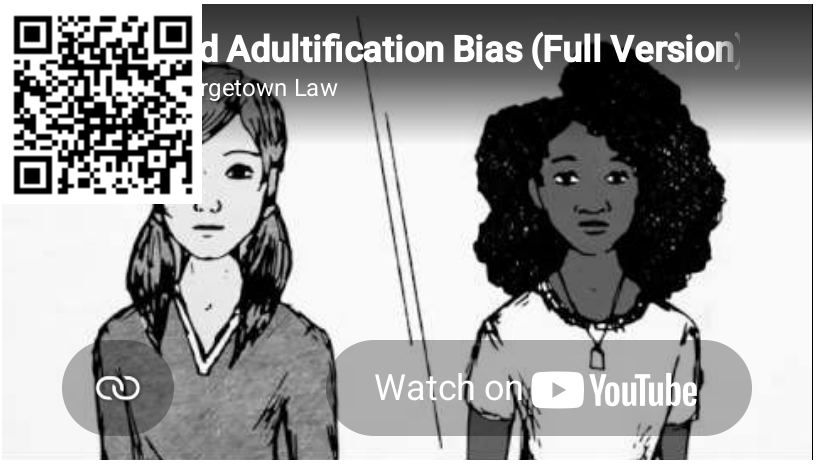
Comparatively looking at gender, race, and sexual orientation, Black women same-sex couples are likely to face more economic disparities than Black women in an opposite sex relationship. Black women in same-sex couples earn $42,000 compared to Black women in opposite-sex relationships who earn $51,000, a twenty-one percent increase in income. Economically, Black women same-sex couples are also less likely to be able to afford housing. Approximately fifty percent of black women same-sex couples can afford to buy housing compared to white women same-sex couples who have a seventy-two percent rate in home ownership.

Adultification Bias of Black Girls

Adultification bias is a form of racial prejudice where children of people of colors, such as African American girls, are treated as being more mature than they actually are by a reasonable social standard of development. As such, African American girls have reported to be treated unfairly such as their true ages were disbelieved when they told authority figures like police officers, and

facing consequences in school for misbehaviors while white girls doing the same acts would have their young ages taken into account.

This video explains 'adultification bias' and highlights some of the stories discussed by Black women and girls during focus-group research conducted by the Georgetown Law Center on Poverty's Initiative on Gender Justice and Opportunity.



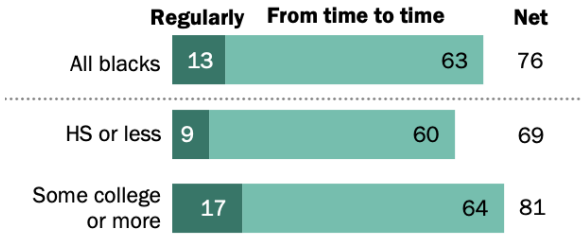
Video **6.7.5**: End Adultification Bias (Full Version).(Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; Georgetown Law via YouTube)

Black American Experiences of Racial Discrimination Vary by Education Level and Gender

Personal experiences with racial discrimination are common for Black Americans. But certain segments within this group – most notably, those who are college educated or male – are more likely to say they've faced certain situations because of their race, according to a new Pew Research Center survey.

Majorities of blacks say they've faced discrimination, but those with college experience are more likely to say this

% of blacks, by educational attainment, who say they have personally experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly because of their race or ethnicity

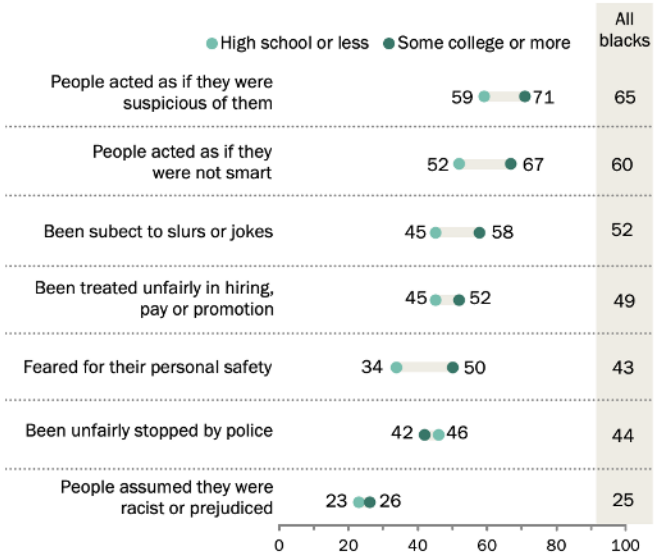


Note: Blacks include those who only report being one race and are non-Hispanic. "Some college or more" includes those who have an associate's, bachelor's or advanced degree and those who have attended college but did not obtain a degree. "High school or less" refers to those who have a high school diploma or its equivalent and those who did not complete high school.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 22-Feb. 5, 2019.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Blacks who have attended college are more likely than those who haven't to say they've faced certain situations because of their race

% of black adults, by educational attainment, who say each of the following has happened to them because of their race or ethnicity



Note: Blacks include those who only report being one race and are non-Hispanic. "Some college or more" includes those who have an associate's, bachelor's or advanced degree and those who have attended college but did not obtain a degree. "High school or less" refers to those who have a high school diploma or its equivalent and those who did not complete high school.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 22-Feb. 5, 2019.

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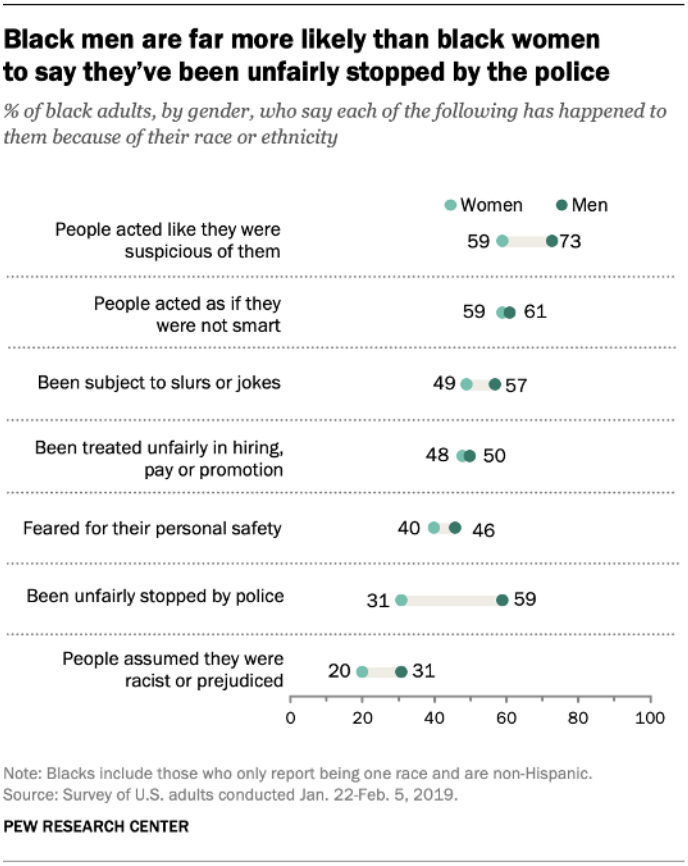


Figure 6.7.6: Most Black adults feel at least somewhat connected to a broader Black community in the U.S. (Used with permission; Views on Race in America 2019. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2019))

A study led by researchers at Stanford, Harvard and the Census Bureau, found in 99% of neighborhoods in the United States, Black boys earn less in adulthood than white boys who grow up in families with comparable income. According to this study (Chetty, Hendren, Jones, & Porter, (2020),

one of the most prominent theories for why Black and white children have different outcomes is that Black children grow up in different neighborhoods than whites. But, we find large gaps even between Black and white men who grow up in families with comparable income in the same Census tract (small geographic areas that contain about 4,250 people on average). Indeed, the disparities persist even among children who grow up on the same block. These results reveal that differences in neighborhood-level resources, such as the quality of schools, cannot explain the intergenerational gaps between Black and white boys by themselves.

The study also states,

Black-white disparities exist in virtually all regions and neighborhoods. Some of the best metro areas for economic mobility for low-income Black boys are comparable to the worst metro areas for low-income white boys, as shown in the maps below. And Black boys have lower rates of upward mobility than white boys in 99 percent of Census tracts in the country (Chetty et. al, 2020).

This study also found that the Black-white income gap is entirely driven by differences in men's, not women's, outcomes. The findings show that among those who grow up in families with comparable incomes, Black men grow up to earn substantially less than the white men. In contrast, Black women earn slightly more than white women, which is found to be conditional on parent income. The study also found little or no gap in wages or work hours between Black and white women.

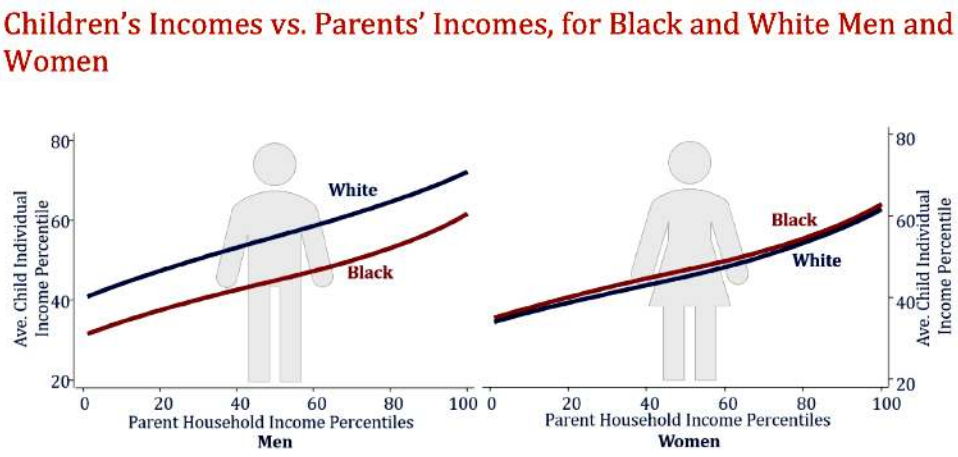


Figure **6.7.7**: Racial Disparities | Opportunity Insights. (CC BY-SA; via The Equity of Opportunity Project)

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6.8: Summary/Review

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have explored the history and context that led to the creation of Black Studies, as well as some of the important concepts and scholarship that have come out of this area. The core theories and ideas presented in Black Studies, including Panafricanism, Black Power, Black Nationalism, discrimination, double consciousness, and controlling images, are central to a clear and truthful analysis of Black communities' experiences and political context. Black Studies is rooted in liberation struggles, and this has led to the creation of theories and concepts that respond to and integrate the wisdom gained through intergenerational movements for social change. In this context, we can apply theory and knowledge produced by Black communities to describe critical events, histories, cultures, intellectual traditions, contributions, and lived experiences, with a particular emphasis on agency and group affirmation.

While racialization is central to Black identity, this chapter has also shown us the importance of intersectionality, and the significance of multiple interlocking systems, including class, gender, sexuality, religion, and spirituality. For example, gender roles have historically structured the assumptions about who can lead in what ways when it comes to social movement organizing. Religious institutions have long played an important role in Black communities, ranging from social services and economic prosperity to political organizing and community development. In contemporary movements, churches still play an important role, and young activists have also established multiple sites of influence and resources that are used for advocacy and social change. With these tools in mind, we are all better equipped to stand in solidarity with Black leaders advocating for change and finding ways to contribute directly to a more just and equitable society in our own communities and spaces.

Key Terms

- **Garveyism:** An ideology centered on the thinking of Marcus Garvey, which emphasized pride, empowerment, and economic prosperity for Black communities.
- **Black Power:** A movement and political belief system that emphasizes building Black-serving institutions and leaders. The term Black Power was coined by Stokely Carmichael during a speech after being arrested for the 27th time in 1966.
- **Black Nationalism:** An ideology that emphasizes pride in being Black, economic self-sufficiency, and Black separatism.
- **Panafricanism:** The foundation for the idea of Blackness and Black identity, which brings together the experience of people's heritage. This includes African people, African immigrants, and communities with origins on the African continent that have been enslaved, trafficked, and settled in various parts of the world, especially in the United States, the Caribbean, Europe, and Latin America.
- **Civil Rights Movement:** A group working toward equality and legal rights for a marginalized group. Most commonly referring to the movement of organizations led by African Americans in the U.S. between the 1940s and 1970s that advocated for equality in education, employment, housing, voting, and other major civil rights areas.
- **De Jure Racial Discrimination:** Legally sanctioned discrimination that is supported by existing laws and political belief systems. De jure discrimination is the opposite of de facto discrimination, which is discrimination that happens due to structural patterns but not as a result of explicitly biased laws.
- **Double Consciousness:** The psychological impact of living in a racist society for African Americans in the years following the end of slavery. Specifically, double consciousness means the way that Black people have to see themselves through the lens of a racist society, in addition to an authentic self-perception and identity.
- **Transatlantic Triangular Trade:** The economic system that supported the colonization of the United States and the Americas by European countries. This arrangement exploited the people and natural resources of West Africa and the eastern segments of North, Central, and South America for the financial benefit and production of industrialization in Europe and European colonies.
- **Chattel Slavery:** The specific form of slavery in which the children of enslaved people are automatically considered to be slaves themselves. This system contributed to the creation of racial categories in colonial America.
- **Three-Fifths Compromise:** A decision in the 1787 U.S. Constitutional Convention that determined that while enslaved people were not eligible to vote, they would be counted toward the population when determining the number of representatives from each state, but only at 3/5th the rate of the free, white population. This meant that slave-owning states would have increased representation based on the number of enslaved people in their state despite those people not being represented in elections.

- **Underground Railroad:** A network of anti-slavery activists who operated to provide safe hiding spaces and routes of travel for self-emancipated people who were fleeing to places where slavery was not legal so they could begin life anew. This included Canada, Mexico, and for a period of time, the Spanish-controlled colony of Florida.
- **1619 Project:** A project by historian Nikole Hannah-Jones and the New York Times that recognized and investigated the 400th anniversary of racialized slavery in the United States. The project has become the target of conservative attempts to censor discussions of race, history, slavery, and racial disparities today.
- **Freedmen's Bureau:** A federal agency that operated in the years following the U.S. Civil War to support recently freed communities of Black people in the southern United States. Despite early successes, the program was completely eliminated.
- **Black Codes:** Laws that created restrictions on Black people's abilities to own property, conduct business, lease land, and move freely through public spaces. These regulations worked to keep separate the established white society from the lives of Black people.
- **Jim Crow Era:** A time where public institutions actively established racial segregation. Despite the promises of the 14th and 15th Amendment that Black people would enjoy the rights and responsibilities of full citizenship, segregation created an explicitly tiered version of citizenship. The Courts upheld this doctrine through the notion of "separate but equal," which was codified in the 1896 decision in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case. The term "Jim Crow" refers to minstrel shows where white actors would wear Blackface and portray negative stereotypes of Black men.
- **Black Wall Street:** The Greenwood District of Tulsa, Oklahoma, was home to many thriving Black-owned businesses and families prior to being targeted by white supremacists in 1921 who massacred the area over two days, with hundreds missing or dead. It was one of the deadliest acts of terrorism in U.S. history.
- **New Jim Crow:** A book by legal scholar Michelle Alexander that demonstrates the historical continuity between the systems of slavery, Jim Crow segregation, and mass incarceration today.
- **Disproportionality:** How representation differs greatly compared to other groups or others within a group
- **Affirmative Action:** An approach to achieving equity in public institutions, companies, and other organizations that experienced considerable resistance. Affirmative action includes practices meant to eliminate historical patterns of discrimination and to provide corrective adjustments that recognize the barriers faced by historically underrepresented groups.
- **Controlling Images of Black Women:** A perspective coined by sociologist Patricia Hill Collins that emphasizes the constellation of stereotypes that work to control and subordinate Black women in public society, including the Mammy, the Matriarch, and the Welfare Queen.
- **Black Lives Matter:** A movement of activists and organizations around the world that advocate against police brutality and killing of Black people. The movement has become a centerpiece in contemporary struggles for rights, equity, justice, and recognition.
- **Black Feminism:** The tradition of Black women using intellectual, social, cultural, and political strategies to end violence and exploitation.
- **Combahee River Collective:** A group of women, including prominent Black lesbians, who wrote a collective statement demonstrating their political analysis and commitment to addressing interlocking structures of discrimination, including sexism, heterosexism, and racism.

Reflection Questions

1. Describe some forms of resistance from the Black community whether during slavery, Reconstruction, contemporary times, etc.
2. Discuss the experience of slavery.
3. Explain how structural inequality, inequality through policies and laws within government, health, schooling, media, etc. subordinated Black Americans.
4. How do Black Power, Black Nationalism, Black Wall Street, Black Lives Matter, and Black Feminism contribute to uplifting the Black community and also for sub-identities within the Black community?
5. How was the Civil Rights Movement significant in the history of Black progress?
6. How do the struggles of Black women show other dimensions of Black experiences?
7. Compare the Freedmen's Bureau and affirmative action as efforts to rectify past injustices.

Journal Prompts

1. Black activists have engaged in a long history of high-risk activism. This means that taking action, stepping up, and demanding social change incurs complex risk. The immediate risk could include physical violence, negative reactions, and direct resistance from police, white supremacists, and bystanders. Beyond the immediate risks of protest, being involved in social change efforts has also meant risking one's job and housing, and putting one's family in danger. Reflecting on what you learned in this chapter, what factors influence groups to take on these risks? Consider the larger political context, as well as how organizations and movements support each other in the face of external threats.
2. Identify a piece of media (artwork, song, podcast, book, article, poem, etc.) that was created by a Black artists. In writing, provide a description of the media and the artist, along with your interpretation of the piece's significance. This may include commentary and analysis related to race, as well as other topics. You should consider how the artists' own experience and perspective may influence their creation.
3. Locate clips of movies with Black women characters. Using the "Black Women's Representation" section, students will identify whether the characters fall into the controlling images and why/why not. Students can also compare movies directed or written by Black women and compare them to others. This can be done with movies, tv, music, videos, commercials, etc.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

7: Chicanx and Latinx Studies

By Dr. Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick and Ulysses Acevedo

Learning Objectives

- Recognize theories and knowledge produced by Chicanx and Latinx communities to describe critical events, histories, traditions, and social struggles, emphasizing agency and group affirmation.
- Identify and assess how struggle, resistance, racial and social justice, solidarity, and liberation among Chicanx and Latinx people are relevant to current and structural issues such as immigration, settler-colonialism, multiculturalism, and language policies.
- Identify how historical and contemporary Chicanx and Latinx movements have enacted equity, self-determination, liberation, decolonization, sovereignty, and anti-racism as analyzed.

7.1: Introduction
7.2: History and Demographics
7.3: Intergroup Relations
7.4: Social Institutions
7.5: Roots and Resistance- The Development of Chicanx and Latinx Studies
7.6: Contested and Competing Meanings in Chicanx and Latinx Studies
7.7: Racialization and Identity
7.8: Intersectionality
7.9: Migration and Immigration
7.10: Special Topics in Chicanx and Latinx Studies
7.11: Summary/Review
7.12: References

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7.1: Introduction

Introduction to Chicanx and Latinx Studies

People living in the United States and around the world with family roots in Mexico, Central America, and South America have varied and complex experiences and identities. However, the shared historical context of these groups has created a common basis for understanding and analysis. The impulse to analyze social and cultural conditions is the grounding principle of Chicanx and Latinx Studies. This chapter will explore how Chicanx and Latinx Studies have formed and developed. There are shared histories with a broader movement for Ethnic Studies, and particular dynamics that characterize this area of study and create opportunities for students and scholars to use the analytical tools of Chicanx and Latinx Studies.

In this chapter, the term Chicanx is used to refer to all people who identify as Chicana, Chicano, or Chicanx. These terms refer to communities whose family and lineage are rooted in Mexico and that live in the United States. The term Chicana refers to women and girls, while Chicano refers to boys and men. Chicanx is a gender-inclusive term that can refer to people who identify as non-binary and also inclusive to people of all genders. When placed in the plural, Chicanxs refers to multiple Chicanx individuals.

Similarly, the term Latinx denotes people whose lineage is rooted in Latin America, which includes Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean, and South America. Some groups, including the U.S. Census, social science researchers, and journalists, primarily use the term Hispanic. This term literally refers to individuals who speak Spanish or are from a country where Spanish is the primary language, which includes Mexico, Central America, and most of the Caribbean and South America, as well as Spain. It notably excludes Brazil, where Portuguese is the dominant language, and erases the prevalence of Indigenous languages and groups throughout these regions. In this chapter, Hispanic is used only when referring to data sources that explicitly use this term.

In the next section, you will have the opportunity to explore the formation and development of Chicanx and Latinx Studies as a historically rooted academic field of study and area of activist practice. This helps to establish some of the key concepts that are the subject of debate and contention among scholars and practitioners of Chicanx and Latinx Studies. This leads to the next two sections, which detail multiple complexities and nuances when understanding identity, community, and culture through a Chicanx and Latinx Studies lens. Finally, the remaining two sections delve more fully into the topics of immigration, health, and political representation.

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7.2: History and Demographics

Latinx Subgroups

Mexican Americans form the largest subgroup and also the oldest of Latinx subgroups. Prior to the annexation of Texas and the Mexican-American War, the Southwest portion of the United States was Mexican and Spanish territory. As the United States began to expand westward under the guise of "Manifest Destiny" and the conquest of Indigenous ancestral lands, there were political, economic, and ideological pressures to acquire Mexican territories. With the Battle of San Jacinto in 1836, the Mexican-American War of 1846 and the Gadsen Purchase of 1853, the U.S. succeeded in acquiring most of the Southwest from Mexico. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed at the end of the war between Mexico and the U.S., guaranteed specific rights to all people of Mexican origin living in the U.S. including full American citizenship, retention of Spanish as a legitimate language, political rights, and the retention of land ownership. These rights were not honored by the U.S. and the Mexicans subsequently experienced a significant loss of land, social status, culture and language. They were treated as second-class citizens and a source of expendable labor.

Mexican migration to the United States increased in the early 1900s in response to the need for agricultural labor. Mexican migration during this period was often circular; workers would stay for a few years and then go back to Mexico with more money than they could have made in their country of origin. The length of Mexico's shared border with the United States has made immigration easier than for many other immigrant groups. There were also periods of anti-immigrant sentiment culminating in deportations and repatriations, such as during the Great Depression in the 1930's and Operation Wetback during the 1950's. After the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which removed national-origins quotas and allowed for family reunification, the percentage of immigrants from Mexico grew considerably.

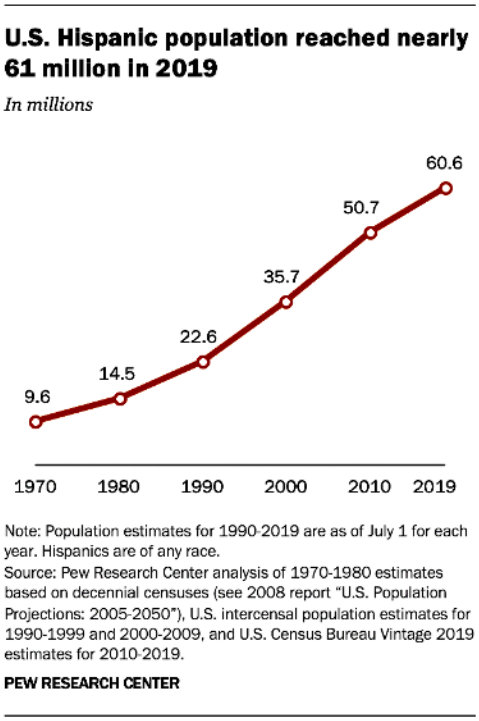


Figure **7.2.1**: U.S. Hispanic population reached nearly 61 million in 2019. (Used with permission; U.S. Hispanic population surpassed 60 million in 2019, but growth has slowed. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2020))

The socio-historical forces that forged the Puerto Rican population in the United States are different than those that created the Mexican-American community but were also influenced by U.S. imperialism and expansion. The end of the Spanish-American War of 1898 brought U.S. citizenship to Puerto Ricans and the Jones Act of 1917 allowed them open access to the U.S. mainland prior to the island becoming a commonwealth in 1952. These changes in concert with neo-liberal policies such as Operation Bootstrap created economic conditions that pushed Puerto Ricans onto the mainland. By the 1940s, 70,000 Puerto Ricans had settled on the mainland and by the 1950s, nearly 20 percent of the Puerto Rican population now resided on the mainland. By 1970, the number had grown to 800,000 and to 2.4 million in the early 1990's. Today, there approximately 5.1 million Latinx of Puerto

Rican descent living in the United States, representing the second-largest Latinx subgroup. About 30% of them were born in Puerto Rico. More recently, there has been an increase in migration to the state of Florida. According to the Pew Research Center, since the aftermath of Hurricane María, the Puerto Rican population in Florida has increased to one million, and 29% of mainland Puerto Ricans now live in Florida.

Cuban Americans are the third-largest Latinx subgroup, and their history is quite different from that of Mexican Americans. The main wave of Cuban immigration to the United States started after Fidel Castro came to power in 1959 and reached its crest with the Mariel boatlift in 1980. Castro's Cuban Revolution ushered in an era of communism that continues to this day. To avoid having their assets seized by the government, many wealthy and educated Cubans migrated north, generally to the Miami area. Prior to the revolution, fewer than 50,000 Cubans lived in the United States. By 1973, the numbers grew to 500,000 and 1 million by 1993. Today, there are approximately 2.3 million Latinx of Cuban origin in the United States and mostly concentrated in Florida (66%). There are important factors that have differentiated the Cuban experience from that of other Latinx groups. For instance, most Cubans came to the U.S. as political refugees and have received a positive reception from the U.S. government with the passage of the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966 and the "Wet-foot, dry-foot" policy modification passed in the 1990s (later rescinded by President Obama in 2017). Second, the majority of first wave Cuban refugees were from the middle and upper classes, displaced by the Cuban revolution. With the support and aid provided by the U.S. government, many were able to apply their business skills and educational training in the United States. In Southern Florida, a much larger percentage of businesses and banks are owned by Cubans compared to other Latinx communities.

The Latinx population reached 60.6 million in 2019, up from 50.7 million in 2010, accounting for 52% of the overall U.S. population growth over this period. However, the population growth rate of the Latinx population has slowed consistently over time. For example, between 1995 and 2000, the population growth was 4.8% while between 2015-2019 the population growth was 1.9%.

The Latinx population also has the lowest median age among the four major racial/ethnic groups. The median age is 30 while median age for whites is 44, 38 for Asian Americans, and 35 for African Americans. The younger age composition has important sociological ramifications such as representation in the educational system, the composition and percentage of new voters, and future demographic growth.

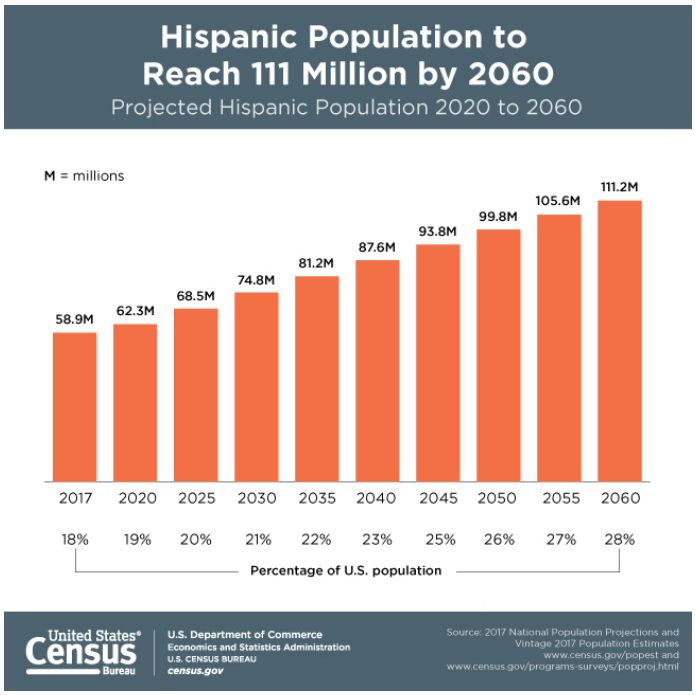


Figure **7.2.2**: Projected Hispanic Population Growth in the United States. (CC PDM 1.0; via U.S. Census Bureau)

Country of Origin

According to the Pew Research Center, figure 8.1.3 shows that in 2018 the Mexican-origin population accounted for 62% of the overall Latinx population in the United States. The second largest group, Puerto Ricans, has seen an increase in migration from the island to the mainland in the last few years and made up 9.7% of the U.S. Latinx population. The third-largest group is the Cuban-origin population, made up 4% of the U.S. Latinx population and the Salvadoran-origin population is close behind with 3.9%. The South American subgroup with the highest percentage is Colombian, making up 2.1% of the total Latinx population. The remainder of Central and South Americans countries on the list each make up less than 2 percent of the total population but represent a wide array of rich regional traditions and cultures.

Figure **7.2.3**: Hispanic origin groups in the U.S., 2018. (Used with permission; Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2020))

Hispanic origin groups in the U.S., 2018

Origin	U.S. population	% among all U.S. Hispanics
Mexican	36,964,000	61.9%
Puerto Rican	5,772,000	9.7
Cuban	2,362,000	4.0
Salvadoran	2,325,000	3.9
All other Latino	2,287,000	3.8
Dominican	2,075,000	3.5
Guatemalan	1,513,000	2.5
Colombian	1,241,000	2.1
Honduran	980,000	1.6
Spaniard	814,000	1.4
Ecuadorian	708,000	1.2
Peruvian	675,000	1.1
Venezuelan	492,000	0.8
Nicaraguan	438,000	0.7
Argentine	287,000	0.5
Panamanian	211,000	0.4
Chilean	174,000	0.3
Costa Rican	150,000	0.3
Bolivian	116,000	0.2
Uruguayan	61,000	0.1
Other Central American	48,000	0.1
Paraguayan	24,000	<0.05
Other South American	22,000	<0.05
Total	**59,740,000**	**100.0**

Notes: Hispanic populations rounded to nearest thousand; listed in descending order of population size. Hispanic origin is based on self-described ancestry, lineage, heritage, nationality group or country of birth.
Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of 2018 American Community Survey (IPUMS).

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Immigration Status and Citizenship

Overall, in 2018 approximately 80% of the Latinx population are U.S. citizens, including those living in Puerto Rico. Due to their unique historical colonial experience, virtually all Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens. Panamanians (89%) and Mexicans (80%) have among the highest citizenship rates, which Hondurans (53%) and Venezuelans (51%) have the lowest citizenship rates. According to Figure 8.1.4, the overall share of Latinx immigrants has dropped since 2007 and immigrants now make up 33% of the total Latinx population. As the largest group by far, the Mexican population is close to the mean and approximately 30% of its population are immigrants. Similarly, all other groups have experienced a drop in percentage of foreign-born in their respective

groups. Cubans, Salvadorans, and Dominicans have a similar percentage of foreign-born with 56%, 56%, and 54%, respectively. Guatemalans, Colombians, and Hondurans all have a foreign-born rate of 61%.

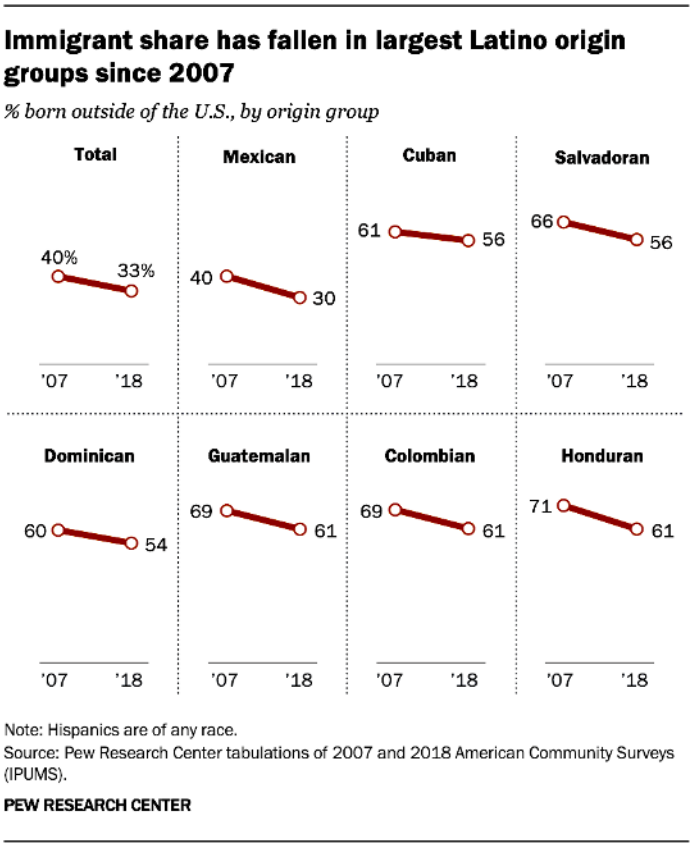


Figure **7.2.4**: Immigration share has fallen in larges Latino origin groups since 2007. (Used with permission; Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2020))

Identity and labels

The labels that people of Latinx heritage use depends on the historical, regional, cultural, and political context. Labels can also be self-imposed, such as Chicano or Chicana, or imposed from without, such as Hispanic. Some ethnic labels, such as Californio, are specific to a region (California) and historical context (1800's). For example, Pío Pico was the last Mexican Governor of California and was part of the Californios, a term referring to the political, economic, and cultural elites of Mexican heritage living in California in the 19th century.

We will cover identity and labels in 7.6 and 7.7.



Figure **7.2.5**: Pío Pico (1801 - 1894): The last Mexican Governor of California. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Joe Mud via Flickr)

Our Local Stories: Mexican Immigration in the Central Valley

"We didn't cross a border. The border crossed us"

Latinos have come to be part of the United States through many different avenues: immigrants seeking a better life, refugees driven by war and those who did not move at all, but who found themselves on the other side of redefined borders as the United States expanded. Mexicans have been and continue to be a large presence in the Central Valley and Fresno County history and culture. From the 19th century till today successive waves of Mexican immigration have added to the rich ethnic diversity that is now Fresno County.

The Fresno County Historical Society has been able to collect the personal stories and memories from many local Mexican Americans who immigrated to Fresno County in the early 20th century. Their stories were recorded in the 1970s, over 50 years ago. These stories are now available for you to listen to and learn from. Audio recordings and typed transcripts are included on the Fresno County Historical Society website.

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7.3: Intergroup Relations

Patterns of Intergroup Relations: Latinx

- **Extermination/Genocide:** The deliberate, systematic killing of an entire people or nation (e.g. lynching).
- **Expulsion/ Population Transfer:** The dominant group expels the marginalized group (e.g. deportation).
- **Internal Colonialism:** The dominant group exploits the marginalized group (e.g. farm workers).
- **Segregation:** The dominant group structures physical, unequal separation of two groups in residence, workplace & social functions (e.g. schools).
- **Seperatism:** The marginalized group desires physical separation of two groups in residence, workplace & social functions (e.g. Federal Land Grant Alliance).
- **Fusion/ Amalgamation:** Race-ethnic groups combine to form a new group (e.g. intermarriage, biracial/bicultural children).
- **Assimilation:** The process by which a marginalized individual or group takes on the characteristics of the dominant group (e.g. English language only).
- **Pluralism/ Multiculturalism:** Various race-ethnic groups in a society have mutual respect for one another, without prejudice or discrimination (e.g. bilingualism).

Genocide

As a significant segment of the Latinx population has Indigenous ancestry, the historical genocide against groups native to the Americas, including the United States, is relevant to their experience. In addition, although the lynchings of African Americans in American history have been better documented, there is also the lesser known history of extrajudicial and unlawful killings of Mexicans and Mexican Americans, especially in the Southern part of the United States. For instance, historians William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb (2003) documented and analyzed hundreds of such extrajudicial killings that occurred between 1848 and 1928. In their research titled "The Lynching of Persons of Mexican Origin or Descent in the United States, 1848 to 1928", they cataloged 597 lynchings of persons of Mexican origin in the United States, which they consider a conservative estimate. The lynchings were concentrated in Texas, California, Arizona, and New Mexico and were mostly carried out in the 30-year period immediately after the end of the Mexican-American War, which they described as a period of "unparalleled danger from mob violence" for people of Mexican origin.

Expulsion/Population Transfer

According to the Aguirre & Turner (2007), in the period after the Mexican-American war, the Mexican population in the United States experienced a significant loss of social, political, and economic status and was thus relegated to a source of cheap and expendable labor for the growing labor-intensive industries - agriculture, mining, and railroads -especially in the Southwestern part of the United States. One consequence of this increase demand for Mexican labor is that immigration policies were not restrictive between 1870 and 1930, allowing Mexican workers to enter the United States to freely. However, this changed during the Great Depression in the 1930s and there was a rising tension and an increase in anti-Mexican sentiment. As a result, a repatriation movement began to expel Mexican nationals (as well as U.S. citizens of Mexican descent) from the United States, and over 500,000 people were repatriated between 1929 and 1935 (Aguirre & Turner, 2007).

During the **Bracero Program**, which was a labor contract between the United States and Mexico that operated from 1942-1964, Congress gave authorization for the Border Patrol to initiate "Operation Wetback." This gave the U.S. Border Patrol wide discretion to stop and search people who "looked Mexican" and who deport anyone who did not have the proper paperwork identifying themselves as participants in the Bracero Program. Between 1954 and 1959, approximately 3.8 million people were returned to Mexico (Aguirre & Turner, 2007).



Figure **7.3.1**: Braceros in Oregon. (CC BY-SA 2.0; Oregon State University via Flickr)

More recently, there have been deportation regimes and ballot efforts to target and deport undocumented Latinx immigrants, such as Proposition 187 (California - 1994), Senate Bill 1070 (Arizona - 2010), House Bill 56 (Alabama - 2011), and the Trump administration's Executive Order 13767 ("Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements"). Sociologist Douglas Massey (2006) suggests that although historically the average standard of living in Mexico may be lower than in the United States, it is not so low as to make permanent migration the goal of most Mexicans. However, the strengthening of the border that began with the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act and more recent policies has made one-way migration the rule for most Mexicans. Massey argues that the rise of undocumented one-way immigration of Mexicans is a direct outcome of the laws and policies that were intended to reduce it.

Internal Colonialism

One historical example of internal colonialism is the Bracero Program. Mentioned in the previous section, the Bracero Program was an official agreement between the United States and Mexico to bring Mexican laborers to work in specified industries presumably to meet the labor shortage during World War II. Approximately 5 million Mexican workers were granted temporary work visas throughout the course of the program, which operated from 1942-1964. Employers were required to pay prevailing local wages and provide workers with minimal worker protections and conditions. However, the program was fraught with problems including terrible work conditions, abuse, and many workers were not paid for their work. (Aguirre and Turner, 2007)

According the USDA, in 2016 over 70% of the farmworker labor force in the United States was foreign-born, mostly from Latin America. Approximately 21% of the farm worker labor force were authorized immigrants with permanent residency or green cards and 48% of the farm worker labor force was made up of unauthorized immigrant workers. As we know from other research studies, such as Milkman et al (2010), undocumented workers are more susceptible to workplace violations, low wages, and threats from employers.



Figure 7.3.2: "Farm workers picking cucumbers." (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Bread for the World via Flickr)

Segregation

An example of de jure segregation relates to the education of Mexican American children in California in the early 1900s. Moll & Ruiz (2002) argue that two methods of social control were employed at this time to undermine the educational attainment and social mobility of the Mexican population: 1) exclusion from schooling, and 2) control over the content and purpose of schooling. The latter was done mainly through the official segregation of schooling by playing Mexican kids into "Mexican schools". In the important court case Mendez v. Westminster (1947), Sylvia Mendez was denied entry in to the neighborhood school in Orange County, California and was instead assigned to the "Mexican school" by school officials. Her parents sued the school district, organized with other parents and filed a class action law suit against several districts, and the case made its way to the U.S. District Court. The District Court judge agreed with the Mendez family and ordered that the school districts to cease their discriminatory practices against students of Mexican origin in their public schools. Several organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), filed amicus briefs (friends of the court briefs) in support of the Mendez family. Eight years later, its author Thurgood Marshall would present to the Supreme Court in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954), a case that would help to end school segregation throughout the United States.

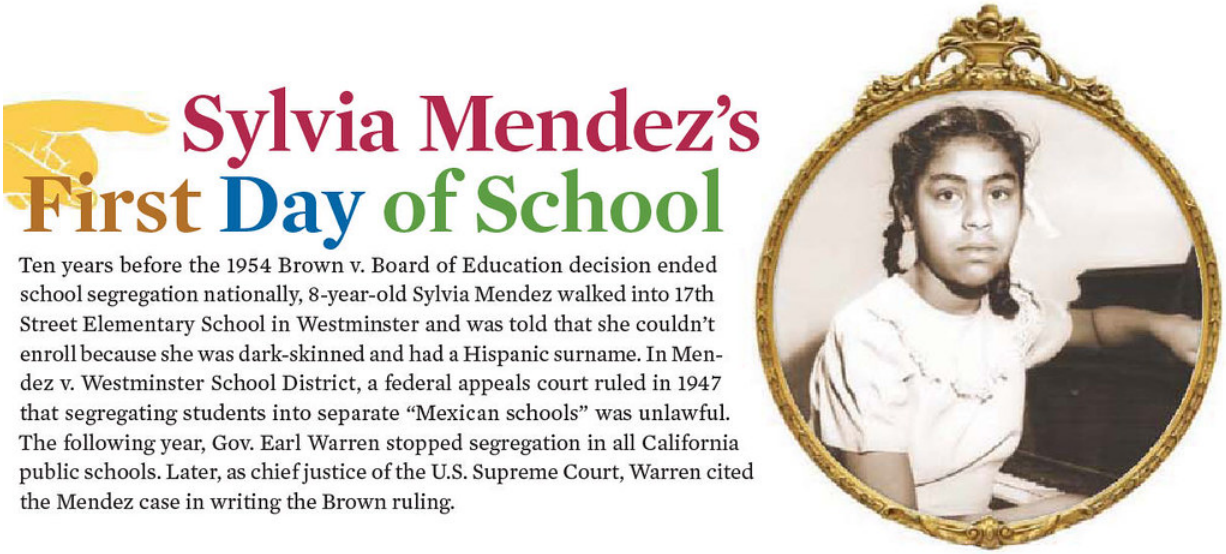


Figure **7.3.3**: "Sylvia Mendez's First Day of School." (CC BY 2.0; YoTuT via Flickr)

More recently, demographers have found that Latinx-white residential segregation, as measure by the dissimilarity index, has remained constant over the decades. Furthermore, De la Roca et al (2018) found clear quantitative evidence that residential segregation in metropolitan areas has a strong, negative association with the educational outcomes and labor market attainment of native-born Latinx people and Black Americans. Among the Latinx groups, they found residential segregation has a more significant negative outcomes for young adults of Puerto Rican and Dominican ancestry.

Separatism

During the Chicano Movement, there were some groups and organizations who planned to separate themselves from mainstream society, promoting a type of Chicano Nationalism that advocated for a self-contained and insular community. For example, the Brown Berets were created during the Chicano Movement to address the issues of police brutality, institutional racism, educational inequality, and land rights.

Fusion/Amalgamation

With regard to racial and ethnic intermarriage, in 2015 approximately 27% of Latinx newlyweds were intermarried, the second highest rate among the four major racial and ethnic groups. This has also led to an increase in the percentage of multiracial babies in the United States. In 2015, 14% of all babies under the age of 1 living with two parents were multiracial or multiethnic. Among the 14%, a large percentage (42%) were babies with one Latinx parent and one white parent and 22% had multiracial or multiethnic parents. A lower percentage of multiracial babies had one Latinx parent and one Black parent (5%) and one Latinx parent and one Asian parent (4%).

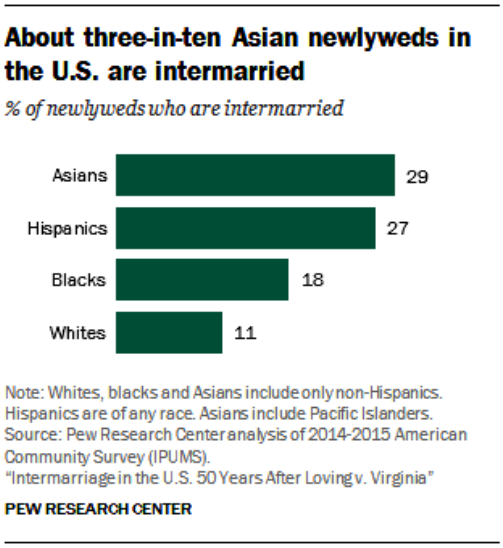


Figure **7.3.4**: About three-in-ten Asian newlyweds in the U.S are intermarried. (Used with permission; Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C.)

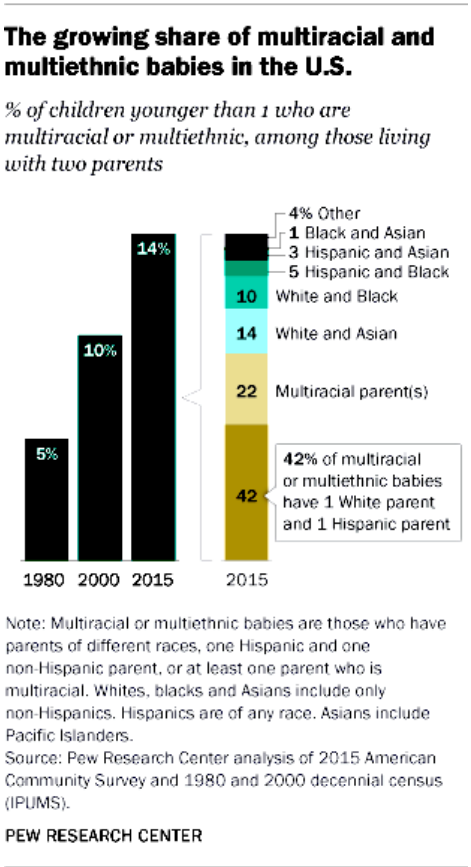


Figure **7.3.5**: The growing share of multiracial and multiethnic babies in the U.S. (Used with permission; Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C.)

Assimilation Patterns

While white ethnics, Cubans, Asians, and Middle Easterners tend to follow the traditional assimilation pattern, three significantly large Latinx minorities have not followed this more traditional pattern: Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Americans. The assimilation patterns for these groups differ due to propinquity, method of migration, and let us not mince words, racism. A relatively smaller percentage of all Mexican immigrants to the United States do not follow the traditional assimilation pattern. This

is partly due to the propinquity of the mother country, the nearly continuous new migration stream, a relatively high rate of return migration, racism, and in some cases, involuntary immigration in that parts of Mexico have been annexed by the United States so that some people's native land quite literally changed overnight—they went to bed Mexican and woke up American.

Puerto Ricans, following the treaty that concluded the Spanish American War, became citizens of the United States, albeit citizens without suffrage. Therefore, Puerto Ricans, who are already citizens, have little incentive to assimilate and, like their Mexican counterparts, are physically close to their homeland, maintain a nearly continuous migration stream onto the mainland, and have a relatively high rate of return migration. Puerto Rico is a historically poor colony of the United States populated primarily by Spanish-speaking, Hispanic-surnamed descendants of African slaves. Thus, entrenched intergenerational poverty, coupled with language difficulties and racism, have prevented assimilation. Most Puerto Ricans who live on the mainland live in poor, inner city neighborhoods in New York and Chicago. Neighborhoods that are not ethnic enclaves but are rather huge concentrations of the poor, undereducated, and Black underclass.

Cuban Americans, perhaps because of their relative wealth and education level at the time of immigration, have fared better than many immigrants. Further, because they were fleeing a Communist country, they were given refugee status and offered protection and social services. The Cuban Migration Agreement of 1995 has curtailed legal immigration from Cuba, leading many Cubans to try to immigrate illegally by boat. According to a 2009 report from the Congressional Research Service, the U.S. government applies a "wet foot/dry foot" policy toward Cuban immigrants; Cubans who are intercepted while still at sea will be returned to Cuba, while those who reach the shore will be permitted to stay in the United States.

Pluralism/Multiculturalism

There has undoubtedly been in increase in the incorporation of some aspects Latinx culture in mainstream America, especially with regard to food (e.g. eating tacos), music (e.g. listening to Spanish language crossover pop songs), symbolic traditions (e.g. using piñatas at birthday parties) and celebrations (e.g. celebrating Día de los Muertos). However, as we know from the previous experiences of other communities of color, partaking in aspects of culture does not necessarily translate into better racial and ethnic relations. For example, as white Americans were listening to the music of Louis Armstrong in the 1930s and 1940s, most African Americans were suffering from the effects of Jim Crow era racism and segregation. Similarly, as Ritchie Valens' "La Bamba", a rock and roll remake of a traditional Mexican song, became a rare Spanish language crossover hit in the 1950s, Mexican-Americans were being subjected de facto segregation, deportation regimes such a Operation Wetback, and discrimination. There is also the tendency of American mainstream society to "whitewash" Latinx culture and for corporations to appropriate culture for economic gain, such as the celebration of Cinco de Mayo and more recently, the Disney corporation's attempt to trademark "Day of the Dead" (Flores, 2013).

After the 2020 election, Latinx representatives now make up approximately 12% of the U.S. House of Representatives (up from 10% from the previous election). Although the increase represents progress, they are still underrepresented as they make up 18.5% of the total population. There are currently 6 Latinx Senators. Five were elected and one was appointed by the Governor of California. Three of the Senators are Democrats and 2 are Republicans, reflecting the diversity of political affiliation within the Latinx electorate. In terms of economic power, according to a Latino USA publication, while Latinx workers make up 17% of the U.S. labor force, they only make up 4% of company executives (Swerzenski, Tomaskovic, & Hoyt, 2020). They also found difference across metropolitan areas. Miami had the highest percentage of Latinx executives (25%) and New York had the lowest (4.5%). Houston (10%) and Los Angeles (8%) were in between but closer to New York than Miami. The authors recommend increasing the the percentage of Latinx workers in mid-level management positions and also "acknowledging blindspots that often exclude [Latinx] workers, such as non-Latinx employers recognizing unconscious biases in their communication styles and providing opportunities to professionally use their cultural competencies" (Ibid, p. 1).

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7.4: Social Institutions

Immigration Policy and Status

Mexican Americans, especially those who are undocumented, are at the center of a national debate about immigration. Myers (2007) observes that no other people of color (except the Chinese) has immigrated to the United States in such an environment of illegality. He notes that in some years, three times as many Mexican immigrants may have entered the United States illegally as those who arrived legally. It should be noted that this is due to enormous disparity of economic opportunity on two sides of an open border, not because of any inherent inclination to break laws. In his report, “Measuring Immigrant Assimilation in the United States,” Jacob Vigdor (2008) states that Mexican immigrants experience relatively low rates of economic and civil assimilation. He further suggests that “the slow rates of economic and civic assimilation set Mexicans apart from other immigrants, and may reflect the fact that the large numbers of Mexican immigrants residing in the United States illegally have few opportunities to advance themselves along these dimensions.”

By contrast, Cuban Americans are often seen as a model people of color within the larger Hispanic group. Many Cubans had higher socioeconomic status when they arrived in this country, and their anti-Communist agenda has made them welcome refugees to this country. In south Florida, especially, Cuban Americans are active in local politics and professional life. As with Asian Americans, however, being a model minority can mask the issue of powerlessness that these people of colors face in U.S. society.

Despite the rhetoric of anti-immigrant politicians and commentators, Light, He, & Robey (2020) did not find empirical evidence that undocumented criminality has increased in recent years. Using comprehensive arrest data in Texas between 2012 and 2018, they found that "undocumented immigrants have substantially lower crime rates than native-born citizens and legal immigrants across a range of felony offenses."

Economy and Household Income

Figure **7.4.1** shows that the disparity between the real median household income (adjusted to 2016 dollars) of Latinx families and white families has actually increased since 1970. In 1970, the disparity was about $12,000 and by 2016 the disparity had increased to over $17,000. Human Capital theorists would attribute this income disparity to lower average levels of educational attainment and job skills that translates into lower occupational status and income. Beyond human capital, the differences in income may also be explained by immigrant background, concentration in certain low-paying industries, and also gender and racial discrimination. More recently, Krogstad (2020) found that Latinx families are among the most impacted by the Coronavirus pandemic in terms of reductions in pay and also job losses.

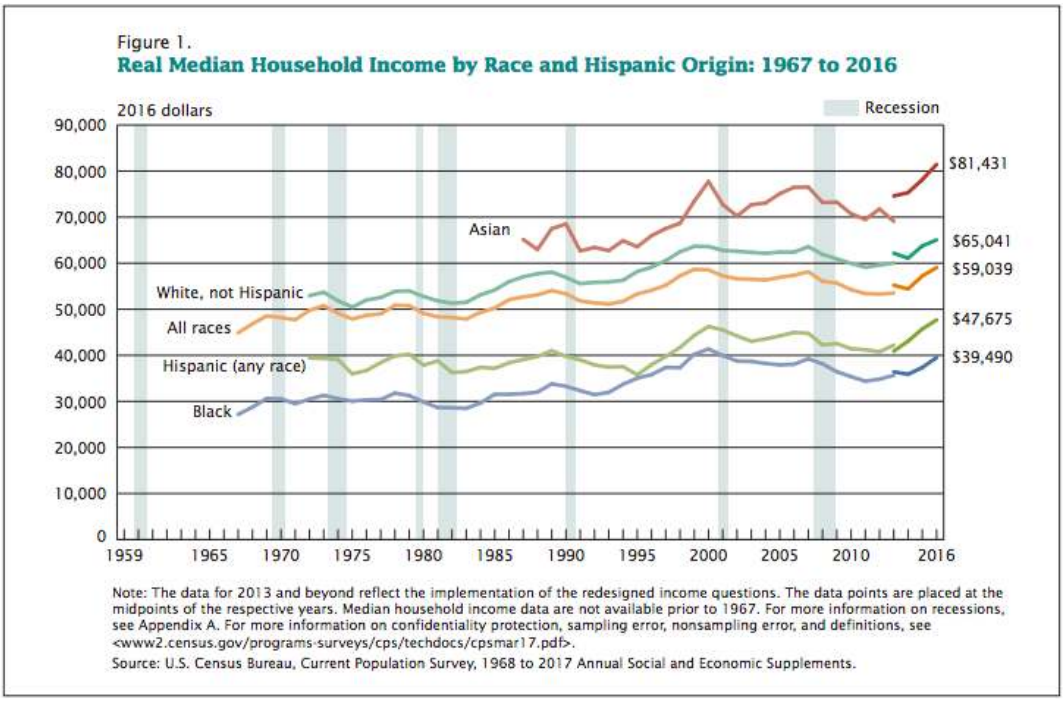


Figure **7.4.1**: Real median household income by race and Hispanic origin: 1967 to 2016. (CC PDM 1.0; via U.S. Census Bureau)

Education

According the Pew Center (Figure **7.4.2**), approximately 60% of the entire adult Latinx population attained a high school degree or less, significantly higher than the rate of the American population at 40%. The percentage of those who earned a two-year degree or some college was 4 percentage points lower and the 4-year college degree attainment rate was half (16%) of the rate of the entire American population. However, some of the educational attainment gaps are reduced or disappear when comparing only the U.S. born Latinx adult population to the entire American adult population. The high school or less gap is reduced to 8 percentage point and the 4-year college degree attainment gap is reduced to 12 percentage points. The U.S. born Latinx adult population actually has a higher percentage of people who have attained a 2-year degree or some college. Demographers and social scientists such as Dowell Myers and David Hayes-Bautista have commented on the social gap between the aging white baby boomer population in states like California and the growing, mostly Latinx population under the age of 18. They argue that it is in their best interest to ensure that the young, mostly Latinx youth have access to quality education and that the educational gaps are closed because, as tax-paying adults, they will contribute to medical, retirement, and social services and they will most likely purchase their homes when the retiring baby boomers decide to sell or downsize.

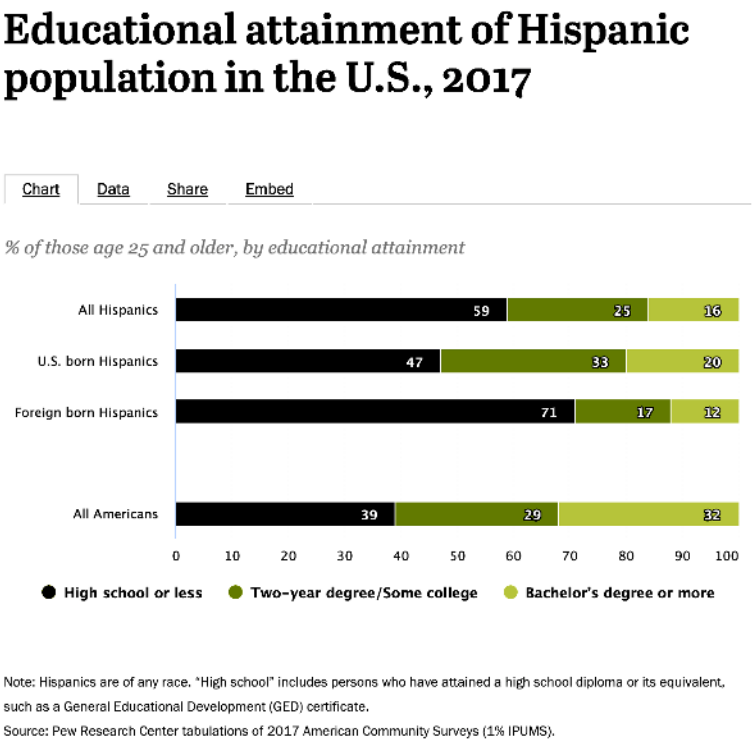


Figure **7.4.2**: Educational Attainment of Hispanic Population in the U.S., 2017. (Used with permission; Pew Research Center)

Health and Healthcare System

According to the Pew Center, in 2014 a quarter of the Latinx population did not have health insurance compared to 14% of the overall U.S. population. The disparity grows when you take into account immigration and citizenship status. For instance, for the U.S.-born Latinx population the health insurance gap with the overall U.S. population is reduced to 3 percentage points (17% to 14%, respectively) while this gap increases considerably for the foreign-born Latinx population (39% to 14%, respectively). Considering that most of the American population accesses health insurance through their employers, this gap is largely related to the occupational status of immigrant workers who are concentrated in occupations that do not provide work-related health insurance. The lack of access to healthcare is also associated with limited regular checkups, preventative medical practices, early detection of illness or disease, and overall worse health outcomes. This disparity is also evident among different age groups. For instance, 34% of the foreign-born Latinx population is uninsured compared to 12% of the U.S.-born Latinx population. These numbers show that the Latinx population, especially immigrant families, would benefit from health coverage mandates for employers or a universal health care system (Krogstad & Lopez, 2014).

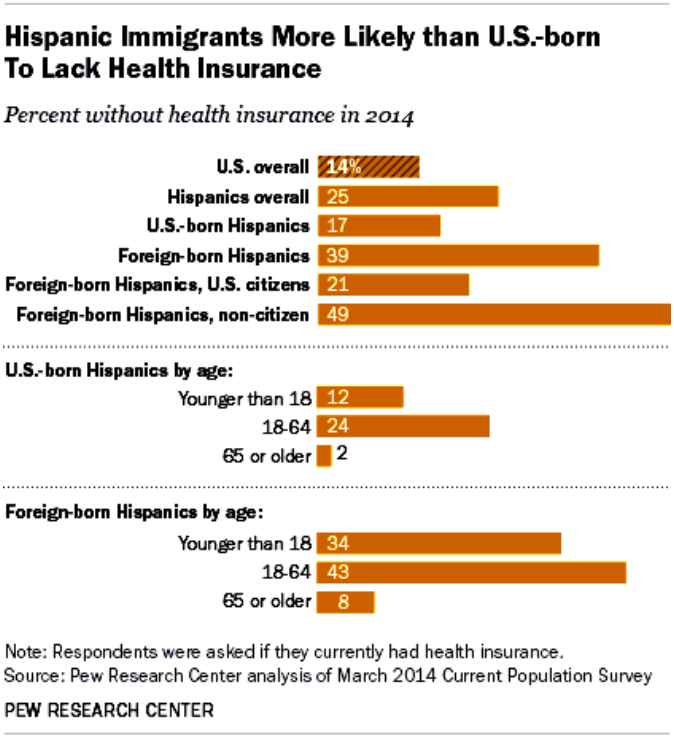


Figure **7.4.3**: Hispanic Immigrants More Likely than U.S.-born to Lack Health Insurance 2014. (Used with permission; Pew Research Center)

Political System

For decades, the Latinx population was referred to as "the sleeping giant" of politics in the United States because of its potential to significantly impact both local and national elections. In his book Harvest of Empire, Juan Gonzalez refers to the decade of the 1990s as a turning point for the Latinx population, when the organizing and voter registration efforts of Latinx political organizations such as the Southwest Voter Registration Project (SVREP) and the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) really began to move the needle on Latinx voter registration and turnout. He refers to the period after 1995 as the rise of the "Third Force" in American politics, breaking away from the Black/white dichotomy and assumptions of previous eras.

In terms of the eligible voter population, the Latinx population accounts for 39% of the increase between 2000 and 2018. In comparison, the white population accounts for 24%, African Americans account for 17%, and Asian-American account for 14%.

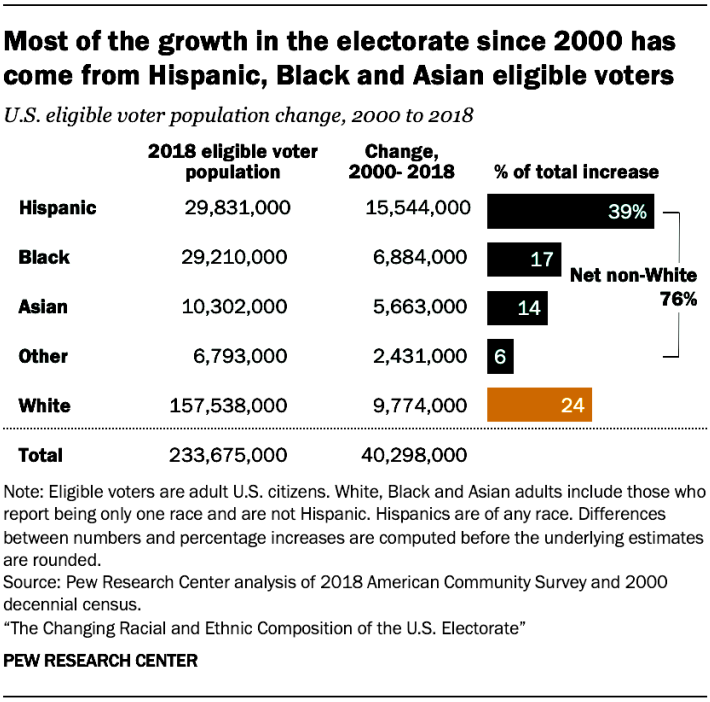


Figure 7.4.4:The Changing Racial and Ethnic Composition of the U.S. Electorate. (Used with permission; Pew Research Center)

Figure 8.4.x shows that significant increase in Latinx voter turnout for a midterm election. While in 2014, 6.8 out of 25.1 million (27%) Latinx eligible voters turned out to voter, in 2018 this increased to 11.7 million out of 29 million (40%). This represents a 13% increase in voter turnout.

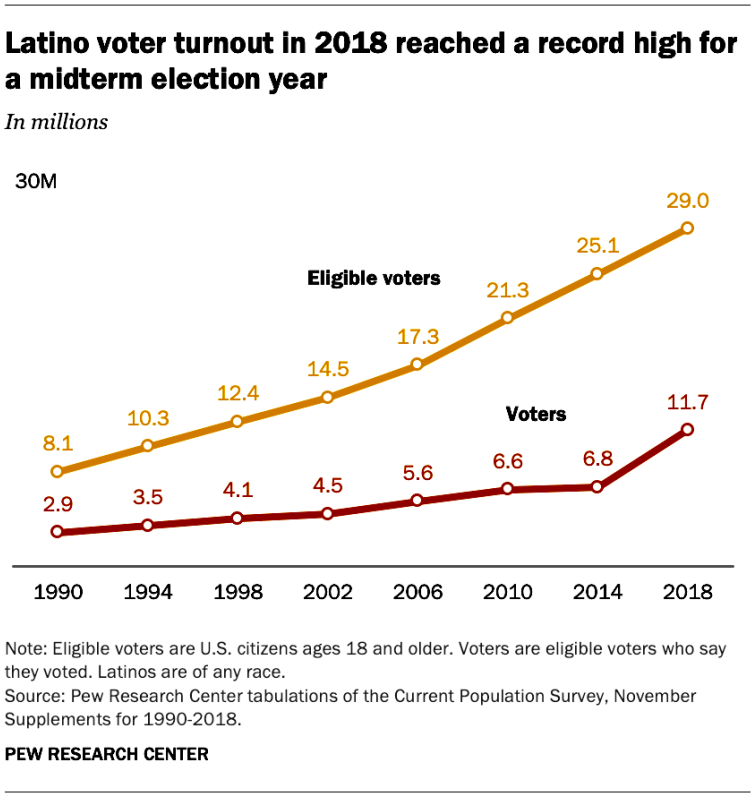


Figure 7.4.5: Latino Voter Turnout in 2018 reached a record high for a midterm election year. (Used with permission; Pew Research Center)

With regard to political affiliation, Cuban-American registered voters are much more likely to identify as Republicans. Figure 8.4.6 shows that 58% of Cubans identified as Republicans compared to only 32% of non-Cuban Latinx people. Conversely, only 38% of Cubans identified as Democrats compared to 65% of their non-Cuban counterparts.

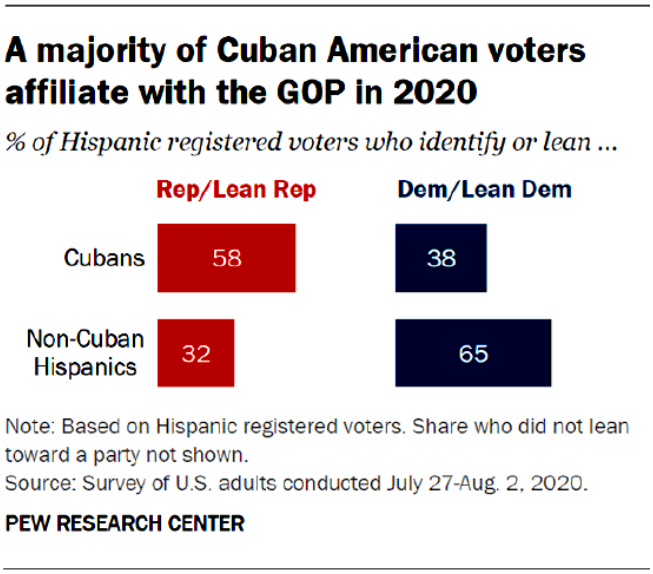


Figure **7.4.6**: Most Cuban Americans voters identify as Republican in 2020. (Used with permission; Pew Research Center)

Family Dynamics

Familism refers a sense of closeness and obligation to the family unit and even placing the interests and needs of the family unit ahead of individual needs and desires. There may be positive and negative consequences of high rates of familism. One negative consequence with regard to educational attainments may include discouraging youths from pursuing a higher education in order to provide for the family unit. There are also positive consequences which include the availability of family networks, emotional support during times of crisis, financial assistance, caring for the young and the elderly, and cultural and linguistic maintenance. In their comprehensive study on Latinx family structure, Landale, Oropesa, & Bradatan (2006) found that Latinx families do have higher rates of variables associated with "familism" such as intact families, lower rates of divorce and cohabitation, and more likely to care for their elderly relatives compared to their white and African-American counterparts. However, they also found difference across Latinx subgroups and declining rates of "familism" across Latinx generations.

Machismo and **marianismo** are terms related to gender identity and expectations and commonly linked to gender and family dynamics in Latin American societies. In Latinx families, machismo is a form of traditional masculinity that, on the one hand, may include more positive aspects such as taking responsibility for the family, chivalry, and protector. Gill & Vasquez (1996) describe this side of machismo as el caballero ("the gentleman") often personified in film and television, who protects his wife and family from dangers and is chivalrous but still afflicted by machismo. On the other hand, machismo is also associated with negative and harmful aspects such as sexual domination, aggressiveness, and expectation of submissiveness for women and children (Gill and Vasquez, 1996). Marianismo is the complementary female role for Latinx women, who are expected to personify the ideals of true femininity, such as being modest, virtuous and abstain from sexual intercourse until marriage. The term derives from the paradoxical beliefs of the Virgin Mary and most likely originated during the Spanish Colonial Period in Latin America. Gill and Vasquez (2006) write that marianismo is about "dispensing care and pleasure, not receiving them", suffering the negative consequences of machismo and mariansmo in silence, and submission to patriarchical forces and family dynamics.



Figure 7.4.7: "El Machismo Mata.(Trans. "Machismo Kills") (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; lorena pajares via Flickr)

Despite the existence of evidence of cultural dynamics such as familism and machismo in Latinx families, it is important to not reduce the behaviors and experiences of ethnic groups entirely to culture. This is referred to as **cultural essentialism** and may lead to a "culture of deficiency" approach to defining and analyzing the social experiences of Latinx and other racial/ethnic groups. Also, cultural essentialism may also prevent one from considering the importance of other important social forces, such as social class or racial discrimination. Gonzalez-Lopez & Vidal-Ortiz (2008) remind researchers that such cultural paradigms are not used when studying non-Latinx groups but with Latinx groups they have become "uncritically accepted - and they have become shorthand to explain gender inequality from a culture-blaming perspective" (p. 312).

Contributors and Attributions

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7.5: Roots and Resistance- The Development of Chicanx and Latinx Studies

Establishing Chicanx and Latinx Studies in Higher Education

The development of Chicanx and Latinx Studies programs within existing institutions of higher learning has been imperative because there was no existing system of Latinx-controlled universities. As Laura E. Gómez explains in her book *Inventing Latinos: A New Story of American Racism*:

Unlike African Americans, Latinos did not face *de jure* segregation, and they never developed a segregated education system they themselves controlled. The system of higher education institutions today known collectively as historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) has produced generations of college graduates, teachers, professors, and attorneys, including many of the most elite African American professionals of the twentieth century. For Latinos, aside from Puerto Rico, which developed a substantial system of higher education, there has been no sizable college-educated Latino middle class until recently (Gomez, 2020, p. 102).

For Mexican Americans and Latinos in particular, the Chicanx and Latinx disciplines became a place where students could feel at home in college and university campuses that have historically served only white students, scholars, and disciplines. Moreover, these spaces on university campuses are also centers of student and faculty collaborations, student retention, and also spaces where student-led movements begin and are informed by both their disciplines and their off-campus communities.

But establishing and maintaining Chicanx and Latinx Studies in institutions that were not created for them, and which were often openly hostile to them, was and is not easy. Space, funding, resources, power, culture, and even academic credibility were not, and in many cases are still not, easily conceded. The first Mexican American Studies program was established in the fall of 1968 at CSU Los Angeles (CSULA) or Cal State L.A. in the same year as the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) strike at San Francisco State University (Sleeter et al., 2019, p. 9). There was a large cluster of other departments added around this time. This chapter also explores in more detail the events that led to the formation of these departments. Over time, some departments widened their disciplines to include all Latinx communities, and other specialized studies within the larger discipline have also been developed with their own nuances, such as Puerto Rican Studies and Central American Studies.

However, these same challenges have been in many ways also the strength of Chicanx and Latinx Studies, because it means the programs germinated directly within Chicanx and Latinx communities both inside and outside of academia, their content and pedagogies were created with intentionality, and their visions and purposes were refined through many years of activism.

This section will touch on four major moments of organizing within Chicanx and Latinx communities during the Chicano Movement of the 1960s and 1970s that produced the self-determined educational philosophies and demands which would go on to become the foundation of the disciplines of Chicanx and Latinx Studies.

Little School of the 400

> We shall leave behind our second-class citizenship… bitter resentments… corrosive hates… These were the goals that LULAC… set for itself and the Latin American people of Texas in 1957
>
> -Tijerina, 1962, p. 4

In 1957, during a time when the purpose of education in the United States was to assimilate children in the dominant English-speaking language and culture, the Little School of the 400 of Texas played a role in supporting Latinx students. The Little Schools of the 400 was created and funded by the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), a nationwide group committed to advancing the economic condition, educational attainment, political influence, housing, health, and civil rights of Latinxs through community-based programs.

LULAC established the schools after conducting a study that found Spanish-speaking students were being left behind due to language barriers, resulting in illiteracy. It was called the “Little School of the 400” because the main purpose of the school was to teach 400 “indispensable” English words to mostly Spanish-speaking children in efforts to align them with entering the public school system (Quintanilla, 1976). By 1959, there were 13 schools in Texas. The schools were unique in that they reinforced the

children's culture, rather than diminishing it, in order to build confidence in learning English. By 1962, there were over 18,000 children enrolled in the program (Tijerina, 1962). The schools also recognized the power of having parents participate in the children's transition to public schools. Overall, the schools were successful in educating children in basic English vocabulary and, as a result, influenced programs including bilingual education, Head Start, and child migrant programs (Quintanilla, 1976). But perhaps even more than demonstrating that bilingualism could be a strength, the Little School's model of teaching with culturally relevant curriculum and community-connectedness became a powerful model for the discipline within higher education.

The East L.A. Blowouts

> As the bell rang for the kids to go to school, into the classroom, out they went. With their heads held high, with dignity. It was beautiful to be a Chicano that day.
>
> - Sal Castro (Olmos, 2006)

The East L.A. Blowouts, also known as the East L.A. Walkouts are widely regarded as catapulting the Chicano Movement forward in the late '60s and through the '70s. The Blowouts were a series of walkouts carried out in 1968 by Mexican American students in protest against the educational inequality they faced in their schools and classrooms. Students were frequently being punished for speaking Spanish, including corporal punishment such as physical whacking with a paddle. Other issues that students faced at the time included but were not limited to not having enough teachers who shared a similar ethnic, racial, or socioeconomic background or came from the same neighborhoods as them, resulting in class content that did not reflect their communities. Among the many grievances by the students, bathrooms were often locked, and students were left to their own devices to find where to relieve themselves, which was dehumanizing and a major distraction from learning.

The East LA Blowouts were initiated and driven by students themselves, but they were also influenced by Sal Castro, a civics teacher at Lincoln High School.

Sidebar: Saul Castro

Sal Castro **(10/25/1933 to 4/15/2013)** was a Mexican American Civics teacher at one of the high schools where the East Los Angeles Blowouts were originally organized. After learning of the students' plans to demonstrate against the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) he was the first to ask the students to organize themselves better and to create a list of demands to let others know why they were walking out of their schools and how their district can make things right. Sal Castro was the only teacher to be arrested in the case of the "East LA 13." As a result, he was not able to teach upon being released from jail until all charges were dropped in 1972.

When he heard that students might walk out due to many issues in their school district, Sal Castro stepped in to help organize the youths' efforts, urging them to fight for justice beyond their immediate needs. In his book, *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice*, Ian Haney López shares Sal Castro's words to the students organizing the walkouts:

> Before you even think about blowing-out, why don't you write your grievances, all these things that are wrong in the school, not only the things that are wrong in your school, but the things that you remember were wrong in the elementary schools because, you see, you don't want to change things just in the high schools; you also want to think about your little brothers and sisters… (Haney-López, 2003, pg. 19).

Soon a committee was formed, resulting in the creation of 26 demands to be met in order to stop the walkouts. The first blowout was unplanned when about 300 students walked out of Wilson High on March 1, 1968 (Lopez, 2018). On March 5, about 2,000 students walked out from Garfield High School holding demonstration signs. On March 6, 2,700 students from various high schools in LAUSD walked out of their classrooms (Haney-López, 2003, p. 21). Walkouts continued through March. Sal Castro was arrested during the March 31, 1968 walkout, the only teacher to be. Protests and sit-ins continued through the fall until he was reinstated to his teaching position. Acclaimed author Oscar Zeta Acosta wrote colorfully about his efforts to get Castro and others arrested in the walkouts acquitted, and this time in the movement in his book, *Revolt of the Cockroach People* (1973).

Sidebar: Oscar "Zeta" Acosta

Oscar Acosta **(4/8/1935 to 5/27/1974)** is famously known for two books: *An Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo* (1972) and *The Revolt of the Cockroach People* (1973). Many people have been introduced to Acosta through mainstream media, who's simply known as “Dr. Gonzo” or the attorney of the famous gonzo journalism style creator Hunter S. Thompson in the film and book Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas. In the book Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas (and the film), Thompson racializes Oscar Acosta as Samoan, “He doesn’t look like you or me, right? That’s because he’s a foreigner. I think he’s probably Samoan. But it doesn’t matter, does it? Are you prejudiced?” (Thompson, 1998, p. 7). Some background to their trip to Las Vegas is that Hunter S. Thompson was writing an investigative piece on the Chicano Moratorium in L.A. case for Rolling Stone Magazine, and he flew down to L.A. to interview Oscar Acosta. They ended up driving to Las Vegas for another article Thompson was going to write for Sports Illustrated. For Chicanx people, Acosta is widely known as an important lawyer who represented the East L.A. 13 who were arrested for their involvement in the 1969 East LA walkouts. Acosta also represented other Chicanx defendants in court during a time when others would not pick up such cases.

The students themselves would become inspiration for future generations of Chicanx activists, but they themselves were deeply influenced by the organizing of the farmworkers, the Alianza, and the Crusade. “When students first marched in protest outside of Garfield High School in March 1968, their chants included not just salutes to Mexican revolutionaries such as Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata but also shouts of ¡Que Viva! To the names of César Chávez, Reis López Tijerina, and Corky Gonzales" (Haney López, 2003, p. 160).

Sidebar: Cesar Chavez

According to Ian Haney Lopez, César Chávez **(3/31/1927 - 4/23/1993)** was a great influence to spark the Chicano Movement in East L.A., in particular Chávez’s work in organizing agricultural worker unions (Haney-López, 2003, p. 158). Chávez along with Dolores Huerta and farmworkers in Delano began to strike in 1965. Additionally, Chávez joined forces with Filipinx labor leaders such as Larry Itliong and Philip Vera Cruz so that Mexican labor and Filipinx labor would not be used against each other in the fields. During this time, the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) was the largest Mexican movement in US history, although the organization was not only ethnically Mexican. Chávez did influence a lot of activism in Los Angeles by widespread political action. Although the UFW was not only a Mexican organization, symbols such as La Virgen de Guadalupe were used in marches and political action (Haney-López, 2003, p. 158). Three weeks before his assassination L.A. Times reporter, Ruben Salazar, stated, “César is our only real leader… [Gonzales and Tijerina] rant and rave and threaten to burn the establishment down. That’s good because most people won’t listen unless you rant and rave. But this provides the community with little more than emotional uplift; nothing palpable” (Mariscal, 2005, p. 140). Chávez was different from other Chicanx leaders because he was non-violent but also because he put his own body on the line through hunger strikes, his longest lasting 36 days without food. In 2014, President Barack Obama named March 31 César Chávez Day.

The full list of the original 26 demands, which included a wide range of needs, including academic, administrative, facilities, and student rights, can be viewed at the link below.

The Original 26 Demands of the East L.A. Walkouts

The following are portions highlighting some of the 26 demands (emphasis added):

- **No student or teacher** will be **reprimanded or suspended for** participating in any efforts which are executed for the purpose of **improving or furthering the educational quality** in our schools.
- **Bilingual-Bi-cultural education will be compulsory** for Mexican-Americans in the Los Angeles City School System where there is a majority of Mexican-American students. This program will be open to all other students on a voluntary basis.
- In-service education programs will be instituted immediately for all **staff** in order to teach them the **Spanish language** and increase their understanding of the **history, traditions, and contributions of the Mexican culture**.
- **All administrators** in the elementary and secondary schools in these areas will become **proficient in** the **Spanish** language.
- **Administrators and teachers** who show **any form of prejudice** toward Mexican or Mexican-American students, including failure to recognize, understand, and appreciate Mexican culture and heritage, **will be removed** from East Los Angeles schools. This will be decided by a Citizens Review Board selected by the Educational Issues Committee.

- **Textbooks and curriculum** will be developed to show Mexican and **Mexican-American contribution** to the U.S. society and to show the **injustices** that Mexicans have suffered as a culture of that society. Textbooks should concentrate on **Mexican folklore** rather than English folklore.
- **All administrators** where schools have a majority of Mexican-American descent shall be of **Mexican-American descent**. If necessary, **training programs** should be instituted to provide a cadre of Mexican-American administrators.
- Every teacher's **ratio of failure** per students in his classroom **shall be made available to community groups and students**. Any teacher having a particularly high percentage of the total school dropouts in his classes shall be rated by the Citizens Review Board composed of the Educational Issues Committee.(*Proposals Made by High School Students of East Los Angeles to the Board of Education*, n.d.)

Beyond providing a model of effective organizing for change, many of the 26 demands became a foundation for goals of Chicanx and Latinx Studies in institutions of higher learning, including incorporation of community language, culture, and knowledges into the discipline, the development of textbooks and curriculum by Latinx writers taught by Latinx instructors and led by Latinx administrators. Equally as impactful, the Blowouts helped forever embed a tradition of activist practice within the discipline of Chicanx and Latinx Studies.

El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán

In March 1969, the first National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference took place in Denver, Colorado, and was hosted by Crusade for Justice, a civil rights and educational organization led in part by Corky Gonzales, concerned with the problems of the city's Chicano youth. During this convening, the El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán, which translates to The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán, was produced (NCYLC, 2006).

Sidebar: Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales

Corky Gonzales **(6/18/1928 to 4/12/2005)** was a professional boxer who became politicized and participated in Colorado politics and eventually got involved in organizing Mexican American students. In the mid-sixties he founded the Crusade for Justice, which focused on working with Mexican American youth in Denver, Colorado (Haney-López, 2003, p. 159). Crusade for Justice impacted the local community, for example, promoting bilingual education and involvement at a local food bank. According to Haney-López, Gonzales was the first Mexican American activist to reinvent the term Chicano and instead of this term demeaning lower-class and darker-skinned Mexicans, the term Chicano would be used as an identity of empowerment (p. 160). Besides organizing, Gonzales was also a poet and penned the poem “I am Joaquin."

El Plan functioned as the North Star for Chicanx students in community colleges, including how they should locate higher education for themselves, but also for their communities. *El Plan* had many influences that reimagined the lessons learned from previous generations. For example, the document states that “Aztlán belongs to those who plant the seeds, water the fields, and gather the crops.” This passage is referencing the quote that General Emiliano Zapata is famously known for saying during the Mexican Revolution of 1910 to 1920,“La tierra es para quien la trabaja" or “the land is for those who work it” (Rosales, 1997, p. 26).

Although at the heart of the Mexican Revolution was agrarian reform, the Chicano Movement used agricultural concepts metaphorically. Rather than seizing the literal means of agricultural production, the Chicano Movement was concerned with creating space for Chicanos within the U.S. social fabric for those laboring here, including fighting for equitable education, bilingual education, teachers who shared a similar background, housing, jobs, the end of police brutality, immigration, among many other causes.

“The following are the organizational goals of El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán:

1. Unity
2. Economy
3. Education
4. Institutions
5. Self-Defense
6. Cultural

7. Political Liberation

The following are the Actions to fulfill the organizational goals of El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán:

1. Awareness and distribution of El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán.
2. September 16, Mexican Independence Day, a national walk-out by all Chicanos of all colleges and schools, this must be sustained until the complete revision of the educational system.
3. Self-Defense against the occupying forces of the oppressors at every school.
4. Community nationalization and organization of all Chicanos.
5. Economic program to drive the exploiter out of our community and controlling our peoples own production.
6. Creation of an independent local, regional, and national political party.

El Plan de Aztlán is the plan of liberation!" (NCYLC, 2006).

This document was an effort to find a common direction for all Chicanxs in the U.S. Southwest in the fight for justice and liberation. This movement to organize Chicanxs happened naturally because of the long history in the Southwest and population size. Fast forward to 2021 and "Hispanic/Latinos" are the largest ethnic group in California at 15.8 million or 40.2 percent of the population (*California Population by Year, County, Race, & More*, 2022).

M.E.Ch.A. and **El Plan de Santa Bárbara**

A month later, in April 1969, a Youth Conference was held at UC Santa Barbara by the Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education (CCHE) (Rosales, 1997, p.183). As stated by Carlos Muñoz Jr. in his seminal book, *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement*, the students who participated in the conference had no idea that they were at a historical Chicanx student event (Muñoz, Jr., 2007, p.95). One of the main goals at the conference was to build from El Plan de Aztlán by creating a roadmap for the creation of Chicanx curriculum and resources in higher education (p. 95). This higher education roadmap that would promote the growth of Chicano studies was called El Plan de Santa Barbara (Rosales, 1997, 183).

As a result, there was a consensus that in order to gain power and direction, the various California and national Mexican American student groups should drop their names and adopt El **Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (M.E.Ch.A.)** in order to have a united front (Muñoz, Jr., 2007, p.96). M.E.Ch.A was created because of the need to unify Chicanx and Mexican American student organizations at various campuses (Rosales, 1997, p. 183).

Sidebar: Ana Nieto-Gómez

Anna Nieto-Gómez **(b. 3/30/1946)** emerged as a Chicana feminist through her experience as a leader in MEChA. At the time, she was one of two Chicanas who served as chairs of the organization in California (Muñoz, Jr., 2007, p. 107). She was also the founder of Hijas de Cuauhtémoc newspaper and the Chicana Welfare Right Organization and typically does not get the credit she deserves as a committed and influential activist intellectual (Mariscal, 2005, p. 54). The purpose of her organization was "to put sterilization and the welfare rights of single mothers on the movimiento agenda" (Rosales, 1997, p. 259). One of her critiques of nationalism and patriarchy included, "Cultural nationalism is against women… and men who aren't chauvinistic… it also separates us from other oppressed peoples" (Muñoz, Jr., 2007, p. 107).

Nieto-Gómez faced opposition from the male-dominated leadership in Chicano organizations, which was a common problem within the Chicano Movement. Through her activism and poetry, such as "Somos Chicanas de Aztlán," Nieto-Gómez provided a groundwork for Chicana militancy (Rosales, 1997, p. 259). In 1975, Nieto-Gómez was a keynote speaker for an event by the organization Las Mujeres del Movimiento. In 1976, Nieto-Gómez was denied tenure from the Chicano Studies department at CSU Northridge. Muñoz explained in his book that "her firing became a divisive issue within many Chicano Studies programs. Women supporting her case saw the issue as a manifestation of Chicano reaction to Chicana feminism" (Muñoz, Jr., 2007, p. 190).

M.E.Ch.A. chapters on campuses were to be "independent and autonomous" from faculty and administrators to avoid being absorbed by the institutions (p. 99). A political consciousness was to be embodied by Chicanx students involved in educational liberation, and as a result, Chicanismo ideologies were adopted in particular by student leaders. For example, "the liberation of his

people from prejudice and oppression is in his hand, and this responsibility is greater than personal achievement and more meaningful than degrees, especially if they are earned at the expense of his identity and cultural integrity" (Rosales, 1997, p. 184).

Even though M.E.Ch.A. chapters were independent from colleges and universities, student activists on campuses strategically used their positionality to protect the professors and administrators who were supportive of their movement. For example, "M.E.Ch.A. would mobilize community support on behalf of those faculty and staff members, who, because of their demonstrated commitment to student interest, might jeopardize their own jobs" (Muñoz, Jr., 2007, p. 100).

According to Muñoz the purpose of the newly-formed organization was two-fold. On one hand, M.E.Ch.A. would be rooted outside campuses, being community-oriented and responsive by remaining involved in Mexican American communities and in communication with Mexican American organizations. On the other hand, they would be present on college campuses, finding ways to provide resources to Chicanx students and helping them find success in reaching their educational goals.

This aligned with the creation and expansion of Chicano Studies. Both of these organizational goals were to be fundamentally liberatory for the Mexican American community (Muñoz, Jr., 2007, p. 97). Furthermore, "if political and educational change were to be won on campus, the community outside the campus would have to be mobilized," to achieve these goals, students were to be taught to utilize Chicanismo as an ideology (Muñoz, Jr., 2007, p. 98).

M.E.Ch.A. has persisted for over 50 years. The roots of this organization intersect with the rationale of Ethnic Studies and have deeply shaped the discipline of Chicanx and Latinx Studies. One of the major goals of M.E.Ch.A. has always been to bridge the gap between higher education, Chicanx students, and their communities.

Latinx Social Movements: Historical Timeline

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1900s

1903 In Oxnard, Calif., more than 1,200 Mexican and Japanese farm workers organize the first farm worker union, the Japanese-Mexican Labor Association (JMLA). Later, it will be the first union to win a strike against the California agricultural industry, which already has become a powerful force.



Figure **7.5.1**: A Japanese-American farm worker. Nyssa, Oregon, July 1942. (CC PDM 1.0; Britt Fuller via Flickr)

1904 The U.S. establishes the first border patrol as a way to keep Asian laborers from entering the country by way of Mexico.

1905 Labor organizer Lucy Gonzales Parsons, from San Antonio, Texas, helps found the Wobblies, the Industrial Workers of the World.



Figure **7.5.2**: "iww-capitalist-pyramid_0" (CC BY-NC 2.0; Der_Hut_Geist via Flickr)

1910s

1910 The Mexican Revolution forces Mexicans to cross the border into the United States, in search of safety and employment.



Figure **7.5.3**: The Taking of Zacatecas (1926-1993). (CC BY-SA 3.0; Ángel Boliver via Wikimedia)

1911 The first large convention of Mexicans to organize against social injustice, El Primer Congreso Mexicanista, meets in Laredo, Texas.

1912 New Mexico enters the union as an officially bilingual state, authorizing funds for voting in both Spanish and English, as well as for bilingual education. Article XII of the state constitution also prohibits segregation for children of "Spanish descent." At the state's constitutional convention six years earlier, Mexican American delegates mandated Spanish and English be used for all state business.

1914 The Colorado militia attacks striking coal miners in what becomes known as the Ludlow Massacre. More than 50 people are killed, mostly Mexican Americans, including 11 children and three women.

1917 Factories in war-related industries need more workers, as Americans leave for war. Latinos from the Southwest begin moving north in large numbers for the first time. They find ready employment as machinists, mechanics, furniture finishers, upholsterers, printing press workers, meat packers and steel mill workers.

1917 The U.S. Congress passes the Jones Act, granting citizenship to Puerto Ricans under U.S. military rule since the end of the Spanish-American War.

1920s

1921 San Antonio's Orden Hijos de América (Order of the Sons of America) organizes Latino workers to raise awareness of civil rights issues and fight for fair wages, education and housing.

1921 The Immigration Act of 1921 restricts the entry of southern and eastern Europeans. Agricultural businesses successfully oppose efforts to limit the immigration of Mexicans.

1927 In Los Angeles, the Confederación de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas (Federation of Mexican Workers Union-CUOM) becomes the first large-scale effort to organize and consolidate Mexican workers.

1928 Octaviano Larrazolo of New Mexico becomes the first Latino U.S. Senator.

1929 Several Latino service organizations merge to form the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). The group organizes against discrimination and segregation and promotes education among Latinos. It's the largest and longest-lasting Latino civil rights group in the country.



Figure **7.5.4**:The president of the Mexican colony addresses the audience at the Mexican Independence Day program, Saint Paul, Minnesota
(Public Domain)

1930s

1931 The country's first labor strike incited by a cultural conflict happens in Ybor City (Tampa), Fla., when the owners of cigar factories attempt to get rid of the lectores, people who read aloud from books and magazines as a way to help cigar rollers pass the time. The owners accuse the lectores of radicalizing the workers and replace them with radios. The workers walk out.

1932 Benjamin Nathan Cardozo, a Sephardic Jew, becomes the first Latino named to the U.S. Supreme Court.

1933 Latino unions in California lead the El Monte Strike, possibly the largest agricultural strike at that point in history, to protest the declining wage rate for strawberry pickers. By May 1933, wages dropped to nine cents an hour. In July, growers agreed to a settlement including a wage increase to 20 cents an hour, or $1.50 for a nine-hour day of work.



Figure **7.5.5**: Mexican Workers in the 1930's. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Jimmy Smith via Flickr)

1938 On December 4, El Congreso del Pueblo de Habla Española (The Spanish-Speaking Peoples Congress) holds its first conference in Los Angeles. Founded by Luisa Moreno and led by Josefina Fierro de Bright, it's the first national effort to bring together Latino workers from different ethnic backgrounds: Cubans and Spaniards from Florida, Puerto Ricans from New York, Mexicans and Mexican Americans from the Southwest.

1939 Novelist John Steinbeck publishes The Grapes of Wrath, calling attention to the plight of migrant workers in the California grape-growing industry.

1940s

1941 The U.S. government forms the Fair Employment Practices Committee to handle cases of employment discrimination. Latino workers file more than one-third of all complaints from the Southwest.

1942 The Bracero Program begins, allowing Mexican citizens to work temporarily in the United States. U.S. growers support the program as a source or low-cost labor. The program welcomes millions of Mexican workers into the U.S. until it ends in 1964.

1942 Hundreds of thousands of Latinos serve in the armed forces during World War II.

1943 Los Angeles erupts in the Zoot Suit Riots, the worst race riots in the city to date. For 10 nights, American sailors cruise Mexican American neighborhoods in search of "zoot-suiters" -- hip, young Mexican teens dressed in baggy pants and long-tailed coats. The military men drag kids -- some as young as 12 years old -- out of movie theaters and cafes, tearing their clothes off and viciously beating them.



Figure **7.5.6**: "Zoot Suit Riots" (CC BY 2.0; Gareth Simpson via Flickr)

1944 Senator Dennis Chávez of New Mexico introduces the first Fair Employment Practices Bill, which prohibits discrimination because of race, creed or national origin. The bill fails, but is an important predecessor for the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

1945 Latino veterans return home with a new feeling of unity. Together, they seek equal rights in the country they defended. They use their G.I. benefits for personal advancement, college educations and buying homes. In 1948, they will organize the American G.I. Forum in Texas to combat discrimination and improve the status of Latinos; branches eventually form in 23 states.

1945 Mexican-American parents sue several California school districts, challenging the segregation of Latino students in separate schools. The California Supreme Court rules in the parents' favor in Mendez v. Westminster, arguing segregation violates children's constitutional rights. The case is an important precedent for Brown v. Board of Education in 1954.



Figure **7.5.7**: Mendez vs. Westminster Commemorative Stamp issued by the U.S. Postal Service on September 13, 2007. (CC BY 2.0; USDAgov via Flickr)

1950s

1953 During "Operation Wetback" from 1953 and 1958, the U.S. Immigration Service arrests and deports more than 3.8 million Latin Americans. Many U.S. citizens are deported unfairly, including political activist Luisa Moreno and other community leaders.

1954 Hernandez v. Texas is the first post-WWII Latino civil rights case heard and decided by the U.S. Supreme Court. The Hernandez decision strikes down discrimination based on class and ethnic distinctions.

1960s

1962 Air flights between the U.S. and Cuba are suspended following the Cuban Missile Crisis. Prior to the Crisis, more than 200,000 of Cuba's wealthiest and most affluent professionals fled the country fearing reprisals from Fidel Castro's communist regime. Many believed Castro would be overthrown and they would soon be able to return to Cuba.

1963 Miami's Coral Way Elementary School offers the nation's first bilingual education program in public schools, thanks to a grant from the Ford Foundation.

1965 Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta found the United Farm Workers association, in Delano, Calif., which becomes the largest and most important farm worker union in the nation. Huerta becomes the first woman to lead such a union. Under their leadership, the UFW joins a strike started by Filipino grape pickers in Delano. The Grape Boycott becomes one of the most significant social justice movements for farm workers in the United States.



Figure **7.5.8**: San Jose Chicano Rights Marches California. (CC BY-SA 2.0; San José Public Library via Flickr)

1965 Luis Valdez founds the world-famous El Teatro Campesino, the first farm worker theatre, in Delano, Calif. Actors entertain and educate farm workers about their rights.

1966 Congress passes the Cuban American Adjustment Act allowing Cubans who lived in America for at least one year to become permanent residents. No other immigrant group has been offered this privilege before, or since.

1968 Latino high school students in Los Angeles stage citywide walkouts protesting unequal treatment by the school district. Prior to the walkouts, Latino students were routinely punished for speaking Spanish on school property, not allowed to use the bathroom during lunch, and actively discouraged from going to college. Walkout participants are subjected to police brutality and public ridicule; 13 are arrested on charges of disorderly conduct and conspiracy. However, the walkouts eventually result in school reform and an increased college enrollment among Latino youth.

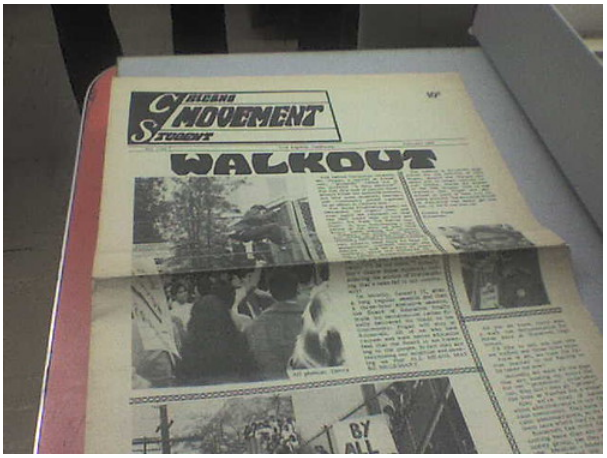


Figure **7.5.9**:Chicano Student Movement Walkout Feb 1969. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Andy Sternberg via Flickr)

1968 The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund opens its doors, becoming the first legal fund to pursue protection of the civil rights of Mexican Americans.

1969 Faced with slum housing, inadequate schools and rising unemployment, Puerto Rican youth in Chicago form the Young Lords Organization, inspired in part by the writings of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X. An outgrowth of the Young Lords street gang, the YLO becomes a vibrant community organization, creating free breakfast programs for kids and community health clinics. Modeled after the Black Panthers, the YLO uses direct action and political education to bring public attention to issues affecting their community. The group later spreads to New York City.

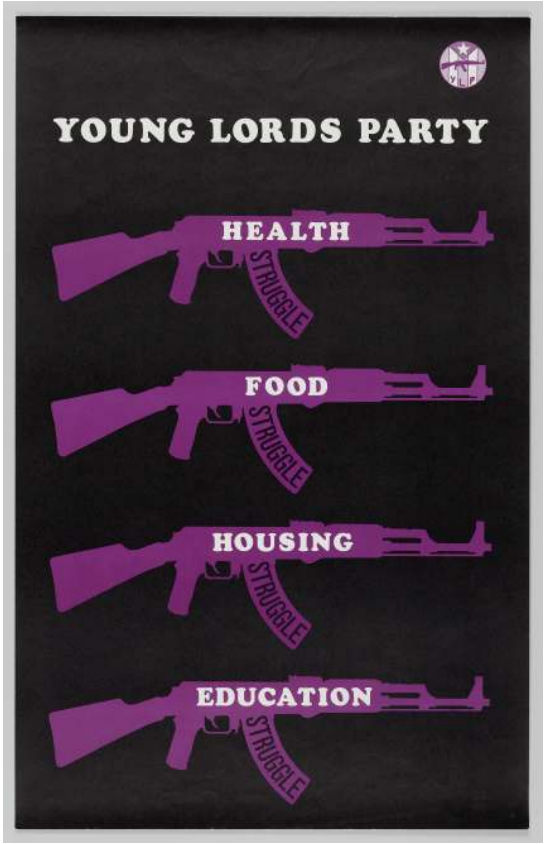


Figure **7.5.10**: Young Lords Party: Health, Food, Housing, Education. (CC PDM 1.0; via Smithsonian Institution)

1970s

Throughout the 1970s, progressive organizations based in Mexican, Filipino, Arab and other immigrant communities begin organizing documented and undocumented workers. Together, they work for legalization and union rights against INS raids and immigration law enforcement brutality.

1970 The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare issues a memorandum saying students cannot be denied access to educational programs because of an inability to speak English.

1974 In the case Lau v. Nichols, the U.S. Supreme Court reaffirms the 1970 memorandum, ruling students' access to, or participation in, an educational program cannot be denied because of their inability to speak or understand English. The lawsuit began as a class action by Chinese-speaking students against the school district in San Francisco, although the decision benefited other immigrant groups, as well.

1974 Congress passes the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 to make bilingual education more widely available in public schools.

1974 The first major Latino voter registration organization, the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project begins, registering more than two million Latino voters in the first 20 years.

1975 After non-English speakers testify about the discrimination they face at the polls, Congress votes to expand the U.S. Voting Rights Act to require language assistance at polling stations. Native Americans, Asian Americans, Alaska Natives and Latinos benefit most from this provision. The original Act, passed in 1965, applied only to Blacks and Puerto Ricans. The Voting Rights Act leads to the increasing political representation of Latinos in U.S. politics.

1980s

1985 National religious organizations provide support for the first "National Consultation on Immigrant Rights." Immediately the group calls for a National Day of Action for Justice for Immigrants and Refugees, "to call attention to issues and to dramatize the

positive role of immigrants in shaping U.S. society." More than 20 cities participate in the event.

1986 On November 6, Congress approves the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), providing legalization for certain undocumented workers, including agricultural workers. The Act also sets employer sanctions in place, making it illegal for employers to hire undocumented workers.

1988 President Ronald Reagan appoints Dr. Lauro Cavazos as Secretary of Education. He becomes the first Latino appointed to a presidential cabinet.

1989 Miami's Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, a Cuban American, becomes the first Latino woman elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

1990s

1990 The California Delegation Against Hate Violence documents the increasing human rights abuses by INS agents and private citizens against migrants in the San Diego-Tijuana border area.

1992 The Los Angeles Police Department cracks down on Latino immigrants during the "Los Angeles rebellion," after the "not guilty" verdict in the Rodney King police brutality case.

1994-1995 The fight over California's Proposition 187 brings the debate over immigration --particularly undocumented immigration -- to the front pages of the national press. The ballot initiative galvanizes students across the state, who mount a widespread campaign in opposition. Voters approve the measure preventing undocumented immigrants from obtaining public services like education and health care.

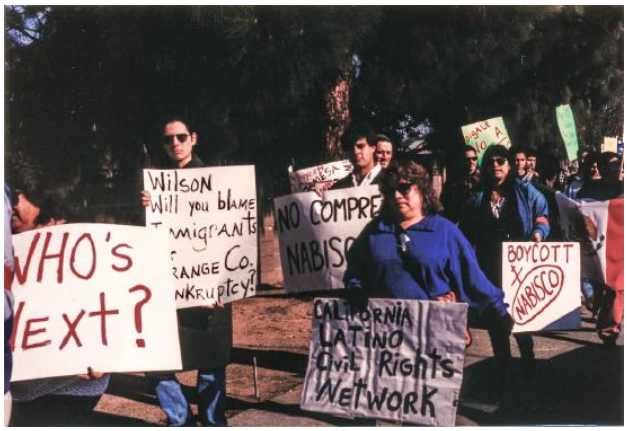


Figure 7.5.11: March Against Prop 187 in Fresno California 1994. (CC BY-SA 2.0; David Prasad via Flickr)

1997 A U.S. District Court judge overturns California's Prop 187, ruling it unconstitutional.

1999 After sixty years of U.S. Navy exercise-bombings on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, civil rights leaders in both Puerto Rican and African American communities respond with a non-violent protest galvanizing the island's 9,300 residents. Triggered by the accidental death of a Puerto Rican naval base employee during live ammunition exercises, Puerto Ricans unite in outrage, protesting the proximity of the exercises to civilians, years of environmental destruction and resulting health problems. The Navy failed to honor historical agreements to treat the island and its people respectfully. The protests culminate in lawsuits and the arrest of more than 180 protesters, with some serving unnecessarily harsh sentences. The Navy promises to stop bombing the island by 2003.

1999 The Immigration Law Enforcement Monitoring Project coordinates nationwide activities on Día de los Muertos, or Day of the Dead. Public displays of crosses, representing those who died crossing the border, capture public and media attention.

2000s

2001 Following the terrorist attacks of 9/11, Arab Americans and others of Middle Eastern descent experience a backlash in the United States, as hate crimes, harassment and police profiling sharply increase. Based in rising fears over "border security," the

stigma spreads to other immigrant groups. Some politicians call for building a wall between the United States and Mexico. During the next five years, Latino immigrants face a surge in discrimination and bias.

2003 Latinos are pronounced the nation's largest people of color --- surpassing African Americans --- after new Census figures show the U.S. Latino population at 37.1 million. The number is expected to triple by the year 2050.

2004 The Minuteman Project begins to organize anti-immigrant activists at the U.S./Mexico border. The group considers itself a citizen's border patrol, but several known white supremacists are members. During the next two years, the Minuteman Project gains widespread press coverage. Immigrant rights supporters conduct counter-rallies in public opposition to the Minuteman Project's tactics and beliefs.

2005 Just as key provisions of the Voting Rights Act are about to expire, English-only conservatives oppose its renewal because of the expense of bilingual ballots. In August 2006, President George W. Bush will reauthorize the Act. The reauthorized Act will be named the "Fannie Lou Hamer, Rosa Parks, Coretta Scott King, and Cesar Chavez Voting Rights Act Reauthorization and Amendments Act of 2006."

2006 Immigrants -- mostly Latinos -- and their allies launch massive demonstrations in cities and towns across the country in support of immigrant rights and to protest the growing resentment toward undocumented workers.

2006 High school students, mostly but not exclusively Latino, stage walkouts in Los Angeles, Houston and other cities, boycotting schools and businesses in support of immigrant rights and equality. Schools issue suspensions and truancy reports to students who participate, and several students are arrested.

2006 On May 1, hundreds of thousands of Latino immigrants and others participate in the Day Without Immigrants, boycotting work, school and shopping, to symbolize the important contributions immigrants make to the American economy.



Figure **7.5.12**: "11.Immigrant.March1.WDC.1may06" (CC BY 2.0; Elvert Barnes via Flickr)

2006 The U.S. Congress debates legislation that would criminalize undocumented immigrants. Immigrant rights organizations support alternative legislation offering a pathway to citizenship. The legislation stalls, and Congress decides instead to hold hearings across the country during the summer and fall of 2006, to gain public input on how to handle the immigration issue.

2010s

2012 After sustained protest and direct action, immigrant rights activists and supporters pressure Obama to pass DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals). This executive order provides protection for undocumented young people who were brought to the United States as children. They were also able to apply for a driver's license, work permit, and relief from deportation proceedings.



Figure **7.5.13**: UWD Leaders block an intersection in front of the White House. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; unitedwedream via Flickr



Figure **7.5.14**: Immigrant Rights. (CC BY 2.0; ep_jhu via Flickr)

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7.6: Contested and Competing Meanings in Chicanx and Latinx Studies

Nuances in Chicanx and Latinx Studies

Since its inception, Chicanx and Latinx Studies has maintained its interdisciplinary nature, incorporating perspectives of history, political science, psychology, and others (Cal State LA, Department of Chicana/o and Latina/o Studies, n.d.). Chicanx studies are common in the U.S. Southwest such as in California, Arizona, Texas, and New Mexico due to the area's long standing large Chicanx population sizes. A small portion of this Mexican population in the Southwest predated the land seizures by the U.S. due to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Puerto Rican Studies is more visible in states with larger populations of Puerto Ricans, such as New York. Latinx Studies is a broader discipline that overlaps and covers all Latinx groups in the United States. There are many nuances to the use of these terms and the two approaches to the discipline, which will be discussed below.



Figure **7.6.1**: Chicano Legacy 40 Años. (CC BY 2.0; Jay Galvin via Flickr)

Just because Chicanx and Latinx Studies launched as a discipline rooted in well-considered principles stemming from the Chicano Movement, one cannot understate the vast diversity, complexity, and nuance of identity that exist within the umbrella of Latinx. While identity, community, and culture are sites of commonality within the discipline, they are also sites of contention.

What follows are some of the key concepts subject to debate amongst scholars and practitioners of Chicanx and Latinx Studies:

Chicanismo

What is it?

Chicanismo is an ideology applied to what it means to identify as Chicana/o/x:

> Chicanismo involves a crucial distinction in political consciousness between a Mexican American and a Chicano mentality. The Mexican American is a person who lacks self respect for his cultural and ethnic heritage. Unsure of himself, he seeks assimilation as a way out of his "degraded" social status. Consequently, he remains politically ineffective, in contrast, Chicanismo reflects self-respect and pride in one's ethnic and cultural background… The Chicano acts with confidence and with a range of alternatives in the political world (Muñoz, Jr., 2007, p. 97).

Why is it controversial?

Because Chicana/o/x signifies a Mexican American who is political and takes action to further a specific agenda, there are Mexican Americans who are apolitical and/or who are explicitly conservative who object to the term and what it represents.

Chicana/o/x and Xicana/o/x

What does it mean?

The term, **Chicanx,** is commonly accepted as "connoting political awareness or consciousness and refers to U.S.born persons of Mexican descent" (Vargas, 2017, p. xxi). There are numerous origin stories of the term, but according to Juan Gonzalez in his book *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America*, students at Texas A&M started calling themselves Chicanos in the early '60s.

Gonzalez attributes university students identifying as Chicanxs to the fact that they were one of the biggest demographic groups on campus and because they gained control of the student government. They started using the term Chicano in order to reclaim a word that was originally pejorative towards those that were born north of the Rio Grande border, inverting it by rooting it in the positive of their existence within Aztlan, or the place stories claimed was the Homeland of Aztec peoples. In this way, Chicanx became a way for them to connect with their Indigeneity and heritage South of the Border (Gonzalez, 2022, p. 117). Please see the section on Aztlan for more of the origin story and controversy around it.

In his book *Brown Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* (2005), George Mariscal expands on the tension inherent for those of Mexican origin residing in the United States. The following quote helps us further understand a Mexican perspective on the Chicano identity:

According to Mexicans, the word "chicano" was born from a corruption. It is a corruption of "mexicano: Small Mexican? Chicano? On the contrary, the word has no fixed origin and surfaced among the people to name a reality: the intensification of mestizaje [mixture] … But the chicano is like the tide in the sea of history, like a shore that never ends, in perpetual movement, it frees itself from the Mexican ocean, arrives on the American beach, and although something remains, the rest returns to the open sea but before it can arrive, as in a cyclical return, it rises again. Thus the chicano is an instability (and has been for more than a century), an anomaly… like the Rio Bravo and Rio Grande, the wall between two culture. Thus the chicano is a human "no man's land," the border in living flesh (Mariscal, 2005, 29).

Xicana/o/x is generally understood to mean the same thing as Chicana/o/x, with the spelling variation used to pay homage to indigenous roots by using the letter X, which is a sound found in the Nahuatl language.

Why is it controversial?

Colleges and universities with a history of Chicanx Studies courses and departments, especially in the Southwest, have had to choose whether to keep the name of Chicanx Studies or build on the work of Chicanx Studies and, in the spirit of inclusivity, change the name to Latina/o Studies or Latinx Studies.

One case in particular that can be examined is La Raza Studies at San Francisco State University. Although La Raza Studies was the genesis of the fight for Ethnic Studies and creation of it, the Department of La Raza Studies was renamed Latina/o Studies in Fall 2011. Perhaps one flaw in the name La Raza Studies is that it translates to English as "the race studies." In the spirit of inclusivity of University students from Spanish-speaking backgrounds, the College administrators and faculty decided to move forward with Latina/o studies. There are additional critiques of La Raza, see that section below. However, as of 2016, the Mexican American Studies department at CSULA has changed its name to the Department of Chicana/o and Latina/o Studies (CLS), presumably also as a gesture of increased inclusivity of non-Mexican Latinx communities. Many other universities have similarly shifted their name to include Latina/o/x studies.

Chicanx is not only contested in the context of academic disciplines. According to an article on remezcla.com titled "Why student group M.E.Ch.A's proposed name change has set off a fierce, multi generational debate," by Aaron E. Sanchez, "Several chapters voted in favor of removing the terms 'Chicanx' and 'Aztlán' from its designation. While there is currently no final decision on the change or what the new name would be, many are putting forth words that are more inclusive of Afro-Latinos, Indigenous Latinos, Queer Latinos, Latinos from different Latin American countries, and more" (Sanchez & Martinez, 2019).

The Chicano Movement

The Chicano Movement addressed different social problems and issues, a "movement of movements", as described by Chicano and Latino Studies Professor Jimmy Patino. As presented in the Video below, *Chicano! Struggle in the Fields*, the first was the fight for farm worker's rights, led by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta through the United Farm Workers (UFW). This became the heart of the Chicano Movement and sought to improve the working conditions of farm workers but eventually extended and their efforts led to everyone having more labor and educational rights.

The second part of the movement was related to land rights of Mexican people and the reclamation of lands, led by the lawyer and activist Reies Lopez Tijerina. Tijerina challenged the unlawful transfer of land that took place after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 through formal court challenges, protests, and even staged an armed raid to reclaim territory in New Mexico.





Video **7.6.2**: Chicano! Struggle in the Fields. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; CaliforniaMexicoCtr via YouTube)

The third branch of the Chicano Movement was the rise of student activism and self-empowerment, as conveyed in Video above, *Chicano! Taking Back the Schools*. For example, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, an activist and former boxer, organized the National Youth and Liberation Conference in Denver, Colorado in 1969. This became a powerful organizing effort and brought in Chicanos from around the country to meet, take part in cultural workshops and events, and politicize and organize their own schools and communities. They drafted El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán (Spiritual Plan of Aztlán), to acknowledge the Indigenous ancestry and homeland of the Aztec people and also to map out a plan for Chicano nationalism and self-determination. In 1969, Chicano and Chicana students met at an historic conference at UC Santa Barbara to draft El Plan de Santa Barbara based on the identity and philosophy of **Chicanismo** to propose a larger plan to advocate for self-determination and empowerment, Chicano nationalism, and the central role of higher education in achieving liberation at the community level. The result of the conference was the establishment of the student organization, M.E.Ch.A (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán), and became the blueprint for the establishment of Chicano and Chicana Studies programs and departments throughout the UC System. Featured in the Chicano! Taking Back the Schools video above, another example of the student movement was the East Los Angeles Walkouts that took place in 1968, where thousands of Chicano students took part in non-violent protests by walking out of their schools to protest unequal educational opportunities, a lack of Chicano-themed course and curriculum, and a lack of Chicano and bilingual teachers. (Noriega et al, 2010)

Reis López Tijerina (9/21/1926 - 1/19/2015)

He was probably one of the leading experts on the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo out of necessity. According to his memoir, *They Called Me King Tiger: My Struggle for the Land and our Rights* (2000), Tijerina "organized Spanish-speaking families across the Southwestern US to seek repatriation of land obtained by North American anglos in violation of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo" (p. vii). Tijerina is seen in contradiction to César Chávez's peaceful protest efforts and was in favor of more violent, sometimes armed opposition (Haney-López, 2003, p. 158). He organized under La Alianza Federal de Mercedes or The Federal Land Grant Alliance and argued that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guaranteed Mexican property rights. In June 1967, Tijerina stormed a courthouse in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico to make a citizen's arrest of an abusive district attorney with an ensuing gunfight and twenty held hostages. As a result, Tijerina was convicted to two years imprisonment (Haney-López, 2003, p. 159). Tijerina formed alliances across ethnic boundaries, specifically with African American Militants such as the Nation of Islam (NOI) (Mariscal, 2005, p. 187).



Figure **7.6.3**: Chicano Park/Parque Chicano in Barrio Logan, San Diego, California founded in 1970. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Nathan Gibbs via Flickr)

Latina/o/x/e and Hispanic

What does it mean?

The term Hispanic and **Latinx** are pan-ethnic identity that includes many people whose origins are from Latin America, including Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean and South America. It is not a purely linguistic distinction - people with origins in countries where Haitian Creole, French, Portuguese, English, and many indigenous languages, such as Haiti, Brazil, Jamaica, and many others, are included, whereas someone from Spain would not be. A **panethnic** label is used as an "umbrella" term to categorize a set of ethnic subgroups with a shared culture, language, and history.

According to the UCLA sociologist G. Cristina Mora, the term **Hispanic** first officially appeared in the 1980 Census to categorize people from Spain and other Spanish-speaking countries, but excluding Brazilians. Prior to this census, those of Latin American descent were referred to as "Spanish-speaking", "having Spanish origin" or "white" which was frustrating to advocates and activists at the time, including the National Council of La Raza, who were lobbying for more resources and programs in Mexican and Puerto Rican communities. Although the term Hispanic emerged as an more official term and adopted by many, the term has its detractors because it tends to emphasize Spanish culture at the expense of Indigenous culture, it is an English word, perceived as an imposed label, and associated with the more assimilated who are hoping to de-emphasize their Latinx culture. According to Mora (2019):

> "Resistance to the idea of Hispanic emerged at a time when academics and started applying a much more critical lens to colonial history. There was a pushback and a sense that words matter - that by elevating "Hispanic" one is obscuring a history of colonialism, slavery, genocide, the Spanish legacy across the Americas. So "Latino" developed as an alternative, albeit an imperfect one" (Schelenz and Freeling, 2019, p. 1).

According to historian Ramon Gutierrez, the term **Latino or Latina** has its roots in the abbreviated version of Latino Americano that emerged after the independence movements of several countries in the early 1800s. It re-emerged in the late 1900s and can be found in memoirs and political literature in the 1970s. In the 1980s and 1990s, it was promulgated as a preferred substitute for the more official term Hispanic. It is considered a more inclusive term and has also been used to "center" the experiences of other subgroups such as Afro Latinos and Muslim Latinos, whose experiences are oftentimes left out of the discourse and research (Gutierrez and Almaguer, 2016). According to a 2013 Pew Center survey, only about 20% of respondents described themselves as either Hispanic or Latino. Slightly more than half of respondents (54%) prefer to use their family's country of origin (such as Mexican, Cuban, Guatemalan) to identify themselves and just over 20% used "American" to describe themselves (Lopez, 2013).

Latinx first emerged from online LGBTQIA+ discussion forums around 2004 (Yarin, 2022). One reason the term was developed was to drop the traditional heteronormative patriarchal dichotomy of identifying simply as a male or female. Furthermore, Latino is based on Latin languages; it is a gendered identifier. The “o” at the end of the word in Spanish signals a male identifier, in contrast to Latina, which because of the “a” at the end signifies female.

According to an article titled *The Word Latinx IS a Betrayal to Latinidad, That’s Exactly the Point* by J.A.O. the use of “x” in Latinx

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> ... was a conscious decision. It was an homage to Indigenous Nahuatl languages, and functioned as a linguistic visibilization of the communities most directly impacted by colonial violence, and the land theft, enslavement, and blanqueamiento that go along with stamping out Indigenous lives. By abandoning the “o” in favor of the “x”, the word “Latinx” achieves a true neutrality, rather than embracing the masculine default as neutral (J.A.O., 2021).

Furthermore, J.A.O. states that Latinx became mainstream after the 2016 Pulse nightclub shooting in Orlando, Florida after a shooter targeting queer and trans Latinx killed 49 people and wounded 53 more.

Additionally, Latinx is an identity that has provided a self-identifier in order to combat anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity, in turn, because Latinx is not a racial or national signifier. “I would never really be Puerto Rican so long as my Blackness was unambiguous to most people....The word 'Latina' also felt wrong because femininity felt wrong....I only knew discomfort, alienation, and isolation. So when I finally found the vocabulary, it was a relief....‘Latinx’ is a protest against those who are willing to go down with the ship: the people who are hellbent on maintaining the oppression of the most marginalized among us in Latin America and the diaspora (J.A.O.)

Although Chicanxs fit under the umbrella term of Latinx, not all would identify themselves as being Latinx. In the US, Latinx studies emerged in higher education in order to provide a pan-ethnic area of study for Mexicans, Central Americans, the Caribbeans, and South Americans. The term Latinx has also been used as it has been developed to describe college courses.

Why is it controversial?

Although Latinx and Latine have found a place in higher education and in the media, these terms have received backlash, especially online. On social media platforms, some claim that they will never adopt the term, that it is linguistic imperialism and that the term doesn't make any sense linguistically. Furthermore, some who oppose Latinx claim that “Latino” is not offensive to anyone and that it should not change because it is linguistically accurate.

A recent discipline that has emerged at University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) is Central American Studies (CAS). According to the UCLA library website, "Central American studies (CAS) is an interdisciplinary field that bridges ethnic studies and area studies. Because it does not fit neatly into disciplinary and institutional categories, CAS inhabits different spaces in each of the institutions where it has emerged. Central American Studies goes beyond the borders of the U.S. although in Ethnic Studies we usually focus within the U.S." In *Harvest of Empire* (2011), Juan Gonzalez states that Central Americans did not have a “collective desire for the material benefits of U.S. society; rather, vicious civil wars and the social chaos those wars engendered forced the region’s people to flee" (p. 129). The Central American civil wars that caused hundreds of thousands to flee and end up in the U.S. were military and political interventions fabricated by the US. Lastly, Central American Studies refers to the perspectives and study of issues affecting nations and communities of the Central American Isthmus” (Osorio, n.d.).

Aztlán



Figure **7.6.4**: Flag Of Aztlan used by La Raza Unida and other Chicano activists. (Public Domain; Sukanara via Wikimedia Commons)

What does it mean?

According to Gloria Anzaldúa in her book *Borderlands / La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, Aztlán was the "Edenic place of origin of the Aztecs" and that the "Aztecs left the US Southwest in 1168 A.D." (Anzaldúa, 2012, p.4). The Aztecs leave Aztán in search of a new homeland. Huitzilopochtli, the Aztec hummingbird deity (and the God of War), guided them, until they found their omen of an eagle eating a serpent on a cactus (p.5). Anzaldúa states that

> The eagle symbolizes the soul (as the earth, the mother). Together, they symbolize the struggle between the spiritual/celestial/male and the underworld/earth/feminine. The symbolic sacrifice of the serpent to the "higher" masculine powers indicates that the patriarchal order had already vanquished the feminine and matriarchal order in pre-Columbian America (Anzaldúa, 2012 p. 5).

The Aztecs kept on course until they found their omen on a small island, on what was Lake Texcoco. They would eventually build the capital of their empire, Tenochtitlan, in the middle of Lake Texcoco and expand the city using chinampas (floating gardens). During the Chicano Movement of the 1960s and '70s, Aztlán was said to be in the Southwest United States, including Colorado, California, Arizona, Texas, Utah, New Mexico, Oregon and parts of Washington State. Aztlán served as a powerful symbol to Chicanos because it positioned them not as foreigners to the Southwest but instead as tied to the land through indigeneity.

Why is it controversial?

Some scholars believe that Aztlán is purely mythical, although others believe it is a historical account of a major migration. Not all Mexicans or Chicanos are of Aztec heritage or any indigenous heritage at all, and there are indigenous peoples and nations pre-existing in the lands of the Southwest United States.

La Raza

What does it mean?

La Raza is a term used interchangeably with Mexicans, Hispanics, Hispanidad, Latinx, and Chicanx, and it can connote a broad community of Latinx peoples united in their experience of Spanish colonization and racial mixing. During the Chicano Movement the term was used widely to emphasize shared heritage.

Why is it controversial?

La Raza is derived and shortened from the phrase "La Raza Cósmica." *La Raza Cósmica* or The Cosmic Race was a book and an ideology published in 1925 by Jose Vasconcelos, an intellectual, philosopher, and at one point Mexico's Minister of Education. His racial ideology is widely accepted as being an ideological project promoting "mestizaje" (or the racial mixing of European, Asian-descended, Native Americans, and Africans) as a means to a utopian society. La Raza Cósmica "condones a biopolitical order that, despite its decolonial intentions, ends up reproducing the Western racial hierarchy" (Quintana-Navarrete, 2021, p. 85). Furthermore, one problematic aspect of La Raza Cósmica ideology is that it promotes the notion that race is biological and that it is

also spiritual and “arguing that they prove the fact that hybridization between antithetical types [races] tends to create better individuals” (p. 85). In other words, only by diluting indigenous racial and spiritual characteristics could indigenous communities be improved and absorbed into Mexico’s mainstream culture. As a result of this theory, Vasconcelos did promote racial miscegenation as a method to hybridize racially and create a fifth race or the “cosmic race” building from theories used to uphold eugenics policies that were used in the U.S. and Germany (p. 85).

However, the Chicano Movement did appropriate Vasconcelos’ concept of the fifth race as a way to unite under a shared identity deemphasizing European heritage and emphasizing Indigenous heritage rather than following Vasconcelos' implication that Indigeneity is improved when mixed with something better. However, others argue that this, and contemporary uses of mestizaje, still enable narratives that erase the existence of blackness and racism.

Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x/e Feminism

What does it mean?

In the same way that there is no single definition or history of “feminism,” Chicanx feminism cannot be confined to a single definition. Women of varied races, classes, sexualities, and ideologies have always organized in many ways for many different goals (Gershon, 2022). It is no different or perhaps even more pronounced for Latinx feminists, because of the pronounced racial differentiation within its communities. But the most basic goals of Chicanx feminism have been the ability to fully participate in and lead the Chicanx Movement and the Chicanx academic discipline, and for the experiences, histories, needs, goals, and lens of Chicanx feminists to be centralized within that of Chicanx as a whole.

Chicanx feminists have often sat within multiple movements simultaneously, the Chicanx movement, the feminist movement, the feminist of color movement, the LGBTQ movement, and others. This multifaceted movement orientation gave Chicana feminists a unique position from which to push other activists to be more thoughtful (Gershon, 2022). In "The Foundations of Chicana Feminism," Livia Gershon distills the work of feminist and lesbian writer Cherrie Moraga’s into three calls: for white feminist movement to examine its own racism, for the Chicano movement to address its sexism, and for both to challenge their homophobic tendencies (Gershon, 2022).

Chicanx feminism can be traced back to the Chicanx Movement of the 1960s; however, many Chicanx scholars have uncovered the roots of Chicanx herstories winding back through Spanish colonialism of the Caribbean, North, Central, and South American. In her foreword to “The Chicana Motherwork Anthology,” Ana Castillo firmly roots the Latinx woman and her activism in her experience of, and resistance to, colonization:

> The blood on these lands - South, North, and Central America and the attendant islands near and around- the sweat and tears of original peoples; the buried placentas and ombligos of newborns; the wails of madres sufridas and the war cries of guerrilleras; the prayers of sacerdotas, brujas’ incantations, remedios de curanderas, y el hecho y en resumen, echoed or muffled, have all served as the foundation of . . . all the action produced by women of consciousness, day in and day out (Caballero, 2019, Foreword).

Why is it controversial?

Chicanx feminism has always created space in the community and in higher education, but it has simultaneously always faced individual or group suppression to Chicanx machismo. Many male Chicano activists expressed that they felt Chicana feminist groups were either trivial or harmful to the broader movement. Even when Chicanas were participating in “Chicano” groups within the Movement, they faced delegitimization. For example, although Ana Nieto-Gómez was elected president of M.E.Ch.A. in 1969, the year the group was formed, an effigy of her was hung by male students who felt a woman should not represent their organization (Ruiz, 2006). Another example of this in popular culture is the amount of media attention and accolades Cesar Chávez received for decades in comparison to Dolores Huerta, his co-founder of the National Farmworkers Association (which later became the United Farm Workers or UFW). However, in more recent years, Dolores has been given more mainstream recognition.

Sidebar: Dolores Huerta

Dolores Huerta **(b. 4/10/1930)** was born in New Mexico and before she was the right hand person of Cesar Chávez and the UFW, she was a schoolteacher. Huerta met Cesar Chavez while they both worked at Community Services Organization (CSO) where they gained labor organizing experience, even when CSO did not fully support that work (Rosales, 1997, p. 132). Huerta "was assigned to lobbying the California Legislature for pro-migrant worker legislation" and through that work CSO demonstrated that it could register and organize Mexican Americans to vote as a group (p. 132). After Chavez resigned from CSO, he recruited Huerta to help build the efforts of the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA). Huerta was at the side of Chavez when the UFW organization was in its infancy and the main support Chavez relied on was his wife Helen Chavez and Huerta (p. 134). Through all of this, Huerta birthed and raised 11 children.

Huerta is known for creating the demonstration chant "¡si se puede!" or "yes we can!" Yes we can was the slogan used by President Barack Obama's campaign without giving the proper attributions to Dolores Huerta. Huerta was invited to the White House to receive a Medal of Freedom. President Obama stated in his remarks about the legacy of Dolores Huerta "Dolores was very gracious when I told her that I had stolen her slogan "¡si se puede!" "Yes we can!" knowing her I'm pleased that she let me off easy because Dolores does not play" (23 ABC News, 2012). Huerta continues to speak at local and national conferences about her involvement in the movement and politics.

Not all Latinx social movements and groups have resisted feminist goals and practice. A good example of what a Latinx community organization and movement of the 1970s looked like with gender equality as a central component is the Young Lords Party. From their 13-Point Program, Point Number 10 directed their organizational efforts to fight patriarchy within their movement head-on. The following is the text from Point Number 10,

---

> We want equality for women. Machismo must be revolutionary... not oppressive: Under capitalism, our women have been oppressed by both the society and our own men. The doctrine of machismo has been used by our men to take out their frustrations against their wives, sisters, mothers, and children. Our men must support their women in their fight for economic and social equality, and must recognize that our women are equals in every way within the revolutionary ranks (13 Point Program and Platform of the Young Lords Party, 1969).

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7.7: Racialization and Identity

Race and Racial Identity

Gutierrez and Almaguer (2016) point out that that Latinx populations have a very long history of racial classification that goes back to the Spanish colonial period, which lasted hundreds of years in Latin America. The racial mixing (referred to as **mestizaje**) that occurred included Spanish troops, indigenous populations, and imported African slaves and led to the development of a color and class stratification system, sometimes referred to as a racial caste system. In those societies where indigenous people were used as the primary colonial labor force, indigenous ancestry was devalued and stigmatized, mostly in Mexico, Central America, and Peru. In those societies where the indigenous population was decimated and replaced by African slaves, such as the Caribbean islands, blackness was devalued. Terms such as mestizo, moreno, mulato and trigueño began to be used in the 16th century and are still used today. What resulted was a system where "either white and black, or white and Indian, were at opposite ends of this racial hierarchy, and a large set of intermediate brown categories that complexly stratified the population were deemed to occupy the middle" (Gutierrez & Almaguer, 2016, p. 154). It is evident that people who have migrated to the United States bring with them this complicated history of racial classification and identity.

In the United States, Latinx people are not designated on the U.S. Census as a "racial group" but instead are considered an ethnic group with a shared cultural backgrounds, who can be of any "race". The 2010 Census form first asks respondents if the person in question is of Hispanics, Latin or Spanish origin and asks to specific a Latinx subgroup is the answer is "yes" to this question. Then, the following question asks for the person's race but only provides the following potential responses:

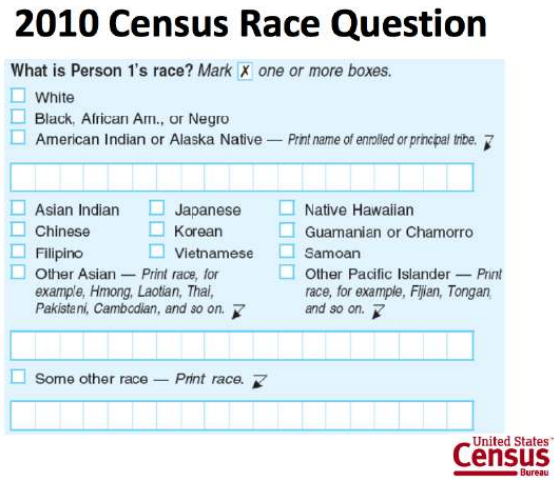


Figure **7.7.1**: 2010 Census Race Question. (CC PDM 1.0; via U.S. Census Bureau)

Given the limited responses to the race question, it is not surprising that in 2010 more than half (53%) of the Latinx respondents selected the "White" racial category on the Census form. Interestingly, there were differences across the subgroups. Cubans (85.4%) and South Americans (65.9%) were among the highest and Guatemalans (38.5%) and Salvadorans (40.2%) were among the lowest to select the "White" racial category. Approximately 53% of both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans selected the "White" racial category. Some 37% of Latinx respondents selected "some other race" and a majority in this group selected their nationality as their specified "race." A small percentage of Latinx respondents (6%) identified themselves as multiracial and even smaller percentages as American Indian (1.4%) or Black (2.5%) (Gutierrez & Almaguer, 2016). After the results of the 2010 Census were published, news organizations such as the New York Times wrote stories with headlines that read "More Hispanics Declaring Themselves White" and concluded that the results provided evidence that the Latinx population may "assimilate as white Americans, like the Italians or Irish, who were not universally considered to be white" (Cohn, 2014). So, is this the end of the story? Are Latinx people simply the next "Italians" and are assimilating into white America?

Other research actually reflects a more complex Latinx racial and ethnic identity. For example, in their survey of Latinx adults, Parker et al. (2015) found that 67% of respondents considered their "Hispanic" background to be both a racial and ethnic background, contrary to the assumption made in the Census question and other standard race survey questions. In this same survey, a much higher percentage of Latinx adults described themselves as being of mixed race (34%), Indigenous (25%), and Afro-Latino

(24%) then was captured in the 2010 Census. Part of this was the contextualization of the questions in the current survey. For example, respondents were asked if they consider themselves "Afro-Latino or Afro-Caribbean or, for example, Afro-Mexican." Respondents were also asked if they had ancestry that included specific indigenous peoples of the Americas, such as Mayan, Taino, Quechua, etc. As for being of mixed race ancestry, more culturally relevant terms such as mestizo or mulatto were utilized in this survey. The results provide a rich and more complex picture regarding the self-identity and racial classification of the Latinx population.

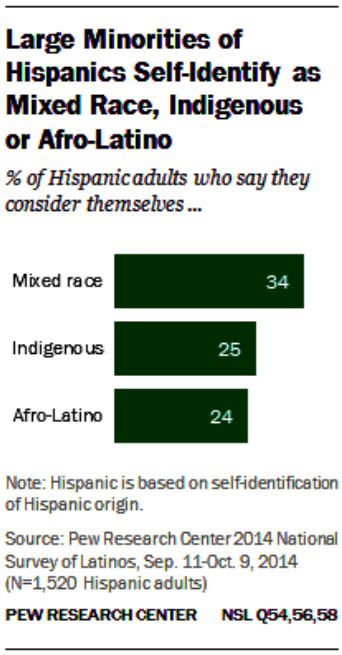


Figure **7.7.2**: Large Minorities of Hispanics Self-Identify as Mixed Race, Indigenous or Afro-Latino. (Used with permission; Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C.)

Critical Latinx Indigeneities

Maylei Blackwell and colleagues (2017) define Critical Latinx Indigeneity as a lens to:

> ...critique enduring colonial logics and practices that operate from different localities of power as well as the physical, social, cultural, economic, and psychological violence that often targets Indigenous Latinx peoples, including forms of state and police violence, cultural appropriation, economic exploitation, gender violence, social exclusion, and psychological abuse (p. 132).

This perspective challenges Latina/o/x and Chicana/o/x Studies to uproot ideologies in broader society, especially as they are reproduced through narrow definitions of Latinidad. For instance, the ideology of **Indigenismo** is an “Aztec-centric celebration of the Indigenous past of the nation, which often serves to erase the present and future of the sixty-three Indigenous pueblos of Mexico” and the millions of Indigenous peoples living around the world (Blackwell et al., 2017, p. 131). This section will provide an overview of the concepts and background to recognize diverse Indigenous heritages among Chicanx and Latinx communities and the intersecting dynamics of racialization, mestizaje, and Afro-Latinidad.

Indigenous Roots in Chicanx and Latinx Communities

While stratification among Latinx communities occurs on racial lines, it is also present in **Indigeneity**. Indigeneity is constructed through cultural norms, shared group formations, communities, institutions, and families. Indigeneity is also often recognized and policed through phenotype, where individuals with darker skin and features associated with local Indigenous peoples are more likely to be visibly associated with stereotypes and cultural scripts pertaining to Indigenous people. The reality of colorism is present in many societies and cultures. In the lands referred to as North America and Latin America, the Indigenous peoples have used names like Isla Tortuga / Turtle Island, referring to the North American continent; Abya Yala, referring to southern Mexico

and Central America; and Pachamama, referring to South America. Indigenous people are an active part of the culture, politics, and history of island societies in the Caribbean, such as the Arawak-speaking Taino people.

In Figure **7.7.1**, you can see a visual representation of the percentage of Indigenous people living in Latin American countries today, which totals 46 million across the region and ranges from 0.2% in El Salvador to 62.2% in Bolivia. Guatemala follows this at 41%, Peru at 24%, and Mexico at 15.1%. There are over 800 recognized Indigenous groups in Latin America, with the most significant number of distinct Indigenous peoples residing in Brazil, with over 300 different Indigenous peoples represented. Scholars also estimate that 200 or more groups operate actively but do not seek state or federal recognition. The image displays important information, including that by the year 2010, an estimated 45 million Indigenous people lived in Latin America, accounting for 8.3% of the region's population. The United Nations has championed the promotion of their rights through the use of different resources and special regulations for this purpose. At present, there are 826 Indigenous peoples. An additional 200 are estimated to be living in voluntary isolation.

In the chart below, the countries are labeled by their name, the percentage of Indigenous people out of the total population, and the total number of the Indigenous population. The countries included are Mexico, 15.1%, 17 million, Honduras 7%, 537,000, Panama 12.3%, 420,000, Colombia, 3.4%, 1.6 million, Venezuela, 2.7% 725,000, Brazil, 0.5%, 900,000, Bolivia, 62.2%, 6.2 million, Paraguay, 1.8%, 113,000, Uruguay, 2.4%, 77,000, Argentina, 2.4%, 955,000, Chile, 11%, 1.8 million, Peru, 24%, 7 million, Ecuador, 7%, 1 million, Costa Rica, 2.4%, 105,000, Nicaragua, 8.9%, 520,000, El Salvador, 0.2%, 14,500, Guatemala, 41%, 5.9 million. Additionally, the captions included read: "The countries with the greatest number of Indigenous peoples are: Brazil, 305, Colombia, 102, Peru 85, Mexico 78, Bolivia, 39." and "Many Indigenous peoples are in danger of physical or cultural disappearance: Brazil, 70, Colombia, 35, Bolivia, 13." And the chart is summarized with the text, "ECLAC encourages the region's countries to put public policies in practice which:

1. are based on standards of Indigenous people's rights;
2. include their perspectives and contributions to the region's development;
3. consolidate improvements in their well-being and living conditions, political participation and territorial rights;
4. promote the construction of multicultural societies that benefit us all."



Figure **7.7.3**: "Indigenous Peoples in Latin America" (Free Use; Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) via United Nations)

For example, the identity term **Chicanx Indigenous** signifies being Indigenous to Mesoamerica, also called **Anahuac** in the Nahua language. It is a self-identity category used by people, unlike Hispanic or Latinx, which emerged from western institutions. Chicanx is an identity term that originates from Xicano, which stems from Mexicano that has roots in Mexica -- one of the central Indigenous groups in Mesoamerica (Anahuac).

For Chicanx communities, in the 1960s Aztlán was considered the name of a homeland in the area now known as the Greater Southwest in the United States. The claim to the Greater Southwest by Chicanxs in the 1960s is troubling because it overlooks the past and present existence of Native tribal nations living in the regions in the areas signified, who were colonized by the Spanish before becoming part of Mexico, and then the United States. The idea that Chicanxs had a rightful claim to the land is contradicted by the Nahua paradigm, which states that the meaning of Aztlán is not a physical homeland but rather a commitment to stewardship.

Mestizaje and the Intersection of Indigeneity and Race

Stories of heritage among Chicanx and Latinx Indigenities or groups vary on their past and present ties to their homelands as well as in terms of their degree of inter- and intra-group recognition. **Mestizas/os/xs** are a diverse population with a combination of mixed heritage, often including Indigenous lineage, along with a combination of African and/or European backgrounds. Across these diverse groups, some have experienced contemporary forced acculturation, and others have been taught to believe they can assimilate and be invested in the dominant Spanish or Anglo-American cultural ways. The investment in whiteness is sometimes experienced through colorism when children are born, as they may be referred to as being a *güerita/o* or *morenita/o*, if they have light or dark skin. Children's light skin may be celebrated guided by the belief that they may eventually pass as white, which leads to identity conflict and pressure throughout development.

The idea of **mestizaje**, or mixed-race identity, emphasizes the multiple lineages that not only shape individual identity but also the communities, cultures, languages, and traditions that we practice. However, an overemphasis on the mixing of various groups in Latin America can be used to create a false sense of equality that is not reflected in the actual conditions of racialized groups in Latin America, the United States, and Canada. In particular, Mexico and Brazil have both promoted a sense of national unity that attempts to erase differences based on race, color, and Indigeneity (Telles, 2014). For communities experiencing the effects of inter-generational oppression, segregation, and exploitation, the idea that all ethnic differences have fused in a post-racial society erases the realities of inequity and the importance of advocates calling for justice. For Indigenous peoples, reductive deployments of ethnic categorization can disrupt attempts for collective liberation (Sánchez, 2021).

This long history of racial classification has also resulted in a form of **colorism** within the Latinx population, defined by Chavez-Dueñas et al. (2014) as "a form of discrimination imposed upon Latinos/as by members of their own ethnic group." (Chavez-Dueñas et al., p. 4). This internalized hierarchy that devalues indigenous and African ancestry and a preference for whiteness or traditionally European features is reflected at the institutional level in terms of people in power, socioeconomic status, and depictions of people in media (i.e. movies, news broadcasters, telenovelas, etc.).

Marginalization continues through everyday stereotypes and myths about Indigenous people taught in various institutions, such as schools, mass media, and policy. As an example of anti-Indigenous oppression among Chicanx and Latinx people, we may hear pejorative terms like "India Maria" and "Oaxaquita," signifying a connotation of inferiority. At the micro level, Chavez-Dueñas (2014) found the following comments frequently used by Latinx family members to describe friends or relatives to be a clear reflection of colorism and an internalized racial hierarchy :

- Hay que mejorar la raza o cásate con un blanco. [We need to improve the race by marrying a white person.]

- Ahi que bonita es su niña, as tan güerita/blanquita! [Oh! How pretty your daughter is, she is so white/light skinned!]

- Oh, nació negrito/prietito pero aun asi lo queremos. [Oh, he was born black/dark but we still love him all the same.]

- Pobrecito, tiene el cabello tan malo. [Poor little thing, her hair is so bad/coarse.]

- Eres tan Indio. [You are so Indian. (connoting negative stereotypes about indigenous people)] (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014, p. 17).

Community responsive efforts, like in Ventura California, have included the "No me llames Oaxaquita" campaign. This effort created greater awareness about how this harmful term can negatively impact young people and their communities, motivating people to question their own biases and assumptions. Social movements have always been important for responding to the marginalization and direct threats to the lives of Indigenous peoples. Movement mobilization includes calling for sovereignty, treaty rights, resistance to Columbus Day and triumphalist narratives in history, stopping environmental destruction, water rights, cultural revitalization, land acknowledgment, and more. A land acknowledgment is a formal statement recognizing and respecting

Indigenous Peoples as traditional stewards of the land as well as the historical relationship between Indigenous Peoples and their traditional territories.

Latinidad has also been critiqued for the ways that it calls for an overriding unity between all Latinx, Latina, and Latino people. These generalizations tend to benefit the most privileged within this group, including cisgender, heterosexual, male, English-speaking, light-skinned or white, citizen Latinos. For this reason, some groups who are multiply marginalized within the Latinx community have called against using this term or qualifying it (Flores 2021). Others have modified the term, including through the label, **Afro-Latinx**, which describes people from Latin America of African descent.

Afro-Latinidad

The histories and identities of Afro-descendant people and Indigenous peoples in the Americas have been interacting and intertwined for centuries. For example, the Garifuna people are of mixed African and Indigenous heritage from the island called St. Vincent. Members and descendants of this group exist across Central America, the Caribbean, and the United States and are just one example of the strength and pride that has been built through solidarity with African and Indigenous heritage.

However, Afro-Latinxs are more likely to experience discrimination and policing in the United States (Noe-Bustamante et al. 2021), and also more likely to raise these issues within Latinx communities more broadly (Gonzalez-Barrera, 2022). Within Latinx communities, dynamics of racism and colorism work to silence Afro-Latinx voices and discourage inclusive participation. These dynamics can be seen as widespread as white supremacy and global colonialism. Racial categorization in places like Brazil tends to be closely layered with colorism, leading to vastly different experiences of racial norms and consequences, even within biological families, based on one's physical presentation of race (Telles, 2014).

In the United States, self-identified Afro-Latinxs make up nearly 25% of the total Hispanic population (Gonzalez-Barrera, 2022). This suggests that the concerns of Afro-Latinx people are more central to both Black and Latinx cultures than is typically represented in popular media or social movements. For example, Black feminism often credits the development of major theoretical traditions like intersectionality to African American women in the United States. However, when considering transnational Black communities, there have been theoretical and conceptual developments in places like Brazil that predate U.S. manifestations of Black feminism. The recognition of these mutual sources of inspiration and activist mobilization is an opportunity for transnational coalitions and mutual learning. For example, Angela Davis has made a practice of collaborating with Black feminist leaders in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, such as Preta Ferriera, Lélia Gonzalez, and Marielle Franco.

The formal categorization of individuals into sub-categories by race was constructed by the Spanish empire in the Americas through the system of casta. Casta sorted people based on their heritage. A painting of the casta designations can be found in Figure **7.7.4**, which shows sixteen different designations organized hierarchically, with Spanish descendant (Español or Española) individuals ranked at the highest positions, and those with Black and Indigenous ancestry ranked at the bottom. They are:

1. Español con India, Mestizo;
2. Mestizo con Española, Castizo;
3. Castizo con Española, Español;
4. Español con Mora, Mulato;
5. Mulato con Española, Morisca;
6. Morisco con Española, Chino;
7. Chino con India, Salta atrás;
8. Salta atras con Mulata, Lobo;
9. Lobo con China, Gíbaro (Jíbaro);
10. Gíbaro con Mulata, Albarazado;
11. Albarazado con Negra, Cambujo;
12. Cambujo con India, Sambiaga (Zambiaga);
13. Sambiago con Loba, Calpamulato;
14. Calpamulto con Cambuja, Tente en el aire;
15. Tente en el aire con Mulata, No te entiendo;
16. No te entiendo con India, Torna atrás

Many of the categories and labels used in this image are considered derogatory and are only presented here for a sense of the historical language use and social construction of race.



Figure **7.7.4**: "Las castas" (Public Domain; Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán, Mexico via Wikimedia)

Latino Identity Formation **7.7.5**

Ferdman and Gallegos(2021) propose that Latinx individuals develop orientations or lenses through which they view their identity. Their orientation or lens depends on their experiences with social institutions including the family, education system, peer groups, and U.S. cultural racial constructs, etc. Note: This is not a linear stage model that youth will progress through in order.

- **Latino Integrated**: understanding of racial constructs and ability to challenge them.
- **Latino Identified**: acceptance of the races Latino and white and identification with Latino
- **Subgroup Identified**: identification of multiple Latino races and identification with a regional subgroup.
- **Latino as Other**: identification as a generic Latino due to mixed heritage.
- **Undifferentiated**: colorblindness, adherence to dominant culture, and tendency to attribute failure to the individual rather than racial constructs and systems of oppression.
- **White Identified**: acceptance of white and Latino races and identification with white and rejection of Latino

Ferdman, B. M., and Gallegos, P. I. (2001). "Latinos and racial identity development." In C. L. Wijeyesinghe & B. W. Jackson III (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Racial Identity Development: A Theoretical and Practical Anthology (*pp. 32-66). New York University Press

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7.8: Intersectionality

As you might recall, the intersectional approach in sociology focuses on the intersection of race, social class, gender and sexuality - all of which are embedded in the institutional structure of society. According to this framework of analysis, there is a **matrix of domination** which implies that there are several types of social categories that create an overlap of oppression and discrimination. Therefore, our binary thinking and analysis, such as only focusing on gender or race when looking at the distribution of important societal resources misses the complexity of social reality.

The following are examples of intersectionality experienced by Latinx communities that highlight the unique forms of discrimination and stratification experienced by those who have overlapping of social characteristics.

The Persistence of Racialized Gender Wage Gaps

According to the Eileen Patten (2016), despite some progress over time, the racial and gender wage gaps persist today. For example, Patten found that Latinx men make 69% of the earnings compared to their white counterparts. However, Latinx women experience an even greater disparity, earning only 58% of the median earnings of white men. Even after controlling for education, white men with college degrees earned a median hourly wage of $32, compared to $26 for Latinx man and $22 for Latinx women. Although some of the differences can be explained by labor force experience and types of industries, the unexplained variance may be attributed to discrimination. Black and Latinx workers are much more likely to report unfair treatment and that their race and gender have made it more difficult to succeed in survey data than their white counterparts.

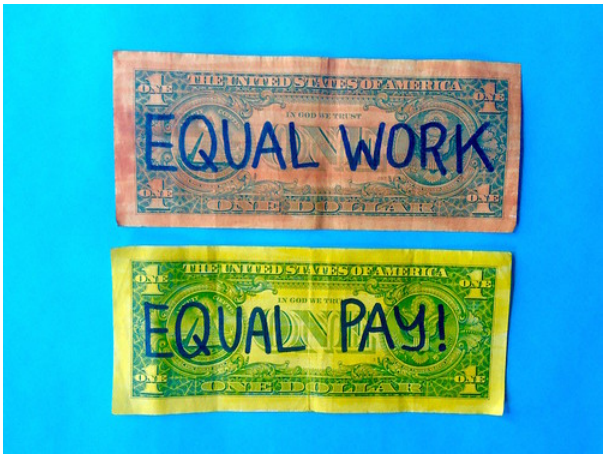


Figure 7.8.1: "Equal Pay for Equal Work" (CC BY-NC 2.0; Sarah Mirk via Flickr)

Driven by lower pre-pandemic wages, income, and wealth combined with the disproportionate lack of health care, Latinx workers have suffered greater economic distress than their white counterparts through the COVID-19 crisis. As the pandemic has spread, another symptom of this labor market disempowerment—inadequate workplace safety—has loomed particularly large for the Latinx population. Latinas have experienced the highest unemployment rates during COVID-19, as they are disproportionately employed in service occupations which have been hard hit by the pandemic (Gould, Perez, & Wilson, 2020).

Latinx, Undocumented, and LGBTQ

Carrie Hart (2015) explores the identity and work of Undocuqueer Artivist, Julio Salgado. By embracing both a queer and undocumented identity, Salgado creates "an anti-assimilationist, radical way that critiques the oppression of people on the basis of race, ethnicity, and citizenship as well as gender and sexuality" (Hart, 2015, *p.* 3) He also rejects the term 'illegal' because it "suggests a fixed identity, employs racist overtones, and shares a history with racially exclusionary policy and ideology, such as its origin in 1882 with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act" (Hart, 2015). Salgado considers this term to be inherently dehumanizing and instead prefers to be undocumented, which can be more "strategic... and/or resistant" (Hart, 2015).

In combining both terms and embracing the **Undocuqueer** identity, Salgado expresses a unwillingness to separate his undocumented and queer experiences and identities. His goal as an artist and activist is to give visibility to people who are both

undocumented and part of the LGBTQ community. Both of these communities have experienced systematic discrimination and oppression in U.S. society.



'Queer Butterfly' by Julio Salgado. *(Courtesy of the artist)*

Figure **7.8.2**: "Queer Butterfly" by Julio Salgado. (With the kind permission of the Artist)



Video **7.8.3**: How Julio Salgado Utilizes Art to Express Life As a Queer, Undocumented Man | SEEN | NowThis. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; NowThis Entertainment via YouTube)

As an Undocuqueer Artivist, Salgado is building upon the tradition of other Latinx artivists such as Judy Baca who use the combination of art and activism to think outside the bounds of dominant modes of representation in the interests of liberation for themselves and their communities (Hart, 2015). Similarly, self-proclaimed chicana dyke-feminist, tejana patlache, poet, writer, and cultural theorist, Gloria Anzaldúa (1942 –2004) was best known for her book, Borderlands/La Frontera, loosely-based on her life growing up on the Mexico–Texas border, incorporating her lifelong experiences of social and cultural marginalization. This excerpt from Borderlands/La Frontera captures her spiritual activism:

The struggle is inner: Chicano, indio, American Indian, mojado, mexicano, immigrant Latino, Anglo in power, working class Anglo, Black, Asian--our psyches resemble the bordertowns and are populated by the same people. The struggle has always been inner, and is played out in outer terrains. Awareness of our situation must come before inner changes, which in turn come before changes in society. Nothing happens in the "real" world unless it first happens in the images in our heads.

Latinx, Gender, and Undocumented Status

In their study on workplace violations among low-wage workers in Los Angeles County, Milkman, Gonzalez, & Narro (2010) found significant evidence of labor law violations such as minimum wage mandates, overtime pay requirements, working off-the-clock or during breaks. They also found instances of delayed payments, tip stealing, and employer retaliation. Among the 1,815 workers surveyed and interviewed for this study, 73% were Latinx, 52% were woman, and 56% were undocumented. They also found that the intersectionality of workers either increased or decreased the likelihood of experiencing workplace violations. For

example, minimum wage violations were greater for women than men and greater for immigrants than their U.S.-born counterparts. However, women who were unauthorized immigrants (the majority of whom were Latinx) experienced the highest rate of minimum wage violations among all subgroups. Well over half of this group reported a minimum wage violation in the previous week.



Figure 7.8.4: Immigration Reform Action in Burbank. (CC BY-NC 2.0; SEIU Local 99 Education Workers United via Flickr)

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7.9: Migration and Immigration

Overview of Migration

When examining migration from Latin America, it is important to recognize that the term “immigrants” often also refers to Latin American Indigenous peoples. For example, immigrants from Oaxaca, Mexico may also identify as Indígena (Indigenous) and speak their native language of Mixteco. Although **immigrant and immigration policy** sound alike, they each play different roles in shaping the ways immigrants experience life in the United States. Immigration policy is about the laws and policies that determine the process and number of people who can immigrate in various ways, whereas *immigrant* policy refers to the laws and regulations that impact immigrants currently residing in the country. For example, immigration policy reflects systems such as visa lotteries and temporary worker programs, whereas immigrant policy is enforced by federal institutions such as Immigration Customs and Enforcement (ICE). ICE was formed in 2003, following the creation of the Department of Homeland Security following the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. It replaced the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and adopted a militarized, policing framework for immigration enforcement. While some policies attempt to curtail migration by restricting access, the economic and military policies of the United States continue to encourage migration, including through dangerous and unauthorized migration.

Immigration Policy

In the United States, early immigration acts (e.g., the Immigration Act of 1875, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, and the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act enforced racial and ethnic (national) quotas on immigrants coming to the United States and, ironically, called for the removal of Native Americans. The use of quotas creates a baseline expectation that migration to the United States will be carefully limited and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship will be restricted. This process is rooted in white supremacist ideas and has historically targeted specific countries and regions in attempts to restrict legal migration for Black and Brown people from around the world.

While the U.S. uses a logic of restriction and exclusion, it has also created specific policies to recruit migrants to work in industries where the domestic labor supply is failing. For example, the Bracero Program (1942-1965) encouraged a pattern of cyclical migration by legalizing migration for individual men working seasonally on farms (See "Labor Movements - Agricultural Workers"). This served to separate working men from their families, who often stayed in Mexico, while the workers would send back their earnings, a practice called remittances. In 1965, the program was ended and the amended Immigration and Nationality Act removed all country-of-origin quotas, which led to an increase in the number of migrants coming from Latin American countries. At the same time, the U.S. government has continued to encourage the flow of migration by facilitating military and economic campaigns that destabilize Central and Latin American countries. Widespread corruption, crime, and violence are exacerbated by continuous external interference, resulting in vulnerable individuals and communities seeking out new opportunities and protection in the United States.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 was a major shift for immigrant communities, as it offered amnesty to millions of undocumented Mexican migrants living in the U.S. It also promised more punitive policies and restrictions for immigration moving forward. Since then, policymakers have not made any structural changes to immigration policy that facilitate pathways to citizenship or offer amnesty to undocumented workers living in the United States. Instead, politicians have focused on encouraging immigration among educated and professional immigrants, also known as “brain drain,” while providing more punitive and militarized immigrant policies, like border patrol, deportation, immigrant detention, and family separation. Pervasive immigration and anti-immigrant policies at both state and federal levels perpetuate nativist discourses of “us” versus “them,” where Latina/o/x immigrants are overwhelmingly portrayed by the media as criminals, invaders, and terrorists. This leads to an illegalized identity that can have serious ramifications. In recent years, elected officials like ex-President Donald Trump have amplified these stereotypes, encouraging the formation of anti-immigrant groups and emboldening unregulated militias who treat the southern border of the United States like a war zone. Hegemonic institutions, like ICE, instill fear among migrants by threatening their livelihood and family life. Further, racial profiling in immigration enforcement extends this fear to Latinx communities and people of color.

Immigrant Policy and Immigrant Justice

Advocates focused on immigration have used creative strategies to advance policy goals for groups who are formally excluded from political representation and legal rights in the United States. Immigrant justice movements mobilize around a range of issues that include, but are not limited to, legal reforms around immigrant rights. This takes into account the heterogeneity of immigrant communities whose concerns also include dignity, health, economic justice, and connections with mixed-status family members. While activism focused on legal rights emphasizes the state's control over citizenship, immigrant communities also include Indigenous peoples from Latin America and advocates focused on sovereignty and cultural preservation. The range of concerns present among Latinx immigrant and Indigenous communities leads to movements that combine direct action with community support and policy change at every level (local, state, and federal).

One common issue facing both immigrant and Indigenous communities is language barriers and access. For Latinx migrant communities, access to multilingual translation and interpretation facilitates inclusion for Spanish speakers and Indigenous language speakers within Latinx communities. In California, the Mixteco/Indígena Community Organizing Project (MICOP) centralizes language interpretation in their work and lifts up Indigenous language access within networks of immigrant and health advocates. The group launched Radio Indígena in 2014, a local FM station with over 40 hours of weekly live programming featuring at least seven Mixteco languages, Zapoteco, and Purépecha. This service provides information and entertainment that is relevant to Indigenous farm working communities, such as support for low-income individuals to receive rental assistance, energy payment programs, and family-paid leave (Espinoza-Kulick, 2022). These groups put into practice a human rights framework for providing holistic support to communities. In Figure **7.9.1**, an artist has depicted a family traveling in a pick-up truck accompanied by the phrase "Freedom of Movement and Family Unity are Human Rights."

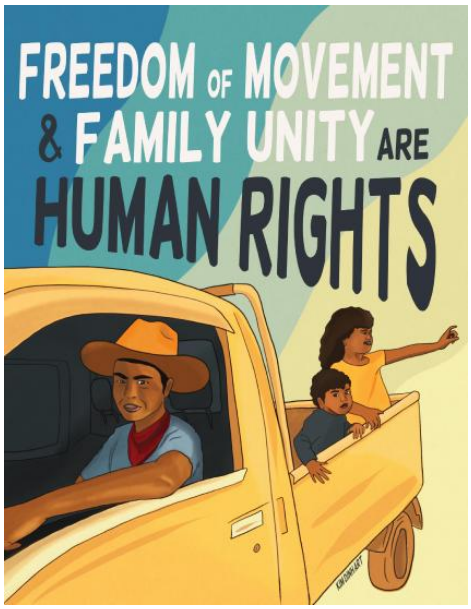


Figure **7.9.1**: "Freedom of Movement and Family Unity are Human Rights." (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; Kim Dinh via Justseeds)

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7.10: Special Topics in Chicanx and Latinx Studies

Chicanx and Latinx Healthcare Perspectives

There is much health and healing of body, mind, and spirit to do given our Chicanx and Latinx history of genocide, colonization, violence, acculturation, sterilization, hazardous working conditions, environmental toxins, diabetes, intergeneration trauma, abuses, and more. Views of health are shaped by one's culture, and culture is informed by nationality, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, language, and dis/ability (Chabram-Dernersesian and de la Torre, 2008; de la Torre and Estrada, 2015; Flores, 2013; Borunda and Moreno, 2022). At the same time, health access and health resources are historically and negatively impacted by a history of anti-Indianness, racism, classism, undocumented status, and region (Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda, and Abdulrahim, 2012). The implications of wealth, or net worth (what you own minus what you owe) by race and ownership of housing, and neighborhood income are apparent in the health inequality and lack of access to health care. You often see better health facilities and well-trained doctors, and fully staffed medical facilities in more affluent communities compared to poor ones. For this reason, the emergence of community-based clinics has been critical to racialized ethnic communities, especially in California Chicanx Latinx communities (De la Rocha, Bonta, and Garcia, 2019).

Think about your own experience with health and healing and that of your parents and grandparents. Where have they received most of their health and healing information? Both institutional and traditional health care are key to our communities. **Institutional health care** has to do with health care provided by hospitals and with doctors, physicians, prescribed medications, surgical procedures, and psychiatric appointments, which typically involve insurance. **Traditional health** has to do with Indigenous ways of health and healing of *cuerpo y alma* (body and soul) mediated through *curanderas/os* (healers) or other specialists, like *parteras* (midwifes) and involves *remedios* (medicinal herbs), ceremonies, *limpias* (spiritual cleansings), *sobaras/os* (message), *huezera/o* (bone setter), informal counseling for *bilis* (rage), *susto* (fright), or *envido* (envy), ancestral foodways, and referrals to medical doctors if needed (Avila and Parker, 2000; Flores, 2013; McNeill and Cervantes, 2011; Perrone, Stockel, and Krueger, 1989; Tello, 2019). Traditional health care has been in existence since before colonization and requires skilled and experienced healers.

Traditional Health Practices and Perspectives

Traditional *remedios* or medicinal herbs and ancestral foodways for the people connected to land have been impacted by invasion and colonization by the Spanish and European Americans ranging from 500 years ago to 150 years ago, depending on the region in this hemisphere (Rodríguez, 2013; Facio and Lara, 2014; Kimmerer, 2015; McNeill and Cervantes, 2011; Medina and Gonzales, 2019; Torres and Miranda, 2017). When people are de-terroritorialized or displaced, they lose their land and access to *remedios* (medicine) and ancestral foodways. When you lack access to ancestral food, there is a shift to more processed foods with sugars leading to an increase in diabetes and other related health conditions. Diabetes, in some cases, is caused by the experience of being torn from ancestral food and shifting into colonial foodways. In addition, **assimilation** has been detrimental to the health and healing of Chicanx Latinx communities. The longer the generations of Chicanx Latinx are in the United States, the higher the rates of diabetes, obesity, suicide, and drug and substance abuse. In some contexts, researchers have observed a pattern that can be described as the **Latino Health Paradox**. This means that immigrant Mexican and Latinx people will report better health and longer life expectancy compared to their acculturated Mexican origin and Latinx counterparts and European Americans of higher class statuses. Despite experiencing discrimination and institutional exclusion, which are typically risk factors that exacerbate bad health, recent migrants can carry forward strong traditions of resilience and well-being. Traditional diet and lifestyle play a major role in the Latino Health Paradox theory. Fewer years of processed foods, more walking, and less drug and substance abuse by immigrants make a difference in everyday health and overall longevity.

In recent years, with an alarming rate of cancer and research on the connection between our gut and minds, there's been an attempt to move away from processed foods and move towards decolonizing diets and cultivating gardens (Calvo and Esquibel, 2015; Peña, 2017). This means moving towards the use of ancestral foodways, which includes Meso American (Anaucan) super foods like corn, beans, squash, *nopales* (cactus), chiles, amaranth, and chia. This has meant regarding food as an essential part of health and healing rather than consumption. Chicanx and Latinx communities often have few stores and market sales of fresh items compared to alcohol and processed foods within approximate distance to homes. These impact Chicanx and Latinx farmworker families who work in the food industry and provide sustenance for communities around the globe. In addition, the lack of clean and

safe water and toxic pollutants used on crops compounds health issues and avoidable illnesses. The impacts of contemporary food systems on our bodies, minds, and spirit have been detrimental. Historically groups like the United Farmworkers, American Indian Movement, Black Panther Party, and the South Central Los Angeles Farm have raised awareness about this reality concerning food access and insecurity in Chicanx, Latinx, and Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) communities. Food is ultimately important to forming healthy families and communities. In response, more and more farmers' markets are emerging in low-income working-class communities, aided by the ability to accept EBT payments (food stamps).

Traditional health through an Indigenous framework acknowledges the connection and health between body, mind, and spirit. This creates space for more diverse understandings of how healthy bodies can look, including fat bodies. Oftentimes, traditional food and food cultures of people of color are characterized as unhealthy, without regard to their place in spiritual, physical, and social processes.

Political Representation of Latinx and Hispanic People

Political representation of Latinx communities creates opportunities to advocate for better policies and new reforms. In the U.S., trailblazing leaders have crossed barriers for Chicanx and Latinx communities, opening new doors for others to continue the work of equity and justice for all. However, Latinx people remain under-represented in nearly all aspects of government and politics. In 2018, Latinx people were only 1% of all local and federal elected officials, according to the NALEO Educational Fund (2021). In 2022, that number is similar, with only four U.S. Senators and 40 U.S. Representatives. Women are underrepresented among Latinx elected officials, being only 1 Senator and 12 House Representatives. On the website from Rutgers University, you can explore more statistics about women of color in politics and elected positions.

Some of the leaders for Latinx communities in politics include the U.S. Congressperson Romualdo Pacheco, who was first elected in 1879 as a Representative from California. Pacheco had previously served as the first Mexican American governor of California in 1875. Even in states that include a high number of Latinx people and voters, such as California, researchers have identified a pattern of underrepresentation, including in appointed and elected positions in state government, county supervisors, school board members, and city-level positions. Groups like the California Latino School Boards Association have emerged to address some of these specific issues of representation and political power. You can learn more about the California Latino School Boards Association on their website.

At the federal level, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus represents the interests of Hispanic Congresspeople and it includes over 30 members, including many Latinx representatives and their allies. Some Latinx Congresspeople are not members of the Caucus, in part due to partisan divides between Republicans and Democrats. In the Senate, U.S. Senator Octaviano Larrazlo from New Mexico was the first Latino and Mexican American Senator in 1928. Despite gains for representation won in states with high proportions of Latinx people, it took decades of additional advocacy before major federal and judicial positions were held by Latinos. For example, there has never been a Latinx President of the United States, Vice President, or Secretary of State. It was not until 1988 that Lauro Cazavos became the Secretary of Education and the first Latinx or Hispanic person to serve in the U.S. Cabinet. On the U.S. Supreme Court, when Justice Sonia Sotomayor was confirmed to her position in 2009, she became the first Latinx person and the third woman to be confirmed to the Supreme Court. In Figure **7.10.1**, there is a photo of Justice Sotomayor fulfilling one of her duties on the Supreme Court by swearing in Kamala Harris as Vice President, who is another woman who broke barriers as the first Black person, first Asian person, first multiracial person, and first woman to serve as Vice President of the United States.



Figure 7.10.1: "Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor swears in Vice President Kamala Harris into office during the 59th Presidential Inauguration ceremony in Washington, Jan. 20, 2021." (CC BY 2.0; Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff via Flickr)

Sidebar: Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, popularly known as AOC, has been a major figure for Latinx representation in politics. This is in part because she actively embraces her connection to the Latinx community, foregrounding her status as a young Latina woman living in New York City, who recently paid the bills by bartending. Her continued and unapologetic presentation of herself positions her as a capable and strong advocate for diverse people living in the United States, including immigrants, women, and people of color. In Figure 7.10.2, she appears in a photograph, speaking passionately in front of a crowd of people.



Figure 7.10.2: "Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez." (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Miki Jordan via Flickr)

Her passion and tenacity represent a commitment to social change and a critical lens that is relatable for many Latinx people as well as her wide range of supporters.

Politics and Liberation

Some members of Latinx communities are disengaged from formal political processes, including voting and representation. This is in part due to the exclusion of immigrants from voting, which prevents families from engaging in a shared practice of voting and being represented. Beyond that, many Latinx people also share the critical perspective that the U.S. government itself and U.S. society are built around principles of division, exclusion, and exploitation and must be critically examined and transformed. Under this view, participation in the system only serves to encourage people to believe in the possibility of reform, while ultimately failing to address the root causes of racism, xenophobia, and intersectional oppression. Among Native American and Latinx Indigenous peoples, this sentiment can be accompanied by a commitment to tribal sovereignty and the creation of modern systems rooted in traditional and sacred relationships with the land.



Figure 7.10.3: "Puerto Rican Flag in Old San Juan." (CC BY 2.0; Lorie Shaull via Wikimedia)

The contradictions of political representation can also be seen in Puerto Rico, which is a U.S. territory. Although the people of Puerto Rico bear many of the responsibilities of U.S. citizenship, including paying taxes, being drafted, and following the laws created by the government, they are not politically represented at the federal level. You can see a Puerto Rican flag hanging in Old San Juan in Figure 7.10.3, showing the people's pride in their island. More recently, this lack of representation has had devastating effects in the face of increased hurricanes in the region and the larger dynamics of climate change. While Puerto Ricans are clearly not represented equally in the U.S. governmental system, the people of the island remain persistently divided as to whether to pursue statehood or independence. This shows the complexity of political perspectives present among communities. Diversity of perspective within Latinx communities and in solidarity with other racial and ethnic groups ultimately contributes to the use of multiple strategies in advocacy and politics. This creates opportunities for future generations to continue the struggle and find new solutions to long-standing systems of white supremacy, xenophobia, and settler colonialism.

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7.11: Summary/Review

Conclusion

In this chapter, you have learned about some of the foundational concepts and debates in Chicanx and Latinx Studies. There are many more topics that are covered in this field and opportunities for additional exploration and learning. This overview provides some of the key information and perspectives that can guide this process. By examining the roots of Chicanx and Latinx Studies within the movements for Ethnic Studies, we can recognize important theories and knowledge produced by Chicanx and Latinx communities to recognize a more truthful and accurate understanding of history, culture, politics, and society.

Furthermore, we have seen that Chicanx and Latinx Studies is similar to other Ethnic Studies fields because it is rooted in struggle and resistance for racial justice and in solidarity with movements for decolonization. These struggles inform the significance of scholarship and inquiry in these areas, including with respect to identity formation, language access, healthcare, politics, and more. While Chicanx and Latinx communities have experienced substantial barriers related to systemic racism, settler-colonialism, and other interlocking forms of exploitation, this has only served to motivate communities to rally for justice, equity, self-determination, and liberation.

Key Terms

- **LULAC:** League of United Latin American Citizens, a nationwide group committed to advancing the economic condition, educational attainment, political influence, housing, health and civil rights of Latinxs through community-based programs. LULAC created the little school of 400.
- **East L.A. Blowouts:** Also known as the East L.A. Walkouts, are widely regarded as catapulting the Chicano Movement forward in the late 60's and through the 70's. The Blowouts were a series of walkouts carried out in 1968 by Mexican American students in protest against the educational inequality they faced in their schools and classrooms.
- **M.E.Ch.A.:** Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan) was created in order to have a Mexican American united front (Muñoz, Jr., 2007, p.96). M.E.Ch.A was created because of the need to unify Chicanx and Mexican American student organizations at various campuses (Rosales, 1997, p. 183).
- **Chicanx:** Commonly accepted as "connoting political awareness or consciousness and refers to U.S. born persons of Mexican descent" (Vargas, 2017, p. xxi). Additionally, it has been used to reclaim a word that was originally pejorative, inverting it by rooting it in the positive of their existence within Aztlan. (Gonzalez, 2022, p. 117).
- **Latinx:** The term Latinx is developed as a method to drop the traditional patriarchal dichotomy of identifying simply as a male or female through ethnic identifiers such as Latinx.
- **Indigenismo:** An "Aztec-centric celebration of the Indigenous past of the nation, which often serves to erase the present and future of the sixty-three Indigenous pueblos of Mexico" and the millions of Indigenous peoples living around the world (Blackwell et al., 2017, p. 131).
- **Chicanx Indigenous:** It is a self-identity category used by people, unlike Hispanic or Latinx which emerged from western institutions. Chicanx is an identity term that originates from Xicano which stems from Mexicano that has roots in Mexica -- one of the central Indigenous groups in Mesoamerica (Anahuac).
- **Anahuac:** A nahua word, signifies someone from Mesoamerica.
- **Mestizas/os/xs:** A diverse population that has a combination of mixed heritage, often including Indigenous lineage, along with a combination of African and/or European backgrounds. Across these diverse groups, some have experienced contemporary forced acculturation, and others have been taught to believe they can assimilate and be invested in the dominant Spanish or Anglo American cultural ways. The investment in whiteness is sometimes experienced through colorism when children are born as they may be referred to as being a güerita/o or morenita/o, if they have light or dark skin, respectively. Children's light skin may be celebrated guided by the belief that they may eventually pass as white, which leads to identity conflict and pressure throughout development.
- **Mestizaje:** Mixed-race identity, emphasizing the multiple lineages that not only shape individual identity, but also the communities, cultures, languages, and traditions that we practice.
- **Afro-Latinx:** People from Latin America of African descent. The histories and identities of Afro-descendant people and Indigenous peoples in the Americas have been interacting and intertwined for centuries.

- **Immigrant and Immigration Policy:** Immigration policy is about the laws and policies that determine the process and number of people who can immigrate in various ways, whereas *immigrant* policy refers to the laws and regulations that impact immigrants currently residing in the country.
- **Institutional health care** is healthcare provided by hospitals, doctors, physicians, prescribed medications, surgical procedures, and psychiatric appointments, which typically involve insurance.
- **Traditional Health:** Indigenous ways of health and healing of *cuerpo y alma* (body and soul) mediated through *curanderas/os* (healers) or other specialists, like *parteras* (midwifes) and involves *remedios* (medicinal herbs), ceremonies, *limpias* (spiritual cleansings), *sobaras/os* (message), *huezera/o* (bone setter), informal counseling for *bilis* (rage), *susto* (fright), or *envido* (envy), ancestral foodways.
- **Assimilation**: The cultural (diet, language, dress, etc.), economic, and psychological pressures, especially for immigrants, to conform and reconfigure themselves to fit the culture of the dominant group.
- **Latino Health Paradox:** Immigrant Mexican and Latinx people will report better health and longer life expectancy compared to their acculturated Mexican origin and Latinx counterparts and European Americans of higher class statuses. Despite experiencing discrimination and institutional exclusion, which are typically risk factors that exacerbate bad health, recent migrants can carry forward strong traditions of resilience and well-being.

Reflection Questions

1. Indigenous perspectives and western knowledge have conflicted over the beginning of human life on this planet, reflecting distinct standpoints. Recent evidence has shown that the hypothesis that humans in the western hemisphere migrated from Asia over a land bridge is not supported. Indigenous perspectives center on a relationship with the land since time immemorial. How do stories about where we come from shape our sense of self? How do these perspectives show a different understanding of the relationship between people and the land?
    - Researchers, including Indigenous archeologists and anthropologists, continue to investigate these issues and identify new evidence about the historical conditions where human life developed. You can supplement your discussion with contemporary sources, such as the websites linked here:
        - Scientists in Chile have found a 15,000-year-old footprint, the earliest sign of humans' presence in the Americas | CNN Travel
        - 68 VOCES (Español with English description available at Cinema Tropical: Watch Mexican Indigenous Tales in Their Native Language in 68 VOICES, 68 HEARTS)
2. Students have been a major part of Chicanx and Latinx social movements. This includes advocacy around education and schools specifically, as well as broader movements for justice and liberation. Why are students uniquely situated to advocate for their communities?
    - You can help guide this discussion by providing some examples of student advocacy as a jumping-off point. The websites linked in this list include just a few examples of student activism in Chicanx and Latinx social movements.
        - UWM Latino Activism | UWM Libraries Digital Collections
        - 10 Young Latinx Activists You Should Know | DoSomething.org
        - The Student Protest That Heralded the Chicano Movement
3. Individuals who break through barriers are often celebrated for being the first of their kind, such as Sonia Sotomayor being appointed to be the first Latinx person on the U.S. Supreme Court. These figures become role models, or what some call “possibility models.” Why does it matter that people see others like them represented? How does this representation affect communities as a whole?
    - You can inform this discussion by examining specific figures who have broken barriers in representation. The websites in this list contain some biographical descriptions that can be used as a starting place. It can be even more powerful to tailor these to your local context or a specific field of interest.
        - Famous Firsts by Hispanic Americans
        - Sonia Sotomayor and 9 Other Latina Pioneers of the 19th, 20th, and 21st Centuries - Biography
        - 10 Inspiring Latinas Who’ve Made History — Google Arts & Culture

Journal Prompts

1. Is there power in a name or in naming? Please write about one new organization or concept that you learned from this chapter. Please provide examples in your analysis.
2. What is Chicanx and Latinx? What are the differences and similarities between these terms?
3. Stories are vital because they are how we shape our own narratives and create self-assigned identities. The terms that we use to identify ourselves are part of the stories and narratives that we tell. What are the stories and narratives that you utilize to identify yourself?

Class Activities

Power Mapping

All advocacy is tailored toward a specific audience. The technique of “power mapping” can be used to identify potential viable targets for a social movement. The basic structure of power mapping is to create a chart. In this chart, the vertical axis is based on influence. At the top of the chart, you will place individuals and organizations that are the most influential with respect to your defined outcome. As you go down the chart, you will place individuals who are less influential. At the same time, the horizontal axis represents support or opposition, with the leftmost part of the chart being the most opposition, and the rightmost part of the chart being the most support

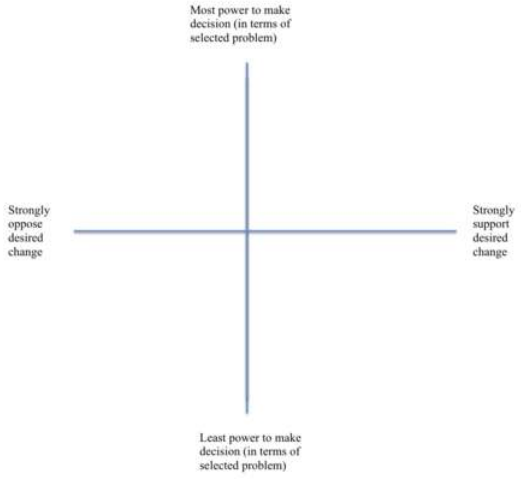


Figure 7.11.1: Example structure for a Power Map by amynav, CC BY-SA 3.0 <<a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/F...ing_visual.png" title="https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/F...ing_visual.png">https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>, via Wikimedia Commons

To complete the activity, create your own power map.

1. Start by clearly defining an objective, which should be specifically defined. This might be a policy, or working to eliminate a concrete disparity, like improving high school graduation rates among Chicanxs and Latinxs, or addressing a specific health disparity within your city, county, or state.
2. Then, begin filling out the chart relative to that issue by identifying individuals and organizations and estimating their amount of influence and support to place them on the chart.
    - You can start with the folx you are most familiar with. You may want to also look up elected officials or policymakers, such as legislators, mayors, or appointed representatives. Some of these people and organizations will be listed in news articles on your topic.
3. To complete the chart, identify the four groups that you have mapped:

- Champions: Individuals who are high in influence and support your objective.
- Supporters: Individuals who are low in influence and support your objective.
- Targets: Individuals who are high in influence but oppose your objective.
- Opponents: Individuals who are low in influence and oppose your objective.

4. Finally, reflect on what you have learned from this process in a short written response (250-500 words), focusing on the question: how can the identified champions and supporters of your issue work to influence the targets and opponents?
    - Note that successful social movements do not always win over all of their targets and opponents to become in favor of the objective. Sometimes the most effective way to meet an outcome is to move Targets from opposition to neutrality. And Opponents may continue to work against your objective, but this is not always impactful if they do not have influence.

Group Blog Assignment

- Demonstrate your interpretation of and engagement with a topic of your choice related to Chicanx and Latinx Studies.
- Address the following general prompts:
    - How does the topic you chose to research relate to Chicanx and Latinx communities?
    - What is the relationship between your topic and Chicanx and Latinx identities, along with intersectional factors?(for example, gender, sexuality, immigration status, or ability status)
- You should use multiple sources to inform your contribution, such as written text, images, music, videos, and more.
- Format Options
    - For an individual assignment, you can complete this independently. It can also be completed as a group, either by having each student complete an individual assignment and sharing it in a group format (e.g., Canvas discussion, free blog site, online Jamboard), or by having people work in groups to formulate and execute their blog contributions.
    - You can specify the format or a range of options for the format to make the blog post assignment more engaging. For example, instead of a traditional blog post, students can make Instagram stories or short videos.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

8: Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies

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- Race and Ethnic Relations in the U.S.: An Intersectional Approach (Erika Gutierrez, Janét Hund, Shaheen Johnson, Carlos Ramos, Lisette Rodriguez, & Joy Tsuhako) Chapter 9: Asian-Americans and Pacific Islanders
- Introduction to Ethnic Studies (Kay Fischer, Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick, Ulysses Acevedo, Teresa Hodges, Melissa Leal, and Tamara Cheshire) Chapter 5: Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies
- Psych-222: Multicultural Psychology (Ounjian)
- Our Local Stories segments (Ounjian)

Learning Objectives

By Kay Fisher and Teresa Hodges

- Analyze and evaluate major social issues experienced by Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders including racialization, orientalism, militarization, colonization, imperialism, immigration, and climate change;
- Critically analyze the intersectionality of race, gender, sexuality, class, citizenship, age/generation, and/or language in Asian American and Pacific Islander communities;
- Describe the historical and contemporary experiences of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the United States and assess the growth and diversity of this community;
- Recognize theories and knowledge produced by Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders;
- Identify Asian American and Pacific Islander participation in resistance and social struggles, solidarity work, and/or other examples of their participation in social and institutional transformation for racial justice and equity.

8.1: Introduction
8.2: History and Demographics
8.3: Who are Asian Americans? Identity, Religion, and Racialization
8.4: Intergroup Relations- Immigration, Exclusion, and Violence
8.5: Wars and Imperialism
8.6: Pacific Islander Studies
8.7: Intersectionality
8.8: Summary/Review
8.9: References

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8.1: Introduction

Introduction to Asian American Studies and Pacific Islander Studies

Asian American Studies is one of the core disciplines within the larger field of Ethnic Studies, that applies an interdisciplinary lens on the experiences of diverse Asian communities in the United States. Asian Americans played an essential role in the 1960s student-led Third World Liberation Front strikes of San Francisco State (1968) and UC Berkeley (1969) leading to the creation of the first Asian American Studies departments. Over fifty years later, Asian American Studies is still fighting for legitimacy at higher education institutions, and programs, courses, or departments are often only instituted upon student demand.

In response to a major demographic shift of the Asian American and Pacific Islander population after 1965, we've seen an addition of courses, course content and literature that focus on newer immigrant and refugee communities, especially Southeast Asian Americans from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Some programs also include a focus on Arab American, Pacific Islander, and Mixed Race Asian American populations as well. More consideration has been given to the diversity of national origin, class, immigration status (including undocumented Asian Americans), gender and sexual orientation, but there is still more work to be done to make sure Asian American Studies curriculum includes this increasingly diverse population.

In this chapter, the authors will introduce some key frameworks, theories, and topics typically discussed in the field of Asian American Studies, organized into four sections. In section 5.2, *"Who Are Asian Americans?,"* we will review the most recent Census data on who makes up the population and consider the ways Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders have been grouped together. We will also introduce the theory of orientalism and how Asian presence in the Americas is rooted in Western colonialism and imperialism of Asia and the Americas. The section will also introduce key theories of racialization of Asian Americans and how they intersect with gender and sexuality. In section 5.3, *"Immigration and Exclusion,"* the authors will examine how various historic events, policies and laws have shaped Asian American communities throughout the past 500 years. Section 5.4, *"Wars and Imperialism"* will review key examples of when wars and imperialist actions shaped the lives and trajectory of various Asian American communities based in the United States. And finally, Section 5.5, *"Pacific Islander Studies,"* will introduce the burgeoning field sometimes located within Asian American Studies that center on the histories, cultures, and experiences of Native Hawaiian, Samoan, Tongan, Chamorro, Fijian, and other Pacific Islander communities.

Notes on Terminology:

- The authors may use Asian, Asian American, Asian American and Pacific Islander, or Asian Pacific Islander interchangeably.
- When writing about Asian Americans as a community or demographic, we are not referring to citizenship, but to a diverse Asian community based in the U.S., including members who are transnational who may also reside in another country part of the year. Asian Americans include people who may have been born in the U.S., hold American citizenship, are legal permanent residents, are undocumented, and people who either identify as American, immigrants, refugees, or undocumented, or in any combination of the aforementioned identities.
- Authors use Filipina/x/o to label what is traditionally known as Filipinos and recognize non-binary identities within the community. Some sources may use only one Filipina, Filipino, Filipinx and authors will cite according to how it is presented in the texts. Filipina/x/o can indicate any and all gender and non-binary identities just as Filipinx can as well and authors might use this interchangeably.

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8.2: History and Demographics

Asian Americans

When we teach our Asian American Studies courses, we tell students that Asian Americans are not homogenous; we are diverse and there is no one way of “looking” or “acting” Asian. As Asian Americans in California, our experiences growing up in the Bay Area, So Cal, or the Central Valley may be very different from Asian American communities throughout the West, East, Hawai’i, or increasingly Asian Americans in the Midwest and the South. Over 20 million Asian Americans were counted in the 2020 census and have origins in more than 20 different countries (Gebeloff, et al, 2021). Contrary to the “model minority” myth which we’ll get into in a later subsection, Asian Americans represent an array of educational and socioeconomic backgrounds. Simply put, you can’t put Asian Americans in one box.

How and Why They Came

Issues concerning immigration affect many aspects of the Asian American community. This is understandable since almost two-thirds of all Asian Americans are foreign-born. Before trying to examine the many controversies regarding the benefits or costs of immigration, we first need to examine the characteristics of the immigrant population, Asian and otherwise.

The national and ethnic diversity of Asian American immigration history is reflected in the variety of their experiences in joining U.S. society. Asian immigrants have come to the United States primarily in the third wave (1880-1914) and fourth wave (1965-present), but also in the second wave (1820-1860). The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act removed national-origin quotas established in 1921, resulting in marked population growth during this period with 491,000 Asian immigrants in 1960 and 12.8 million Asian immigrants in 2014, which accounts from a 2,597% increase. As of 2014, the top five origin countries of Asian immigrants were India, China, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Korea.

We should first understand that immigrating to another country is not an easy thing to do. It almost always involves making elaborate preparations and costs a lot of money. Many times it also means giving up personal relationships at home (at least temporarily, if not permanently) and learning a new language and culture. The point is, not everyone who wants to immigrate actually does. In fact, those who are very poor rarely immigrate -- they just don't have the resources. Those who do immigrate tend to be from their country's middle and professional classes.

The first Asian immigrants to come to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century were Chinese. These immigrants were primarily men whose intention was to work for several years in order to earn incomes to send back to their families in China. Their main destination was the American West, where the Gold Rush (’49 ers) was drawing people with its lure of abundant money. The construction of the Transcontinental Railroad was underway at this time, and the Central Pacific section hired thousands of migrant Chinese men to complete the laying of rails across the rugged Sierra Nevada mountain range. Chinese men also engaged in other manual labor like mining and agricultural work. This work was grueling and underpaid, but like many immigrants, they persevered.

Japanese immigration began in the 1880s, on the heels of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Many Japanese immigrants came to Hawaii to work in the sugar industry; others came to the mainland, especially to California. Unlike the Chinese, however, the Japanese had a strong government in their country of origin that negotiated with the U.S. government to ensure the well-being of their immigrants. Japanese men were able to bring their wives and families to the United States, and were thus able to produce second- and third-generation Japanese Americans more quickly than their Chinese counterparts.

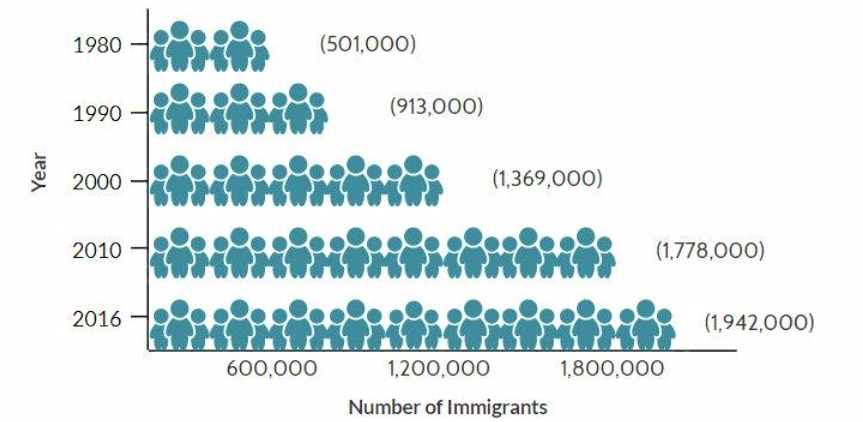


Figure **8.2.1**: Filipino Immigrant Population in the United States, 1980-2016. (Data from U.S. Census Bureau 2010 and 2016 American Community Surveys (ACS), and Campbell J. Gibson and Kay Jung, "Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-born Population of the United States: 1850-2000" (Working Paper no. 81, U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, DC, February 2006) (CC BY 4.0; via Lumens)

Fourth wave Asian immigration included immigrants from India, Korea, Vietnam, and the Philippines. As you can see in Figure 9.1.2, Indian immigration grew between 1980 and 2010 more than eleven-fold, roughly doubling every decade. It is composed primarily of English-speaking, highly educated immigrants, many of whom qualified for an H-1B (a temporary visa for highly skilled immigrants). In 2013, India and China supplanted Mexico as the top sources of newly arriving immigrants in the United States.

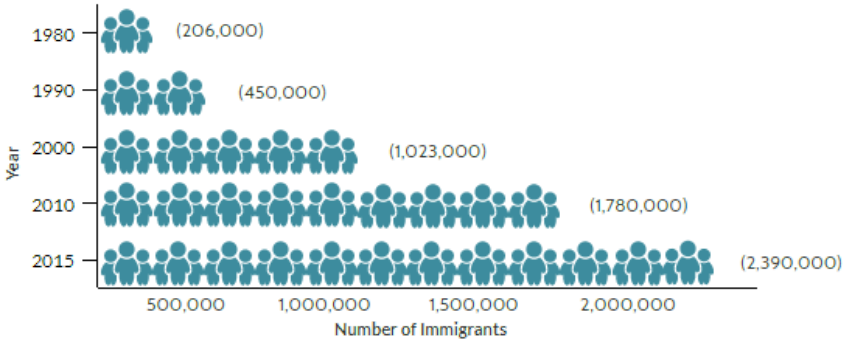


Figure **8.2.2**: Indian Immigrant Population in the United States, 1980-2015. (Data from U.S. Census Bureau 2010 and 2015 American Community Surveys (ACS), and 1980, 1990, and 2000 Decennial Census, www.migrationpolicy.org/arti...-united-states) (CC BY 4.0; via Lumens)

Wars in Korea and Vietnam led to increased immigration from those countries after 1965. While Korean immigration has been fairly gradual, Vietnamese immigration was more concentrated after 1975, when the formerly U.S.-backed city of Saigon fell and a restrictive communist government was established. Whereas many Asian immigrants came to the United States to seek better economic opportunities, Vietnamese immigrants came as political refugees, seeking asylum from repressive conditions in their homeland. The Refugee Act of 1980 helped them settle in the United States, with large numbers coming from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Many of these refugees settled in California, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, forming ethnic enclaves in urban areas (ethnic enclaves defined in Chapter 1.3).



Figure 8.2.3: Thirty-five Vietnamese refugees wait to be taken aboard the amphibious USS Blue Ridge (LCC-19). They are being rescued from a thirty-five-foot fishing boat 350 miles northeast of Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam, after spending eight days at sea. (CC PDM 1.0; PH2 Phil Eggman (U.S. Navy) via Wikimedia) (CC BY 4.0; via Lumens)

Current Status

Asian Americans are a rapidly growing part of the population. The New York University (NYU) Center for the Study of Asian American Health examines growth in New York City. Researchers there found that New York City (NYC) is home to nearly 1.2 million documented and undocumented Asian Americans, representing more than 13% of the total NYC population. This diverse population (more than 20 countries of origin and 45 languages and dialects) grew by 110% from 1990 to 2010.

The following list highlights recent Census data on the diversity of Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) communities:

- Previous decades showed that Asian Americans were concentrated in east and west coasts, however the 2020 Census revealed that the highest *growth* of Asian American populations included states in the Southwest and South (Gebeloff, et al, 2021).
- In 2020, it was reported that the two largest Asian ethnic groups are Chinese and Indian at 4.1 million each (Monte and Shin, 2022).
- They are followed by Filipino (2.9 million), Vietnamese (1.8 million), Korean (1.5 million), Japanese (768,985), Pakistani (≈500,000), Hmong (305,525), Cambodian (259,307), Thai (204,150), Taiwanese (194,263), Laotian (192,929), Bangladeshi (185,177), Burmese (169,915), Nepalese (162,993), Indonesian (76,873), Sri Lankan (51,735), Bhutanese (26,534), Mongolian (21,199), Malaysian (20,758), and Okinawan (3,526) (Monte and Shin, 2022).
- The Census counted 532,135 Asian Americans who counted two or more Asian ethnicities (Monte and Shin, 2022).
- And 4.1 million people identified as Asian in combination with another race (Monte and Shin, 2022).
- Over 1 million and 100,000 people identify as Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander (NHPI).
- The largest group is Native Hawaiians at around 620,000, followed by Samoan (212,000), Chamorro (156,000), Tongan (65,000), and Fijian (50,000) (Monte and Shin, 2022).
- In California, the Asian American population grew by 25% and now has more than 6 million people of Asian descent (Beam, 2021).

Immigrant and Emigrant Populations by Country of Origin and Destination

Click below on the Interactive map on immigrant and emigrant populations to examine where many of the world's 258 million international migrants moved. You can use the dropdown menu to select a country of origin to see where emigrants have settled.

Figure 8.2.4: Immigrant and Emigrant Populations by Country of Origin and Destination. (CC BY 4.0; via Lumens)

Other Groups and Their Levels of Success

In regard to other immigrant groups, the statistics above show that immigrants from Asia and Pacific Islands compare quite favorably to other immigrants and to the U.S.-born as well. However, there also seems to be a much wider spread of characteristics among Asian immigrants. In other words, there seems to be many who are more likely to be from rural or working class

backgrounds (and therefore have lower socioeconomic attainment rates), along with many other Asian immigrants from middle class and professional backgrounds who have very high attainment rates.

For example, Asian and Pacific Islander immigrants have a much rate of not being proficient in English than do the U.S.-born (which is understandable since English is a foreign language to most Asians) and they also have a higher rate of less than high school completion than do the U.S.-born. On the other hand, Asian & Pacific Islander immigrants have a median personal (per capita) income comparable to the U.S.-born, along with a much higher median family income. They also have higher rates of having a college degree, an advanced degree, and working at a high skill occupation than do the U.S.-born.



Figure 8.2.3: Citizenship ceremony, 1960. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Oregon Nikkei Legacy Center via Flickr)

Similarly, immigrants from Europe, Russia, and Canada tend to have socioeconomic attainment levels that are very comparable to that for the U.S.-born and in several categories, outperform them as well. These include higher rates of having a college degree, an advanced degree, working in a high skill occupation, and most notably, the highest median personal (per capita) income of all groups in the table. Interestingly, they also have the lowest rate of being in the labor market, which may suggest that many are retired but rather affluent as well.

Overall, all of these socioeconomic measures and statistics comparing immigrants to the U.S.-born population suggest that in most cases, both groups are relatively close to the other. But again, these numbers can be used to support both sides of the immigration debate -- that immigrants are not achieving as well as the U.S.-born and vice-versa. However, it does seem clear that these statistics do not support the stereotype of immigrants as being chronically unemployed, in poverty, and on public assistance. They do suggest that just like any other social group in the U.S., there is a lot of diversity within each group and that we as a society should be careful about making sweeping generalizations about all members of a particular group.

Ethnic Communities & Enclaves

Immigration is a major component in the lives of many Asian Americans -- why they come, how many, and what happens to them after they arrive. Since the establishment of the first Asian American communities in the U.S., Asian American "enclaves" have become a significant part of virtually every major city in America. As more Asians immigrate to the U.S., traditional communities not only grow but also evolve as they absorb the new arrivals and adapt to the non-Asian environment around them. This section looks at the numbers of immigrants who come to the U.S., their ethnic communities, and the economic and cultural issues that affect these groups.

First, The Demographics

Before we explore the origins and dynamics of ethnic enclaves and communities, you may be wondering, considering that about two-thirds of all Asian Americans are immigrants, exactly how many Asians have immigrated to the U.S.? To answer that question, view Table 9.5 below (Immigration and Naturalization Service data). It shows the number of immigrants and refugees/asylees who have arrived in the U.S. for the six largest Asian origin countries, plus Hong Kong (remember, before 1997, Hong Kong was a colony of Great Britain) and all Asian countries combined, for each of the past three decades plus the latest year in which final

numbers are available, 2000. Finally, it includes numbers from Europe, the Caribbean, Central and South America, and Mexico for comparison.

Table **8.2.5**: The number of immigrants, refugees, and asylees (1971-2004). (Data from the Department of Homeland Security)

	1971-1980	**1981-1990**	**1991-2000**	**2001-2004**
China	138,068	354,675	426,722	212,724
Hong Kong	116,935	100,131	110,390	30,336
India	164,175	250,786	365,604	267,081
Japan	49,831	47,195	67,966	31,628
Korea	267,703	333,866	164,192	74,055
Philippines	355,200	548,764	509,913	207,908
Viet Nam	323,086	605,235	493,002	144,494
All Asian Countries	1,798,861	3,450,249	3,147,019	1,332,264
All European Countries	872,226	917,062	1,786,302	738,898
Caribbean, Central & South America	1,424,865	1,924,312	2,236,032	971,635
Mexico	640,496	1,655,843	2,249,837	717,408

As you can see, the Asian ethnic country that has sent the most immigrants to the U.S. since 1971 is the Philippines (over 1.5 million since 1971), followed by India, Korea, and Viet Nam (all around 3/4 of a million). However, these numbers pale in comparison to the number of immigrants from Mexico, who total over 4.5 million since 1971 -- wow! The U.S. is truly the land of immigrants. Before we discuss the socioeconomic and cultural characteristics and impacts of Asian immigrants, let us examine how they've formed their own ethnic communities after arriving in the U.S.

Origins of Asian American Enclaves

The first Asian American enclave ("enclave" and "community" are used interchangeably) were not Chinatowns but were actually Manila Villages in Louisiana in the 1750s. But the Chinatowns that developed as increasing numbers of Chinese workers came to northern California and Hawai'i in the mid-1800s expanded the scale of such enclaves to a whole new level. As the Chinese population spread to other parts of the country, new Chinatowns spread to other major cities, such as New York City, Los Angeles, and Chicago.

But after Chinese immigration was all but stopped in the 1880s, the Japanese then followed in the steps of the Chinese and "Little Tokyos" began cropping up, first in Hawai'i, San Francisco and then in Los Angeles. As the Japanese mainly worked in agriculture, they became drawn to the relatively undeveloped land and abundant farming opportunities in Southern California. Since this period in the early 1900s, a few small Asian American communities existed throughout the country but they were relatively unnoticed for the most part.



Figure 8.2.6: Cambodian mother and daughter. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Gerd Eichmann via Wikimedia)

However, it was not until the 1965 Hart-Cellar Immigration Act that the structure of Asian American enclaves changed radically. With the influx of new immigrants from China, the Philippines, Korea, India/South Asia, and Viet Nam, almost overnight new ethnic enclaves became established and quickly grew in size, almost exponentially. New enclaves soon appeared in several major U.S. cities while existing ones expanded rapidly.

Soon there were Koreatowns in Los Angeles and New York, Little Manilas in Stockton, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, South Asian enclaves in New York, and Little Saigons in Orange County (CA), San Jose, and Houston. By the mid-1980s, the existing Chinatown in Manhattan grew so much that there wasn't any more land into which it could expand so new Chinatowns sprang up in Sunset Park, Brooklyn and Flushing, Queens.

Today, you could find an Asian American enclave in almost every major metropolitan area you go. Some may even be in place where you would never expect, such as a thriving Hmong community in Minneapolis/St. Paul. There are also expanding Asian communities in many Canadian cities, in particular Toronto and Vancouver. Each Asian community offers its own mix of traditional culture and cuisine along with new elements borrowed from its surrounding community.

Why Enclaves Are So Popular

On the continuum of intergroup relations, ethnic enclaves are an example of **separatism**. As Sociologists and other social scientists note many reasons why these ethnic enclaves are so popular with new immigrants and Asian Americans who have lived in the U.S. all their lives. They actually have different definitions for an ethnic "community" versus an ethnic "enclave." Without getting into the academic details too much, enclaves are ethnic communities that have a well-developed economic structure that operates mainly through racial-ethnic dynamics.

At any rate, we will discuss the issue of Asian American small businesses in another section. For now, we'll focus on how these ethnic enclaves grew so quickly and why they continue to thrive. In one word, it's because of immigration. Immigrants from Asia keep coming to these ethnic communities and infuse them with new life.

There are many theories on why people immigrate to the U.S., especially from Asian countries. Again, without getting too academic, the usual scenario goes something like this: American multinational corporations set up businesses in foreign countries and soon begin to dominate that country's politics and economy. This "globalization of capital" disrupts and transforms the traditional way people in these Asian countries make a living as the fundamental structure of their national economy changes from one dominated by farming and agriculture to the beginnings of a modern capitalist economy that emphasizes manufacturing and export sectors.



Figure **8.2.7**: Asian businesses in the enclaves provide immigrants with jobs. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Nandoro via Wikimedia)

Many workers struggle to survive economically, to adapt to these rapid changes, and many become "displaced" (i.e., they lose their jobs or their land). Nonetheless, having already been exposed to U.S. culture, either through direct contact with those connected to the American businesses now operating in their country or through TV programs and U.S. media portrayals, many workers dream about working in the U.S. and earning lots of money. Their expectations for "the good life" become heightened but they also realize that they can't achieve these new goals in their current situation. They also see that by working in the U.S. and earning more money, they can help out other family members who have also been displaced.

In the meantime, companies in the U.S. are looking to hire immigrant workers who are frequently willing work for lower wages than U.S.-born workers. Many times, these companies actively recruit foreign workers to come to the U.S. Further, earlier immigrants from that country help in the immigration process by providing helpful information about jobs or assistance in the actual immigration and adjustment process. After this initial cycles, immigration becomes almost self-perpetuating through these established social networks as immigrant workers repeat the cycle of helping their family, relatives, and friends come to the U.S. to find work.

Once these Asian immigrants get to the U.S., they frequently end up living or working in these established Asian enclaves. This makes sense because these enclaves give them a sense of familiarity and emotional comfort, which makes it easier for them to adapt to life in the U.S. They also are more likely to get a job in the enclave, especially if they are not fluent enough in English to get a job outside the enclave. Being employed also helps them adjust to their new life in the U.S.

Finally, these new workers help these small ethnic businesses survive and even prosper, perhaps to the point where they can contribute to the local economy in the form of taxes and hiring more workers, Asian and non-Asian. In the meantime, non-Asians are able to learn about and enjoy the rich Asian culture and food of these enclaves. These new understandings and friendships can form the bridge that helps us to overcome the old suspicions of "us" versus "them" and that immigrants can be Americans too.

At the same time, many point out that not everything is always quite so rosy for these Asian immigrant workers. They argue that many Asian business owners are more than willing to exploit the relative powerlessness of these new immigrants and their willingness to accept lower wages and less-than-optimum working conditions. Specifically, many Asian-owned sweatshops, restaurants, and other small businesses have been accused of taking advantage of their own people in this manner for their own financial gain.



Figure 8.2.8: Vibrant Asian enclaves are everywhere. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Owen and Aki via Flickr)

In fact, many Asian American non-profit community organizations were established to protest against these exploitative conditions by picketing Asian small businesses and pressuring their owners to improve working conditions and wages, and by trying to unionize these immigrant workers. Academic research also shows that working within an ethnic enclave is frequently beneficial for Asian business owners but not for their workers who may be able to earn more and enjoy slightly better working conditions in jobs outside the ethnic enclave.

On the other hand, other scholars argue that while immigrant workers in ethnic enclaves may be slightly '"penalized" in terms of wages and working conditions, they benefit in other ways. Specifically, they enjoy the psychological familiarity and comfort of being surrounded by others like them as they adapt to a strange new society. They also learn the ins and outs of running a small business; in fact, many workers eventually go on to opening up their own small businesses, sometimes by buying the business from their former owners.

In short, while there are some disadvantages for workers in the ethnic enclave, the fact remains that Asian ethnic communities have the enormous potential to benefit everyone involved -- new immigrants, established Asian Americans, the local non-Asian community, and American society as a whole.

Little Manila

Filipina American historian, the late Dawn Mabalon (2013) discusses the Filipinx American movement in Stockton, CA from 1967 to 1972 in her text *Little Manila is in the Heart: The Making of a Filipina/o American Community in Stockton, California*. She writes, “Galvanized by anger over displacements of urban renewal and freeway construction, these seemingly disparate groups drew on their community development to forge a formidable alliance that challenged the white and Filipina/o power structure in Stockton, as well as the notion that Filipinas/os should remain second-class citizens” (Mablon, 2013 p. 300).

Mabalon (2013) recognized that contrary to popular belief about Filipinas/xs/os, a lot of conflict that made organizing the community difficult wasn’t due to regionalism (i.e. differences between being from Luzon, Visayas, or Mindanao) but instead language differences, whether Tagalog, Visayan languages, Ilocano, and others. Mabalon (2013) recalls the discrimination and segregation that Filipinxs faced.

As mentioned earlier, some of the impetus for fighting was due to the idea that Filipinx Americans were considered “second-class citizens.” The following memory from a Stockton resident during that time shows the discrimination and treatment of Filipinas/xs/os in regards to basic needs. This discrimination dehumanized them and is also reminiscent of Civil Rights Struggles in the 1960's. Mabalon (2013) writes,

> "The only place Filipinas/os were allowed to live and congregate in downtown was south of Main Street, in the Oriental Quarter. Most institutions, businesses, and gathering places outside of the campo and the streets of the West End were strictly forbidden to Filipinas/os. Many hotels in the downtown West End refused to rent rooms to them. Immigrants recalled seeing the signs that warned Filipinas/os not to let the sun set on them in the city. "I personally saw signs on some hotel stairways on

El Dorado Street, openly discriminating against Filipinos saying ‘Positively No Filipinos allowed’ or ‘No Filipinos or dogs allowed,’ " remembered by Anita Bautista, a second-generation Pinay" (p. 113).



Japantown

What was once a comfortable Japantown in San Francisco became a place that completely changed when Japanese Americans were forced to leave West coast cities during World War II due to Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 signed two months after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. When Japanese American residents of Japantown in San Francisco came back to their homes after living in the camps, they sometimes came to find new ownership and establishments, as well as sometimes losing their homes. Upon returning, they found that a lot of the area had been targeted for redevelopment. Some residents were able to come back and those who were able have been fighting against redevelopment ever since, a common occurrence amongst communities of color in urban spaces.

To “Save Japantown,” they formed a committee that included “designated city planners, local community, merchants, homeowners’ associations, and residents.” (Takashi, 2014, p. 6). Efforts to “Save Japantown” have faced the difficult challenge of balancing various interests and prioritizing cultural preservation or economic revitalization. One issue included whose interest did the initiative serve? For example, Japanese Americans may be fighting to preserve Japanese culture but others argue that Japanese Americans used to be against Japanese (as in Japan) investments and are now fighting against outside investments (Takashi, 2014, p.10). Another issue was what exactly did preservation look like? As with other ethnic neighborhoods, they fought gentrification, fighting against outsiders redeveloping the area and taking away their ethnic ties and local establishment. Further, Takashi (2014) writes,

> "Interviewee C : Business owner and community leader (Sansei male):
>
> I think most of the property owners are Nisei and … don’t always like governmental intervention. They are like “let me do whatever I want on my property” … “let me control my own destiny” … “I don’t want government to tell me what to do” … it’s typical Nisei. I’m sure all the experience they’ve had through the Depression, the War and discrimination and redevelopment … Everything has affected their decisions" (p. 9).

As expressed in this quotation, there is a lot of history impacting the way that the different groups involved are navigating how to “Save Japantown” including within the Japanese and Japanese American community. One white community planner called the presence and impact of history “an open wound” within the community and efforts to save the community (Takashi, 2014).

Figure **8.2.9**: Peace Pagoda in Japantown, San Francisco. (CC BY 4.0; Photo by Jordan Burkart)

Our Local Stories: Japanese Immigrants

Japanese immigrants began their journey to the United States in search of a better life in the late 1800s, escaping instability in Japan. They faced hardships such as hostile neighbors, tough working conditions, and legislative attacks.

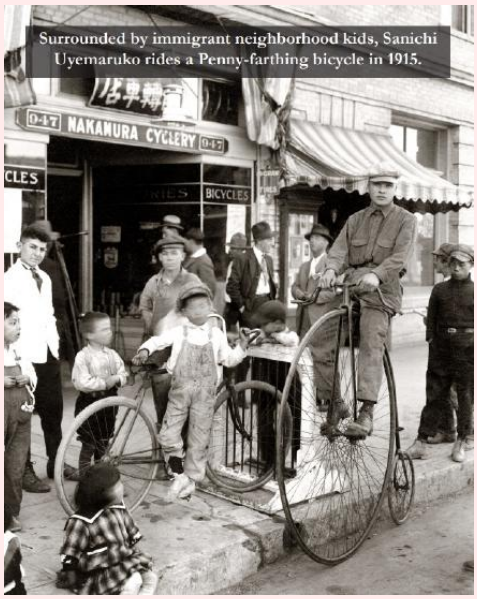
The arrival of Japanese immigrants to California coincided with the departure of Chinese laborers who had worked on the transcontinental railroad. Chinese workers moved to urban areas due to anti-Chinese sentiment and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. This created a labor vacuum in California's agricultural regions, which Japanese immigrants began to fill.

Japanese immigration to California increased significantly in the mid-1880s, encouraged by employers to address the shortage of cheap Asian labor caused by the Chinese Exclusion Act. Many Japanese immigrants also arrived from Hawaii after its annexation by the U.S. in 1898. Despite their contributions to American ideals, Japanese immigrants faced prejudice and racism.



(Figure **8.2.9.2**: Image of Yoritomo Karmakura and his bride circa 1905 by Fresno Historical Society is in the Public Domain)

After 1900, Japanese immigration to Hawaii and the West Coast grew as people sought economic security. They formed communities in rural California, often settling near others from the same prefecture in Japan. Over time, many transitioned from agricultural laborers to tenant farmers and business owners. Sanger, CA was one of those places with Japanese Americans settling in the area in the 1890's. Japanese immigrants worked mainly in agriculture from working the fields to owning companies such as Round Mountain Citrus where fruit was packed to send to San Francisco markets. Home Grocery, Star Restaurant, and the Sanger Japanese Community Hall were owned and supported by the Japanese community.



In Fresno, Chinatown was home to another group of Japanese Americans. Several of the most popular businesses in Chinatown were owned by Japanese families including attorney Y. R. Hiraoka, Dentist Dr. F. Inada, and Royal Jewlers. Nakamura Cyclery was one of those places where local kids hung out. The store opened around 1915 and eventually sold more than just bicycles, selling guns, ammunition, fishing tackle, paints, and hardware by the 1930's.

In 1942 hundreds of Japanese in Fresno were forcibly relocated to the Fresno Assembly Center at the fairgounds and later sent to internment camps throughout the country. While many homes, businesses, and livelihoods were lost, Nakamura Cyclery remained and was returned to the Maruko family after the end of the war.

Resources

History of Japanese Americans in Sanger dates back to 1890's (1988). Sanger Herald History Edition, pg. 84-85.

Fresno County Historical Society (n.d.). T*he people and communities of the 19th century Central Valley-Japanese immigrants.* Retrieved from https://www.valleyhistory.org/japanese-immigrants

Figure **8.2.9.3**: "Image of Sanichi Uyemaruko in front of Nakamura Cyclery" by Fresno Historical Society is in the Public Domain

Chinatown

Shah (2001) writes,

> nineteenth-century San Francisco health officials and politicians conceived of Chinatown as the preeminent site of urban sickness, vice, crime, poverty, and depravity; furthermore, “health authorities readily conflated the physical condition of Chinatown with the characteristics of Chinese people. They depicted Chinese immigrants as a filthy and diseased “race” who incubated such incurable afflictions as smallpox, syphilis, and bubonic plague and infected white Americans” (San Francisco Board of Health, 1876-1881 in Shah, 2001, pp. 1-2).

These attributes contributed to the idea of who is an “acceptable” kind of immigrant, who is healthy and desirable.



Figure 8.2.10: "Dragon Gate" in San Francisco. (CC BY 4.0; Photo by Jordan Burkart)

Shah (2001) writes that during the 19th century, “Chinese Americans found it impossible to move outside the boundaries of Chinatown. Attempts to move encountered resistance from white real estate brokers, who refused to show Chinese Americans houses in exclusively white neighborhoods, and from white landlords, who turned down Chinese tenants (p. 230). Shah found various sources that demonstrate this that includes a Survey of Race Relations collection and interviews as a part of *Combined Asian American Resources Oral History Project*. Because of this, Chinese Americans lived in segregated Chinatowns before being able to slowly find housing in white neighborhoods in the twentieth century when they proved they could be trusted to be clean, “adapted to American living styles and standards in furnishings and decor and by Chinese families who conformed to idealized nuclear-family social dynamics” (p. 230). Such heteronormativity contrasted with the historically bachelor societies in Chinatowns and other ethnic neighborhoods that were said to harbor disease and promote uncleanliness amongst same-sex housing (p. 230).

In their quest for humanization, middle-class Chinese Americans fought laws and went to court to challenge their treatment, and gained media visibility and sympathy from many. Shah (2013) remarks that this helped shift perceptions of Chinese Americans, but sometimes at the cost of others. For example, fighting for middle-class Chinese Americans and making the claim that they are upright and moral, clean citizens and that their wealth and status proves it, often came at the detriment of those who lived in bachelor societies (p. 230). Many of these bachelor societies existed because of the limited immigration allowable for Asian women and thus the settling and homemaking often done by longer-term immigrants.

Ethnic Enclave

Can you think of a current Asian American Ethnic Enclave in the Fresno area? Remember, ethnic enclaves are neighborhoods where one ethnic group predominately lives and is supported by businesses, groceries, restaurants, religious and social groups, schools, arts, and cultural events. Review the criteria for ethnic enclaves in chapter 2.2.

Hint: an ethnic enclave is generally NOT an entire city!

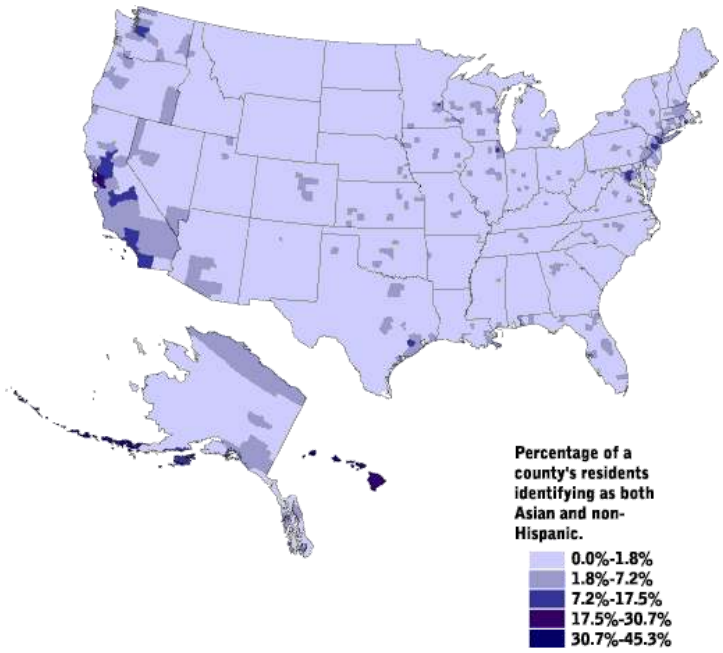


Figure 8.2.11: Asian Americans as a Percentage of a County's Total Population. (Used with permission, CensusScope.org /Social Science Data Analysis Network) (CC BY 4.0; via Lumens)

The map above is from CensusScope/Social Science Data Analysis Network and it shows Asian Americans as a percentage of a county's total population from the 2000 census. What it basically shows, not surprisingly, is that the counties that have the largest proportion of their population as Asian American are located in California, Washington, and along the mid-Atlantic and New England states. However, there is also a scattering of counties in the midwest and Texas that, while not huge, have a notable proportion of their population as Asian as well.

To look in more detail at perhaps the most dynamic county in the U.S. in terms of racial/ethnic diversity, the maps below are compiled by Michele Zonta and Paul Ong at the Ralph & Goldy Lewis Center for Regional Policy Analysis at UCLA. The maps illustrate different racial-ethnic distributions and concentrations in cities within Los Angeles (L.A.) County for 1980, 1990, and 2000. The results show that in 1980, the only cities that had an Asian Pacific Islander (API) majority were ones directly north of downtown and in east L.A. However, by 1990, more API majorities sprung up in east L.A. and west of Compton. Most recently in 2000, API majorities have expanded to include most of east L.A. and San Gabriel and much of the eastern part of the county.

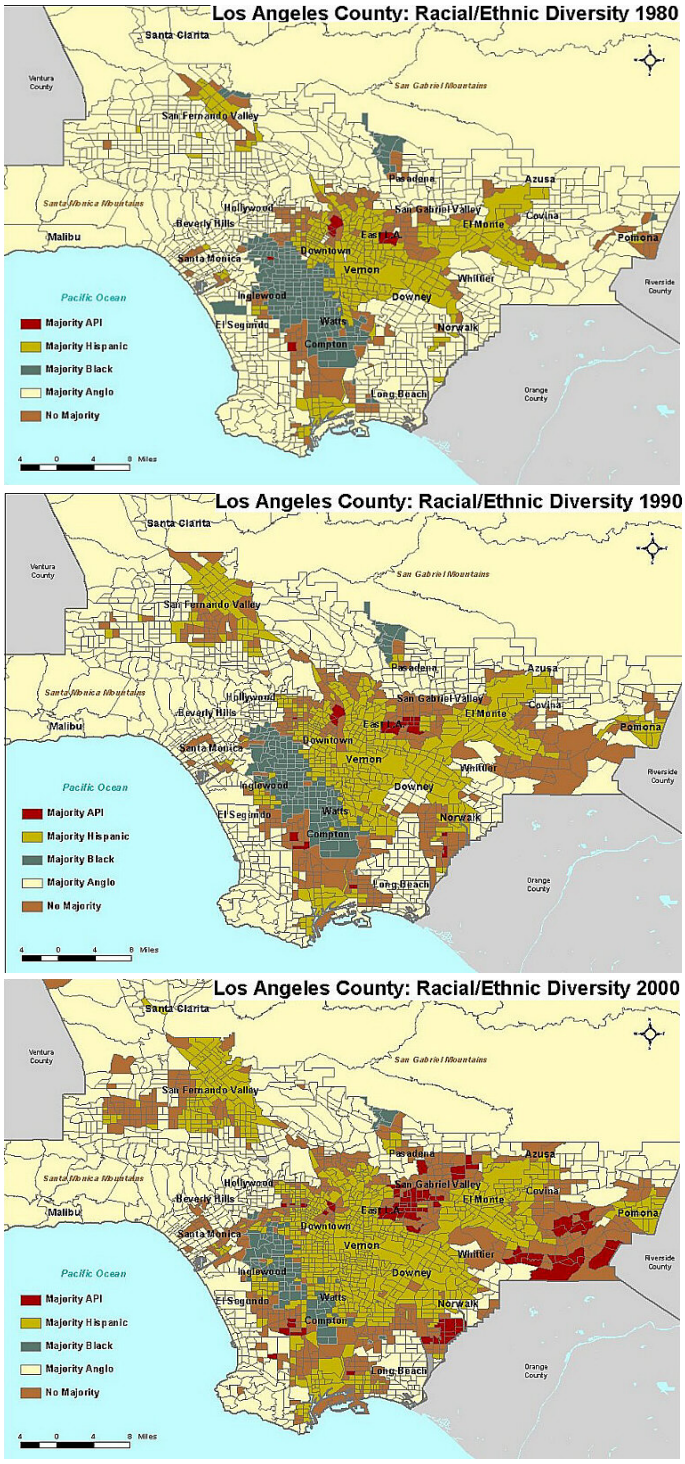


Figure \(\PageIndex{12}\): Growth of API in Southern California. (Courtesy of Asian-Nation.org)

Undocumented Asian Americans

Tracy Buenavista (2018) states, "more than one million are undocumented Asian immigrants, or 12 percent of the total undocumented population" out of a total of about 11 million undocumented people in the U.S. (p. 79). Buenavista argues that because Asian American undocumented students are more so seen as "silent", she claims it "prevent[s] them from seeking support networks and resources among the larger undocumented immigrant community" and that even though they refrain from seeking support, they still achieve "academic mobility like college access" (p. 80).

Enriquez (2019) compares some differences between Latinx undocumented students and Asian undocumented students. One Asian undocumented immigrant recognized how they were seen differently from Mexican undocumented immigrants and how it enables them more access. “Edith Oh, a Korean [undocumented immigrant] student, noted, ‘They would probably think you’re legal here [Asians] and you followed all the laws…I guess just [because] Asians are obedient. Since they were little they listen to their parents. And they follow the laws [and] regulations' ” (p. 265). Enriquez specifically states how such assumptions about Asian undocumented immigrants helped keep them safe as people didn’t assume they were undocumented and so people were less likely to question them about lacking documentation (p. 265). There were markers that indicate a lack of foreignness to people or a status attributed to something else. “Anna Kwon, who arrived at the age of ten, explained, ‘They assume that I’m Korean American since I speak [English] fluently. So it’s like, they don’t assume that I’m undocumented’ ” (p. 266). However, she adds that if not documented, “they would think I’m an international student” (p. 266).

Evolution of Multiracial/Hapa Asian Americans

Asian Americans of mixed racial ancestry have been referred to as multiracial, mixed-race, biracial, "Hapa" (a native Hawaiian term that originally meant half Hawaiian), and Amerasian, among others. Their presence in not only the Asian American community but also in mainstream American society has a long history. However, the political, demographic, and cultural implications of their increasing numbers have only recently emerged for both Asian Americans and non-Asians alike.

The origin of mixed-race or multiracial Asian Americans can be traced back to the early period of Asian immigration to the U.S. in the mid-1700s, with large scale migrations common by the mid-1800s. Because the vast majority of these early Asian immigrants were men (mostly from the Philippines or China), in many instances, if they wanted to be in the company of women, these early Asian immigrants had little choice but to socialize with non-Asian women. Eventually, the children from these interracial unions became the first multiracial Asian Americans, especially in Hawai'i where Chinese-Native Hawaiian intermarriages were common.

Eventually, as the numbers of immigrants from Asia began to swell in the mid- and late-1800s, the native white population increasingly began to view their presence in the U.S. with hostility. Objections were raised concerning perceived economic competition with native U.S. workers that Asian immigrants supposedly posed, along with doubts over whether Asians were cultural and racially compatible with mainstream American society.

This nativist and xenophobic backlash, popularly characterized as the "anti-Chinese movement," eventually led to several pieces of legislation at the local, state, and federal levels, culminating with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. These laws restricted the rights and activities of first, Chinese immigrants, then later broadened to include virtually all subsequent immigrants from Asia. Included in these restrictive laws were anti-miscegenation provisions that prevented Asians from marrying whites.

These anti-miscegenation laws were first passed in the 1600s to prevent freed Black slaves from marrying whites. Later versions added persons of Asian origin or ancestry to the list of groups forbidden to marry whites. While early examples of such anti-miscegenation laws singled out those of "Mongoloid" origin specifically, they were later amended to include Filipinos (who claimed that they were of "Malay" origin) and Asian Indians (who characterized themselves as "Aryan" in origin).

One noteworthy exception was the War Brides Act of 1945 that allowed American GIs to marry and bring over wives from Japan, China, the Philippines, and Korea. Several thousands of Asian women immigrated to the U.S. as war brides and their offspring became the first notable cohort of multiracial Asian Americans. Anti-miscegenation laws were finally declared unconstitutional in the 1967 U.S. Supreme Court Loving v. Virginia case.

Interracial marriages involving Asian Americans and their multiracial offspring started to increase significantly following the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965. This Act replaced the restrictive National Origins quota system that had been in place for the past four decades and which effectively limited the number of Asian immigrants to a token few each year.

In its place, the 1965 Immigration Act was structured around provisions that favored the immigration of family members, relatives, and professional workers. Eventually, these provisions substantially increased the numbers of Asian immigrants coming to the U.S., which in turn significantly increased the marriage pool, or the numbers of potential marriage partners, for Asians and non-Asians alike.

The end of the Viet Nam War also played an important role in increasing the numbers and visibility of multiracial Asian Americans, in this case "**Amerasians**" -- the children of Vietnamese mothers and American GIs who served in Viet Nam. After the fall of Saigon in and the reunification of Viet Nam in 1975, several thousand Amerasians were left behind as all remaining American personnel were evacuated. After enduring systematic discrimination and hostility back in Viet Nam as direct legacies of the U.S.'s involvement in the war, the Vietnamese Amerasian Homecoming Act of 1988 allowed approximately 25,000 Amerasians and their immediate relatives to immigrate to the U.S.

Characteristics and Demographics of Multiracials

Efforts to get an accurate national count of multiracial Asian Americans have been stymied in previous censuses since respondents could not choose more than one racial/ethnic identity. However, for the 2000 Census, the Census Bureau reversed its policy and allowed respondents to identify with more than one "race," finally allowing researchers to get a reliable count of the number of multiracial Asian Americans in the U.S.

According to the 2000 census, (The Asian Population: 2000), out of the 281,421,906 people living in the U.S., 10,242,998 of them identified themselves as entirely of Asian race (3.6%). Additionally, there were 1,655,830 people who identified themselves as being part Asian and part one or more other races (as noted in the Methodology explanation, the Census Bureau considers Hispanics/Latinos to be an ethnic, rather than a racial, group). The following table breaks down the distributions of Asian Americans who identify with more than one race.

Table **8.2.13**: Number of Multiracial Asians by Racial/Ethnic Combinations, 2000. (Data via U.S. Census Bureau)

Number of Multiracial Asians by Racial/Ethnic Combinations, 2000			
Mult…		**Number**	**% of all Multiracial Asians**
Mult…	**Asian and Other Race(s)**	1,655,830	100%
Mult…	**Asian and white**	868,395	52.4%
Mult…	**Asian and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander**	138,802	8.4%
Mult…	**Asian and Black/African American**	106,782	6.4%
Mult…	**Asian and Some Other Race**	249,108	15.0%
Mult…	**All Other Combinations, incl. Other Asian**	292,743	17.7%
Mult…	**All Asians Alone or with Other Races**	11,898,828	4.2% of Total U.S. Population

As we can see, by far the largest group of multiracial Asians are those who are half Asian and half white. Historically, many of these mixed-race Asians have also been called "Amerasians." These include older multiracial Asian Americans who are the children of war brides and U.S. military personnel stationed in countries such as Japan, the Philippines, and South Korea, along with those who are the result of more recent non-military interracial marriages involving Asian Americans.

The Hapa Issues Forum quotes a recent Congressional Record report that indicated "between 1968 and 1989, children born to parents of different races increased from 1% of total births to 3.4%." The 2000 Census further shows that 30.7% of those who identify as at least part Japanese are multiracial, the highest proportion among the six largest Asian American ethnic groups. Next are Filipinos (21.8% of whom are multiracial), Chinese (15.4%), Korean (12.3%), Asian Indian (11.6%), and Vietnamese (8.3%).

Overall, the Census Bureau reports that there are about 1.8 million Americans who identify has half-Asian and half one or more other races. Of these, 52% are half -Asian and half-white. If we include all multiracial Asian Americans as their own "ethnic"

group, they would be the fourth-largest group, comprising 8% of the entire Asian American population. Multiracial Asian Americans would also be the fastest-growing group as well.

In fact, demographers predict that by the year 2020 almost 20% of all Asian Americans will be multiracial and that figure will climb to 36% by the year 2050. In other words, as intermarriages involving Asians increase, multiracial Asians are becoming a more prominent group within the Asian American community, and within mainstream American society in general.

Hawai‘i Plantation Labor

Hawai'i became a popular place for Asian immigrants who wanted to come to the United States. They worked on largely sugar plantations for low wages, they fought for better conditions in their work and home, they were pitted against one another in their struggle against the white plantation leadership. Besides Japanese laborers, there were others that were “Hawaiians, Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, Chinese… Portuguese, and Koreans” with an “overseer” that was usually “white” (Takaki, 2008, p. 240). Women laborers made less than men despite doing the same work (Lillian Ota Takaki in Takaki, 2008, p. 240). Lillian Takaki writes, “ ‘Female field hands, for example, received an average wage of only fifty-five cents per day in 1915, compared to the seventy-eight cents for male field hands’.” (Takaki in Takaki, 2008, p. 240). Laborers complained that working in the fields was very difficult and they “worked like machines” and were “watched constantly” (Takaki, 2008, p. 240).

Takaki states that Japanese laborers were stereotyped as not causing trouble because they are “accommodating” and didn’t make a lot of noise but in reality they constantly fought back about the conditions they faced at work especially through striking (Takaki, 2008, p. 242). What Japanese and other workers realized was that when members of their group fought for better working conditions, others would be used and pitted against them through a “divide-and-control” or divide-and-conquer technique. They would amplify and pit needs and advantages against the needs and disadvantages of others and therefore attempt to highlight differences through preferences in order to squash any semblance of commonalities that people would recognize across groups. Many times groups were able to see how they were being used against one another and came together to fight for better working conditions.

From the beginning, the workers camps were cramped. Later as laborers had families, “… [planters] wanted to ‘stimulate’ a ‘home feeling’ in order to make their workers happier and more productive” (Takaki, 2008, p.247). For some of the various ethnic groups including Japanese laborers, there were religious institutions, language schools, and sometimes for many the sharing of ethnic foods (p. 248). Pidgin was created and grew into popularity, with Pidgin being "a simple English that incorporated Hawaiian, Japanese, Portuguese, and Chinese phrases as well as their rhythms and intonations" (p. 249). Pidgin was spoken on the plantation amongst the workers who created this common dialect to speak with one another. Tagalog and Ilocano were also said to have influenced Pidgin but the earlier mentioned languages were said to have the biggest influence.

Sidebar: Philip Vera Cruz



Figure 8.2.14: A mural in Historic Filipinotown, L.A with Philip Vera Cruz on the top left. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Photo by Kenny Chang via Flickr)

Philip Vera Cruz became the second vice-president of the United Farm Workers union (UFW) until his resignation in 1977. He was the highest-ranking Filipinx officer in the UFW. Before helping to form the UFW and leading the grape strike, Vera Cruz

was an officer in the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), AFL-CIO which combined with the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) led by César Chávez and Dolores Huerta, to form the UFW (Scharlin and Villanueva 2000, 31). For Vera Cruz, participating in the UFW changed his life, stating that joining the union gave him "the opportunity to participate in the political struggles of this country…as a worker struggling along with my fellow workers for our constitutional rights" (p. 33).

Vera Cruz was a farm laborer, and when he joined the AWOC, he also studied the history of labor movements. He understood the value in multiethnic strikes, while a majority-white led Teamsters union tried to convince Filipinx workers from merging with Mexican workers. Vera Cruz, along with others in the AWOC, including Larry Itliong, understood that "we must unite all the races so we'll have one strong union that represents all workers. We explained how in the past you could see that because the workers were divided they were weak" (Scharlin and Villanueva, 2000, p. 46), also pointing out that growers would play one group off another in order to maximize their profits. Vera Cruz noted that Itliong had reservations about merging with Mexican workers, fearing that Filipinx workers would be pushed out, but ultimately he felt that his primary goal was to improve the conditions for all farm workers. On August 1966, a year into the grape strike, the AWOC and NFWA merged and turned into one union: the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFW), vastly supported by both Filipinx and Mexican farm workers. Vera Cruz also pointed out the role that Teamsters played to "fan the flames" between whatever disputes existed between Filipinx and Mexican farm workers, eager to bring Filipinx members over to their union (p. 49). See also Chapter 11, section 11.5 on the agricultural labor movement in California.

From Colonization to Nursing

Catherine Ceniza Choy (2019), writes that "U.S. colonization" greatly contributed to the high amount of Filipinx nurses in the United States due to "Americanized professional nurse training," English being one of the main languages for exams, and the presence of other types of medical nursing courses to students. Choy further writes, "According to the 2016 Survey of California Registered Nurses, Filipinos make up the second largest group of the state's active RN workforce, nearly 18 percent. Among younger nurses, they're even more predominant, with Filipino nurses representing nearly a quarter of nurses between ages 35 to 44 years and more than one-fifth of RNs 45 to 54 years old" (2019). However, "from Covid, Filipino nurses are just 4 percent of the nursing workforce in the United States, but constitute nearly one-third of nursing deaths due to Covid-19, according to a research study conducted by National Nurses United last fall" (Ocampo, 2021).

Choy (2019) writes,

> Filipino immigrant nurses also bring experience with Philippine traditional therapies such as hilot, faith healing, and the use of medicinal plants. Hilot is a traditional form of massage therapy or chiropractic manipulation that relieves aches and pains. This knowledge of Philippine healing modalities is important not solely because the use of alternative therapies in the U.S. has become more mainstream, but also because a growing number of Americans are of Filipino heritage. Between 1980 and 2016, the Filipino immigrant population in the United States nearly quadrupled. California is home to the largest Filipino-American population in the nation with over 1.6 million of Filipino descent (Choy, 2019).

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8.3: Who are Asian Americans? Identity, Religion, and Racialization

Asian American is Panethnic

When we teach our Asian American Studies courses, we tell students that Asian Americans are not homogenous; we are diverse and there is no one way of “looking” or “acting” Asian. As Asian Americans in California, our experiences growing up in the Bay Area, So Cal, or the Central Valley may be very different from Asian American communities throughout the West, East, Hawai’i, or increasingly Asian Americans in the Midwest and the South. Over 20 million Asian Americans were counted in the 2020 census and have origins in more than 20 different countries (Gebeloff, et al, 2021). Contrary to the “model minority” myth, Asian Americans represent an array of educational and socioeconomic backgrounds. Simply put, you can’t put Asian Americans in one box.

Still, there have been significant historical events that have shaped the racialization of Asian Americans in the U.S. and in some ways forced or encouraged Asian Americans to come together as one. This is what **panethnic** means: when people of various ethnicities are grouped together, largely for political reasons. Since Asian immigrants faced fierce immigration restrictions from the 19th century into the mid-twentieth century, the population has remained small, and after the 1965 Immigration Act (Hart-Cellar Act), the population is now the fastest growing racial demographic in the U.S.

What's in a Name?

Like other communities of color, Asian Americans must contend with an Anglo-dominant society that views those with "foreign sounding" names as outsiders. Some **assimilate**, or take on the characteristics of the dominant group, by anglicizing their names, like many Chinese international students in the United States (Fang & Fine, 2019), while others endure microaggressions of having their names mispronounced or changed by educators and others in position of authority (Kohli & Solórzano, 2012). On the one hand, as Kohli & Solórzano argue these practices can reinforce the idea of cultural and racial hierarchy of inferiority of non-Anglos and leave lasting impacts on the self-perceptions of children, especially, but in the case of taking on chosen names can also allow for self-expression and agency to select a name that projects an imagined self (Fang & Fine, 2019).



"Chinese Friendship Arch and Gallery Place Building 01 - Chinatown - DC" (CC BY-SA 2.0; Tim Evanson via Flickr)

Sidebar: Varying Degrees of Pan-ethnicity

As a diverse group, Dhingra and Rodriguez (2021) explain how Asian Americans exhibit varying degrees of connection with other Asian Americans. For example, East Asian Americans (such as Japanese and Chinese Americans) display a stronger sense of pan-ethnicity as Asian Americans than South Asian Americans or Southeast Asian Americans. South Asian Americans (such as Indian and Pakistani Americans) "do not develop a pan-ethnic identity, possibly due to their distinct racialization and reliance on one another rather than on other Asian Americans (Schachter 2014)" (p. 126). A distinct racialized experience for South Asian Americans was during the post-911 Islamophobic attacks on South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, and South West Asian communities who were targets of hate crimes, harassment and racial profiling (South Asian Americans Leading Together).

> Southeast Asian Americans (such as Vietnamese and Cambodian Americans) may not identify with the "model minority" stereotype and feel distinct because of their refugee experience. Dhingra and Rodriguez also point out how a focus on structural inequality may lead Southeast Asian Americans to "salient ethnic rather than pan-ethnic identities," such as in the case pointed out by Bindi Shah (2008) who argues that Laotian Americans center their ethnic rather than pan-ethnic identity in their social justice organizing when assisting refugees and low-paid workers (2021, p. 126).

Multiracial/Hapa Asian Americans

Asian Americans of mixed racial ancestry have been referred to as multiracial, mixed-race, biracial, "Hapa" (a native Hawaiian term that originally meant half Hawaiian), and Amerasian, among others. Their presence in not only the Asian American community but also in mainstream American society has a long history. However, the political, demographic, and cultural implications of their increasing numbers have only recently emerged for both Asian Americans and non-Asians alike. This is an example of **fusion/amalgamation** where racial or ethnic groups combine to form a new group.

Traditionally, multiracial Asian Americans, like many other multiracial individuals, have been looked upon with curiosity and/or suspicion by the both sides of their ancestry and the rest of society. In the past, the racist "one drop rule" dictated that anyone who even had any trace of non-white ancestry (i.e., a single drop of non-white blood) was "colored" and therefore non-white. To a certain extent today, many Americans still see multiracial Asian Americans as "half-breeds" and don't consider them to be truly white, Black, etc. or even truly American.



Figure **8.3.13**: The pursuit of Hapa-ness. (Thinkstock.com via Asian-Nation.org)

On the other hand, many in the conventional Asian American community also do not consider multiracial Asian Americans to be truly "Asian" and rather, see them as "whitewashed." Politically, many worry that the Asian American community will lose government funding if people who previously identified themselves as solely Asian now identify themselves as multiracial. In other words, many multiracial Asian Americans still face distrust and even hostility from both their Asian and non-Asian sides.

Sociologists argue that one of the defining characteristics of the U.S. racial/ethnic landscape is the tendency for Americans, white and non-white alike, to prefer a sense of clarity when it comes to racial/ethnic identity. In situations where the racial/ethnic background of a person cannot be immediately identified, many Americans become uncomfortable with this cultural ambiguity. This may help to explain the traditional emphasis on prohibiting the "mixing" of different races, a motivation that continues to drive many neo-Nazi or white supremacist ideologies.

As a result of these cultural dynamics, many (although certainly not all) multiracial Asian Americans encounter difficulties in establishing their own ethnic identity as they try to fit into both the Asian American community and mainstream American society. As many multiracial Asian American writers have described, as they grow up, they are frequently caught between both sides of their racial/ethnic background. Frequently this involves feeling alienated, marginalized, and that they do not legitimately belong in either community, Asian or non-Asian.

Moving Forward and Forging A New Identity

However, recent research suggests that, rather than trying to fit themselves into just an Asian identity or just a white identity, multiracial Asian Americans report the most happiness and the least stress when they create their own unique racial/ethnic identities that combine all of their ancestries. In other words, instead of trying to "pass" as a member of a single racial group, they may be better off when they actively create their own definition of fitting in that is based on synthesizing their unique and multiple characteristics. In doing so, multiracial Asian Americans develop a sense of ownership and pride in their new identity, rather than trying to seek acceptance into the preexisting racial groups.

As it turns out, monoethnic Asian Americans have been doing something like this for many generations, as they reconcile and negotiate their own identities as both Asian and American. In this sense, we might say that multiracial Americans are now going through the same process that Asian Americans have been going through for years. In other words, monoethnic Asian Americans and multiracial Americans share a common process of actively shaping their identities through combining elements from diverse cultures can help these communities connect with one other and bridge cultural differences.

As the incidence of interracial marriage and by implication, numbers of multiracial Asian Americans continues to increase, multiracial Asian Americans have the opportunity to both assert their own unique experiences and characteristics while also participating in the larger Asian American community and mainstream American society in general. In the process of doing so, multiracial Asian Americans are likely to play a central role in the demographic, political, and cultural evolution of a diversifying American society.

Asian American Identity Development Model

Asian American Identity Development Model (Jean Kim, 1981, 2001)

This framework identifies a continuum that leads Asian Americans to form a positive racial identity.

1. ***Ethnic Awareness Stage*:** Starts in early childhood around age 3 or 4. At this stage the family serves as the significant ethnic group model and depending on the amount of ethnic expression in the household, positive or neutral attitudes are formed.

2. ***White Identification Stage:*** Begins once children enter school and peers and the school environment become powerful forces in conveying and reinforcing racial prejudice, which starts to negatively impact their self-esteem and identity. Becoming aware of their difference leads to wanting to identify with white society and distance themselves from their Asian heritage.

3. ***Awakening to Social Political Consciousness Stage:*** Means the adoption of a new perspective, usually associated with increased political awareness and an understanding of oppression and oppressed groups. The primary result is no longer wanting to identify with white society.

4. ***The Redirection Stage:*** Characterized by a reconnection and pride with one's Asian American heritage and culture. This is often followed by a realization of white privilege and oppression as the reason for the negative experience of Asian communities. Anger about white racism may be a part of this stage.

5. ***Incorporation Stage:*** Represents the highest form of identity evolution. It includes a positive and comfortable identity as Asian American and a respect for other racial/cultural groups. The feelings of association for or against white culture are no longer an important issue.

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Religion, Spirituality & Faith

Among the more traditional elements of Asian American culture, religion, spirituality, and faith have always been important to Asian American communities, as they were for many generations before them. But within the diversity of the Asian American

community, so too comes diversity in our religious beliefs and practices.

Which Religion is the Most Popular?

One of the first questions to examine is, which religions or faith traditions are the most popular among Asian Americans and among each of the different Asian ethnic groups? Unfortunately, nationally representative and reliable statistics are difficult to find. There are few studies or data that would answer these questions conclusively, particularly ones that break down religious affiliation among different Asian ethnic groups.

Table **8.3.4**: American Religious Identification Survey 1990-2008: Asian Americans. (Data from the ARIS)

American Religious Identfication Survey 1990-2008: Asian Americans			
	1990	**2001**	**2008**
None/Agnostic	**16%**	**22%**	**27%**
Eastern Religions	**8%**	**22%**	**21%**
Catholic	**27%**	**20%**	**17%**
Other Christian			
Christian Generic	*13%*	*11%*	*10%*
Mainline Christian	*11%*	*6%*	*6%*
Baptist	*9%*	*4%*	*3%*
Pentecostal & Protestant	*3%*	*2%*	*2%*
Mormon	*2%*	*0%*	*0%*
Muslim	**3%**	**8%**	**8%**
New Religious Movements	**2%**	**1%**	**2%**
Jewish	**1%**	**0%**	**0%**
Don't Know/ Declined to Answer	**4%**	**5%**	**5%**

Nonetheless, there are some statistics that give a general picture of religious affiliation within the Asian American community. One of the largest, most up to date, and most comprehensive sources is the American Religious Identification Survey (ARIS), conducted by researchers at Trinity College (CT). The ARIS was first conducted in 1990, again in 2000, and the most recent wave was completed in 2008. The 2008 study includes data from a large, nationally representative sample of 54,461 U.S. adults in the 48 contiguous states.

The following Table 9.3.5 is taken from the ARIS 2008 report. The results show that while no religion can claim a majority of followers in the Asian American community, as of 2008, those who claim no religious affiliation are the largest group. In fact, this group has grown significantly since the first ARIS study in 1990 and its percentage in 2008 (27%) among Asian American is the largest of all the major racial ethnic groups in the study (whites are second with 16% claiming no religious affiliation). The second-largest religious group among Asian Americans are "Eastern Religions" that include Buddhist, Hindu, Taoist, Baha'i, Shintoist, Zoroastrian, and Sikh. These Eastern Religions saw a dramatic increase from 1990 to 2001, then leveled off in 2008. Catholics are the third-largest group at 17% in 2008, with their proportions declining notably from 27% in 1990.

Table **8.3.5**: Pew Research Institute, Forum on Religion & Public Life 2008: Asian Americans. (Used with permission; Religious Landscape Study. Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2020))

		2008
Christian		**45%**
Protestant		*27%*
	Evangelical	17%
	Mainline	9%
	Historically Black	< 0.5%
Catholic		*17%*
Mormon		*1%*
Jehovah's Witness		*< 0.5%*
Orthodox		*< 0.5%*
Other Christian		*< 0.5%*
Eastern & Other Religions		**30%**
Hindu		*14%*
Buddhist		*9%*
Muslim		*4%*
Other World Religions		*2%*
Other Faiths		*1%*
Jewish		*< 0.5%*
Unaffiliated		**23%**
Secular Unaffiliated		*11%*
Religious Unaffiliated		*5%*
Agnostic		*4%*
Atheist		*3%*
Don't Know/Refused		*2%*

The category of "Christian Generic" (comprising those who identified as Christian, Protestant, Evangelical/ Born Again Christian, Born Again, Fundamentalist, Independent Christian, Missionary Alliance Church, and Non-Denominational Christian) is the fourth-largest group at 10% in 2008. Other Christian and Protestant denominations are listed below that. The results show that in 2008, Muslims represented 8% of the Asian American population (up from 3% in 1990) and "New Religious Movements"

(comprising those who identified as Scientology, New Age, Eckankar, Spiritualist, Unitarian-Universalist, Deist, Wiccan, Pagan, Druid, Indian Religion, Santeria, and Rastafarian) claiming 2% in 2008.

These results are largely confirmed by a second comprehensive survey of religious identification taken in 2008, the **U.S. Religious Landscape Survey** (1.2 MB), a national survey of over 35,000 respondents conducted by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life.

In contrast to the ARIS 2008 report, the USLRS methodology sometimes includes the same denomination with separate categories (i.e., Baptists can be both "Evangelical" and "Mainline") -- please check page 12 and Appendix 2 of the USLRS report for the exact categorizations and their detailed explanation of their methodology. The data shown here is for Asian American respondents only and is taken from page 40 of their report.

Again the data show that Christian faiths and denominations claim the highest percentage of followers among Asian Americans, with Eastern Religions and unaffiliated responses also claiming large numbers of respondents. Interesting, once the unique faiths within the "Eastern Religions" category are expanded, we see that Hinduism is the mos popular eastern faith among Asian Americans (due largely to the large size of the Indian American population), with Buddhism second.

Unfortunately, neither the ARIS nor the USLRS studies break the religious affiliation down to specific Asian ethnic groups. For that matter, I have yet to find any research that does. So to try to measure the size of religions within each ethnic group, we can look at the proportions for different religions within that Asian country. Although it's not completely accurate, it's a generally safe assumption that the religious proportions within an Asian country are similar to that within its community in the U.S., since the majority of Asian Americans are foreign-born, as stated in the 2000 CIA World Factbook:

- Bangladesh: Muslim 88.3%, Hindu 10.5%, other 1.2%
- India: Hindu 80%, Muslim 14%, Christian 2.4%, Sikh 2%, Buddhist 0.7%, Jains 0.5%, other 0.4%
- Philippines: Roman Catholic 83%, Protestant 9%, Muslim 5%, Buddhist and other 3%
- Japan: observe both Shinto and Buddhist 84%, other 16% (including Christian 0.7%)
- South Korea: Christian 49%, Buddhist 47%, Confucianist 3%, Shamanist, Chondogyo (Religion of the Heavenly Way), and other 1%

Again, these stats are imperfect because as China and Viet Nam are both officially atheist countries, there are no statistics on the proportions of religions in each country.



Figure **8.3.6**: Indian/Filipino wedding. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Ron Tamondong via Flickr)

How Religion, Spirituality, and Faith Help

Ultimately, as there is so much diversity in the Asian American population in so many ways, so too this applies to our religions and practices of spirituality and faith. But they all share the commonality of helping Asian Americans adjust to life in the U.S. and all the issues that surround what it means to be an Asian American.

As several social scientists point out, these various forms of spirituality and faith help Asian Americans to deal with the upheavals of immigration, adapting to a new country, and other difficult personal and social transformations by providing a safe and comfortable environment in which immigrants can socialize, share information, and assist each other. In this process, religious traditions can help in the process of forming Asian immigrant communities by giving specific Asian ethnic groups another source

of solidarity, in addition to their common ethnicity, on which to build relationships and cooperation. In fact, history shows that numerous churches and religious organizations played very important roles in helping immigrants from China, Japan, the Philippines, South Asia, and Korea adjust to life in the U.S.

Also, the secular functions of religion are just as, if not even more important in helping Asian Americans in their everyday lives. Specifically, many churches, temples, and other religious organizations provide their members with important and useful services around practical, everyday matters such as translation assistance. Other practical examples include information and assistance on issues relating to education, employment, housing, health care, business and financial advice, legal advice, marriage counseling, and dealing with their Americanized children, etc. As such, many churches are almost like social service agencies in terms of the ways in which they help Asian Americans in practical, day-to-day matters.

Other scholars and studies show that churches can also provide social status and prestige for their members. As one example sociologist Pyong Gap Min describes that since many Korean immigrants face underemployment due to their lack of English fluency once they immigrate to the U.S. (especially if they come from educated and professional backgrounds in Korea), they often feel ashamed, embarrassed, or alienated as they adjust to their lower status level in the U.S. Within their church however, many Korean immigrants find a sense of status through official positions inside the church. These can include being assistant ministers, education directors, unordained associate pastors, elders, deacons, and committee chairs, etc.

Finally, as Bankston and Zhou point out in their study of the New Orleans Vietnamese community, religion can play a significant part in affecting a young Asian American's ethnic identity. The Catholic churches in the Vietnamese section of the city helped to keep young Vietnamese Americans integrated within the larger community. Those youngsters who attended church and participated in religious activities more were more likely to do well in school and to stay out of trouble.

Of course, religion, spirituality, and faith is only one part of this adaptation and socialization process and it interacts with many other factors in affecting how an Asian immigrant adjusts to his/her new life in the U.S. Nonetheless, its power is undeniable. For hundreds of generations in the past, it has bonded communities and been the basis for many people's lives. Even with changes in culture, physical location, and social institutions, its effect lives on.

Racialization

From its inception, race has been used to categorize people into separate and unequal groups in a hierarchical manner. The physical differences we give meaning to are superficial differences, and our “race” has no determination over intelligence, athletic ability, or personality traits. Nor do people in one “race” have more in common genetically with one another than with people in different racial groups. Racist ideologies and the arbitrary categorizations that followed were developed to justify mass removal and genocidal policies against Indigenous populations and to rationalize and moralize the enslavement of millions taken from Africa. Since ideas of race “...emerged in the context of European colonialism, it is organized around the logic of white supremacy, that is, those who are considered white are considered intellectually and morally superior over those who are nonwhite” (Dhingra and Rodriguez, 2021, p. 26).

Furthermore, in the United States, notions of race are often limited within the black-white binary. The racial experiences of Asian Americans are not like either Black or white Americans, but they’ve been racialized as close to Black or close to white. Historically, Asian Americans have been legally defined as nonwhite, as they were excluded from nationality, land ownership and marriage to whites. They’ve also been “stereotyped as morally deviant and explicitly compared to African Americans” (Dhingra and Rodriguez, 2021, p. 39). Yet, at other times, depending on the political and economic context, Asians have been described as “outwhiting” whites when it comes to education and household income. Additionally, Asian Americans are racialized as “forever foreign,” no matter how long they’ve been in the U.S. Their exclusion is heightened during times of perceived threat from Asia. This subsection will review how Asian Americans have been racialized in a duality: yellow peril or model minority, and sometimes both.

Under Western Eyes: Orientalism

Professor and author Gary Y. Okihiro (1992)wrote,

> "Asians entered into the European American historical consciousness long before the mid-nineteenth century Chinese immigration to “Gold Mountain”...The “when and where” of the Asian American experience can be found within the

European imagination and constructions of Asians and Asia and within their expansion eastward and westward to Asia for conquest and trade" (pg. 7).

We can find examples of what Europeans thought of people from Asia even among the ancient Greeks from over 2,000 years ago. They made general statements about a people they didn't know well, enabling an "exotic, alienating construction of Asians, whether witnessed or simply imagined" (Okihiro, 1992, p. 9). For example, Greek philosopher Aristotle wrote in 4th century BCE that Asians were in a constant state of subjection and slavery, and Alexander the Great called Asians effeminate and "a nation of slaves" (p. 9). These baseless generalizations of a complex and diverse group of humans in a vast region were passed on from generation to generation in a static, frozen manner, as if the stereotypes of Asia and Asian people never transformed or changed over the centuries.

This is what Palestinian American literary critic, author and professor, Edward Said described as **orientalism:** the European invention of Asians as "the Other," a system of ideas that supported a "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority" over Asia (Said, 1979, Introduction). The European identity was based on how it contrasted from "the Other," helping to inform the West's desire to project itself as "a masculine, conquering Europe" as opposed to "a feminized Asia ripe for conquest" (Lee, 2015, p. 15). The function of these ideas were to "...substantiate Europe's identity rather than to understand Asia in an accurate or nuanced manner" (Sang-Hee Lee, 2014, p. 7). Orientalism was based on the idea of the European authority on the "Orient" and was never concerned with the actual ideas, thoughts, and experiences of people from this region. Orientalism was rooted in the "impulse to dominate, possess" and it was about setting Europeans apart as a people who are not only different, but *superior* to Asia. Over the centuries, these ideas persisted and became common sense, "the Orient was backwards because it was and people had been saying this for a long time" (Sang-Hee Lee, 2014 p. 9).

One idea that's remained a part of the way Asian Americans are racialized is that Asians, no matter how American, are "Forever Foreign." A common microaggression that Asian Americans face, for some on a daily basis, are questions or comments like

- "Where are you from?...No, where are you *really* from?"
- "You speak English so well."
- "Go back to where you came from!"

Although 71% of Asian American adults were born in another country (Budiman and Ruiz, 2021), Asian Americans have a 500-year-old history in the Americas starting with Filipinx sailors who traveled with Spanish colonizers on the Manila-Acapulco Galleon (Ding, 2001, 06:35 - 07:34). Ethnic Studies professor and ground-breaking Asian American documentarian, Loni Ding states in her documentary, *Ancestors in the Americas*: "People sometimes think Asians are only recent immigrants. But, actually Asians have been in North America even before America became a republic" (2001, 05:45 - 05:55).

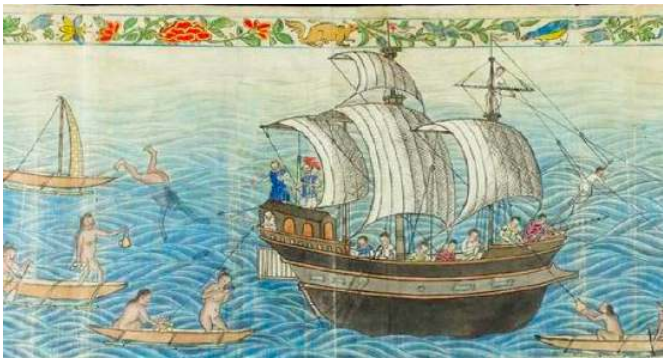


Figure **8.3.4**: An illustration of a Spanish Manila Galleon in the Ladrones Islands (Mariana Islands) in the Pacific Ocean, 1590. (Public Domain; Artist Unknown via World History Encyclopedia)

In fact, when we dig deeper into *why* Asians began arriving to the Americas, we must actually start with Europe. Christopher Columbus, who for so long has been celebrated in American classrooms as the person to "discover" America, stumbled onto the territories of the Taino people in 1492, and thought he had landed in Asia! In fact, Columbus was commissioned by the Spanish monarchy to find another route to Asia or "the Indies," with hopes to grow their riches and power through trade. It wasn't Asians that came to the West, it was the West who came to Asia.

Simultaneous Colonization of the Americas and Asia

Crusaders and European travelers described “bizarre creatures, alien plants, and strange customs of the ‘East’” (Lee, 2015, p. 16), and by the 13th and 14 centuries, Asian goods started to appear. Marco Polo, who traveled to Asia and the Middle East, told narratives of fantastical creatures like unicorns and endless riches like “mountain streams flowing with diamonds” and “ample accounts of prostitutes, sex, and women” (Okihiro, 1992, p. 14; Lee, 2015, p. 16). Books like *The Travels of Marco Polo* became popular and influential. Europeans developed a taste for goods from Asia like spices, silk, and sugar, and cargo from Asia would yield massive profit. In 1615, Sir Walter Raleigh stated, “whosoever commands the sea commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself” (Lee, 2015, p. 17; Raleigh, 1829, p. 325).

Columbus was, in fact, inspired by Marco Polo and had his own well-worn copy of his book. Upon landing in the island of what's today called Cuba, his description of the land and the people was influenced by the ideologies of orientalism. Columbus described Indigenous people as “children” and the land in feminine and sexualized qualities, such as describing the mouth of the Orinoco River as shaped “like a woman’s nipple” (Okihiro, 1992, p. 17). He died in 1506, still thinking the Caribbean was Asia.

Spanish colonizers followed and began growing their empire, *Nueva España.* And as the Spanish continued to search routes to Asia, soon “Asia and the Americas were linked in the Spanish imagination and became two parts of the New World, *ambas Indias*, both Indies, that could be conquered and converted to Christianity,” claiming control of the Philippines archipelago starting in 1521 (Lee, 2015, pp. 18 - 19). Europeans colonized large swaths of land in Asia and by the early 20th century, Japan did the same. Soon, the U.S. expanded beyond the territories of the Americas and took over Hawai’i, Guam, and the Philippines. Colonial expansion extended to the so-called New World, with the British, Dutch, Portuguese, French, Russians, and Spanish drawing random boundaries that never existed before, displacing and killing tens of millions of Indigenous people through genocidal policies and with diseases.

Gary Okihiro states, “So if we think about the general spread and expansion, we can understand that Asia was always on the mind. They were always looking toward Asia” (Ding, 2001, 11:50 - 12:05).

Yellow Peril

Yellow Peril is an extension of Orientalism and frames Asians and Asian nations as a threat to the West: either economically, politically, sexually, or morally. Examples include white anxiety around Asian immigrant labor replacing white workers or Asian men soiling the "purity" of the white race by “going after” white women. Asian women in the context of yellow peril framing are presented as evil temptresses or prostitutes that manipulate white men. Asian American scholar, Robyn Rodriguez and Pawan Dhingra in their book, *Asian America (2nd Edition)* point out that the “yellow peril” stereotype typically only arises when the U.S. is at war or during a “crisis of capital” (Ong, Bonacich, and Cheng 1994, as cited in Dhingra and Rodriguez, 2021, p. 40). Dhingra and Rodriguez further point out that the U.S. doesn’t have to be in a literal war for Asian Americans to be perceived as a threat, as in the case of the Vincent Chin murder in 1982. Similarly, when news of the coronavirus outbreak reached the U.S., Trump called himself a “wartime president.” Americans blamed Asians and people perceived to be Chinese for the virus and anti-Asian discrimination, harassment, and violence grew exponentially in 2020 and 2021.

The term “yellow peril” is the exact translation of a painting commissioned by German Kaiser Wilhelm II who woke from a nightmare in 1895. He dreamt that the "great" nations of Europe were facing an invasion from the East. Convinced that this was what to come, Wilhelm commissioned a painting of his dream, titled it *Die Gelbe Gefahr* (The Yellow Peril) as seen under Figure **8.3.5** and sent reproductions to European leaders and president of the U.S., William McKinley. The painting centered female warriors representing European countries with the Christian cross hanging above them. Archangel Michael is pointing toward the threat: the supposed menacing Buddha riding a Chinese dragon headed toward Europe with dark clouds and lightning overhead, and a burning city right below (Lee, 2015, pp. 122 - 123).



Figure 8.3.5: "The Yellow Peril" - "Peoples of Europe, guard your dearest goods." 1895 (Public Domain; by Hermann Knackfuss via Wikimedia Commons)

This image helped popularize the term “yellow peril” and ended up being “the most influential political illustration of the late nineteenth century” (Lee, 2015, p. 123). This message found “a ready audience in the United States” merely a decade after the passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act.

Ironically, the Japanese Shogunate of the 17th century instituted a policy of isolation to protect Japan from European colonialism. Determined to expand its influence in Asia and frustrated with Japan’s refusal to trade, it was the U.S.’s own gun-boat diplomacy that led to Japan restructuring its nation in order to compete with U.S. and European imperialism. U.S. Commodore Matthew C. Perry sailed 4 armed navy ships in 1853 to the shores of Edo (Tokyo) Bay and threatened to use force unless Japan opened its doors to trade (Lee, 2015, p. 110). It was not Asian countries that invaded European nations or the U.S. for the purposes of empire building. For hundreds of years it was European nations that were threatening to Asia and other parts of the world, seizing land, exploiting resources, and displacing or stealing people in the continents of Africa, Australia, Asia, and the Americas, and the islands of the Pacific, all in the name of expanding their nations, power, and wealth.

The Model Minority

A seemingly opposing racialization of Asian Americans is the **"model minority" myth** or stereotype; that Asians and Asian Americans are culturally or biologically smarter, economically well-off, and successful, but also obedient and docile. Since the mid-20th century, U.S. media often highlight stories of Asian American success by focusing on their disproportionately high educational attainment, higher median income, and residential integration of Asian American families in traditionally white suburbs. Dhingra and Rodriguez (2021) point out,

> "This apparently positive portrayal has more going on than a representation of imagined social trends. This stereotype has gained currency because, like all stereotypes, it fits various preconceptions and racialized ideologies. First, it works to denigrate Asian Americans, even as it purports to praise them. The “model minority” is cast as subservient and obedient. While the “model minority” appears highly valorized, s/he remains a foreigner" (p. 42).

Instead of examining structural factors or immigration policies that explain the data around educational attainment, the model minority myth proclaims that Asian culture or Confucian principles lead to their success. Thereby, Asian Americans can be considered successful, but still not “assimilated enough to be seen as everyday citizens, much less civic or corporate leaders” (Dhingra and Rodriguez, 2021, p. 42). In fact, the framing of this newer racialization of Asian Americans conveniently became popular during the Civil Rights Movement. African Americans and their allies were calling out the U.S. as a racist country, and to counter that and contain demands for social justice, the model minority myth worked to uphold ideologies of colorblindness and meritocracy. Asian American were “proof” that anyone willing to work hard enough could achieve the “American dream.” To further elaborate, Robert G. Lee (2010) writes, “The elevation of Asian Americans to the position of model minority had less to do

with the actual success of Asian Americans than with the perceived failure—or worse, refusal—of African Americans to assimilate" (p. 256).

Starting with World War II, America was being called out for their blatantly white supremacist laws and practices, especially on a global scale. Germans, the Japanese, and later the Soviet Union and other communist movements around the globe were calling out the U.S.'s hypocrisy around fighting Nazism, yet incarcerating over 120,000 Japanese Americans (and Canadians and Latin Americans) simply for their heritage and their anti-Semitic policy of refusing to accept Jewish refugees from Europe. Lee (2015) explains that the U.S. had a strong motive to push the narrative of the U.S. as "...a liberal democratic state where people of color could enjoy equal rights and upward mobility" (pg. 257). The U.S. understood that the nation's legacy of racial discrimination impacted their relationships with other countries. During the Cold War, the U.S. engaged in a struggle for global influence and worked to promote an image of the U.S. as a multiracial and liberal democracy; to top it off, they claimed that U.S.-style capitalism meant anyone could "make it," including immigrants and racial minorities.

With the onset of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and '60s, biological racism and blatantly racist rhetoric was no longer socially acceptable. In its stead, ideologies around cultural racism tried to turn the blame of racial inequality away from structural and system reasons and toward African Americans for their own failures. In 1966, two major magazines *The New York Times* and *U.S. News and World Report* published articles centering on Asian American success stories. Lee notes how the media blatantly pit minorities groups against each other, with the *U.S. News* asserting, "At a time when it is being proposed that hundreds of billions be spent on uplifting Negroes and other minorities, the nation's 300,000 Chinese Americans are moving ahead on their own with no help from anyone else" (Lee, 2015, p. 261).

Furthermore, during the Cold War, "homophobia and anticommunism went hand in hand" and homosexuality was seen as a threat to national security, going so far as banning gay men and women from federal employment in 1953 (Lee, 2015, p. 269). The nuclear family was valorized, and only offered a narrow approach to being a patriotic American family: middle-class, with the wife at home, and the husband providing for the family, with the added duty of reproducing children who would be faithful patriots of this great nation. The model minority stereotype highlighted Asian Americans who, for the most part, met this nuclear model. Asian Americans who didn't meet the "model minority" image were quickly forgotten and their problems ignored. This includes members of the LGBTQ, poor Asian Americans, those struggling in school, or Asian Americans who are disabled, struggling with mental health, facing abuse, or incarcerated.

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8.4: Intergroup Relations- Immigration, Exclusion, and Violence

The experiences of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPI) are diverse and different groups have experienced different intergroup consequences. For example, the experiences for some groups is best explained by genocide, such as with Cambodian Americans, as the civil war in their home country in the 1970s led many to their migration to the United States as refugees, fleeing oppression and death. In contrast, to survive and thrive in U.S. society, many Asian Americans formed ethnic enclaves which is a form of separatism and others advocate for pan-Asianism to challenge oppressive and discriminatory practices.

✔ Patterns of Intergroup Relations: Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders

- **Extermination/Genocide:** The deliberate, systematic killing of an entire people or nation (e.g. Cambodian genocide).
- **Expulsion/ Population Transfer:** The dominant group expels the marginalized group (e.g. refugees from Viet Nam).
- **Internal Colonialism:** The dominant group exploits the marginalized group (e.g. Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882).
- **Segregation:** The dominant group structures physical, unequal separation of two groups in residence, workplace & social functions (e.g. prison camps during WWII).
- **Sepratism:** The marginalized group desires physical separation of two groups in residence, workplace & social functions (e.g. ethnic enclaves).
- **Fusion/ Amalgamation:** Race-ethnic groups combine to form a new group (e.g. Hapa).
- **Assimilation:** The process by which a marginalized individual or group takes on the characteristics of the dominant group (e.g. Asian immigrants changing names to sound more “American”).
- **Pluralism/ Multiculturalism:** Various race-ethnic groups in a society have mutual respect for one another, without prejudice or discrimination (e.g. pan-Asianism).

History of Intergroup Relations

After slavery was abolished in the U.S., plantation owners needed workers to work on the land since Blacks were no longer forced to work for them. Latin America became a hotspot for indentured labor from Asia, and in particular Chinese and Indian workers. These indentured laborers who worked under contract were called **Coolies**. Women workers from India came later but only if they were deemed “moral” such as being “widowed” or “married” because “single women” were said to cause strife between male workers who would compete to have sex with them (Lee, 2015, p.4). Lee writes, “The first group of 396 Asian indentured laborers arrived in May of 1838… After reports of abuse of workers surfaced, the experiment ended the next year, but the system resumed in 1844, and from 1838 to 1917, 429,623 South Asians and 17,904 Chinese went to the British West Indies as indentured laborers” (2015, p. 3 ebook). Some of the places the laborers went included: British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, Cuba, Peru, Panama, Mexico, Brazil, Costa Rica, and more.

Coolies was a term used in Latin America and especially in the United States to depict workers who were seen as job-stealing competition (Lee, 2015, p.1). Coolie labor was related to the slavery system as they were often mistreated like slaves (Lee, 2015, p.5) and sometimes held against their will. Some laborers under the coolie system were forcibly sent to work in Latin America and even tricked into doing so (Lee, 2015, pp.4-5). Lee documents instances where sometimes they were forced into labor even years after their contract ended (Lee, 2015, p.5).

Many Chinese men had been recruited by the railroad companies to work on the Transcontinental Railroad—a vast, complex, engineering feat to span the continent and link the entire expanse of the middle of North America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. By 1887, the project was completed and many of the Chinese workers, having saved the majority of their pay, returned home, or, conversely, began to send for their families —parents, siblings, wives and children, sweethearts, cousins—beginning a steady migration stream from China to the United States. Many of these former railroad workers settled along the West Coast and began to compete, economically, with the white population of the region. Feeling serious economic pressure from the Chinese immigrants, whites on the West Coast petitioned Congress to stop migration from China.

Immigration and Exclusion

Chinese immigration came to an abrupt end with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. This act was a result of anti-Chinese sentiment burgeoned by a depressed economy and loss of jobs. White workers blamed Chinese migrants for taking jobs, and the passage of the Act meant the number of Chinese workers decreased. Chinese men did not have the funds to return to China or to bring their families to the United States, so they remained physically and culturally segregated in the Chinatowns of large cities.

The Page Act of 1875 is the first law created to exclude people on the basis of race, where Chinese women were forbidden from immigrating to the United States if they were deemed prostitutes. In practice, this was applied to all Chinese women and by extension all Asian women, whether they were sex workers or not. The **Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882** is a part of the group of first exclusionary acts on the basis of race, but this time banning all Chinese laborers due to the fears that they were taking over the country, and that they were taking jobs away from whites. Lee (2002) calls the 1882 act to be the first to function as a gatekeeper. Lee analyzes historical documents to connect how the 1882 Act paved the way for larger systemic gatekeeping through immigration. She claims this act served as "Precursors to the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service,

United States passports, 'green cards,' illegal immigration and deportation policies can all be traced back to the Chinese Exclusion Act" (Lee, 2002, p. 37).

Later legislation, the Immigration Act of 1924, further curtailed Chinese immigration. The Act included the race-based National Origins Act, which was aimed at keeping U.S. ethnic stock as undiluted as possible by reducing “undesirable” immigrants. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 is an example of **internal colonialism** because the Chinese workers were economically exploited while in the United States. It was not until after the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 that Chinese immigration again increased, and many Chinese families were reunited.

Since the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, there have been laws enacted that correspond with anti-Asian sentiments.

- In the early 1900s, there were anti-Japanese sentiments and the fear of Japanese immigrants (Lee, 2015). This led to the 1907 **Gentlemen’s Agreement Act** that restricted Japanese laborers from immigrating.
- In 1907, South Asian immigrants had to flee Bellingham, Washington when they were attacked without much warning (Lee, 2015). Ultimately the **Asiatic Barred Zone** in 1917 restricted Indians and others from immigrating.
- In the 1930s, Filipinx farmworkers were attacked in what was called the Watsonville Riots. Like some of the other Asian laborers, Filipinxs were seen as competition with white workers. Further, these white workers and community members didn’t like the way that Filipinx men had relationships with white women. **Anti-miscegenation laws** strictly prohibited interracial marriage and sexual relations between whites and non-whites. California didn’t overturn this law until 1948 and the last anti-miscegenation law to be struck down was through the Loving vs. Virginia case in 1967.

While many of the Asian laborers were seen as competition, Chinese and Japanese immigrants were specifically feared based on the idea that China and Japan, and by extension Chinese and Japanese immigrants, were taking over the U.S. This is seen as “yellow peril.” Yellow peril emphasizes the perceived foreignness and fear of invasion, getting rid of “American morals.”



Figure **8.4.1**: "First Transcontinental Railroad Historical Sign" (CC BY-NC 2.0; J. Stephen Conn via Flickr)

Expansion of Asian Exclusion

From the 15th century through the 19th century, Japan was a xenophobic, feudal society, ostensibly governed by a God-Emperor, but in reality ruled by ruthless, powerful Shoguns. Japan’s society changed little during the four centuries of samurai culture, and it was cut off from the rest of the world in self-imposed isolation, trading only with the Portuguese, Spanish, English, and Chinese, and then not with all of them at once, often using one group as middlemen to another group. In the mid-19th century, (1854), the United States government became interested in trading directly with Japan in order to open up new export markets and to import Japanese goods at low prices uninflated by middleman add-ons. Commodore Matthew Perry was assigned to open trade between the United States and Japan. With a flotilla of war ships, Perry crossed the Pacific and berthed his ships off the coast of the Japanese capital. Perry sent letters to the emperor that were diplomatic but insistent. Perry had been ordered not to take no for an answer, and when the emperor sent Perry a negative response to the letters, Perry maneuvered his warships into positions that would allow them to fire upon the major cities of Japan. The Japanese had no armaments or ships that could compete with the Americans, and so, capitulated to Perry. Within thirty years, Japan was almost as modernized as its European counterparts. They went from feudalism to industrialism almost over night.

Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907

The Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 (日米紳士協約, *Nichibei Shinshi Kyōyaku*) was an informal agreement between the United States of America and the Empire of Japan whereby the United States would not impose restrictions on Japanese immigration and Japan would not allow further emigration to the United States. The goal was to reduce tensions between the two Pacific nations.

Chinese immigration to California boomed during the Gold Rush of 1852, but the strict Japanese government practiced policies of isolation that thwarted Japanese emigration. It was not until 1868 that the Japanese government lessened restrictions and that Japanese immigration to the United States began. Anti-Chinese sentiment motivated American entrepreneurs to recruit Japanese laborers. In 1885, the first Japanese workers arrived in the Kingdom of Hawaii, which was then independent.



Figure **8.4.2**: "Japanese Immigrant 1940's" (CC BY-ND 2.0; chiyomaruko1 via Flickr)

Most Japanese immigrants wanted to reside in America permanently and came in family groups, in contrast to the Chinese immigration of young men, most of whom soon returned to China. They assimilated to American social norms, such as on clothing. Many joined Methodist and Presbyterian churches.

As the Japanese population in California grew, they were seen with suspicion as an entering wedge by Japan. By 1905, anti-Japanese rhetoric filled the pages of the San Francisco Chronicle, and Japanese Americans did not live only in Chinatown but throughout the city. In 1905, the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League was established and promoted four policies:

1. Extension of the Chinese Exclusion Act to include Japanese and Koreans
2. Exclusion by League members of Japanese employees and the hiring of firms that employ Japanese
3. Initiation of pressure the School Board to segregate Japanese from white children
4. Initiation of a propaganda campaign to inform Congress and the President of that "menace".

Tensions had been rising in San Francisco, and since the 1905 decisive Japanese victory against Russia, Japan demanded treatment as an equal. The result was a series of six notes communicated between Japan and the United States from late 1907 to early 1908. The immediate cause of the Agreement was anti-Japanese nativism in California. In 1906, the San Francisco Board of Education passed a regulation whereby children of Japanese descent would be required to attend separate, segregated schools. At the time, Japanese immigrants made up approximately 1% of the population of California, many of whom had immigrated under a treaty in 1894 that had assured free immigration from Japan.

In the Agreement, Japan agreed not to issue passports for Japanese citizens wishing to work in the Continental United States, thus effectively eliminating new Japanese immigration to the United States. In exchange, the United States agreed to accept the presence of Japanese immigrants already residing there; to permit the immigration of wives, children, and parents; and to avoid legal discrimination against Japanese American children in California schools. However, Japanese women didn't always meet their husbands before immigration and sometimes took part as "picture brides." As picture brides, families arranged single Japanese women with the help of go-betweens to find Japanese men in the United States to marry (Lee, 2015 p. 234). Thus, Japanese women would send pictures of themselves and they would have an arranged marriage. This became a more common way for Japanese women to immigrate during this time, as 20,000 Japanese "picture brides" between 1908 and 1920 emigrated to Hawai'i and to the U.S. (Lee, 2015).

There was also a strong desire on the part of the Japanese government to resist being treated as inferiors. Japan did not want the United States to pass any such legislation as had happened to the Chinese under the Chinese Exclusion Act. US President Theodore Roosevelt, who had a positive opinion of Japan, accepted the Agreement as proposed by Japan to avoid more formal immigration restrictions. The agreement was never ratified by the United States Congress and was superseded by the Immigration Act of 1924.

This section licensed CC BY-SA. Attribution: The Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 (Wikipedia) (CC BY-SA 4.0)

In 1924, anti-minority sentiment in the United States was so strong that the Ku Klux Klan had four million, proud, openly racist members thousands of whom were involved in a parade down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, DC, that was watched by thousands of Klan supporters, and other Americans. Their definition of who should qualify as American was largely reflected the United States Supreme Court rulings on questions of naturalization, which largely excluded East and South Asian immigrants until the 1940s. For example, in 1922 the Supreme Court ruled in Ozawa v. United States that Takao Ozawa who was born in Japan but had live in the United States for 20 years, was not considered Caucasian which meant he

did not fit the popular definition of a "free white person" as the Naturalization Act of 1906 specified. Within three months, Justice George Sutherland authored a similarly unfavorable ruling in a Supreme Court case concerning the petition for naturalization of a Sikh immigrant from the Punjab region in British India, who identified himself as "a high caste Hindu of full Indian blood" in his petition, United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind. The upshot of this ruling was that like the Japanese, "high-caste Hindus, of full Indian blood" were not "free white persons" and were racially ineligible for naturalized citizenship. To support this conclusion, Justice Sutherland reiterated Ozawa's holding that the words "white person" in the naturalization act were "synonymous with the word 'Caucasian' only as that word is popularly understood".

Halting and Starting Immigration

The Asiatic Barred Zone halted immigration of Indians in the 1920s. The Immigration Act of 1924 then completely terminated immigration from all of Asia. It wasn't until the Immigration Act of 1965 that Indians began immigrating again and many "had high human capital and worked as doctors and engineers" (Basu, 2017, p. 5). Later, "the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act 1975 gave Vietnamese war refugees special status and Congress granted them relocation aid" (Basu, 2017, p. 5).



Figure 8.4.2.5: "Photograph of immigrants arriving at Immigration Station on Angel Island (ca. 1931)." (Public Domain; mákvirágok via Flickr)

World War II and Anti-Japanese Policies

On December 7, 1941, at 7:55 A.M. local time the Japanese fleet in the South Pacific launched 600 hundred aircraft in a surprise attack against U.S. Naval forces at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Within four hours, 2, 400 people, mostly military personnel had been killed, including the 1,100 men who will be entombed forever in the wreckage of the U.S.S. Arizona when it capsized during the attack. Although this was a military target, the United States was not at war when the attack occurred.

The U.S. response to the attack was **segregation** wherein the dominant group structures physical separation of two groups, in this case Japanese, German and Italian-descended Americans and everyone else. Within 3 months, on February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed and issue Executive Order 9066 which authorized the secretary of war to prescribe certain areas as military zones, clearing the way for the incarceration of these groups in U.S. concentration camps. As a result, approximately 112,000 men, women, and children of Japanese ancestry were evicted from the West Coast of the United States and held in American concentration camps and other confinement sites across the country. Japanese Americans in Hawaii were not incarcerated in the same way, despite the attack on Pearl Harbor. Although the Japanese American population in Hawaii was nearly 40% of the population of Hawaii itself, only a few thousand people were detained there, supporting the eventual finding that their mass removal on the West Coast was motivated by reasons other than "military necessity" (U.S. Department of State). The fact is that the labor of Japanese Americans in Hawaii was crucial to the economic health of Hawaii which protected them from internment in the prison camps.

In less than six months after the attack, Congress passed the Japanese Relocation Act. Below, is reproduced the order that was posted in San Francisco.

The Japanese American Relocation Order

THE JAPANESE AMERICAN RELOCATION ORDER

WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY

WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION

Presidio of San Francisco, California

May 3, 1942

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

Living in the Following Area:

All of that portion of the City of Los Angeles, State of California, within that boundary beginning at the point at which North Figueroa Street meets a line following the middle of the Los Angeles River; thence southerly and following the said line to East First Street; thence westerly on East First Street to Alameda Street; thence southerly on Alameda Street to East Third Street; thence northwesterly on East Third Street to Main Street; thence northerly on Main Street to First Street; thence north-westerly on First Street to Figueroa Street; thence northeasterly on Figueroa Street to the point of beginning.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 33, this Headquarters, dated May 3, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Saturday, May 9, 1942.

No Japanese person living in the above area will be permitted to change residence after 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Sunday, May 3, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Southern California Sector, at the Civil Control Station located at

Japanese Union Church,

120 North San Pedro Street,

Los Angeles, California

SEE CIVILIAN EXCLUSION ORDER NO. 33

Such permits will only be granted for the purpose of uniting members of a family, or in cases of grave emergency.

The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.

2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, such as real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles and livestock.

3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.

4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence.

The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Monday, May 4, 1942, or between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Tuesday, May 5, 1942.

2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:

(a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;

(b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;

(c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;

(d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;

(e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station. The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.

4. No personal items and no household goods will be shipped to the Assembly Center.

5. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage, at the sole risk of the owner, of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted for storage if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.

6. Each family, and individual living alone will be furnished transportation to the Assembly Center or will be authorized to travel by private automobile in a supervised group. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Monday, May 4, 1942, or between the hours of

8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M.,

Tuesday, May 5, 1942, to receive further instructions.

Lieutenant General, U. S. Army

This map shows the location of the American concentration camps where Japanese Americans were interned during WWII.



Figure 8.4.3: Map of World War II Japanese American prison camps. (CC PDM 1.0; National Park Service via Wikimedia)

In 1943, Fred Korematsu, with the assistance of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed suit in federal court arguing that it was unconstitutional to deprive American citizens of the their civil rights without due process of law. The Supreme Court of the United States decided that, in times of great national strife, it was Constitutional to deprive one specific segment of the population of their civil rights because of the potential for harm by that specific group. You might be interested to know that this decision has never been overturned, which means that it is still the law of the land. A similar case Hirabayashi v. United States, (1943), was a case in which the United States Supreme Court held that the application of curfews against members of a people of color were constitutional when the nation was at war with the country from which that group's ancestors originated.



Figure 8.4.4: "Russell Lee: Japanese-American family waiting for relocation, Los Angeles, 1942" (CC BY 2.0; trialsanderrors via Flickr)

Although Japanese Americans have deep, long-reaching roots in the United States, their history here has not always been smooth. The California Alien Land Law of 1913 was aimed at them and other Asian immigrants, and it prohibited aliens from owning land. An even uglier action was the Japanese internment camps of World War II, discussed earlier as an illustration of **expulsion**.

1965 Immigration Act

The **1965 Immigration Act** went into effect in 1969 (Lobo and Salvo, 739, 1998). The law created immigration preference categories for family reunification and professional skills, allotted "170,000 immigrant visas" for the "Eastern Hemisphere" which was "Asia, Europe, Africa, and Oceania" and allowed only 20,000 visas per country (Lobo and Salvo, 1998, p. 742). Lobo and Salvo (1998) state that "besides physicians, a large number of Asian nurses, dentists, and pharmacists, scientists, and engineers entered during this period" (Lobo & Salvo, 1998, pp. 740 and 741).

Sidebar: A Closer look at the 1965 Immigration Act

From the period of 1972-1977, Asian immigration totaled an average of 136,827 yearly while the total of all immigrants yearly average was about 405,000 (Lobo & Salvo, 1998).

For the types of visas, China's highest percent of immigration visas were allocated through employment preferences for the last period of 1992-1994 with about 53% (p. 743). India had their highest percent immigration visas in family during 1978-1991 with about 60% and highest for employment in 1972-1977 with 57%. The Philippines had their highest percentage of visas allocated from the immediate relatives category. Finally, Vietnam in 1972-1977 had the highest percent yearly allocations in the refugee category.

The 1965 Immigration Act ended the Immigration Act of 1924 "quota" based system that severely restricted immigration and therefore redirected immigration to include more Asian and other people of color immigrants unlike before (Basu, 2017, p.1). Basu (2017) writes, "Preference categories for admissions were created based on family ties, critical skills, diversity, and refugee status" (pg.5). The initial Asian immigrants who came following this act "were employed in high-skill, high-wage occupations" (Basu, 2017, p. 2). Chinese people, Indians, and Filipinx people are the largest Asian groups in the U.S.

Anti-Asian Racism & Violence

Ever since the first Asians arrived in America, there has been anti-Asian racism. This includes prejudice and acts of discrimination. For more than 200 years, Asian Americans have been denied equal rights, subjected to harassment and hostility, had their rights revoked and imprisoned for no justifiable reason, physically attacked, and murdered.

Ethnic Competition Leads to Violence

As the section on Asian American history discussed, numerous acts of discrimination against Chinese immigrants culminated in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. For the first and so far only time in American history, an entire ethnic group was singled out and forbidden to step foot on American soil. Although this was not the first such anti-Asian incident, it symbolizes the legacy of racism directed against our community.

It was followed by numerous denials of justice against Chinese and Japanese immigrants seeking to claim equal treatment to land ownership, citizenship, and other rights in state and federal court in the early 1900s. Many times, Asians were not even allowed to testify in court. Perhaps the most infamous episode of anti-Asian racism was the unjustified imprisonment of Japanese Americans during World War II -- done solely on the basis of their ethnic ancestry.

One may think that as the Asian American population becomes larger and more integrated into the mainstream American social and political institutions that incidents of anti-Asian racism would occur less often. In fact, the opposite has been true. The last 20 years or so has seen Asian Americans become the fastest-growing targets for hate crimes and violence.

It seems that whenever there are problems in American society, political or economic, there always seems to be the need for a **scapegoat** -- someone or a group of people who is/are singled out, unjustifiably blamed, and targeted with severe hostility. Combined with the cultural stereotype of Asian Americans as quiet, weak, and powerless, more and more Asian Americans are victimized, solely on the basis of being an Asian American.



Figure **8.4.9**: "EM_ark13960t1ck18s1t_001" (CC PDM 1.0; jonathanhgrossman)

Vincent Chin and the pan-Asian American Movement of the 1980s

The 1982 murder of Chinese American Vincent Chin in Detroit, Michigan, is considered an important landmark in Asian American history and panethnic political identity development. Asian Americans protested the fact that two white men, Ronald Ebens and Michael Nitz, were sentenced to probation and a small fine with no prison time for their manslaughter conviction. The case led to the development of a nationwide consciousness around Anti-Asian hate, and established some groundwork for continued civil rights and social justice campaigns (Tajima-Peña, 2014, p. 185).

License to Commit Murder = $3,700

Perhaps the most graphic and shocking incident that illustrates this process was the murder of Vincent Chin in 1982. Vincent was beaten to death by two white men (Ronald Ebens and Michael Nitz) who called him a "jap" (even though he was Chinese American) and blamed him and Japanese automakers for the current recession and the fact that they were about to lose their jobs. After a brief scuffle inside a local bar/night club, Vincent tried to run for his life until he was cornered nearby, held down by Nitz while Ebens repeatedly smashed his skull and bludgeoned him to death with a baseball bat.

Journalist and activist Helen Zia witnessed the collapse of the auto industry in Detroit, with hundreds of thousands of mostly Black and also white working class auto workers left to fend for themselves. Described as “a city in crisis,” people in Detroit lost their jobs, homes and cars, and “gloom turned to anger as they searched for the cause of their miseries” (2010, p. 36). Japan made an easy target. First, the oil crisis of 1978 essentially “killed the market for heavy, eight-cylinder dinosaurs made in Detroit,” leading to massive layoffs. Meanwhile, Japan’s auto industry was beginning to grow, meeting the demand for inexpensive and fuel-efficient vehicles. Zia continued, “They were easy to hate. Anything Japanese, or presumed to be Japanese, became a potential target” (p. 37). Unions sponsored events where they sledge-hammered Japanese cars. Zia reflected that living in Detroit at the time, “It felt dangerous to have an Asian face” (p. 37).

On March 18, 1983, it was reported that the two killers were charged for Vincent’s slaying. They pleaded guilty and no contest to beating Vincent to death, yet each received three years of probation and $3,780 in fines. The judge defended these sentences by stating that his job was to fit the punishment not just to the crime, but also to the perpetrators. In this case, as he argued, both Ebens and Nitz had no prior criminal record and were both employed at the time of the incident. Therefore, the judge reasoned that neither man represented a threat to society stating, “These aren't the kind of men you send to jail” (Zia, 2010, p. 39). However, others had a different interpretation of the light sentences. They argued that what the judge was basically saying was that as long as you have no prior criminal record and have a job, you could buy a license to commit murder for $3,700.

People were enraged and called out this obvious example of systemic racism, where the lives of two violent killers were valued above the life of an Asian American hate crime and murder victim, Vincent Chin. As more and more Asian Americans heard about Chin’s slaying and the “slap-on-the-wrist” sentencing, they began to demand justice. They felt that what Vincent experienced could have happened to them and to anyone who “looked” Japanese. This was the start of another panethnic Asian American movement. Over 100 people came together to form a pan-Asian organization that could seek civil rights justice for Chin’s murder. They were called **American Citizens for Justice (ACJ)**, and news on the efforts of ACJ spread across the country due to lobbying and press coverage. “It was the first time that an Asian American–initiated issue was considered significant national news,” wrote Zia (2010, p. 48). ACJ was naming anti-Asian violence as “present-day phenomenon” and they helped to create an organizing framework for Asian Americans.

In a second trial, the Justice Department convicted Ebens (the one who actually swung the bat) of violating Vincent's civil rights and he was sentenced to 25 years in prison. Nitz (the one who held Vincent down) was acquitted. However, these verdicts were thrown out on appeal due to a technicality and a new trial was ordered by a federal appeals court. However, because of "overwhelming publicity" about the case, the new trial was moved all the way to Cincinnati, Ohio.

At this retrial, whose jury consisted almost entirely of white blue-collar men, both men were acquitted of all charges. Mrs. Chin did manage to win a civil suit against Ebens and Nitz for $1.5 million but received very little of that money, since Ebens stopped making payments in 1989. Mrs. Chin eventually became so distraught over these incidents of injustice that she left the U.S. and moved back to China. To this day, neither man has served any jail time for murdering Vincent Chin and only recently has Ebens expressed regret for his actions.

As many scholars argue, the events surrounding Vincent Chin's murder and the acquittal of his killer sadly represents another example of how Asian Americans are seen as not being "real" Americans and therefore worthy of the same rights and privileges that so many other Americans take for granted. Further, the lenient treatment that his killers received echoes similar incidents in the late 1800s in which Chinese miners were not allowed to testify against whites who attacked them or murdered their friends. In other words, Vincent's murder was another example of how the life of an Asian American is systematically devalued in relation to that of a "real" American.

Zia wrote that losing its first national campaign didn't devastate the Asian American community, "instead, it had been transformed" (2010, p. 53). The legacy of the Vincent Chin case lived on through award-winning documentaries and as author and Ethnic Studies professor Yen Le Espiritu pointed out, as a result, Asian Americans are more willing to speak on anti-Asian racism, are better organized, and this era paved the way for building "pan-Asian unity."

The Formation of Solidarity

Although justice was not served in this case, Vincent's murder galvanized the entire Asian American community like no other incident before it. As an example of **pluralism/multiculturalism,** it resulted in the formation of numerous Asian American community organizations and coalitions whose purpose was to monitor how Asian Americans were treated and to mobilize any and all resources available to fight for justice. (See section 9.5 for more on the importance of **pan-Asianism**) Asian Americans saw firsthand how anti-Asian prejudice and hostility operated, both at the personal physical level and at the institutional level.

Since then, groups have documented numerous incidents of hate crimes committed against Asian Americans. NAPALC's 1999 Audit of Violence Against Asian Pacific Americans points out that there was a 13% increase of reported anti-Asian incidents between 1998 and 1999. It found that South Asians were the most targeted among Asian Americans and that vandalism was the most common form of anti-Asian discrimination. This is reinforced by recent anti-Asian vandalism at Stanford University that included such threats as "rape all oriental bitches," "kill all gooks," and "I'm a real white american."

Similar incidents and anti-Asian threats have also occurred and continue to occur at college campuses all around the country. What makes the situation worse are the apathetic, half-hearted, and even insensitive responses on the part of the authorities, in this case university officials. Even in rare instances when they admit that racial tensions are a problem on their campus, university leaders are slow to respond appropriately. Administrators consistently fight efforts to mandate classes on multiculturalism for all students even though research shows that these classes promote increased understanding and respect among students.

Secondly, they resist students' efforts to promote or even establish Asian American and other racial/ethnic studies programs. This is despite the fact that at almost all major universities around the country, it's common for Asian American students to comprise 15%, 25%, or even 50% of their students (i.e., U.C. Irvine). Students at Wellesley College, regarded as one of the elite women's colleges in the country, recently planned to go on a hunger strike to demand that their administration fulfill its earlier promises of strengthening its Asian Americans studies program. At the last minute, Wellesley officials gave into the students' demands.

Incidents of anti-Asian intimidation and physical attacks are sickening by themselves. They are often made worse when the authorities in charge don't take the appropriate actions to address them.

“Asian American” Panethnicity and “Third World” Solidarity:

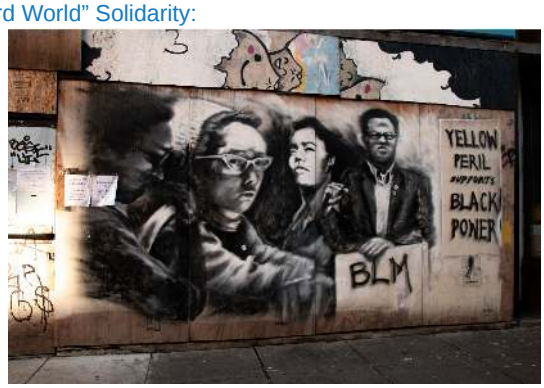


Figure **8.4.2**: "Yellow Peril Supports Black Power" Art in Oakland. Photo taken February 20, 2023. (CC BY 4.0; Photo by Jordan Burkart)

Inspired by various nationalist liberation movements of the 1960s such as the Black Power movement, second-generation Asian youth started to use the term “Asian American” to describe a panethnic identity rooted in solidarity. Asian Americans of diverse ethnic backgrounds attended a UCLA conference in the summer of 1968 to discuss issues of identity, power and the war in Vietnam. They rejected the term “Oriental” since it “smacks of European colonialism and imperialism,” noting that Asia is only east in relationship to Europe (Espiritu, 1992, p. 32). This forced students to consider Asian American as an alternative to “Yellow” and “Oriental” and the first organization to apply this term was the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA) at UC Berkeley in 1969 (p. 33). Yen Le Espiritu, Ethnic Studies Professor at UC San Diego, wrote on pan-Asian ethnicity and explained how Asian Americans were also inspired by the success of anticolonial revolutions and “Third World” solidarity between Africa, Asia, and Latin America (such as “Afro-Asia” solidarity displayed at the Bandung conference in 1955).

Instead of cultural bonds, panethnic identity is a result of political and social processes. Espiritu emphasizes the political nature of the development of a panethnic identity for Asian Americans, with the purpose of struggling for power and resources (1992, p. 14). As Asian American Studies professor Diane Fujino, UC Santa Barbara, notes, this was a political strategy “to contest racial oppression” (2014, p. 1104).

The Asian American Movement focused on solidarity with Asia, and both global and internal Third World communities. Activist Amy Uyematsu wrote that the movement rejected their parents’ assimilationist goals and “turned the racial order on its head by asking Asian Americans to see a shared oppression with black Americans and to challenge the anti-black racism harbored by many Asian Americans” (2014, p. 1105). AAPA was anti-imperialist and organized the Third World Liberation Front strike at San Francisco State (1968) and UC Berkeley (1969), standing in unity with other students of color to demand Ethnic Studies in the longest and most violent student struggle in the U.S.

Espiritu adds that the development of Asian American Studies was perhaps the most important outcome of the Asian American Movement and the discipline continues to build on an Asian American heritage. Asian American Studies curriculum expresses both similarities and differences across diverse Asian American communities and helps Asian American students understand who they are (1992, p. 36). Standing in solidarity with other oppressed groups also highlighted the view “that their own liberation was intricately linked to the liberation of peoples everywhere” (Fujino, 2014, p. 1106).

Since these movements of the 1960s and 1980s, we’ve witnessed and participated in the development of Asian American Studies, panethnic non-profits, conferences, news, film festivals, political campaigns and voter drives that organize for better political representation across diverse Asian American and Pacific Islander groups.

Sidebar: Richard Aoki: an Asian American Black Panther



Figure **8.4.3**: Richard Aoki. (CC BY 2.0; Davis Sasaki via Flickr)

Richard Masato Aoki (1938-2009) was only 3 years old when he and his family were incarcerated at Topaz, Utah during World War II for being Japanese. Afterwards, his family moved to West Oakland and Richard grew up in a segregated Black neighborhood, which he shared was “one of the best experiences I ever had” because he was immersed in African American society (Wang and Cheng, 2009, 11:54 - 12:03). He knew both the co-founders of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPP), Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton. Newton asked Richard to join the party, as they were both politically engaged, and he became an early member. Richard shared that when Newton approached him, he replied, “Wait a minute now…I don’t look exactly Black.” Newton responded, “the struggle for freedom, justice and equality transcends racial and ethnic barriers” (01:22 - 01:51). As a “Field Marshall,” Richard became the only Asian American panther member who had a leadership position.

As the call for freedom and self-determination were some of the core principles of the panther’s 10-point platform, so was the right to self-defense. Richard Aoki helped to supply and trained party members on how to clean and break down guns. BPP leader Kathleen Cleaver strongly affirmed that Richard helped to start the organization because he witnessed “people being subjected to unfair, racist domination…and he knew it was wrong and so he was quite willing to help his friends fight against this” (Wang and Cheng, 2009, 44:10 - 44:24).

In 1968, Richard was a student at UC Berkeley and the chair of the Asian American Political Alliance. He helped organize the 3-month strike in 1969 with the Third World Liberation Front, helping to establish Ethnic Studies at the university. He was on the frontline being beaten by police, getting arrested, and physically fighting back. Richard became one of the first coordinators of Asian American Studies at UC Berkeley. Afterwards, he worked for the community college system and Diane Fujino noted that he would “go to bat” for first-generation college students, often students of color from working class and/or immigrant backgrounds. Fujino, who was also Richard’s biographer, stated, “He would try to get them scholarships…try to encourage them to take certain classes…encourage them to stay in school” (Wang and Cheng, 2009, 1:20:20-1:20:33).

Later in life, he unofficially mentored various youth activists, college students, and community organizers, including author, Kay Fischer. Richard also spoke regularly at various campus and community events about his life as an activist and social change agent. He supported and advised the Ethnic Studies strike of 1999 at UC Berkeley.

Due to serious illness, Richard ended up taking his own life in 2009. Four years after his death, journalist Seth Rosenfeld came out with a book titled, *Subversives: The FBI’s War on Student Radicals and Reagan’s Rise to Power*. He claimed that Richard was an FBI informant, and although his book mostly focused on the FBI’s covert operations on student movements during the 1960s, Rosenfeld benefited from sensationalist press coverage right before the release of his book that explicitly focused on outing Richard Aoki, a well-known activist. Progressives in the Bay Area were divided on the issue of whether they believed Rosenfeld’s claim, or felt that there wasn’t strong enough evidence. Fujino questioned the timing of the release of these documents and pointed out how revealing the identity of an informant was a “serious breach of FBI protocol” (Gonzales, 2012). She also stated that after reading Rosenfeld’s book, she was surprised to find that there was very little information on Rosenfeld’s claim, and simply put, the evidence was not substantial. Fujino continues that after evaluating the FBI documents herself, it’s not clear whether he was an informant or the one being observed (Democracy Now!, 2012).

Many of Richard’s friends and life-long activists have also come out to defend Richard’s legacy and integrity. The impact of Richard’s revolutionary commitment to liberty and justice is not lost. Richard’s narrative of fighting for Black Liberation and for Ethnic Studies at UC Berkeley was an important demonstration of interracial solidarity. Musician, writer and activist, Fred Ho, also wrote to rebut claims about Richard, stating that he must have been a “piss-poor” informant as he ultimately shaped the Third World movements of the 1960s. Richard’s commitment to change continued into the 1990s and 2000s as he mentored and inspired the next generation of activists. Those who knew Richard remembered him as forward thinking, generous, principled, for the people, and consistent. As Ho pointed out, Richard “remained a revolutionary for life” (Ho, 2012).

Anti-Asian Racism in the time of COVID-19

In early 2020, reports started circulating about a new infectious respiratory disease that seems to have originated in Wuhan, China. Similar in nature to previous "Severe acute respiratory syndromes," this strain eventually became known as COVID-19 (for "Coronavirus Disease 2019"), also referred to as the "Coronavirus." Eventually, COVID-19 became a pandemic that has spread around the world and as of June 2020, there has been almost 7 million cases reported acoss 188 countries, resulting in more than 400,000 deaths.

The COVID-19 pandemic has also resulted in widespread racist and xenophobic rhetoric (such as using terms like "Chinese virus," "Wuhan virus," or "Kung-flu"), along with mis/disinformation, and conspiracy theories spread through various media outlets. In turn, these have led to suspicion, hostility, hate, and even violence against anyone perceived to be Chinese or more generally, Asian, Pacific Islander and/or Asian American. From March of 2020-March of 2021 there were over 3,000 self-reported instances of anti-Asian violence including stabbings, beatings, verbal harassment, bullying and being spit on. Of course being spit on is offensive enough, but during a global pandemic that spreads mostly through droplets, it can also be deadly (Lee and Huang, 2021). These hateful acts have forced Asian Americans into a constant state of hyper-awareness and vigilance when they are in public, taking a huge emotional toll. According to Jennifer Lee and Tiffany Huang (2021), the 2020 Asian American Voter Survey indicated that more than three out of four Asian Americans are concerned about harassment, discrimination, and hate crimes due to COVID-19.

Sadly, these forms of anti-Asian prejudice and discrimination are part of a longer history of racist and xenophobic "Yellow Peril" stereotypes that associate Asians, especially Chinese, and Asian Americans with disease and more generally, being economic, cultural, and/or physical threats to U.S.

society. These forms of ignorance and bigotry have been targeted at people of Asian descent in the U.S. for over 150 years. They flare up whenever the U.S. faces any kind of crisis that involves China or some other Asian country, and are exacerbated by political leaders who seek to scapegoat Asians and/or Asian Americans as a way to misdirect anxiety during such times and whose actions implicitly or explicitly embolden acts of anti-Asian hate.



Figure 8.4.1: Rally to Stop Asian Hate, Washington, D.C. March 21, 2021. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Victoria Pickering via Flickr)

Stop AAPI Hate was established on March 19, 2020 by three Asian American organizers and professors after they were denied support from the California Attorney General's office in creating an anti-Asian discrimination reporting center. They launched their own reporting center titled Stop AAPI Hate, which helped track and analyze anti-Asian hate at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Professor of Ethnic Studies at UC Berkeley, Catherine Ceniza Choy pointed out that the swift thinking and coordination of the reporting center, "emerged from a legacy of six decades of Asian American activism as well as a response to contemporary anti-Asian violence" (2022, p. 19). A political infrastructure already existed. Asian Americanists and Asian American organizers grew concerned about the backlash that could be faced by the Chinese and Asian American communities when it was reported that the coronavirus spread in China, especially since president Donald Trump publicly referred to it as the "Chinese virus." They were right. Stop AAPI Hate received around 100 anti-Asian incidents a day in its first week alone (p. 20).

Professor Choy pointed out that while the more disturbing examples of anti-Asian violence made it to the news, less sensational incidents were still reported to Stop AAPI Hate, including: people being prevented from utilizing public transportation; being coughed at; being verbally harassed or harassed online; and vandalism (2022, p. 21). The data analysis also showed that Asian American women experienced discrimination at over twice the rate of men. They reported that although Chinese were the most targeted, 60% of respondents were of other ethnicities, including Korean, Vietnamese, Filipinx, Japanese, Taiwanese, Hmong, Thai, Lao, Cambodian, and those of mixed ethnicities, proving "the significance of 'Asian American' as a panethnic category" (p. 22). Often, the racialization of Asian Americans doesn't make distinctions between ethnicities, and Choy brings up the importance of collecting both aggregated and disaggregated data that helped to express the shared experiences among Asian Americans and distinct experiences of Asian ethnic groups.

Many Americans found anti-Asian hate during the pandemic as unexpected or surprising, but anti-Asian violence is not new in the United States. Historian, Dr. Erika Lee testified before Congress on the topic of "Discrimination and Violence Against Asian Americans" on March 18, 2021. She started out by affirming the rate of anti-Asian violence rising in the aftermath of the COVID pandemic that started in late 2019, early 2020. Lee testified,

> As shocking as these incidents are, it is so vital to understand that they are not random acts perpetrated by deranged individuals. They are an expression of our country's long history of systemic racism targeting Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. We've heard in the past 24 hours many describe anti-Asian discrimination and racial violence as unAmerican. Unfortunately, it is *very* American. This history, this *American* history, is over 150 years old (House Committee on the Judiciary, 2021, 01:22:48 - 01:23:25).

Lee informed the committee of one of the largest mass lynchings by a mob in U.S. history, happening in 1871 when seventeen Chinese men were lynched by a white mob of 500 in Los Angeles. She also shared that in 1886 a mob forced out all of Seattle's Chinese residents; similarly South Asian immigrants were attacked and driven out of their homes, and Japanese and Filipinx people were subject to beatings and other racially motivated attacks. She brought up the brutal 1982 killing of Vincent Chin, and the wave of anti-Asian violence in the 1980s that targeted Korean shopkeepers and Southeast Asian refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. She reminded the committee that in the weeks after September 11, 2001, hate crimes against Muslim, Arab, and South Asian communities increased by 1,600 percent. Lee continued, "As these incidents reveal, Asian Americans have been terrorized, we've been treated as enemies, we've been discriminated against. Today we are still viewed as foreigners, rather than U.S. citizens" (House Committee on the Judiciary, 2021, 01:24:17 - 01:24:31).

These historical and contemporary events are often not taught in our schools. Even our Asian American students often end up internalizing the "model minority" myth; that Asian Americans are successful and don't face racism, and even that Asian Americans are "honorary whites." We've read many essays by Asian American students who'll write that they've never faced racism, but follow up with examples of racial discrimination.

Deceptively “positive,” the “model minority” myth only works to divide people of color and ignore the long legacy of systemic racism and racially motivated violence against Asian Americans. The most recent expression of anti-Asian discrimination and hate is simply an extension of this legacy.

Of course, such incidents of anti-Asian hate are connected to all forms of structural racism and other examples of inequality and injustice. These incidents have also shattered the optimism that many Asian Americans had that U.S. society was making progress in reducing racism and moving toward greater inclusion and equity (optimistically symbolized by the growing popularity and success of such Asian- and Asian American-centered media/cultural products such as Crazy Rich Asians or K-Pop/BTS, etc.). Instead, these examples of anti-Asian discrimination have illuminated how Asian Americans are still considered as "perpetual foreigners" and that our fight for cultural citizenship (i.e. not just legal rights, but full and complete integration and equity into the fundamental fabric of U.S. society, from its social institutions down to everyday interpersonal interactions) continues. A recent video by Angela Nguyen posted on social media has called attention to this issue which mainstream U.S. press has largely ignore - which resulted in more recent coverage.

Video 8.4.11: Asian American Communities Organize Against Rise in Hate Crimes, Say More Policing is Not the Answer. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; Democracy Now! via YouTube)

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8.5: Wars and Imperialism

Studying the Impact of Wars and Imperialism in Asian American Studies

Asian American Studies professors, Wei Ming Dariotis and Wesley Ueunten remind us that due to the “model minority” myth and the general lack of knowledge about Asian American history, most Americans don’t realize how issues of war impact today’s Asian American communities. They point out that “Asian Americans of all generations are affected by the ghosts of wars in Asia, the Pacific, and Europe in myriad ways that vary distinctly by community” (2010, p. 747). Dariotis and Ueunten emphasize how many of these issues are related to the “overarching logic in the construct of Orientalism” or the construction of the collective “Orient” (Asia and the so-called Middle East) as foreign, feminized, and "othered" in order to justify years of Western colonization (p. 748).

This section of the chapter will review just a few examples of how U.S.-involved wars and imperialism have shaped the racialization of Asian Americans and continue to impact their lives today. We will center the narratives of silenced Asian American stories, often misrepresented in mainstream media. Dariotis and Ueunten (2010) also point out how focusing on contemporary Asian American issues related to war contributes to understanding Asian American history and migration as related to U.S. militarism and expansionism; for, “Most of Asian America would not exist if it had not been for the push-pull effect exerted by the destabilization of Asian homelands through U.S. military actions, pushing Asians out of Asia…and the related increased wealth the U.S. enjoys that pulls Asians to the United States” (p. 749).

Forgotten Wars: the Philippines and Korea

Dariotis and Ueunten (2010) point out how the U.S. tends to reinforce the message of being victims of attacks on U.S. soil, as “they provide an impetus to war” (p. 750). Contrary to this, we are just as quick to forget or hide U.S. military actions that work to minimize its impacts and reduce the number of years involved or people killed. These examples of U.S. involved wars or imperialism are not commonly celebrated, nor are they given a significant time in history textbooks. These are the “Forgotten Wars” of the U.S.

Philippine-American War and U.S. Imperialism

One such example is the Philippine-American War between the U.S. and Filipinx revolutionaries. After 400 years of Spanish colonization in the Philippines, the U.S., in its desire for global domination, took the opportunity to go to war with Spain as Cubans were fighting for independence. In the Philippines, Spanish domination had already been weakened by hundreds of years of resistance by Filipinx people who wished for nothing more than to be able to govern themselves and dismantle Western occupation. Thanks to these liberation efforts, the U.S. was able to come in at a crucial moment and help defeat the Spanish in four months. It was uncovered fairly quickly that the real motive by the U.S. was not about supporting independence in Cuba or the Philippines, but about expanding the U.S. empire. In the 1898 Treaty of Paris, the United States was “given control” over the Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico, and Cuba.

This move was an extension of the Manifest Destiny ideology, that the U.S. was destined to expand their empire. Americans began to construct a narrative that justified their occupation of the Philippines, proclaiming that “it was their duty to expand both Christianity and democracy in the word” (Parks, 2013, p. 264). It’s important to note that not all Americans believed this and in fact there was a strong force of anti-imperialists who opposed the U.S. occupation of the Philippines. People of the Philippines also opposed U.S. control and resisted. The Philippine-American War (1899 - 1901) ensued, with Filipinx revolutionaries led by Emilio Aguinaldo. The war was claimed to have ended upon Aguinaldo’s capture, but rebellions continued into 1913.

“White Man’s Burden”

A poem by famous British writer, Rudyard Kipling, “**The White Man’s Burden**: The United States and the Philippine Islands” was first published in 1899 at the start of the Philippine-American War. Kipling was “a staunch advocate of Western imperialism” (Parks, 2013, p. 265). The poem proclaimed that it was the moral obligation of the “superior” white race to guide their “little brown brothers” into the light of Western civilization. This white supremacist ideology only worked to justify U.S. imperialist and military actions in the Philippines as then-President William McKinley welcomed this poem. “White Man’s burden” became “a euphemism for Western imperialism” (p. 265).

Many scholars agree that white supremacy reinforced a unifying principle of whiteness, a shared racial identity that cut across class lines. White supremacy allowed white Americans to unite as one race and feel superior to others (Strain, 2003, 44:04 - 44:34). Multiple racial projects throughout the 19th century sent the message to poor whites that at least they're better than non-whites. This allowed them to feel united with land-owning, upper-class whites who actually wielded power over them and distracted them from class-based inequalities through narratives of white supremacy. White man's burden and the U.S. occupation of the Philippines were racist projects that reinforced the ideologies of white supremacy.



Figure 8.5.1: "Igorot Sining Lessons. [Philippine Reservation in the Department of Anthropology at the 1904 World's Fair]". (Public Domain; Jessie Tarbox Beals via Missouri Historical Society)

The 1904 St. Louis, Missouri World's Fair was another of these racial projects to "showcase America's achievements." They featured human exhibits of "savage" peoples in their "natural habitats" in order to demonstrate their contrast with U.S. superiority. White fair-goers took pictures next to "savage" people in order to physically demonstrate "how civilized they were." One organizer described it as "a practical illustration of the best way of bearing the white man's burden" (Strain, 2003, 49:09 - 51:30). These human exhibits attempted to demonstrate "a bucolic view of slave life" and Geronimo, an Apache warrior, signed autographs. The Philippine Exposition was one of the fair's largest exhibits, attempting to indicate the benefits of U.S. influence on one of the empire's newly conquered peoples (51:37-52:31). Author Scott Malcolmson stated, "White people saw their advance as being historical," giving them "enormous motivation to see the lives of people who were not white as being outside of history and not part of this progressive advance" (53:40-53:54).



Figure 8.5.2: A war weary Korean girl by a stalled tank at Haengju, Korea. June 9, 1951. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Maj. R.V. Spencer, UAF. (Navy) via Morning Calm Weekly Newspaper Photo Archive - Flickr)

The Korean War is often recorded to have lasted from 1950 to 1953, however many scholars, activists and survivors of the war in the Korean peninsula recognize that we are still technically at war today with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK or North Korea). No peace treaty has ever been signed and military drills still happen at the 38th parallel, which has divided the land and families for over seventy years. Still, what is recognized as the Korean War with active combat and bombings between the USSR-occupied North and U.S.-occupied South is also known as "The Forgotten War" by many Americans.

Korea was colonized by the Japanese empire from 1910-1945. For 35 years Koreans suffered under Japanese repression, forced to speak the Japanese language, use Japanese names, and bow to the Japanese emperor. Koreans were left hungry and sometimes forcefully removed from their homes and land. Koreans resisted the Japanese for decades and Kim Il Sung, soon to be the "father" of the DPRK, was one of many Korean guerilla fighters who fought for Korean liberation. These class-based revolutionaries in the North were communists backed by the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Fearful of the spread of communism, United States became involved in Korea in order to exercise their Cold War policy of containment. The U.S. military occupied the South and divided the Korean peninsula into two at the 38th parallel and a civil war ensued between the "South" and "North." The nation is still divided 70 years later and the U.S. military continues to operate in South Korea.

The war devastated Korea, killing four million and displacing over nine million people. Eleven million families were separated due to division and war, and many children were left orphaned. Asian American Studies professor Grace J. Yoo writes that "No Korean family was untouched by this war" (2012, p. 63). Yoo highlighted Korean women impacted by the war, discussing how 300,000 women became widows forced to peddle in order to survive and care for their families. In Hee Kim had no money or place to live, and started a shrimp selling business. Others sold sweet potato or rice cakes on the road (pp. 71-72). Yoo summarizes that decades later, the women are still haunted by the memories of war. But they shared their stories via hundreds of pages of handwritten notes in hopes that the next generation of Korean Americans won't forget the war (p. 73).

Mass Incarceration of Japanese in the Western Hemisphere

Japanese Americans have a long history in the United States. Today, Japanese popular culture and food are quite recognizable in the U.S. In combination with the push for the "model minority" myth, the image painted may be that Japanese Americans have fully assimilated and don't face any discrimination. Yet by now, we hope the reader recognizes that such broad generalizations of the Asian American community often overshadow important aspects of U.S. history that prevents us from fully comprehending the impact of Orientalist, White Supremacist, and Anti-Asian ideologies that justified extended acts of violence and legalized discrimination against Japanese Americans. One of these major instances was the legalized mass incarceration of over 120,000 Japanese Americans, Canadians, and Peruvians during World War II.

In the Aftermath of Pearl Harbor

By the time the Japanese army bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the United States government had already made steps toward increasing surveillance of the Japanese American community. For decades before, Yellow Peril and Orientalist ideologies pushed the narrative that Japanese immigrants were to take over the West. The 1940 Alien Registration Act made all alien residents register and provide their fingerprints to the federal government. Agencies like the FBI had already been collecting information about Japanese American communities, including the names of people who led cultural organizations, language teachers, martial arts instructors, or anyone suspected by the U.S. government to be too "Japanesey" (Lee, 2015, p. 212; Kochiyama, 2001, p. 344). Within just a few hours of the Pearl Harbor bombing by Japan, the U.S. government initiated so-called security measures targeting Japanese, and some German, and Italian nationals. Martial law was established in Hawai'i, and the FBI began arresting individuals they suspected were spies for the Japanese government. Over one thousand Japanese were arrested within two days, largely community leaders on the government's list. By February of 1942, over 2,000 Japanese people were held in U.S. Department of Justice camps (Lee, 2015, pp. 215 - 216).

This included the now famed and respected Japanese American activist, Yuri Kochiyama's father. Kochiyama was only nineteen when the bombs were dropped, and her father, who owned a fish market in San Pedro, CA, had just come home after a surgery. On the very day Pearl Harbor was attacked, Kochiyama's father was taken by the FBI and detained in a federal prison. He was released and allowed to return home on December 20, but he was extremely frail and could not talk. He died 12 hours later (Kochiyama, 2001, pp. 343-344).

Historian Erika Lee explains that the arrests and other government actions like freezing bank accounts created a catastrophe among the Japanese American community (Lee, 2015, p. 216). Hysteria against the Japanese continued with baseless claims in newspapers and among U.S. politicians and military personnel who believed Japanese Americans were spies for the Japanese military. Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt was convinced that Japanese Americans were enemies and stated, "a Jap is a Jap" (p. 217). Ironically, the Japanese government *did* place spies in the U.S., but the nineteen Americans arrested for spying were all white (p. 213). In fact, two U.S. government surveys confirmed that Japanese Americans were overwhelmingly loyal to the United States. Curtin B. Munson informed President Roosevelt in 1941 that there was "no Japanese problem" and that up to 98% of second-generation Japanese Americans were "pathetically eager to show this loyalty" (p. 213).



Figure **8.5.3**: "Members of the Mochida Family Awaiting Evacuation Bus." Hayward, CA. May 8, 1942. Records of the War Relocation Authority. (Public Domain; Photographed by Dorothea Lange via National Archives Catalog)

Despite this data, on February 19, 1942, only two months after Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, authorizing the secretary of war to set up military areas where they could restrict the movement of people considered "enemy aliens," particularly Japanese nationals and Japanese Americans (Schlund-Vials, et al, 2017, p. 138). Lee reminds us that the ultimate responsibility rests with Roosevelt who signed this order, ignoring reports from the FBI, the Office of Naval Intelligence, and his own investigators who reported that a mass removal and incarceration was not necessary (Lee, 2015, p. 222).

Under the guise of “military necessity” all people of Japanese ancestry were forcefully removed from Washington, California, Oregon, and parts of Arizona. Exclusion orders were posted all over cities and towns, also stating where Japanese Americans were now banned. Japanese Americans had one week to pack and bring with them only what they could carry (Lee, 2015, pp. 229 - 230). Many families had no choice but to sell or abandon their homes, farms, and businesses. Japanese Americans were ordered to assemble on their “evacuation” days when they were met with armed soldiers who gave them ID tags. Monica Sone wrote, “From then on, we were known as Family #10710” (p. 230).

They were first sent to “assembly centers,” such as the one Kochiyama’s family was sent to in Arcadia, California. Most assembly centers were on fair grounds or race tracks and people were forced to sleep in horse stalls. She explained, “...for mattresses they gave us muslin bags, and told us to fill them with straws” and pointed out how it was especially challenging for families with young children since they couldn’t carry much besides their children and babies (Kochiyama, 2001, p. 345).

Sidebar: Fred Korematsu



Figure 8.5.4: Fred Korematsu at a press conference with member of his *coram nobis* legal team. (CC BY-NC 2.0; Courtesy of the family of Fred T. Korematsu via J Curnow, Flickr)

Fred Korematsu, born in Oakland, CA, attempted to avoid the removal order by undergoing plastic surgery. He went into hiding, but was arrested and sent to jail. Ernest Besig, with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), approached Korematsu and asked him if he was willing to challenge the legality of mass removal and detention of Japanese Americans. Korematsu said yes as he “intended to fight for the civil rights of Japanese Americans as a whole” (Okihiro, 2013, p. 94).

Korematsu’s lawyers charged that the mass relocation was unconstitutional because it denied Japanese Americans their due process protections, but Korematsu was found guilty of violating a military order. When Korematsu filed an appeal, his case moved up to the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1944, the majority decision on *Korematsu v. the United States*, was that due to “real military dangers,” the detainment of Korematsu was justified. Korematsu was sent to Topaz camp until the end of World War II, and then moved on with his life, married, and had two children.

In the 1980s, it was discovered that the government lied to the Supreme Court about Japanese American wartime cases, including *Korematsu*, and this finding allowed for a *coram nobis* appeal. Korematsu went to court again, testifying, “I would like to see the government admit that they were wrong and do something about it so this will never happen again to any American citizen of any race, creed or color” (Irons, 1989, pp. 25 - 26; cited in Okihiro, 2013, p. 95). Finally in 1988, the U.S. Congress passed the Civil Liberties Act, signed by Ronald Reagan, and issued a national apology to Japanese Americans for mass removal and incarceration. The government also paid $20,000 each to living survivors who were US citizens or legal residents. Korematsu was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1998 by President Bill Clinton, and continued to advocate against the racial profiling of Muslim, Arab, and South Asian communities who were targeted after September 11, 2001. Korematsu passed away on March 30, 2005 and is buried in Oakland, CA where he grew up (Okihiro, 2013, p. 95).



Figure 8.5.5: Winter at Manzanar. (CC BY-SA 2.0; Don Graham via Flickr)

Starting in the summer of 1942, Japanese Americans were moved again to ten newly constructed War Relocation Authority (WRA) camps in various desolate and hostile locations throughout the country (Lee, 2015, p. 236). The WRA provided housing, medical care, and education, and inmates did various jobs at the camps. They were not paid at first, but eventually earned some wages, usually at mere fractions of what people were normally paid, such as $8 or $12 a month for full-time work (Okubo, 2014, p. 62). Yuri Kochiyama and her family were sent to the Arkansas swamplands, assigned to sleep in army barracks with more than 200 people per block. Their camp was surrounded by barbed wire and armed soldiers. She described the ways Japanese Americans had to come together and organize in order to survive, writing,

> Just before we went in to the camps, we saw that being a Japanese wasn't such a good thing….But when I saw the kind of work they did at camp, I felt so proud of the Japanese, and proud to be Japanese...(2001, p. 347).

Incarcerated Japanese Americans tried their best to live life and did so in a communal way. They built vegetable gardens, a silkscreen poster shop, and a tofu factory. Children still attended school, though materials were in short supply. The curriculum emphasized "Americanization," yet the irony was that children were taught about being a free American and to live in a democracy behind barbed wires (Lee, 2015, p. 237). Since cameras were not permitted at the camps, Miné Okubo, a young college student at the time, decided to record everyday life at the Tanforan Assembly Center and Topaz concentration camp, through sketches, drawings, and paintings. She attempted to record the "Crazy things" that happen when you have ten thousand people confined to one square mile with no privacy (Okubo, 2014, p. xxvi). Her illustrations uncovered challenges like when camp police would surveil the premises (p. 60), the stinging sand storms in Utah (p. 127), and the time an elderly man was shot and killed by a guard from one of the watchtowers (p. 180).

Okubo also illustrated scenes of resilience and how Japanese American inmates survived the years of uncertainty during their incarceration. Such as how people created art out of wood, toothbrush handles, and peach seeds (Okubo, 2014, p. 169); and how recreation halls offered ping pong, basketball, and baseball to pass the time (p. 170). Over time, however, Japanese Americans grew angry, frustrated and restless. Conflict grew within camp communities between those who wanted to cooperate with the government and those who wanted to express dissent. At Manzanar, the arrest of a man who beat someone he suspected to be an informant resulted in riots, martial law, and soldiers firing into an unarmed crowd. Two people were killed and nine were injured (Lee, 2015, p. 238).

Sidebar: Mine Okubo Collection

Check out the online collection of drawings by Miné Okubo, illustrating life in the Tanforan assembly center in California and Topaz concentration camp in Utah during World War II. These drawings served as the basis for her renowned book, *Citizen 13660*, which was printed in 1946 and was the first personal account published on the camp experience.

Japanese Americans who fought in the war and those who resisted

In 1943, the U.S. wanted to recruit detainees to fight in the war. The War Relocation Authority initiated a loyalty review program and made any Japanese American male aged seventeen and older fill out a questionnaire that they thought would determine their

loyalty to the United States. There were two questions that were the most concerning:

- Question 27: “Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?”
- Question 28: “Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America…and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power or organization?” (Lee, 2015, pp. 238 - 289; Lee, J.H.X., 2018, p. 88).

Most answered “yes” to both questions. Some *Nisei* shared that it was easy to respond “yes” since they were eager to get out of the camps. They were soon issued draft notices in 1944. Thirty-three thousand Japanese American men fought in segregated units: the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and the 100th Infantry Battalion, later called the “Purple Heart Battalion” for their many losses and 900 Purple Hearts (Lee, 2015, p. 242). The 442nd became one of the most decorated units with 3,600 Purple Hearts, and hundreds of Silver Stars, Bronze Stars, 47 Distinguished Service Crosses, and one Congressional Medal of Honor (p. 243).

Others who questioned the government’s motives found the questionnaire to add insult to injury. After having lost his family business and incarcerated, Dan Harada stated that the government now asking for his allegiance and to serve in combat duty “didn’t just sound right” (Lee, 2015, p. 239). He answered “no” to both questions. In fact, approximately 12,000 men answered “no” to both questions, later known as **“no-no boys”** and as a punishment were sent to Tule Lake Segregation Center where they were met with various atrocities (p. 239). This was the largest camp and turned into “a maximum security center with additional barbed wire, increased guards and tanks, and an eight-foot-high double ‘man-proof’ fence” (p. 240). Deplorable work conditions led to a death, and 800 inmates went on strike in 1943. They were beaten and the army initiated martial law at Tule Lake. No-no boys also met backlash from fellow Japanese Americans, like the leaders of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) who criticized them as draft dodgers and dishonorable (Lee, J.H.X., 2018, p. 89).

Another three hundred and fifteen Japanese Americans resisted the draft. The Fair Play Committee at Heart Mountain camp in Wyoming asserted their loyalty to the U.S. and the core principles of freedom and justice, but first demanded that civil rights be restored before complying with the draft. They were convicted of a felony and incarcerated for their actions (Lee, 2015, p. 243; Lee, J.H.X., 2018, p. 89). This community was also shunned and vilified by the JACL.

Japanese Latin Americans

Detention of people of Japanese descent extended to Canada and Latin America as well. Viewing the entire Western Hemisphere as a sphere of interest under the Monroe Doctrine, and in the interest of hemispheric security, the U.S. pressured Latin American nations to send Japanese people to the U.S. to be used for hostage exchanges for U.S. prisoners of war held by Japan (Okihiro, 2013, p. 85). Roughly 2,300 Japanese Latin Americans, about 80% from Peru, were expunged from their homes and interned on U.S. soil. The U.S. government took their passports and labeled them as “illegal aliens.” More than 800 were forced to participate in prisoner exchanges with Japan. After the end of the war, over a thousand Japanese Latin Americans were deported to “war-devastated Japan” since the Peruvian government refused to readmit Japanese Peruvians (Shimizu and Ueunten, 2010, pp. 816-817). The 300 or so who remained in the U.S. fought for legal residence status and many became U.S. citizens.

Even though Japanese Latin Americans were removed and detained because of the U.S. government, they were excluded from redress granted to Japanese Americans in the 1980s. For several decades now, internees, their descendants, and supporters have sought redress and justice for Japanese Latin Americans through lawsuits and legislative efforts. Additionally many have helped to educate the public about this “little-known wartime history and the ongoing struggle” (p. 818).

The Vietnam War, “The Secret War,” and the Cambodian Genocide

U.S. Intervention in Southeast Asia: A Failed Attempt to Contain Communism:

U.S. strategy of containment in response to the Chinese Communist Revolution in 1949 led to a series of U.S. interventions in Asia, including the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the “Secret War” in Laos, and the civil war and genocide in Cambodia. All these actions resulted in a new wave of Asian immigration to the United States. Displaced from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, 1.2 million Southeast Asian refugees fled the destructive and deadly effects of war and political turmoil (Choy, 2022, p. 33).

As Catherine Ceniza Choy points out,

> ...just as American wars and policies have indelibly impacted Vietnamese, Laotian, Hmong, and Cambodian peoples and their homelands, so too have Southeast Asian refugees, their descendants, and immigrant generations transformed the U.S.

> landscape with their labor and ingenuity, and their community organizing and creativity (2022, p. 32).

The story of Southeast Asian refugees is one of the least understood narratives in U.S. mass media. As Vietnamese American graphic novelist Thi Bui writes in her family memoir, *The Best We Could Do* (2018), "I think a lot of Americans forget that for the Vietnamese the war continued, whether America was involved or not" (p. 209). Many Hollywood movies focused on the point of view of American soldiers and an oversimplified story of American heroes and Viet Cong communist enemies. The silenced background characters were of screaming Vietnamese people who were brutally killed or sexualized bar girls and prostitutes as side pieces for American GIs. Choy writes,

> The plethora of controversial issues contributes to a US-centric history that has reduced Vietnam to a story about war and a consequence of the failed US strategy to contain the spread of communism ….This narrative erases the meanings and memories of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos as homelands, the beauty of their landscapes, and the diversity and humanity of their peoples (2022, pp. 33-34).

Choy (2022) also importantly underscores how the histories of this group have been deleted in large part because U.S. military actions were covert. The U.S. was already involved in Vietnam as early as the 1950s. France colonized Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos since 1859, calling it "French Indochina," but for decades Vietnamese nationalists organized for their liberation. One of these people was Ho Chi Minh, whose call for independence was ignored by the West and he turned to communism and fought the French in the First Indochina War. Eventually, France let go and the 1954 Geneva Accords divided Vietnam along the seventeenth parallel and the North was led by Ho Chi Minh and the U.S. backed the southern government (Lee, 2015, pp. 315-316).



Figure **8.5.6**: A U.S. Navy McDonnell F-4B Phantom II of Fighter Squadron VF-111 Sundowners drops 227 kg Mk 82 bombs over Vietnam during 1971. (Public Domain; U.S. Navy National Museum of Naval Aviation via Picryl)

President Dwight Eisenhower sent 1,000 U.S. military advisors to Vietnam by the time he left office, and Kennedy continued to support the southern regime by sending in the special forces and more U.S. military into Vietnam. President Johnson escalated U.S. involvement. The 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution allowed the U.S. to bomb North Vietnam and deploy U.S. troops, starting the Second Indochina War (Lee, 2015, p. 316). By 1967, there were 540,000 U.S. soldiers in Vietnam, and more than a million tons of bombs were dropped in North Vietnam and four million tons of bombs in South Vietnam, destroying buildings, roads, waterways, and more infrastructure that people depended on (p. 316). The tonnage of bombs dropped in Southeast Asia was greater than the total tonnage dropped on Nazi-occupied territories during the whole of World War II. In addition, the U.S. used chemical warfare including napalm and agent orange that displaced 12 million people from South Vietnam (p. 317).

By 1973, another U.S. President was in charge, Richard Nixon, and due to U.S. troops losing, and increasing pressures to end the war in Vietnam, a peace agreement between the U.S. and North Vietnam was signed on January 27, 1973 (Lee, 2015, p. 317). But the U.S. never withdrew from Southeast Asia, continuing to carpet bomb Cambodia and Laos in covert operations that completely destroyed and destabilized both nations. Laos and Cambodia were both under communist regimes by 1975 and the people there today are still contending with the effects of war in the form of millions of land mines left in the region (p. 317).



Figure 8.5.7: Bomb shells left over from the U.S.'s secret bombing campaign, lined up in a village outside Phonsavan, Laos. (CC BY-NC 2.0; Lorna via Flickr)

Award-winning Hmong American author, Kao Kalia Yang starts her family memoir, *The Latehomecomer: A Hmong Family Memoir* (2008) with this line: "The world that they were living in could no longer hold them safe. It was 1975 and the Vietnam War, as the world knew it, was over" (p. 7). U.S. bombings of Laos helped to destabilize the nation, where there was a civil war between the communist Pathet Lao and the anticommunist Royal Lao government. When the Pathet Lao won a majority of seats in the coalition government in the 1958 elections, the U.S. took secret action against this political shift in Laos. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) "set its sights on recruiting Hmong soldiers to take on covert actions on behalf of the United States" (Lee, 2015, p. 318).

As an ethnic minority originally from China, Hmong people have lived in the mountains of Laos since the early 1800s. They were fairly isolated from the rest of the Lao population, often discriminated against by the government. Vang Pao helped the CIA recruit Hmong soldiers to attack the North Vietnamese traveling through Laos in exchange for military and humanitarian aid. Many Hmong also believed that the U.S. promised a "long-sought Hmong homeland or sanctuary" (Lee, 2015, p. 318). The death rate was high in America's "Secret War," as an estimated 50,000 Hmong were killed, and by 1970 the CIA began recruiting boys as young as 10. Laos became the most heavily bombed country in the world and with the "most displaced population in the world" (p. 319).

When communist Pathet Lao came to power in Laos in 1975, they announced: "It is necessary to extirpate, down to the root, the Hmong minority" (Yang, 2008, p. 7). The CIA and the Americans had abandoned the Hmong. Yang wrote, "the Hmong knew that the only thing coming for them was death" (p. 8). Many fled to the thick jungle in order to escape imprisonment, starvation, torture, hard labor, and executions, including both of Yang's parents who were teenagers at the time. For three years they foraged in the forest, constantly moving to escape nearing North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao soldiers. Yang wrote:

> They were hungry and dirty. They had gotten used to the scabs on their backs from the heavy packs, the gnawing hunger, the feeling that there was air in their stomachs all the time, and the bombs that fell from the sky destroying green canopy and shattering the bodies of old men and women who could not run fast enough (2008, p. 10).

Yang's young parents met while scavenging for food and they married in a clearing, no more than "three to four banana-leaf-covered lean-tos around a small fire" (Yang, 2008, p. 15). Yang's mother was given an embroidery that told the Hmong peoples' story, and a heavy silver necklace that symbolized "being a Hmong woman" (p. 17). A month into their marriage, Yang's parents visited Yang's maternal grandmother, which ended up being the last time she ever saw her family in person.

Yang's mother was separated from her husband while pregnant, captured by Lao and Vietnamese soldiers. Yang's father and his brothers hatched an escape plan and snuck them away from capture in the middle of the night months later. Yang's mother had already given birth to their first-born, Dawb. The extended family ran as dogs barked and soldiers chased after them, firing their guns. They decided to cross the Mekong River and head for refugee camps in Thailand.

When they reached the Mekong, Yang described it as “raging and wild and high,” as the Mekong River is the “twelfth longest river in the world…known in both Laos and Thailand as the mother river” (Yang, 2008, p. 35). As soldiers started to approach the shore, Yang’s mother buried pictures of her family that she carried on her, telling herself that “One day, she would find the pictures again” (p. 37). Yang’s father cut and tied bamboo strands to himself, his mother, his wife and baby. He couldn’t swim, and instead dragged his family across the river. The silver necklace Yang’s mother was given on her wedding got lost in the undertow of the river. Yang’s family made it across as soldiers on the other side were firing guns and they walked until some Thai soldiers guided them toward the United Nations compound where they could register as refugees. They lived in under-resourced, crowded, and unsanitary conditions in the refugee camps for years.

Yang was born in the Ban Vinai Refugee Camp in 1980, a year and five months after her family crossed the Mekong River. Tens of thousands of Hmong refugees lived in these camps, located in hot and arid places. Rations of old grains of rice and hard to digest fish came only three times a week and families had to find whatever else to eat on the other days of the week (Yang, 2008). Yang’s grandmother was a respected medicine woman and allowed to travel into the mountains with armed guards to find herbal remedies.

Yang’s family remained in the camp for years until leaving in 1987. They settled in the housing projects of St. Paul, Minnesota, along with many other Hmong families. The city later became known as the “Hmong Capital of the World.” Yang’s grandmother came later, eventually settling in Minnesota. Yang spent many years with her grandmother, listening to her tell stories of life in Laos. When her grandmother passed away, Yang promised her they would meet again, writing: “We will become Hmong, and we will build a strong home that we will never leave and can always return to. We will not be lost and looking our whole lives through” (Yang, 2008 p. 268).

Cambodian Genocide (1975-1979)



Figure 8.5.8: Cheung Ek Killing Fields site, near Phnom Penh, Cambodia. May 2009. (CC BY-SA 3.0; Adam Jones via Wikimedia Commons)

Cambodian Genocide

One example of **extermination/genocide** is the period from 1975-1979 in Cambodia when the Khmer Rouge killed approximately 1.2-1.7 million people, or approximately 20% of the population (Williams, 2005). The political philosophy that drove these atrocities required a restructuring of the social and economic order of Cambodia and the "persecution and elimination" of those deemed a threat to the new political state (Ratner, S. & Abrams, J., 1997). After the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia in 1979 and ended the reign of terror of the Khmer Rouge, Cambodians fled to refugee camps and eventually resettled in Western countries such as Australia, Canada, France and the United States.

The U.S. led a covert bombing campaign in Cambodia from 1965 to 1973, targeting eighty-three sites and carpet bombing with B-52 bombers. This pushed Vietnamese communists deeper into the nation, radicalizing more against their government. An estimated 250,000 Cambodians were killed from U.S. destruction. This combined with the U.S. leaving the region contributed to the ascent of the Khmer Rouge’s power. Choy (2022) writes,

> The Khmer Rouge attempted to create a classless society made up of rural agricultural workers by destroying culture and traditions. The regime's leaders called this idea "Year Zero" and put it into practice by shutting down schools and universities, evacuating people from cities and moving them to rural areas, separating children from their parents and placing them in labor camps, abolishing money, and banning music (Choy, 2022 p. 34).

"Class enemies" affiliated with wealth, education, or in any way with the West were targeted for execution or re-education. Cultural leaders, including singers, artists and martial artists were persecuted, along with members of religious and ethnic minorities. An estimated 1.5 to 3 million Cambodians were killed in the genocide under Pol Pot's regime from 1975 to 1979, having to endure, "forced labor, starvation, disease, and mass executions, after which the sites of these atrocities became popularly known as the 'killing fields'" (Choy, 2022, p. 34).

Many fled Cambodia secretly like Bun Thab, a Cambodian refugee who published his story under a pseudonym. Bun fled with two friends, but witnessed one of them get brutally killed. He hid underwater as a soldier jumped over his head. They walked for days without anything to eat until reaching the border of Thailand, where an old man fed them rice. Even after settling in the U.S. Bun was haunted by the trauma he experienced stating, "I still have nightmares of that Khmer Rouge jumping over my head, and I wake up shivering with fear" (Welaratna, 1993, p. 127 as cited in Choy, 2022, p. 36).

The largest population of Cambodians outside of southeast Asia resides in Long Beach, California. Though these refugees were eligible for a variety of welfare programs, they still often had to combine welfare with low wage and cash jobs to survive and raise children, not unlike other working class families and ethnic minorities, in addition to coping with the mental and physical health conditions that made it difficult for them to learn and work in English (Quintiliani, 2009). Cambodian Americans contend with "model minority" stereotypes while also being considered the "Black sheep" of the Asian community (Ly, 2003). Under the Khmer Rouge, any sign of wealth or education meant death, contrasting that experience with immigration from Japan, China, and Korea which was largely driven by a desire for better standards of living and new opportunities, one can see how important it is to consider how these contexts shapes different behavior and outcomes of these groups in the United States. Unlike these other East Asian groups, Cambodian parents rarely pressure their children to pursue higher education, which in part explains why they have the lowest percentage of college and graduates and the highest percentage of high school dropouts (Ly, 2003). These realities expose the inaccuracy of one of the most persistent stereotypes about Asian Americans: That they are all the same. As exemplified by the experiences of Cambodian Americans, this stereotype can erase the different challenges some groups face and can also prevent those groups from receiving the specialized attention and supports they need.

Southeast Asian Refugee Life in the U.S.

These newer communities of migrants didn't have any "long-established ethnic enclaves." Due to the inability to bring material wealth and our government's dispersal policy, Southeast Asian refugees mostly ended up living in neglected and impoverished areas of the U.S. (Dariotis & Ueunten, 2010).

It's important to note the use of the term **refugee** and how it differs from immigrant. Immigrants generally are able to make a plan of departure, and may bring resources including material wealth, and even family members. Overall, immigrants in many cases have more agency in deciding to migrate to a new nation, and once in the new place of residence, they are more likely to come into a more stable situation and have support from family and extended ethnic enclaves that have settled previously. Refugees, on the other hand, have no choice when fleeing their homeland, often torn away from family, and may not have the ability to bring much with them. Refugees are either fleeing war or political situations that are deadly or very dangerous in the least.



Figure 8.5.9: Fall of Saigon - Refugees hanging onto a Supply Helicopter in Xuan Loc, Vietnam. April 14, 1975. (CC BY 2.0; manhhai via flickr)

April 1975 marked the “Fall of Saigon,” also called Liberation Day in Viet Nam, and U.S. troops began to withdraw. U.S. officials described scenes of “absolute chaos” as those most vulnerable to persecution under communist leadership scrambled to leave Vietnam. Around 7,500 people were evacuated a day by U.S. airplanes, and 73,000 left by sea on South Vietnamese Navy vessels. One person who fled early on a U.S. military transport plane realized that he may never see Vietnam again, sharing, “My heart had shattered to pieces. I lost not only my country but also everything I have loved” (Chan, 2006, p. 104-112 as cited in Lee, 2015, p. 321). Later called the “first wave” of refugees from Vietnam, this group were from elite or middle-class backgrounds, educated and had come with some English or French fluency. They may have already had some relationships with Americans in Vietnam which of course helped their relatively faster transition to their new lives in the United States (Lee, 2015).

Lee reminds us that the resettlement effort of Southeast Asian refugees was “cloaked in the heady rhetoric of U.S. humanitarianism” (Lee, 2015, p. 325). For example, “Operation Babylift” was one of these “humanitarian” efforts to airlift 1,700 “orphans” to the U.S., mixed-race babies fathered by U.S. military personnel. Ford claimed it was America’s “moral obligation” to help refugees and 130,000 Southeast Asians were admitted in the first wave by the end of 1975. Another 433,000 came from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia until 1980 due to political persecution and economic restructuring. For example, ethnic Chinese people in Vietnam were targeted by the communists. This second wave of refugees were left to their own devices to flee under the cover of night, typically on boats to nearby Southeast Asian countries where they could find temporary refuge. This group of refugees was less educated and had fewer resources. They were called “boat people."

In *The Best We Could Do* (2018), Bui illustrates her parents' experience working as teachers under the new communist government. They were careful to wear humble clothing so as to not stick out. They noticed that people started to disappear and hatched a plan to leave in secret with their three young children. Under the cover of night, Bui’s parents, including her pregnant mother, left Vietnam with their children on a boat. Bui remembers getting nauseous, and how they were almost followed by pirates. They arrived in Malaysia after three days, and her mother gave birth at the Pulau Begar refugee camp in 1978. Life was not easy, as they had to gather and boil their own drinking water, and they missed basic necessities like toilet paper, but Bui also described how for the children it was like a vacation, an escape from regular life, and that there was no school. The Buis were lucky as they only stayed at the camp for a few months, sponsored by her mother’s sister and her husband already in America (Bui, 2018).

After surviving months, sometimes years in refugee camps, Southeast Asians continued facing challenges in the United States. For example in many families, “parent-child hierarchies flipped as children grasped the English language with more proficiency than their elders” and helped to pay a bill or translate at school (Choy, 2022, p. 39). Furthermore, refugees were haunted by the trauma and memories of war and in the 1980s, many Southeast Asians, mostly Laotian and Hmong men, would die in their sleep for unexplainable reasons. They also faced anti-Asian violence, hostility and racial tensions. Choy explains that, “These racial hostilities partly stemmed from the way that Americans lumped Southeast Asian refugees with other Asian American groups who, in the 1960s and 1970s, were increasingly portrayed as successful immigrants and model minorities” (Choy, 2022 pg. 39). Americans also resented that Southeast Asian refugees received public assistance.

When her family moved to San Diego, Bui told how she and her father were called “Gook” and spit on, explaining, “San Diego was a naval and marine corps base, where the wounds of the Vietnam War were still fresh and not everyone welcomed our

presence" (Bui, 2018, p. 66). In 1990, Cambodian American, Heng Lim was struck on the head by a piece of wood by Timothy Meitzler and later died from head injury. Meitzler called him a "fucking Chinese." Attacks against this community was common across the country in the '80s and '90s, including "campaigns of violence…in the Boston area," the beating death of Cambodian, Bun Vong in 1985, and a 1989 shooting rampage at Cleveland Elementary School in Stockton, California by Patrick Purdy who killed five children: four Cambodian and one Vietnamese (Choy, 2022, p. 41).

Southeast Asian youth were left to fend for themselves in impoverished neighborhoods rife with gang violence, as their parents were still navigating a new life in America. Some sought kinship in gangs. Cambodian American Billy stated that his parents were too traumatized from the war to realize what was happening with the kids.

> I was a good boy at home…so they didn't know anything about gangs. We just got into gangs to protect ourselves. We were just kids, thrown into the inner city with Mexicans and Blacks. We're the product of the American system (Lee, J.H.X., 2015, p. 408).

Many Cambodians who ended up in prison turned their lives around, like Karney who got his GED after dropping out of school in seventh grade. Despite this, Karney was taken by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), now Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), to a detention center when he finished his sentence in state prison. He was detained for 12 months and then sent to Cambodia, separated from his daughters (Lee, J.H.X., 2015). The Southeast Asia Resource Action Center reported that 2,000 Southeast Asian Americans have been deported out of the U.S. since 1998, and currently 15,000 live with a final order of removal; 80% of removal orders are based on past convictions (Choy, 2022). The 1996 passing of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act and the Illegal immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act led to increased deportations of immigrants for crimes they committed even before the laws were passed. Many of these were nonviolent offenses, as the new laws extended the list of deportable crimes and wouldn't allow judges to prevent deportations. Some crimes that didn't qualify as felonies under state law were listed as "aggravated felonies" under immigration law (Cengel, 2018). After September 11, the U.S. pressured Cambodia into receiving deportees, including system-impacted individuals and did so beginning in June of 2002.



Figure **8.5.10**: Protest outside ICE for the release of Cambodian refugees in St. Paul, Minnesota. January 17, 2017. (CC BY 2.0; Fibonacci Blue via Flickr)

Many were deported or face deportation despite having completed their prison sentences. Most had never spent time in their homelands or left when they were still very young, and hardly spoke the language. Karney luckily did speak Khmer and had relatives in Cambodia. He still missed his family and children sharing, "It's hard on them, hard on their families. The kids end up growing up with no dad. And they can't support them" (Lee, J.H.X., 2015, p. 409). He ended up marrying a Cambodian woman and had three children with her. But not everyone is able to adjust to life in Cambodia, as some deportees turn to drugs, end up back in prison, and a few have committed suicide. Asian American Studies professor, Jonathan H.X. Lee wrote, "There was no system of assistance that was planned for these Cambodians" (Lee, J.H.X. 2015, p. 410).

Back in the states, activists and communities have come together to organize against deportations. The Asian Prisoner Support Committee (APSC) led anti-deportation campaigns and supported more than thirty individuals receiving gubernatorial pardons, post-conviction relief, and administrative actions to prevent and reverse deportations. APSC successfully advocated for the release of Bounchan "Boun" Keola from ICE custody. Boun was an incarcerated firefighter and was granted a pardon from Governor

Newsom in 2021 (APSC, 2022). They are currently lobbying for the passing of the VISION Act (Voiding Inequality and Seeking Inclusion for Our Immigrant Neighbors) in California, or AB 937, which would end the transfer of refugee and immigrant prisoners eligible for release from state or local custody to ICE. It would also ensure protection from inhumane and unsanitary conditions in immigration detention centers, and deny state and local agencies and courts from using their immigration status to deny access to various programs (Vision Act, AB 937, Fact Sheet).

Choy (2022) points out how Southeast Asian Americans have transformed the landscape through ethnic enclaves like Little Saigons in Orange County and San Jose. With distinct temples and Buddhist statues, the Vietnamese American community have physical places that may remind them of what they were forced to leave behind. For Vietnamese Americans born in the U.S., they make yearly pilgrimages to Little Saigon for the Tet festival, or Lunar New Year, and such sites serve "deeper social and spiritual meaning" for the community (p. 43). Countless restaurants and shops offer food that remind many of home, like banh mi and pho.

Ted Ngoy fled Cambodia with his wife and settled in California. He survived by working at a gas station and as a church custodian. One day he tasted a donut, reminding him of the Cambodian *nom kong*. He eventually opened his own donut shop and "sparked what would become Cambodian predominance in California's donut industry…a 'pink box' revolution" (Choy, 2022, p. 45).

Hmong American political leaders have emerged since the 1990s, starting with Choua Lee, who gained attention when becoming the first Hmong American to be publicly elected when winning the race for a position on the St. Paul School Board (Lee, 2015, p. 346). Olympic gold medalist, Sunisa Lee became the first Hmong American to join a U.S. Olympic team at only 18-years-old and elated Hmong Americans and Asian Americans across the nation during the 2021 Tokyo Olympics (Diaz & Chappell, 2021). Pictures and video of her family and the Hmong American community cheering her on in Minnesota went viral that summer.

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8.6: Pacific Islander Studies

Pacific Islanders

Until 1980, "Hawaiian" was the only pacific islander group listed on the Census questionnaire; Guamanian and Samoan were added in 1990 and the census category today, reads "Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander". There are an estimated 1.4 million people who identify with this category in the United States, 41% of which identify as Native Hawaiian, with the remainder identifying as Samoan (13%), Guamanian (10%), Tongan (5%), Fijian (3%), Marshallese (2%) or other Pacific Islander (26%) (Ramakrishnan & Ahmad, 2014). Scholars have argued that because these groups face a different struggles with Pacific Islanders contending with issues relating to sovereignty and decolonization, and Asian Americans dealing with immigration, they deserved a label distinct from "Asian American." Given these dynamics, it is argued that the experience of Pacific Islanders is much more akin to that of Native Americans (Ishisaka, 2020).

Native Hawaiians

In 1778, the year that Captain James Cook of England arrived, the estimated population of Hawaiians was between 400,000 and 800,000. In 1893 U.S. naval forces overthrew the monarchy originally founded in 1810 by King Kamehameha I, then in 1898 the Hawaiian islands were annexed by the United States as the Republic of Hawai'i. Much like the experience of Native Americans, European diseases introduced by colonization brought the population down to 29,800 Native Hawaiians and another 7,800 Hawaiians of mixed ancestry by 1900. Today, Native Hawaiians in Hawaii experience lower incomes, have the highest unemployment rate, and hold lower status jobs when compared to all ethnic groups in the islands. As is the case with other marginalized groups, this lower socioeconomic position leaves Native Hawaiians more vulnerable to health disparities such as lower mortality rates and higher rates of disease and cancer (Lai & Arguelles, 2003).

As an indigenous minority group, Native Hawaiians are recognized as having a "special trust relationship" with the U.S. government, similar to Native American Indians (along with Native Alaskans), entitling them to special programs and resources. However, in February 2000, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed established policies of the U.S. Congress and ruled that the composition of the trustees who control Native Hawaiian rights and entitlements (the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, or OHA) was unconstitutional because they were based on racial identity qualifications. This decision basically throws into question the fundamental rights of Native Hawaiians.

In light of the ruling, Hawai'i's two Senators, Daniel Akaka and Daniel Inouye introduced the "Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act" (aka the "Akaka Bill") before Congress in 2000. The bill would formally extend the federal policy of self-determination to Native Hawaiians and put them on the same legal status as Native American Indians. Opponents of the bill argue that it promotes racial/ethnic separatism and that similar to debates about affirmative action, non-Hawaiians should not unfairly bear the consequences of reconciling events that occurred several generations ago.

Hawaiians have a saying, Aloha mai no, aloha aku -- When love is given, love should be returned. Sovereignty supporters believe that now is the time for aloha to be acknowledged and returned to the Native Hawaiian people and their descendents. The Akaka bill would provide an avenue for both the people of Hawai'i and the U.S. Congress to correct the historical injustices they have suffered collectively as a people, and enable them to exercise self-determination through self-governance, in order to heal as a people.

The House version of the bill (H.R. 505) passed on October 24, 2007 and the Senate version is still being considered.

Samoans & Guamanians

According to the United States Census Bureau, there are approximately 204,000 Samoan people including those with partial Samoan ancestry and about 160,000 Guamanians in the United States (United States Census Bureau, 2019).

Like the Native Hawaiians, they are considered Polynesians, and are theorized to have migrated from the west (the East Indies, the Malay peninsula or the Philippines) as far back ago as 1,000 B.C.E. Today, the islands are divided up into American Samoa and Samoa. The former is only 76 square miles, has a population of around 67,000, and sends a delegate to the U.S. Congress. Samoa, known as Western Samoa until 1997, is an independent nation with islands totaling 1,090 square miles, and a population of 179,058.

The economy of American Samoa remains undeveloped; nearly one-third of workers are employed in the fishing or canning industry. Tourism has not taken off. In recent years, one of American Samoa's main exports has been football players. There are more than 200 playing Division I college football, and 28 in the NFL, reported ESPN in 2002. Perhaps the most famous has been linebacker Tiaina "Junior" Seau.

After Samoans, the next-largest NHPI group are the natives of the island of Guam, also known as Chamorro. There are only about 157,000 people living on today's multicultural Guam, of whom about half are Chamorro. So like American Samoa, a larger number of Chamorro actually live abroad-in the U.S., there are nearly 93,000 people of pure or part-Chamorro descent.

Today the U.S. military maintains a large, albeit declining, presence in Guam, with 23,000 military personnel and their families living on the island. Though the government has lobbied to free Guam from its "unincorporated" U.S. territory status, the island has yet to be granted the Commonwealth recognition given Puerto Rico. And although the people are given U.S. citizenship, they do not vote in U.S. presidential elections. Economically, the growing tourist industry catering to Japanese visitors has helped offset the military downsizing.

People and Place

Chamoru (Chamarro from Guahan or Guam) Poet and scholar Craig Santos Perez (2016) writes,

> We belong to Oceania. We belong to a diverse sea of moving peoples, cultures, languages, and ecologies. We belong to navigation that teaches us how to read the stars, waves, winds, and horizons. **Pacific Islanders** peopled Oceania thousands of years ago and developed complex societies based on the values of interconnection, harmony, balance, sustainability, and respect. We named and recognized the sacredness of waters and lands (Perez, 2016, p. 373).

In naming his people, Perez (2016) recognizes the relationship to the land, to the Earth, to the seas, to one another. He recognizes cultural philosophies and values, and generational longevity. In doing so, he amplifies the persistence and presence of Pacific Islander peoples to this world and beyond and calls attention to the wholeness and oneness. This section will use longer block quotations to help amplify Pacific Islander voices.

Sidebar: Definition of Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

Wright and Balutski (2013) share the official categorization by the Office of Management and Budget of the White House. They share, “Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander is defined as the following:

> A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands. (The term “Native Hawaiian” does not include individuals who are native to the State of Hawaii by virtue of being born there). In addition to Native Hawaiians, Guamanians, and Samoans, this category would include the following Pacific Islander groups reported in the 1990 census: Carolinian, Fijian, Kosraean, Melanesian, Micronesian, Northern Mariana Islander, Palauan, Papua New Guinean, Ponapean (Pohnpean), Polynesian, Solomon Islander, Tahitian, Tarawa Islander, Tokelauan, Tongan, Trukese (Chuukese), and Yapese (OMB, 1997 in Wright and Balutki, 2013, p.97).

This definition shares who is Pacific Islander and includes who is not by explaining that people are not “Native Hawaiian” just because they are born in Hawai‘i. Furthermore, the definition shows the vast cultures and peoples included, as well as some that aren’t as recognized in the mainstream. This also dispels the notion that Pacific Islanders are only made up of a few groups.

Place and People

The late Teresia K. Teaiwa (2017) wrote this as part of her introduction about teaching Pacific Studies,

> How does one begin to describe the enormity of the Pacific Ocean? The most prominent geographic feature on this planet, it occupies one-third of the Earth’s surface area. How does one begin to describe the history of the first peoples to settle this watery region (p. 265).

Teaiwa and others put the Pacific Ocean at the forefront of identity and culture. The description of the ocean helps to provide more prominence to it especially as an overlooked aspect of the planet by those who may not come from the Pacific. She pays homage to the ancestors from which they came.



Figure **8.6.1**: "Pacific Ocean Sunrise" (Guam). (CC BY-SA 4.0; Jonathan Miske via Flickr)

Teves and Arvin (2018) show the expansiveness of Pacific Islanders:

> The Pacific Ocean contains upward of 25,000 islands, extending from the Arctic to Antarctica and from the coasts of the Americas to the coasts of Asia. What are often referred to as the "Pacific Islands" number into 30,000, home to 2.3 million people and 1,500 languages, constituting a third of the earth's surface and nearly 50 percent of its water (p. 108).

This also expands the understanding that Pacific Islands are not confined to a small space with little diversity and that this population is significant to our world. Finally, we see Pacific Islanders in the diaspora, with a sizable population on the west coast. Camacho (2021) writes, "According to the 2010 census, 150,749 Pacific Islanders now dwell in California, with more than one-third residing in Los Angeles" (p. 23).

Amplifying Pacific Islander Voices

Henderson discusses stereotypes about big sizes of Samoans such as Dwayne "The Rock" Johnson playing a Samoan character in book to film *Be Cool* (1999) and "[his] character is still marked in the text by his size and propensity for violence" (Henderson, 2011, p. 282). These two tropes of big size and being violent are two common stereotypes Henderson finds in many works and cultural representation about Samoan men. Further, she points out that part of the problem is that stereotypes have material consequences at "stake" (p. 289). Two "ramifications" that she mentions are within education and law enforcement; notions about Samoan men

1. mediate a lot of their career or educational pathways into athletics as the "only expected pathway to success" (Henderson, 2011, p.289);
2. and have high rate of incarceration and a lot of claims of police profiling.

Because of the misconceptions about Pacific Islanders, this section aims to show a glimpse of who Pacific Islanders really are.

Tamaira and Fonoti (2018) share an important piece about how Pacific Islanders have worked hard to influence the way their stories are told, especially to the general public. Their work discusses the collaboration between "academic and nonacademic" Pacific Islanders (called Oceanic Trust) and Disney to create the movie *Moana* (2016). One of the things they discuss is the way that Pacific Islanders interjected to show more accurate displays of culture within the film and how there were actually transformed outcomes. For example, the Trust grappled with Disney's Moana wearing tuiga, or Samoan ceremonial dress, in different scenes for various occasions but they argued that it should only be worn ceremonially (p. 316). In spite of the hard work the Trust put into the film, they still experienced naysayers from the community that believed they shouldn't have collaborated with Disney. The work the Trust did to embody authenticity in *Moana* shows so much power in cultural representation. This section, as mentioned elsewhere, leaves a lot of "showing" to Pacific Islander scholars and I recognize my ability to amplify their voices.

Differences between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders

Teves and Arvin make clear distinctions between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders and call for the clear need to distinguish between them and not combine them. Although there are points of relation, there is a deep marginalization amongst the community where even Asian Americans sometimes commit sub-oppression onto Pacific Islanders. They explain similarities but emphasize the points of departure in order to express a marginalization that stems from how power dynamics operate, not just within each group or between them, but also within the larger society. They write,

> We share simultaneous struggles against U.S. imperialism and settler colonialism, white supremacy, and the expectations that our communities will simply "assimilate" into whiteness—all structures that are deeply gendered and thus wreak violence on Asian American and Pacific Islander women in particular ways. We also share analogous struggles within our own communities to decenter heteropatriarchy and anti-Blackness in the many ways that we have internalized such ideals. But the call we have put out in this essay is clear. To advance our important common work, Asian American feminists must recognize and change the ways they participate in Pacific Islander erasure and cultural appropriation, and commit to being our allies in decolonization (Teves and Arvin, 2018, p. 133).

Further, Hall points out that much of the use of API/AAPI/APA refers to connections solely to Hawai'i and not to other Pacific Island groups. This can be problematic because whereas Asian American do not represent Pacific Islanders, Native Hawaiians don't represent all Pacific Islanders (Hall, 2015, pp. 738-739).

General Education

Dropout rates show another reason why Asian American and Pacific Islander statistics and naming should be disaggregated. In the following quote, more than 20% of Pacific Islanders are affected in stark contrast to Asian American and white students.

> According to a report released in 2008 by the University of California Asian American and Pacific Islander Policy Multicampus Research Program (Education Work Group), Pacific Islanders' dropout rates are much higher than their Asian American (7.9%) and White (11.5%) peers—more than one-fifth of Pacific Islanders drop out of school between grades 9 and 12 (Chang et. al 2010 in Saeula et. al, 2017, p.123).

Studies show that culturally relevant pedagogies greatly aid in student success. However, Saeula et. al. (2017) find that this and other elements are missing from Pacific Islander student experiences. They write, "The literature that does exist on Pacific Islanders offers a stark landscape, noting achievement gaps, limited access to resources, and the need for more culturally relevant material" (Ah Sam & Robinson, 1998; EPIC, 2014; Hune & Yeo, 2010; Kawakami, 1990; UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2006; Takeuchi & Hune, 2008; Tran et. al, 2010; Tsutsumoto, 1998; Vakalahi, 2009) (in Saeula et.al p.124).

Higher Education

Statistics on Pacific Islanders show a huge gap in educational opportunity whether in K-12 or in higher education, "…according to the U.S. Census, only 18% of Pacific Islander adults (Age 25 and older) hold a bachelor's degree, a rate lower than the national average (28%) and identical to African Americans" (Saelua et. al., 2017, p. 124).

A model for culturally relevant and community responsive education can be seen in Hawai'i not only for the university and students, but for all Native Hawaiians. Wright and Balutski (2013) explain,

> On May 16, 2007, the University of Hawai'i Board of Regents approved the establishment of the Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge (HSHK), the only college of Indigenous knowledge in a U.S. research Institution…[which was guided by] a report of recommendations and research compiled by a task force of Native Hawaiian faculty and staff in the UH system (Wright and Balutski, year, p. 100).

It is significant that a Research Institution recognizes the significance of Indigenous knowledge and it is also significant that the efforts of "Native Hawaiian faculty and staff" research materialized.

Race, Gender, and Stereotypes

There are racialized and gendered experiences that also distinguish Pacific Islanders from Asian Americans. The hypersexualization of Asian American women and the emasculation of Asian American men is often broadly and wrongly applied to Pacific Islanders. Hall writes, "In my 2009 essay 'Navigating Our Own 'Sea of Islands' I noted:

> Geisha girls, dragon ladies, and delicate flowers are not the stereotypes Islander women battle. The sexualized stigmatization of "promiscuous" native women is about a perceived lack of civilization, not the orientalism that creates stereotypes of decadence and sexual artifice. . . . On the continent, large-bodied and dark-skinned Islander men are gendered/ racialized as black men, with the attendant prejudice and danger of stereotypes of hyper-masculinity, not feminized with the stereotypes Asian American men face. The police violence experienced by Samoan and Tongan men in southern California, for example, has everything to do with their perceived blackness and savagery, not their emasculation. Neither set of stereotypes is "worse" than the other, but they are not the same." Text originally found in: Lisa Kahaleole Hall, "Navigating Our Own 'Sea of Islands': Remapping a Theoretical Space for Hawaiian Women and Indigenous Feminism," Wicazo Sa Review 24.2 (2009). (in Hall p. 742).

Perez (2016) comprehensively compiles stereotypes about Pacific Islanders and reiterates how "Pacific poetry" resists these stereotypes.

> The Pacific Ocean has been viewed as an empty, virgin space awaiting American exploitation and power. Our islands have been seen as tropical paradises, stepping stones, unsinkable military bases, Hollywood sets, or scientific and agricultural laboratories. Pacific Islanders have been represented as violent, primitive, hyper-sexual, exotic, childlike, cannibalistic, dependent, noble, athletic, hyper- masculine, uncivilized, and hospitable. Much of Pacific poetry aims to challenge these stereotypes and humanize (Perez, 2016, p. 376).

These stereotypes relate to and often reflect the Manifest Destiny of colonizers, and stereotypical characterizations especially of Native Americans and Black Americans mostly from the 16th century to the 20th century. But unlike these groups, the relationship between the Pacific Island peoples, their land, and the Pacific Ocean conveys a deeper connectedness amongst them that these stereotypes miss and wrongly characterize, not recognizing the richness and wisdom that actually exist.

Ethnicity, Age, and Generation

Scholar Camacho (2021) complicates the relationship to culture with age and generation. While within a culture, one may uphold generational practices but Camacho problematizes such treatment amongst those who are expected to follow but not benefit. He says,

> Across the region, many societies uphold their elders, knowing that they embody the chiefly, genealogical, material, sacred, and supernatural worlds of the lands, skies, and seas. In Sāmoa, for instance, the children acknowledge the prestige bestowed upon their elders. Very seldom, though, do the children receive such accolades and authority. As one Sāmoan put it, "Children are not heard, nor seen." Text Originally from Frances King Espiritu, "From Childhood to Chief," in Pacific Voices Talk Story: Conversations of American Experience, 4 vols., ed. Margo King Lenson (Vacaville, CA: Tui Communications, 2007), 4:57. (in Camacho, 2021, p.12).

But Camacho also illustrates how others are able to draw from their positionalities to promote culture and facilitate access by saying,

> ...they show how the youth develop new terms about the media in Bislama, the lingua franca of Vanuatu. As in other areas of Melanesia, the youth of Port Vila have been the trendsetters in communicating and mainstreaming novel ideas, stories, and technologies across diverse ethnolinguistic groups. Text originally found in: Christine Jourdan and Johanne Angeli, "Pijin and Shifting Language Ideologies in Urban Solomon Islands," Language in Society 43, no. 3 (2014): 268. (In Camacho, 2021, p.72).

Race, Ethnicity, and Generation

In considering literature, McDougall highlights a writer who is from a famous lineage and demonstrates the intersections of his identities.

> John Dominis Holt was among the first major writers in English to publish in the 1960s in Hawai'i. Born in 1919, Holt was descended from ali'i (chiefly) lineage and was the grand-nephew of Queen Lili'uokalani, Hawai'i's last reigning monarch (McDougall, 2015, p. 40).

McDougall writes about Holt's work by saying,

> Similarly, in Waimea Summer, the young protagonist Mark Hull is urbanized, light skinned and hapa (half-Hawaiian, half-haole), but the keeper of family mo‘olelo (stories), who is, therefore, more sensitive to the ancestral. In visiting relatives in Waimea, and coming from Honolulu, he is, however, fearful of being given ancestral knowledge and ultimately turns away (McDougall, 2015, p. 41).

The protagonist Hull being mixed race is representative of many Pacific Islanders who are mixed race. The focus of ancestral knowledge in this mentioning helps to demonstrate the presence and grappling of generational knowledge and epistemology, or the way we understand knowledge. McDougall also highlights the cultural divide between the city and the smaller town, at least for the way the protagonist interprets different types of knowledge and ways of being.

Militarization

Wright and Balutski (2013) explain what it’s like to have military testing done in the Pacific Islands:

> During the 12-year period between 1946 and 1958, a total of 66 atomic and hydrogen bombs were tested in the Marshall Islands. Robie (1990) explains, “Many islanders claimed they were used as guinea pigs for the experiments. Now, more than 40 years after the first Bikini tests, many islands are still uninhabitable because of the high radiation levels while the Bikinians and Rongelap islanders remain exiled people (p. 2)" (in Wright and Balutski, 2013, p. 99).

Not only does their land become “uninhabitable” but the occurrences go largely unnoticed by the general public. Using the land for testing also shows the disregard for Pacific Islander lives.

Settler Colonialism

Haunani Kay Trask (1993) illustrates what it’s like when Native Hawaiians are seen as exoticized commodity as a part of **settler colonialism**,

> Thus Hawai‘i, like a lovely woman, is there for the taking. Those with only a little money get a brief encounter, those with a lot of money, like the Japanese, get more. The state and counties will give tax breaks, build infrastructure, and have the governor personally welcome tourists to ensure that they keep coming. Just as the pimp regulates prices and guards the commodity of the prostitute, so the state bargains with developers for access to Hawaiian land and culture… Permits are fast-tracked, height and density limits are suspended, new groundwater sources are miraculously found...Our people who work in the industry-- dancers, waiters, singers, valets, gardeners, housekeepers, bartenders, and even a few managers-- make between $10,000 and $25,000 a year, an impossible salary for a family in Hawai‘i. Psychologically, our young people have begun to think of tourism as the only employment opportunity, trapped as they are by the lack of alternatives (Trask, 1993, pp. 144-145).

Those with more money have more access. Governmental policy will favor tourism and initiatives that bolster tourist entities. There is a fight for more land and entities will do whatever they can to make it happen. Trask further states that the workers make a little per year and is not enough to live on. She importantly mentions that “young people have begun to think of tourism as the only employment opportunity” so they don’t see any way out or 'alternative' pathways for jobs."



Figure 8.6.2: "Honolulu Pride Parade 2012". (CC By 4.0; Daniel Ramirez via Flickr)

Climate Change

Brown Pulu (2013) brings to attention “Tonga’s Minister for Environment and Climate Change, Lord Ma’afu” and his “plea” to the “international” community.

> Snared in the small island, uncertainty of rising sea levels was the inevitability, climate change refugees might need another place to live (Bedford and Bedford, 2010; Fagan, 2013). Where would they go? Who would take them in? What countries would help the Pacific Islands? (Pulu 2013).

Bryant-Tokalau (2018) shows us what it’s like when “Indigenous Knowledge Systems” are accessed as a way of knowing especially in this time of extreme climate change. The author explains ways of knowing when predicting occurrences of “cyclones” “such as very hot and wet weather, the high abundance of man- goes and breadfruit, an increase in land crabs and changes in the flight paths of sea birds”. Text originally in Brookfield 1977 (in J. Bryant-Tokalau, p. 68).

Sidebar: Climate Change in Northern Mariana Islands

Climate change in the Pacific Islands is a huge issue. Check out some of the sources that explain more about the crisis in this post titled: "Climate Change in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands: Indicators and Considerations for Key Sectors."

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8.7: Intersectionality

Women and Gender Issues

Where Do Women Fit In?

Asian America has masked a series of internal tensions. In order to produce a sense of racial solidarity, Asian American activists framed social injustices in terms of race, veiling other competing social categories such as gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and nationality. The relative absence of gender as a lens for Asian American activism and resistance throughout the 1970s until the present should therefore be read as neither an indication of the absence of gender inequality nor of the disengagement of Asian American women from issues of social justice.

Many Asian American activists (including some of the authors in this book) refute the label "feminist" although their work pays special attention to the experiences of women. Sometimes this feeling reflects a fear of alienating men -- a consequence that seems inevitable if men are unable to own up to their gender privilege. At other times, the antipathy towards feminism reflects the cultural insensitivity and racism of white, European feminists.

Dragon Ladies: A Brief History

Empress Tsu-his ruled China from 1898 to 1908 from the Dragon Throne. The New York Times described her as "the wicked witch of the East, a reptilian dragon lady who had arranged the poisoning, strangling, beheading, or forced suicide of anyone who had ever challenged her autocratic rule." The shadow of the Dragon Lady -- with her cruel, perverse, and inhuman ways -- continued to darken encounters between Asian women and the West they flocked to for refuge.

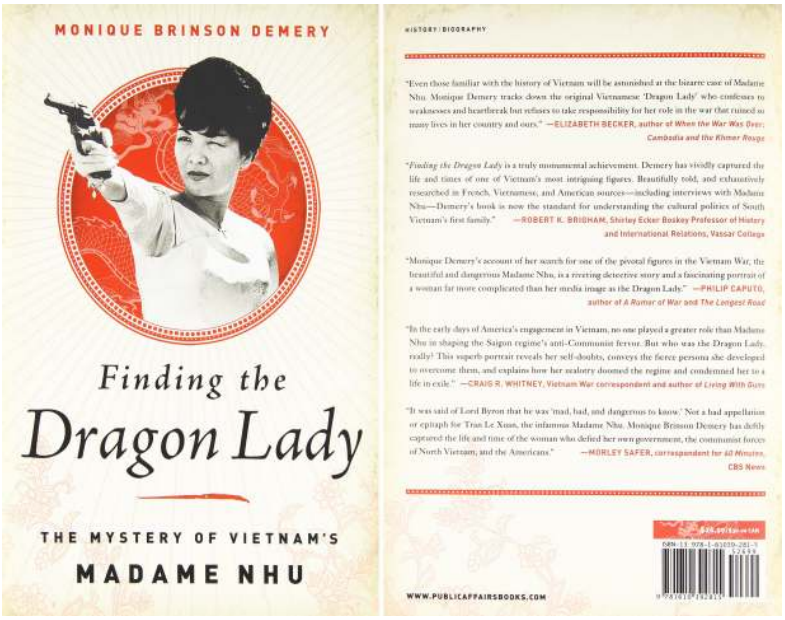


Figure **8.7.1**: "Finding the Dragon Lady: The Mystery of Vietnam's Madame Nhu - Monique Brinson Demery" (CC BY 2.0; manhhai via Flickr)

Far from being predatory, many of the first Asian women to come to the U.S. in the mid-1800s were disadvantaged Chinese women, who were tricked, kidnapped, or smuggled into the country to serve the predominantly male Chinese community as prostitutes. The impression that all Asian women were prostitutes, born at that time, "colored the public perception of, attitude toward, and action against all Chinese women for almost a century," writes historian Sucheng Chan.

Police and legislators singled out Chinese women for special restrictions "not so much because they were prostitutes as such (since there were also many white prostitutes around) but because -- as Chinese -- they allegedly brought in especially virulent strains of venereal diseases, introduced opium addiction, and enticed white boys into a life of sin," Chan also writes. Chinese women who were not prostitutes ended up bearing the brunt of the Chinese exclusion laws that passed in the late 1800s.

During these years, Japanese immigration stepped up, and with it, a reactionary anti-Japanese movement joined established anti-Chinese sentiment. During the early 1900s, Japanese numbered less than 3 percent of the total population in California, but nevertheless encountered virulent and sometimes violent racism. The "picture brides" from Japan who emigrated to join their husbands in the U.S. were, to racist Californians, "another example of Oriental treachery," according to historian Roger Daniels.

It bears noting that despite the fact that they weren't in the country in large numbers, Asian women shouldered much of the cost of subsidizing Asian men's labor. U.S. employers didn't have to pay Asian men as much as other laborers who had families to support, since Asian women in Asian bore the costs of rearing children and taking care of the older generation.

Asian women who did emigrate here before the 1960s were also usually employed as cheap labor. In the pre-World War II years, close to half of all Japanese American women were employed as servants or laundresses in the San Francisco area. The World War II internment of Japanese Americans made them especially easy to exploit: they had lost their homes, possessions, and savings when forcibly interned at the camps, Yet, in order to leave, they had to prove they had jobs and homes. U.S. government officials thoughtfully arranged for their employment by fielding requests, most of which were for servants.

Hypersexualization of Asian Women



Figure 8.7.6: Rally for Asian American Women in Chinatown. April 10, 2021. (CC BY 2.0; Andrew Ratto via Flickr)

Asian women have been portrayed as a sexual threat or perpetual sex workers. In fact, before the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882, Asian women were particularly targeted for exclusion in the 1875 Page Act. The act targeted Chinese and other Asian women suspected of prostitution from entering the United States (Schlund-Vials, Wong, and Chang, 2017, p. 38). This is an important example of how a gendered and sexualized framing of the yellow peril stereotype influenced policy that criminalized all Asian female immigrants as undesirable, causing “moral and racial pollution,” and therefore excluded from the U.S. (Lee, 2015, p. 91).

The correlation between Asian women and hypersexuality or sexual deviance continued into the 20th and 21st centuries. One of the first Asian American actresses on the silver screen was Anna May Wong (1905-1961) who was type casted to play “Dragon Lady” characters: deceitful and cunning, but also exotic and sensual women who used their sexuality for foul play. Such representations continued into modern days, such as Lucy Liu’s character on *Ally McBeal* (1997) and *Kill Bill* (2003).

When the “model minority” stereotype became prevalent, Asian men were asexualized and deemed effeminate, especially since they were depicted as undermining patriarchal gender roles for doing “women’s work” (i.e. the prevalence of Chinese men doing laundry work). Meanwhile, Asian women were framed as a submissive “Lotus Blossom,” eager to please white men in Hollywood films. Musicals, operas, and movies like *Madam Butterfly* (1904), *Full Metal Jacket* (1987), *Miss Saigon* (1989), *Kill Bill: Vol. 1* (2003), *The Last Samurai* (2003), *Memoirs of a Geisha* (2005), *The Fast and the Furious: Tokyo Drift* (2006), and more portrayed Asian female characters in hyper feminine and exotic manners. Asian women have been portrayed as quiet, passive, and subservient, willing to cater to a man’s every whim. These images were rooted in U.S. expansion through wars in Asia, such as the post-WWII U.S. occupation of Japan, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War.

Hollywood films depicting interracial pairings were an endorsement of interracial relationships. However, media critic Dr. Ben Tong notes, “It was a certain form of miscegenation that was endorsed: white man, Asian women, not the reverse” (Gee, 1988, 21:10 - 21:17). These movies romanticized white male/Asian female relations and often overshadowed the very limited opportunities of rural and poor women. Living in the aftermath of the post-war economic destruction of their native countries, women had limited options for work, and were sometimes enticed by American pop culture. Some worked at U.S. military bases as clerks or servers and others entered sex work in order to survive or were tricked into it. Rest and Recreation sites surrounding U.S. military bases in Asia, supported by the U.S. military and local authorities, involved local women to cater to American soldiers. These sites were described as “Playgrounds...for American men fighting in the Korean War, and later camptowns in Korea and Thailand and the Philippines for soldiers fighting in Vietnam” (Kim, 2011, 06:59 - 07:19). In fact, camptowns continued even during peace times, “for today’s American empire is an empire of military bases” (07:18 - 07:26).

The continued popular portrayal of Asian women as “spoils of war,” particularly for American soldiers helped to conflate all Asian women with sex work and hypersexualization, as if it was in our very nature to be sexually alluring and pleasing toward Western men. This was a common portrayal in American films about the war in Vietnam. Movies like *Deer Hunter* (1978) reinforced the fantasy of the “sexually pleasing Asian woman.” Such portrayals ignore the prevalence of rape, abuse, and killings amongst real Asian sex workers, Asian women and girls who live near and around U.S. military bases, and Asian women married to U.S. servicemen. Some examples of such violence include:

- 1992, South Korea: camptown sex worker Yun Geum-i was sexually assaulted and murdered by private Kenneth Markle
- 1995, Okinawa: three US servicemen kidnapped a 12-year-old local girl, bound her, beat her and took turns raping her
- 2002, South Korea: two 14-year-old girls, Shin Hyo-sun and Shim Mi-seon, were struck and killed by an armored U.S. military vehicle
- 2015, Philippines: Lance Corporal Pemberton was convicted and later pardoned for killing Jennifer Laude, a trans Filipina

Furthermore, in Asian Women United’s documentary, *Slaying the Dragon: Reloaded* (2011), Asian American Studies professor and author, Elaine H. Kim articulates,

> Part of the fantasy about Asian women is that they need to be saved from the East by the West. In fact, saving women from the oppression of Islam and Muslim men has been one of the U.S.’s justifications for invading the Middle East (12:02 - 12:16).

Such framing of Asian women’s sexuality is related to the countless websites, porn sites, massage parlors, and online dating services catering to racist fantasies about sexualized and available Asian women. These prevailing images of Asian women can be connected to why Asian American women reported twice as many hate incidents after COVID-19. The March 16, 2021 slaughter of eight people in Atlanta, Georgia across three Asian massage parlors, with 6 of the victims being Asian American women, is an extension of the normalization of harm and violence toward Asian women that stems from Orientalism, misogyny, anti-immigrant sentiment, and the criminalization of sex workers. The names of the eight killed in the Atlanta mass shooting are: Soon Chung Park, 74; Hyun Jung Grant, 51; Suncha Kim, 69; Yong Ae Yue, 63; Delaina Ashley Yaun Gonzalez, 33; Xiaojie Tan, 49; Daoyou Feng, 44; and Paul Andre Michels, 54 (Nieto Del Rio, Sandoval, Berryman, and Knoll, 2021).

Young, Gay, and APA

Asian Americans who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer (LGBTQ) frequently face a double or even triple jeopardy -- being targets of prejudice and discrimination because of their ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation. The following is an article entitled "Young, Gay, and APA," originally published in the July 17, 1999 issue of AsianWeek Magazine, written by Joyce Nishioka. It captures many of the obstacles and challenges that LGBT Asian Americans go through as they search for acceptance and happiness with the multiple forms of their personal identities.

Double Jeopardy

Nineteen-year-old Eric Aquino remembers a day not that long ago when he kneeled down to tie his shoe during P.E. class. He looked up to find a boy towering over him, saying, "That's where you belong" and making a comment about oral sex. "People teased me because they perceived me as a gay, fag queer," he remembers. "What could I do but ignore it? One thing I always did was ignore it."

While feelings of rejection and questions about "being normal" haunt most adolescents, they often hit harder at those who are minorities, either racial or sexual. And too often, those are the kids who get the least support. A 1989 study from the Department of Health and Human Services found that a gay teen who comes out to his or her parents faced about a 50-50 chance of being rejected and 1 in 4 had to leave home. Ten years later, a study in The Archives of Pediatric and Adolescent Medicine found that gay and bisexual teens are more than three times as likely to attempt suicide as other youths.

Surveys indicate that 80 percent of gay students do not feel safe in schools, and one poll by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention showed 1 in 13 high school students had been attacked or harassed because they were perceived to be homosexual. Nationwide, 18 percent of all gay students are physically injured to the point they require medical treatment, and they are seven times as likely as their straight peers to be threatened with a weapon at school, according to the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network.



Figure **8.7.7**: Gay Asian Pacific Support Network. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Akasha Yi via Flickr)

Protecting homosexual Asian teens from discrimination requires double-duty measures, advocates say. Ofie Virtucio, a coordinator for AQUA, San Francisco's only citywide organization for gay Asian American teenagers (now known as the API Wellness Center), maintains that they are especially likely to be closeted and ignored. "Asians are the model minorities," she says, describing a common stereotype. "They can't be gay or at risk; they don't commit suicide or self-mutilate." In reality, Kim says, "There are many API youths in the California public school system who are gay or perceived as being gay and face angry discrimination and harassment. And there is nothing to adequately protect them."

As Kwok and thousands of others might attest, to be young, gay and APA is to simultaneously confront the ugly specters of barriers and discrimination that come with being gay in America and those that come with being Asian in America. "With the anti-Asian sentiment, students are harassed more for being Asian because it's more visible than sexuality." says San Francisco school district counselor Crystal Jang.

The Closet is a Lonely Place to Live

"People don't think there are API gays and lesbians," Virtucio says. "There is hardly any research, and no money goes to them." Consequently, no one knows precisely how many of San Francisco's Asian American children are gay. But if the often quoted figure of 10 percent of a population holds, the figure could exceed 1,300 in the public junior high and high schools alone. Asian American students, says Jang, account for about 90 percent of the kids she sees through the district's Support Services for Sexual Minorities Youth Program. Though there are more support groups for gay youths than ever before, Virtucio said many Asian American teens find it difficult to fit in. Nor do they have any role models. This decade's most noted gays and lesbians -- actresses Ellen DeGeneres and Anne Heche, Ambassador James Hormel and former Wisconsin congressman Steve Gunderson, Migden and Kuehl -- are all white, and so is society's perception of gay America.

"They can't go to programs for queer gay youths when no one speaks their language," Virtucio says. "How can they be understood when they talk about their close-knit family they can never come out to? They need to see people like them. Even if it's just serving rice, they need something familiar so they could [relate] and feel like they could be part of this community," says Virtucio, who touts her four-year-old group as "a channel to come out." In the summer, 20 to 30 teens -- half of whom are immigrants -- go to AQUA's weekly drop-in sessions. Though the group initially attracted mostly college-age men, most of its members today are

younger, and half are female. At a recent get-together, the girls seemed much less vocal than boys, and though several young men agreed to be interviewed, no girls did. Jang explains that girls are more likely than boys to refrain from expressing their sexuality, possibly because of the shame they think they may bring on themselves and their families. One girl, she recalled, fell in love with her godsister and wanted to tell her, but she was afraid that if she did, everyone in Chinatown would find out.

For both genders, though, coming out to family and friends is a huge issue, one that Virtucio says cannot be put off indefinitely. "Parents want to know," she said, adding that many AQUA members have told her that they suspected that their parents knew about their sexuality long before their children would admit it to themselves. Mothers, she said, might ask daughters questions like, "Why to you dress that way? Wear a skirt." Or they might tell their sons, "Don't walk like that." At the same time, she said, cultural pressures to put the family first or to hide one's feelings often convince Asian and Asian American youth to internalize their sexuality. Each family member often is expected to fill an explicit role. For example, she explained, a Filipina, particularly the first-born daughter, "is supposed to take care of the family, and get married and have kids." A first-born Chinese son, she added, "can never be gay. He is supposed to extend the family name."

Desmond Kwok says his parents accept his sexual orientation -- though they don't necessarily support him emotionally. He acknowledges an ongoing "starvation for love" that he blames on his parents. Both have been distant, he says, especially his father, a businessman who lives in Chicago. Kwok says he found support for coming out not from his family, but from a gang he was in two years ago. "They were really cool with it, and it boosted my confidence in the whole coming-out process," he said. "They'd say, 'If someone has a grudge against you for being gay, we're there for you. We'll kick their asses.' "

Now, Kwok dates "older" Asian and Asian American men -- at least 19 -- because few come out before then, he says. He admits that he has tried to find boyfriends over the Internet, at bars and cafes, "the worst places to meet a good boyfriend. A graduate of the School of the Arts, a magnet academy, Kwok said he intends to continue his work as an advocate for gay Asian and Asian American teens. Yet even now he cannot rid "the feeling of being alone -- being around people who really love you, but still knowing they are heterosexual. They'll be with their girlfriends or boyfriends, and here I am all alone, sitting around, boo-hoo, no boyfriend."

'Straight' Into Isolation, 'Out' Into Happiness

Eric Aquino never had such peer support growing up in Vallejo, Calif., and especially in junior high school. "I felt alone," Aquino said. He avoided his locker, where the popular kids hung out, and instead took long, circuitous paths to classes to dodge their cruel comments. "A good day for me was being able to walk down the hall without having anyone ask, 'Are you gay? Do you suck dick?' His grades fell. "I would be late to class and wouldn't bring my books," he explained. "I couldn't concentrate. I looked at the clock until it was 3 o'clock and time to go."

Aquino's high school years were both the happiest and one of the most depressing times of his life. He joined marching band and had friends for the first time, but he also started feeling that he was, in fact, gay. "Friends were important to me because I never had any, but they didn't know me for what I was," he said. Aquino thought perhaps he should wait until he was 18 to come out, so that if his parents rejected him, he could run away. He also considered living in the closet and spent much of his time thinking of ways to keep his secret. "I thought of different alternatives, other options. Like, I'll get married and have kids, [then divorce] and be a single parent, and my parents would just think I never found love again."

Thinking Sociologically

Once LGBTQ Asian Americans come out of the closet, do they find more support and acceptance within the mainstream LGBTQ community? Many do, but unfortunately, anti-Asian racism among the predominantly white LGBTQ community still exists. Joseph Erbentraut's article "Gay Anti-Asian Prejudice Thrives On the Internet " and Gay.net's article "Gay Racism Comes Out" provide insight into the challenges that LGBTQ Asian Americans face with regards to acceptance in the larger LGBTQ community. How are LGBTQ Asian Americans treated in the LGBTQ community in your city?

Ofiee Virtucio, 21, can relate to the feeling of isolation. "Maybe it's the feeling where you know you're Asian but sometimes in situations you're embarrassed to be," she said. "That's where I was for a long time. Of course I was lonely." When she was 13 and still in the Philippines, she recalls, her mother asked her, "Tomboy ca ba?' -- are you gay? She looked me in the eyes; she was worried," Virtucio said. "I said, 'No!' " She wishes that her mom had replied, "Whatever you are, it's OK. I still love you, Ofie.' "

Two years later, the family came to the United States. "I had to be white in a month," she recalled. "When I started talking, I had an American accent that I could use, so I could make friends," she said. "During senior year, I was in denial being Filipino and didn't talk about being gay. Most importantly, I had to get friends. I had to get to know what America is all about. I had to survive."

She recalled: "I was trying to be straight but didn't want to have sex. I didn't want a man's penis in me." Though she had a boyfriend in high school, she secretly had crushes on girls, especially the teenage lesbians who were "out." At the same time, she recalls, she "couldn't relate. They were more 'we're-here-we're-queer' ... I knew I was gay, but I thought, 'I'm not like that.' It made me think I could never be like that." So, she said, "When my friends would talk about cute guys, I would jump into the conversation. I thought, 'OK, I have to do this right now,' so I'd say things like, 'Oh, he's so cute.' "Then when I would go home, I'd be like ... oh," said Virtucio, covering her eyes with her palms. "It hurts. It really, really hurts."

Virtucio finally acknowledged her sexuality during her college years, "the happiest time in my life." At age 18, she found her first girlfriend and experienced her first kiss, but it took many more years before she felt truly comfortable about being a lesbian. "I knew it was going to be a hard life," she said. "I thought, 'How am I going to tell my siblings? How am I going to get a job? Am I going to be constrained to having only gay friends? What are people going to think of me? I thought people would know now -- just because I know I'm gay -- that they'll just see it."

Virtucio never had the opportunity to come out to her mother, who passed away when she was 15. But in college, she did tell her father. She remembers he was in the garden watering plants when he asked her, out of the blue, whether her girlfriend was more than a friend. Startled, Virtucio says she denied it, but later that day, she opened the door to his bedroom and said it was true. They took a walk on the beach after that. "He told me whatever made me happy was fine," Virtucio recalls. "My father used to be mean to my mom, pot-bellied, chauvinistic," she says. "But for some reason he found it in his heart to understand. That moment was amazing for me. I thought if my dad could understand, I really don't care what the world thinks. I'm just going to be the person I am."

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8.8: Summary/Review

Conclusion

As we can see from this chapter, Asian American experiences are diverse and have long histories in the United States. The relationship between the U.S. and Asia have been influenced by race relations in the United States such as within immigration, labor, and war. One of the most perplexing conundrums facing Asian Americans is the myth of them being "perpetual foreigners" when in reality their collective history is long. This idea of perpetual foreigners contributes to the outcasting, scapegoating, and fear-based attacks that continue to impact the community and has for centuries. When the histories of Asian Americans are known, this serves as resistance to the forgotten struggles that are masked by model minority myths. To understand Asian American experiences is to recognize the U.S. presence in Asia, the panethnic identity used to promote collective power, the long and still-existing struggles surrounding who is a citizen, and confront the ways Asian Americans must contend with the sub-oppression inflicted towards Pacific Islanders. This chapter not only sheds light on the many stories and perspectives from Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs), but it also contributes to healing wounds that counter the violent and painful past.

Key Terms

- **Panethnic** is when people of various ethnicities are grouped together, largely for political reasons. A panethnic identity for Asian Americans came out of struggles for power and resources such as resisting racial oppression
- **Orientalism**, as described by Edward Said (1978), is a "Western style of dominating, restructuring, and having authority" over Asia. Since European identity was based on how it contrasted from "the Other," Orientalist ideas framed the West as "masculine, conquering" in opposition of the East as "feminized" and "ripe for conquest." Orientalism was rooted in the "impulse to dominate, possess" and it was about setting Europeans apart as a people who are not only different, but *superior* to Asia.
- **Yellow Peril** is an extension of Orientalism, framing Asians and Asian nations as economical, political, sexual, or moral threats to the West, or European and American nations. An example of yellow peril is white anxiety around Asian immigrant laborers replacing white workers. Racist rhetoric related to yellow peril comes out when the U.S. is at war, during economic crisis, or when Asians/Asian Americans are the target of a perceived threat, such as the rise of anti-Asian hate upon news of the COVID-19 outbreak.
- **"Model Minority" Myth** is a racialized stereotype of Asians/Asian Americans as culturally or biologically smarter, economically well-off, successful, obedient, and docile. These deceptively "positive" generalizations of Asian Americans as "model minority" help to reinforce imagined social trends while marginalizing Asian Americans who don't meet this perception. The myth also casts Asian Americans as subservient and still, "a foreigner." The model minority myth functions as a way to divide Asian Americans from other oppressed communities of color, helping to push a narrative that the U.S. is a meritocracy and colorblind. It also helps to denigrate challenges to systemic racism and minimizes demands for social change and according to Robert G Lee, the "model minority had less to do with the actual success of Asian Americans than with the perceived failure—or worse, refusal—of African Americans to assimilate" (2010, p. 256).
- **Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882** is one of the first immigration acts in the U.S. that excluded people based on race. It was one of the first of other acts that excluded Asian immigrants. This is in part due to fear that Asians were taking jobs away from white laborers and also connected to Yellow Peril, fears that Asians were taking over not just economically but also morally, and more.
- The **1965 Immigration Act** opened up immigration after restrictions especially against African and Asian groups. The act prioritized certain classes of laborers (i.e. "high-skilled"/high demand) and preferences family who were already in the U.S.
- **Coolies** are often attributed to Chinese and Indian laborers especially in Latin America/the Caribbean, but in particular lower wage laborers.
- **"White Man's Burden"** is the title of a poem by British writer, Rudyard Kipling who purported the west's moral obligation to "uplift" the "savage" "little brown brothers," or Filipinos. He wrote the poem at the start of the Philippine-American War, and this ideology justified American imperialism in the Philippines, the phrase and poem becoming "a euphemism for Western imperialism."
- **"No-no Boys"** is the nickname given to the approximately 12,000 Japanese American men who answered "no" to two questions in the loyalty questionnaire handed to them while incarcerated during World War II. The questions asked if the men would serve

in the U.S. armed forces on combat duty and if they would swear unqualified allegiance to the U.S.A. and forswear allegiance to the Japanese emperor or any other foreign government. The men who answered “no” did no because they questioned the U.S. government’s motives and found that the loyalty questionnaire added insult to injury. The “no-no boys” were sent to Tule Lake Segregation Center as punishment, a camp that was turned into “a maximum security center with additional barbed wire, increased guards and tanks, and an eight-foot-high double ‘man-proof’ fence.” No-no boys also met backlash from fellow Japanese Americans, like the leaders of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) who criticized them as draft dodgers and dishonorable.

- **Refugee** is used to describe people who often have no choice but to flee their homeland due to war or in order to escape dire political situations. Refugees differ from immigrants in that they’re often unable to make a plan of departure and may not bring as many resources with them, including material wealth. Refugees may also experience being separated from family members during or before their journey to a place of sanctuary.
- **Pacific Islanders** are a vast group of people from islands in the Pacific Ocean. The Office of Management and Budget states, “A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands. In addition to Native Hawaiians, Guamanians, and Samoans, this category would include the following Pacific Islander groups reported in the 1990 census: Carolinian, Fijian, Kosraean, Melanesian, Micronesian, Northern Mariana Islander, Palauan, Papua New Guinean, Ponapean (Pohnpean), Polynesian, Solomon Islander, Tahitian, Tarawa Islander, Tokelauan, Tongan, Trukese (Chuukese), and Yapese” (OMB, 1997 in Wright and Balutki, 2013, p.97).
- **Settler Colonialism** is when people settle in lands in which they are not indigenous and create institutions, enact policies, and build settlements that displace and erase indigenous people and cultures. This is done for the benefit of the settlers and settler communities.

Assignments

Check Your Understanding

1. Define and compare “yellow peril” and “model minority” myth and how they both work to racialize Asian Americans.
2. Considering immigration laws and histories, describe Asian immigration to the United States.
3. Summarize 2-3 examples of how Japanese Americans resisted and/or persevered mass incarceration during World War II.
4. Explain the perceived stereotypes about Pacific Islanders and counter with the way Pacific Islanders express who they are themselves

Journal Prompts

1. Think about your racial/ethnic group(s) or about yourself as an individual. Part I: Has there ever been a time when you were seen as a "model"? Or on the other side, have you been seen as "non-model"? What kind of privileges/benefits came with being "model"? What kinds of disadvantages came with being "non-model"? Part II: What are the differences with being seen as model/non-model as a group vs. as an individual? How might this relate to being seen as "model minority" as an Asian American stereotype, including the model minority sub-section of this chapter and undocumented Asian American students sub-section? Write at least a paragraph for Part I and write at least a paragraph for Part II.
2. Studying AAPI history is a chance for recollecting forgotten memories. Memories of war, life in homelands that older generations hold but younger generations don't know, histories that are clouded by colonialism and other structural violence. What are some memories that your family holds and shares? What are some things you want to ask about or know a little about but want to know more? What are some memories that you carry that you want your family to know? What are some things you've studied that you want your family to know you've learned?

Panethnicity Assignment

1. Create a T-chart (on Canvas discussion, Google Slide, Google Jamboard, or any other online learning resources)
2. On one side, brainstorm when it might be useful for Asian Americans to use a panethnic label. You may pull evidence from this chapter and examples from your own experiences, observations, or what you've seen on social media. For example, a great historical instance of when organizing under a panethnic label was useful was the justice for Vincent Chin campaign. This was a time when Asian Americans organized under a panethnic identity since they could be mistaken for a different Asian ethnicity, as Chin was. This made sense since anti-Asian violence often conflated all Asians as one racialized group, with anti-Asians not

caring to distinguish between ethnicities or nationalities. Or, perhaps when Asian American students went on strike for Ethnic Studies and Asian American Studies at SF state and UC Berkeley.

3. On the other side of the T chart, brainstorm when it might be useful for Asian Americans to use an ethnic-specific label. For example, when campaigning to end deportations of formerly incarcerated Cambodian Americans, it may be more useful to point out the unique experiences of Cambodian Americans as refugees of a war and genocide in Cambodia as it relates to their struggle for justice. Or, advocating for Ethnic Studies classes that focus specifically on Pacific Islanders, so that they aren't marginalized under the larger Asian American Pacific Islander banner in some programs and classes. Examples might even include smaller scale instances, such as when Asian Americans share their ethnic background, it might make more sense for some to identify as Korean American, for example, pointing to their specific heritage, language, culture, family dynamic, and food.
4. Once the chart is complete, we will debrief on the comparisons and why it's important to recognize how Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders may go back and forth between utilizing a panethnic identity and ethnic/nationality specific identity, depending on the context.

Video Reflection: Crazy Rich Asians

Watch the video Crazy Rich Asians (2018) and then consider the questions that follow. Here is the trailer from the blockbuster hit.

- Why do you think there is such a disconnect between numbers of Asian Americans in poverty and funding for Asian community organizations?
- What would be the unique challenges of obtaining survey data in Asian communities that might not pose the same challenges in other minority communities? How would you suggest addressing these sampling challenges?
- In what ways is the model minority an ideology to justify inequality and racism?
- Do you think dark-skinned Asian Americans might be subjected to more prejudice and discrimination than light-skinned Asian Americans?

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

9: Euro Americans and Whiteness

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9.1: History and Demographics

Introduction

Euro Americans, or white Americans, emanate from diverse backgrounds and experiences. In this section, we will focus on English, German, Irish, Italian, and Eastern European immigrants. Emphasis is also placed on significant immigration legislation impacting Euro Americans, the legal definition of whiteness, and current demographics of white Americans.

Although many **white ethnics**, individuals and groups who society deems to be "white" but actually have ethnic ties to their homeland in a country (e.g., Germany, Poland, Netherlands, Ireland, Syria, Cuba, etc.) other than the U.S., have migrated to the U.S. because they perceived it to be a land of economic and political freedom and opportunity, many have been driven from their homelands by border wars, internal ethnic conflict, economic uncertainty or collapse, lack of educational opportunities, less political freedom, and a myriad of other reasons. The primary push factors—those conditions which impel people to emigrate from their native lands and immigrate to a new and unknown country—are political and economic, and, as one might guess, the primary pull factors—those real or perceived conditions in the new country which beckon to those on foreign shores moving people to emigrate from the countries of their birth—are also political and economic. Regardless of the push or pull factors, white ethnics are frequently voluntary migrants to the U.S. choosing to migrate, sometimes at great personal risk, because they choose to migrate.

Immigrants from England

In 1607, the English founded their first permanent settlement in present-day America at Jamestown in the Virginia Colony. Individuals from the north of England, Scotland, and northern Ireland (Scotch-Irish) constituted most of the migration to the early U.S. colonies. Most of the early European immigrants during this colonial time period were from England; 60% of the 3 million white Americans in 1790 were English (Schaefer, 2019). The government institutions followed the English mold and adopted the English language, as this group of white Anglo Saxon Protestants (WASP) established themselves as the dominant group in the U.S. Thus, they defined what it meant to be white. Fleeing religious persecution and seeking religious freedom in the U.S., the Puritans and Quakers sought economic opportunities in this new country. Many of these immigrants were indentured servants, performing cheap labor for the colonies for a period of typically four to seven years - only to be replaced with the more lucrative enslaved African population. Immigrants from Scotland, Germany and Ireland soon came to outnumber the English, but the English colonists maintained their dominant position.



Figure **9.1.1**: British flag. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; ianonline via Flickr)

Immigrants from Germany, Ireland and Italy

White ethnic Europeans formed the second and third great waves of immigration, from the early nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. They joined a newly minted United States that was primarily made up of white Protestants from England. While most immigrants came searching for a better life, their experiences were not all the same.

Though pockets of German, Swedish and Dutch had immigrated prior to the end of the American Revolution, the first major influx of European immigrants came from Germany and Ireland, starting in the 1820s. Germans came both for economic opportunity and to escape political unrest and military conscription, especially after the Revolutions of 1848. Many German immigrants of this period were political refugees: liberals who wanted to escape from an oppressive government. They were well-off enough to make their way inland, and they formed heavily German enclaves in the Midwest that exist to this day. Their migration into middle America displaced many Indigenous populations and contributed to the Dakota War of 1862. German immigration continued into the next century, but Germany's role in the World Wars contributed to many German Americans distancing themselves from their

homeland. Nonetheless, the U.S. has experienced steady immigration from Germany, the country with the largest single source of ancestry of people currently residing in the U.S.



Figure **9.1.2**: Flags of the world. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Penn State via Flickr)

As the second largest group of immigrants during the colonial period, Irish immigrants reflected a broad economic spectrum. Though, the Irish Potato Famine of 1845 led many to flee their homeland as they struggled with poverty and starvation. Irish immigrants settled mainly in the cities of the East Coast, where they were employed as laborers and where they faced significant discrimination. They performed hard, manual labor in the decades in which they were immigrating, thus contributing greatly to the physical infrastructure of the U.S. Though Ireland as a country condemned slavery and many Irish Americans shared the plight at the bottom of the U.S. social hierarchy with African Americans, the Irish immigrants instead distanced themselves from African Americans. The low position the Irish held in the racial hierarchy in Europe was repeated in the U.S., but in pursuit of whiteness, the Irish immigrants began to also distance themselves from their ethnic background. Yet, Irish Americans have been influential in the U.S. Roman Catholic Church.

Irish immigration continued into the late 19th century and earlier 20th century, at which point the numbers for Southern European immigrants started growing as well. Italians, mainly landless and from the southern part of the country, began arriving in large numbers in the 1880s. Italian immigrants hailed from diverse ethnic backgrounds; thus, they were not a homogenous cultural group. As discussed in Chapter 3.1, the influx of newcomers resulted in fierce anti-immigrant sentiment, **nativism**, among factions of the U.S. "native" born predominantly White Angle Saxon Protestant (WASP) population. The new arrivals were often viewed as unwanted competitors for jobs. The Catholic European immigrants, including the Irish and Italians, faced discrimination for their religious beliefs; though Italians further found discomfort in the Irish American domination of the Catholic Church. The anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic Know-Nothing political party of the 1850s attempted to curb immigration. They also called themselves the "Native Americans" in efforts to prevent non-native born Americans from taking political office. Still, Italian Americans have experienced success at the local political level, though they still experience challenges with the stereotype of being associated with organized crime.

Immigrants from Eastern Europe

Eastern European immigrants—people from Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, and Austria-Hungary—started arriving around the turn of the 20th century as well, though Polish immigrants were among the early settlers in Jamestown, Virginia in 1608. Many Eastern Europeans were peasants forced into a difficult existence in their native lands; political unrest, land shortages, and crop failures drove them to seek better opportunities in the United States at the end of the 19th century. Many Polish Americans performed work that others would not do, including laboring in the coal mines of Pennsylvania. While earlier waves of Polish immigrants consisted largely of Catholics, the Eastern European immigration wave also included Jewish people escaping pogroms (anti-Jewish uprisings) of Eastern Europe and the Pale of Settlement in what was then Poland and Russia. Over 2 million Jews from Eastern Europe entered the U.S. between 1880 and 1920, fleeing religious persecution. After the Holocaust and the end of World War II, Congress passed special legislation enabling refugees from Europe and the former Soviet Union to enter the United States.

Immigration Act of 1924

Throughout most of U.S. history, the flow of immigration from Europe was unfettered. The **Immigration Act of 1924** created a quota system that restricted entry to 2 percent of the total number of people of each nationality into the U.S. as of the 1890 national census–a system that favored immigrants from Western Europe–and largely prohibited immigrants from Asia, Africa, Latin

America, and Eastern Europe. This legislation served to ensure that the U.S. would remain a largely white nation for decades. It was not until the Immigration Act of 1965 that the immigration doors opened to the rest of the world, particularly Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa.

Legally White

The **Naturalization Act of 1790** allowed any free white person of "good character," who has been living in the United States for two years or longer to apply for citizenship. Without citizenship, nonwhite residents were denied basic constitutional protections, including the right to vote, own property, or testify in court. Free whites were allowed to become citizens. In 1922, Takao Ozawa, a Japanese American immigrant, sought his naturalized status; as part of his case, he claimed he was lighter than other whites. The unanimous Supreme Court decision however determined that the status of white was meant to identify only individuals of Caucasian descent. Thus, Ozawa was denied naturalization. A few months later, Bhagat Singh Thind, a high caste-Hindu of full Indian blood, also sought to become a naturalized citizen. He too was denied naturalization on the same grounds as Ozawa.



Figure 9.1.3: The courts have legally determined who is white. (CC PDM 1.0; Best Law via Flickr)

Throughout the Jim Crow system resulting in segregated housing, schools, and other public facilities, white individuals were afforded better opportunities in these social settings and institutions. As many African Americans have both European and African DNA, many African Americans have "passed" for white, thereby getting access to better societal resources and social institutions. But, not all who, by all intents and purposes, passed as white were legally considered white. Though she identified as white and aimed to legally change her racial status to white, because Ms. Phipps' birth certificate read Black, the courts ruled against her desire. Thus, the legacy of the "one drop" rule has extended as recently at the 1980s.

Currently, the U.S. Census Bureau includes the "original peoples of Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East" among white people; though members of some of these groups desired more specific ethnic categories in the Census. Further discussion of the Census and the Middle Eastern population is provided in Chapter 10. Also, the majority of those identifying as Latinx in the 2010 Census marked that they were white.

Thinking sociologically

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, many white individuals have ethnic ties to their homeland or the homeland of their ancestors. If you identify as white, do you have an understanding of the ethnic background of your ancestors? Do you know their country of origin, the reasons your ancestors migrated to the U.S., and their early experiences in the U.S.?

Current Demographics

Most people in the 2010 Census identified as white, comprising 76.3% of the U.S. population according to the U.S. Census. As stated in Chapter 2, the white portion of the U.S. population is declining.

The U.S. Census from 2008 revealed that 16.5% of respondents reported being of German descent, the largest white ethnic group in the country at the time. For many years, German Americans endeavored to maintain a strong cultural identity, but they are now culturally assimilated into the dominant U.S. culture.

There are now more Irish Americans in the United States than there are Irish in Ireland. Irish Americans have slowly achieved acceptance and assimilation into the dominant group.

Myers (2007) states that Italian Americans' cultural assimilation is "almost complete, but with remnants of ethnicity." The presence of "Little Italy" neighborhoods—originally segregated slums where Italians congregated in the nineteenth century—exist today. While tourists flock to the saints' festivals in Little Italies, most Italian Americans have moved to the suburbs at the same rate as other white groups.

Key Takeaways

- A variety of push and pull factors have contributed to the migration of white ethnic individuals into the U.S.
- The experiences of white ethnics in the U.S. has ranged from entering the ranks of the dominant group to experiences of nativism.
- Historically and in contemporary society, legally identifying as white has sometimes been mired in friction.
- The population of white Americans in the U.S. is declining.

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9.2: Intergroup Relations

"Can we all just get along?" This is the question expressed by Rodney King, as he tried to calm the 1992 rebellion that rippled through the Los Angeles region, following the jury's acquittal of police officers accused of excessive use of force against King. The answer to King's question depends. Depends on the time period, the context or situation, geographical location, and also the individuals or groups involved. On one hand, the answers to King's question is "No, groups cannot get along," as race-ethnic intergroup relations result in inhumane consequences such as genocide or expulsion, which has explained the migration of experiences of some individuals in the white/Euro Americans category. Some in this group have also experienced mildly less inhumane consequences, resulting in internal colonialism and segregation, as experienced by non-**WASP (White Anglo Saxon Protestant)** immigrants. A more tolerable intergroup outcome, fusion or amalgamation, can be used to explain the experiences of intermarriage or multiracial children within the category of white/Euro Americans. Assimilation appears as another favorable intergroup consequence; however, it can also be argued that assimilation serves to deny one's ethnic identity, which should also be understood as a troubling consequence that explains the loss of ancestral cultures amongst many white Americans. The most tolerant intergroup consequence of race-ethnic relations is pluralism or multiculturalism which may be evidenced in contemporary ethnic enclaves or communities of white ethnics.

Patterns of Intergroup Relations: White/Euro Americans

- **Extermination/Genocide:** The deliberate, systematic killing of an entire people or nation (e.g. Holocaust).
- **Expulsion/ Population Transfer:** The dominant group expels the marginalized group (e.g. Eastern European exiles).
- **Internal Colonialism:** The dominant group exploits the marginalized group (e.g. indentured servants).
- **Segregation:** The dominant group structures physical, unequal separation of two groups in residence, workplace & social functions (e.g. Little Italy; “No Irish Need Apply”).
- **Fusion/ Amalgamation:** Race-ethnic groups combine to form a new group (e.g. whiteness, intermarriage, multiracial children).
- **Assimilation:** The process by which a marginalized individual or group takes on the characteristics of the dominant group (e.g. white/Anglo conformity).
- **Pluralism/ Multiculturalism:** Various race-ethnic groups in a society have mutual respect for one another, without prejudice or discrimination (e.g. Little Italy, Little Warsaw, Greektown, Germantown, Jewish ethnic enclave).

Genocide and Expulsion

Eastern European and Jewish individuals and groups fled persecution and even **genocide**, systematic killing of an entire people, in their home countries. Such was the case during WWII in which more than 6 million Jews were killed in Europe during the Hitler's Third Reich leading to the Holocaust. Well before World War II, many Eastern Europeans experienced **expulsion**, as they were pushed out of their homelands, fleeing to other European countries and then the U.S. Between 1880 and 1920, more than 2 million Jews from Eastern Europe migrated to the U.S., escaping religious persecution at home. Other Eastern Europeans, including Polish immigrants, came to the U.S. as exiles, refugees, or displaced people. More than 1 million Armenians were victims of genocide during World War 1.

Internal Colonialism and Segregation

Other sub-groups of Euro American immigrants experienced challenging circumstances in their homeland and upon their migration to the U.S. Indentured servants from England and Scotland reflected **internal colonialism** (exploitation by the dominant group), in that they were kept in servitude in the U.S. for 4-7 years. While German immigrants were not victimized to the same degree as many of the other communities of color, they incurred opposition from dominant white groups, particularly during the lead up to World War (and through World War II), sometimes resulting in de facto **segregation**, physical separation of groups resulting in inequality such as when a small number of German Americans were interned during WWII. Earlier in U.S. history, German immigrants were sometimes not allowed residency in Anglo American neighborhoods.

Irish immigrants, many of whom were very poor, were more of an underclass than the Germans. Akin to internal colonialism and **cultural genocide** (systematic killing off of one's culture as discussed in Chapter 5) in Ireland, the English had oppressed the Irish

for centuries, eradicating their language and culture and discriminating against their religion (**anti-Catholicism**). Although the Irish comprised a larger population than the English, they were a subordinate group, lacking political and economic power. This dynamic reached into the new world, where Anglo Americans saw Irish immigrants as a race apart: dirty, lacking ambition, and suitable for only the most menial jobs. In fact, Irish immigrants were subject to criticism identical to that with which the dominant group characterized African Americans resulting in de facto **segregation**. For example, in eastern U.S. cities, common signage read "No Irish Need Apply." By necessity, Irish immigrants formed tight communities as they were segregated from their Anglo neighbors.



Figure **9.2.1**: Irish Dancers participate in the Dublin Irish Festival, Dublin, Ohio. (CC BY-NC 2.0; OZinOH via Flickr)

The later wave of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe was also subject to intense discrimination and prejudice from Anglo and other Euro Americans. In particular, the dominant group—which now included second- and third-generation Germans and Irish—saw Italian immigrants as the dregs of Europe and worried about the purity of the American race (Myers, 2007). Italian immigrants lived in segregated slums known as Little Italy in Northeastern cities, and in some cases were even victims of violence and lynchings as were African Americans in the same time period, discussed in Chapter 6. Lynchings against Italian Americans were not widespread, but one of the most vicious attacks occurred in New Orleans in 1891 in which 11 Italians were lynched. In general, Italians worked harder and were paid less than other workers, often doing the dangerous work that other laborers were reluctant to take on.

Assimilation and Fusion/Amalgamation

In colonial U.S. history, immigrants from a variety of European countries such as England, Scotland, France, Spain, Germany, and the Scandinavia struggled for dominance, with the dominant group becoming English Americans. Hence, the U.S. society is largely based on the culture, laws, customs, and practices of English Americans. **Assimilation**, conforming to the norms and values of the dominant culture, is the most typical intergroup consequence applicable to white Americans. This **Anglo-conformity** model posits that other race-ethic groups should strive to follow the White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP) norms in food, dress, language, religion, holidays, and other cultural practices.

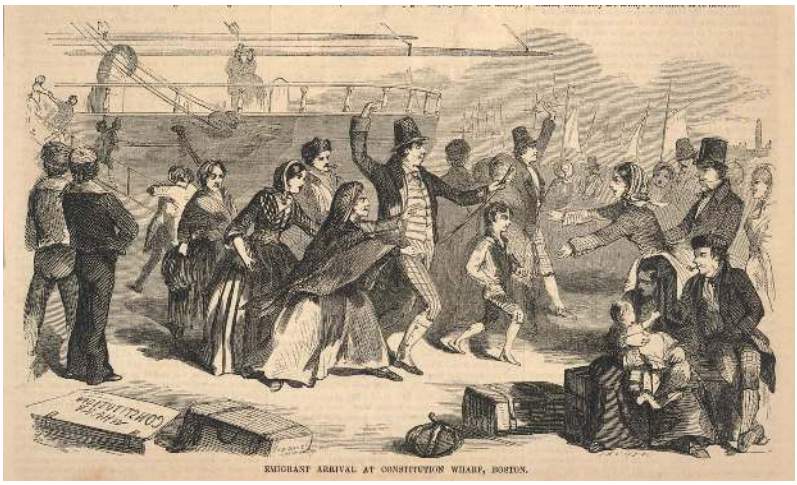


Figure **9.2.2**: "Emigrant Arrival at Constitution Wharf" by Winslow Homer (1857). (CC PDM 1.0; Smithsonian American Art Museum via Wikimedia)

While positioned similarly with African Americans in their struggle against Anglo domination during the mid 1800s, over time the Irish ultimately followed the assimilation model. In Noel Ignatiev's study of Irish immigrants in the 19th-century United States, How the Irish Became white, he posited that the Irish triumph over nativist efforts, thus their assimilation, marked the incorporation of the Irish into the dominant group of American society: white. Ignatiev claimed that the Irish gained acceptance as white when they supported slavery and violence against free African Americans. Only through their own violence against free Blacks and support of slavery did the Irish gain acceptance as white and thus admission into jobs, neighborhoods, and schools. One might say the Irish exchanged their greenness for whiteness, and thus collaborated against Blackness.

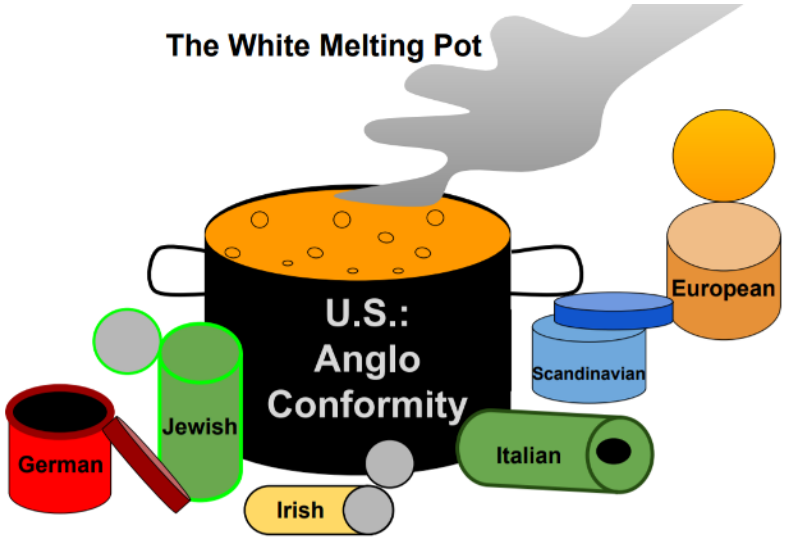


Figure **9.2.3**: The White Melting Pot. (Diagram created by Jakobi Oware)

As shown in Figure 9.2.3, the melting pot analogy connects to this assimilation, but it is also relevant to the intergroup consequence of **fusion** or **amalgamation**, the converging of different race-ethnic groups into a new group. The category of white is a uniquely American concept, with little historical relevance in Europe. Yet, over the past few centuries of European immigration to the U.S., many white Americans no longer have any ties to the homeland of their ancestors. White has also become an amalgamated concept for individuals whose ancestors may hail from more than one European country, or even North African, Middle Eastern, or Latin American country - but rather than identifying with the nationality or ethnicity, they connect with white, which is the absence of ethnicity. Many white Americans have little knowledge of their immigrant ancestors or their ethnic heritage, thus not even possessing **symbolic ethnicity**, a minor aspect of one's identity tied to the old country. However, Hansen in 1938 proposed the principle of **third generation interest**, what the second generation tries to forget, the third generation tries to remember. This

melting of the white ethnicity in favor of the socially constructed term of white will be discussed further in the next section, and should be equated with an absence of ethnicity.

Additionally, **miscegenation**, intermarriage between members of different race-ethnic groups, has also contributed to the consequence of fusion or amalgamation. In the middle of the 19th century, many Irish and African Americans lived side by side and shared work spaces. Their close contact sometimes led to intermarriage and bi-racial children. In the 1850 U.S. Census, the term mulatto appeared primarily due to the intermarriage between Irish and African Americans. Yet, such unions were extremely threatening to white supremacy which regards "sexual purity" to maintain this construct. Miscegenation was regarded as a threat to whiteness. In fact, the racist film Birth of a Nation in 1909 portrayed the danger of race mixing and the threat that Black men posed for white women. Yet, during the institution of slavery, Black women were regularly raped by their white slaver owners, thereby created a mixed population; though during the peculiar institution and the "one drop rule" reign, these individuals were regarded as Black.

Today, the third fastest growing group in the U.S. is multiracial individuals, people who are "two or more races." Most of these multiracial individuals have a white parent and a parent of color. Similarly, most intermarriages in the U.S. involve a white partner married to an individual of color.

Thinking Sociologically

If you are multiracial mixed with white ancestry, do you have a connection to your white or white ethnic background? Why or why not?

Pluralism

Glimpses of **pluralism**, mutual respect for and coexistence of a variety of cultures, may today be understood by the presence of white ethnic enclaves. (Ethnic enclaves were defined in Chapter 2.2). Earlier Euro American immigrant groups who settled into ethnic enclaves or communities in the 19th and 20th centuries did so as a result of segregation they experienced upon their migration to the U.S. However, to be considered pluralist, these ethnic enclaves must be free of discrimination which was clearly not always the case in previous centuries. The following all include examples of white ethnic enclaves: The Little Italys in New York, Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia; the Crown Heights area of Brooklyn New York which is home to nearly 100,000 Lubavitsch-sect, ultra-Orthodox Jews; the Amish and other Old Order religious groups of Iowa, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and far Northwestern Minnesota are all primary exemplars of ethnic enclaves.



Figure **9.2.4**: Little Italy at Christmastime. (CC BY-SA 2.0; annulla via Flickr)

These white ethnic groups formed neighborhoods where first, second, and third generation white ethnics lived and worked together in ethnic enclaves. By 1920, New York City became a major destination for Eastern European Jewish immigrants, who fled religious persecution and **anti-Semitism**, intense prejudice and racism against Jews (discussed further in Chapter 10). These Jewish

immigrants performed both skilled and unskilled labor. These Jewish immigrants created dense networks of commercial, financial, and social cooperation (Healey, 2014). These enclaves provided access to cultural resources included jobs, foodways, cultural traditions, holidays, and ethnic pride. Another examples of pluralism can be understood with the Amish population. This traditional, religious group is committed to a way of life organized around farming with an absence of technology in their lives.

Ethnic enclaves tend to survive if is there is constant migration. Many of the aforementioned white ethnic enclaves have survived for several generations, but later generations tend to follow the traditional assimilation patterns and move further into the wider society, particularly the suburbs. More likely these white ethnic enclaves today reflect symbolic ethnicity such as Little Italy in New York City which is comprised of a few bakeries and restaurants or the St. Patrick's Day celebration in this same city, reflecting a hint of Irishness.

Key Takeaways

- Though assimilation may be the intergroup consequence most applicable to the experiences of white Americans, the following intergroup consequences are relevant for certain white ethnic groups: genocide, expulsion, internal colonialism, segregation, fusion, and pluralism.
- Anti-Catholicism and Anglo-conformity as well as prejudice and discrimination contributed to more challenging experiences with intergroup relations amongst Euro Americans/white ethnics.

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9.3: Whiteness- White Privilege, White Supremacy, and White Fragility

Whiteness vs. the Other

Whiteness is something that was created by juxtaposing Europeans with Native peoples and other non-Europeans. Michael Omi and Howard Winant (2014) define **racial formation** as the process in which racial identity is created and experienced. Non-Europeans were "othered" in order to maintain a superiority of whiteness. Since encountering Native peoples in the 15th and 16th centuries in what is now the United States, white settlers used to judge Native peoples' appearances as backwards with "dark devil skin," even as sexually loose and therefore immoral. Relatedly, white settlers would see Africans as dark and therefore opposite of them, having protruding lips and often created caricatures with images of dark people with huge lips. In both instances, white settlers saw these peoples as "heathen" and "uncivilized" and therefore used this to justify why they needed to conquer Native lands and enslave Black people, as both were seen as unfit to take care of themselves. This idea of "unfit to take care of themselves" was promoted through an infantilization of nonwhites meaning they were described as childlike and therefore unable to take care of themselves (see Takaki, 2008 or Zinn, 2009, or others for more information about these initial racializations). The sidebar below shows an example of infantilization that was extended to relate to other people and serve as justification for conquest and rule, just like it had been used against Native Americans and Black Americans. Something identified as racial, whether having direct association to a racial group, whether true or not or even something like having a motive to designate something racially, is what Omi and Winant (2014) call **racial projects**. In defining racism, they state that racial projects can be defined as racist if "it creates or reproduces structures of domination based on racial signification and identities" (Omi and Winant, 2014, p. 128). In this way, the combination of racial association or label with "structures of domination" can mean that racism requires a notion of superiority tied to a particular group.

The Three I's of Oppression

The three I's of oppression describes multi-dimensional domination.

Interpersonal oppression is when someone is being oppressed by another person, thus inter + personal. Violently attacking someone on the street is a form of interpersonal oppression. Attacking someone specifically due to race is interpersonal racism. Name-calling, microaggressions, verbal insults, and verbal or physical assaults, are some examples which demonstrate interactive exchange within interpersonal oppression. Microaggressions have increasingly been researched amongst people of color communities as a way to explain oppression that isn't always considered a "macro" oppression like institutional racism but something usually more interpersonal and "less severe" like a verbal insult or slights. Filipino American psychologist Kevin Nadal is one who has lead research on microaggressions against Filipinx Americans specifically, and Asian Americans generally. With Asian Americans, one thing that some expressed was treating Asian Americans as foreigners as if many hadn't been born here. Many say that even though they are called "micro"aggressions, they can still cause deep psychological impact especially when experienced constantly and that they can often feel larger than "micro" in impact. While seemingly disconnected, interpersonal oppression or racism can largely be in relationship to the Institutional. Because of the policies that frame how to operate with people, individuals can treat one another according to certain laws and procedures.

Internalized oppression is when a person internalizes negative messages, stereotypes, etc. that are associated with some aspect of them. For example, if they are a person of color and hate their skin color or hair texture, this could represent internalized racism that they somehow learned in their lifetime. Colonial mentality is when one believes in the inferiority of colonized peoples or the inferiority of some aspect within being a colonized or formerly colonized people. One example of this is if an English-speaking country colonized another country and colonizers teach them that English is superior, then believing that English is better than their language(s) in part shows that this colonial mentality accepts the superiority of the colonizer. Even though institutional and interpersonal oppression seem to be the most damaging and harmful of the oppressions, decolonial scholars importantly point out the extreme dangers of internalized oppression. When a person believes themselves to be inferior, this contributes to their continual subjugation and oppression as not believing they have power and agency. When people absorb ideas and beliefs of a group, they will perpetuate or challenge these ideas in regard to themselves, their family, and others. This helps to complete the cycle between the I's.

Institutional oppression (detailed later in this chapter) is oppression within organizations, societal institutions such as government, health, media, schooling, and more. According to Omi and Winant (2015), institutional oppression is one that is largely seen

through laws, policies, and protocols. In this way, institutions function largely without needing constant surveillance that guides every movement because when rules are created, people for the most part will follow them. Institutions also operate seemingly invisibly in this way by standardizing functions and symbols so that they are universally known. Institutional oppression within laws can exclude people from immigrating to the United States and it can also decide who is criminalized or otherwise different. The Immigration Act of 1924, for example, placed quotas on immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe and completely denied immigrants from Asia.

In the 1970s, education scholar Caroline Persell named the three I's of oppression and included societal oppression to be in a system called the "structures of dominance" that worked together to uphold oppressive ideologies in a cycle. Societal oppression are the societal values and beliefs, or ideologies, that can serve to uphold dominance for some and subordination for others. In her model of structures of dominance, institutions shape the way that people interact with one another, and therefore impacts how one sees themselves. This then translates into group values and beliefs. She specifically uses this model for education in the way that educational policy and rules impact teacher-to-student behavior and student-to-teacher behavior, and counselor-to-student behavior, etc. Then this influences the way the students see themselves, the way teachers see themselves, etc. and gets absorbed into existing and new pathways for societal beliefs. There are more ways that oppression operates within the dimensions according to Persell's structures of dominance, but one of the most significant of her ideas within this model reflect how structures of dominance don't just self-maintain oppression, but in particular it upholds the domination of the ruling class within education and throughout society.

Race and Children

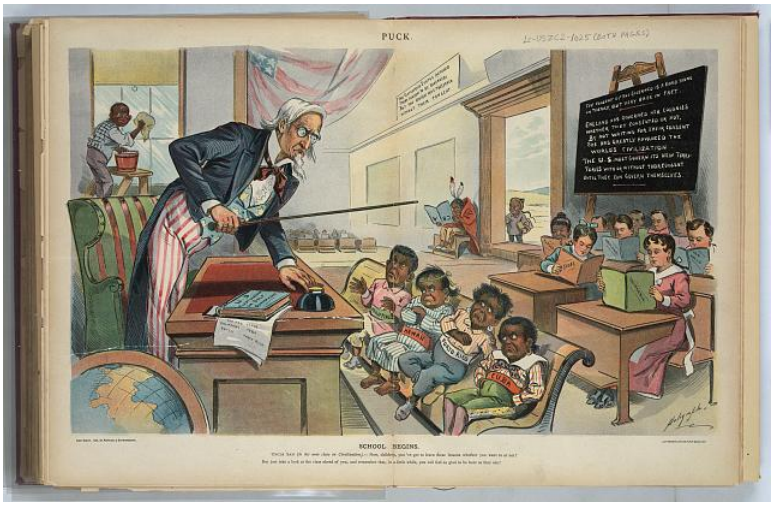


Figure **9.3.1**: School begins / Dalrymple, 1899. (Public Domain; Louis Dalrymple via Library of Congress)

Sidebar

Figure 9.3.1 from the Library Congress, school children are deemed savages and Uncle Sam is teaching the class. It portrays different places such as Cuba, Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico, etc. as childlike and unruly. This picture is used to show how these places need the care and guidance of the United States through direct policy and governance. Specifically, these places became a part of U.S. territory in 1898 after the Spanish-American War, and as the U.S. exercised dominance through narratives of saviorism, or the idea that these places need the U.S. to "save" them from their uncivilized and unfit-to-rule selves. The authors of *The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons* (2014) gathered some of these images as a look at U.S. imperialism, or rule that extends over an empire and dictates matters of economic, political, social, cultural rules of another country. Hawai'i is included in this and actually became a state but many are unaware that the U.S. imprisoned Queen Liliʻuokalani of Hawaiʻi in her home and forcefully took over Hawaiʻi so that's how it became a state. Many sovereignty activists are legally battling the mainstream depiction of Hawaiʻi annexation narratives that exclude the violent takeover of their lands and are imprisoned. Scholar Noenoe Silva discusses how the Queen of Hawaiʻi was compared to Black Americans and deemed unfit the rule. The U.S. created caricatures of her that likened her to racist Black caricatures. These

images of imperialism gathered in *The Forbidden Book* shows the long history of "othering" and conquest that links Black, Indigenous, and people of color histories and realities and help to unmask hidden truths about race, U.S. imperialism, and white supremacy.



Figure **9.3.1.5**: Vintage Children, Little Girl with Doll. (CC BY-NC 2.0; chicks57 via Filckr)

Scholar Robin Bernstein wrote a book on race and childhood where she demonstrates how white children are seen as more **racially innocent** than Black children. This is evident in children's toys and especially dolls where white dolls have had angelic appearances with rosy cheeks, delicate curly blond tendrils, and blue eyes. Bernstein illustrates how this innocence is not just one that displays so-called innocent appearances, but also defines the way that we understand whiteness and blackness especially in this age. This is especially significant because there is often a regard for treating race and racism as "very political" and "inappropriate" for younger ages. The idea of racial innocence as non-political attempts to lay personal blame on people of color for any discrimination or oppression instead and deflects from structural causes. De-politicizing race and feigning a non-connection to innocence reinforces attempts to deny discussing race with children. A common sentiment is the desire to not want to teach children about race because they are perceived as young and impressionable. This misconception actually obscures the fact that children can experience racism at a really young age and as discussed about the doll test below, they can distinguish at an early age as well.

Ideology and Hegemony

Ideology is a set of beliefs such as within a group. Ideologies are a part of all societies and contribute to how they define and distinguish who they are. Ideologies are often used to delineate who belongs and who does not, by sometimes attempting to require members of society and groups to practice and embrace such beliefs. In Ethnic Studies, it is recognized how sometimes ideologies spouted by elitist members in society can be harmful to the rest of the population, especially when they disregard the humanity of others, devalue their labor and cultures, and attempt to erase other cultures and way of life.

Sidebar: Ideology

One example of ideology is whiteness as the standard for beauty



Figure 9.3.1.7: "Then and Now® Bathing Suit Barbie® - Made in China". (CC by NC-ND 4.0; Dolls N' Stuff via Flickr)

Related to ideology, **hegemony** is the dominance of one groups' beliefs over others. When dominating beliefs are the standard or norm within organizations and institutions, it then establishes power for the dominant group and therefore helps to solidify dominant practices and beliefs within laws and policies that then are applied to everyone. Antonio Gramsci first introduced the concept of hegemony as cultural hegemony to explain the structured domination/subordination relationship. For example, Bates (1975) remarked how Gramsci's hegemony could "eliminate class struggle" by squashing it with such dominant norms and beliefs (p. 351). These laws and policies that uphold dominant beliefs as the norm often oppress marginalized populations.

Sidebar: Dr. and Mamie Clark, the Doll Test



Dr. Kenneth Clark and Mamie Phipps Clark were influential African American psychologists known for their pioneering research on racial segregation and its impact on children's self-esteem and identity. Their famous "doll tests" in the 1940s provided empirical evidence of the psychological harm caused by racial segregation, as African American children often preferred white dolls over black dolls, revealing the internalized prejudice and negative self-perception imposed by segregation. This research played a crucial role in the landmark Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court case, which led to the desegregation of American schools in 1954, as it demonstrated the harmful effects of racial discrimination on young minds and underscored the need for change in educational policies and practices. The Clarks' work contributed significantly to the civil rights movement and continues to be influential in the fields of psychology and education.

In the **doll test** white and Black children were shown dolls, identical except for color, and were asked various questions about the dolls to test their racial perceptions. The questions included "what doll was the bad doll?" or "what doll is the pretty doll?" while being shown the Black and white doll. Many times the children associated being bad, inferior, and ugly with the Black doll and being good, beautiful, and smart with the white doll. For many, it can be astonishing to witness the choices being made especially when the skin color of the dolls being seen as negative is often the same skin color as the child.

The doll test was only one part of Dr. Clark's testimony in *Brown vs. Board* – it did not constitute the largest portion of his analysis and expert report. His conclusions during his testimony were based on a comprehensive analysis of the most cutting-edge psychology scholarship of the period.

Figure 9.3.2: "Doll Test, Harlem, New York" by Gordon Parks, Minneapolis Institute of Art is licensed under CC BY 4.0

Racialization

Racialization is assigning a racial category to someone especially that has not had a designation before (Omi and Winant, 2014). This typically refers to the way that people were categorized historically such as laws that dictated who can identify as white. In a

general sense, racialization is designating a race to someone even if it is a different designation from what they actually identify themselves as or a different designation from what someone else has told them. For example, people might racialize mixed race people differently if they are deemed racially ambiguous. People may also racialize people based on their own contexts. For example, if someone has dark skin and curly hair and they're walking around New York City, one might automatically think the person is Dominican due to the presence of Dominican people in New York City that might have dark skin and curly hair. This means that their context, or the conditions around them, influence how they racialize others. Even when someone or a group is racialized by others, not only does it mean that a lot of times such signification is not accepted by the individual or group, but that such characterization of a racial group is often forced onto minoritized groups.

Since colonization, U.S. nationality has been marked as one who is white. In Ronald Takaki's opening chapter of *A Different Mirror* (2008), he recalls how his midwestern taxi driver sees his Asianness as foreign despite Takaki being born in the U.S. The taxi driver reveled at his remarkable English skills. This is one example of how white is seen as "American." Takaki discusses this phenomenon as a master narrative that says nonwhite is foreign and does not belong. The prevalent belief in this master narrative or **metanarrative** also contributes to promoting the U.S. flag as super patriotic and representing traditional ideals and values that counter multiculturalism and other progress such as within gender, sexuality, and class struggles. When there is a metanarrative that "American" is limited to white, it creates a standard for legislation that uphold rights for those who promote these values.

Normalization of Whiteness and Color-Blind Racism

The **normalization of whiteness** helps to create a standardization of whiteness. As discussed on the next page, #oscarssowhite was used to point out how the Academy Awards showcases white actors and actresses way more than nonwhites. The normalization of whiteness helps the standardization of whiteness because when whiteness is normalized, it is held with greater esteem and therefore becomes the "standard" in which all must strive toward.



Figure **9.3.2.5**: Unlearn Racism. (CC BY-NC 2.0; Joe Brusky via Flickr)

It is the dominance of whiteness that had made whiteness into something so normal. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva identified this color-blind racism in *Racism Without Racists*, Bonilla-Silva asserts that there is no doubt that the majority of white people in the U.S. subscribe to the doctrines of color-blind racism. Bonilla-Silva (2007) argues that the rhetoric of **color-blind racism** as "the current and dominant racial ideology in the United States, constructs a social reality for people of color in its practices, which are subtle, institutional, and apparently nonracial" (pg. 3). He argues further that this race rhetoric supports a racial hierarchy that maintains white privilege and superiority; race and racism are structured into the totality of our social relations and practices that reinforce white privilege. Further Bonilla-Silva states,

> Instead of relying on name calling (using racial slurs), color-blind racism otherizes softly ("these people are human, too"); instead of proclaiming that God placed minorities in the world in a servile position, it suggests they are behind because they do not work hard enough; instead of viewing interracial marriage as wrong on a straight racial basis, it regards it as "problematic" because of concerns over the children, location, or the extra burden it places on couples (Bonilla-Silva, 2007).

In summary, Bonilla-Silva (2007) explains that this color-blind racism perpetuates white dominance and privilege in a more passive way than racism was carried out in the past, and often those who display color-blind racism think they are not racist.

In his book, *How the Irish Became white*, Noel Ignatiev wrote that white chauvinism amounts to the practice of white supremacy. Ignatiev explains that whiteness rests on the notion of whiteness as equated with a higher social class, thereby eliminating any possibility of **class consciousness**, awareness of one's class status. White individuals connecting with their whiteness rather than their class commonalities with working class populations leads them to voice, "I may be poor and exploited, but at least I'm white" and not Black (Whiteness - Sociology of Race - iResearchNet, 2020). This is the psychological wage of whiteness that DuBois wrote about in 1935. Whiteness has thus been understood as the absence of color, the absence of culture, the absence of racialization which has also made it extremely difficult for white Americans to really see their whiteness. Yet, of course people of color tend to easily see whiteness.

The final section of this chapter discusses social change and resistance with regards to whiteness. For example, the abolition of whiteness is discussed as necessary for the advancement of humanity. Yet, in order to abolish whiteness, it would need to not only be seen by whites, but be seen as unusual and detrimental to the human race.

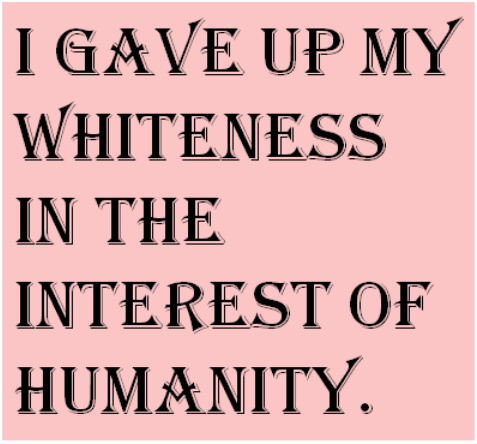


Figure **9.3.2.7**: Original creation by the co-author, Janét Hund.

White Privilege

It is important to discuss the advantages that U.S. Whites enjoy in their daily lives simply because they are white. Social scientists term these advantages white privilege, informing that whites benefit from being white whether or not they are aware of their advantages (McIntosh, 2007). **White privilege** is the benefit that white people receive simply by being part of the dominant group. McIntosh wrote that whites are carefully taught not to be aware of their race, rather to be unaware of their unearned assets and advantages. Using the analogy of an invisible knapsack, McIntosh created an initial list of 26 and later expanded to 52 the benefits of whiteness that white Americans carry in their backpacks. For example, whites can usually drive a car at night or walk down a street without having to fear that a police officer will stop them simply because they are white. They can count on being able to move into any neighborhood they desire to as long as they can afford the rent or mortgage. They generally do not have to fear being passed up for promotion simply because of their race. College students who are white can live in dorms without having to worry that racial slurs will be directed their way. White people in general do not have to worry about being the victims of hate crimes based on their race. They can be seated in a restaurant without having to worry that they will be served more slowly or not at all because of their skin color. If they are in a hotel, they do not have to think that someone will mistake them for a bellhop, parking valet, or maid. If they are trying to hail a taxi, they do not have to worry about the taxi driver ignoring them because the driver fears they will be robbed. If they are stopped by the police, they do not have to fear for their lives.

Social scientist Robert W. Terry (1981) once summarized white privilege as follows: “To be white in America is not to have to think about it. Except for hard-core racial supremacists, the meaning of being white is having the choice of attending to or ignoring one’s own whiteness” (pg. 120). For people of color in the United States, it is not an exaggeration to say that race is a daily fact of their existence. Yet whites do not generally have to think about being white. As all of us go about our daily lives, this basic difference is one of the most important manifestations of racial and ethnic inequality in the United States. While most white people are willing to admit that nonwhite people live with a set of disadvantages due to the color of their skin, very few are willing to acknowledge the benefits they receive.

Whites in the United States infrequently experience racial discrimination making them unaware of the importance of race in their own and others' thinking in comparison to people of color (Konradi & Schmidt, 2004). Many argue racial discrimination is outdated and are uncomfortable with the blame, guilt, and accountability of individual acts and institutional discrimination. By paying no attention to race, people think racial equality is an act of color-blindness, and it will eliminate racist atmospheres (Konradi & Schmidt, 2004). They do not realize the experience of not "seeing" race itself is racial privilege.

Thinking Sociologically

In her 1988 article *White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack*, Peggy McIntosh introduced the following 26 daily effects of white privilege in her life.

1. I can if I wish arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
2. If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of renting or purchasing housing in an area which I can afford and in which I would want to live.
3. I can be pretty sure that my neighbors in such a location will be neutral or pleasant to me.
4. I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.
5. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
6. When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.
7. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race.
8. If I want to, I can be pretty sure of finding a publisher for this piece on white privilege.
9. I can go into a music shop and count on finding the music of my race represented, into a supermarket and find the staple foods that fit with my cultural traditions, into a hairdresser's shop and find someone who can cut my hair.
10. Whether I use checks, credit cards or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability.
11. I can arrange to protect my children most of the time from people who might not like them.
12. I can swear, or dress in second-hand clothes, or not answer letters, without having people attribute these choices to the bad morals, the poverty, or the illiteracy of my race.
13. I can speak in public to a powerful male group without putting my race on trial.
14. I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race.
15. I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.
16. I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of color who constitute the world's majority without feeling in my culture any penalty for such oblivion.
17. I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a cultural outsider.
18. I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to "the person in charge," I will be facing a person of my race.
19. If a traffic cop pulls me over or if the IRS audits my tax return, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race.
20. I can easily buy posters, postcards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, and children's magazines featuring people of my race.
21. I can go home from most meetings of organizations I belong to feeling somewhat tied in, rather than isolated, out-of-place, outnumbered, unheard, held at a distance, or feared.
22. I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having co-workers on the job suspect that I got it because of race.
23. I can choose public accommodations without fearing that people of my race cannot get in or will be mistreated in the places I have chosen.
24. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.
25. If my day, week, or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it has racial overtones.
26. I can choose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" color and have them more less match my skin.

Which one(s) of these most strike(s) you, and why? Which, if any, are least relevant in our contemporary time period? What other daily effects of white privilege would you add to the list?

Black Like Me

In 1959, John Howard Griffin, a white writer, changed his race. Griffin decided that he could not begin to understand the discrimination and prejudice that African Americans face every day unless he experienced these problems himself. So he went to a dermatologist in New Orleans and obtained a prescription for an oral medication to darken his skin. The dermatologist also told him to lie under a sun lamp several hours a day and to use a skin-staining pigment to darken any light spots that remained.

Griffin stayed inside, followed the doctor's instructions, and shaved his head to remove his straight hair. About a week later he looked, for all intents and purposes, like an African American. Then he went out in public and passed as Black.

New Orleans was a segregated city in those days, and Griffin immediately found he could no longer do the same things he did when he was white. He could no longer drink at the same water fountains, use the same public restrooms, or eat at the same restaurants. When he went to look at a menu displayed in the window of a fancy restaurant, he later wrote,

> I read, realizing that a few days earlier I could have gone in and ordered anything on the menu. But now, though I was the same person with the same appetite, no power on earth could get me inside this place for a meal (Griffin, 1961, p. 42).

Because of his new appearance, Griffin suffered other slights and indignities. Once when he went to sit on a bench in a public park, a white man told him to leave. Later a white bus driver refused to let Griffin get off at his stop and let him off only eight blocks later. A series of stores refused to cash his traveler's checks. As he traveled by bus from one state to another, he was not allowed to wait inside the bus stations. At times, white men of various ages cursed and threatened him, and he became afraid for his life and safety. Months later, after he wrote about his experience, he was hanged in effigy, and his family was forced to move from their home.



Figure **9.3.3**: Demonstrators marching in the street holding signs during the March on Washington, 1963. (CC PDM 1.0; via Library of Congress)

Griffin's reports about how he was treated while posing as a Black man, and about the way African Americans he met during that time were also treated, helped awaken white Americans across the United States to racial prejudice and discrimination. The Southern civil rights movement, which had begun a few years earlier and then exploded into the national consciousness with sit-ins at lunch counters in February 1960 by Black college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, challenged Southern segregation and changed life in the South and across the rest of the nation.

White Supremacy

“White Supremacist Held Without Bond in Tuesday’s Attack,” the headline read:

> "In August 2009, James Privott, a 76-year-old African American, had just finished fishing in a Baltimore city park when he was attacked by several white men. They knocked him to the ground, punched him in the face, and hit him with a baseball bat. Privott lost two teeth and had an eye socket fractured in the assault. One of his assailants was arrested soon afterwards and told police the attack “wouldn’t have happened if he was a white man.” The suspect was a member of a white supremacist group, had a tattoo of Hitler on his stomach, and used “Hitler” as his nickname. At a press conference attended by civil rights and religious leaders, the Baltimore mayor denounced the hate crime. “We all have to speak out and speak up and say this is not acceptable in our communities,” she said. “We must stand together in opposing this kind of act” (Fenton, 2009, p. 11).

Arising in the late 1860s after slavery was abolished in the U.S, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) originated in resistance and white supremacy during the Reconstruction Era. Its members' belief in white supremacy has encouraged over a century of hate crime and hate speech. For example in 1924, the KKK marched down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C.; the KKK had 4 million members out of a national population of about 114 million. In the words of DuBois a century ago: “the Ku Klux Klan is doing a job which the American people, or certainly a considerable portion of them, want done; and they want it done because as a nation they have fear of the Jew, the immigrant, the Negro.”

Scholar, activist, Chicana feminist Elizabeth Martinez explicitly defines **white supremacy** as a system that promotes privilege and power of whiteness for white people through institutional entities (see: What is White Supremacy by Elizabeth ‘Betita’ Martinez). White supremacy is rooted in African enslavement, Native American removal and genocide, imperialism and war in Asia, and land dispossession of Mexico. These linkages to various non-European groups in these historical ways is not uncommon knowledge amongst Ethnic Studies scholars. Martinez distinguishes white supremacy from the term "racism," because white supremacy points out how racism is systemic and not only "as a problem of personal prejudices and individual acts of discrimination." White supremacy, therefore, points out a power relationship rooted in exploitation and maintaining the wealth, power and privilege of a few.

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, white nationalist groups espouse white supremacist or white separatist ideologies, often focusing on the alleged inferiority of nonwhites. These supremacist groups include the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Confederate, neo-Nazi, racist skinhead and Christian identity groups. Contemporary white supremacist sympathizers have characterized some of President Trump's Cabinet appointees (e.g., Steve Bannon, Larry Kudlow, and Stephen Miller) as well as violent counter-protestors at the anti-police brutality protests since the George Floyd murder in 2020. The 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia climaxed in the killing of one anti-racist white protester. President Trump shortly thereafter stated that there were good and bad people on both sides. In 2019, following the white supremacist killing of 51 Muslim worshippers in Christchurch, New Zealand, the white supremacist manifesto continued with a shooter in Poway, California at a Jewish synagogue and a gunman in a Walmart store in El Paso, Texas who left 23 dead, mostly Latinx victims.

Can Non-White People Be Racist?

While we are accustomed to thinking about white supremacy in terms of the aforementioned violent hate groups or white nationalist or white power groups, Bonilla-Silva (2007) and DiAngelo (2018) inform us that we should be more concerned with the insidious white supremacy that surrounds our entire society and exists in us, particularly white Americans. According to DiAngelo (2018), white progressives maintain white supremacy - largely through their silence and discomfort with addressing race and racism. Building upon the works of Bonilla-Silva (2007) and Takaki (1993), Hephzibah V. Strmic-Pawl (2015) defines **White supremacy** as "systematic and systemic ways that the racial order benefits those deemed white and operates to oppress people of color."

Omi and Winant (2014) bring up the idea that non-whites can also be racist, and Lipsitz (2006) points out that non-whites can invest in whiteness as well. However, it is important to point out that a lot of scholarship in Ethnic Studies doesn’t always use the words white supremacy. For example, they might talk about white elitism, white as dominant, etc. Even if scholarship does not explicitly name white supremacy as that, everything that helps to perpetuate the maintenance of white dominance is a part of the system of white supremacy. Part of this stems from how the concept of whiteness was created in order to distinguish European colonists from Native Americans and people of color, in particular to distinguish itself as superior. Therefore, talking about

whiteness has been a way to explain that the construction of whiteness is constantly created and re-created in order to try to maintain superiority. Further, whiteness operates within a system and also works representationally.

Possessive Investment in Whiteness

Part of the idea here is to recognize proportionality. While there are low-income white people, for example, the majority of white people aren't poor and those that are typically aren't poor due to racism. Additionally, while we understand racism as racial discrimination, many scholars in Ethnic Studies specifically emphasize the structural connection within the definition. In the 1990s, Ethnic Studies scholar George Lipsitz coined the term **Possessive Investment in Whiteness**, or PIW. PIW is a way to explain how white people are encouraged to "buy" into whiteness, promote it, maintain it, uplift it, and exclude access from others. Possessive Investment in Whiteness is to embrace the category of whiteness as a community that embraces white skinned hierarchy in order to obtain advantages that go deeper than everyday privilege. These advantages range from creating laws/policies/procedures that benefit white as a privileged class, that maintains generational wealth by excluding non-whites and profiting from structured discrimination. Part of the maintenance of PIW requires a normalization of whiteness (such as white as the standard of beauty), and adherence to the status quo. Because PIW is embedded in societal structures, it is also self-maintaining and replicating. One example of this is redlining which is explained further in the sidebar below (for more information about related structural racism please see the Racial Wealth Gap).

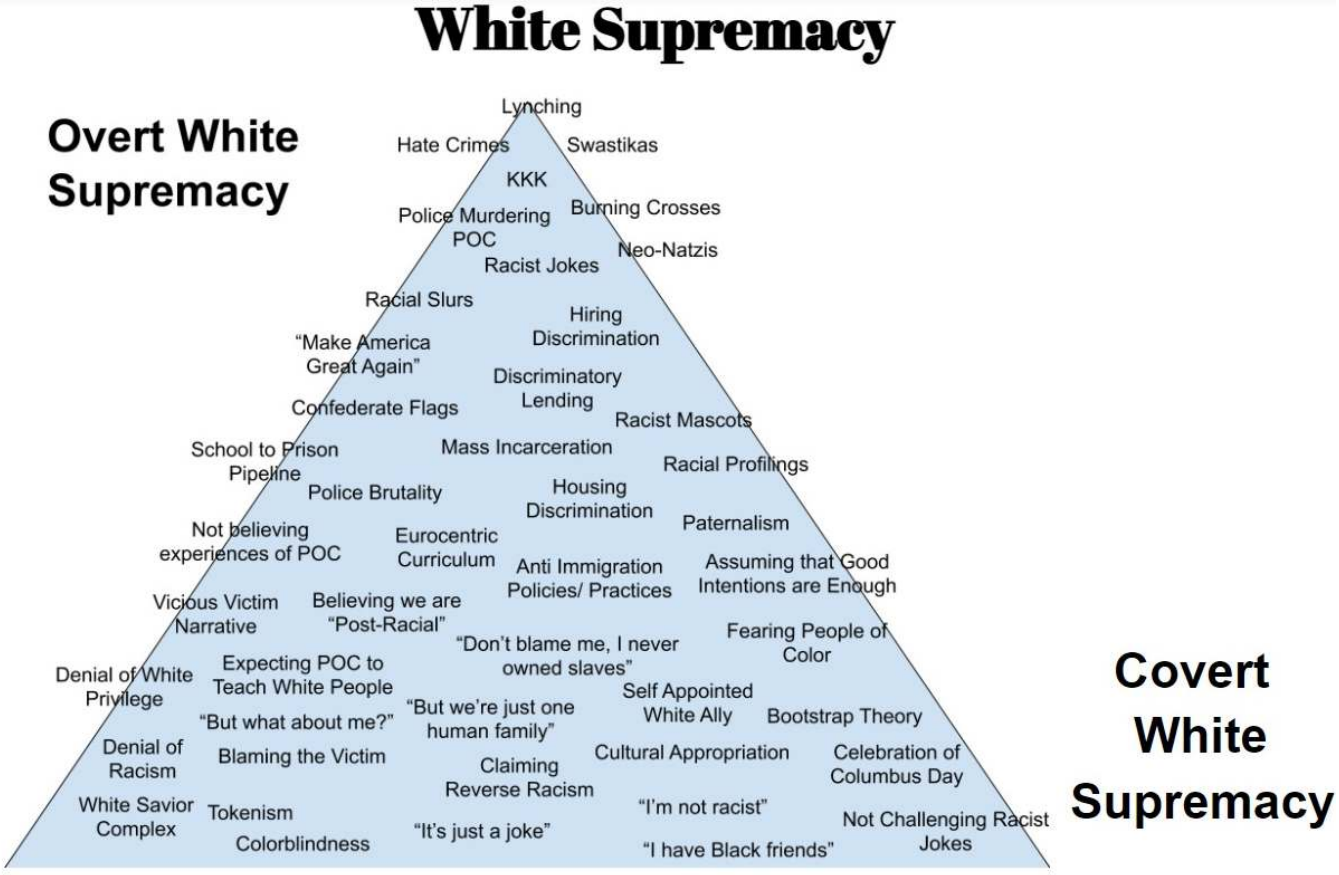


Figure 9.3.4: White Supremacy. (Chart adapted by Jonas Oware and LBCC SOCIO 11 Honors from the Safehouse Progressive Alliance for Nonviolence)

As shown in the figure below, Strmic-Pawl (2015) visualized white supremacy in the form of a flower: the roots or foundation of racism in the U.S. (e.g., slavery or Native American genocide), the stem or historical events and processes (e.g., Chinese Exclusion Act or Jim Crow Laws), and the bloom or contemporary U.S. (anti-Asian hate crimes or police brutality such as the killing of George Floyd). Each petal represents a different form of racial inequality. Though petals may fall off, this loss does not kill the plant (of white supremacy). This is akin to the replacement of slavery with Jim Crow and then the prison industrial complex as a way to control Black men, so eloquently explained in Michelle Alexander's The New Jim Crow.

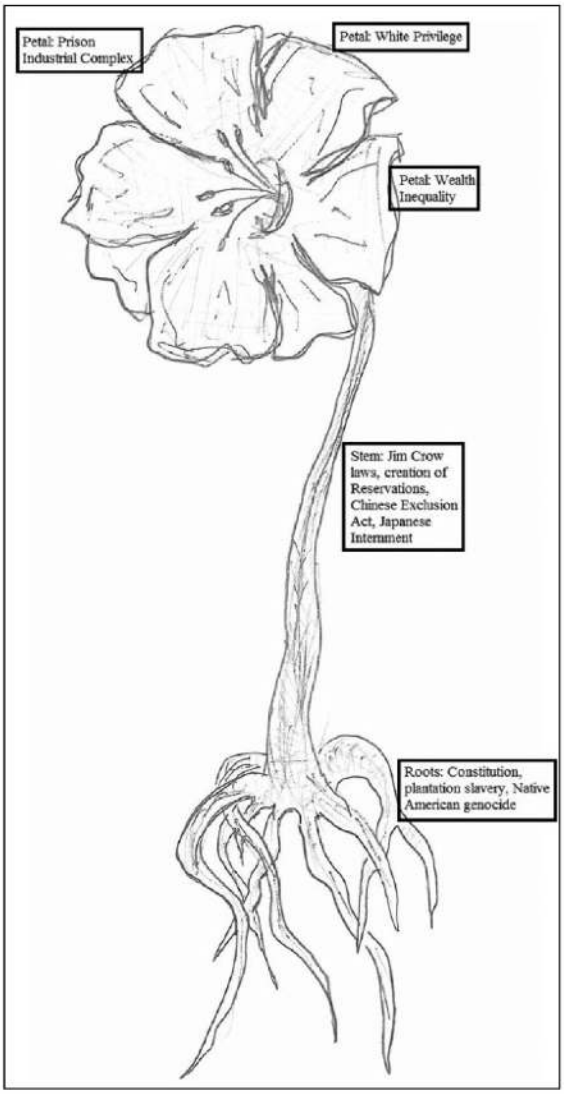


Figure **9.3.5**: The White Supremacy Flower. (Reprinted with the kind permission of Hephzibah V. Strmic-Pawl; Artist: Ali Cohen; From Hephzibah V. Strmic-Pawl; More Than a Knapsack: The White Supremacy Flower as a New Model for Teaching Racism)

White Fragility

In her introduction of *White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People To Talk About Racism*, Robin DiAngelo (2018) writes:

> We consider a challenge to our racial world views as a challenge to our very identities as good, moral people. Thus, we perceive any attempt to connect us to the system of racism as an unsettling and unfair moral offense. The smallest amount of racial stress is intolerable. The mere suggestion that being white has meaning often triggers a range of defensive responses. These include emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and withdrawal from the stress-inducing situation. These responses work to reinstate white equilibrium as they repel the challenge, return our racial confit, and maintain our dominance within the racial hierarchy. I conceptualize this process as white fragility. The white fragility is triggered by discomfort and anxiety. It is born of superiority and entitlement. White fragility is not weakness per se. In fact, it is a powerful means of white racial control and the protection of white advantage.

Now, the concept of **white fragility**, an outcome of white people's socialization into white supremacy and a means to protect, maintain, and reproduce white supremacy, has been injected into both our sociological and societal discussion. According to DiAngelo (2018), society is structured in a way to prevent whites from experiencing racial discomfort, which generally results in whites not having difficult conversations about race - which is exactly the behavior that produces and reproduces white supremacy. DiAngelo (2018) posits that "white progressives cause the most daily damage to people of color." Ultimately, DiAngelo (2018)

explains that white individuals must develop their racial stamina to have difficult conversations about race, actually listen to the voices of people of color, and refuse to remain silent when white supremacy is exposed.



Figure 9.3.6: white Silence = Death has been a rallying phrase amidst the anti-police brutality protests following George Floyd's murder in 2020. (CC PDM 1.0; Kat Jayne via Pexels)

Key Takeaways

- Whiteness is considered normal, transparent, and invisible - in addition to conferring dominance.
- Due to color blindness and a lack of class consciousness, many (white) Americans lack an understanding of whiteness and racial inequality.
- White privilege is something that white Americans benefit from though many are oblivious to the daily effects of white privilege.
- In both covert and overt ways, white supremacy is systemically and systematically impact the racial order, benefiting those deemed white and operatomg to oppress people of color.
- Many whites experience white fragility, an outcome of white people's socialization into white supremacy and a means to protect, maintain, and reproduce white supremacy.

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9.4: Intersectionality

Intersectionality is an analytic tool that gives people better access to the complexity of the world and of themselves (Collins & Bilge, 2020). This section provides a more nuanced understanding of whiteness in the context of the intersecting structures and identities of race, ethnicity, social class, gender, and sexuality. Using an intersectional lens, the reader unfolds the multifaceted layers of whiteness, unpacking how our social location and different placement in systems of racism, sexism, classism and heterosexism differently shape our experiences and our frames. Hence, while all white people benefit from white privilege and white supremacy, they certainly do not all benefit equally or in all social locations.

Immigrant Women

As explained by Joseph Healey, Andi Stepnick, and Eileen O'Brien, immigrant women from Western Europe were among the most exploited segments of labor in earlier U.S. history, and they were involved in some of the most significant events in labor history. For example, consider 1909, New York City. One of the first victories of the union movement, the uprising of 20,000 people was a massive strike of mostly Jewish and Italian women (many in their teens) against the garment industry. The strike lasted 4 months despite attacks by thugs hired by the bosses and abuses experienced at the hands of police and the courts. The strikers eventually won recognition of their union, a reversal of a wage decrease, and a reduction in the 56- to 59-hour week they were expected to work (Goren, 1980, p. 584).

One of the great tragedies of labor history in the United States also involved European immigrant women. In New York City in 1911, a fire swept through the Triangle Shirtwaist Company, a garment industry shop located on the 10th floor of a building. The fire spread rapidly, with little chances for escape. About 140 young immigrant girls died, while many others chose to leap to their deaths rather than be annihilated by the flames. The disaster outraged the public, and a quarter of a million people attended the funerals of the victims. The incident fueled a drive for reform and improvement of work conditions and safety regulations (Amott & Matthaei, 1991, pp. 114–116).

European immigrant women also filled leadership roles in the labor movement, although usually in female-dominated unions. One of the most memorable union activists was Mother Jones, an Irish immigrant who worked tirelessly to organize miners. An activist until she was nearly 100 years old, Mother Jones went where the danger was greatest— crossing militia lines, spending weeks in damp prisons, incurring the wrath of governors, presidents, and coal operators; she helped to organize the United Mine Workers with "convictions and a voice," the only tools she felt she needed (Forner, 1980, p. 281).

Many immigrant women came from cultures with strong patriarchal traditions in Europe, and they had much less access to education, high-paying occupations, and leadership roles. As is the case with women of virtually all marginalized groups, the voices of immigrant women have not often been listened to or even heard. However, the research does show that immigrant women played multiple roles both during immigration and during the assimilation to Americanization process. As would be expected in patriarchal societies, the roles of wife and mother were central, but immigrant women have always occupied multiple roles in their communities. In general, male immigrants tended to migrate prior to women, and it was common for the males to send for the women to migrate only after they had secured some degree of stability, lodging, and jobs. Female immigrants' experiences varied, often depending on the economic situation and cultural traditions of their homeland. During the 19th century, a high percentage of Irish immigrants were young single women who came to the U.S. seeking jobs and often wound up employed in domestic work, a role that allowed them to live in a respectable, family setting. In 1850, about 75% of all employed Irish immigrant women in New York City worked as servants, and the rest were employed in textile mills and factories (Healey et. al, 2019). As late as 1920, 81% of employed Irish-born women in the United States worked as domestics (Healey et. al, 2019). Factory work was the second most prevalent form of employment (Blessing, 1980). Because the economic situation of immigrant families was typically challenging, it was common for women to be involved in low paid, wage labor. The type and location of the work varied depending on the white ethnic group. Whereas Irish women were concentrated in domestic work and factories and mills, this was rarely the case for Italian women. Italian culture had strong norms of patriarchy, and "one of the culture's strongest prohibitions was directed against contact between women and male strangers" (Alba, 1985, p. 53). Thus, acceptable work situations for Italian women were likely to involve tasks that could be done at home (e.g. cleaning laundry, boarding others, and doing piecework for the garment industry). Italian women who worked outside the home were likely to find themselves in women-only settings among other immigrant women. Thus, women immigrants from Italy tended to be far less assimilated and integrated than those from Ireland.

As refugees, Eastern European Jewish women and their families sought relief from religious persecution. According to Steinberg (1981), “Few were independent bread-winners, and when they did work, they usually found employment in the garment industry; often they worked in small shops as family members” (p. 161). Generally, immigrant women, like most working-class women, worked until they married, after which time it was expected that their husbands would support the family. In many cases, however, immigrant men could not earn enough to support their families, and their wives and children were required by necessity to also work to support the family budget. Immigrant wives sometimes continued to work outside the home, or otherwise found ways to earn a small income (e.g. gardening, sewing, cleaning laundry, etc.), jobs which all allowed them to perform their roles as caretakers in their own homes. A 1911 report on Southern and Eastern European households found that about half kept lodgers and that the income from this activity amounted to about 25% of the husbands’ wages (Healey et. al, 2019). Women were seen as working only to supplement the family income, a reality which was used to justify their lower wages. Evans (1989) reports that in the late 1800's, “whether in factories, offices, or private homes . . . women’s wages were about half of those of men” (p. 135).



Figure **9.4.1**: Immigrant women t-shirt. (Design by Jakobi Oware)

White Male Privileges

Acclaimed author of Speaking Treason Fluently: Anti-Racist Reflections From an Angry white Male and White Like Me: Reflections on Race from a Privileged Son, Tim Wise explains the privileges associated with the status of being a white male in the U.S., yet he also exposes the societal myth that is passed to white people that their race makes them superior to all other racial groups. He explains that rich white men have convinced poor white men that all of their problems are the result of Black and Brown people. Rather than poor white men aligning their interests with poor people of color, they instead align themselves with the elite white men who control the country. His mantra is that white men particularly have engrained racial superiority, white supremacy, and white privilege, yet he also projects that this racism can be unlearned in pursuit of anti-racism which is discussed in the final section of this chapter.

The elite white men that Wise examines find themselves over-represented in the upper echelons of society: Chief Executive Officers (CEOs), technology sector, and Congress. Approximately 70% of all Fortune 500 CEOs are white men (Jones, 2017). The technology sector employs white males more than any other group, with nearly 50% of Google's leadership positions held by white men (Levitsky, 2020). Of all full-time college professors, more than 50% are white men (NCES, 2017). While the current U.S. Congress (House and Senate) is the most diverse ever, Congress is still 78% white with the majority being white men.

Though it has narrowed over the past few decades, the wage gap has been a persistent measure of gender inequality and male privilege throughout U.S. history. As shown earlier in Chapter 1.5, men of all race-ethnic groups on average fare better than women of all of these groups with Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI) men as the highest income earners followed by white men. Due to their high education levels on average, AAPI men and women outperform all other race-ethnic, gender groups. Still, the wages of white men are generally the yardstick by which all others are measured.

White males and LGBTQIA+

Yet, not all white men experience privilege the same. Harvey Milk, a white, gay San Francisco politician spoke freely and openly about transcending racism; yet, his life was taken by a bullet at the beginning of his career. His sexuality served as a barrier for his life. Similarly, the murder of gay college student Matthew Shephard in 1998 resulted in federal hate crime legislation.



Figure **9.4.2**: Harvey Milk. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Chris via Flickr)

Still white men, in general, enjoy the experience of sitting at the top of the racial-gender hierarchy in the U.S. DiAngelo (2018) identifies that white men's experience of fragility shows up as "very informed, of dominance and intimidation." In their control of conversations, speaking first, last and most often, white men tend to push race off the table which ends up helping them to retain control of discussions. In their effort to reassert their dominance, they tend to stop challenges to their positions.

White male privilege shows up in the LGBTQIA+ community. Let's consider the history of the LGBTQIA+ movement. The people who were working within the system to fight for LGBTQIA+ rights were predominantly gay, white males - yet trans activists spearheaded the Stonewall Riot in New York City, kicking off the LGBTQIA+ movement. Still, white gay men used their privilege to primarily frame the agenda as LGBT, but mainly focused on the G (gay experience). As Kittu Pannu, an Indian-Malaysian, Southern, Sikh, gay male, explains:

As a result, many milestones reached during this time were central to this subsection’s own focus. I say this neither commending nor condemning it – there are many positives that came out of this, but there were many causes ignored. Due to this privilege, much of the conversation regarding the LGBT Rights movement is still controlled by this prominent group. As a result, even the celebrations of Pride and gayness cater predominantly to this group. That’s not to say lesbians or even people of color don’t have their own spaces – these more nuanced spaces exist in major cities like New York City and San Francisco. But, on average, the major events and those with the greatest reach and engagement tend to be spaces created for gay, affluent, and white males (2017).

White Women & Feminism

In her historical analysis of slavery, Stephanie Jones-Rogers points to the disposition of white women in upholding the peculiar institution of slavery. Rather than resisting this dehumanizing system, Jones-Rogers points out that white women were not only complicit but were active players in this caste economic system of slavery as many white women owned enslaved people. While many rights were denied to white women during this time, they could buy, sell and own slaves. Further, slave-holding parents and slave-holding family members "gave" their young daughters enslaved people as gifts — for Christmas or birthday. White female identity was tied to the home and also connected to ownership, control, and management of enslaved people.

Often stemming from their involvement in the abolition movement, suffragists began pushing for the women's vote even before the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. Suffragists such as Angelina and Sarah Grimke, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, and Sojourner Truth had their roots of political activism in the abolition movement. Though, white suffragists were split on their support for Black women's vote. In essence, some white female suffragists such as Susan B. Anthony were willing to sacrifice Black women's right to vote in order for white women to achieve suffrage; many used racist tactics to convince white Southern men that the suffrage vote would offset the African American male vote, attributed to the 15th Amendment and passed in 1869. When the vote was achieved with the 19th amendment in 1920, it was won for all women; yet, due to Jim Crow laws, Black men and women faced tremendous challenges when even registering to vote.

This split between white and Black women has often played out in U.S. history. While widely accepted in mainstream society today, "the pill" was first used to control the births of poor women, particularly poor women of color as Margaret Sanger declared "more from the fit, less from the unfit." Angela Davis explains eugenics and this divisive U.S. history in Women, Race and Class., highlighting the forced sterilization of poor women, particularly women of color. While white women advocate for reproductive rights (e.g., abortion rights and contraception), women of color advocate for reproductive justice, the right to reproduce. This Bridge Called My Back, an anthology of women writers of color including Gloria Anzaldua, Audre Lorde, Adrienne Rich, and Cherrie Moraga, is largely directed towards the mainstream white feminist movement, exposing the affront women of color have experienced from white women when trying to lift their voices, share their experiences, and present their vision for gender equality.

On a similar note, in her book White Fragility, DiAngelo (2018) set aside an entire chapter for the self-indulgent tears of white women. These tears serve to redirect any discussion of racism and what people of color experience to white women's feelings about the legacy of racism. To encourage white women to de-center themselves, DiAngelo cautions white women to judiciously regulate their crying so as to not divert important, challenging discussions about race and racism onto white women and their emotions.

White Trash

It must be emphasized again that not all white people experience white privilege the same. Poor white people, the largest group of U.S. adults and children living in poverty, are sometimes racialized as "**white trash**." An oxymoron, the term white trash is built upon the notion of white supremacy; it contradicts the very stereotype of whiteness being associated with purity and cleanliness vs. dirty and poor. In fact, poor whites living and schooling in a low income community of color may be stigmatized because of their very existence in this community, as it simply doesn't match the "white" stereotype. Yet, this is part of the fallacy of whiteness. As Michael Eric Dyson and Tim Wise have explained, the success, the trickery, the manipulation of "whiteness" as a category has been achieved at the expense of building solidarity between poor people - across racial lines. Instead, poor whites, convinced that their skin is of greater importance than their class, find themselves aligning with elite whites rather than challenging the very (economic) forces that serve to oppress them.

Redneck, Multiple Meanings

- Patrick Huber, in his monograph A Short History of Redneck: The Fashioning of a Southern White Masculine Identity, emphasized the theme of masculinity in the 20th-century expansion of the term, noting, "The redneck has been stereotyped in the media and popular culture as a poor, dirty, uneducated, and racist Southern white man."
- Also, the term "redneck" in the early 20th century was occasionally used in reference to American coal miner union members who wore red bandanas for solidarity.
- By 1910, the political supporters of the Mississippi Democratic Party politician James K. Vardaman—chiefly poor white farmers—began to describe themselves proudly as "rednecks", even to the point of wearing red neckerchiefs to political rallies and picnics.
- The term redneck characterized farmers having a red neck caused by sunburn from hours working in the fields.
- Similarly to Earth First!'s use of "rednecks for wilderness," the self-described "anti-racist, pro-gun, pro-labor" group Redneck Revolt have used the term to signal its roots in the rural white working-class and celebration of what member Max Neely described as "redneck culture"
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The stigma associated with Appalachian whites promotes the stereotype of the ignorant hillbilly, similar to white trash (Scott, 2009). Appalachian whites are regarded in a binary fashion: simple and pious or backwards and ignorant, Scott further explains. Ruth Frankenberg (1993) identified Appalachian whiteness as "marked" whiteness, referencing them as "white but also something more - or is it something less?" (p. 198). Poor whites, Appalachian whites, and white trash are marginalized white people. Considering these marginalized white Americans helps to further deconstruct whiteness, yet it may also serve to uphold whiteness - as these groups all seemingly diverge from the social construct of white. By the very nature of analyzing such marginality, white hegemony is also upheld. Whiteness is recentered without a deeper analysis of the psychological wages of whiteness, the privilege of whiteness that poor white folks experience versus the racial strife that poor people of color live day in and day out. The analysis of white trash has generally focused on the negative (trash) with little emphasis on the white (Scott, 2009). Intersectional analysis

would remind us to consider the interplay of race, social class, gender, sexuality and an assortment of other structural categories which would help to illuminate the human condition and its complexity - as well as the possibility for social change.

Thinking Sociologically

On the one hand, whiteness confers dominance. On the other hand, white people who are called white trash, rednecks, or hillbillies are the opposite of dominant, the opposite of white supremacy. The trickery of whiteness, as noted above, prevents the coalescence of solidarity movements between poor people. Yet, the video below illustrates the great potential, and sometimes historical, realization of this solidarity.



Video 9.4.3: 'Rednecks' and 'Hillbillies' Defend Black Lives. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; NowThis News via YouTube)

What do you think would need to happen for poor people of all race-ethnic groups to unite in solidarity to challenge the concentration of wealth and power in just a few hands, quite often only in a few white hands?

Key Takeaways

- Intersectionality explains the differing frames that are needed to more fully understand white experiences in the context of our social structures and social institutions, particularly with regards to race, ethnicity, gender, social class, and sexuality.

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9.5: Social Institutions- The Structural Legacy of Whiteness

Color Matters

> "Pick any relevant sociological indicator—life expectancy, infant mortality, literacy, access to health care, income level—and apply it in virtually any setting, global, regional, or local, and the results will be the same: the worldwide correlation of wealth and well-being with white skin and European descent, and of poverty and immiseration with dark skin and "otherness." Sure, there are exceptions: there are plenty of exploited white workers, plenty of white welfare mothers both urban and rural, plenty of poor whites throughout the world's North; and there are a smattering of wealth-holders "of color" around the world too. But these are outliers in the planetary correlation of darkness and poverty" (Winant, 2002, p. 305).

Web of Institutional Racism

Previously discussed in Chapter 4, institutional racism can be understood simply as "business as usual." It is business as usual that people of color tend to be underrepresented in powerful positions in the aforementioned social institutions; conversely, it is business as usual that white Americans tend to be in positions of power in our major social institutions - though it is easier to point out exceptions to that rule in the past 30 years as opposed to the rest of U.S. history.

Institutional racism is the policies and practices within institutions that benefit white people to the disadvantage of people of color. An example of institutional racism is how children of color are treated within the U.S. education system. On average, children of color are disciplined more harshly than their white peers. They are also less likely to be identified as gifted and have less access to quality teachers. Racism in schools can and does have severe consequences for students and our future (National Museum of African American History and Culture). Shirley Better explains the web of institutional racism which is rooted in housing inequality which in turn impacts educational, employment, health, and criminal justice outcomes. In addition, sports, media, and entertainment are included. This page will explore these topics as instutitional oppression.

(White) Social Institutions

In his seminal work, Racism Without Racists, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2007) surmises that liberal social thought informs our (white) perspective on the world and justifies our (white) social, economic & political institutions. Bonilla-Silva's (2007) parenthesis of white is intentional in that liberal white social thought equates with colorblindness whereby we consider cultural differences as meaningless. As white is the default within our society, it has been made to seem normal. However, scholars of critical race theory seek to call attention to how whiteness has been structured into the fabric of society, particularly our social institutions. In their dissection of critical race theory, Delgado and Stefancic (2001) include one of the key elements of critical race theory is that "our system of white-over-color ascendancy serves important purposes, both psychic and material." A century before, W.E.B. DuBois had coined this as the wage of whiteness.

Research shows the distribution of resources and opportunities are not equal among racial and ethnic categories, and white groups do better than other groups (Konrad & Schmidt, 2004). Regardless of social perception, in reality, there are institutional and cultural differences in government, education, criminal justice, sports, the workplace, and mass media media and racial-ethnic groups have received subordinate roles and treatment in society. These social institutions are generally controlled by white Americans. Certainly, these institutions were created by white Americans. Though we may access these social institutions in our everyday lives to a greater or lesser degree, we certainly do not all have equal control over these institutions.

In *White Fragility*, Robin DiAngelo (2018) presents the following statistics which help to understand how our social institutions reflect white dominance:

Figure 9.5.1: White Dominance in the U.S. (Chart by Jonas Oware with data from White Fragility)

Category	% white
10 Richest Americans	100%
U.S. Congress	90%
U.S. Governors	96%
Top Military Advisors	100%
Current U.S. President & Vice-President	100%
Current U.S. Presidential Cabinet	91%
People Who Decide Which TV Shows We See	93%
People Who Decide Which Books We Read	90%
People Who Decide Which News is Covered	85%
People Who Decide Which Music is Produced	95%
People Who Directed the 100 Top Grossing Films Worldwide	95%
Teachers	82%
Full-Time College Professors	84%
Owners of Men's Professional Football Teams	97%

White Americans on average have far greater wealth than other race-ethnic groups. All U.S. Presidents except Barack Obama have been white men. The U.S. Congress remains disproportionately white (men) as are Fortune 500 CEOs. Even the Oscars have been called out for being overwhelming white (#OscarsSowhite). This is significant considering not only the billion dollar media consumption in the U.S., but also the global consumption of U.S. mass media. All of this "business as usual" in our (white) social institutions adds up, to cumulative, systemic benefits for white Americans.



Figure 9.5.2: The Hollywood Sign, not far from the Oscars Awards. (CC BY 2.0; raindog808 via Wikimedia)

Sports

Take professional sports as a first example. Based on data gathered by The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sports, the following tables reveal the imbalance of who the players are versus who the coaches, owners, and/Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) are of the National Basketball Association (NBA) and National Football Association (NFL) (Lapchick, 2019). Clearly, the majority of players are of color whereas the majority of the owners or CEOs are white. The NBA has made more progress than the NFL with regards to hiring more head coaches of color, but clearly the majority of coaches in either sport remain white. It must be noted that during the 2020 protests against racial injustice, the NFL Commissioner has stated his verbal support for Black Lives Matter, which is a striking contrast from only a few years prior when quarterback Colin Kapernick was ostracized for taking a knee during the

national anthem to call attention to racial injustice. In the summer of 2020, most NBA teams, including players, coaches, referees, and owners, have not only taken a knee during the national anthem, but many players were slogans on their jerseys supporting the movement (e.g. Black Lives Matter, Vote, Ally, Equality).

Table **9.5.3**: Diversity in the NBA. (Chart by Jonas Oware with data from the University of Central Florida)

	Players	Head Coaches	Majority Owners	League Office Staff
White	18.1%	66.7%	91.4%	62.4%
African-American	74.8%	26.7%	2.9%	15.9%
Latino	2.4%	3.3%	0%	6.7%
Asian	>1%	3.3%	2.9%	10,4%
Other	3.9%	0%	2.9%	4.6%

Table **9.5.3.5**: Diversity in the NFL. (Chart by Jonas Oware with data from the University of Central Florida)

	Players	Head Coaches	CEO/President	League Office Staff
White	26.8%	81.3%	95%	67.3%
African-American	58.9%	9.4%	0%	10.2%
Latino	.5%	3.1%	0%	6.6%
AAPI	1.6%	0%	4.9%	9.3%
AI/AN	0%	0%	0%	.1%
Two or more races	9.6%	0%	0%	1.7%
Not disclosed	3.1%			4.7%

Education

A second example is education. Gall-Peters Projection calls attention to the content of our K-12 education which favors a Eurocentric lens when presenting history and geography. **Eurocentrism** is a worldview that is centered on or favors Western, often white, civilization. For decades we have seen inequitable student outcomes both in K-12 and in higher education which can be in part attributed to the Eurocentric curriculum. Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate's (1995) seminal writing on critical race theory of education examined how school inequities emanate from a racialized society. Christine Stanley (2006) presented one of the key arguments in critical race theory, that the subtleties of institutional racism are rarely acknowledged publicly, particularly by the dominant Euro-American culture. Stanley (2006) further stated, "Many institutions value diversity, but they often do not look deep enough to ascertain how habitual policies and practices work to disadvantage certain social, racial or cultural groups" (p. 724).

James D. Anderson discusses how whites kept Blacks from high quality education in the late 1800s/early 1900s because they deemed it to be a "subversive" way to gain equality (1988, p. 95). Part of the fear resided in how reading might inspire Blacks to want to vote. Keeping Blacks from getting an education thus attempted to keep Blacks in an underclass. Although voting was not allowed for Blacks yet, the fear of schooling encouraging voting also idealized who was considered a citizen and thus who was humanized. It was further propagated that "industrial schooling" was ideal compared to other schooling so that the status quo would remain intact (p. 86). Again, this exemplifies the desire for white political and economic leaders to deny humanization for Blacks and thus equity in school and life, let alone excellence.

Lisa Delpit (1988) is often cited for her work that describes how there is a **"culture of power"** in schools that socialize students to perpetuate White middle-class norms. She calls for educators to teach students about the culture of power: that it exists and that sometimes you must play by those rules (of White middle-class norms in schools) but that doesn't mean your home culture isn't valued. Delpit (1988) says that we must not just teach children tools like code-switching, or knowing how to speak, say, their native

African American Vernacular English or other language but then also know when, where, and why to use the “culture of power” in order to gain access to spaces and operate within places where they are unable to resist or draw from their home cultures.

Cultivating identity and multiple **epistemologies** in schools, even classrooms, can work to counter the misrecognition and dehumanization of students’ identities and cultures. Bernal (2013) pointedly states, “Although students of color are holders and creators of knowledge, they often feel as if their histories, experiences, cultures, and languages are devalued, misinterpreted, or omitted within formal educational settings” (p. 390). In order to counter this, she says that these aspects must be “recognized and valued in schools” (p. 403). In these ways, Bernal points to epistemology, “how we know what we know” as the popular definition says. Student of color epistemologies are not valued in schools often not beyond superficial celebrating of differences that also do not delve deeper into issues of discrimination due to the differences and other issues of inequities. Such epistemologies are exemplified by Bernal (2013) when she writes,

What are often perceived as deficits for Chicana/Chicano students within a Eurocentric epistemological framework—limited English proficiency, Chicano and/or Mexicano cultural practices, or too many nonuniversity-related responsibilities—can be understood within a Chicana feminist perspective as cultural assets or resources that Chicana/Chicano students bring to formal educational environments (pg. 397).

Studies suggest that when a student has a positive racial identity and positive student identity, they tend to do better in school (Akom, 2003). Not only does Ethnic Studies help students achieve academically in other courses, but it helped to build and cultivate positive identities that had been otherwise devalued in a white supremacist society.

Criminal Justice System

A third example is the criminal justice system. White Americans are underrepresented in our prisons, while African Americans are disproportionately incarcerated. Michelle Alexander writes in The New Jim Crow that the criminal justice system, especially prison, is specifically designed as a form of social control over African American men. Most recent U.S.Presidents beginning with Nixon have used the campaign phrase "law and order" which is ultimately a code word for the racial control of people of color, as presented convincingly in the documentary, 13th. The school-to-prison pipeline is used to explain the disheartening statistics for young people of color, particularly African American males, who are overrepresented in prison and underrepresented in higher education. Most of our schools and prisons are also run by white male or female principals, presidents, or wardens.

We will explore this topic in depth in Chapter 12

Medicine/Health/STEM

Research shows that medical doctors have actual biases against Black and Brown patients (Ventura, Denton, Asack, 2022). One of the issues is doctors and medical workers believing that patients of color have a higher tolerance for pain or don’t need to be prescribed medications as quickly or as much as others and having implicit bias against them (see more about the impacts of "Systemic Racism and Health" in Chapter 3: Africana/African American/Black Studies). Medical racism such as research done on Black patients without their knowledge and consent like in the Tuskegee Experiment and forced sterilization against patients of color ("Eugenicists and Forced Mass Sterilization" for more information) are all examples of bias and racism that does occur against minoritized patients.

Studies and even popular news and technology sources recognize that self-driving cars can be racist. Self-driving cars weren’t created to recognize people of color that are in front of the car and are therefore more likely to hit people of color. Stanford Fellow Dr. Lance Eliot in *Forbes* Magazine (Jan. 4, 2020) discussed that white engineers created and tested the algorithms that recognizes white people as people that the car should be cautious of and avoid hitting. Thus, the predominance of white male engineers created a crisis of diversity where the lack of people of color as engineers that would test these features then create a lack of recognition of people of color whenever the self-driving cars encountered them. Because these tests involved only white engineers, self-driving cars didn’t see people of color as people. This shows not only the importance of diversity in STEM fields but also that people of color need to be included in initiatives that affect us all. It shows that representation in science and tech matters.

In a study of engineering departments in universities, studies overwhelmingly show that programs that have more engineering professors that are Black and Asian women are more likely to have students who are also Black and Asian women. This also shows the importance of diversity and representation amongst faculty in STEM departments.



Figure 9.5.4: "High School Students Discover STEM Careers at College of DuPage 2017 23". (CC By 2.0; COD Newsroom via Flickr)

Studies show that when there is diversity amongst educators, students feel more seen, acknowledged and heard, and experience less discrimination than with white educators (Darling-Hammond, 2020). Studies in elementary schools show how white educators often not only view Black and Latinx students differently but then also treat them differently compared to white students (Darling-Hammond, 2020). For example, white educators may view white students as more intellectually superior to Black students and will therefore view them as more academically capable. This results in white educators giving white students more advantages, assistance, guidance, and accolades. This also results in Black students receiving more punishment and harsher discipline than white students. Studies show in particular that Black and Latinx children are criminalized in schooling. Relatedly, Portillos, Gonzalez, and Peguero (2011) show the criminalization of Latinx students also in terms of immigration status. This trend of preferential treatment is not only with white educators but also with white administrators. Especially in fields like STEM, this type of representation is also important to help show these students that they too can succeed in STEM when they see professors who look like them.

Sidebar: Texas and Florida

Texas has been a state that has attempted or completed alterations to their curriculum that aims to revamp efforts that expose racism and critical discussions of race. One example of this is a recent initiative to change any mentioning of slavery to be called “Involuntary relocation.” Recently, Texas passed a bill that largely limits the teaching of recent events, and even teaching about the history of the Alamo as part of a target bill to limit the teaching of critical race theory. These efforts aim to maintain white history as heroic and mask any racist and harmful struggles committed against people of color.

In July 2022, a law in Florida took into affect to ban the teaching of "racism and privilege" (Sullivan, 2022). This law is called the Individual Freedom Act and used to be called Stop W.O.K.E. Act or Stop Wrongs to our Kids and Employees Act (Sullivan, 2022).

Workplace/Economy

Finally, let us consider how the the workplace, situated in the social institution of our economy, often fosters a climate of white supremacy, though we may be entirely unaware that it is at play. As Kenneth Jones and Tema Okun (2001) present, the following characteristics of **white supremacy culture** show up in organizations such as the workplace:

- perfectionism
- sense of urgency
- defensiveness
- quantity over quality
- worship of the written word
- only one right way
- paternalism
- either/or thinking
- power hoarding

- fear of open conflict
- individualism
- progress is bigger/more
- objectivity
- right to comfort those with power

The characteristics listed above are damaging because they are used as norms and standards without actually being selected by the group members. They are damaging because they promote hegemonic, white supremacist thinking. They are damaging to both people of color and to white people because they detract from our humanity and our capacity to value difference. These characteristics may be prevalent in a predominantly white institutions (PWI) or in organizations led by people of color.

By listing characteristics of white supremacy culture, we point out how organizations unconsciously use these characteristics as their norms and standards, thereby making it difficult, if not impossible, to open the door to other cultural norms, standards, practices, and ways of leading. These practices inhibit a truly multicultural organization; Section 6.6 considers antidotes to these practices.

Thinking Sociologically

Consider these questions posed by Kenneth Jones and Tema Okun (2001) in *Dismantling Racism: A Workbook for Social Change Groups:*

Which of these characteristics of white supremacy culture are at play in your workplace or other organizations in your community? How do they stand in the way of racial justice? What can you and your community do to shift the belief(s) and behavior(s) to ones that support racial justice and a multicultural organization?

Housing

Shirley Better explains the web of institutional racism which is rooted in housing inequality which in turn impacts educational, employment, health, and criminal justice outcomes. Housing patterns in the 20th century served to provide opportunities for mobility for white Americans, to the detriment of communities of color, particularly African African Americans. After WWII, the GI bill provided white veterans incentives to own their own homes in the suburbs. Communities which used restricted covenants offered only whites the opportunity to own homes and property in these restricted neighborhoods. This government-funded segregation cemented wealth for white Americans. On the other hand, African Americans experienced **redlining** (inability to get standard mortgages in African American neighborhoods), **steering** (swayed away from home ownership in white neighborhoods), substandard public housing, **white flight** (white mobility from neighborhoods in which African Americans were moving in) and **gentrification** (replacing poor neighborhoods with middle class individuals).



Figure 9.5.5: Protest on the wall, with message: "Stop Gentrification." (CC BY-SA 4.0; Prof.lumacorno via Wikimedia)

As home ownership is the traditional, tried and true key to accessing wealth in the U.S., it becomes easier to understand the web of institutional racism that Better describes. Where we live generally determines where our children attend school. The quality of schooling we receive impacts our potential for higher education, our entrance into the job market, and quite possible our interactions with police and the criminal justice system. Additionally, the type of job we work generally determines the type of health care we receive or do not receive.

Sidebar: Redlining

Redlining is the labeling of certain communities predominantly occupied by people of color to be red and as distinct and inferior to white communities. This creates inequitable housing opportunities and maintains wealth for white people by rejecting people of color from obtaining home loans to purchase homes in white communities and also financially devaluing homes in communities of color that make it nearly impossible to accumulate wealth. In home ownership deeds in white communities, there would be explicit directions that prohibited people of color to buy homes in white communities. Policies like this help to perpetuate the accumulation of wealth within white families that already have legacies of generational wealth compared to Blacks because of slavery and the wealth from profiting off Black bodies.

Teaching in Ethnic Studies often points to structural/institutional racism such as described in this sidebar as what creates the biggest racial inequities in our society. Whereas equality is equal, same, "fair," having the same exact access to resources, equity recognizes that people do not occupy the same positions that grant them the same access as others so there needs to be differentiated treatment such as particular resources and services that can help give access that people were left out of initially. When naysayers argue that there shouldn't be "hand-outs," what they fail to acknowledge is deep history that creates such inequities in the first place. In terms of racism as racial inequity, this is vastly due to structural/institutional racism. Slavery, for example, was an economic, political, cultural, and social system which was the law. Because it was sanctioned by the government, there was no avoiding it and it seeped into every fabric of society for centuries, creating a devastating impact of how Black people are seen even today. This includes the lack of access to the levels of generational wealth that whites have, and being denied privileges associated with freedom, safety and security, which are typically afforded to whites.

Key Takeaways

- Social institutions such as sports, education, criminal justice system, and the workplace reflect white dominance.
- The web of institutional racism, rooted in housing inequality, negatively impacts educational, employment, health, and criminal justice outcomes for many communities of color, while simultaneously advantaging Euro Americans/white Americans.

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9.6: Social Change and Resistance

"We shall overcome because the arc of the moral universe is long but it bends toward justice," spoke Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in a 1968 speech. The U.S. past, and predictably the future, is characterized by a struggle over justice, perhaps to be understood as a pendulum swing between civil rights and white supremacy as shown in Figure 6.6.1. This section details the experiences of white Americans on both pendulum extremes, ending with the suggestion of anti-racism and antidotes to white supremacy potentially ushering in a future of justice.

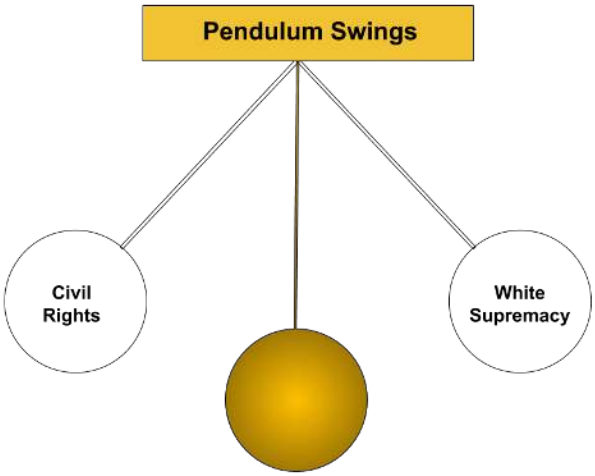


Figure 9.6.1: Pendulum swing in the U.S., ranging from Civil Rights to White Supremacy. (Diagram created by Jonas Oware)

Abolition of Slavery vs. Confederacy

Many white Americans joined the abolition movement to resist against and end slavery in the U.S.; thus, abolition was a reform movement to alter the entire society. Sisters Angelina and Sarah Grimke, who converted to the Quaker religion after growing up in a Southern slave-holding family, were amongst the first white women to join the cause, traveling on the anti-slavery lecture circuit. A founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Irish American journalist William Lloyd Garrison published the anti-slavery newspaper,The Liberator, beginning in 1831 and printed until the 13th Amendment was passed, abolishing slavery. Dissatisfied with mainstream pacifist abolition efforts, Kansan John Brown led radical, armed efforts to end slavery. Though he was hanged for his organizing of the liberation and rebellion of enslaved Blacks, his efforts ultimately inspired the Civil War.

Resisting the end of slavery, the confederate side of the Civil War was led by General Robert E. Lee who commanded the Virginia Army until it surrendered to the Union in 1865, ending the Civil War. Modern day displays of confederate flags, particularly in Southern states, began with segregationists such as South Carolinian politician Strom Thurmond who opposed the mainstream Civil Rights Movement. Many monuments memorializing the confederacy and ultimately supporting white supremacy have been removed following the nationwide protests against the killing of George Floyd in 2020; however, President Trump has resisted calls to change the names of confederate bases and the confederate flag in an apparent attempt to honor the confederacy. The decision to remove the statue of Robert E. Lee in Virginia is currently stalled in the courts.



Figure **9.6.2**: Confederate Battle Flag. (CC BY-NC 2.0; J. Stephen Conn via Flickr)

Civil Rights Movement vs. Segregationists

Viola Liuzu. Andrew Goodman. Michael Schwerner. Reverend James Reeb. These are the names of white individuals who responded to Southern calls to join the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, another reform movement with the intent to desegregate the nation and afford all Americans the right to vote, particularly African Americans. Italian American housewife, Viola Liuzu, participated in the 1965 Selma to Montgomery March led by Dr. Martin Luther King, jr.; while traveling in a carpool following the successful march, she was shot and killed by Ku Klux Klan members in a pursuing car. Participating in the 1964 Freedom Summer campaign to register African American voters in Mississipi, Jewish American activists Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner were abducted with Black activist James Cheney as they traveled in their car. Their buried bodies were discovered a few months later, and the local police department and Ku Klux Klan were involved in the incident. A member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which Dr. Martin Luther King, jr. was a leader, Universalist Unitarian Reverend James Reeb joined the Selma to Montgomery March in 1965 only to be beaten to death. Countless African Americans were involved in the Civil Rights Movement - as we were many unknown white Americans. Their efforts combined culminated in the 1965 Voting Rights Act signed into law by President Lyndon Baines Johnson; this legislation outlawed discrimination in voting which was one of the major goals of the movement during the 1960s.

"Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever." Alabama Governor George Wallace uttered these words at his inauguration speech in 1963. Clearly his words conveyed his resistance to a changing America. Similarly, the Commissioner of Public Safety in Birmingham, Alabama authorized unleashing police attack dogs and fire hoses on peaceful protestors; such scenes were projected on the nightly news and drew numbers of appalled northerners into the south to join the Civil Rights Movement. He also refused police protection of the Freedom Riders who were challenged racial segregation on interstate buses, and he allowed Ku Klux Klan members to beat and torment the Riders. Another segregationist, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus in 1957 ordered the national guard to prevent the desegregation of schools following the 1954 Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education decision which outlawed segregated schools. President Eisenhower reversed this decision and ordered the Guard to support integration efforts in allowing the Little Rock Nine African American students to attend the public school, though they experienced brutal physical and emotional abuse during that tense year.

White Nationalism

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, **white nationalist groups** espouse white supremacist or white separatist ideologies, often focusing on the alleged inferiority of nonwhites. In an effort to preserve white supremacy and white power, white nationalist groups seek to stop immigration of people of color in the U.S. In their pursuit of white dominance, racism is a common

denominator of white nationalist groups as is anti-semitism. (Further discussion of the contemporary white nationalist movement is provided in Chapter 11.5).

By the 1920s and 1930s, anti-Semitism had become quite prominent among U.S. prejudices and was being preached by the Ku Klux Klan and other extreme racist groups. Also, because many of the political radicals and labor leaders of the time were Jewish immigrants, anti-Semitism became fused with a fear of Communism and other anti-capitalist doctrines. Some prominent Americans espoused anti-Semitic views, among them Henry Ford, the founder of Ford Motor Company; Charles Lindbergh, the aviator who was the first to fly solo across the Atlantic; and Father Charles Coughlin, a Catholic priest with a popular radio show (Selzer, 1972). Anti-Semitism reached a peak before World War II and tapered off in the decades following the war, but it remains part of U.S. society (Anti-Defamation League, 2000). Anti-Semitism also has a prominent place in the ideologies of a variety of extremist groups that have emerged in recent years, including “skinheads” and various contemporary incarnations of the Ku Klux Klan.

The white nationalist rhetoric in the U.S. is on the increase in 2020, and white nationalist groups range from the Ku Klux Klan to neo-Nazis to neo-Confederate to racist skinheads to Christian Identity. These groups use college campuses and the Internet as recruitment grounds. Two of the largest white supremacist organizations in 2020 have been the American Identity Movement and Patriot Front, though the former disbanded in November 2020 after it had just rebranded itself the previous year from the white nationalist group, Identity Evropa. Some white nationalist groups fear the "genocide" of the white race and pursue instead a white ethno-state and a return to a United States that pre-dated the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Immigration Act of 1965 (Southern Poverty Law Center).

Many of President Trump's words and actions resonate with these white nationalists, including his mantra "Build the Wall," his sympathetic response with the violence that followed the 2017 Unite the Right rally, and his support for the U.S. military bases named after confederate leaders. When given a chance during the 2020 Presidential debates with Biden, Trump refused, when questioned by the debate moderator if he would tell the Proud Boys, a right-wing organization, to "stand down;" Biden did so unapologetically whereas Trump told them to "stand by and stand back." Though, Trump has also condemned racism, speaking after the violent white supremacist shooting in El Paso, Texas in 2019. It must be noted that previous presidents have expressed sympathy for white supremacy, including Woodrow Wilson who was quoted as defending the Ku Klux Klan in D.W. Griffith's film, Birth of a Nation. Led by the Proud Boys and Oath Keepers, the January 6, 2021 insurrection at the U.S. Capitol (Washington, D.C.) represented the most dramatic display of white nationalism and domestic terrorism seen in modern times.



Figure **9.6.3**: "Proud Boys in Pittsboro, North Carolina (2019 Oct)" wearing hats which read: Make American Great Again. (CC BY 2.0; Anthony Crider via Flickr)

Population Changes

The changing U.S. race-ethnic demographics inspire factions in the U.S. differently. While white supremacists consider the declining U.S. White population as a threat to white dominance and white supremacy, pluralists are encouraged by the changing demographics as by the year 2050 when the U.S. will not have a dominant numerical group but will rather be a majority people of color nation (further data presented in Chapters 1.6 and 12.5). As Figure 6.6.4 illustrates, the percentage of white only population is projected to decline by 2060 while the multiracial population (two or more races) is expected to increase, especially for the under

18 age group. The largest increases of the multiracial population include individuals with one white parent, the largest group being biracial Black-white children.

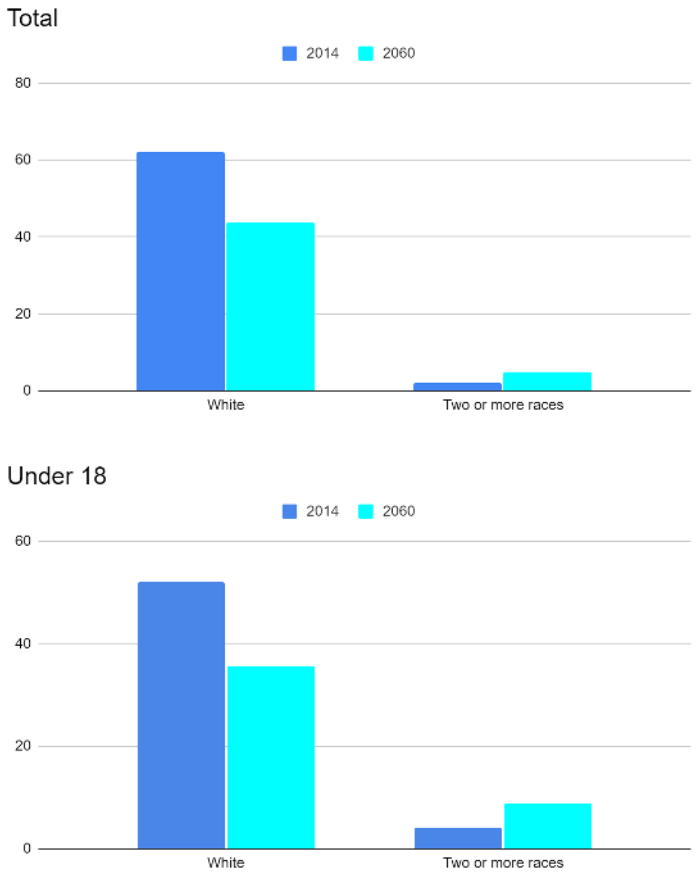


Figure **9.6.4**: Population Changes of white and Multiracial Population. (Charts by Jonas Oware with data from the U.S. Census Bureau)

Anti-Racism, Abolition of Whiteness, Antidotes to White Supremacy & Allyship

With the changing race-ethnic demographics in the U.S., another form of change has been expressed over the past decade: anti-racism and decentering whiteness.

“The task for whites is to develop a positive white identity based on reality not on assumed superiority. In order to do that each person must become aware of his or her whiteness, accept it as personally and socially significant, and learn to feel good about it. Not in the sense of Klan members 'white pride' but in the context of a commitment to a just society" (Tatum, 2017, p. 94).



Figure **9.6.5**: Lady Justice. (CC BY-SA 2.0; John via Flickr)

As Ibram Kendi (2020) writes, the opposite of a racist is not a non-racist but rather an **anti-racist**, an individual who supports policies and ideas that produce racial equity between race-ethnic groups. Thus, acknowledging racist policies, practices, and ideas one may be knowingly or unknowingly supporting or participating in is an important first step in becoming an anti-racist. The National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC) posits that being anti-racist is different for white people than it is for people of color because for white people, being anti-racist evolves with their racial identity development. They must recognize and understand their privilege, work to change their internalized racism, and interrupt racism in their everyday life.

Responding to Interpersonal Racism

A commitment to being anti-racist manifests in our choices. When we encounter interpersonal racism, whether obvious or covert, there are ways to respond and interrupt it. Asking questions is a powerful tool to seek clarity or offer a new perspective. Below are some suggestions provided by NMAAHC to use in conversations when racist behavior occurs:

- Seek clarity: “Tell me more about _____.”
- Offer an alternative perspective: “Have you ever considered _____.”
- Speak your truth: “I don’t see it the way you do. I see it as _____.”
- Find common ground: “We don’t agree on _____ but we can agree on _____.”
- Give yourself the time and space you need: “Could we revisit the conversation about _____ tomorrow.”
- Set boundaries. “Please do not say _____ again to me or around me.

In a different vein, Noel Ignatiev (1995) suggests that white working class people would need to reject whiteness, to abolish whiteness altogether. Ignatiev (1995) professed that if working class whites were to break with their false white skin privilege, the working class would unite in pursuit of a more just society. In Ignatiev's (1995) words: "Treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity." In agreement to this treasonness, anti-racist educator Tim Wise promotes white individuals becoming active, anti-racist white allies, called racial justice allies in other writings. Wise, Ignatiev, and other anti-racists generally agree on the following three ingredients of anti-racism: race is a social construct which means it can be deconstructed; whiteness is a socio-political project which has no redemptive value, and whites must disrupt racial oppression by challenging racism in their everyday lives (Cabrera, 2012). These anti-racists promote the idea of white individuals become active, anti-racist white allies, called racial justice allies in other writings. In refusing whiteness, the opportunity for praxis arises, which Paolo Freire presented in *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* To achieve praxis, lest they reproduce the exact oppression of white supremacy, it is paramount for white allies to work together with people of color to challenge racial oppression, likely following the lead of people of color who have had direct

experience with oppression. With the Black Lives Matter protests which have erupted in this country following George Floyd's killing in 2020, the large numbers of young, white Americans joining the cause to disrupt systemic racism in our criminal justice system reflects praxis and anti-racism. These participants have developed praxis (Freire, 2000), seeing themselves as potential agents of social change, joining forces with people of color against racial oppression.

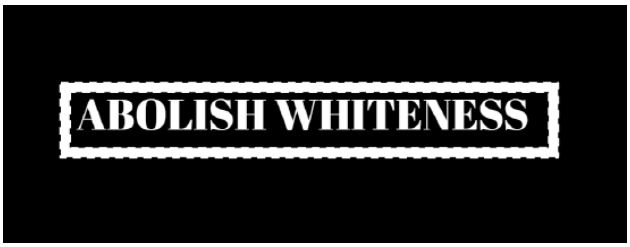


Figure **9.6.6**: Abolish whiteness. (Design created by Jakobi Oware)

In the previous Section 9.5, characteristics of white supremacy culture in our workplaces (or other organizations) were presented. As explained by Jones and Okun (2001), antidotes to these characteristics may take the form of the following examples:

Table **9.6.7**: Antidotes to white supremacy. Created by Janét Hund (Adapted from Jones & Okun, 2001).

Characteristics of white supremacy	Antidotes to white supremacy
perfectionism	always speak to the things that went well before offering constructive feedback
urgency	leadership which understands that things take longer than anyone expects
defensiveness	understand the link between defensiveness and fear
quantity over quality	learn to recognize those times when you need to get off the agenda in order to address people's underlying concerns
worship of the written word	take the time to analyze how people inside and outside the organization get and share information
only one right way	work on developing the ability to notice when people do things differently and how those different ways might improve your approach
paternalism	include people who are affected by decisions in the decision-making
either/or thinking	notice when people are simplifying complex issues, particularly when the stakes seem high or an urgent decision needs to be made
power hoarding	understand that change is inevitable and challenges to your leadership can be healthy and productive
fear of open conflict	don't require those who raise hard issues to raise them in acceptable ways, especially if you are using the ways in which issues are raised as an excuse not to address the issues being raised
individualism	evaluate people based on their ability to work as part of a team to accomplish shared goals
progress is bigger/more	create Seventh Generation thinking by asking how the actions of the group now will affect people seven generations from now
objectivity	assume that everybody has a valid point and your job is to understand what that point is
right to comfort those with power	understand that discomfort is at the root of all growth and learning

In a move to interrupt the connection that whiteness has with dominance, perhaps whiteness could redeem itself by breaking decisively with that history of oppression. As asked in *Whiteness - Sociology of Race* - iResearchNet (2020), could whiteness not be reinvented by such means as practical measures of redistribution and thoroughgoing racial democratization? After all, there have been many anti-racist whites. Since history has not ended, the final judgment on such questions has yet to be rendered.

Becoming an Ally

"An ally is any person that actively promotes and aspires to advance the culture of inclusion through intentional, positive and conscious efforts that benefit people as a whole" (Atcheson, 2018). Becoming an actionable ally is different than being a performative ally. The latter is for show, and the former is putting your words into action. Sheree Atcheson (2018) explains the following reflect an actionable ally:

- Lift others up by advocating,
- Share growth opportunities with others,
- Not view venting as a personal attack,
- Recognize systematic inequalities and realize impact of microaggressions,
- Believe underrepresented people's experiences, and
- Most importantly – listen, support, self-reflect & change.

In the Winter 2020 Black Minds Matter webinar, the speakers suggested that to become a true ally is akin to committing social or professional suicide, as allyship means one is willing to put the interests of others above one's self-interests. Pause and reflect on that.

Thinking Sociologically

Layla F. Saad penned the *Me & White Supremacy Workbook* (2018) to provide a 28-day self-reflection for individuals holding white privilege to consider their involvement and complicity with white supremacy. Saad (2018) writes, "I often ask myself, 'What would the world look like without white supremacy?' We may not live long enough to know. However, if the rise and fall of empires is any clue, white supremacy doesn't have much time left" (pg. 2). The book is intended to make the reader uncomfortable as they discover and dismantle their "inner white supremacy and internalised racism" (Saad, 2018, p. 22).

Would you consider taking Saad's 28-day challenge of self-reflection to consider your complicity with white supremacy? Why or why not?

Saad (2018) suggests the premise for this reflection is to ultimately become a better ancestor for those who come after us. Do you agree or disagree that this type of self-reflection can potentially improve our future?

Key Takeaways

- U.S. history has been characterized by pendulum swings between civil rights and white supremacy.
- Historically and in our contemporary society, white nationalism has existed to support and maintain white supremacy and white power.
- The declining white population conjures up different meanings for white supremacists versus for pluralists.
- The final point of this chapter is to consider the role of anti-racism, abolition of whiteness, antidotes to white supremacy, and allyship as ways to transcend white privilege and white supremacy.

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9.7: Summary/Review

Conclusion

The normalization, invisibility, and institutionalization of whiteness have given it an enduring power. While some are quick to name non-whiteness when talking about people (Black man, Asian worker, Chicana girl, etc.) the lack of designation for whiteness goes unmarked (man, worker, girl). The perpetual and devastating history that embraced genocide through settler colonialism, scientific racism and eugenics, and structural oppression has roots in racism that sought to distinguish a white supremacy and still impacts us today. The ongoing inequalities that create long-lasting disparities between whites and non-whites sustains over generations and the forgotten histories surrounding it ensures its continuity. From history to the present day, from understanding how people create race and racial categories and ideas constantly changing, from connecting the institutional to the interpersonal, internal, and cultural, we see the power of whiteness. We see how the power lies in the Eurocentrism that marginalizes nonwhite lives and shapes our understanding of reality.

Key Terms

- **Racial formation:** As defined by Michael Omi and Howard Winant (2014) this is the process in which racial identity is created and experienced. Omi and Winant argue that race is never static - instead racial categories are defined, redefined, transformed, destroyed, and contested throughout society and history. Racial formation is the process by which social, economic, and political forces shape the meaning and importance of racial categories which are also influenced by racial meanings.
- **Racial projects:** Something identified as racial, whether having direct association to a racial group, whether true or not or even something like having a motive to designate something racially. Racial projects are the effort to organize and distribute resources along racial lines. Racial projects can be defined as racist if “it creates or reproduces structures of domination based on racial signification and identities” (Omi and Winant, 2014, p. 128).
- Scholar, activist, Chicana feminist Elizabeth Martinez explicitly defines **white supremacy** as a system that promotes privilege and power of whiteness for white people through institutional entities
- In the 1990s, Ethnic Studies scholar George Lipsitz coined the term **Possessive Investment in Whiteness**, or PIW. PIW is a way to explain how white people are encouraged to “buy” into whiteness, promote it, maintain it, uplift it, and exclude access from others. Possessive Investment in Whiteness is to embrace the category of whiteness as a community that embraces white skinned hierarchy in order to obtain advantages that go deeper than everyday privilege. These advantages range from creating laws /policies/procedures that benefit white as a privileged class, that maintains generational wealth by excluding non-whites and profiting from structured discrimination
- **Redlining** is the labeling of certain communities predominantly occupied by people of color to be red and as distinct and inferior to white communities. This creates inequitable housing opportunities and maintains wealth for white people by rejecting people of color from obtaining home loans to purchase homes in white communities and also financially devaluing homes in communities of color that make it nearly impossible to accumulate wealth. In home ownership deeds in white communities, there would be explicit directions that prohibited people of color to buy homes in white communities.
- PIW predominantly and most generously enables white people to dismiss race and promote **colorblindedness**. It is in the best interest of whiteness to mask historical oppression as this exposes the wrongdoing that comes from whiteness as superior. Colorblind racism therefore uses the notion of colorblindedness to uphold white supremacy especially through policies and laws that normalize the absence of color which then promotes whiteness as standard instead of inclusion of others.
- **Institutional oppression** is oppression within organizations, societal institutions such as government, health, media, schooling, and more. According to Omi and Winant, institutional oppression is one that is largely seen through laws, policies, and protocols.
- **Interpersonal oppression** is when someone is being oppressed by another person, thus inter + personal.
- **Internalized oppression** is when a person internalizes negative messages, stereotypes, etc. that are associated with some aspect of them.
- **Ideology** is a set of beliefs such as within a group
- **Hegemony** is the dominance of one groups’ beliefs over others. When dominating beliefs are the standard or norm within organizations and institutions, it then establishes power for the dominant group and therefore helps to solidify dominant practices and beliefs within laws and policies that then are applied to everyone.

- **"Culture of power"** in schools that socialize students to perpetuate White middle-class norms.
- Cultivating identity and multiple **epistemologies** in schools, even classrooms, can work to counter the misrecognition and dehumanization of students' identities and cultures. Delgado Bernal (2013) pointedly states, "Although students of color are holders and creators of knowledge, they often feel as if their histories, experiences, cultures, and languages are devalued, misinterpreted, or omitted within formal educational settings" (p. 390). In order to counter this, she says that these aspects must be "recognized and valued in schools" (Delgado Bernal, 2013, p. 403).
- Louis Althusser further identifies an **Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs)** where interrelated institutions together perpetuate the status quo (Feinberg and Soltis, 1985, p. 57). Feinberg and Soltis name these institutions such as "communications, such as newspapers, radio and television; the cultural institutions; the family; political parties and trade unions" and more (Feinberg and Soltis, 1985, p. 57). Feinberg and Soltis cite Althusser's naming of the "function" of ISAs as a way to socialize people and direct their decisions and thus "maintaining the current system of production relations and power" especially "of the ruling class" (Feinberg and Soltis, 1985, p. 57)
- **"Structures of dominance"** agree that society impacts institutions especially through ideologies, or group beliefs, especially dominant ideologies that shut down others in a cycle of institutional, interpersonal, internalized, and societal oppression
- **Racial innocence** is how white children are seen as more **racially innocent** than Black children. This contributes to how people think we should let children be exposed to topics surrounding race and racism. Studies show children are exposed to these things in the world whether or not we talk about it with them.
- A now historic **doll test** was conducted with white children and Black children in the 1950s. Children were shown dolls that were Black and white and were asked various questions about the dolls. The questions included "what doll was the bad doll"? or "what doll is the pretty doll?" while being shown the Black and white doll. Many times the children associated being bad, inferior, and ugly with the Black doll and being good, beautiful, and smart with the white doll.
- **Racialization** is assigning a racial category to someone especially that has not had a designation before (Omi and Winant, 2014)
- **Metanarrative** is a dominant narrative that is often based on stories told about people, and in this case that serve to determine who is an "insider" and who is an "outsider" as an "American" national.
- **"Perpetual foreigners"** is a common stereotype about Asian Americans. No matter how long Asians have been in the U.S. collectively, many are seen as foreign as if they have just arrived in the United States. This reflects the racist perception that is isn't possible that Asians too can be from the U.S. either born or living here a long time.
- The **normalization of whiteness** helps the standardization of whiteness because when whiteness is normalized, it is held with greater esteem and therefore becomes the "standard" in which all must strive to.

Discussion Questions

1. How has whiteness changed over time?
2. Give examples of how whiteness is institutionalized.
3. What is Possessive Investment in Whiteness and what are examples of this in this chapter?
4. How does white supremacy compare/relate to people of color histories and inequalities?

Journal Prompts

1. Re-visit the section on epistemologies or the key term. What epistemologies do you have that you feel are valued? What epistemologies do you have that you feel are not valued? Who values/devalues them? If more of your epistemologies were valued, how do you think that would impact you and/or others? What epistemologies of groups of color, that you know of, are not valued? What do you think would be the impact if their epistemologies were valued?
2. Review some laws and policies in this text. How might they reflect a Possessive Investment in Whiteness? Who benefits from these policies/laws and how? Reflect on how this makes you feel.

Activities

The Normalization of Whiteness

Complete this chart to identify how whiteness can be invisible or normalized. You may add more categories.

The Normalization of Whiteness Table

Person	Place	Thing
Themselves	Home	Media including music, movies, television, books, commercials
Family	School	Policies/procedures/laws
Friends/peers	Work/extra-curriculars/sports	Social media/internet
Workers	Government, hospital/doctor's, stores, restaurants, etc.	Flags, emblems, etc

Identifying Types of Oppression

Part A: In your group/with your partner answer which type of oppression is each scenario and why? Discuss what would make each scenario a different type of oppression (i.e. for the interpersonal oppression scenario, what would make that institutional?).

- Oppression Type: A mixed race Black and Asian person feeling like they aren't "Black" enough or "Asian" enough.
- Oppression Type: "...dozens of studies have found that teachers typically hold more negative attitudes about Black children's personality traits, ability, langauge, behavior, and potential than they do about White children, and that most Black students have fewer favorable interactions with their teachers than White students (Footnote: Irvine, 1990)." (Darling-Hammond, 2010, p. 65)
- Oppression Type: In the 1930s and 40s, Filipinxs were prohibited from renting from certain areas or even go to restaurants that had signs that said "No Filipinos or dogs allowed."

Part B. Next, consider liberation. What would liberation for our communities look like? Identify different types of liberation in your life.

- Institutional
- Interpersonal
- Internalized

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

10: Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) Americans

10.1: History and Demographics

10.2: Intergroup Relations

10.3: Intersectionality

10.4: Social Institutions

10.5: Social Change and Resistance

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10.1: History and Demographics

Defining the Middle East

In 1902 the term "Middle East" was coined in order to designate the area residing between Egypt and Singapore, comprising major access points to Asia, such as the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, etc. West Asia, where most of the countries of the Middle East reside, used to be called the "Near East," but the newer term Middle East" came into usage in the early part of the 20th century.

The term "Middle East" reflects a European worldview, originally imposed on the Middle East through colonization. This is why, if you decide to study the Middle East further or visit there, you may encounter conflicting geographical definitions. Often the term "Middle East" is employed, while at the same time some may choose to speak about their country as part of "West Asia," "North Africa," or even "Europe" (in the case of Turkey).

The term "Middle Eastern" has been used as an umbrella term to encompass the large numbers of people in the region who are in fact incredibly diverse. This diversity includes race, language (Arabic, Farsi, Hebrew), culture (Arab, Persian, Israeli, Turkish) and religion (Muslim, Jewish, Christian). The goal of this chapter is to focus on the unique and immense diversity of the groups of the region, rather than succumb to the temptation of a single broad generalization.



Figure **10.1.1**: The Middle East, 1993. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Terri L Beal via Flickr)

Nation-States and Stateless Nations

In the Middle East, there were always concepts of cultural community, somewhat synonymous with nation, or people, but national identities were not defined by a particular state. Let's take an example from Arabic speaking communities of the Middle East. A nation, or a people, is usually referred to as qawm in Arabic. Thus, qawmia is usually how the word nationalism is translated.

Likewise, the word umma, which means community and is used by Muslims to refer to their global community, is also sometimes translated as "nation." Traditionally, cultural communities were also based on a particular religious tradition. National identity is therefore a complicated topic in the context of the Middle East. For the sake of this discussion, however, it is important to know that various cultural communities, whether they called themselves qawm or umum (plural for umma), came to consider themselves nations. At the same time, many of those, did not possess a state of their own, and some continue to be without a state. They are thus "stateless nations."

Examples of stateless nations:

- The Kurds currently reside in Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Turkey, but they have not established an internationally-recognized state based on their national identity.
- The Jews were a stateless nation until 1948 when they declared Israel a state, which immediately gained recognition from the U.S., followed by the rest of the world.

- Palestinians are currently members of a stateless nation, although the sovereignty of Palestine has been recognized by 135 member countries of the U.N. The term "State of Palestine" is only used officially by Sweden.

In the Middle East, the formation of nation-states created numerous marginalized groups in each country, whose cultural, linguistic or religious identity doesn't match with the official nationality of the country. The examples are too numerous to list. The key aspect to be aware of is that the identity of the most powerful group of the country – which is usually also the majority group but not always – does not represent the entire population. For example in Iran the majority identity is Farsi-speaking, Shi'i Muslim. There are numerous Kurdish, Arab, Azeri, Assyrian, Jewish, Iranians, among others, and each may be speakers of a different language, and/or adherents to a different religious tradition.

Persian Americans

Iranian American is used interchangeably with Persian American, partly due to the fact that, in the Western world, Iran was known as "Persia." Most Iranian Americans arrived in the United States after 1979, as a result of the Iranian Revolution and the fall of the Persian monarchy, with over 40% settling in California, specifically Los Angeles. Unable to return to Iran, they have created many distinct ethnic enclaves, such as the Los Angeles Tehrangeles community. Today, the United States contains the highest number of Iranians outside of Iran.

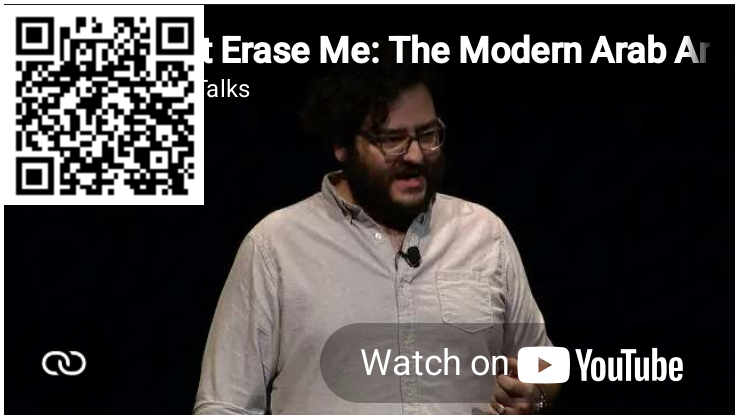


Figure **10.1.2**: "I am a Persian Girl!" (CC BY 2.0; Hamed Saber via Flickr)

There is a tendency among Iranian Americans to categorize themselves as "Persian" rather than "Iranian", mainly to dissociate themselves from the Islamic regime of Iran which has been in charge since the 1979 Revolution, and also to distinguish themselves as being of Persian ethnicity, which comprise about 65% of Iran's population. While the majority of Iranian Americans come from Persian backgrounds, there is a significant number of non Persian Iranians such as Azeris and Kurds within the Iranian American community, leading some scholars to believe that the label "Iranian" is more inclusive, since the label "Persian" excludes non Persian minorities.

Arab Americans

If ever a category was hard to define, the various groups lumped under the name "Arab American" is it. After all, Latinx or Asian Americans are so designated because of their countries of origin. But for Arab Americans, their country of origin—Arabia—has not existed for centuries. In addition, Arab Americans represent all religious practices, despite the stereotype that all Arabic people practice Islam. As Myers (2007) asserts, not all Arabs are Muslim, and not all Muslims are Arab, complicating the stereotype of what it means to be an Arab American.



Video **10.1.3**: Don't Erase Me: The Modern Arab American. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; TEDx Talks via YouTube)

Geographically, the Arab region is made up of the Middle East and parts of northern Africa. People whose ancestry can be traced to the area or who primarily speak Arabic may consider themselves to be Arab. There are 22 Arab Nations including: Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.

The first Arab immigrants came to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They were predominantly Syrian, Lebanese, and Jordanian Christians, and they came to escape persecution and to make a better life. These early immigrants and their descendants, who were more likely to think of themselves as Syrian or Lebanese than Arab, represent almost half of the Arab American population today (Myers, 2007). Restrictive immigration policies from the 1920s until 1965 curtailed all immigration, but Arab immigration since 1965 has been steady. Immigrants from this time period have been more likely to be Muslim and more highly educated, escaping political unrest and looking for better opportunities. The Arab American community in the U.S. is concentrated in five regions: the Detroit/Dearborn area, Los Angeles, New York/New Jersey, Chicago, and Washington D.C., but segments of the population live in all 50 states.

According to the best estimates of the U.S. Census Bureau, the Arabic population in the United States grew from 850,000 in 1990 to 1.2 million in 2000, an increase of .07% (Asi & Beaulieu, 2013). By some estimates, there are as many as 3 million people in the United States today with Arab ancestry. Among those that identify as Arab American, the largest group is from Lebanon, followed by Egypt, Syria, and Palestine.

Muslim Americans

Islam has approximately 1.7 billion followers worldwide, and is the second largest religion in the world after Christianity. Most Muslims belong to one of two denominations: Sunni (87–90%) or Shia (10-13%). Muslims make up 24% of the world's population, compared to 33% for Christianity (Pew Templeton 2015). About 13% of Muslims live in Indonesia, the largest Muslim-majority country; 31% of Muslims live in South Asia, the largest population of Muslims in the world; 20% inhabit the Middle East–North Africa region, where it is the dominant religion; and 15% reside in Sub-Saharan Africa. Sizeable Muslim communities are also found in the Americas, the Caucasus, Central Asia, China, Europe, Mainland Southeast Asia, the Philippines, and Russia.

Islam is monotheistic religion and it follows the teaching of the prophet Muhammad, born in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, in 570 C.E. Muhammad is seen only as a prophet, not as a divine being, and he is believed to be the messenger of Allah (God), who is divine. The followers of Islam, whose U.S. population is projected to double in the next twenty years (Pew Research Forum, 2011), are called Muslims.

Islam means "peace" and "submission." The sacred text for Muslims is the Qur'an (or Koran). As with Christianity's Old Testament, many of the Qur'an stories are shared with the Jewish faith. Divisions exist within Islam, but all Muslims are guided by five beliefs or practices, often called "pillars:" 1) Allah is the only god, and Muhammad is his prophet, 2) daily prayer, 3) helping those in poverty, 4) fasting as a spiritual practice, and 5) pilgrimage to the holy center of Mecca.

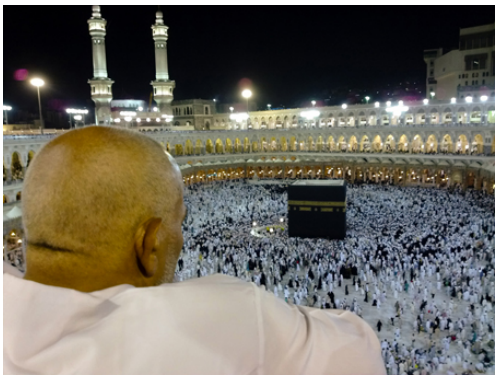


Figure **10.1.4**: A cornerstone of Muslim practice is journeying to the religion's most sacred place, Mecca. (CC BY-SA; Raeky via Flickr)

In the United States, Muslim Americans are a very diverse group that represent different racial and ethnic backgrounds. It is estimated that the Muslim population in the United States is as follows:

- 20-42% African American
- 24-33% South Asian (Indonesian, Bangladeshi, Indian, Pakistani)
- 12-32% Arab
- 15-22% "other" (Iranian, Turkish and white and Hispanic converts)

African Americans who embrace Islam represent a large segment of the Muslim community in the United States. There are about 1 million Black American Muslims in the U.S., and they are thought to account for 90% of all converts to Islam in the country (Pew Research Center 2015).

Jewish Americans

After their Exodus from Egypt in the thirteenth century B.C.E., Jews, a nomadic society, became monotheistic, worshipping only one God. The Jews' covenant, or promise of a special relationship with Yahweh (God), is an important element of Judaism, and their sacred text is the Torah, which Christians also follow as the first five books of the Bible. Talmud refers to a collection of sacred Jewish oral interpretation of the Torah. Jews emphasize moral behavior and action in this world as opposed to beliefs or personal salvation in the next world. With between 14.5 and 17.4 million adherents worldwide, Judaism is the tenth largest religion in the world.

Today, the largest Jewish religious movements are Orthodox Judaism (Haredi Judaism and Modern Orthodox Judaism), Conservative Judaism, and Reform Judaism. Major sources of difference between these groups include their approaches to Jewish law, the authority of the Rabbinic tradition, and the significance of the State of Israel. There is a wide spectrum of devotion, practice, and even appearance within Judaism, but the most visible are Orthodox Jews because they are recognized by their outward appearance.

Orthodox men are expected to wear a ritual fringe called Tzitzit, and the donning of a head-covering for males at all times is a well-known attribute distinguishing Orthodox Jews. Many men grow beards, and Haredi men wear Black hats with a skullcap underneath and suits. Modern Orthodox Jews are sometimes indistinguishable in their dress from general society, although they, too, wear kippahs and tzitzit; additionally, on Shabbat, Modern Orthodox men wear suits (or at least a dress shirt) and dress pants, while women wear fancier dresses or blouses.



Figure **10.1.5**; Satmar Family, Brooklyn. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; johnwilliamsphd via Flickr)

What exactly makes someone Jewish? Is it the Jewish faith? Although Jewish religious practices and beliefs continue to be very important, a large number of adult Jews today do not regularly practice the Jewish religion. Is it physical features? Although some Jews can be distinguished by physical features, Jews today come from all parts of the world and thus can have tremendous variation in appearance. Is it culture? Jews share important cultural traits, however cultural identity can be very different from one Jew to the next as degrees of cultural assimilation vary. The Israeli Law of Return specifically defines who is Jewish and extends Israeli citizenship to all Jews. Jews are defined as "any person who has at least one Jewish grandparent or whose spouse has at least one Jewish grandparent." Israeli law also recognizes all converts to the Jewish faith. Thus, the question of whether the Jewish people are a race, religion or ethnic group, is not one that is easily resolved.

The largest migration of Jews to the United States occurred at the end of the nineteenth century. This was synonymous with the great European migration to the United States. European immigration, particularly from Eastern Europe, was halted as a result of immigration laws in the 1920s. However, Jewish migration to the United States began to rise again beginning around 1933. At this time, Jews arriving to the United States were not only immigrants, they were refugees, attempting to escape the tyranny of the Third Reich in Europe. The most distinctive feature of the Jewish population in the United States today is its concentration in three areas: New York City, Los Angeles, and South Florida. These three areas account for 60 percent of the nation's entire Jewish population. In these areas, many public schools observe major Jewish holidays including Yom Kippur, Rosh Hashanah, Sukkot, and Passover.

Contributors and Attributions

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10.2: Intergroup Relations

Intergroup Consequences

A variety of intergroup consequences can be used to explain the experiences of Middle Eastern Americans. At the inhumane extreme, **genocide** (the systematic killing of an entire people) explains the Holocaust. Between 1941 and 1945, across German-occupied Europe, Nazi Germany, and its collaborators systematically murdered some six million Jews, around two-thirds of Europe's Jewish population. The murders were carried out through mass shootings, extermination through work in concentration camps, and gas chambers. This genocide led many to flee as refugees to the United States; however, thousands of Jews fleeing the horrors of the Nazi regime were denied asylum as they were feared to be Nazi spies (Gross, 2015).

Patterns of Intergroup Relations: Middle Eastern Americans

- **Extermination/Genocide:** The deliberate, systematic killing of an entire people or nation (e.g. Holocaust).
- **Expulsion/Population Transfer:** The dominant group expels the marginalized group (e.g. Syrian refugees).
- **Segregation:** The dominant group structures physical, unequal separation of two groups in residence, workplace & social functions (e.g. detainment after 9-11).
- **Separatism:** The marginalized group desires physical separation of two groups in residence, workplace & social functions (e.g. Quranic schools).
- **Fusion/Amalgamation:** Race-ethnic groups combine to form a new group (e.g. intermarriage).
- **Assimilation:** The process by which a marginalized individual or group takes on the characteristics of the dominant group (e.g. Judaization).
- **Pluralism/Multiculturalism:** Various race-ethnic groups in a society have mutual respect for one another, without prejudice or discrimination (e.g. Muslims elected to Congress).

The mass **expulsion** (when the dominant group expels the marginalized group) of Jews during WWII was followed many decades later by another Middle Eastern group, Syrians, who fled the Syrian Civil War. In the last five years, the pre-war population of the Syrian Arab Republic was estimated at 22 million; of that number, the United Nations identified 13.5 million as displaced persons, requiring humanitarian assistance. Of these, since the start of the Syrian Civil War in 2011, more than six million were internally displaced, and around five million had crossed into other countries. While not a world leader in accepting Syrian refugees, the U.S. did accept 16,218 Syrian refugees by 2016. In 2017, President Donald Trump signed an executive order suspending any further resettlement of Syrian refugees to the U.S. indefinitely until further notice due to security concerns.

Segregation (physical separation of a marginalized group from the dominant group) is yet another intergroup consequence that can be used to understand the experience of some Middle Easterners, particularly Arab and Muslim American men post 9-11. As a result of the 2001 terrorist attack, as David Cole describes below, the U.S. government rounded up more than 5,000 foreign nationals from Middle Eastern countries, many of whom were deported or detained for months. Similar to the internment of Japanese Americans during WWII, these individuals were rounded up merely because of "guilt by association," as being foreigners "associated with" the terrorist act - but the overwhelming majority actually had no proven association to the attacks.



Video 10.2.1: David Cole - Enemy Aliens & Constitutional Freedoms. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; pdxjustice Media Productions via YouTube)

As quoted in an American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) press release:

> Immigrants weren't the enemy...But, the war on terror quickly became a war on immigrants. The Inspector General's findings confirm our long-held view that civil liberties and the rights of immigrants were trampled in the aftermath of 9/11.

Another intergroup consequence of relevance is **separatism**, physical separation of race-ethnic groups as desired by a marginalized group, in the case of schooling. Some communities offer a private schooling experience that caters to the needs of Muslim or Jewish families and their children. Quranic or Sunday schools or schools for Black Muslims offer specific religious instruction to those attending mosque schools or as a supplement for children who attend public schools (Schaefer, 2019). Similarly, Hebrew school can be either an educational regimen separate from secular education similar to the Christian Sunday school, education focusing on topics of Jewish history and learning the Hebrew language, or a primary, secondary or college level educational institution where some or all of the classes are taught in Hebrew.

With the increasing practice of intermarriage, Jews marrying non-Jews, **fusion** has become a norm in the 21st century. In the 1970s, more than 64% of Jews married other Jews (Schaefer, 2019). From 2000 to 2013, that percentage dropped to 42% (ibid). Hence, in contemporary society, intermarriage is common practice. For some, this represents a threat to the faith of Judaism. For others, this represents an opportunity to be raised as bi-cultural - practicing both Hanukkah and Christmas, speaking Hebrew and English. This can also feed into **assimilation**, conforming to the norms of dominant culture, which lessens, or in some cases, eliminates ties to one's ethnic background. **Judaization** is the "lessening importance of Judaism as a religion and the substitution of cultural traditions as the ties that bind Jews" (Schaefer, 2019, p. 304).

Finally, **pluralism**, exemplified by mutual respect and appreciation for diverse cultures, may be understood to relate to Middle Easterners by considering ethnic enclaves and officials elected to office. Consider New York City. Several Middle Eastern ethnic groups have immigrated to New York and formed several neighborhoods with a high concentration of people who are of Arab descent. Between the 1870s and the 1920s, the first wave of Arab immigrants brought mostly Syrian and Lebanese people to New York City, the majority of them being Christian. There are now around 160,000 Arabic people in New York City and more than 480,000 in New York State. According to the Arab American Institute the population of people who identify themselves as Arab, grew by 23% between 2000 and 2008. New York today has the second largest number of Jews in a metropolitan area, behind Tel Aviv (in Israel). Borough Park, Brooklyn is one of the largest Orthodox Jewish communities in the world.

A growing number of Muslims have been elected to political office. A Somali-born woman, Ilhan Omar has served as the U.S. Representatives for Minnesota's 5th congressional district since 2019. She is also one of the first two Muslim women (along with Rashida Tlaib) to serve in Congress. A member of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, Omar has advocated for a living wage, affordable housing, universal healthcare, student loan debt forgiveness, protection of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals,

abolition of Immigration and Customs Enforcement, and Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender rights. However, she is not well received by pro-Israel Jewish groups, as she has frequently denounced Israel's occupied Palestinian territories; she has been accused of anti-semitic remarks, for which she has apologized.



Figure **10.2.2**: Ilhan Omar, official portrait, 116th Congress. (CC PDM 1.0; Kristie Boyd via Wikimedia)

Islamophobia

Let us turn to a stark contrast to pluralism. Relations between Muslim and Arab Americans and the dominant majority group have been marked by mistrust, misinformation, and deeply entrenched beliefs. Helen Samhan of the Arab American Institute suggests that Arab-Israeli conflicts in the 1970s contributed significantly to cultural and political anti-Arab sentiment in the United States (2001). The United States has historically supported the state of Israel, while some Middle Eastern countries deny the existence of the Israeli state. Disputes over these issues have involved Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Palestine. A more detailed discussion of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is provided later in the chapter.

As is often the case with stereotyping and prejudice, the actions of extremists come to define the entire group, regardless of the fact that most U.S. citizens with ties to the Middle Eastern community condemn terrorist actions, as do most inhabitants of the Middle East. Would it be fair to judge all Catholics by the events of the Inquisition? Of course, the United States was deeply affected by the events of September 11, 2001. This event has left a deep scar on the American psyche, and it has fortified anti-Arab sentiment for a large percentage of Americans. In the first month after 9/11, hundreds of hate crimes were perpetrated against people who looked like they might be of Arab descent.





Figure 10.2.3 and Figure 10.2.4: The proposed Park51 Muslim Community Center generated heated controversy due to its close proximity to Ground Zero. In these photos, people march in protest against the center, while counter-protesters demonstrate their support. (CC BY 2.0; Photos (a) and (b); David Shankbone via Wikimedia)

Arab Americans are still victims of racism and prejudice. Racial profiling has proceeded against Arab Americans as a matter of course since 9/11. Particularly when engaged in air travel, being young and Arab-looking is enough to warrant a special search or detainment. This **Islamophobia** (irrational fear of or hatred against Muslims) does not show signs of abating. A recent survey of 5,000 respondents showed that many do not consider Muslims to be sufficiently "American," with 67% of Democrats and only 36% of Republicans agreeing with the statement that "Muslim Americans want to fit in as American citizens."

Anti-Semitism

For centuries, the Jewish people have struggled to overcome hatred. Religious observances such as passover, Hanukkah and Purim commemorate some of these struggles. **Anti-Semitism** (anti Jewish prejudice and discrimination) has existed since before Christianity and continues to exist today. The most horrific example of this was the Holocaust. The Holocaust was the state sponsored, systematic persecution and annihilation of Jews by Nazi Germany. As a result, two-thirds of the Jewish population in Europe was killed.

The **Anti-Defamation League** (ADL), founded in 1913, publishes an annual report that details incidents of anti-Semitism in the United States. In 2018, the ADL recorded 1,879 anti-Semitic incidents. These incidents included: vandalism, graffiti in the form of swastikas or anti Jewish sentiments, harassment, assault and murder. Some of these incidents were carried out by neo-nazis or skinheads, who are known to perpetuate anti Semitic ideologies. Recent attacks on synagogues in the United States (Pittsburgh, PA in 2018 and Poway, CA in 2019 are just two recent examples) have reminded people all over the world of the dangers of anti-Semitism.



Figure 10.2.6: Vigil against anti-Semitic graffiti in Hampstead, London 30th December 2019. (CC BY-NC 2.0; Steven Eason via Flickr)

Muslim and Jewish Relations: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Throughout history, few groups have been so closely linked as Muslims and Jews. Tension and conflict among these groups have arisen throughout history as a result of religious differences, political differences, and conflict over land and natural resources. Today, the most contentious example of this conflict is represented in the continuing struggle between Israel and Palestine. Jews and Muslims both claim a religious tie to the land in Israel and Palestine, not only because both religions had major events take place there and are deeply rooted in the area, but because both claim that they were promised the land by God, through Abraham. Abraham had more than one son, however, and descendants from Isaac were predominantly Jewish and descendants from Ishmael became predominantly Muslim.

In the early 20th century, Jews fleeing persecution in Europe wanted to establish a national homeland in what was an Arab and Muslim majority territory. The Arabs resisted, seeing the land as rightfully theirs. Israel and the surrounding Arab nations fought several wars over the territory. The 1967 war left Israel in control of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, two territories that are home to large Palestinian populations. One approach to resolving the conflict would establish Palestine as an independent state in Gaza and most of the West Bank, leaving the rest of the land to Israel. Another approach would give all of the land to either Israel or Palestine. The conflict over who gets what land and how it's controlled is one that remains today.

Although the United States has historically been a strong supporter of Israel, the U.S. government has traditionally supported advancing a solution that would reconcile the claims of the two parties: Israel and Palestine. Multiple administrations have attempted to initiate a process that would result in two distinct states. However, many critics have claimed that the potential for this outcome has diminished as a result of President Trump's policies.

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10.3: Intersectionality

Muslim Women and Hijab

The role of women in the Muslim community has received a good amount of attention. One such area of focused attention is in standards of dress. Islam stresses that women should be protected and must present themselves in a modest way while in public. The prophet Muhammad indicated that the female body should be covered with loose fitting clothing with the exception of the face, hands, and feet. **Hijab** refers to garments that allow women to adhere to the guidelines of modest dress. Hijab may include head or face covering as well as other garments worn to maintain modesty.



Figure **10.3.1**: "Cairo Egypt Burka - Burqa" (CC BY 2.0; Jay Galvin via Flickr)

If and how women cover themselves varies from person to person, from country to country and among various religious sects. Some Muslim women simply do not practice hijab. Some wear hijabs that loosely cover their hair and neck. Other women may wear very full coverings that conceal almost their entire bodies. These coverings include **niqab** (the face veil), **chador** (a full-body covering that leaves the face exposed), and **burqa** (a loose-fitting garment which covers the woman from head to toe and covers her face with a mesh weave that enables her to see).

Some in western societies view hijab as a symbol of oppression, a means for making women fade into the background of society. However, many Muslim women view it as a symbol of their identity, their strength, their beliefs, their values, and their respect for their bodies. For many Muslim women, these are not oppressive garments, but rather liberating garments, that free them from being regarded as a sexual object. In fact, in the second half of the twentieth century, the practice of veiling increased among Muslim women in the Middle East as well as around the world (Ahmed, 2011). Hijab has not only become more common among Muslim women, but has emerged as an important symbolic representation of Islamic feminism.

Islamic Feminism

Fatema Mernissi

Fate Mernissi (1940-2015) was a Moroccan feminist writer and sociologist, with her work focusing on a voice for the oppressed and marginalized women. Her legacy can be greatly attributed to her scholarly and literary contributions to the early feminist movement, as she tackles issues such as Eurocentrism, intersectionality, transnationalism, and global feminism.

Mernissi is known for her sociolopolitical approaches towards discussing gender and sexual identities, specifically those of which are focused within Morocco. She became known internationally mainly as an Islamic feminist. She authored Beyond the Veil in 1975. In her writings, she was largely concerned with Islam and women's roles in it, analyzing the historical development of Islamic thought and its modern manifestation. Through a detailed investigation of the nature of the succession to Muhammed, she cast doubt on the validity of some of the **hadith** (sayings and traditions attributed to him), and therefore the subordination of women that she sees in Islam, but not necessarily in the Quran.



Figure 10.3.2: "Fatema Mernissi" (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Nikka Singh via Flickr)

A recurring topic for multiple of her writings is Scheherazde and the digital sphere, as she explores cases in which women take part in online media outlets. In these writings, she mentioned how technology is quickly spreading - via the Internet - and analyzes the roles and contributions of women in this movement.

She also wrote about life within harems, gender, and public and private spheres. In one of her articles, Size 6: The Western Women's Harem, she discusses the repression and pressures women face merely based on their physical appearance. Whether in Moroccan society or the West, she surmises that women must live up to stereotypical standards such as dress sizes (e.g. size 6) and that these practices isolate and mistreat women. Later, in her book, Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World, Mernissi she looks at how fundamentalism controlled what a woman would be able to wear, so a democratic society that freed women to dress as they pleased could appear threatening to a hyper-masculine culture.

Additionally, she notes that Muslim women were not victims of their religious practices any more than Western women were victims of the patriarchy; both groups of women were oppressed by specific social intitutions within a religion or society created to profit off of the marginalization of others. She explains that Western women were veiled, just as Muslim women were, yet Western veils were much more discreet. To her, youth and beauty veiled Western women, and once a woman no longer had these, she was hardly recognized by society.

Mernissi's work highlighted how Western feminism could be detrimental to the empowerment of women around the globe if it lacked an intersectional approach to women's issues. In her book, The Forgotten Queens of Islam, she uses an intersectional lens to understand the positions of women throughout early Islamic history through social and political identities that created modes of discrimination. Her aim was to bring to light the significant contributions that women had throughout early Islamic history and debunk the misconceptions about the absence of women as political and authoritative figures. She did this through exploring leadership roles that women were involved in throughout Islamic history, including accounts of 15 women and the active roles they played in pre-modern Islam politics.

In her book Women's Rebellion & Islamic Memory, Mernissi analyzes the role of women in relation to the world of contemporary Islam and how the state ultimately supports inequality. She argues that the freedom from these controlling traditions and expectations of women is the only way for the Arab world to develop. In her book, Islam and Democracy, she suggests ways in which progressive Muslims, including feminists, who choose to advocate for democracy and resist

> fundamentalism should draw from the same sacred texts as those who seek to oppress them, in order to prove that Islam is not fundamentally against women.

Feminism is often thought of as incompatible and categorically opposed to the cultural and religious traditions of Islam. The truth, however, is that Muslim women have been active in feminist movements and ideals for many years. In fact, research has shown that one in four Arab Muslims supports feminism (Glas and Alexander, 2020). Just as feminism in the West has given women a voice and an opportunity to challenge gender inequality in society, so too has feminism among Muslim women. All social movements are unique to the social and cultural context in which they arise, and Islamic feminism is no exception. Muslim women have adapted their own strategies for countering gender oppression, while at the same time working within an Islamic framework. Thus balancing their feminist ideals with the religious beliefs they hold dear.

The Centre for Muslim Minorities and Islam Policy Studies defines a **Muslim feminist** as "one who adopts a worldview in which Islam can be contextualized and reinterpreted in order to promote concepts of equity and equality between men and women; and for whom freedom of choice plays an important part in expression of faith." The term "Islamic feminism" distinguishes those women who work specifically within the Islamic faith, as opposed to “secularist feminism” which is weakly attached to religion or not at all.

A basic tenant of Islamic feminism is that at its core, it draws upon the Quranic concept of equality of all human beings, and insists on the application of this theology to both the public and private spheres. Muslim feminists argue that the oppressive practices - to which women in the Middle East are subjected - are caused by the prevalence of patriarchal interpretations of Islam, rather than Islam itself (Ahmed, 1992). Thus Muslim feminists strive to balance cultural and religious traditions, while articulating and fighting for their feminist concerns, defining and developing feminism and feminist practices on their own terms. Just as Muslim women do, Jewish women have also strived to balance feminism and faith.

Jewish Feminism

Jewish feminism is a movement that seeks to make the religious, legal, and social status of Jewish women equal to that of Jewish men. Feminist movements, with varying approaches and successes, have opened up within all major branches of the Jewish religion.

In its modern form, the Jewish feminist movement can be traced to the early 1970s. Judith Plaskow, known for being the first Jewish feminist theologian, claims the main grievances of early Jewish feminists were women's exclusion from the **minyan** (all male prayer group), women's exemption from **mitzvot** (the 613 commandments given in the Torah at Mount Sinai and the seven rabbinic commandments instituted later, for a total of 620), and women's inability to function as witnesses and to initiate divorce in Jewish religious courts (Plaskow, 2003). The issue of divorce is expressed in the term **agunah**, which describes a woman whose husband refuses, or is unable, to grant her a divorce according to Jewish law.

Just as there are varying degrees to which Jews adhere to cultural and/or religious practices, so too are there various versions of feminist theologies that exist within the Jewish Community. For example, Orthodox Jewish feminism seeks to change the position of women from within Jewish law. Orthodox feminists work with rabbis and rabbinical institutions to create more inclusive practices within Orthodox communal life and leadership. Orthodox feminism tends to focus on issues such as fostering women's education, leadership, ritual participation, and making synagogue more women friendly. Some branches of Jewish feminism focus on the gender polarity that exists in the religious and cultural practices within the Jewish community. While Orthodox feminists strive for women's rights and opportunities, they do so within the framework of Jewish law.



Figure \(\PageIndex{3}: Bella Abzug. (CC PDM 1.0; Library of Congress via House of Representatives)

Bella Savitzky Abzug (1920-1998), born to an Orthodox Russian Jewish family in New York City, was a social activist, U.S. Representative, and a leader in the women's movement in the United States. She worked alongside other feminists such as Gloria Steinem, Shirley Chisholm, and Betty Friedan to found the National Women's Political Caucus. She attributed her inclination towards feminism to her time spent at synagogue. According to Azbug, "It was during these visits to the synagogue that I think I had my first thoughts as a feminist rebel. I didn't like the fact that women were consigned to the back rows of the balcony."

LGBTQIA+ Rights

Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender citizens generally have limited or highly restrictive rights in most parts of the Middle East, and are open to hostility in others. Sex between men is illegal in 10 of the 18 countries that make up the region. It is punishable by death in 6 of these 18 countries. The rights and freedoms of LGBTQIA+ citizens are strongly influenced by the prevailing cultural traditions and religious mores of people living in the region – particularly Islam. Several Middle Eastern countries have received strong international criticism for persecuting homosexuality and transgender people by fines, imprisonment and death.



Figure 10.3.4: "Apartheid" (CC BY-SA 2.0; Loozrboy Via Flickr)

Male same sex activity is illegal and punishable by imprisonment in Kuwait, Egypt, Oman, Qatar, and Syria. It is punishable by death in Iran, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates. In Yemen or Palestine (Gaza Strip) the punishment might differ between death and imprisonment depending on the act committed. Even though laws against female same sex activity are less strict, few countries recognize legal rights and provisions.

In the United States, LGBTQIA+ Middle Eastern Americans face a unique challenge. On the one hand, there is the challenge of post 9/11 attitudes and discrimination toward Muslim Americans. As Muslim society is still, by and large, heteronormative, there is also the challenge of hostility, harassment or discrimination that may be experienced from the the Middle Eastern community at large.

Contributors and Attributions

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10.4: Social Institutions

10.4: Social Institutions

Religious Identities of the Middle East

About 55% of the world's population profess one of the main monotheistic faiths that are found in the Middle East (2.2 billion Christians; 1.6 billion Muslims; 14 million Jews). These faiths are referred to as "Abrahamic Religions" because they each trace their origins to the Hebrew prophet Abraham. The similarities across the Abrahamic religions and other religious groups can be attributed to shared histories, values and cultural practices. Today the Middle East is defined by conflict and antagonism, but there are many shared worldview within these religions, in addition to the differences. For instance, all of these religions consider the Temple Mount in Jerusalem to be central to their traditions and understanding of spirituality.



Figure **10.4.1**: Aerial view of the "Temple Mount", sacred to Jews, Christians and Muslims. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Godot13 (Andrew Shiva) via Wikimedia)

Religion has been a powerful social force in the region because, especially in the past, religious identity has been something closer to an ethnicity in the Middle East, defining one's cultural identity as well as one's spirituality. There are general cultural aspects shared by Judaism, Christianity and Islam. They each:

- Were founded by a Semitic person or people;
- Refer to the same God: Yahweh in Hebrew; Jehovah in English; Allah in Arabic; Khuda in Persian.
- Use similar concepts of Justice. For example the idea that one should always consider God to be present when one is judging. Other than murder, adultery and stealing, bearing false witness was one of the most egregious crimes in the societies in which these religions originated.

Islam and Judaism have more doctrinal similarities with each other than they have with Christianity, especially in regard to their concepts of monotheism (God being without offspring or partner – this is a specific reference to Surat al-Ikhlas of the Qur'an in

Islam), their legal systems and in their rigorous restrictions on daily life and practice, such as their protocols for diet. However, unlike Judaism, both Islam and Christianity are universal religions; i.e., one needn't be born into it to participate in the religion. The following religious comparison grid provides key areas of similarity and difference amongst them.

https://socialsci.libretexts.org/@go/page/196273

Figure **10.4.2**: Abrahamic Religions Comparison Chart. (CC BY-SA 4.0; via Payind & McClimans)

Abrahamic Religions Comparison Chart

Belief/Practice	Judaism	Christianity	Islam
Concept of God, monotheism	One god, considered as creator and sustainer of the universe. Worship of any additional gods is discouraged by banning images of humans and animals which could potentially be idols.	One god, considered as creator and sustainer of the universe. God as cause of Mary's immaculate conception, and "father" of Jesus.	One god, considered as creator and sustainer of the universe. God possesses no partner, no offspring. Worship of any additional gods, or idols, is strictly forbidden. Worship of any additional gods is discouraged by banning images of humans and animals which could potentially be idols.
Messengers of God/Prophets	Belief in prophets of God.	Belief in prophets of God. Jesus is considered the Son of God.	Belief in prophets of God. Belief that Muhammad is the last of God's prophets. Jesus is considered a prophet.
Timing for weekly worship/community gathering.	This is a day of rest, Friday evening through Saturday evening is a time of required rest from normal daily work. Synagogue services on Saturday are a time designated for community.	This is a day of rest, Community worship on Sunday. It is a required day of rest from normal daily work.	Friday is the day for group prayer. Work is allowed, however.
Scripture	Torah (including the Ten Commandments).	Torah (including the Ten Commandments); New Testament.	Torah (including the Ten Commandments); Psalms; Gospels of the Christian Bible; Qur'an
Afterlife/eschatology	Judgment Day, Hereafter	Judgment Day, Hereafter, Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, Limbo	Judgment Day, Hereafter
Stories of Human Origin	Adam and Eve as the first humans; the great flood;	Adam and Eve as the first humans; the great flood;	Adam and Eve as the first humans; the great flood;
Alms	Tithing, or giving a portion of your wealth to those in need.	Tithing, or giving a portion of your ealth to those in need.	Alms, or Zaka, is one of the five pillars
Circumcision	Required for males.	Not required.	Required for males.
Pilgrimage	Was required, until the temple in Jerusalem was destroyed.	not required. many pilgrimage sites, however.	required to Mecca. tombs and shrines that may also pilgrimage sites.
Ritual Use of Water	Ablutions before prayer, and traditionally before entering the Temple in Jerusalem.	Holy water is used before entering a church, to bless worshipers during mass, and to baptize.	Ablutions are required before prayer.
Messianic expectations	The king will one day return.	Jesus will return on Judgment day	Shi'is expect the rightly-guided Imam, or Mahdi, to return.
Supernatural entities	Angels	Angels, Satan/Lucifer	Angels, Jinn, Satan, or Shaytan/Iblis
Fasting and Dietary restrictions	Fasting for Yom Kippur. Multiple restrictions and requirements for preparation, including the way to slaughter animals. No pork. Ritual use of alcohol.	Fasting for lent. Eastern Orthodox Christianity requires a vegetarian diet for lent. Pork is allowed. Ritual use of alcohol.	Fasting for Ramadan. Multiple restrictions and requirements for preparation, including the way to slaughter animals. No pork. No alcohol.

Religious Diversity

Within each of these religions there is immense diversity. For example, many do not know how diverse the state of Israel is in reality. Israeli citizens can be Jewish, Muslim, Druze or Christian. They can also be Arab, in addition to every ethnic heritage around the world. In general, Jews with European heritage are called Ashkenazi Jews, while Jews from the Middle East are called Sephardic Jews, or Mizrachim. Core tenets from the Torah are shared by all Jewish communities, but the practices surrounding them vary from community to community.

Likewise, there is much diversity within Muslim-majority countries, and within the global Muslim population as a whole. Several communities follow religious practices which emphasize different aspects than mainstream Islam, have separated into a theology, or combine theologies with other religions:

- ‘Alawi Shi’ism: a form of Shi’ism, but more centered on venerating ‘Ali. There are many communities in Syria and Turkey
- The Druze Faith: Islamic foundation, but radically different practices and theology
- The Bahai’ Faith: Related to Shi’i Islam, recognizing a prophet who came after Muhammad, however.
- Yazidism; Combination of Islam, Zoroastrian and other traditions

These facets of diversity show how many people of colors there are, and have been, in the Middle East, and how problematic it can be to generalize about the religious outlook of a country, or even a small area within a country. In the U.S. and other countries around the world, many Middle Eastern immigrants represent minority communities of the Middle East.

Christian communities in Middle Eastern countries are perhaps the least represented communities in mainstream information sources. Assyrians, Armenians, Copts, and other cultural groups that are predominantly Christian, are increasingly minoritized in Muslim-majority countries while at the same time many of their communities in diaspora. Only Armenians have their own nation-state. Middle Eastern Christian communities are more prominent in the U.S., because they make up a larger percentage of the total number of individuals who have emigrated from the Middle East to the U.S., than do Muslims. Therefore, it is more likely for one to meet a Christian with Middle Eastern heritage in the U.S. than in the region. Such as the examples below.



Figure 10.4.3: Andre Agassi, famous American tennis player with Iranian, Assyrian, and Armenian heritage. (CC BY-SA 2.5; Akademan via Wikimedia)



Figure **10.4.4**: Paula Abdul, American singer of Syrian-Jewish descent. (CC BY-SA 3.0; Toglenn via Wikimedia)

We go into more detail about Islam and Islamic practices because of the impact Islam has had on all members of society (including non-Muslims), and the need to correct pervasive stereotypes about Muslims.

What is Shar'ia Law?

Islamic law, or the shar‘ia, guides the religious practices of Muslim communities, and may also may serve as a basis for government. Shar’ia remains an important guide to daily life for many Muslims, but its legislation now resides outside of the legal system in most Muslim-majority countries, with differing levels of involvement and influence. In some cases shar‘ia has remained the state’s government and legal system, as in Saudi Arabia. In any Muslim community, however, Islam’s precepts for good conduct remain paramount. The Five Pillars provide a foundation for proper religious practice, and are as follows (in order of importance):

1. Shahada, or Declaration of Faith;
2. Salat, or Prayer (5 times daily);
3. Saum, or Fasting (Especially During the Month of Ramadan);
4. Zakat, or Alms (2.5% of one’s income should go to those in need, provided one has that much after meeting one’s own, one’s immediate family, and surrounding community needs);
5. Ḥaj, or Pilgrimage (if one has the health and financial means, a Muslim is required to go to Mecca once in his or her lifetime, during the month of Ḥaj and perform a specific set of rituals)

In Islam, the only requirement to become Muslim is the first pillar; which is simply to utter the Shahada, or Declaration of Faith (translation, Payind): “I bear witness that there is no God other than the one God. I bear witness that Muhammad is the servant messenger of God.”

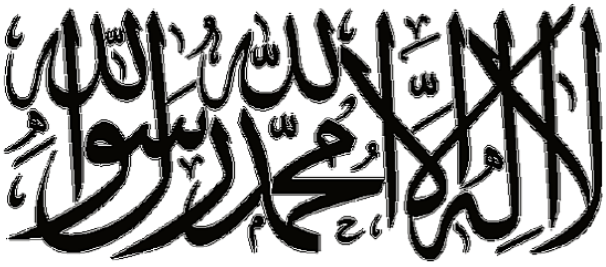


Figure **10.4.5**: Image of the Shahada in Arabic Calligraphy. (CC PDM 1.0; via Pixabay)

Beyond the Five Pillars, however, a moral life includes principles from the Qur’an and the example set by the prophet Muhammad which provide a moral foundation for the practices and laws which are intended to guide all facets of individual lives, families and

society as a whole. These principles for leading a correct life often require a moral struggle to achieve. This relates to a duty in Islam called jihad.

The Concept of Jihad

The meaning of jihad is struggle – it can be internal and spiritual/ moral, or external and physical/combat. Inner struggle is considered the "Greater Jihad", or Jihad al-Akbar, due to its greater difficulty and greater importance in the life of a Muslim. Jihad al-Akbar is revered by Muslims. Jihad's other meaning, related to war against an enemy, is the lesser jihad, or Jihad al-Asghar. This is the struggle against injustice, oppression or invasion, and it allows the use of military force. Jihad al-Asghar possesses greater renown in the West, due to three powerful factors:

1. Jihadi extremist groups in the news,
2. European conflicts between Europe and what they called "Islamdom", termed "Holy War" at the time (jihad continues to be translated as "holy war" for this reason).
3. Stereotypes of Muslims as angry and violent aggressors pervade the Western knowledge base due to this history and the reinforcement of these images through various forms of media.

Following the 9/11 attacks in 2001 by the terrorist group Al-Qaeda, the word "jihad" has become a contentious term associated with extremists who justify their violent actions as part of a a political project, or a religious war against nonbelievers. Despite the multiple and many benevolent applications of the concept of jihad, today it is often narrowly associated with a form of holy war, or with sacrificing one's life for the sake of God.

Al-Qaeda (the "base" or "foundation") is a terrorist network of Islamic extremists and Salafist jihadists (a splinter group from Sunni Islam). Islamic extremism is not the same thing as Islam. Islam, by definition, is peaceful. Al-Qaeda formed during the Soviet-Afghan War (1979-1989) and has had a strong presence at various times in different regions throughout the Middle East. It is connected with ISIS (the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, also called the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, or the Islamic State, which recently controlled large areas in Iraq and Syria, but lost nearly all of its significant territory by March 2019. ISIS claimed responsibility for the Easter suicide bombings in Sri Lanka, which killed over 250 people at churches and hotels, and has also been connected with terrorist activities in Congo, the Philippines, Nigeria, Libya, and parts of Egypt. It's important to note that Al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups or splinter sects are not representative of Islam overall, just as extremist Christian terrorists such as the Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh are not representative of mainstream Christian beliefs.

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10.5: Social Change and Resistance

Immigration and the "Muslim Ban"

In the aftermath of 9/11, there was a significant decline in Arab and Muslim immigration to the United States. However, with United States military action in countries such as Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan, the numbers of refugees to the U.S. increased from 2007-2016. During 2016, concerns over terrorism rose again as a result of terrorist attacks in France and Belgium. In 2017, President Trump issued an executive order banning all people (including refugees and visa holders) from seven Muslim majority countries. These countries included: Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen. This "Muslim Ban" faced multiple legal challenges. Despite these challenges, in 2018 the Supreme Court released their decision to uphold the ban. Critics felt that the ban was more an expression of prejudice and discrimination against Muslims than a concern for national safety. In 2021, as one of his top priorities, newly elected President Biden reversed the "Muslim Ban." He issued the following statement.

The United States was built on a foundation of religious freedom and tolerance, a principle enshrined in the United States Constitution. Nevertheless, the previous administration enacted a number of Executive Orders and Presidential Proclamations that prevented certain individuals from entering the United States — first from primarily Muslim countries, and later, from largely African countries. Those actions are a stain on our national conscience and are inconsistent with our long history of welcoming people of all faiths and no faith at all.



Figure 10.5.1: Muslim ban protest. (CC BY-NC 2.0; Sasha Patkin via Flickr)

Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR)

Several civil rights and public policy organizations, including the Muslim Public Affairs Commission (MPAC) and The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), serve to improve the lives of American Muslims as well as the perceptions of these individuals. Located on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C., CAIR is America's largest Muslim civil liberties organization.

CAIR was created as an organization dedicated to challenging anti-Muslim discrimination and stereotypes of Islam and Muslims. After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, CAIR increased its advocacy work, as they received 1,658 reports of discrimination, profiling, harassment, and physical assaults against persons appearing Arab or Muslim, a threefold increase over the prior year. The reports included beatings, death threats, abusive police practices, and employment and airline-related discrimination (Cole, 2002). CAIR has conducted investigations, issued reports, held press conferences, filed lawsuits, and organized political action to protest aspects of U.S. counter terrorism policy. In 2005, CAIR coordinated the joint release of communication by 344 American Muslim organizations, mosques, and imams nationwide that stated:

> Islam strictly condemns religious extremism and the use of violence against innocent lives. There is no justification in Islam for extremism or terrorism. Targeting civilians' life and property through suicide bombings or any other method of attack is haram or forbidden—and those who commit these barbaric acts are criminals, not martyrs.



Video 10.5.2: Council on American Islamic Relations. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; WHYY via YouTube)

Jewish Activism

Social justice and doing what is right is part of the fabric of Jewish identity and Jewish teachings. In America, Jews have become leaders in most every aspect of civil society and philanthropy. From immigration to the civil rights movements and the liberation of oppressed peoples throughout the world, many Jewish Americans take the value of social justice very seriously. This speaks to values of Reform Judaism which stress the importance of solving social problems, on the basis of justice and righteousness, presented by the contrasts and evils of society. Jewish Americans were part of the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

During the Civil Rights Movement, Jewish activists were involved in a number of fronts. According to historian Cheryl Greenberg,

> It is significant that ... a disproportionate number of white civil rights activists were [Jewish] as well. Jewish agencies engaged with their African American counterparts in a more sustained and fundamental way than did other white groups largely because their constituents and their understanding of Jewish values and Jewish self-interest pushed them in that direction.

As discussed in Chapter 7.5, the summer of 1964 was designated the Freedom Summer, and many Jews from the North and West traveled to the South to participate in a concentrated voter registration effort. Two Jewish activists, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, and one Black activist, James Chaney, were murdered by the Ku Klux Klan near Philadelphia, Mississippi, as a result of their participation. Their deaths were considered martyrdom by some, and temporarily strengthened Black-Jewish relations.

Martin Luther King Jr., said in 1965,

> *How could there be anti-Semitism among Negroes when our Jewish friends have demonstrated their commitment to the principle of tolerance and brotherhood not only in the form of sizable contributions, but in many other tangible ways, and often at great personal sacrifice. Can we ever express our appreciation to the rabbis who chose to give moral witness with us in St. Augustine during our recent protest against segregation in that unhappy city? Need I remind anyone of the awful beating suffered by Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld of Cleveland when he joined the civil rights workers there in Hattiesburg, Mississippi? And who can ever forget the sacrifice of two Jewish lives, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, in the swamps of Mississippi? It would be impossible to record the contribution that the Jewish people have made toward the Negro's struggle for freedom—it has been so great.*

Under the Jewish teaching that we are all created in the image of God, Rabbi Sandra Lawson wrote the following song, I Am Human (in Hebrew, Oseh Shalom) as a reminder to never give up and remember the struggle and pursuit of treating each other with

love, dignity, and respect. Here are the lyrics of the song that Rabbi Lawson wrote in 2015 upon reflecting on the senseless police killings of community members such as Freddie Gray, Sandra Bland, and Walter Scott:

Oseh Shalom Bimromav
Hu Ya'aseh Shalom
May the one who makes peace from heaven above
Hu Ya'aseh Shalom (will Make Peace)

I am human and I am free
Watch me fly above the trees
You can hear my cry and you can hear my roar
but you can't take away my soul

Oseh Shalom Bimromav
Hu Ya'aseh Shalom
May the one who makes peace from heaven above
Hu Ya'aseh Shalom (will make peace)

We'll fight and we'll cry and we'll even abide
We'll say goodbye just to stay alive
And the day will come to have dignity again

Oseh Shalom Bimromav
Hu Ya'aseh Shalom
May the one who makes peace from heaven above
Hu Ya'aseh Shalom (will make peace)

I am human and I am free
Watch me fly above the trees
Hu Ya'aseh Shalom (will make peace)

Anti-Defamation League

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL), formerly known as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, is an international Jewish non-governmental organization based in the U.S. It was founded in late September 1913 by the independent Order of B'nai Brith, a Jewish service organization, in the wake of the contentious conviction for murder of Leo Frank. ADL states that its mission is a dual one: To stop the defamation of the Jewish people, and to secure justice and fair treatment for all," via the development of "new programs, policies and skills to expose and combat whatever holds us back. With a focus on combating anti-Semitism and other forms of hate, and fighting domestic extremism both online and off, ADL describes it "ultimate goal" as "a world in which no group or individual suffers from bias, discrimination, or hate. In 2018, ADL rebranded itself as an "anti-hate" organization, and adopted the logo: Fighting Hate for Good.



Figure 10.5.4: Jonathan Greenblatt, National Director and CEO of the Anti-Defamation League since 2015. (CC BY-SA 3.0; Gage Skidmore via Wikimedia)

The US Census Middle East/North Africa (MENA) Category

The U.S. Census has struggled with the issue of Middle Eastern identity. Former President Barack Obama's administration was considering adding a Middle East/North Africa (MENA) category to the Census, for which organization such as American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) lobbied. However, advocates for the MENA category blame its absence on the administration of President Donald Trump, who targeted, with his signing of the "Muslim Ban," many from MENA countries. In 2018, federal officials said that a MENA category would not be added, citing concerns that MENA was seen not as a race, but an ethnicity. So, the 2020 Census, as in previous years, did not offer an “Arab” or MENA box to check under the question of race. Individuals who want to be counted as Arab had to check the box for “some other race” and then write in their race. However, when the Census data is tallied, they will likely be marked as white. This is problematic, however, as it denies Arab Americans opportunities for nearly $400 billion in federal assistance. A lack of recognition also allows for continued civil rights abuses and stigmatization of Arab Americans that can permeate into policy (Alshammari, 2020).



Video 10.5.5: Rashida Tlaib Questions Why 2020 Census Erases Middle Eastern & North African Identity. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; NowThis News via YouTube)

Key Takeaways from Chapter 10

- Middle Eastern Americans are a diverse group of different races, languages (Arabic, Farsi, Hebrew), cultures (Arab, Persian, Israeli, Turkish) and religions (Muslim, Jewish, Christian).

- A variety of intergroup consequences can be used to explain the experiences of Middle Eastern Americans, including: genocide, expulsion, segregation, separatism, fusion, assimilation, and pluralism.
- Both Muslim and Jewish women have been active in feminist movements that work within their faith.
- The primary religions of the Middle East include: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. All of which are monotheistic faiths that trace their origins to the Hebrew prophet Abraham. While they are distinct, there is also overlap between them.
- Several organizations have been created to advocate for social change and justice in the Middle Eastern community, including: the Muslim Public Affairs Commission (MPAC), The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL).
- Current public policy impacting Middle Eastern Americans include: the Muslim Ban (overturned in 2021) and the US Census Middle East/North Africa (MENA) Category.

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11.4: Social Institutions

11.5: Social Change and Resistance

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11.1: History and Background

History

Immigration is the act of foreigners passing or coming into a country for the purpose of permanent residence. Immigration occurs for many reasons, including economic, political, family re-unification, natural disasters, or poverty. Many immigrants came to America to escape religious persecution or dire economic conditions. Most hoped coming to America would provide freedom and opportunity.

Immigration to the United States has been a major source of population growth and cultural change. Different historical periods have brought distinct national groups, races and ethnicities to the United States. During the 17th century, approximately 175,000 Englishmen migrated to Colonial America. Over half of all European immigrants to Colonial America during the 17th and 18th centuries arrived as indentured servants. The mid-nineteenth century saw mainly an influx from northern Europe, the early twentieth-century mainly from Southern and Eastern Europe, and post-1965 mostly from Latin America and Asia.

Historical Race/Ethnic Population Demographics in America: A Brief Statistical Overview

- 1790—Population 4 million
  - 1 person in 30 urban=3.33
- 1820—Population 10 million
  - 1 Black to 4 whites=25% Black population
  - 14000 immigrants per year for decade
  - Almost all from England and N. Ireland (Protestants)
  - 1 in 20 urban=5%
- 1830—Population 13 million
  - 1 Black to 5 whites=20 Black population
  - 60,000 immigrants in 1832
  - 80,000 immigrants in 1837
  - Irish Catholics added to mix
- 1840—Population 17 million
  - 1 in 12 urban=8.33
  - 84,000 immigrants
- 1840-1850—immigration1.5 million Europeans
- 1850—Population 23 million
  - Irish 45% of foreign-born
  - Germans 20% of foreign-born
- 1850s—immigration2.5 million Europeans
  - 2% of the population of NYC were immigrants
  - In St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee the foreign-born outnumbered the native-born
- 1860—Population 31.5 million
  - 26% of the population of free states were urban
  - 10 of the population in the South were urban
  - Irish immigrant population in America=1.5 million
  - German immigrant population in America=1 million
- 1900—Population=76.1 million
- 2002—Population=280 million
- 2010—Population=309 million

For a more striking look at the history of immigration to the United States, please watch the video below by Metrocosm:



Video 11.1.1: "Here is Everyone Who Has Emigrated to the United States Since 1820." 2 Centuries of U.S. Immigration From 1920 to 2013, 79 million people obtained lawful permanent resident status in the United States. This map visualizes all of them based on their prior country of residence. The brightness of a country corresponds to its total migration to the U.S. at the given time. 1 dot = 10,000 people. (Text-based data table).
(Fair Use; Metrocosm via YouTube)

Contemporary Immigration

In recent years, immigration has increased substantially which is conveyed in the Figure 3.1.2 below. In 1965, ethnic quotas were removed; these quotas had restricted the number of immigrants allowed from different parts of the world. Immigration doubled between 1965 and 1970, and again between 1970 and 1990. Between 2000 and 2005, nearly 8 million immigrants entered the United States, more than in any other five-year period in the nation's history. In 2006, the United States accepted more legal immigrants as permanent residents than all other countries in the world combined. Though, as Table 3.1.3 reveals, fewer individuals received their authorized permanent resident status from 2016 through 2018. According to the U. S. and World Population Clock provided by the United States Census Bureau, the most current U. S. population count is 330,065,778 and rising.

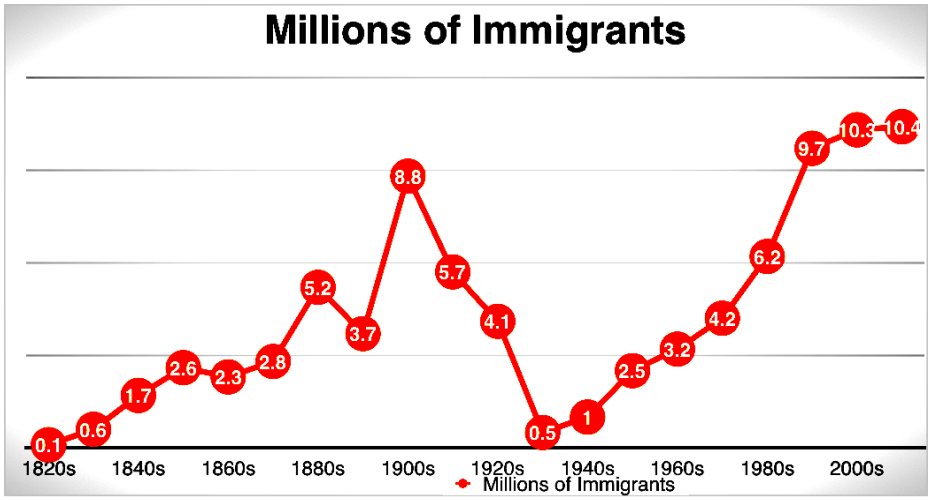


Figure 11.1.2: Legal Immigration in the United States, 1820-2020 (Data from Schaefer, 2015; United States Department of Homeland Security, 2013)

Table 11.1.3: Persons Obtaining Lawful Permanent Resident Status by Region of Birth: Fiscal Years 2016 to 2018 (Data from the United States Department of Homeland Security)

Persons Obtaining Lawful Permanent Resident Status by Region of Birth Fiscal Years 2016 to 2018

Region of Birth	2016	2017	2018
Total	1,183,505	1,127,167	1,096,611
Africa	113,426	118,824	115,736
Asia	462,299	424,743	397,187
Europe	93,567	84,335	80,024
North America	427,293	413,650	418,991
Oceania	5,588	5,071	4,653
South America	79,608	79,076	78,869
Unknown	1,724	1,468	1,151

Recent Immigration Demographics

Until the 1930s most legal immigrants were male. By the 1990s, women accounted for just over half of all legal immigrants. Contemporary immigrants tend to be younger than the native population of the United States, with people between the ages of 15 and 34 substantially over-represented. Immigrants are also more likely to be married and less likely to be divorced than native-born Americans of the same age.

Immigrants come from all over the world, but a significant number come from Latin America. In 1900, when the U.S. population was 76 million, there were an estimated 500,000 Latinx. The Census Bureau projects that by 2050, one-quarter of the population will be of Hispanic descent. This demographic shift is jointly fueled by higher fertility rates amongst the Latinx population as well as immigration from Latin America.

Immigrants are likely to move to and live in areas populated by people with similar backgrounds. This phenomenon has held true throughout the history of immigration to the United States.

Table **11.1.4**: Selected Characteristics of Persons Obtaining Lawful Permanent Resident Status by Country of Birth: Fiscal Years 2016 to 2018 (Data from the Department of Homeland Security)

Selected Characteristics of Persons Obtaining Lawful Permanent Resident Status by Country of Birth Fiscal Years 2016 to 2018

Country of Birth	2016	2017	2018
Mexico	174,434	170,581	161,858
China	81,772	71,565	65,214
Cuba	66,516	65,028	76,486
India	64,687	60,394	59,821
Dominican Republic	61,161	58,520	57,413
Philippines	53,287	49,147	47,258
Vietnam	41,451	38,231	33,834
El Salvador	23,449	25,109	28,326
Haiti	23,584	21,824	21,360
Jamaica	23,350	21,905	20,347

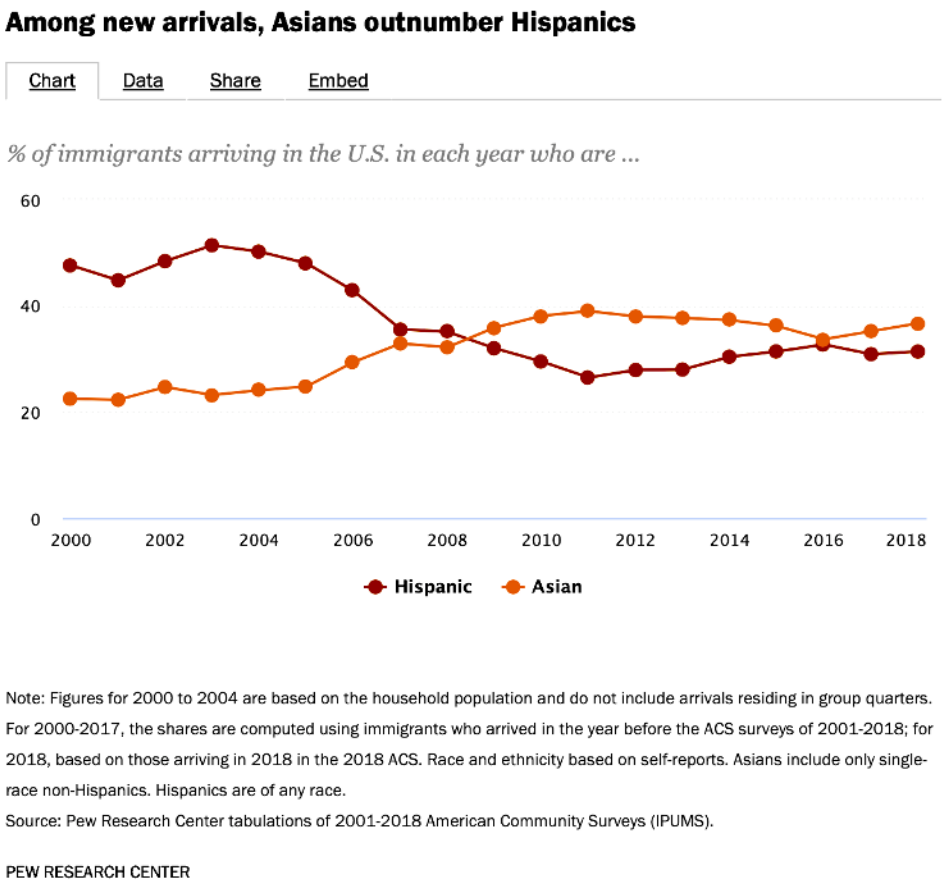


Figure **11.1.5**: Among New Immigrant Arrival, Asians Outnumber Latinx (Used with permission; Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C.)

Although Europe has been the traditional sending region for immigrants to the U.S., the post WWII era (after 1946) shows a significant increase in migration from Mexico, South and Central America, the Caribbean, and Asia. (Recent data is conveyed in Table 3.1.4 and Figure 3.1.5 above). The latest migration trend also involves people from Africa. Please visit the following websites for more information: Foreign Born Data Tables and The Statistical Abstracts of the United States.

Public Opinion Toward Immigrants

American attitudes toward immigration are markedly ambivalent. American history is rife with examples of anti-immigrant opinion. Benjamin Franklin opposed German immigration, warning Germans would not assimilate. In the 1850s, the nativist Know Nothing movement opposed Irish immigration, promulgating fears that the country was being overwhelmed by Irish Catholic immigrants.

In general, Americans have more positive attitudes toward groups that have been visible for a century or more, and much more negative attitude toward recent arrivals. According to a 1982 national poll by the Roper Center at the University of Connecticut, “By high margins, Americans are telling pollsters it was a very good thing that Poles, Italians, and Jews emigrated to America. Once again, it’s the newcomers who are viewed with suspicion. This time, it’s the Mexicans, the Filipinos, and the people from the Caribbean who make Americans nervous.”

In a 2009 Gallup Poll, 50% of Americans thought that immigration should be decreased, 32% thought it should stay at its present level, and only 14% thought it should be increased (Morales, 2009). As the text notes, fear of job competition is a primary reason for the concern that Americans show about immigration. Yet another reason might be their fear that immigration raises the crime rate. A 2007 Gallup Poll asked whether immigrants are making “the situation in the country better or worse, or not having much effect” for the following dimensions of our national life: food, music and the arts; the economy; social and moral values; job opportunities; taxes; and the crime situation. The percentage of respondents saying “worse” was higher for the crime situation

(58%) than for any other dimension. Only 4% of respondents said that immigration has made the crime situation better (Newport, 2007.)

However, research conducted by sociologists and criminologists finds that these 4% are in fact correct: immigrants have lower crime rates than native-born Americans, and immigration has apparently helped lower the U.S. crime rate (Immigration Policy Center, 2008; Sampson, 2008;Vélez, 2006). What accounts for this surprising consequence? One reason is that immigrant neighborhoods tend to have many small businesses, churches, and other social institutions that help ensure neighborhood stability and, in turn, lower crime rates. A second reason is that the bulk of recent immigrants are Latinos, who tend to have high marriage rates and strong family ties, both of which again help ensure lower crime rates (Vélez, 2006). A final reason may be that undocumented immigrants hardly want to be deported and thus take extra care to obey the law by not committing street crime (Immigration Research Library, 2008).

Reinforcing the immigration-lower crime conclusion, other research also finds that immigrants' crime rates rise as they stay in the United States longer. Apparently, as the children of immigrants become more "Americanized," their criminality increases. As one report concluded, "The children and grandchildren of many immigrants—as well as many immigrants themselves the longer they live in the United States—become subject to economic and social forces that increase the likelihood of criminal behavior" (Rumbaut & Ewing, 2007, p. 11).

As the United States continues to address immigration policy, it is important that the public and elected officials have the best information possible about the effects of immigration. The findings by sociologists and other social scientists that immigrants have lower crime rates and that immigration has apparently helped lower the U.S. crime rate add an important dimension to the ongoing debate over immigration policy.

One of the most important factors regarding public opinion about immigration is the level of unemployment; anti-immigrant sentiment is highest where unemployment is highest, and vice versa. In fact, in the United States, only 0.16% of the workforce are legal immigrants. A more recent survey by the Pew Research Center (see Figure 3.1.6 below) suggests a more positive view of U. S. immigrants in which they are seen as a source of "strength."

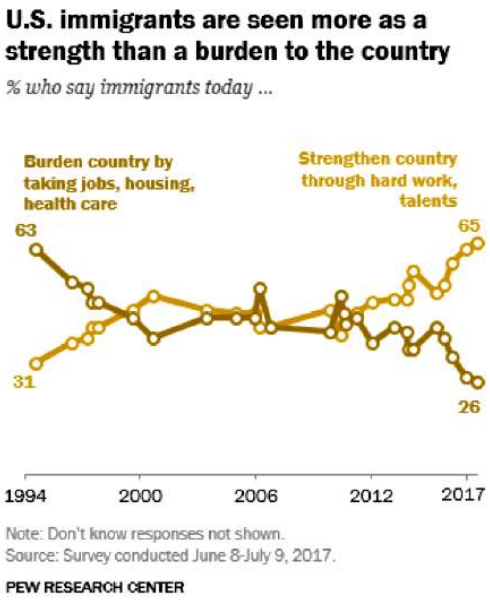


Figure **11.1.6**: U. S. Immigrants are Seen More as a Strength than a Burden to the Country (Used with permission; Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C.)

Unauthorized Immigration to the United States

Unauthorized immigration refers to to the act of entering the United States without governmental permission and in violation of the *United States Nationality Law*, or staying beyond the termination date of a visa, also in violation of the law. An **undocumented immigrant** in the United States is a person (non-citizen) who has entered the United States without government permission and in violation of United States Nationality Law, or stayed beyond the termination date of a visa, also in violation of the law. The

undocumented immigrant population is estimated to be between 7 and 20 million. More than 50% of undocumented immigrants are from Mexico.

While the majority of undocumented immigrants continue to concentrate in places with existing large Hispanic communities, undocumented immigrants are increasingly settling throughout the rest of the country. A percentage of undocumented immigrants do not remain indefinitely but do return to their country of origin; they are often referred to as **sojourners**, which are people that leave or emigrate from their home country with the intention of returning to their homeland one day.

The continuing practice of hiring unauthorized workers has been referred to as the magnet for unauthorized immigration. As a significant percentage of employers are willing to hire undocumented immigrants for higher pay than they would typically receive in their former country, undocumented immigrants have prime motivation to cross borders. But migration is expensive and dangerous for those who enter without authorization. Participants in debates on immigration in the early twenty-first century have called for increasing enforcement of existing laws governing unauthorized immigration to the United States, building a barrier along some or all of the 2,000-mile (3,200 km) U.S.-Mexico border, or creating a new guest worker program.

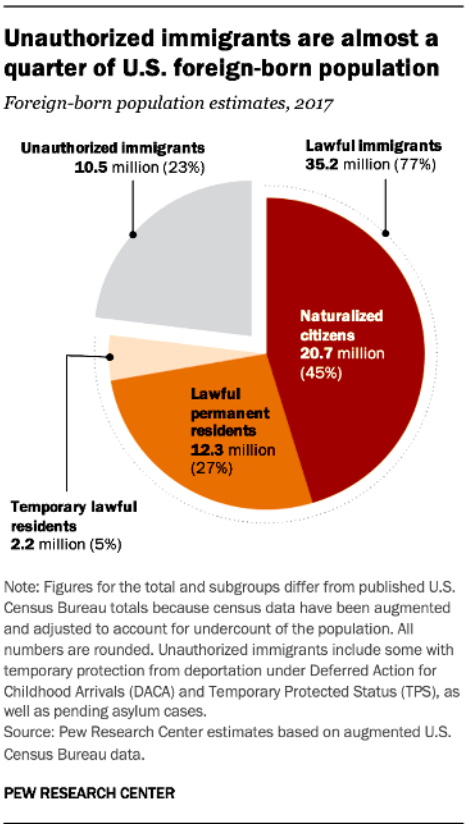


Figure 11.1.7: Unauthorized Immigrants are Almost a Quarter of U. S. Foreign-born Population (Used with permission; Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C.)

Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and Internally Displaced People

In 2013, the number of refugees, asylum-seekers, and internally displaced people worldwide exceeded 50 million people for the first time since the end of World War II. Half these people were children. A **refugee** is defined as an individual who has been forced to leave their country in order to escape war, persecution, or natural disaster, while **asylum-seekers** are those whose claim to refugee status has not been validated. An **internally displaced person**, on the other hand, is neither a refugee nor an asylum-seeker (Ritzer, 2015). Internally displaced persons have fled their homes while remaining inside their country's borders. In the case of the United States, the 2018 Camp Fire displaced many residents in Paradise, California. Unfortunately there was not enough housing available or being built fast enough for all former city of Paradise residents to be able to return, thus making them internally displaced.

The war in Syria caused most of the 2013 increase, forcing 2.5 million people to seek refugee status while internally displacing an additional 6.5 million. Violence in Central African Republic and South Sudan also contributed a large number of people to the total (United Nations, 2014).

The refugees need help in the form of food, water, shelter, and medical care, which has worldwide implications for nations contributing foreign aid, the nations hosting the refugees, and the non-government organizations (NGOs) working with individuals and groups on site (United Nations, 2014). Where will this large moving population, including the sick, elderly, children, and people with very few possessions and no long-term plan, go?

Given current immigration policies, specifically admissions ceilings, the United States is not a frequent destination for refugees and asylum-seekers, although it is sought out by displaced individuals. This means that as of September 2019, there was 339,386 pending asylum applications. However, in 2018, only 25,439 people were granted asylum. As far as refugees, the United States recognized a total of 22,405 people as refugees. Again, while there is great demand by displaced folks, the United States is limiting the amount of refugees it recognizes and asylum applications it approves. Table 3.1.8 below lists the top five countries that the United States recently recognized the largest amounts of refugees from - with striking annual reductions. Per the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, the biggest declines in refugee recognition tend to be from predominantly Muslim countries.

Table **11.1.8**: Selected Characteristics of Refugee Arrivals by Country of Nationality: Fiscal Years 2016 to 2018 (Data from the United States Department of Homeland Security)

Selected Characteristics of Refugee Arrivals by Country of Nationality: Fiscal Years 2016 to 2018

Country of Nationality	2016	2017	2018
Total	84,988	53,691	22,405
Democratic Republic of Congo	16,370	9,377	7,878
Burma	12,347	5,078	3,555
Syria	12,587	6,557	62
Iraq	9,880	6,886	140
Somalia	9,020	6,130	257

Regarding contemporary asylum cases, individuals from China have the highest amounts of asylums granted affirmatively and defensively. According to the American Immigration Council (2020), an **affirmative asylum** is a person not in removal proceedings who may affirmatively apply for asylum through U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), a division of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). The American Immigration Council (2020) defines **defensive asylum** as a person in removal proceedings who may "apply for asylum defensively by filing the application with an immigration judge at the Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR) in the Department of Justice. In other words, asylum is applied for as a defense against removal from the U.S." The second largest group of individuals being granted affirmative asylum are currently persons from Venezuela and for defensive asylum, it is people from El Salvador. With regards to the religious background of refugees, Blizzard and Batalova (2019) note, "2016 marked the only time since 2009 when the United States resettled more Muslim refugees than Christians. In that year, 84,994 refugees were admitted; of these, 46 percent (38,900) were Muslim and 44 percent (37,521) were Christian. More than half of Muslim refugees in 2016 were from Syria (32 percent) or Somalia (23 percent)."

Table **11.1.9**: Selected Characteristics of Individuals Granted Asylum Affirmatively by Country of Nationality: Fiscal Years 2016 to 2018 (Data from the Department of Homeland Security)

Selected Characteristics of Individuals Granted Asylum Affirmatively by Country of Nationality: Fiscal Years 2016 to 2018

Country of Nationality	2016	2017	2018
Total	11,634	15,846	25,439
China	1,387	2,820	3,844
Venezuela	316	482	5,966
El Salvador	1,380	2,121	1,177
Guatemala	1,285	1,996	1,337
Egypt	679	1,020	1,427

Table **11.1.10**: Selected Characteristics of Individuals Granted Asylum Defensively by Country of Nationality: Fiscal Years 2016 to 2018 (Data from the Department of Homeland Security)

Selected Characteristics of Individuals Granted Asylum Defensively by Country of Nationality: Fiscal Years 2016 to 2018

Country of Nationality	2016	2017	2018
Total	8,728	10,663	13,248
China	3,108	2,795	3,061
El Salvador	764	1,355	1,786
Honduras	618	956	1,188
Guatemala	636	953	1,021
India	315	470	956

It is clear that the rates for asylum granted defensively are much lower than those of asylum granted affirmatively. This seems to be consistent with a much tougher stance on immigration on behalf of the Trump administration, so folks facing removal proceedings are not likely be rewarded with asylum.

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11.2: Intergroup Relations

Assimilation, Acculturation, and Intergroup Relations

Classic assimilation theory or straight-line assimilation theory can be dated back to the 1920's originating from the Chicago School of Sociology (Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1925; Waters, Van, Kasinitz, & Mollenkopf, 2010). (See also Chapter 2.3). This early assimilation model set forth by Park (1928) described how immigrants followed a straight line of convergence in adopting "the culture of the native society" (Scholten, 2011). In many ways assimilation was synonymous with 'Americanization' and interpreted as 'becoming more American' or conforming to norms of the dominant Euro-American culture (Kazal, 1995). Assimilation theory posited that immigrant assimilation was a necessary condition for preserving social cohesion and thus emphasized a one-sided, mono-directional process of immigrant enculturation leading to upward social mobility (Warner & Srole, 1945). Assimilation ideas have been criticized for lacking the ability to differentiate the process of resettlement for diverse groups of immigrants; they fail to consider interacting contextual factors (van Tubergen, 2006).

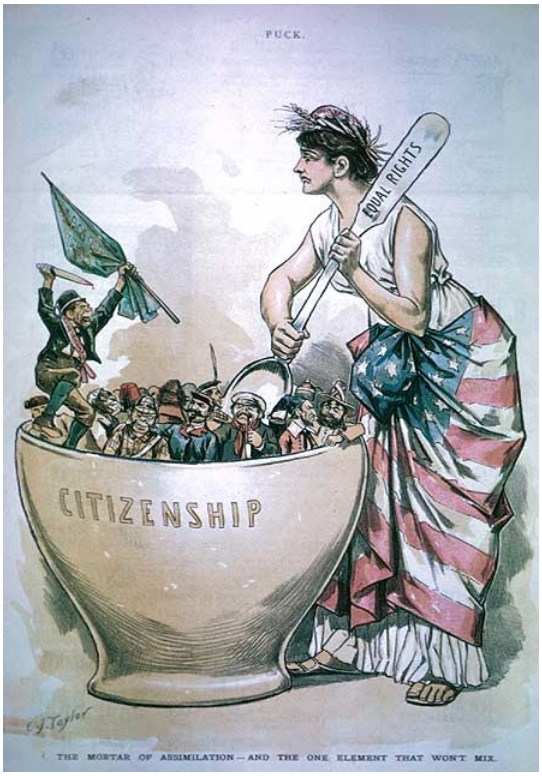


Figure **11.2.1**: "The Mortar of Assimilation and the One Element that Won't Mix." Cartoon from *PUCK* June 26, 1889. (CC PDM 1.0; *Puck* via Wikimedia)

Segmented assimilation theory emerged in the 1990's as an alternative to classical assimilation theories (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Waters et al., 2010). **Segmented assimilation theory** posits that depending on immigrants' socioeconomic statuses, they may follow different trajectories. Trajectories could also vary based on other social factors such as human capital and family structure (Xie & Greenman, 2010). This new formulation accounted for starkly different trajectories of assimilation outcomes between generations and uniquely attended to familial effects on assimilation. The term segmented assimilation is often employed when one group is at a greater advantage and is able to make shifts more readily (Boyd, 2002).

Later, Alba and Nee (2003) formulated a new version of assimilation, borrowing from earlier understandings yet rejecting the prescriptive assertions that later generations must adopt Americanized norms (Waters et al., 2010). Within their conceptualization, assimilation is the natural but unanticipated consequence of people pursuing such practical goals of getting a good education, a good job, moving to a good neighborhood and acquiring good friends (Alba & Nee, 2003).

Numerous studies have utilized assimilation theories to guide their inquiry with diverse foci like adolescent educational outcomes, college enrollment, self-esteem, depression and psychological well-being, substance use, language fluency, parental involvement in

school, and intermarriage among other things (Waters & Jimenez, 2005; Rumbaut, 1994). Despite such widespread use of assimilation, some scholars have noted that the theory may not adequately explain immigrants' diverse and dynamic experiences (Glazer, 1993) and some note that other theories such as models of self-esteem or social identity may be added to assimilation to bolster its value (Bernal, 1993; Phinney, 1991).

A further critique is that a push for assimilation may mask an underlying sentiment that immigrants and refugees are unwelcome guests who have to compete for scarce resources, which can significantly impact intergroup relations (Danso, 1999; Danso & Grant, 2000). These sentiments can impact the reception and adaptation experiences of immigrant populations in the receiving country (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001). Extreme nationalism and a sense of fear may encourage ideals of conformity that defines "successful integration" or "successful resettlement" as full adoption of the receiving country's ways and beliefs while giving up old cultures and traditions. There is little or no support for the maintenance of cultural or linguistic differences, and groups' rights may be violated. This belief can lead to misunderstandings when new United States residents speak, act, and believe differently than the dominant culture. It can result in an unwelcoming environment and prevent the development and offering of culturally and linguistically appropriate services for immigrant and refugee families, erecting barriers to their opportunity to adapt and thrive in their new homes. This unfriendly environment has serious repercussions for intergroup relations by keeping them hostile. Assimilation may implicitly assume that some cultures and traits are inferior to the dominant white-European culture of the receiving nation and therefore should be abandoned for ways more sanctioned by that privileged group.

Assimilation Patterns

While white ethnics, Cubans, Asians, non-Mexican Latinx, and Middle Easterners follow the traditional assimilation pattern, three significantly large marginalized groups do not: Mexican Americans (about 50%), Puerto Ricans, and African Americans. The assimilation patterns for these groups differ due to propinquity, method of immigration, and let us not mince words, racism. Approximately 50% of all Mexican immigrants to the United States do not follow the traditional assimilation pattern. This is partly due to the propinquity of the mother country, the nearly continuous new migration stream, a relatively high rate of return migration, racism, and in some cases, involuntary immigration in that parts of Mexico have been annexed by the United States so that some people's native land quite literally changed overnight—they went to bed Mexican and woke up American (Current, Williams, Freidel, & Brinkley, 1987; Harrison & Bennett, 1995; Marger, 1996).

Puerto Ricans, following the treaty that concluded the Spanish American War, became citizens of the United States, albeit citizens without suffrage. Therefore, Puerto Ricans, who are already citizens, have little incentive to assimilate and, like their Mexican counterparts, are physically close to their homeland, maintain a nearly continuous migration stream onto the mainland, and have a relatively high rate of return migration. Puerto Rico is a desperately poor colony of the United States populated primarily by Spanish-speaking, Hispanic-surnamed descendants of African slaves. Thus, entrenched intergenerational poverty, coupled with language difficulties and racism, have prevented assimilation. Most Puerto Ricans who live on the mainland live in poor, inner city neighborhoods in New York and Chicago. These neighborhoods are not ethnic enclaves but are rather huge concentrations of the poor, poorly educated, and Black underclass (Current, et al. 1987; Harrison & Bennett, 1995; Marger, 1996).

African Americans differ dramatically from all other migrants. Many, probably most, African Americans have been Americans far longer than most whites. Many African Americans can trace their ancestry back more than seven generations. Those ancestors however were involuntary immigrants who were stolen from their homes, thrown into the bellies of slave ships, and brought to these shores as pieces of property—chattel—to work for the rest of their lives and for the rest of the lives of their descendants in involuntary servitude as the slaves of white masters. No other people have involuntarily migrated to America in such vast numbers. No other people have been treated as property. No other people have suffered 350 years of slavery. No other people have been so vilely used, abused, mistreated, maltreated, and battered physically, emotionally, intellectually, and spiritually. It was not until the late 1860s that Blacks were granted Constitutional rights in the United States, and it was not until 1953, and then again in the middle 1960s through the mid 1970s, that real civil rights were finally established for African Americans. Until that time African Americans were second-class people who were often denied their political citizenship by being denied suffrage. Therefore, the opportunity for traditional assimilation for African Americans has not existed until very recently. Given the traditional assimilation pattern, African Americans for all practical purposes, are only second generation Americans regardless of how far back they can trace their actual ancestry in America (Current, et al. 1987; Harrison & Bennett, 1995; Marger, 1996).

For many non-white groups in America there has been denial of political citizenship through denial of suffrage, denial of economic citizenship through *de jure* and *de facto* discrimination that prevented competition for jobs and small business loans, denial of social citizenship through *de jure* and *de facto* residential segregation and educational segregation, and denial of human citizenship through racist public policies. This discrimination strains intergroup relations.



Figure **11.2.2**: "Captain America: Shield Agent" (CC BY 2.0; JD Hancock via Flickr)

There has often been the assumption that America is the land of opportunity for everyone, and indeed it can be, however, there are those who also make the assumption that America is a melting pot in which immigrants either do or should assimilate quickly and readily. If assimilation is the process by which a racial or ethnic group loses its distinctive identity and lifeways and conforms to the cultural patterns of the dominant group, then submerging one's self into the melting pot of American society means trying to be as white as possible. The dominant culture in America is white even though it has many aspects of great diversity and even though it has taken many elements from other cultures and incorporated them into its culture; it has in most cases stamped diversity with the imprimatur of white acceptance. While America is a melting pot for white ethnics, for people of color it has become a kind of tossed salad or lumpy stew where all share the same seasoning, (the sociocultural structure), while each still retains its separate identity. This societal pattern is called **pluralism**—cooperation among racial and ethnic groups in areas deemed essential to their well being (e.g. the economy the national political arena), while retaining their distinctive identities and lifestyles. (See also Chapter 2.3). In pluralistic societies, citizens share what they can and maintain what they can. With the notable exception of Switzerland with its four distinct ethnic/language groups, most pluralistic societies have destroyed themselves with bloody ethnic strife (Current, et al., 1987; Harrison & Bennett, 1995; Marger, 1996). Whether America can balance the melting pot with semi-pluralism is yet to be seen. The great experiment that is America may be the only nation on earth where the possibility of unity through diversity may actually come to fruition.

Middleman Minorities

Some minority immigrants, most notably Jews and Asians, have found themselves in the unique position of being **middleman minorities**. Marger (1996) explains the middlemen minority phenomenon:

> Certain ethnic groups in multiethnic societies sometimes occupy a middle status between the dominant group at the top of the ethnic hierarchy and subordinate groups in lower positions. These have been referred to as middleman minorities . . . Middleman minorities often act as mediators between dominant and subordinate ethnic groups. They ordinarily occupy an intermediate niche in the economic system being neither capitalists (mainly members of the dominant group) at the top nor working masses (mainly those of the subordinate group) at the bottom. They play such occupational roles as traders, shopkeepers, moneylenders, and independent professionals. . . . They perform economic duties that those at the top find distasteful or lacking in prestige and they frequently supply business and professional services to members of ethnic minorities who lack such skills and resources. . . . In times of stress they are . . . natural scapegoats. . . . Subordinate groups will view middleman minorities with disdain because they often encounter them as providers of necessary business and professional services [that members of their own group do not or cannot provide in sufficient numbers to supply the demand]. Such entrepreneurs therefore come to be seen as exploiters. . . . Because they stand in a kind of social no-man's-

land middleman minorities tend to develop an unusually strong in-group solidarity and are often seen by other groups as clannish.

Middleman minorities uniquely affect intergroup relations as they are fulfilling specific roles, hence, are accepted, but are not fully represented in the mainstream.

Acculturation and Adaptation

Later Milton Gordon's (1964) newer multidimensional formulation of assimilation theory provided that 'acculturation,' which refers to one's adoption of the majority's cultural patterns, happens first and inevitably. Contemporary acculturation models embrace some of the previous ideas of assimilation but can be less one-dimensional (Berry, 1990). At times, the terms assimilation and acculturation have been used interchangeably. John Berry employed the concept of acculturation and identified 4 modes: integration (where one accepts one's old culture and accepts one's new culture), assimilation (where one rejects one's old culture and accepts one's new culture), separation (where one accepts one's old culture and rejects one's new culture), and marginalization (where one rejects one's old culture and also rejects one's new culture) (Berry, 1990). This understanding of acculturation proposes that immigrants employ one of these four strategies by asking how it may benefit them to maintain their identity and/or maintain relationships with the dominant group, and it does not assume that there is a typical one-dimensional trajectory they would follow.

While assimilation is applied to the post-migration experience generally, acculturation refers to the psychological or intrapersonal processes that immigrants experience (Berry, 1997). Hence, the concept of acculturative stress –linked to psychological models of stress (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) arose to describe how incompatible behaviors, values, or patterns create difficulties for the acculturating individual (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). Adaptation has been used in recent years to refer to internal and external psychological outcomes of acculturating individuals in their new context, such as a clear sense of personal identity, personal satisfaction in one's cultural context, and an ability to cope with daily problems (Berry, 1997).

Much of the discourse concerning adaptation has focused on the socio-economic adaptation of immigrants as measured by English language proficiency, education, occupation, and income. When culture is included, the emphasis is typically on concepts of ethnic intermarriage and language proficiency (van Tubergen, 2006). Much less attention has been paid to how immigrants form attachments to their new society, subjective conceptions of 'success' in the new country, or to the factors that lead some immigrants to retain distinct characteristics and identities but adopt to new ways of being. Some have gone further to identify three types of adaptation: psychological, sociocultural, and economic (Berry, 1997).

Multiculturalism and Pluralism

Theories of assimilation, acculturation, and adaptation are all focused on the immigrant. This is not to say that these theories have not included the receiving society or the dominant group's influence on the immigrant. However, a different way to conceptualize the post-migration experience may be by exploring how any society can support multicultural individuals, both United States-born and foreign-born, and how adjustments and accommodations are made by both the receiving culture and the immigrant culture to aid resettlement.



Figure 11.2.3: Critical Making. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Coco0612 via Wikimedia)

Multiculturalism and pluralism are often understood as the opposite of assimilation (Scholten, 2011), emphasizing a culturally open and neutral understanding of society. These ideas purport that diverse people need freedom to determine their method of resettlement and the degree to which they will integrate. A nation that embraces a multicultural view may promote the preservation of diverse ethnic identities, provide political representation, and protect rights of minority populations (Alba, 1999; Alexander, 2001). There are those, especially more liberally minded groups that support the idea that immigrant groups should not be judged according to their religion, skin color, ability or willingness to assimilate, language, or what is deemed culturally useful. This pluralist lens fosters greater and more positive intergroup relations. Because multiculturalism acknowledges differences and responds to inequality in a society, critics charge that it is a form of ethnic or “racial particularism” that goes against the solidarity on which the United States democracy stands (Alexander, 2001). Behind every policy are assumptions that implicitly or explicitly support a vast theoretical and ideological continuum. With the ebb and flow of immigration throughout the history of this country, some of these ideological positions have shifted, and also residuals of traditional nationalistic ideals remain.

Genocide

On the opposite end of the continuum from pluralism, immigrants from various countries have fled **genocide**, the systematic killing of an entire group of people. Thousands of Armenians escaped the the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1918 in the Ottomon Empire. Approximately 125,000 Germans, most of them Jewish, immigrated to the United States between 1933 and 1945, fleeing persecution and death at the hands of the Third Reich during World War II. Though estimates vary, somewhere between 180,000 and 220,000 European refugees immigrated to the United States between 1933 and 1945 (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum). Hundreds of thousands of Germans, mainly Jewish, were on the waiting list to emigrate from Europe, most of them never allowed to come into the U.S., though the U.S. accepted more refugees fleeing the Nazi regime than any other country in the world (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum). Escaping the Khmer Rouge genocide, Cambodian refugees fled their homeland from 1975-79 during the communist Pol Pot regime. Estimates of 1.5 to 2 million Cambodians were killed during this atrocious time. Between 1975 and 1994, nearly 158,000 Cambodians were admitted to the U.S. (Chan, 2015). "Refuge-seekers from other countries, including people from Iraq and Afghanistan where the United States has fought long wars, have also entered but in very small numbers compared to the (combined) millions of Cubans, Soviet Jews, and Indochinese (the last group includes Vietnamese, Sino-Vietnamese, Cambodians, lowland Lao, Hmong, Iu Mien, Tai Dam, and Cham)—all of them refugees from communism" (Chan, 2015).

Armenian Genocide

World War One gave the Young Turk government the cover and the excuse to carry out their plan. The plan was simple and its goal was clear. On April 24th 1915, commemorated worldwide by Armenians as Genocide Memorial Day, hundreds of Armenian leaders were murdered in Istanbul after being summoned and gathered. The now leaderless Armenian people were to

follow. Across the Ottoman Empire (with the exception of Constantinople, presumably due to a large foreign presence), the same events transpired from village to village, from province to province.

The remarkable thing about the following events is the virtually complete cooperation of the Armenians. For a number of reasons they did not know what was planned for them and went along with "their" government's plan to "relocate them for their own good." First, the Armenians were asked to turn in hunting weapons for the war effort. Communities were often given quotas and would have to buy additional weapons from Turks to meet their quota. Later, the government would claim these weapons were proof that Armenians were about to rebel. The able bodied men were then "drafted" to help in the wartime effort. These men were either immediately killed or were worked to death. Now the villages and towns, with only women, children, and elderly left were systematically emptied. The remaining residents would be told to gather for a temporary relocation and to only bring what they could carry. The Armenians again obediently followed instructions and were "escorted" by Turkish Gendarmes in death marches.

The death marches led across Anatolia, and the purpose was clear. The Armenians were raped, starved, dehydrated, murdered, and kidnapped along the way. The Turkish Gendarmes either led these atrocities or turned a blind eye. Their eventual destination for resettlement was just as telling in revealing the Turkish governments goal: the Syrian Desert, Der Zor. Those who miraculously survived the march would arrive to this bleak desert only to be killed upon arrival or to somehow survive until a way to escape the empire was found. Usually those that survived and escaped received assistance from those who have come to be known as "good Turks," from foreign missionaries who recorded much of these events and from Arabs.

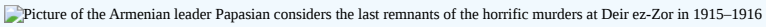


Figure 11.2.4: Bodil Biørn's caption: "The Armenian leader Papasian considers the last remnants of the horrific murders at Deir ez-Zor in 1915–1916."

After the war ended, the Turkish government held criminal trials and found the triumvirate guilty in abstentia. All three were later executed by Armenians. Turkey agreed to let the US draw the border between the newly born Republic of Armenia and the Turkish government. What is now called Wilsonian Armenia included most of the six western Ottoman provinces as well as a large coastline on the Black Sea. Cilicia, a separate Armenian region on the Mediterranean, was to be a French mandate. Mustafa Kemal's forces pushed the newly returned Armenian refugees and forces from these lands and forced a new treaty to be written which was an insult to Armenian victims. They were basically told never to return and that they would never receive compensation. The Kars and Ardahan provinces of Armenia were taken as well in an agreement with the Soviet Union.

On the 50th anniversary of the genocide, the scattered survivors of the genocide and their children around the world began commemorating the genocide on April 24th, the day which marked the start of the full-scale massacres in 1915. Many Armenian Genocide Monuments have been built around the world since, as well as smaller plaques and dedications.

The Turkish government has in the past few decades been denying that a genocide ever occurred and spending millions of dollars to further that view. This is adding insult to injury and will cause bad feelings to continue much longer than would otherwise be the case between the peoples. Those who say forget about it, it is in the past, are wrong. Unless crimes like this are faced up to and compensated for, they will be committed again and again by people who do not fear prosecution or justice. Read what Hitler said before beginning the Jewish Holocaust here.

A class action suit against New York Life insurance company by genocide survivors was filed in 1999. They were sued for not being forthcoming in paying up for policies of those killed in the genocide. The suit was settled in 2004 for $20 million, and payouts began to individuals and some Armenian charitable organizations.

A 2002 study by the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), a New York-based human rights organization, ruled that the slaughter of some 1.5 million Armenians fits into the internationally accepted definition of genocide. The study was commissioned by TARC - a group of Armenians and Turks set up by the US State Department.

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Emigration, Immigration, and Intergroup Relations

Is America a melting pot or a lumpy stew/tossed salad? America is a nation of immigrants. With the exception of Native Americans, we all have immigrant ancestors or are ourselves immigrants. Assimilation is the process by which a racial or ethnic

minority loses its distinctive identity and lifeways and conforms to the cultural patterns of the dominant group. Cultural assimilation is assimilation of values, behaviors, beliefs, language, clothing styles, religious practices, and foods while structural assimilation is about social interaction. Primary structural assimilation occurs when different racial/ethnic groups belong to the same clubs, live in the same neighborhoods, form friendships, and intermarry. Secondary structural assimilation concerns parity in access to and accumulation of the goods of society, (wealth, power, and status), which is measured by SES and political power—it is becoming middle class or above. The traditional American assimilation pattern is that white ethnics, Asians, Cubans, and non-Mexican Latinx, by the *third generation* (third generation Americans are those people whose grandparents were foreign-born), have assimilated both culturally and structurally. However, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and African Americans do not follow this traditional pattern which differs due to propinquity, coercion, and lack of socioeconomic opportunity (Marger, 1996).

Push and Pull Factors in Emigration/Immigration

Emigration is the movement of people from one country to another while **immigration** is the movement of people into a country other than their land of birth. Emigration and immigration are ubiquitous among human beings: we have been moving ever since we were born in Africa tens of thousands of years ago. There are various reasons why people move from one country to another and we call those motivating forces push and pull factors. The table, below, shows some of the push and pull factors for sending and receiving countries.

Table **11.2.5**: Immigration Factors: Leaving Your Homeland.

Immigration	
Push Factors: Leaving Your Homeland	
Political Strife	**Social Strife**
War	Ethnic Conflict
Repressive Government	Religious Repression/Conflict
Lack of Individual Rights	Lack of Educational Opportunities
Abuse of Human Rights	Economic Instability
Fear of Arrest or Murder	Lack of Economic Opportunity
	Poverty

Table 11.2.6 Immigration Factors: Coming to America.

Immigration	
Pull Factors: Coming to America	
Political Factors	**Social Factors**
Peace	Ethnic Diversity
Freedom	Religious Freedom
Support of Individual Rights	Many Educational Opportunities
Support of Human Rights	Economic Stability
No Political Arrests or Murders	Economic Opportunity
No Fear of Torture	

Table 11.2.7: Immigration Factors: Push Me Pull You.

Immigration	
Pushmepullyou	
Push factors and pull factors work simultaneously	Push factors and pull factors work simultaneously
Which factor is strongest is situationally dependent	Which factor is strongest is situationally dependent
Migration Is a complex yet ancient and common phenomenon	Migration Is a complex yet ancient and common phenomenon
Migration may be forced	Migration may be forced
The "sending country" may expel unwanted groups	The "sending country" may expel unwanted groups
The "receiving country" may bring in foreigners as low level workers	The "receiving country" may bring in foreigners as low level workers

Assimilation is the process by which a racial or ethnic minority loses its distinctive identity and lifeways and conforms to the cultural patterns of the dominant group. It is submerging one's self into the melting pot of American society. There are two kinds of assimilation cultural and structural. **Cultural assimilation** concerns values, behaviors, beliefs, language, clothing styles, religious practices, and foods; whereas **structural assimilation** concerns social interaction in clubs, neighborhoods, friendship, marriage (primary structural assimilation), and parity in access to and accumulation of the goods of society (wealth power and status) measured by SES and political power (secondary structural assimilation).

There are certain patterns of primary and secondary structural assimilation (hereinafter referred to by the term assimilation) into American culture that differ based on race and ethnicity but before discussing those patterns an explanation of terminology is necessary. First generation Americans are those people who are foreign-born; second generation Americans are the children of foreign-born parents; and third generation Americans are the grandchildren of the foreign-born. For white ethnics—primarily Southern and Eastern Europeans, although arguably anyone who is not one of the primary racial or ethnic people of colors such as Arabs, Asians, Blacks, Latinx, American Indians could be considered a white ethnic—Asians, Cubans, South American, and other, non-Mexican Latinx, assimilation follows a fairly traditional pattern even though some prejudice and discrimination may continue to exist. First generation white ethnic Americans, although the vast majority learn and speak English, tend to maintain their native language in their own homes, to keep many of their traditional religious and holiday customs, retain native styles of dress and food

preferences, marry among themselves (endogamous marriage), and live near others from their homeland. Second generation white ethnic Americans generally lose much of the language of their parents, drift away from traditional religious and holiday customs, let go of native styles of dress and food preferences in favor of more American-style clothing and food, marry outside their parents' ethnic group, and move into neighborhoods that are ethnically mixed. By the third generation, most white ethnics have become thoroughly Americanized and have failed to learn all but a very few words of their grandparents language, found meaningless many of the traditional religious and holiday customs, and have adopted American customs (turkey instead of lasagna for Christmas dinner) instead, wear American-style clothing exclusively, eat fast food, marry outside their ethnic group (in fact third generation white ethnic Americans usually do not even consider the ethnic background of those they marry) and live in such ethnically-mixed communities that, except for the generalized whiteness, there is no consideration of the ethnic backgrounds of their neighbors. Moreover, by the third generation, most white ethnics enjoy relatively high levels of structural assimilation (Current, et al. 1987; Harrison & Bennett, 1995; Marger, 1996).

Some of this ease of both cultural and structural assimilation is based on the migration patterns of white ethnics. Although many white ethnics have come to America because they perceive it to be a land of economic and political freedom and opportunity, many have been driven from their homelands by border wars, internal ethnic conflict, economic uncertainty or collapse, lack of educational opportunities, less political freedom, and myriad other reasons. The primary **push factors**—those conditions which impel people to emigrate from their native lands and immigrate to a new and unknown country—are political and economic, and, as one might guess, the primary **pull factors**—those real or perceived conditions in the new country which beckon to those on foreign shores moving people to emigrate from the countries of their birth—are also political and economic. Regardless of the push or pull factors, white ethnics are voluntary migrants to America choosing to migrate, sometimes at great personal risk, because they choose to migrate; a migration pattern that sociologists call voluntary migration. Although many white ethnic groups—Jews, Irish, and Italians particularly—have experienced greater or lesser degrees of discrimination, complete assimilation by the third generation is the rule. However, that assimilation was often accomplished with the help of others.

Many white ethnic groups (and as will be shown many nonwhite migrants) formed neighborhoods where first, second, and third generation white ethnics lived and worked together in ethnic enclaves. (See also Chapter 1.3). In general, ethnic enclaves provide a safe haven with a variety of social supports for new immigrants that serve to ease their transition into a new and different culture. The Little Italys in New York, Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia; the Chinatowns of San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York; the Little Saigons of Houston, Los Angeles, and Atlanta; the Calle Ocho Little Havana district of Miami and the Little Mexico Barrios in Houston, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Dallas, and Phoenix; the Crown Heights area of Brooklyn New York which is home to nearly 100,000 Lubavitsch-sect, ultra-Orthodox Jews; the Amish and other Old Order religious groups of Iowa, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and far Northwestern Minnesota are all primary exemplars of ethnic enclaves. Ethnic enclaves, once they have served their purpose of socializing new immigrants into American culture, tend to disappear as later generations follow the traditional assimilation pattern and move further and further out into the wider society (Current, et al. 1987; Harrison & Bennett, 1995; Marger, 1996).

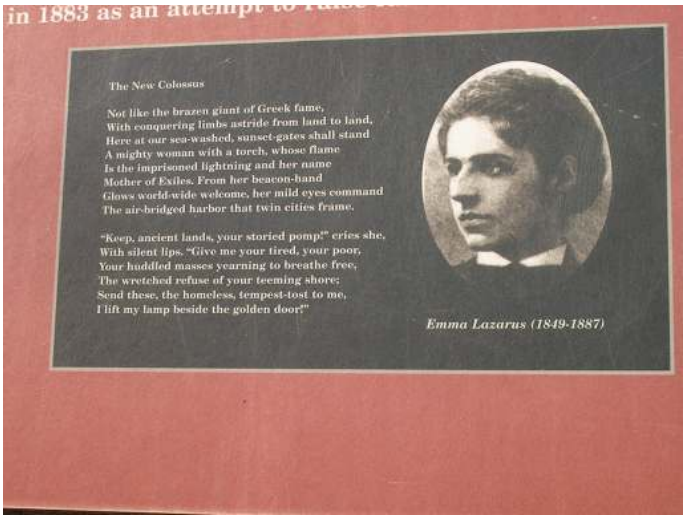


Figure 11.2.8: "Give me your tired, your poor" (CC BY-NC 2.0; garden beth via Flickr)

The Statue of Liberty notwithstanding, ("give me your tired, your poor"), the United States has a long history of preventing immigration and attempting to block persons based on national origin and/or religion. There have been many anti-immigration groups and political parties in the United States beginning in the early 19th century and continuing until the present day. Many of our immigration laws have been discriminatory and have stultified migration rather than encouraged it. The Native American Party, the American Party, the American Protective Association, the Immigration Restriction League, and the Ku Klux Klan, among many other groups, were all founded based on their opposition to the immigration of anyone they considered unworthy—Italians, Jews, Greeks, Poles, Irish Catholics, Catholics or non-Protestants in general, and all non-whites which included, among people traditionally classified as non-white, Italians, Greeks, Turks, and other residents of the southern European, Mediterranean coast, and eastern European, mostly Catholic or Muslim, peoples. Congress vacillates between restricting and encouraging migration from various regions of the planet. Nevertheless, we were a nation of immigrants at our inception and remain a nation of immigrants to this day.

In 2010 there are still anti-immigration groups. PublicEye.org and the Southern Poverty Law Center each publish a list of about a dozen anti-immigrant groups that ranges from think tanks to the Christian right. In February 2010, former US House of Representatives member Tom Tancredo (R-CO), gave the keynote address to the first Tea Party convention arguing that we need "a civics literacy test" before anyone in this country can vote. He also stated that if John McCain had been elected president in 2009, "President Calderon and President McCain would be toasting the elimination of those pesky things called borders and major steps taken toward creation of a North American Union (Tancredo, 2010)." In other words, there are those today who would block all immigration into this country legal and illegal because they are afraid of the changes that immigrants make to the culture of the United States. The question then becomes, how have other immigrants changed America and has America changed them more than they have changed it? Most of the literature on this question would suggest that it is a reciprocal process but that the American ideology and the American constitution remain strong.

With regards with more contemporary anti-immigrant groups and the anti-immigrant movement, we will begin with Minutemen Project. Meredith Hoffman (2016) writes,

Between 2004 and 2009, Gilchrist's Minutemen were a powerful force in the anti-immigration movement, drawing in thousands of members who believed the government was doing too little to stop border crossings, and subsequently felt they should take enforcement into their own hands. The coalition against the Establishment—composed largely of veterans and retirees—tried to cover the border with 'outposts,' sometimes as barebones as lawn chairs, to block immigrants from coming into the US from Mexico.

Due to internal strife, the Minutemen Project eventually fell apart with some of its members joining other militias, like Arizona Border Recon (Hoffman 2016; Carranza, 2017). It is not surprising that anti-immigrant militias that patrol, like the Minutemen and Arizona Border Recon, have previously discussed and promoted border security, like building a wall. Thus, anti-immigrant groups were supportive of Donald Trump's proposed Wall along the U.S.-Mexico border and other austere immigration policies from his

administration (Grandin, 2019). Unfortunately, with the increasing xenophobia and **nativism** (actions and/or the promotion of policies usually from citizens that benefit citizens to the detriment of non-citizens like immigrants) displayed openly by political leaders, the anti-immigrant movement is on the rise. As reported by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL, 2018),

Anti-immigrant fervor, once relegated to more extreme quarters, has been increasingly mainstreamed over the last ten years. Over the last two years, with the advent of a new administration focused on much stricter immigration policies and complementary executive actions, anti-immigrant and anti-refugee sentiment has made life substantially more difficult for all immigrants.

Among the anti-immigrant groups profiled by the ADL (2018) report were Federation for Immigration Reform (FAIR), Center for Immigration Studies (CIS), Numbers USA, The Remembrance Project, and San Diegans for Secure Borders. In order to successfully halt the anti-immigrant movement and its nativistic groups, the ADL (2018) suggests the following:

the government, media and general public must take the necessary steps to make sure that the demonization of immigrants and the bigotry that underlie it do not become further entrenched in our society. These ideas should not become part of the acceptable discourse in America's diverse and pluralistic society.

Contributors and Attributions

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11.3: Intersectionality

Intersectionality and Stratification

Within intersectionality theory, an individual has multiple intersecting identities. These identities are informed by group memberships such as gender, class, race, sexuality, ethnicity, ability, religion, nativity, gender identity, and more (Case, 2013). Intersecting identities place an individual at a particular social location. Individuals may have similar experiences with other individuals within one community, such as similar experiences to others of their nation of origin, but their experiences may also be quite different depending on other identities they hold. For example, consider a dark-skinned, lesbian, middle class, female immigrant from Central America; all of her identities combine to create her unique experience which may vary significantly from other immigrants from Central America.

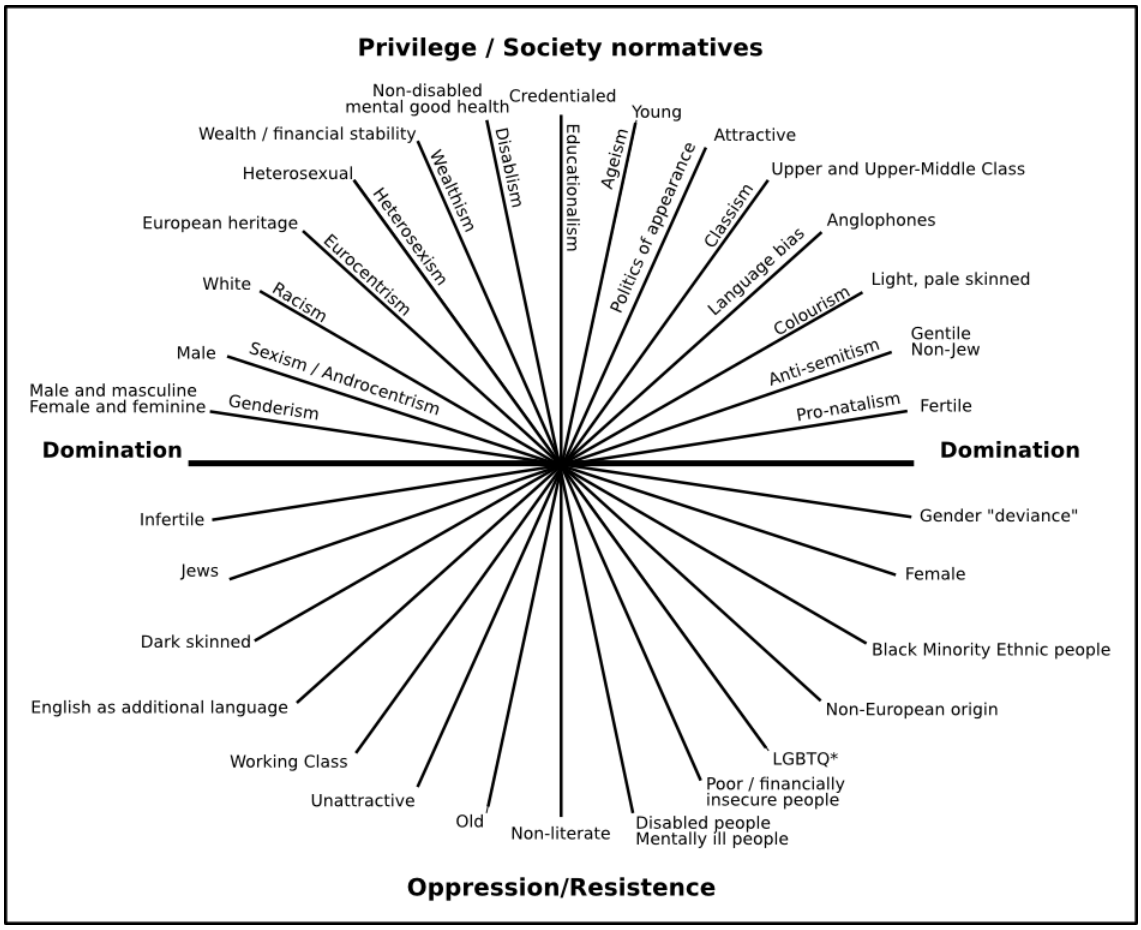


Figure 11.3.1: Diagram adapted by Natalya D. From Morgan, K. P. (1996). Describing the Emporaro's New Clothes: Three Myths of Education (In)Equality. In A. Diller (ed). The Gender Question in Education: Theory, Pedagogy & Politics. Boulder, CO: Westview. (Diagram created by Natalya D. via Intersectionality)

Class and Labor

The most critical step towards economic well-being is obtaining adequate employment. Immigrants account for more than 17% of the United States work force, although they make up only 13% of the population (Migration Policy Institute, 2013). The unemployment rate for foreign-born persons is currently 5.6%, while it is 6.3% for native-born persons (United States Bureau of

Labor Statistics, 2015). Although immigrants have relatively high rates of labor force participation, the opportunities and benefits that are available to them depend on the level of employment they can obtain. We will address each in turn.



Figure **11.3.2**: Immigrant Children at Ellis Island (CC BY 2.0; David Fulmer (daveynin) via Flickr)

Low-skill labor force

Immigrants make up half of the low-skill labor force in the United States (United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011). In 2005, it was estimated that undocumented immigrants make up 23% of the low-skill labor force (Capps, Fortuny, & Fix, 2007). Low-skilled immigrant workers tend to be overrepresented in certain industries, particularly those with lower wages. Table **11.3.3** displays the foreign-born workforce by occupation.

Table **11.3.3**: Migration Policy Institute (MPI) (Tabulation of data from U.S. Census Bureau 2013 ACS)

Occupation	Share of Foreign-Born Workers in Occupation (%)	Share of Native-Born Workers in Occupation (%)
Management, professional, and related	29.8	37.7
Service	25.1	17
Sales and office	17.1	25.6
Production, transportation, and material moving	15.2	11.6
Natural resources, construction, and maintenance	12.9	8.1

Approximately 20% of immigrant workers are employed in construction, food service, and agriculture (Singer, 2012). More than half of all workers employed in private households are immigrants, and immigrants also represent 1/3 of the workers in the hospitality industry (Newbuger & Gryn, 2009). The majority of the positions in these industries are low-wage jobs.



Figure **11.3.4**: South Central Farm in Los Angeles, one of the largest urban gardens in the United States. (CC BY 2.5; Jonathan McIntosh via Wikimedia)

Middle- and high-skill labor force

More educated and skilled immigrant workers can obtain jobs that are high paying and offer job stability such as those in healthcare, high-technology manufacturing, information technology, and life sciences. Immigrant workers are keeping pace with the native-born workforce in these high skill industries (Singer, 2012). As compared to their native-born peers, immigrants hold bachelors and graduate degrees at similar rates, 30% and 11% respectively (Singer, 2012).

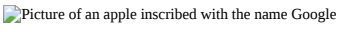


Figure **11.3.5**: "Google-apple" (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; tuaulamac via Flickr)

Barriers to better employment

The largest barriers to higher-paying employment for immigrants are a lack of education and English-speaking ability. Approximately 29% of immigrant workers do not hold a high school diploma compared to only 7% of their native-born peers (Singer, 2012). Moreover, about 46% of immigrant workers would classify themselves as limited English proficient speakers (Capps, Fix, Passel, Ost, & Perez-Lopez, 2003). More than 62% of immigrant workers in low-wage jobs are limited English language speakers compared to only 2% of native-born workers in low-wage jobs (Capps, Fix, Passel, Ost, & Perez-Lopez, 2003). A study conducted by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (Garrett, 2006) found that it is extremely difficult for refugees to move from low-paying to better paying jobs after they have adjusted to living in the United States because many lack English language skills and education. It is difficult for immigrants to seek more education or training, due to the pressing need to work to provide for their families. Leaving the workforce to train may leave them financially vulnerable.

Immigrant workers who are middle-wage earners are still disadvantaged. In comparison to their native-born peers who earn a median income of $820 weekly, a full-time salaried immigrant worker earns $664 weekly (United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). Moreover, these workers earn 12% less in hourly wages than their native-born counterparts; this wage gap is 26% in California, a state with the largest immigrant workforce at 37% (Bohn & Schiff, 2011).

These wage disadvantages are partially due to employer discrimination. In 1996, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IRCA) implemented additional restrictions on employment eligibility verification, including sanctions for employers who hired undocumented immigrants. Although it is illegal for an employer to discriminate based on national origin or citizenship status, many employers chose to avoid hiring individuals who appeared foreign, in order to avoid sanctions. A United States General Accounting Office report to Congress found that 19% of employers (approximately 891,000 employers) admitted to discriminating against people based on language, accent, appearance, or citizenship status because of fear of violating IRCA.

Immigrant workers also face high rates of wage and workplace violations. A study looking at workplace violations in three large metropolitan cities in the United States (Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York City) found that immigrant workers were twice as likely to experience a minimum wage violation than their native-born peers (Bernhardt, Milkman, Theodore, Heckathorn, Auer, DeFilippis, González, Narro, Perelshteyn, Polson, & Spiller, 2008). Another study conducted by Orrenius and Zavodny (2009) also

found that immigrants are more likely to be employed in dangerous industries than their native-born peers, and they also experience more workplace injuries and fatalities. In these injuries, limited English skills are a contributing factor. These workers may be afraid to speak for themselves with their livelihood at stake and are left at the mercy of others. Immigrant workers are in dire need of representation, but infrequently have access to it. Only 10% of the immigrant workforce is represented by unions in contrast to 14 percent the native-born workforce (Batalova, 2011).

Lastly, as assessed and concluded by JooHee (2020), "I find that immigrants whose skin tone is darker are more penalized in the process of migration to the United States by experiencing steeper downward occupational mobility relative to those whose skin tone is lighter." While not all immigrants may need to contend with discrimination on the basis of legal status and/or language limitations, phenotype as an identifiable marker of race, impacts all immigrants because it is immediately visible/perceptible.

Healthcare and Mental Health

Although immigrants have high rates of labor force participation, they are less likely than native-born peers to have health insurance (Derose, Bahney, Lurie, & Escarce, 2009). There are few services in the United States that are as crucial and complex as the healthcare system, which continues to be a major indicator of socio-economic success. A person's inability to access and utilize healthcare services gives a strong indication of critical unmet needs and barriers that impede the ability of successful integration and participation in society. Immigrants face substantial barriers to healthcare access, including restricted access to government based healthcare services, language difficulties, and cultural differences.



Figure **11.3.6**: Air Force doctor provides services through an interpreter. (CC PDM 1.0; Staff Sgt. Veronica Pierce via Wikimedia)

Reduced Use of Healthcare

Total health care expenditures are lower for immigrant adults than for their native-born peers (Derose et al., 2009). Additionally, immigrants are less likely to report a regular source or provider for health care, and report lower health care use than native-born peers (Derose et al., 2009). This means that overall, immigrants have less access to healthcare and less healthcare use than do most native-born individuals.

Undocumented immigrants have particularly low rates of health insurance and health care use (Ortega, Fang, Perez, Rizzo, Carter-Pokras, Wallace, & Gelberg, 2007). Undocumented Latinos/as have fewer physician visits annually than native born Latinos/as (Ortega et al., 2007). Undocumented immigrants are more likely than documented immigrants or native-born individuals to state that they have difficulty understanding their physicians or think they would get better care if they were a different race or ethnicity. Despite their low rates of use, immigrants are in need of healthcare. Children of immigrants are also more than twice as likely as children of natives to be in "fair" or "poor" health (Reardon-Anderson, Capps & Fix, 2002).

Legal Status Restricts Healthcare Benefit Eligibility

Immigration status is an important legal criterion that may hinder access to healthcare benefits. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), established in 1996, restricted Medicaid eligibility of immigrants. Immigrants cannot receive coverage, except in cases of medical emergencies, during their first five years in the country. States can choose to

grant aid out of their own funds, but no federal welfare funds may be used for immigrant health care. The reform also stated that the eligibility of an immigrant for public services would be dependent on the income of the immigrant's sponsor, who could be held financially liable for public benefits used by the immigrant. Finally, the Act required that states or local governments who fund benefits for undocumented immigrants take steps to identify their eligibility (Derose, Escarce, & Lurie, 2007). Hence, health benefits and insurance for most immigrants are highly dependent on eligibility through employment.

Mental Health

Families immigrate to the United States for various reasons. Some voluntary immigrants may choose to leave their country of origin in search of better opportunities, while others are forced to flee due to war, political oppression, or safety issues. Some families manage to stay together over the course of their journey, but many are divided or separated through the migration process. This is particularly true of refugee families whose migration is involuntary, hasty, and traumatic in nature (Rousseau, Mekki-Berrada, & Moreau, 2001). Refugees in particular may have survived traumatic events and violence including war, torture, multiple relocations, and temporary resettlements in refugee camps (Glick, 2010; Jamil, Hakim-Larson, Farrag, Kafaji, & Jamil, 2002; Keys & Kane, 2004; Steel, Chey, Silove, Marnane, Bryant, & Van Ommeren, 2009). The destructive nature of war "involves an entire reorganization of family and society around a long-lasting traumatic situation" (Rousseau et al., 2001, p. 1264) and individuals and families may continue to experience traumatic stress related to family left behind and stressful living conditions long after they have resettled.

When it comes to mental and physical health, refugees are a part of an especially vulnerable population. While some adjust to life in the United States without significant problems, studies have documented the negative impact of a trauma history on the psychological wellbeing of refugees (Birman & Tran, 2008; Keller, Lhewa, Rosenfeld, Sachs, Aladjem, Cohen, Smith, & Porterfield, K, 2006). Pre-migration experiences may precipitate refugee mental health concerns, particularly in the early stages of resettlement (Beiser, 2006; Birman & Tran, 2008). These experiences may include witnessing and experiencing violence, fleeing from a family home located in a city or village that is being destroyed, and walking to find refuge and safety for days or weeks with limited food, water, and resources. Post-migration conditions, such as adapting to living in an overcrowded refugee camp or trying to rebuild life in a foreign country, as well as structural stressors, such as going through the legal process of obtaining asylum or legal documentation, may also precipitate a cascade of individual mental health and family relational issues. The pre- and post-migration experiences and stressors of refugees may compound and create a "cumulative effect on their ability to cope" (Lacroix & Sabbah, 2011). Spending weeks, months, or even years managing stressful and traumatic experiences may weaken an individual or family's ability to cope with continued change and the multiple stressors of resettlement.

While it is reported that refugees are at risk for higher rates of psychiatric disorders such as posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, anxiety, complicated grief, psychosis, and suicide (Akinsulure-Smith & O'Hara, 2012; Birman & Tran, 2008; Jamil et al., 2002; Jensen, 1996; Kandula, Kersey, & Lurie, 2004; Steel et al., 2009), immigrants are also at risk for these mental health complications, especially if they have been exposed to multiple traumatic events. However, when working with immigrants and refugees, it is important to remember that one cannot assume that all members of an affected population are psychologically traumatized and will have the same mental health symptoms (Shannon, Wieling, Simmelink, & Becher, 2014; Silove, 1999). Further, mental health symptomatology is expressed in a variety of culturally sanctioned ways. For example, somatic complaints such as headaches, dizziness, palpitations, and fatigue might be a way to avoid stigma and shame often associated with admitting to mental health problems (Shannon, Wieling, Im, Becher, & Simmelink, 2014).

We know that the mental health of an individual does not exist in isolation; the experiences of one person in a family or community affect others. Unfortunately, the majority of the literature about immigrant and refugee mental health focuses on mental health as an individual process; the systemic ramifications are understudied and underrepresented in academic literature (Landau, Mittal, & Wieling, 2008; Nickerson, Bryant, Brooks, Steel, Silove, & Chen, 2011).

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- Immigrant and Refugee Families (Ballard, Wieling, and Solheim) (CC BY-NC 4.0)

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11.4: Social Institutions

Immigration and the Criminal Justice System

Many people in the United States take a dim view of immigration. In a 2009 Gallup Poll, 50% of Americans thought that immigration should be decreased, 32% thought it should stay at its present level, and only 14% thought it should be increased (Morales, 2009). As Morales (2009) notes, fear of job competition is a primary reason for the concern that Americans show about immigration. Yet another reason might be their fear that immigration raises the crime rate. A 2007 Gallup Poll asked whether immigrants are making "the situation in the country better or worse, or not having much effect" for the following dimensions of our national life: food, music and the arts; the economy; social and moral values; job opportunities; taxes; and the crime situation (Newport, 2007). The percentage of respondents saying "worse" was higher for the crime situation (58%) than for any other dimension. Only 4% of respondents responded that immigration has made the crime situation better (Newport, 2007).

However, research conducted by sociologists and criminologists finds that these 4% are in fact correct: immigrants have lower crime rates than native-born Americans, and immigration has apparently helped lower the U.S. crime rate (Immigration Policy Center, 2008; Vélez, 2006; Sampson, 2008). What accounts for this surprising consequence? One reason is that immigrant neighborhoods tend to have many small businesses, churches, and other social institutions that help ensure neighborhood stability and, in turn, lower crime rates. A second reason is that the bulk of recent immigrants are Latinos, who tend to have high marriage rates and strong family ties, both of which again help ensure lower crime rates (Vélez, 2006). A final reason may be that undocumented immigrants hardly want to be deported and thus take extra care to obey the law by not committing street crime (Immigration Policy Center, 2008).

Reinforcing the immigration-lower crime conclusion, other research also finds that immigrants' crime rates rise as they stay in the United States longer. Apparently, as the children of immigrants become more "Americanized," their criminality increases. As one report concluded, "The children and grandchildren of many immigrants—as well as many immigrants themselves the longer they live in the United States—become subject to economic and social forces that increase the likelihood of criminal behavior" (Rumbaut & Ewing, 2007).

As the United States continues to address immigration policy, it is important that the public and elected officials have the best information possible about the effects of immigration. The findings by sociologists and other social scientists that immigrants have lower crime rates and that immigration has apparently helped lower the U.S. crime rate add an important dimension to the ongoing debate over immigration policy.



Figure **11.4.1**: "Immigration checkpoint" (CC BY 2.0; jonathan mcintosh via Flickr)

One other impact of the new wave of immigration has been increased prejudice and discrimination against the new immigrants. As noted earlier, the history of the United States is filled with examples of prejudice and discrimination against immigrants. Such problems seem to escalate as the number of immigrants increases. The past two decades have been no exception to this pattern. As

the large numbers of immigrants moved into the United States, blogs and other media became filled with anti-immigrant comments, and hate crimes against immigrants increased. The Southern Poverty Law Center report summarized this trend as,

There's no doubt that the tone of the raging national debate over immigration is growing uglier by the day. Once limited to hard-core white supremacists and a handful of border-state extremists, vicious public denunciations of undocumented brown-skinned immigrants are increasingly common among supposedly mainstream anti-immigration activists, radio hosts, and politicians. While their dehumanizing rhetoric typically stops short of openly sanctioning bloodshed, much of it implicitly encourages or even endorses violence by characterizing immigrants from Mexico and Central America as "invaders," "criminal aliens," and "cockroaches." The results are no less tragic for being predictable: although hate crime statistics are highly unreliable, numbers that are available strongly suggest a marked upswing in racially motivated violence against all Latinos, regardless of immigration status (Mock, 2007).

One example of one of these hate crimes impacted a New York City resident from Ecuador who owned a real estate company; he died in December 2008 after being beaten with a baseball bat by three men who shouted anti-Hispanic slurs. His murder was preceded by the death a month earlier of another Ecuadorean immigrant, who was attacked on Long Island by a group of males who beat him with lead pipes, chair legs, and other objects (Fahim & Zraick, 2008). An even more recent example is the mass shooting that took place at a Walmart in El Paso, Texas on August 3, 2019. This mass shooting has been linked with a spike in anti-Latinx hate crimes that "coincides with an ongoing debate over U.S. President Donald Trump's hardline immigration policies" (Brooks, 2019).

Meanwhile, the new immigrants have included thousands who came to the United States illegally. When they are caught, many are detained by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) in local jails, federal prisons, and other detention facilities. Immigrants who are in the United States legally but then get arrested for minor infractions are often also detained in these facilities to await deportation. It is estimated that ICE detains about 300,000 immigrants of both kinds every year. Human rights organizations say that all of these immigrants suffer from lack of food, inadequate medical care, and beatings; that many are being detained indefinitely; and that their detention proceedings lack due process.

Arizona's Senate Bill 1070

As both legal and undocumented immigrants, and with high population numbers, Mexican Americans are often the target of stereotyping, racism, and discrimination. A harsh example of this is in Arizona, where a stringent immigration law—known as SB 1070 (for Senate Bill 1070)—has caused a nationwide controversy. The law requires that during a lawful stop, detention, or arrest, Arizona police officers must establish the immigration status of anyone they suspect may be here illegally. The law makes it a crime for individuals to fail to have documents confirming their legal status, and it gives police officers the right to detain people they suspect may be in the country illegally.



Figure **11.4.2**: Protesters in Arizona dispute the harsh new anti-immigration law. (CC BY 2.0; prathap ramamurthy via Flickr)

To many, the most troublesome aspect of this law is the latitude it affords police officers in terms of whose citizenship they may question. Having "reasonable suspicion that the person is an alien who is unlawfully present in the United States" is reason enough to demand immigration papers (Senate Bill 1070, 2010). Critics say this law will encourage racial profiling (the illegal practice of law enforcement using race as a basis for suspecting someone of a crime), making it hazardous to be caught

> "Driving While Brown," a takeoff on the legal term Driving While Intoxicated (DWI) or the slang reference of "Driving While Black." Driving While Brown refers to the likelihood of getting pulled over just for being nonwhite.
>
> SB 1070 has been the subject of many lawsuits, from parties as diverse as Arizona police officers, the American Civil Liberties Union, and even the federal government, which is suing on the basis of Arizona contradicting federal immigration laws (ACLU 2011). The future of SB 1070 is uncertain, but many other states have tried or are trying to pass similar measures. Do you think such measures are appropriate?

Immigration and the Government

Historical Chinese/Asian Exclusionary Policies

Many Chinese men had been recruited by the railroad companies to work on the Transcontinental Railroad—a vast, complex, engineering feat to span the continent and link the entire expanse of the middle of North America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. By 1887, the project was complete and many of the Chinese workers, having saved the majority of their pay, returned home, or, conversely, began to send for their families—parents, siblings, wives and children, sweethearts, cousins—beginning a steady migration stream from China to the United States. Many of these former railroad workers settled along the West Coast and began to compete, economically, with the white population of the region. Feeling serious economic pressure from the Chinese immigrants, whites on the West Coast petitioned Congress to stop migration from China. Congress complied and passed a bill titled the "Asian Exclusionary Act." For more information regarding the use of national origin in the history of immigration policies and laws, please review Chapter 9.2.

From the 15th century through the 19th century, Japan was a xenophobic, feudal society, ostensibly governed by a God-Emperor, but in reality ruled by ruthless, powerful Shoguns. Japan's society changed little during the four centuries of samurai culture, and it was cut off from the rest of the world in self-imposed isolation, trading only with the Portuguese, Spanish, English, and Chinese, and then not with all of them at once, often using one group as middlemen to another group. In the mid-19th century, (1854), the United States government became interested in trading directly with Japan in order to open up new export markets and to import Japanese goods at low prices uninflated by middleman add-ons. Commodore Matthew Perry was assigned to open trade between the United States and Japan. With a flotilla of war ships, Perry crossed the Pacific and berthed his ships off the coast of the Japanese capital. Perry sent letters to the emperor that were diplomatic but insistent. Perry had been ordered not to take no for an answer, and when the emperor sent Perry a negative response to the letters, Perry maneuvered his warships into positions that would allow them to fire upon the major cities of Japan. The Japanese had no armaments or ships that could compete with the Americans, and so, capitulated to Perry. Within thirty years, Japan was almost as modernized as its European counterparts. They went from feudalism to industrialism almost over night.

Within a few years of the trade treaty between the United States and Japan, a small but steady trickle of Japanese immigrants flowed across the Pacific Ocean. This migration to the West Coast of the United States meant that Japanese immigrants were in economic competition with the resident population, most of whom were white. Fears of economic loss led the whites to petition Congress to stop the flow of immigrants from Japan, and in 1911 Congress expanded the Asian Exclusionary Act to include Japanese thereby stopping all migration from Japan into the United States. In 1914, Congress passed the National Origins Act which cut off all migration from East Asia.

In 1924, anti-minority sentiment in the United States was so strong that the Ku Klux Klan had four million, proud, openly racist members thousands of whom were involved in a parade down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, DC, that was watched by thousands of Klan supporters and other Americans.

On December 7, 1941, at 7:55 A.M. local time the Japanese fleet in the South Pacific launched 600 hundred aircraft in a surprise attack against U.S. Naval forces at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Within four hours, 2,400 people, mostly military personnel had been killed, including the 1,100 men who will be entombed forever in the wreckage of the U.S.S. Arizona when it capsized during the attack. Although this was a military target, the United States was not at war when the attack occurred. In less than six months after the attack, Congress passed the Japanese Relocation Act. Below, is reproduced the order that was posted in San Francisco.



Figure **11.4.3**: "Pearl Harbor" (CC BY 2.0; The U.S. Army via Flickr)

Purposes of Immigration Policy

There are five primary purposes of immigration policy (US English Foundation, 2014; Fix & Passel, 1994):

1. Social: Unify citizens and legal residents with their families.
2. Economic: Increase productivity and standard of living.
3. Cultural: Encourage diversity, increasing pluralism and a variety of skills.
4. Moral: Promote and protect human rights, largely through protecting those feeling persecution.
5. Security: Control undocumented immigration and protect national security.

There are many ideological differences among the stakeholders in immigration policy and many different priorities. In order to meet the purposes listed above, policy-makers must balance the following goals against one another:

1. Provide refuge to all versus recruit the best. Some stakeholders desire to provide refuge for the displaced (Permanently stamped on the Statue of Liberty are the words, “Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free”). These stakeholders seek to welcome all who are separated from their families or face economic, political, or safety concerns in their current locations. Others aim to recruit those best qualified to add to the economy.
2. Meet labor force needs versus protect current citizen employment. Immigrant workers are expected to make up 30-50% of the growth in the United States labor force in the coming decades (Lowell, Gelatt, & Batalova, 2006). In general, immigrants provide needed employment and do not impact the wages of the current workforce. However, there are situations (i.e., during economic downturns) where immigration can threaten the current work force’s conditions or wages.
3. Enforce policy versus minimize regulatory burden and intrusion on privacy. In order to enforce immigration policy away from the border, the government must access residents’ documents. However, this threatens citizens’ privacy. When employers are required to access these documents, it also increases regulatory burden for the employers.



Figure **11.4.4**: Border fence. (CC BY-NC 2.0; BBC World Service via Flickr)

Key Stakeholders in Immigration Policy

There are many groups who are deeply invested in immigration and immigrant policy; their fortunes rise or fall with the policies set. These groups are called “stakeholders.” Key stakeholders in immigration and immigrant policy in the United States include the federal government, state governments, voluntary agencies, employers, families, current workers, local communities, states, and the nation as a whole.

Families

As described earlier in this chapter, one of the most common motivations for immigration is to provide a better quality of life for one’s family, either by sending money to family in another country or by bringing family to the United States (Solheim, Rojas-Garcia, Olson, & Zuiker, 2012). Immigration policy impacts these families’ abilities to migrate to access safer living conditions and seek economic stability. Further, immigration policy impacts a family’s opportunity for reunification. **Reunification** means that immigrants with legal status in the United States can apply for visas to bring family members to join them. Approximately two-thirds of the immigrants in the United States were sponsored by family members who migrated first and later became permanent residents (Kandel, 2014). The following quote from a Mexican immigrant epitomizes the priority of family:

My goals are to offer my family a decent life and economic stability, to guarantee them a future without serious problems, with a house, a means of transport… things that sometimes you can’t achieve in Mexico. Our goal must be for our family’s welfare, as much for my family here as for my family back there” (Solheim et al., 2012 p. 247).

Federal government

The federal government is currently solely responsible for the creation of immigration policies (Weissbrodt & Danielson, 2004). In the past, each state determined its own immigration policy according to the Articles of Confederation because it was unclear whether the United States Constitution gave the federal government power to regulate immigration (Weissbrodt & Danielson, 2011). A series of Supreme Court cases beginning in the 1850s upheld the federal government’s right to create immigration policies, arguing that the federal government must have the power to exclude non-citizens to protect the national public interest (Weissbrodt & Danielson, 2004). The Supreme Court has determined that the power to admit and to remove immigrants to the United States belongs solely to the federal government (using as precedents the uniform rule of Naturalization, Article 1.8.4, and the commerce clause, Article 1.8.3). In fact, there is no area where the legislative power of Congress is more complete (Weissbrodt & Danielson, 2004).

Immigration responsibilities were originally housed in the Treasury Department and the Department of Labor, due to its connection to foreign commerce. In the 1940s, the immigration office (later called the "INS," Immigration and Naturalization Service) was moved to the United States Department of Justice due to its connection to protecting national public interest (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2010). The federal departments and agencies that implement immigration laws and policies have changed significantly since the terrorist attacks of 2001. In 2001, the United States Commission on National Security created the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), which absorbed and assumed the duties of of the INS.

Three key agencies within DHS enforce immigration and immigrant policy (Figure **11.4.5**):

1. United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS): USCIS provides immigration services, including processing immigrant visa requests, naturalization petitions, and asylum/refugee requests. Its offices are divided into four national regions: (1) Burlington, Vermont (Northeast); (2) Dallas, Texas (Central); (3) Laguna Niguel, California (West); and (4) Orlando, Florida (Southeast). The director of USCIS reports directly to the Deputy Secretary of Homeland Security. It is important to note that immigration officers, who traditionally hold law degrees, have broad discretion in deciding whether an application is complete and accurate (Weissbrodt & Danielson, 2011).
2. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE): ICE is primarily tasked with enforcing immigration laws once immigrants are inside the United States’ ICE is responsible for identifying and fixing problems in the nation’s security. This is accomplished through five operational divisions: (1) immigration investigations; (2) detention and removal; (3) Federal Protective Service; (4) international affairs; and (5) intelligence.
3. United States Customs and Border Protection (USCBP): USCBP includes the Border Patrol, which is responsible for identifying and preventing undocumented aliens, terrorists, and weapons from entering the country. In addition to these

responsibilities, USCBP is responsible for regulating customs and international trade to intercept drugs, illicit currency, fraudulent documents or products with intellectual property rights violations, and materials for quarantine.

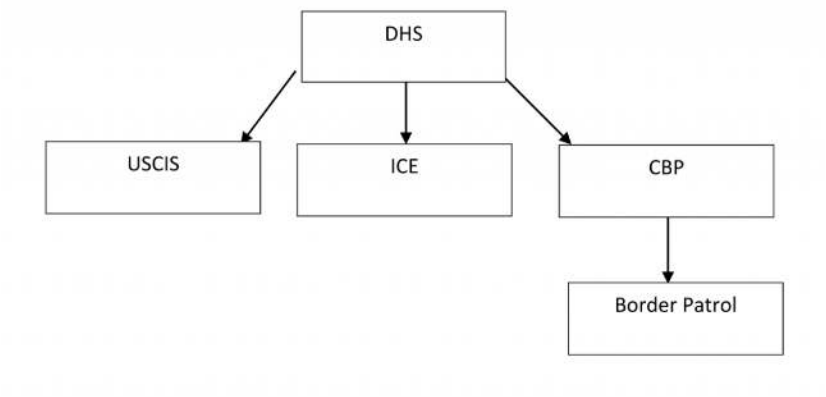


Figure **11.4.5**: Federal Immigration Organizations.

State governments

Although states have no power to create immigration policy, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA, 1996) enabled the Secretary of Homeland Security to enter into agreements with states to implement the administration and enforcement of federal immigration laws. States are also responsible for policy regarding immigrant and refugee integration. There is wide variation in how states pursue integration. Not all policies are welcoming. For example, several have passed legislation that limits access of public services to undocumented immigrants (e.g., Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, South Carolina, and Utah). In contrast, states such as Minnesota have sought to expand immigrant access to public services. These drastically different approaches have promoted consideration of this critical important task at the federal level. In late 2014, President Obama formed the "white House Task Force on New Americans" whose primary purpose is to "create welcoming communities and fully integrating immigrants and refugees" (white House, 2014). This is the first time in United States history that the executive branch of the government has undertaken such an effort.

Employers

Employers have high stakes in policy that impacts immigration, particularly as it impacts their available labor force. United States employers who recruit highly skilled workers from abroad typically sponsor their employees for permanent residence. Other employers who need a large labor force, particularly for low-skill work, often look to immigrants to fill positions.

Employers are also impacted by requirements to monitor the immigrant status of employees. Following the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, it became illegal to knowingly employ undocumented immigrants. Many employers are now required by state law or federal contract to use the e-verify program to confirm that prospective employees are not undocumented immigrants. Such requirements aim to reduce incentives for undocumented immigration, but also pose burdens of liability and reduced labor availability for employers. The National Council of Farmer Cooperatives (2015) and the American Farm Bureau Federation oppose measures that could constrict immigration such as the e-Verify program, stating that it could have a detrimental impact on the country's agriculture.



Figure **11.4.6**: Farm worker in California. (CC BY-SA 2.0; Tony Webster via Wikimedia)

Current workforce

Overall, research demonstrates that immigration increases wages for United States-born workers (Ottaviano & Peri, 2008; Ottaviano & Peri, 2012; Cortes, 2008; Peri, 2010). Estimated increases in wages from immigration range from .1 to .6% (Borjas & Katz, 2007; Ottaviano & Peri, 2008; Shierholz, 2010). However, these wage increases are not unilaterally and consistently distributed across time, skill and education levels of workers. Some researchers have found that low-education workers have experienced wage decreases due to immigration, as large as 4.8% (Borjas & Katz, 2007). However, other researchers have found that among those without a high school diploma, wages decreased by approximately 1% in the short run (Shierholz, 2010; Ottaviano & Peri, 2012) but were increased slightly in the long run (Ottaviano & Peri, 2012).

Immigration generally does not decrease job opportunities for United States-born workers, and may slightly increase them (Peri, 2010). However, during economic downturns when job growth is slowed, immigration may have short-term negative effects on job availability and wages for the current workforce (Peri, 2010). Immigrants create growth in community businesses. It is nonetheless important to emphasize that the fear of non-citizens taking away employment opportunities from citizens is a primary driver for immigration laws (Weissbrodt & Danielson, 2011). While immigrants make up 16% of the labor force, they make up 18% of the business owners. Between 2000 and 2013, immigrants accounted for nearly half of overall growth of business ownership in the United States (Fiscal Policy Institute, 2015).

Communities

United States communities must provide education and health care regardless of immigration status (i.e., Plyer v. Doe, 1982). In areas with rapidly increasing numbers of immigrant workers and their families, this can tax local communities that are already overburdened (Meissner, Meyers, Papademetriou, & Fix, 2006). The Congressional Budget Office found that most state and local governments provide services to unauthorized immigrants that cost more than those immigrants generate in taxes (2007). However, studies have found that immigrants may also infuse new growth in communities and sustain current levels of living for residents (Meissner et al., 2006).

Country

Immigrants provide many benefits at a national level. Overall, immigrants create more jobs than they fill, both through demand for goods and service and entrepreneurship. Foreign labor allows growth in the labor force and sustained standard of living (Meissner et al., 2006). Even though immigrants cost more in services than they provide in taxes at a state and local governments level, immigrants pay far more in taxes than they cost in services at a national level. In particular, immigrants (both documented and undocumented) contribute billions more to Medicare through payroll taxes than they use in medical services (Zallman,

Woolhandler, Himmelstein, Bor & McCormick, 2013). Additionally, many undocumented immigrants obtain social security cards that are not in their name and thereby contribute to social security, from which they will not be authorized to benefit. The Social security administration estimates that $12 billion dollars were paid into social security in 2010 alone (Goss, Wade, Skirvin, Morris, Bye, & Huston, 2013).

Current Immigration Policy

Although the decision to migrate is generally made and motivated by families, immigration policy generally focuses on the individual. For example, visas are granted to individuals, not families. In this sub-section, immigration policies that are most influential for today's families are discussed.

1952 McCarran-Walter Act

This act and its amendments remains the basic body of immigration law. It opened immigration to all countries, establishing quotas for each (United States English Foundation, 2014). This act instituted a priority system for admitting family members of current citizens. Admission preference was given to: (1) unmarried adult sons and daughters of United States citizens; (2) spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of United States citizens; (3) professionals, scientists, and artists of exceptional ability; and (4) married adult sons and daughters of United States citizens. This meant that more families from more countries had the opportunity to reunite in the United States.

1965 Hart-Celler Immigration Act or Immigration and Nationality Act and 1978 Amendments

In this act, the national ethnicity quotas were repealed. Instead, a cap was set for each hemisphere. Once again, priority was given to family reunification and employment skills. This act also expanded the original four admission preferences to seven, adding: (5) siblings of United States citizens; (6) workers, skilled and unskilled, in occupations for which labor was in short supply in the United States; and (7) refugees from Communist-dominated countries or those affected by natural disasters. This expanded the opportunities for family members to reunite in the United States.

1990 Immigration Act

This act eased the limits on family-based immigration (United States English Foundation, 2014). It ultimately led to a 40% increase in total admissions (Fix & Passel, 1994).



Figure **11.4.7**: "DREAM Act Protesters for President Obama's Visit to Austin" (CC BY-SA 2.0; Todd Dwyer via Flickr)

DREAM Act and Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals

The DREAM Act, proposed in the Senate in 2001, would allow for conditional permanent residency to immigrants who arrived in the United States as minors and have long-standing United States residency. While this bill has not been signed into law, the Obama administration signed the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) Executive Order in 2012, which provides renewable two-year work permits for those who meet the required standards. This has the largest impact on undocumented families. Many children travel to the United States without documents to be with their families, and then spend most of their lives in the United States. If the DREAM Act had passed, these children would have new opportunities to pursue higher education and jobs in the land they think of as home, without fear of deportation.

2000 Life Act and Section 245(i)

This allowed undocumented immigrants present in the United States to adjust their status to permanent resident, if they had family or employers to sponsor them (United States English Foundation, 2014).

2001 Patriot Act

The sociopolitical climate after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks drastically changed immigrant policies in the United States. This act created Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and Citizenship and Immigration Services (CIS), greatly enhancing immigration enforcement.

2005 Bill

The House of Representatives passed a bill that increased enforcement at the borders, focusing on national security rather than family or economic influences (Meissner et al., 2006).

2006 Bill

The Senate passed a bill that expanded legal immigration, in order to decrease undocumented immigration (Meissner et al., 2006).

As these policies indicate, it is currently very difficult to enter the United States without documentation. There are few supports available to those who do make it across the border (see Table 3.4.8). However, the 2000 Life Act and the Dream Act provide some provisions for families who live in the United States to obtain documentation to remain together, at least temporarily.

For families who want to immigrate with documentation, current policy prioritizes family reunification. Visas are available for family members of current permanent residents, and there are no quotas on family reunification visas (see the next section). Even when family members of a current permanent resident are granted a visa, they are a long way from residency. They must wait for their priority date and process extensive paperwork. If a family wants to immigrate to the United States but does not have a family member who is a current permanent resident or a sponsoring employer, options for documented immigration are very limited.

Table **11.4.8**: Supports available to documented and undocumented immigrants. (CC BY-NC 4.0; Taken from United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2010)

What supports are available?	Documented Immigrants	Undocumented Immigrants
Free public education	X	X
Medical Services	X	X
Authorization to live and work in the United States	X	
Travel documents	X	
Social security	X	
Application for a driver's license	X	
Ability to request visas for spouse or unmarried child	X	
Ability to apply for welfare benefits	X	

Process of Becoming a Citizen, also called “Naturalization”

1. File a petition for an immigrant visa. The first step of documented immigration is obtaining an immigrant visa. There are a number of ways this can occur:

- For family members. A citizen or lawful permanent resident in the United States can file an immigrant visa petition for their immediate family members in other countries. In some cases, they can file a petition for a fiancé or adopted child.
- For sponsored employees. United States employers sometimes recruit skilled workers who will be hired for permanent jobs. These employers can file a visa petition for the workers.
- For immigrants from countries with low rates of immigration. The Diversity Visa Lottery program accepts applications from individuals in countries with low rates of immigration. These individuals can file an application, and visas are awarded based on random selection.

If prospective immigrants do not fall into one of these categories, their avenues for documented immigration are quite limited. For prospective immigrants who fall within one of these categories, their petition must be approved by USCIS and consular officers. However, they are still a long way from residency.

2. Wait for priority date. There is an annual limit to the number of available visas in most categories. Petitions are filed chronologically, and each prospective immigrant is given a “priority date.” The prospective immigrant must then wait until there is an available visa, based on their priority date.

3. Process paperwork. While waiting for the priority date, prospective immigrants can begin to process the paperwork. They must pay processing fees, submit a visa application form, and compile extensive additional documentation (such as evidence of income, proof of relationship, proof of United States status, birth certificates, military records, etc.) They must then complete an interview at the United States Embassy or Consulate and complete a medical exam. Once all of these steps are complete, the prospective immigrant received an immigrant visa. They can travel to the United States with a green card and enter as a lawful permanent resident (United States Visas, n.d.).

A lawful permanent resident is entitled to many of the supports of legal residents, including free public education, authorization to work in the United States, and travel documents to leave and return to the United States (FindLaw, 2018). However, permanent resident aliens remain citizens of their home country, must maintain residence in the United States in order to maintain their status, must renew their status every 10 years, and cannot vote in federal elections (USCIS, 2015).

4. Apply for citizenship. Generally, immigrants are eligible to apply for citizenship when they have been a permanent resident for at least five years, or three years if they are married to a citizen. Prospective citizens must complete an application, be fingerprinted and have a background check, complete an interview with a USCIS officer, and take an English and civics test. They must then take an Oath of Allegiance (USCIS, 2012).

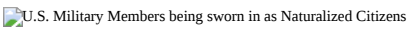


Figure **11.4.9**: "U.S. Military Members Become Naturalized Citizens" (CC BY-ND 2.0; U.S Embassy Kabul Afghanistan via Flickr)

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11.5: Social Change and Resistance

Current Immigration Issues and the Need for Social Change

With the rise of tougher immigration policies and xenophobic-driven hate crimes (as discussed in Section 3.4), immigrants in the United States have many obstacles to overcome. The next section will highlight some of the most pressing legal matters, as well as, human rights concerns that require social change through a social justice lens.

Immigration Policy and Legal Status Issues

DACA, AB 540, and the DREAM Act

There have been some contemporary changes to immigration matters around undocumented youth in the United States. While these changes are positive, they are temporary. Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) came about from an executive memorandum called, "Exercising Prosecutorial Discretion with Respect to Individuals Who Came to the United States as Children," on behalf of President Barack Obama in 2012 (United States Department of Homeland Security, 2012). DACA allows temporary protection to non-U. S. citizens from deportation, as well as, provide them with renewable work permits. The Anti-Defamatory League (ADL, 2020) writes,

DACA enables certain people who came to the U.S. as children and meet several key guidelines to request consideration for deferred action. It allows non-U.S. citizens who qualify to remain in the country for two years, subject to renewal. Recipients are eligible for work authorization and other benefits, and are shielded from deportation. The fee to request DACA is $495 every two years.

While DACA can be renewable, it is temporary and in 2017, the Trump administration attempted to end DACA, by rescinding it.

After the Trump administration ordered an end to DACA in 2017, several lawsuits were filed against the termination of DACA. Two federal appellate courts have now ruled against the administration, allowing previous DACA recipients to renew their deferred action, and the Supreme Court agreed to review the legal challenges" (ADL, 2020).

In June 2020, the Supreme Court issued a 5-4 decision finding that the Trump administration's termination of DACA was "judicially reviewable" and "done in an arbitrary and capricious manner" (National Immigration Center, 2020; Supreme Court of the United States, 2020). For now, DACA seems to be safe, but DACA is not a permanent solution.

In 2001, California Assembly Bill (AB) 540 was signed into law by Governor Gray Davis and it would go into effect in 2002. According to the UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education (2008), "AB 540 is a California law that allows out-of-state students and undocumented students who meet certain requirements to be exempt from paying nonresident tuition at all public colleges and universities in California." While AB 540 makes college education more accessible and affordable for undocumented immigrants, it provides no pathway for amnesty and permanent legal residency and/or citizenship.

Dreamers

On June 15, 2012 President Barack Obama issued an executive branch memorandum known as Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) that allowed some individuals who were brought to the United States illegally as children to apply for a renewable two-year period of deferred action from deportation and to become eligible for a work permit in the United States. Recipients cannot have felonies or serious misdemeanors on their record and would not have a path to citizenship through this policy. This policy was a major victory for a young generation of activists dubbed Dreamers, after the failed DREAM Act (2001) which would have provided paths to citizenship through two years of military service or 2 years of college education. Though the policy did not apply to all who were brought as children as they had to be no older than 31 on the date it was signed and had to have been brought before June 2007 as a child no older than 15, the Migration Policy Institute estimates that over 1.3 million people qualified. As of March 2020, there are 643,560 DACA recipients who have been able to come out of the shadows and, at least temporarily have some sense of stability and opportunity that evaded them previously.



Figure **11.5.1**: Immigrant Rights March, circa 2017. (Sofia Beas via sbeas@lbcc.edu)

DACA would not have been possible if it weren't for the brave young organizers and activists, such as Jose Antonio Vargas featured in Video 11.2.5 below, and the various advocacy organizations who created spaces for young undocumented people to share their stories and realize that they were not alone. "This kind of political socialization helped shape how they thought and felt about their own "illegality." They learned that there was nothing to be ashamed of. They also learned that sticking together as a group allowed them to make powerful claims for equal rights" (Nicholls, 2014). They took their powerful claims and newfound strength in numbers to the offices of senators and the Department of Homeland Security to stage acts of civil disobedience. For this subgroup of undocumented immigrants, the narrative was compelling: they were socialized in U.S. schools, were not familiar with any other country, they played by the rules, and therefore had the right to pursue the American dream.





Video 11.5.2: Actions are illegal, never people: Jose Antonio Vargas. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; TEDx Talks via YouTube)

End of DACA

According to a June 2020 Pew survey, 74% of Americans support granting legal status to immigrants who were brought to the U.S. illegally as children, but white nationalist sentiments pervade the Trump White House which is why on September 5, 2017, President Trump announced an end to DACA (Edelman, 2017). Then Attorney General Jeff Sessions criticized DACA as "unilateral executive amnesty" and claimed that it "yielded terrible humanitarian consequences" in addition to making unsubstantiated claims that it "denied jobs to hundreds of thousands of Americans by allowing those same jobs to go to illegal aliens." This announcement sent the hundreds of thousands of DACA recipients into panic-mode as their futures were uncertain yet again. Luckily for them, on June 18, 2020 the Supreme Court ruled that the way DACA was rescinded was unlawful. Then, the most recent announcement from the Department of Homeland Security substantially limits the policy by only allowing those who have already received DACA previously to reapply for only one year of deferred action, placing additional financial burdens as the fee to renew is $495. Many local organizations have taken to raising funds for this renewal fee as most come from economically disadvantaged backgrounds again demonstrating the pivotal role that allies play in this struggle for immigrant rights. Most recently, on December 4th, 2020, a federal judge ordered a full restoration of DACA which means that first-time applicants will be accepted. Additional court cases challenging DACA are pending.

The Muslim Ban



Figure 11.5.3: "Rally to Encourage Illinois Governor Bruce Rauner to Sign The Safe Zone Bill Chicago Illinois 8-8-18 3073" (CC BY-SA 2.0; www.cemillerphotography.com via Flickr)

Executive Order 13769 was signed by President Donald Trump in 2017 and it is most commonly referred to as the "Muslim Ban." This act attempted to ban immigrants from seven predominantly Muslim nations, which are Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen (white House, 2017). This ban has been challenged legally several times and was overturned in the courts but a revised policy was tentatively permitted by the Supreme Court. According to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU, 2020),

in a 5-4 ruling, the Supreme Court upheld the Trump administration's third Muslim ban. As disappointing as this decision is, it does not affect the ACLU of Washington's case against the Trump Administration's refugee ban, Doe et al. v. Trump.

The third Muslim Ban, otherwise known as Muslim Ban 3.0, was upheld by the Supreme Court in 2018 and it is currently in effect, but with some exceptions regarding refugee cases (ACLU, 2020). Muslim Ban 3.0 impacts immigrants from the following countries: Iran, Libya, North Korea, Somalia, Syria, Venezuela, and Yemen. The Muslim Bans reflect extreme **xenophobia** (fear of strangers and/or foreigners) and **Islamophobia** (prejudice and/or discrimination against Muslims and the Islamic religion).

Undocumented Families

For families who do not have a sponsoring family member, have a sponsoring employer, or originate from a country with few immigrants, the options for legal immigration to the United States are very limited. Those families who choose to travel to the United States face substantial barriers, including a perilous trip across the border, few resources, and constant threat of deportation.

One of the most dangerous times for undocumented families is the risky trip across the border. In order to avoid border patrol, undocumented immigrants take very dangerous routes across the United States border. The vast majority of all apprehensions of undocumented immigrants are on the border (while the remainder is apprehended through interior enforcement). For example, in 2014 ICE conducted 315,943 removals, 67% of which were apprehended at the border (nearly always by the Border Patrol), and 33% of which were apprehended in the interior (ICE, 2014). The trip and efforts to avoid Border Patrol can be physically dangerous and in some cases, deadly. The acronym ICE symbolizes the fear that immigrants feel about capture and deportation. A deportee in Exile Nation: The Plastic People (2014), a documentary that follows United States deportees in Tijuana, Mexico, stated that ICE was chosen as the acronym for the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency because it "freezes the blood of the most vulnerable."

Even after arrival at the interior of the United States, undocumented immigrants feel stress and anxiety relating to the fear of deportation by ICE (Chavez, Lopez, Englebrecht, & Viramontez Anguiano, 2012). This impacts their daily life activities. Undocumented parents sometimes fear interacting with school, health care systems, and police, for fear of revealing their own undocumented status (Chavez et al., 2012; Menjivar, 2012). They may also avoid driving, as they are not eligible for a driver's license.

Since 2014, the United States Department of Homeland Security (USDHS) has placed a new emphasis on deporting undocumented immigrants. Department efforts generally prioritize apprehending convicted criminals and threats to public safety, but recent operations have taken a broader approach. In the opening weeks of 2016, ICE coordinated a nationwide operation to apprehend and deport undocumented adults who entered the country with their children, taking 121 people into custody in a single weekend. The majority of these individuals were families who applied for asylum, but whose cases were denied. Similar enforcement operations are planned (DHS Press Office, 2016). In many cases, the parents' largest concern is that immigration enforcement will break up the family. Over 5,000 children have been turned over to the foster care system when parents were deported or detained. This can occur in three ways:

1. when parents are taken into custody by ICE, the child welfare system can reassign custody rights for the child,
2. when a parent is accused of child abuse or neglect and there are simultaneous custody and deportation proceedings, and
3. when a parent who already has a case open in a child welfare system is detained or deported (Enriquez, 2015; Rogerson, 2012).

In the words of a Mexican Immigrant describing how his fear of deportation grew after his baby daughter was born,

one of my greatest fears right now is for anybody to take me away from my baby, and that I cannot provide for my baby. Growing up as a child without a father [as I did], it's very painful… I felt like there was no male to protect them (Enriquez, 2015).

Although the perilous trip and threat of deportation are significant challenges for undocumented immigrant families, there are two recent policy changes that offer new opportunities and protections for undocumented families. First, some states have sought to expand the educational supports available to undocumented immigrants. The State of Minnesota, for example, enacted the "Dream

Act" into law in 2013. This unique act, which is also known as the "Path to Prosperity Act," makes undocumented students eligible for State financial aid (Brunswick, 2013).

Second, there are now greater protections for unaccompanied children. In some cases, children travel across the border alone, without their families. They may be traveling to join parents already in the United States, or their parents may send them ahead to try to obtain greater opportunities for them. As a result of human rights activism, unaccompanied and separated immigrant children are now placed in a child welfare framework by licensed facilities under the care of the Office of Refugee Replacement (ORR) (Somers, 2011). They provide for education, health care, and psychological support until they can be released to family or a community (Somers, 2011). Each year, 8,000 unaccompanied immigrant children receive care from the ORR (Somers, 2011).

Immigration Policy as Social Change

There are three shifts in immigration policy that are critical for the well-being of families. First, policy should shift to accelerate family reunification for those families whose visas have been accepted. Families are currently separated from their children for years, caught in a holding pattern of waiting. This leads to stress, grief, and difficulty building relationships during key developmental times in a child's life. Accelerating processing applications and shorter wait times would facilitate greater family well-being.

Second, policy could provide greater protection for vulnerable children in undocumented or mixed-status families. In cases where a parent is deported, the child's welfare should be carefully considered in whether to leave the child in the care of a local caregiver or provide the option to send the child to the home country with their parent.

Third, policies that are either directly and/or indirectly discriminate against a particular ethnic/racial/religious group, like the Muslim Ban, should be immediately rescinded. The jarring racism invoked by these kinds of policies justified as "national safety" is antithetical to a true democracy.

Human Rights Issues

While human rights have in large part been internationalized, they have to be implemented at the domestic level. According to Donnelly (2003), this dichotomy permits countries to fulfill dual and seemingly incompatible roles: essential protector and principle violator. In the United States, this duality can be seen in the difference between the laws upon which the country was founded and the implementation of these laws in an equitable fashion.

The Bill of Rights, as codified in the United States Constitution, lays out specific human rights that parallel those to which the majority of international human rights regimes adhere. Thus, the founding myths of this country are grounded in the central place of human rights (Donnelly, 2003). In fact, many if not most liberal democracies share these constitutive principles. As Koopmans (2012) points out, "internal constitutive principles – such as the right to exercise one's religion…imply that the granting of rights to individuals and groups will be more similar across democracies than it will be between them and non-democracies." And yet, there remain significant areas where United States domestic policy can be seen to violate various rights of various portions of the population at any given time.



Figure 11.5.3.5: The original Bill of Rights, United States. (CC PDM 1.0; National Archives)



Figure 11.5.4: Poster depicting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, English. (CC PDM 1.0; United Nations)

Political Issues

The most pressing human rights issues in the United States revolve around immigrant and refugee families. The strategic priorities outlined by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCR) include: (a) countering discrimination; (b) combating impunity and strengthening accountability; (c) pursing economic, social and cultural rights and combating poverty; (d) protecting human rights in the context of migration; (e) protecting human rights during armed conflict, violence and insecurity; and (f) strengthening international human rights mechanisms and the progressive development of international human rights law. Priorities (a), (c) and (d) make up the elements most germane to the human rights situation in the United States today. The difficulties faced by immigrant and refugee families include classism, racism, sexism, and discrimination on the basis of religion as well as uncertain economic circumstances.



Figure **11.5.5**: Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon, meets President of the United States, Barack Obama. (CC BY 3.0 US; White House)

The United States voted in favor of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948) but it did not ratify (i.e., sign) the document. While various theories attempt to explain relevant reasons, numerous rights enshrined in the UDHR are in the Constitution and Bill of Rights (Advocates for Human Rights, n.d.) The United States' apparent sense of exceptionalism to international standards and norms has been evidenced over time in two main ways: the ongoing torture of Guantanamo Bay detainees and the revelation that American social scientists were involved in reverse engineering torture techniques for the government. While the United States may at times act outside of the limitations established by the international community (and specifically the UDHR) this stance is not the focus of this chapter. As the UNCHR notes, "national and local politicians have sought to mobilize electoral support by promoting xenophobic sentiments, exaggerating the negative impact of hosting refugees while ignoring the fact that refugees can actually attract international assistance and investment to an area, creating new jobs and trading opportunities" (2006). In this way the refugee situation has often been used as a political football in United States political culture.

Legal Issues

The current legal climate in the United States is negatively skewed against international human rights, particularly as it pertains to the legal status of **displaced persons** (persons who are forced to leave their home country due to war, persecution or natural disasters). There are many reasons to be pessimistic about successfully using international human rights arguments as a way of advancing displaced person's rights in the United States (Chilton, 2014; Cole, 2006; International Council on Human Rights, 2008). According to Cole (2006), in spite of its history as a nation of immigrants, the United States remains deeply nationalist and quite parochial; the law reflects that parochialism. Furthermore, "International human rights arguments are often seen as the advocates' last refuge pulled out only when there is no other authority to cite" (Cole, 2006).

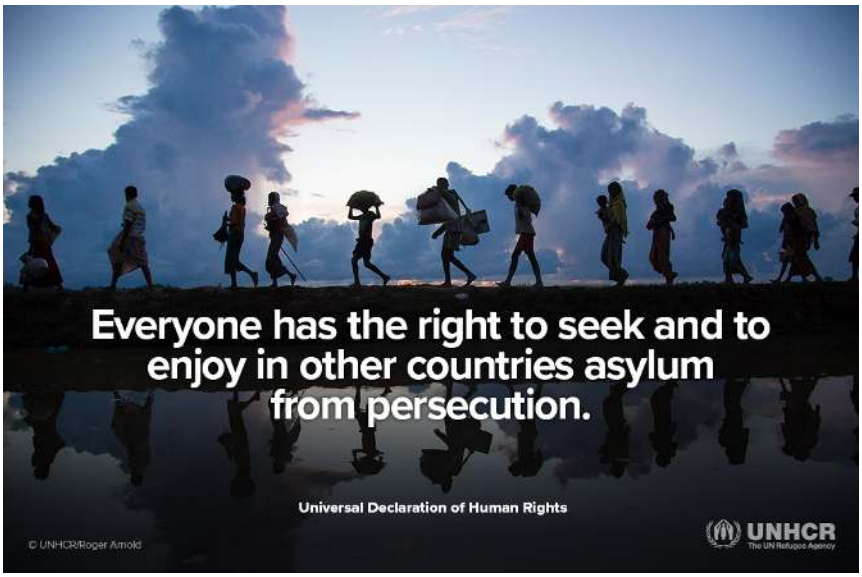


Figure **11.5.6**: Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (CC PDM 1.0; United Nations Refugee Agency via Twitter)

However, this trend seems to be moving the national towards the transnational in terms of how human rights law is perceived and implemented in the legal system and culture of the United States. This means that increased globalization and interdependence has had the effect of strengthening the influence of international human rights standards in the United States. The hope is that these standards may “command greater respect from our own domestic institutions" (Cole, 2006). Cole further posits that the paradigm shift in the United States from national to transnational, merging the national and the international, parallels the shift in the United States from state to federal power that occurred with the advent of the New Deal in the 1930s. In other words, there is reason to hope that gradual change is coming within the legal system in the United States with regards to its acceptance of the international human rights regimes norms and standards.

Refugee families and asylum seekers

The terms of refugee and asylum seeker are often used interchangeably, but there are important legal differences between them, as discussed in Chapter 3.1. These differences not only determine which resources they are eligible for once arriving in the United States, but also in which phase of the legal process they are currently.



Figure **11.5.7**: Refugees and displaced persons in South-East Asia; Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos. (BY-NC-ND 2.0; United Nations Photo via Flickr)

Refugees

An estimated 51.2 million people were displaced since 2013 as a direct result of persecution, war, violence, and human rights atrocities (UNHCR, 2013). In 2013, the United States Department of Justice (USDOJ, 2014) received 36,674 asylum applications

but only approved 9,993. The remaining applications were abandoned (1,439), withdrawn (6,400), or simply unaccounted for (11,391). Being that the recent United States population estimate is 318 million people, refugees make up less than 1% of the population. The families seeking asylum from their home countries often have significant traumatic histories and thus can loom larger in the public sphere than other types of immigrants. Most of these families are fleeing extreme injustices in their home country, such as war, political instability, genocide and severe oppression. Because of the uncertainty of their original situation, it remains quite difficult for the USDHS to determine who is legitimately eligible for asylum.

Asylum seekers

The United States is a signatory to the United Nation's 1967 Protocol which defines a refugee as "as a person who is unable or unwilling to return to his or her home country, and cannot obtain protection in that country, due to past persecution or a well-founded fear of being persecuted in the future “on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.” According to the American Immigration Council, from 2004-2019 upon arriving at the U.S. border an asylum seeker must undergo a credible fear and reasonable fear-screening which is a part of the expedited removal process. If the asylum officer deems that the person has a "significant possibility" of establishing eligibility for asylum, they are referred to immigration court to proceed with the defensive asylum process, otherwise the person is removed from the United States.

Under the Trump administration this process has been substantially changed. As of April 2018 asylees arriving at the U.S.' southern border are now told to wait in Mexico until Customs and Border Protection officers determine that a given port of entry has capacity to process them. Additionally, those fleeing domestic violence no longer qualify for asylum, and as of July 2019 anyone who transited through a third country must apply for asylum there before arriving in the United States. Under this rule, almost everyone who arrives at the U.S.-Mexico border is ineligible for asylum as many are fleeing violence and poverty in Central American countries such as Guatemala and El Salvador.

A further complication for government agencies lies in trying to determine when and how to return rejected asylum seekers to their home countries (Koser, 2007). Within the domain of international migration studies there has been traditionally a differentiation made between refugees (involuntary migration) and labor seekers (voluntary migration). While the former group represents the political outcome of global systems and interactions and the latter group represents the economic outcome, nonetheless, it is quite clear that people migrate for a whole complex series of reasons, including social ones (Koser, 2007). If an asylum-seeker’s claim for asylum is denied, they are placed in deportation proceedings. During this process, an immigration judge (IJ) works with the asylum-seekers’ attorney to determine the removal process. It is important to note that displaced persons are rarely detained and/or immediately placed on the next flight to their country of origin.

Sex Trafficking and Human Trafficking

The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, defines **trafficking** as the “…recruitment, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by any means of threat or force…for the purpose of exploitation.” This crime is globally categorized as either sex trafficking or labor trafficking. According to the DOJ (2006), there have been an estimated 100,000 to 150,000 sex trafficking victims in the United States since 2001. Furthermore, estimates of persons currently in situations of forced labor or sexual servitude in the United States range from 40,000 to 50,000.

The leading countries of origin for foreign victims in fiscal year (FY) 2011 were Mexico, Philippines, Thailand, Guatemala, Honduras, and India (United States Department of State, 2012). In 2011, “notable prosecutions included those of sex and labor traffickers who used threats of deportation, violence, and sexual abuse to compel young, undocumented Central American women and girls into hostess jobs and forced prostitution in bars and nightclubs on Long Island, New York” (United States Department of State, 2012). According to the International Labor Organization (ILO, 2016), globally an estimated 4.5 million women, men, and children are sexually exploited. There is some legal benefit (a self-petitioned visa in the United States) in place for those who cooperate in prosecuting their traffickers, as these visa victims can receive four years of legal status. Unfortunately, far fewer receive immigration aid than are identified as victims of sex trafficking (United States Department of State, 2012).

Human trafficking is another area where issues of physical safety and sexual exploitation of immigrant and refugee women and children come to the forefront as a human rights issue. Contrary to popular thought, sex trafficking is an ongoing and insidious activity that also includes young boys, and the prevalence of human and sex trafficking in the United States disproportionately affects the more vulnerable, under-resourced populations such as immigrant and refugee families (United States Department of State, 2012).

Family Separation and Detention

No change however has elicited more public outcry than that of family separation. As a part of President Trump's "zero-tolerance" approach a policy of separating children from the parents or guardians that they entered the U.S. with at the southern border Mexico was officially adopted in April of 2018, though later investigations showed that the practice was in place for an year prior to the announcement. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, at least 4,368 children were separated as of January of 2020. In response, a coalition of 250 organizations led by the National Domestic Workers Alliance, Women's Refugee Commission, MomsRising, FWD.us, United We Dream, People's Action, ACLU, Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, MoveOn called "Families Belong Together" formed. Even though President Trump signed an executive order ending the policy on June 20, 2018 - on June 30th, hundreds of thousands of people in all 50 states participated in a "Families Belong Together" protest showing the interest the general public has in immigration issues.



Figure 11.5.8: Families Belong Together Rally at the Border. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; mirsasha via Flickr)



Figure \(\PageIndex{9}\:Migrant detention facilities. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Thomas Cizauskas via Flickr)

Mixed Status (Deportation) and Separation of Families

One of the most pressing human rights issues for displaced persons in the United States today is the mixed-status families (i.e., documented and undocumented). These are families whose members hold different levels of legal status in the country. Some members of the family may be documented persons (such as asylum-seeker, permanent resident or citizen) while others have undocumented status. Though the children born to undocumented migrants typically receive citizenship by birth, this does not change their parents' legal status. The exception, however, is when undocumented parents return to their country of origin and wait until that child is 18 years of age; at that point the young adult child can sponsor them in becoming United States citizens. When families consist of members whose legal status is documented as well as undocumented, this uncertain distal context can set the stage for significant vulnerabilities within the family.

Brabeck and Xu (2010), who studied of the effects of detention and deportation on children of Latino/a immigrants, found that the legal vulnerability of Latino/a parents, as measured by immigration status and detention and deportation experience, predicted child well-being. In other words, the children suffer when they cannot be sure whether their parents will be able to stay and live with them in United States on a day-to-day basis. Kanstroom (2010) writes that

although international law recognizes the power of the state to deport noncitizens, international human rights law has also long recognized the importance of procedural regularity, family unity, and proportionality. When such norms are violated the State may well be obligated to provide a remedy.

Once again the paradox of international human rights norms conflicts with the actual social and political practices of the United States; as of this writing the issue remains a political football in the United States.

The most egregious contemporary example of the separation of families are the children deliberately taken away from their families and put in cages. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), children who were already-traumatized were then caged within locked warehouses, left to sleep under blankets akin to aluminum foil (Vinson, 2020). This separation and harsh treatment is linked to the Trump Administration's "zero tolerance policy" in which

U.S. Attorney General Jeff Sessions ordered prosecutors along the border to 'adopt immediately a zero-tolerance policy' for illegal border crossings. That included prosecuting parents traveling with their children as well as people who subsequently attempted to request asylum (Domonoske & Gonzales, 2018).

Amidst great pushback and critique of the "zero-tolerance policy," President Trump signed Executive Order 13841, Affording Congress an Opportunity to Address Family Separation, on June 20, 2018 (white House, 2018). Unfortunately, the SPLC reports that six days after Executive Order 13841 was signed,

U.S. District Judge Dana Sabraw issued a nationwide injunction to halt family separations. But since then, the practice has continued under the American public’s nose (Vinson, 2020).

The result of these deliberate separations was not just the traumatization of migrant children, but the inability by the federally appointed lawyers "track down the parents of 545 children and that about two-thirds of those parents were deported to Central America without their children, according to a filing Tuesday from the American Civil Liberties Union" (Ainsley & Soboroff, 2020). However, the cruelty does not end there. There is a recent report that alleges that unaccompanied migrant children are treated poorly and inhumanely by the Customs and Border Protection (CBP) staff (Armus, 2020). While those complaints are being investigated, there have been at least seven children that have died while in immigration custody (Acevedo, 2019). Thus, the report that migrant children are being mistreated seems to be accurate given these multiple deaths. Upholding immigration policies and laws should not violate human rights nor result in the abuse and/or death of migrants while in detention.



Figure **11.5.10**: Protesting for immigration reform. (CC BY-NC 2.0; Peoplesworld)

Detention Without Trial and Other Detention Issues

Migrant Detention Facilities

The outrage at family separation brought to light the existence of and conditions in immigrant detention centers. Images of children on cold cement floors in warehouses caged by chain linked fences and covered in metallic space blankets circulated widely on the internet eliciting shock and disgust at the Trump administration even though many of the photos were taken during the Obama administration (Gomez, 2019). In reality, migrant detention has been on the rise for the past 3 decades leading Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to outsource the detention to private companies (Law, 2019). The conditions in these facilities have been characterized as "squalid conditions, overcrowding, cold temperatures, (and) inadequate medical care," leading to "tragic deaths." Many activists and civil rights organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) have argued that the increase in immigrant detention is in reality an expansion of the **prison-industrial complex** (PIC) (Luan, 2018). The PIC is a term used by activists to characterize the mutually profitable relationships among private corporations that secure government contracts to build and maintain prison facilities, those that profit from the use of prison labor and the politicians they lobby for "tough on crime" and "zero tolerance" immigration policies. According to government data, over 70% of migrants are held in private detention facilities. In 2018, the U.S. awarded 6.8 billion dollars in federal contracts for private detention facilities run by companies like the two largest Geo Group and Core Civic (formerly Corrections Corporation of America). Just as in private prisons, migrants are held in some facilities where they are coerced to work for as little as a dollar a day, as has been alleged in 4 ongoing lawsuits. Rising awareness of these perceived abuses has led to nation-wide "Close the camps" protests and calls to "Abolish ICE." Other tactics include targeting the banks that finance private detention facilities. For example, the aforementioned Families Belong Together coalition collected over 1 million signature urging JP Morgan Chase to divest from Geo Group and Core Civic, and in March 2019 they announced they would be doing just that (Green, 2020). This successful campaign shows the importance of digital media in spreading awareness and in mobilizing people to bring about tangible progress towards social justice.

Yet another odious practice associated with detention is the forced sterilization, by way of hysterectomies, of migrant women. As The Intercept reports, "At least 17 women treated by a doctor alleged to have performed unnecessary or overly aggressive gynecological procedures without proper informed consent remain in detention at Irwin County Detention Center, a privately run facility in Georgia housing U.S. Immigrations and Customs Enforcement detainees" (Washington & Olivares, 2020). While this compulsory sterilization issue is focused around one facility and one doctor, it remains to be addressed if other facilities and/or doctors have also been involved. As these allegations are reviewed and investigated, some of the migrant women that have spoken out about these unnecessary and overly aggressive gynecological procedures have been deported while others are set to be deported (Washington & Olivares, 2020).

Past and Present Resistance

Immigrants face significant and complex challenges in achieving economic well-being. Legislation such as the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) and 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) currently limit immigrants' access to employment, housing, and health services. The implementation of these restrictive policies is often fueled by misconceptions of the economic impact of immigrants in the greater society, especially the perception that undocumented immigrants place an economic burden on our health care system. Federal policies that facilitate more effective access to employment, housing, and healthcare and financial services are needed. Since federal policies are currently not effective and, given other general obstacles that immigrants face, immigrants and their allies continue to resist and demonstrate their resiliency as outlined below.

Labor Organizations

Some of the first organizations to advocate for and organize immigrants were labor unions. Two notable examples are the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA) and the United Farm Workers of America (UFW). Given the nature of the type of work that is represented by both unions, these unions were comprised of workers of many different characteristics including, but not limited to: immigrants, Latinos, Asian and Pacific Islanders, African Americans, men, and women.

UCAPAWA was formed in 1937 and unlike other unions at the time, this union embraced women in leadership roles. Moreover, this union demonstrated an intersectional approach to rights since labor, gender, and immigrant rights were so interconnected with one another. This intersectionality is best exemplified by Luisa Moreno, a Guatemalan immigrant that was the first Latina to serve

on the executive committee of UCAPAWA (Acuña, 2015). Unfortunately, Luisa Moreno's efforts and activism were cut short as is stated here:

Moreno’s commitment to immigrant laborers endured across World War II. But in the postbellum 'red scare' that marked the onset of America’s Cold War with the Soviet Union, Moreno’s workers’ rights campaign was tragically truncated. Increasingly unsympathetic toward activist immigrants, the federal government in 1950 concocted a warrant for Moreno’s immediate deportation, citing her association with the Communist Party as a threat to national security. Rather than subject herself to the humiliation of forced removal, Moreno left the U.S. that November (Smith, 2018).

The tactic of threatening to deport labor and/or political activists is not uncommon, but it clearly is meant to undermine the efforts by immigrants attempting to help others and resist exploitative practices (Acuña, 2015).

The UFW represents the 1962 merger of two labor organizations Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) and National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), but it became an actual labor union in 1965 under the name, UFW (Acuña, 2015). Agricultural work has and continues to rely on immigrant laborers, however, the UFW historically had an adverse policy around undocumented immigrant workers. According to Frank Bardacke (2013),

These first members of the UFW felt threatened by the open border and by the large number of green carders and illegals who lived in Mexicali and were beginning to work in the table grapes...Becoming part of the official labor movement did nothing to ease [Cesar] Chavez’s fear that this new wave of illegal immigration would cripple his attempts to build his union, as the labor movement had a long history, especially in California, of opposing high wages for domestic union workers. The UFW’s anti-illegals policies fit smoothly within what has been, until very recently, a standard organizing approach of much of US labor.

Eventually, the anti-undocumented immigrant policies promoted within the UFW were terminated and in an effort to combat this xenophobic reputation, "they led the fight against Proposition 187, took the lead in other pro-immigrant campaigns, and have been strong advocates for the undocumented ever since (Bardacke, 2013)." It is interesting to see how unions have had to navigate the concerns of the workers they represent, which includes legal immigrants, but in doing so, may have ostracized undocumented immigrants. However, that no longer seems to be the case for the UFW or the newer unions and labor organizations that have been formed. Ruth Milkman's book (2000) discusses how more contemporary labor organizing is inclusive of undocumented immigrants when describing the Justice for Janitors Campaign and the more recent strategies employed by both the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees (HERE) and Service Employees International Union (SEIU).

California Proposition 187 and Arizona SB 1070

Unlike DACA and the proposed DREAM Act, not all contemporary immigration policies and legislation have been positive. To illustrate this point, California's Proposition 187 and Arizona's Senate Bill 1070 are among the most notorious examples of anti-immigrant discrimination. Regarding Proposition 187, Acuña (2015) writes,

the draconian SOS (Save Our State) Initiative, Proposition 187, appeared on the November 1994 California ballot. It proposed denying health and educational services to undocumented immigrants.

This proposition was approved by voters and was intended to go into effect, but was challenged legally. According to the ACLU (1999),

A court-approved mediation today ended years of legal and political debate over Proposition 187...The agreement confirms that no child in the state of California will be deprived of an education or stripped of health care due to their place of birth. It also makes clear that the state cannot regulate immigration law, a function that the U.S. Constitution clearly assigns to the federal government.

The extreme nativism of Proposition 187 galvanized immigrant's rights groups and allies whom took to the streets to protest. The Los Angeles Times (1994) reported that "In one of the largest mass protests in the city’s history, an estimated 70,000 demonstrators marched from the Eastside to Downtown on Sunday in boisterous condemnation of Proposition 187, the anti-illegal immigration initiative, and its best-known advocate, Gov. Pete Wilson" (McDonnell & Lopez, 1994). The large protests against Prop. 187 are a poignant example of resistance by immigrants and their allies and for immigrant's rights and immigration reform.

Comparably, Arizona SB 1070 was signed into law in 2010 by Governor Jan Brewer and it

aimed at preventing illegal immigration that has significantly affected the Mexico-bordering state over many decades. The law, entitled Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act, would require law enforcement officials to enforce existing

federal immigration laws in the state by checking the immigration status of a person they have 'reasonable suspicion' of being in the U.S. illegally (FindLaw, 2018).

Like Prop. 187, this law was also legally challenged and was considered to be one of the strictest anti-immigrant laws in the U. S. (Archibold, 2010). Despite the years of legal battles, "the heart of SB1070 still beats, however faintly, after critics failed to strike down the requirement that law enforcers ask about people's legal status during routine stops" (del Puerto, 2016). As reported in the Tucson Sentinel,

tens of thousands of protesters marched on Arizona's State Capitol in Phoenix Saturday as they demonstrated against the state's controversial immigration law, SB 1070...Police declined to estimate the size of the crowd, but it appeared at least 10,000 to 20,000 protesters braved temperatures that were forecast to reach 95 degrees by mid-afternoon. Organizers had said they expected the demonstration to bring as many as 50,000 people (Smith, 2010).

Ongoing protests and resistance to SB1070 continue given that it "gave birth to a spirit of activism among young immigrants" and "a decade after SB 1070 became law, local police agencies are enforcing it in different ways" (Arizona Central, 2020).

May Day Protests

In the previous section, large-scale protests that opposed anti-immigrant legislation were discussed. Perhaps the biggest protest organized to support immigration reform and immigrant rights was the May Day March of 2006, also referred to as "A Day Without Immigrants." As reported by The Guardian,

A sea of white-shirted protesters 300,000 strong, chanting "Si, se puede" ('Yes, it can be done') surged through Los Angeles. In Chicago police said up to 400,000 protesters had taken part in a rally. Other large demonstrations took place in Denver, which saw 75,000 protesters, Houston and San Diego (Glaister & MacAskill, 2006).

The 2006 May Day protests were not just massive, but took place throughout the United States over concerns over HR 4437 that would criminalize undocumented immigrants, in the name of toughen border control. Crucially, it does not offer any path to citizenship for those already residing in the US (Glaister & MacAskill, 2006). Since comprehensive immigration reform that would include amnesty for undocumented immigrant has not been achieved, another May Day protest was organized.

The second May Day March took place in 2017, but these protests happened all over the world. As reported by Elliot C. McLaughlin (2017) for CNN, "May Day protests turned violent in several cities around the world Monday as 'anarchists' forced police to cancel permits and arrest dozens of protesters in a day meant to celebrate workers and the gains made by labor advocates." The global spread of these protests highlights the need to address immigrant rights as both a national and transnational issue. Although there was violence at some of these rallies, this violence should not be used to distract from the focus on equitable immigration reform and the growing resistance against anti-immigration policies and rhetoric.



Figure **11.5.11**: "Arab, African, Middle Eastern, Muslim, South Asian Immigrant Rights Coalition" (CC BY 2.0; dignidadrebelde via Flickr)

Thus far, multiple examples of organizing and activism by and for immigrants have been discussed, and they would all be considered to be in support of the Immigrant Rights Movement. (See more discussion of the Immigrant Rights Movement in Chapter 11.2). Paul Engler (2009) from the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC) describes the Immigrant Rights Movement as "a vibrant social movement in the United States...emerged to protect these immigrants from discrimination and from many cases of excessively repressive enforcement of immigration laws, as well as to advocate for legislation that will provide a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants." Given the current and dramatic increase of nativism and xenophobia, the Immigrants Rights Movement has had an uptick in organizing efforts and activism. Here are a few examples:

1. #NoKidsinCages is a campaign promoted by The Refugee AND Immigrant Center for Education and Legal Services (RAICES) to support migrant justice and specifically bring attention to the the migrant children that have been separated from their families while still in immigration detention. People can become active by organizing, volunteering, donating, and even getting the word out via social media.
2. Families Belong Together is a campaign "of the National Domestic Workers Alliance formed in response to the 2018 family separation crisis. Families Belong Together works with nearly 250 organizations representing Americans from all backgrounds who have joined together to fight family separation and promote dignity, unity and compassion for all children and families." Like the #NoKidsinCages campaign, folks can become active by volunteering, using social media to get the word out, and signing letters/petitions demanding the shut down of detention facilities and even the resignation of DHS officials.
3. DREAMers the continued battle to finally get the DREAM Act passed has evolved and led to DREAMer activists that are "undocumented and unafraid." Most undocumented youth used to be scared to reveal their status for fear of reprisal, but more DREAMers are now outspoken about their situation and the need for immigration reform (Sabate, 2012). As described by Julissa Treviño (2018),

Beyond pushing for the DREAM Act, activists believe changes in the nation's public discourse present an opportunity to expand the conversation. The face of DACA – and the immigration movement overall – has been high-achieving young immigrants whose accomplishments made them sympathetic to the general public.

While there is no one organization that represents all DREAMers and their allies, United We Dream is the largest immigrant youth-led organization. Similar to the two campaigns listed above, people can become active by signing petitions, starting campaigns, donating to organizations that focus around immigrant rights, and getting the word out through social media.

Future Directions

Research is needed to more deeply understand the values, needs, and stressors in immigrant and refugee families as they transition to new environments. Worry about supporting their families creates stress which can lead to mental health issues. We need to understand the connections between financial worry, labor stability, educational access, and mental health in these families - and find ways to support them. Moreover, we must assess the extent of the impact of contemporary xenophobic and nativistic policies on migrant families and finally provide comprehensive immigration reform that has been desperately needed since 1986 IRCA's amnesty provision.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

12: The State of Human Caging- Incarceration, Policing and State-Sanctioned Violence

By Ulysses Acevedo and Kay Fischer

Learning Objectives

- Analyze representations of race and criminality in the media and its impact on law enforcement discretion;
- Analyze historical roots and contemporary consequences of mass incarceration and heavy policing among communities of color;
- Analyze the intersections of race, class, gender, ability, and sexuality in the context of the U.S. carceral state;
- Evaluate the impact of policing and incarceration as related to settler-colonialism, slavery, white supremacy, and racialization on communities of color;
- Describe and actively engage with anti-racist, abolition, and anti-carceral issues and the practices and movements in Native American, African American, Asian American and/or Latinx communities to build a just and equitable society.

12.1: Introduction
12.2: The Prison Industrial Complex
12.3: War on Drugs and the Age of Mass Incarceration
12.4: Policing, Colonialism, and Slavery
12.5: Is Policing Inherently Racist?
12.6: School-to-Prison Pipeline
12.7: Alternative Solutions
12.8: Summary/Review
12.9: References

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12.1: Introduction

Understanding the Carceral System through Ethnic Studies

> A dark, repressive trend in the business field known as “corrections” is sweeping the United States, and it bodes ill both for the captives and for the communities from which they were captured. America is revealing a visage stark with harshness. Nowhere is that face more contorted than in the dark netherworld of prison, where humans are transformed into nonpersons, numbered beings cribbed into boxes of unlife, where the very soul is under destructive onslaught.
>
> -Mumia Abu-Jamal, 1996, p. 73

In one of her many seminal works, *Are Prisons Obsolete?*, activist, former political prisoner, prison abolitionist, professor, and writer, Dr. Angela Y. Davis, reminds us that the abolition of slavery took one hundred years and that it took the Civil War to legally end this institution. She makes this point, because so many of us in the 21st century can’t imagine a society without the current carceral system. She and many activists and scholars have tied slavery, Jim Crow and the current mass incarceration of African Americans to white supremacy. Davis argues that the U.S. punishment system is entrenched in antiblack racism, and other racialized histories of minoritized people, including Native Americans, Latinx, Asian Americans, and more recently the Muslim and Arab American communities targeted by post-9/11 detention and deportation.

This chapter is organized into distinct themes in order to gain a well-rounded understanding of the carceral state in the U.S. Section 12.1 is a quick introduction to the chapter. Section 12.2 will define mass incarceration and the prison industrial complex (PIC). This section will also help the reader understand how the growing PIC organically created a demand for cheaply run private prisons in the name of profit. This section will also answer the question: "what does modern prison labor look like and where does it come from?" Section 12.3 will focus on the origins of policing and how it is connected to colonialism, western expansion, and slavery. Section 12.4 will contextualize whether policing is inherently racist. To this point, Davis asks, “Are prisons racists institutions? Is racism so deeply entrenched in the institution of the prison that it is not possible to eliminate one without eliminating the other?” (2003, p. 26). In this section, we’ll examine the ways that our current prison and policing systems are intertwined with white supremacy. Racial profiling, violence against indigenous women, controlling black women, and borderland enforcement will also be utilized in the analysis. Section 12.5 provides a deep understanding of the school-to-prison pipeline and the nuanced interconnections of testing and suspensions, schools as prisons, special-needs students, and the militarization of schools. Finally, section 12.6 introduces hope to this chapter by providing evidence of alternative solutions that are being applied such as: the abolition movement, alternatives to school police, redirecting funding for students to thrive, and restorative justice programs.

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12.2: The Prison Industrial Complex

Opening



Figure 12.2.1: Bars 2. (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; Josh MacPhee via JustSeeds)

When introducing the **prison industrial complex (PIC)** I often ask students what PIC means to them? Among many silent and contemplative faces there are students who share their thoughts: it's caging people, school-to-prison pipeline, unfair sentencing, racial profiling, the bail system, etc. In a class, students can often paint an accurate picture with their words. Critical Resistance, a non-profit organization, defines the prison industrial complex as "a term used to describe the overlapping interests of government and industry that use surveillance, policing, and imprisonment as solutions to economic, social and political problems" (What is PIC? What is Abolition, Critical Resistance, Accessed September 16 2022).

Private Prisons

In her book *Are Prisons Obsolete?* Angela Y. Davis states that "the term 'prison industrial complex' was introduced by activists and scholars to contest prevailing beliefs that increased levels of crime were the root cause of mounting prison populations. Instead, they argued, prison construction and the attendant drive to fill these new structures with human bodies have been driven by ideologies of racism and the pursuit of profit" (Davis, 2003, p.84). Furthermore, private prisons have effectively influenced public policy in the chase for profits by utilizing lobbyists to pass laws further criminalizing Black Indigenous People of Color (BIPOC) communities.

Although there are legislative efforts to reverse private prisons in the U.S., especially in California, their impact on individuals, families, and communities are irreversible. The prison industrial complex and the privatization of prisons put the U.S. as the leader in the highest incarceration rates in the world. During the 1980s the rise of justifying harsher sentencing practices was perpetuated by elected officials and the media arguing "that this was the only way to make our communities safe from murderers, rapists, and robbers" (Davis, p. 91). Davis goes on to state that in the year 2001 there were 2,100,146 people incarcerated in the US but that only looking at population sizes erases the stories of those who are incarcerated (p. 92). "According to 2002 Bureau of Justice Statistics, African-Americans as a whole now represent the majority of county, state, and federal prisoners, with a total of 803,400 Black inmates—118, 600 more than the total number of white inmates. If we include Latinos, we must add another 283,000 bodies of color" (p. 94).

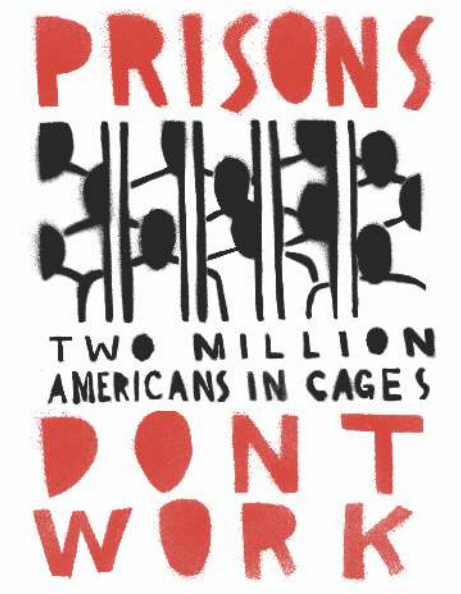


Figure 12.2.2: Prisons Don't Work - stencil stating "Prisons Don't Work" and "Two Million Americans in Cages" with an image of figures behind bars (CC BY-NC 4.0; Josh MacPhee via JustSeeds)

Private prisons function with public funding however work under their own systems in managing prisons and incarcerated people. How do private prisons make money? In answering this question we have to ask another question, how do hotels make money? Both private prisons and hotels share a similar business model whereas the more cells (rooms) and beds are occupied the more money the prison or hotel is making. An empty cell (room) is seen as a lost opportunity to make more profit. “In arrangements reminiscent of the convict lease system, federal, state, and county governments pay private companies a fee for each inmate, which means that private companies have a stake in retaining prisoners as long as possible, and in keeping their facilities filled” (Davis, 2003, p. 95). The business of private prisons is to keep their prisons full, more humans incarcerated ultimately equates to higher profit margins for the prison investors. Also, Davis utilizes the military industrial complex and the medical industrial complex as examples that are “driven by an unprecedented pursuit of profit, no matter what the human cost” (p. 91).

Furthermore, the trend of privatizing prisons is becoming the primary mode which became viable through corporations entering the prison economy and is “reminiscent of the historical efforts to create a profitable punishment industry based on the new supply of 'free' Black male laborers in the aftermath of the Civil War” (p. 93). After the Civil War, slave labor was no longer an option for planters and other emerging industries but the convict lease system, chain gangs, and debt peonage were used for cheap or free labor. One example of corporations doing business in prisons is selling the prisons and inmates products such as Dial Soap, Famous Amos Cookies, AT&T, and health providers (p. 99).

In the case of private prisons, the customers are non-incarcerated humans who expect society to deal with humans who have “broken the law” through punitive justice or incarceration. Non-incarcerated humans are the customers to private prisons because everyone between the working class to the upper class are paying the taxes to pay for the subsidies provided by the federal and state government to private prisons. The funding of prisons by non-incarcerated humans goes unnoticed and unchallenged most of the time. The free population is generally happy when they believe that "bad people" are in cages. For example, have you ever used the phrase *deadline*? An example of its usage- “the *deadline* for the assignment is by Friday at 5pm.” The phrase “deadline” is derived from prison lingo where a corrections officer can shoot and kill a prisoner for crossing over a physical line (or fence) around the perimeter of the prison, hence “deadline.” Prisons as a business use “public safety” to make non-incarcerated humans feel like they are getting their money's worth. Prisons make their customers content when they feel incarcerated people will not escape prisons (think Alcatraz Island).

In an article titled “Sweet deal, but for a few: Private prisons and immigrants,” by Kevin P. Soto (2014) includes a cycle chart titled “follow the money” to demonstrate how money and private prisons relate with one another. The “follow the money” cycle chart includes the following four themes as a fiscal flow to private prisons: incarcerated people, CEO’s getting paid, private prison lobbyist, and prison budgets and policies. This chart is an example of third theme for a business model framework, value capture

which is “the fiscal flows and economic aspects of relations to main stakeholders, such as employees, suppliers, owners, and customers” (Soto, 2014).

Furthermore, the flow chart shows that for private prisons profits are central to the business model and not other factors such as justice or treating incarcerated people and their families with respect. In order to fine tune profitability for stakeholders and their CEO’s private prisons have influenced public policy to secure the perpetual **criminalization** of people in order to fill prison cells and secure profits. It is helpful to understand the influence of private prisons on public policy to be able to reverse the over-policing of poor and BIPOC communities.

It is important to note that there is currently a moral shift (locally and nationally) in the U.S. to undo the damage caused by the practice of private prisons incarcerating humans in the chase of profits. For example in 2019 California passed AB32 which would ban private prisons (including private immigration detention centers) contracts in California and would take effect on Jan. 1, 2020 (Castillo, 2021).

Prison Labor: From Slavery to Convict Leasing

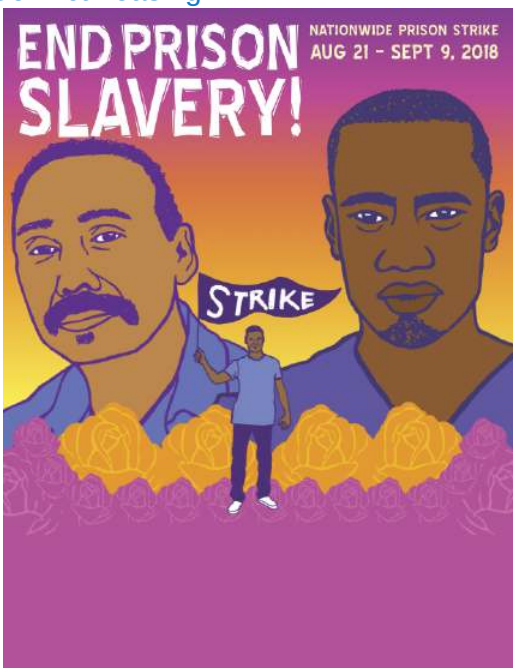


Figure **12.2.3**: End Prison Slavery. A poster on the nationwide prison strike in 2018 that was organized in response to a riot in Lee Correctional Institution, a maximum security prison in South Carolina. Seven lost their lives when prison officials turned their backs on a riot they provoked. (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; Melanie Cervantes via JustSeeds)

The poster in Figure **12.2.3** by Melanie Cervantes calls attention to the Nationwide Prison Strike from Aug 21 - Sep 9, 2018, highlighting the exploitation of modern-day prison labor. Two prisoners are centered in the poster with a man holding a "Strike" flag. Angela Y. Davis explained that the penitentiary system was supposed to be about rehabilitation and providing convicts with time to reflect on the crimes they committed with “penitence.” This was viewed as progressive at the time it was developed (during the era of the American Revolution), compared to the former system of corporal or capital punishment, inherited from England. But, Davis pointed out, such a concept ignored the impact of an authoritarian regime. She wrote:

> The ideologies governing slavery and those governing punishment were profoundly linked during the earliest period of U.S. history. While free people could be legally sentenced to punishment by hard labor, such a sentence would in no way change the conditions of existence already experienced by slaves (2003, p. 28).

Even Thomas Jefferson pointed out that penal labor made no difference in the condition of the slave. Citing the work of Adam Jay Hirsch, Davis summarizes how the daily routines of incarcerated people were controlled by their superiors, much like enslaved people. Both groups were also reduced to complete dependence on others for basic needs like food and shelter, were isolated from the general population, and forced to work for long hours with little to no compensation. Furthermore, Davis pointed out the similarities between prison rules and slave codes.

When slavery was abolished, new laws were passed in southern states rewriting slave codes to monitor the behavior of freed Black Americans. Black codes were applied to specific actions that were criminalized only if the person charged was Black, including vagrancy, absence from work, breach of work contract, owning firearms, or insulting gestures and acts. Davis wrote that there is a long U.S. history of race playing a "central role in constructing presumptions of criminality" (2003, p. 28). Furthermore, the Thirteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution abolished slavery "except as punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been fully convicted" (U.S. Const. amend. XIII).

In fact, Davis argued that the post-slavery criminal justice system in the south was specifically developed in order to regulate the newly attained freedoms of former slaves. Historian Mary Ellen Crutin (2000) found that the prison population suddenly became overwhelmingly Black after slavery. Her research focused on the state of Alabama, where in the years before slavery was abolished, the prisoner population was 99% white. Despite this, Curtin pointed out that, "the popular perception that the South's true criminals were its black slaves" and many white Southerners believed that Black Americans were "inherently criminal and, in particular, prone to larceny" (p. 29). So much so that there were even cases of when white people dressed up to appear "black" or blame crimes on a Black person.

Furthermore, Davis wrote that, "Black people became the prime targets of a developing convict lease system, referred to by many as a reincarnation of slavery" (2003, p. 29). This meant that not only were formerly enslaved people subject to racist laws that criminalized them, but if their alleged crime was coded as a "black crime," their punishment would include forced labor, sometimes in a cruel fate at the same plantations that formerly "thrived on slave labor" (p. 29). To add insult to injury, the punishments inflicted on incarcerated Black Americans during the post-slavery era were the same ones used during slavery, including: whipping, lashes, and chains. Chain gangs and **convict leasing** was ultimately about controlling Black labor, and continued the legacy of slavery. Black prisoners were subject to constant supervision and under watch with the threat of the lash.

Davis found that many scholars researched how convict leasing was worse than slavery. Under slavery, the owners cared about the survival of individual slaves, who represented an economic investment. Competitively, prisoners were leased as groups under convict leasing and were literally worked to death without impacting the profitability. The work conditions were abysmal. For example, in the Mississippi plantations in Yazoo Delta in the late 1880s, prisoners were forced to sleep on the ground without blankets, often without clothes. They were punished with lashes for "slow hoeing" (ten lashes), "sorry planting" (five lashes), "being light with cotton" (five lashes). If people tried to escape and were caught, they would be whipped "till blood ran down their legs." Others had metal spirals riveted to their feet. Many dropped from exhaustion, pneumonia, malaria, frostbite, consumption, sunstroke, dysentery, gunshot wounds, and "shackle poisoning" (which is the constant rubbing of chains and leg irons against bare flesh) (2003, pp. 32 - 33).

Lichtenstein argues that the convict lease system, along with Jim Crow laws, acted as the "central institution in the development of a racial state" (Davis, 2003, p. 34). Capitalists in the South used state resources to access a convict labor force, never having to rely on a waged labor force. Georgia railroads were in fact constructed with Black convict labor. Davis argues that this supported industrialization in the South, including coal and iron mining. She further states, "Black convict labor remains a hidden dimension of our history," making connections to how today we may all take for granted the countless products made through prison labor, including college and university furniture (p. 35). More recently, there's been press covering how the state of California has relied on incarcerated labor to fight wildfires, who are paid only a few dollars a day, while facing life-hazardous conditions. Also, according to a recent report on "Captive Labor," incarcerated people were also on the front lines of pandemic responses, manufacturing hand sanitizer, masks, medical gowns and other personal protective equipment that they themselves were not allowed to use to protect themselves. Incarcerated labor also transported dead bodies, dug graves, and built coffins (ACLU and the University of Chicago Law School's Global Human Rights Clinic, 2022).

To boot, corporations and the government benefit the most from incarcerated labor, ultimately giving clear incentives to incarcerate a larger prison population. Despite convict leasing ending, the "structures of exploitation" remained and are repeated today. The "Captive Labor" report argues that the key beneficiaries of such labor are federal, state, and local governments who offset budget shortfalls by exacting incarcerated labor to maintain the very institutions they are caged in (including preparing food, laundry, cleaning, etc.). State and local governments rely on incarcerated labor for public works projects like maintaining public roads, ditches, and so forth. In Florida, it's estimated that the unpaid prisoner labor is valued at around $147.5 million over five years. There are also state-owned businesses that exploit incarcerated labor to produce certain goods and services. For example,

> In fiscal year 2020, …California's correctional industries program sold over $191 million in manufactured goods, services, and agricultural products produced by incarcerated workers in fiscal year 2020–21. In 2021, the value of goods, services, and commodities produced by the incarcerated workers employed in state prison industries programs nationwide…totaled over $2 billion (ACLU et al., 2022, p. 17).

Finally, Curtin (2000) argues that some newly emancipated Black Americans were made into criminals, being forced to steal in order to survive. Davis (2003) wrote, "It was the transformation of petty thievery into a felony that relegated substantial numbers of black people to the 'involuntary servitude' legalized by the Thirteenth Amendment" (p. 33). In her research, Curtin writes that sometimes accusations of theft were false and charges fabricated, serving as "political revenge" for emancipation. Davis continues, "In this sense, the work of the criminal justice system was intimately related to the extralegal work of lynching" (p. 34).

The drive to chase profits extends beyond just housing humans in prisons. Prison labor is exploited because incarcerated people are a captive workforce with little to no choice in what type of labor they perform and for how much. Prisoners are the cheapest labor force in the U.S.

In her book, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771-1965* (2017) Kelly Lytle Hernández focuses on the history of the carceral state in Los Angeles, California and how caging humans furthered the goal of settler colonialism. She argues that Los Angeles is an important place to study the carceral state because the U.S. is the leader in incarceration rates in the world and Los Angeles has the highest number of humans caged within the U.S., making it the metropolitan area which incarcerates the most people in the world. Hernández's book also aims to tell the story of how Los Angeles was built with prison labor via convict leasing and chain gangs. For example:

> On the chain gang, they graded the intersection of First and Flower streets. They filled in the western approach to the bridge on Buena Vista Street. They graded the intersection of Flower and Courthouse streets. By December 1887, the city council was rejecting bids from private contractors and instead deploying the chain gang to build roads and fix bridges. At the end of Workman's term in January 1888, the city chain gang had participated in the paving of eighty-seven miles of city streets in Los Angeles (p. 58).

Convict leasing is the selling of prisoners' labor to the highest bidder by the prison; historically African American men have been exploited through this method. Typically the labor can be exploited at the prison grounds or prisoners are taken to do the work. There was a rise in the use of convict leasing after the end of the civil war during the Reconstruction period; the usage of convict leasing was one way that forced labor continued even after the end of slavery.

Additionally in Georgia for example, chain gangs were to replace convict leasing in 1908 and were labeled reform laws (Haley, 2013, p. 53). According to the article "Like I was a Man: Chain Gangs, Gender, and the Domestic Carceral Sphere in Jim Crow Georgia," the application of chain gangs did not reduce the number of black women being incarcerated and was used to simultaneously codify what constituted a "woman" and "female" through an intersection with race and labor (Haley, p. 53). The intention for implementing chain gangs in Georgia was to slow down competition between free labor and convict labor but chain gangs continued the same culture of exploiting incarcerated human labor.

Prison labor is also exploited in the service sector. With climate change and historic droughts impacting climate disasters, in particular wildfires. Prisoners have been used as frontline firefighters, groups called fire camps, often being underpaid, undertrained, and under-resourced. In California there are over 35 fire camps made up of incarcerated men and women who are relied on to fight these wildfires and on average earning less than six dollars a day (From Incarceration, 2022). Fire camp critics call this type of labor a modern version of indentured servitude. Moreover, when formerly incarcerated firefighters re-enter society, how does their hands-on work experience help them survive and stay out of prison? Formerly incarcerated firefighters are excluded from a clear path towards becoming a firefighter due to their convictions record. Although there has not been a clear path for trained and experienced formerly incarcerated firefighters to become paid firefighters on the outside, there is a push to validate their firefighting experience and training to be utilized to pursue a feasible career in the field. In the YouTube video titled "From Incarceration to Firefighter" a group called *The Forestry and Fire Recruitment Program* is focused on helping formerly incarcerated firefighters get well paying jobs with fire crews (From Incarceration, 2022).

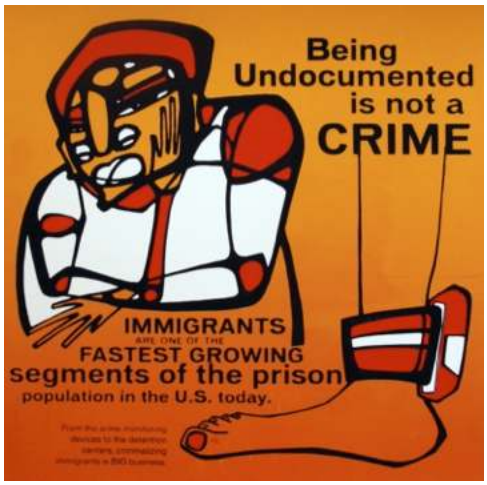


Figure 12.2.4: Undocumented. Created for the Critical Resistance ten year anniversary conference in Oakland, California, 2008. Poster reads: "Being Undocumented is not a CRIME" and "Immigrants are one of the fastest growing segments of the prison population in the U.S. today." (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; Favianna Rodriguez via JustSeeds)

In Figure 12.2.4 by Favianna Rodriguez, it reads "Being Undocumented is not a Crime." In her book, *City of Inmates*, Kelly Lyttle Hernández highlights the history of the rise of incarcerating Mexican immigrants during the 1920s and '30s in Los Angeles and simultaneously attempting to make them legally not “convicts.” One explanation was the rise of Mexican immigration due to labor demands during this time but also the “deliberate steered by particular changes in U.S. law and law enforcement, especially in the realm of immigration control” (2017, p. 131). Despite much pushback “according to the 1924 Immigration Act, an unlimited number of Mexicans would be allowed to enter the United States every year” but they were required to pay the $18 entrance fee, do a literacy test, and a health exam (p. 134). Nativists argued that Mexicans were “like the pigeon [and] he goes home to roost,” that Mexican workers did not intend to settle in the US and therefore were not interested in US citizenship (p. 135). During this time Mexicans in Los Angeles were the largest group in immigrant detention and since the “1896 decision *Wong Wing v. United States*, immigrant detention had lingered in the nation’s carceral landscape as a form of human confinement that was not imprisonment in the legal sense” (p.144).

The last immigration reform in the U.S. was during Ronald Reagan’s presidency through the passage of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA). Although Reagan is infamous for his neoliberal ideologies on the economy, to immigrants who benefited from IRCA he is remembered as the president who granted them legal immigration status. Undocumented immigrants who were living in the U.S. during the 1980s were able to apply for permanent residency if they were able to demonstrate that they were lawful and would not be a burden to the U.S. and use public resources. As a result, the application process included the following: paying legal fees to submit an application, provide letters of recommendation from employers, provide evidence of having access to housing, and providing evidence of being in the U.S. for the required time.

Since the passage of IRCA there has not been another comprehensive immigration reform policy. Immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants in the U.S., are criminalized for entering the U.S. without proper legal documents such as a traveling visa, work visa, permanent resident card, or passport. Although undocumented immigrants do have human rights in the U.S., because of their legal status many undocumented immigrants do not want to have any kind of interaction with law enforcement, even when they are victims of a crime. Although sometimes undocumented immigrants do report crimes, especially around the U-visa process.

Nativism, which is the belief that citizens of a country are superior over non-citizens, has fueled anti-immigration laws in the U.S. Nativist ideologies have also promoted the idea that citizens should have access to resources first, not so-called foreigners. There have been many nativist laws and policies in U.S. history barring immigrants from legally entering the country. Additionally, there have been another set of nativist laws and policies which have attempted to define the limits of access to resources for immigrants and undocumented peoples, further pushing them to the margins of society.

For example, California’s 1994 proposition 187 was designed to create a citizen screening system in order to deny immigrants access to public services such as health care and public education. Soon after the proposition passed, it was challenged and found to

be unconstitutional due to the federal government having the sole jurisdiction on immigration.

In 2005, H.R. 4437 also known as The Sensenbrenner Bill or The Border Protection, Anti-Terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act was another nativist law proposed as a method to supposedly secure U.S. borders and further criminalize undocumented people. The Sensenbrenner Bill was proposed as a result of the fight against the 9/11 attack on the twin towers in New York. A national discussion in the mainstream media emerged about the effectiveness of the U.S. border with Mexico and Canada.

Many of these anti-immigrant policies that came after the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, which aimed at removing national quotas, are examples of crimmigration. **Crimmigration** is defined as the merging of immigration law with criminal law and posing immigrants as lawbreakers usually through a racialized lens (Sen & Mamdouh, 2008, p. 57). Some examples of crimmigration used as a modern nativist strategy are making it illegal to hire undocumented workers, The Sensenbrenner Bill, Arizona's SB 1070, and California's Prop 187. Rinku Sen (2008) argues that "casting foreigners as criminals protects that larger system from critique, and at the same time diverts communities from seeking real solutions" (Sen and Mamdouh, 2008, p. 58). Furthermore, through various laws and policies, crimmigration promotes the notion that an individual must be a citizen in order to be prequalified for basic civil and constitutional rights such as privacy, due process, and the right to not incriminate oneself (Sen and Mamdouh, 2008, p. 60).

A clear example of crimmigration in the US is Arizona's nativist S.B.1070 law (a.k.a. "show me your papers" law) passed in 2010. This bill not only allowed police in Arizona to work with ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) but it required that police ask any person they interact with while on duty for their immigration status, thereby encouraging racial profiling. How did this law criminalize immigrants? According to the ACLU, there were four provisions against SB 1070 considered by the supreme court. First, police demand "papers" and investigate immigration status if they suspect a person is undocumented. Second, police arrest individuals without a warrant if they believe they are a deportable immigrant. Third, immigrants who fail to carry federal registration papers are guilty of state crime. Fourth, immigrants who seek or accept work without authorization are guilty of state crime (ACLU, 2012). Provision 1 was upheld by the supreme court and the other three were struck down (ACLU, 2012).

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12.3: War on Drugs and the Age of Mass Incarceration

The Impact of the so-called "War on Drugs"

> Mass incarceration is mass elimination.
>
> -Kelly Lytle Hernández

Alice Marie Johnson lost her job at FedEx in 1991 and eventually divorced and soon after her son died in a motorcycle accident. For these reasons and due to a gambling addiction, Johnson became involved as a drug mule. In 1993, Johnson was arrested for distributing cocaine and because of mandatory sentencing laws was sent to prison for life. Johnson claimed during the trial that she was never involved in the actual selling of cocaine as a drug mule; she was also not in the business of knowing what she was transporting. Despite having no prior convictions of distributing cocaine, she was made an example and sentenced to life.

After serving 21 years in prison, Johnson had a record of good behavior and because her conviction was non-violent, she requested to be freed earlier for good behavior.

Socialite Kim Kardashian learned about Johnson through social media. According to Kardashian's account, she felt bad for Johnson because she believed that Johnson was a victim of mandatory sentencing laws. How can this nice lady serve life in prison? Soon after learning about the case, Kim Kardashian got involved and used her social influence and network to set up a meeting with then-president Donald Trump to talk about the possible pardoning of Johnson. Kim Kardashian was successful in having Trump pardon Johnson and granting her an early release from prison. Was this a sign of a new wave of prison reform?

Although Kim Kardashian's political ability to have someone released early from prison can be inspiring, it is important to note the countless lawyers and advocates who worked day and night fighting for justice or individuals just like Johnson, but may never be released from prison because no celebrity stood behind them.

What happened to Johnson is not an isolated incident, but a part of a larger system of mass incarceration which amplified with the so-called **War on Drugs**. Richard Nixon's 1971 call for a “War on Drugs” made drug abuse the top political priority. During his presidency, Nixon helped the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) and what would become the fight against the possession and selling of marijuana, cocaine, and crack cocaine.

The New Jim Crow and the Racial Caste System

Upon winning the Oscars for Best Original Song for the song, “Glory,” in the film *Selma* at the 87th Oscars in 2015, John Legend stated in his speech:

> We wrote this song for a film that was based on events that were 50 years ago, but we say that Selma is now because the struggle for justice is right now….We know that right now, the struggle for freedom and justice is real. We live in the most incarcerated country in the world. There are more Black men under correctional control today than were under slavery in 1850 (Penn, 2020, para. 3).

In the 2016 documentary, *13th* (directed by Ava DuVernay), Senator Cory Booker makes a similar assertion as John Legend, stating, “We now have more African Americans under criminal supervision than all the slaves back in the 1850s” (01:23:25).



Figure **12.3.1**: Michelle Alexander giving an author talk at the Miller Center Forum, Dec. 3, 2011. (CC BY 2.0; Miller Center via Flickr)

Michelle Alexander, civil rights lawyer, legal scholar, and author of one of the most groundbreaking and influential best selling books of the 21st century, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, pointed out the same, writing, "More African American adults are under correctional control today—in prison or jail, on probation or parole—than were enslaved in 1850, a decade before the Civil War began" (2020, p. 224). The 13th amendment may have abolished slavery, but it led to mass imprisonment of African Americans for minor offenses. The system of mass incarceration is what Alexander names the *new* Jim Crow, once the old Jim Crow policies were abolished.

Alexander explains that the War on Drugs was the "colorblind" vehicle that drove millions into the prison system, legalizing the discrimination against system-impacted people in employment, housing, public benefits, and more (2020, p. 224). Disproportionately impacting poor communities of color, the War on Drugs requires little maintenance as incarceration of poor people of color is so widely accepted by our society: it is "the new normal." Exposed to decades of media "images of black men in handcuffs" and political messages that incarcerated people are "bad" and deserve to be there, Alexander asserts that we as a nation haven't cared much about this injustice. If you're white and middle class, you may not even be aware of this war. Today people of all colors "in every major political party" have internalized, even embraced, racist stereotypes of the criminality of poor people of color. The outcome is that mass incarceration is seen "as a basic fact of life, as normal as separate water fountains were just a half century ago" (p. 225).

Alexander (2020) writes that most Americans have a serious misunderstanding of how racial oppression works, assuming it's about attitudes, never focusing on how systemic oppression can enforce a type of "racial caste system" through seemingly colorblind methods. She describes how the War on Drugs worked in three stages to cage men of color:

1. Roundup: Black and Brown people are swept up into the criminal justice system due to large police presence and drug operations targeting poor communities of color. Police are allowed to use race as a factor in stop-and-search, despite the fact that people of color are no more likely than whites to be guilty of drug crimes.
2. Conviction: Once arrested, poor people are denied "meaningful legal representation and pressured to plead guilty" (p. 231), as prosecutors will often add additional charges and cannot be challenged for racial bias. Once convicted, the drug war's severe sentencing, including the impact of mandatory minimum sentencing, will lead to people spending more time under the system's control than anywhere else in the world, including under parole or probation, described as an "invisible cage" (p. 231).
3. Period of Invisible Punishment: A term coined by Jeremy Travis, this describes how formerly incarcerated people are legally discriminated against in employment and housing, leading many to eventually return to prison.

The War on Drugs has created a system that's impacted nearly anyone who lives in ghettoized communities in the United States, reinforcing a subordinated status for poor people of color. Alexander proclaims that the nature of the justice system is, "no longer concerned primarily with the prevention and punishment of crime, but rather with the management and control of the dispossessed" (p. 233).



Figure 12.3.2: "Alameda County Superior Court." (CC BY 4.0; Photo by Jordan Burkart)

Michelle Alexander argues that when an individual is arrested, their chances of being free are slim to none, largely due to the arrested being denied “meaningful” legal representation. She continues,

> Most Americans probably have no idea how common it is for people to be convicted without ever having the benefit of legal representation, or how many people plead guilty to crimes they did not commit because of fear of mandatory sentences (2020, p. 106).

Despite what popular crime shows like *Law & Order* purport about a defendant easily accessing representation in the court system, tens of thousands go directly to jails without ever having spoken to a lawyer. Poor people are entitled to counsel, but most offices lack enough time, resources or even the "inclination" to offer competent representation. Public defense lawyers often face large caseloads and the quality of court-appointed counsel is poor due to “miserable working conditions and low pay discourag[ing] good attorneys from participating in the system” (p. 107).

Too often the most vulnerable people are pressured to a plea bargain through a threat of lengthy sentences and additional charges piled on by prosecutors, and never even go to trial. The 2004 American Bar Association reported that defendants plead guilty even if they’re innocent, not fully understanding their rights or what is happening, and there is even less regard for people who are mentally ill or who don’t understand English. Children are the least likely to have access to counsel. In Ohio, as many as 90% of children charged with crimes are not represented by a lawyer.

Prosecutors are the most powerful law enforcement officials in the system, as they are completely free to dismiss a case or add further charges as long as there’s probable cause. In fact, this is a practice known as “overcharging” (p. 109). Alexander explains,

> Never before in our history, though, have such an extraordinary number of people felt compelled to plead guilty, even if they are innocent, simply because the punishment for the minor, nonviolent offense with which they have been charged is so unbelievably severe (2020, p. 109).

This pressure to plead guilty has increased since the War on Drugs. The 1986 Anti-Drug Abuse Act created mandatory minimum prison sentences between five to ten years for low-level drug dealing and the possession of crack cocaine. The sentence for similar offenses in other nations is no more than six months, especially for first-time offenses. The three-strikes laws have also mandated life sentences for anyone convicted of a third offense, thereby transferring power from judges to prosecutors. This practice forces arrested people to plead guilty instead of having to risk a longer prison sentence.

Furthermore, prosecutors even admit to overcharging, including for crimes that they don’t think they could win in court, but that this tactic to “load up” defendants with charges is used to pressure them to plead guilty and get them to snitch. Snitching has increased in recent years due to pressures to “cooperate” with law enforcement through cash incentives but also through obtaining testimony on another case in order to avoid a long sentence. Such testimonies are in fact “notoriously unreliable” and the U.S. Sentencing Commission has admitted that “the value of a mandatory minimum sentence lies not in its imposition, but in its value as a bargaining chip to be given away in return for the resource-saving plea from the defendant to a more leniently sanctioned charge” (p. 111). Although it is difficult to ascertain exactly how many innocent people accept a plea bargain, or how many are convicted due to faulty testimony, some sources estimate that 2-5% of incarcerated people are innocent.



Figure 12.3.3: Who is Where? Poster with the words: hysteria, media, racism, poverty, and "Who is where and why? (CC BY-NC 4.0; Eric Ruin via JustSeeds)

Michelle Alexander clearly states that “the enemy is racially defined” in the U.S.’s drug war, the main targets being African Americans from poor neighborhoods. Decades of anti-poor and anti-people of color tactics have resulted in “jaw-dropping numbers of African Americans and Latinos filling our nation’s prisons and jails every year” (2020, p. 122). The Human Rights Watch reported in 2000 that African Americans constituted 80 - 90% of those sent to prisons on drug charges in seven U.S. states. Black men are sent to prisons on drug charges at twenty to fifty-seven times the rate of white men, and nationwide, the rate of Blacks convicted of drug offenses “dwarfs the rate” for whites. The War on Drugs has affected the Latinx community as well, with their rate of drug admissions in the year 2000 being twenty-two times the number in 1983. Even whites have been impacted by the rise in prison admissions, but at a much smaller rate when compared to Black and Latinx communities (p. 123).

An obvious racial disparity of drug charges against communities of color exist despite the fact that the majority of illegal drug users and dealers nationwide are white; yet three-quarters of the people incarcerated for drug offenses are Black or Latinx. The National Institute on Drug Abuse found that white students use cocaine at eight times the rate of Black students and a nearly identical rate of white and Black high school seniors were found to use marijuana. The National Household Survey on Drug Abuse reported that white youth are more than a third likely to have sold illegal drugs than African American youth. Regardless, the arrest rates and imprisonment of African Americans have been at “unprecedented rates,” even though Blacks were not any more likely to be guilty of drug crimes compared to whites. If any group were most likely to be guilty of illegal drug possession and sales, it was white youth, who visited the emergency room for drug-related causes at three times the rate for African Americans.

Despite the racist Hollywood trope of Black drug dealers and users, Alexander writes that “the prevalence of white drug crime… should not be surprising. After all, where do whites get their illegal drugs?” (p. 124). They don’t drive to the so-called ghetto to purchase drugs from the open-air market; they sell and buy from people of their own demographic. The former director of the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy, Barry MacCaffrey, stated that if your child purchased drugs, “it was from a student of their own race generally” (p. 124).

Knowing this, why are Black and Latinx men more likely to be sent to prison on drug charges? Alexander claims that such glaring disparities cannot be explained by rates of illegal drug activity in African American communities alone, nor is it a result of “old-fashioned” racism in the criminal justice system. Such openly biased ideologies are not easily accepted in the aftermath of the Civil Rights Movements. Instead, there’s been a shift in the racial climate, where people who defend the criminal justice system insist that the system is colorblind - and instead point their fingers to the supposed violent crime rates in African American communities (2020, pp. 125 - 126). Yet, even when violent crime rates have fluctuated, incarceration rates continue to increase. In fact, homicide convictions make up a small fraction of the prison population growth - 0.4%, compared to drug convictions making up 61%. She

goes on that “The general public seems to imagine that our prisons are filled with ‘rapists and murderers,’ but they actually account for a small minority of our nation’s prison population” (p. 126).

Furthermore, 7.3 million are under correctional control, but only 2.3 million are in prison or jail, and of the 4 million on probation, only 19% are convicted of violent offenses. A staggering majority of people on parole were convicted of nonviolent crimes, most commonly drug offenses (Alexander, 2020, p. 127). However, such facts are easily ignored, especially by “politicians, law enforcement officials, and journalists [who] routinely create the false impression that most people branded criminals have been convicted of violent crimes” (p. 128). Alexander argues that these claims perpetuate the myth that prisons house violent people, keeping everyone else safe. Instead, she claims that the system is not concerned about safety, but about the control and marginalization of dispossessed communities, as stated earlier.

The drug war has effectively targeted people of color, creating what Alexander calls a “new racial undercaste - a system of mass incarceration that governs the lives of millions of people inside and outside of prison walls” (p. 129). And how might such a colorblind system lead to racist results? Alexander writes that it turns out that this happened very easily in two stages:

1. First, through the granting of “extraordinary discretion” to law enforcement;
2. and second, by making it virtually impossible to challenge racially discriminatory practices in the criminal justice system.

When police are given free rein to decide who to suspect and arrest, prosecutors given the full discretion to make drug charges, this ostensibly guarantees that both conscious and unconscious racial bias will influence decision making. Such policies also encourage law enforcement to increase their arrest and conviction rates, even when drug crimes are slowing down in certain communities, ultimately having “guaranteed racially discriminatory results” (Alexander, 2020, p. 131). A multitude of studies and surveys show that most Americans have violated drug laws, yet only a tiny fraction are ever arrested and incarcerated. Given that the sale and purchase of drugs are consensual with no reason for either party to contact the police, law enforcement often take a proactive approach and make strategic decisions about which communities to target, often influenced by the political climate.

For example, even before crack cocaine hit the streets, the Reagan administration of the 1980s started a media campaign to build support for the War on Drugs, often highlighting horror stories involving Black crack users and drug dealers. At its onset, most Americans weren’t generally interested in drug use as it was considered a private and public-health issue, but Reagan’s campaign helped to reframe drug-use and dealings as a threat to national order. After the War on Drugs was formally launched, the frame focused on “transgressors,” who “were poor, nonwhite users and dealers of crack cocaine” (Alexander, 2020, p. 132).

Suddenly law enforcement became experts on drugs and called for “law and order.” The evening news was filled with stories about Black drug criminals who, “left little doubt about who the enemy was in the War on Drugs and exactly what he looked like” (Alexander, 2020, p. 132). A 1995 survey found that when asked to “envision a drug user and describe that person to me,” 95% of respondents reported that they imagined a Black drug user, contradicting the reality that whites make up the majority of drug users (p. 133). Law enforcement are equally influenced by such “racially charged political rhetoric and media imagery associated with the drug war” (p. 133). Research on cognitive bias show that conscious and unconscious bias can lead to discriminatory practices, even if an individual doesn’t want to discriminate. This can apply to jurors and law enforcement officials even among individuals who believed in treating everyone equally under the law. Therefore, Alexander argues, it was ultimately *inevitable* that racial bias would shape the drug war, particularly after “blackness and crime, especially drug crime, became conflated in the public consciousness” (p. 135)

The second main reason we have racial discrepancies in drug charges against people of color is due to major court decisions that have made it enormously difficult to challenge racial discrimination in the criminal justice system. Alexander (2020) writes how the Supreme Court adopted “legal rules” that ultimately “maximized” racial discrimination. The 1996 *Whren v. United States* declared that police officers are allowed to use minor traffic violations as the reason to stop any driver and search the vehicle or driver for drugs.

The 1987 *McCleskey v. Kemp* Supreme Court ruling declared that racial bias in sentencing could not be challenged under the Fourteenth Amendment without obvious evidence of conscious, discriminatory intent. This translated to the Court condoning racial bias as long as no one actually admitted that they were consciously acting in a biased and discriminatory manner. This ruling made it impossible to charge patterns of racial discrimination despite surging evidence. For example:

- In Georgia, prosecutors sought the death penalty in 70% of cases involving Black defendants and white victims, but only for 19% of cases involving white defendants and Black victims (Alexander, 2020, p. 138).
- In California, a 1991 study of 700,000 cases showed that whites were much more likely to get a plea bargain than African American and Latinx defendants (p. 148).
- A 2000 report presented that Black youth were six times more likely than white youth to be incarcerated for the exact same crime among those who've never been sent to juvenile prison before (p. 148).

Alexander reminds us that prosecutors have the most power in the criminal justice system, as they are free to dismiss a case, file more charges, offer a good plea deal or not, and have the power to transfer drug defendants to the federal system, and juveniles to adult court. It's almost impossible to prove racial bias without evidence of "explicitly racist remarks" having been made. Alexander concludes that "It is difficult to imagine a system better designed to ensure that racial biases and stereotypes are given free rein - white at the same time appearing on the surface to be colorblind - than the one devised by the U.S. Supreme Court" (p. 149).

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12.4: Policing, Colonialism, and Slavery

Origins of Policing

Most of us are told that the police exist to maintain safety by keeping the "bad guys" off our streets. This narrative is often reinforced through mainstream media, including the news and TV shows that actually often "exaggerate the amount of serious crime and the nature of what most police officers actually do all day" (Vitale, 2017, p. 34). Professor of Sociology and Coordinator of the Policing and Social Justice Project at Brooklyn College and CUNY Graduate Center, Alex S. Vitale wrote in his book, *The End of Policing* (2017), that in reality, crime control is a very small part of policing work. He cited David Bayley, a veteran police scholar who argued that police in fact do not prevent crime, and that is one of the best kept secrets of our society. Bayley (1996) writes,

> Experts know it, the police know it, but the public does not know it. Yet the police pretend that they are society's best defense against crime and continually argue that if they are given more resources…they will be able to protect communities against crime. This is a myth" (Vitale, 2017, p. 35).

Vitali argues that the police work to maintain their legitimacy to the public and that politicians on both sides of the aisle support legitimizing police work. For example, when the shootings of unarmed Black men began to get some media coverage, the overall reaction by mainstream Democrats was to call for police reform, which Vitale argues is a way of restoring legitimacy for the police. This point of view that the issue of racist policing can be addressed by firing a few "bad apples" from our "unbiased system of law enforcement" and that through training, we can create better policing, completely ignores that ultimately the basic functions of police have never been about public safety. It also ignores the function of white supremacy and its impact on policing.

Vitale (2017) points out how the origins of policing stem from three racialized and classed systems of inequality: slavery, colonialism, and controlling the working class (2017, p. 36). Police forces grew in size and legitimacy largely in response to various revolts and social movements that challenged existing systems of exploitation, creating what Allan Silver (1976) called a "policed society" (p. 37). Mark Neocleous, professor of Social and Political Sciences at Brunel University London, wrote that the police exist to "fabricate social order" yet that "order" is rooted in a system of exploitation. If those with the most power feel that the system they're benefiting from is under attack (for example slave revolts, general strikes, and rioting), the police are there to control these activities (p. 37). Vitale concludes,

> Therefore, while the specific forms that policing takes have changed as the nature of inequality and the forms of resistance to it have shifted over time, the basic function of managing the poor, foreign, and nonwhite on behalf of a system of economic and political inequality remains (p. 37).

Additionally, author, organizer, and activist, Andrea J. Ritchie writes that generally people have "exceedingly low" awareness of violence against women of color, stating, "The history I learned in school rarely mentioned Indigenous women's experiences of colonial violence, Black women's encounters with slave patrols and Jim Crow policing, or immigrant women's experiences with policing at and beyond the border" (2017, p. 19). Ritchie asserts that the earliest example of policing in the U.S. came in the form of military violence in which indigenous women and children were indiscriminately violated against to further projects of settler colonialism. This section will also include an analysis of how the origins of policing impacted women of color and immigrant women.



Figure 12.4.1: Sir Robert Peel statue in Greater Manchester, England. (CC BY-SA 2.0; David Ingham via WikiMedia Commons)

The first formalized police force was the London Metropolitan Police founded in 1829 by Sir Robert Peel. The purpose for this force wasn't to "fight crime," but more about "managing disorder and protecting the propertied classes from the rabble" (Vitale, 2017, p. 37). In fact, Peel developed his policing ideas while participating in the British colonial occupation of Ireland. From its inception, policing was about social control to protect those in power against "growing insurrections, riots, and political uprisings" (p. 37). Peel noticed that with the armed occupying forces in Ireland, they dealt with resistance by firing into the crowds and creating martyrs. This would only agitate further resistance by the Irish. Peel instead offered a more "legitimate" force of policing called the Peace Preservation Force who would try to prevent disruption by infiltrating "rebellious localities" and pinpoint "troublemakers" to arrest or intimidate.

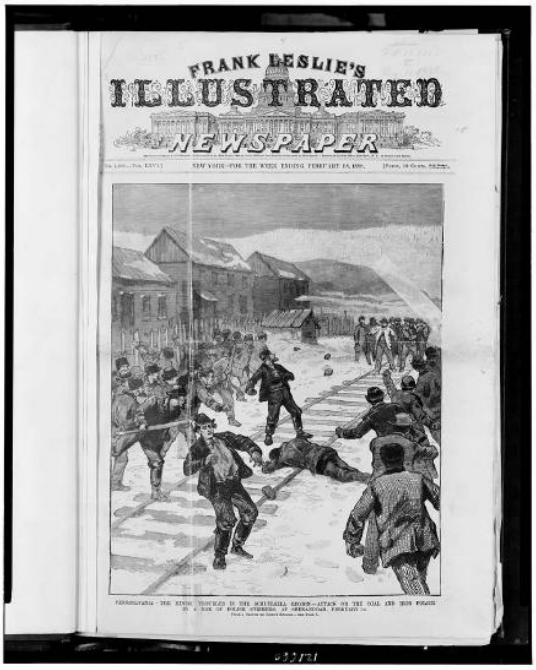


Figure 12.4.2: Striking Polish coal miners in battle with coal and iron police, near Shenandoah City, Pennsylvania.
Illus. in: Frank Leslie's illustrated newspaper, v. 66, 1888 Feb. 18, p. 1. (Public Domain; Joseph Becker via Library of Congress)

In the U.S. police forces were created in the North East to suppress workers' movements and strikes, largely led by poor and immigrant workers. Industrialization and immigration influxes from Europe created social and political upheavals in the early 19th century, and Boston for example, wanted a police force to "to manage riots and the widespread social disorder associated with the working classes" (p. 39). Police were used to deal with workers' strikes, riots, and suppress militant unionism. Privatized police forces backed by state legislation were used to break strikes, such as the Coal and Iron Police of Pennsylvania. The Coal and Iron

Police killed 19 mine workers and wounded dozens in the Lattimer Massacre of 1897. The workers were on strike, protesting very dangerous working conditions and unpaid overtime.

Worker and immigrant suppression was also about controlling a largely poor, Catholic, militant immigrant population that were seen as socially inferior by elite protestants in Boston, New York and Chicago. “Morality laws” restricted drinking, gambling, prostitution, and even dress codes for women, giving more opportunities for police forces to disrupt their lives.

Colonial Police Forces

As early policing in cities was rampant with corruption, it was common for police to be used as “a tool of political parties to suppress opposition voting and spy on and suppress workers’ organizations, meetings, and strikes” (Vitale, 2017, p. 41). Soon, reformers called out the corruption and policing was professionalized through exams, training, and centralized hiring. A reformer by the name of August Vollmer developed police science courses, introduced fingerprinting and police labs. He got his ideas from participating in the U.S. occupation of the Philippines, which became a U.S. colony after the Spanish-American War in 1898. This transition wasn’t smooth, however, as revolutionary Filipinxs led by Emilio Aguinaldo, had been resisting the 400-year reign of the Spanish on their lands, and weren’t about to concede their homes to another colonizer. Filipinx resisters battled the U.S. for over three years in the Philippine-American War.

Unfortunately, the Philippines became a testing ground for new policing methods as U.S. occupation forces monitored anticolonial activities, suppressed demonstrations, and used agent provocateurs to “sow dissent” and arrest leaders and agitators (p. 43). The first state police force, the Pennsylvania State Police of 1905, were in fact modeled after the Philippine Constabulary used to maintain U.S. control. Other methods like militarized espionage and political suppression were also brought from the Philippines to be used on miners and factory workers.



Figure **12.4.3**: Fences. (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0; Erik Ruin via Justseeds)

Washington, D.C. was also intimately involved in creating or influencing other colonial police forces throughout the globe. They sent weapons to and trained military officers in Central America and the Caribbean in order to support US-backed regimes. These U.S.-trained security forces committed “horrific human rights abuses, including torture, extortion, kidnapping, and mass murder” (Vitale, 2017, p. 44). The U.S. also set up forces in Japan, South Korea, and South Vietnam to support their objectives such as using intelligence to quell rebellions. Many who served in these militarized police forces in other countries went on to teach police science or influence policing in the U.S.

In the case of Nicaragua, military forces backing the repressive Somoza family dictatorship received training at the U.S. Army’s School of the Americas in Panama, with origins in the U.S.’s Cold War policy of containment against the spread of communism. Course topics ranged from surveillance to counterinsurgency techniques and interrogation methods. Many of their graduates have participated in military coups and human rights abuses throughout Latin America, alleging that “subversives” needed to be removed for national security. But these so-called subversives could include student groups, union leaders, religious activists and farmers and ultimately led to severely repressive and violent state-sponsored terrorism against civilians (Moulton, 2016, pp. 1373 - 1374).

Death squads conducted mass murders in El Salvador. By 1980, Salvadorians had faced decades of coups, dictatorships, mass land theft, and economic insecurity, including the mass slaughter of 30,000 Pipil Indians in 1932 by U.S.-backed General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez. When the people demonstrated against the government for being left landless and jobless, death squads

responded with mass killings. This included the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero and later rape and murder of four American Catholic nuns. Instead of denouncing the government of El Salvador, the Bush and Reagan administrations rewarded the country with $3.7 billion in aid, 70% of which was used for weapons and war assistance (Gonzalez, 2001, pp. 133 - 135).

Colonialism and Violence Against Indigenous Women

When examining what Ritchie (2017) names “enduring legacies” of police violence, she starts with colonialism and that “the earliest manifestations of policing in the United States took the form of military violence” during the systemic seizer of land, genocide, and removal of tens of millions of indigenous populations. Citing work by Native American Studies author and professor, Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, Ritchie points out that colonial armies and settlers didn’t differentiate treatment of women from men, nor children from adults.

In the 1630s, Puritan settlers began a war against the Pequot people of what’s now called Connecticut, “entering Indigenous villages and killing women and children or taking them hostage” (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014, p. 62). Another mercenary, John Mason, led soldiers to attack a fort occupied by only women, children, and old men, and “Slaughter ensued” (p. 62). After killing Pequot fighters, they set fire to structures and burned the survivors alive.

Upon setting their sights on discovering gold in California, the government supported settler-colonists in their extermination efforts against Native Americans in the state. The *Daily Alta California* wrote in 1849: “Whites are becoming impressed with the belief that it will be absolutely necessary to exterminate the savages before they can labor much longer in the mines with security” (Blakemore, 2020). White settlers were legally allowed to enslave California Natives, take custody of Native children and convict them for crimes and subject them to convict-labor. In 1851, California’s first governor, Peter Hardenman Burnett, used state money to pay and arm militias to kill thousands of Native Americans, including women and children.



Figure **12.4.4**: "Gathering Seeds-Coast Pomo" - Cecilia Joaquin, Pomo woman, using seed beater to gather seeds into a burden basket. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Edward S. Curtis Collection. (Public Domain; Edward S. Curtis, photographer via Library of Congress)

Blakemore (2020) also noted that large massacres in California wiped out entire tribal populations, for example the slaying of 400 Pomo people, again, including women and children by the U.S. Cavalry and volunteers at Clear Lake. It’s estimated that 100,000 Native Americans died in the first two years of the Gold Rush and that the state spent $1.7 million to murder California Natives.

The mass killings and policing of Native Americans transitioned from armies to police forces, with the “explicit goal of targeting Indigenous peoples” (Ritchie, 2017, p. 24). As the “controlling narrative” of Native Americans was that they were “inherently dangerous and violent,” criminal, immoral, promiscuous, lazy, and drunk, such framing justified their criminalization (p. 25). For example, in 1850 the state of California passed a law that legalized removal of California Indians from their land and “indenturing children and adults to Whites” (Johnston-Dodds, 2002, p. 5). This legalized whites to claim Native children for labor, essentially authorizing one to have control over a child’s earning until they were eighteen. The Act also legalized the auctioning of any jobless

Native American labeled a vagrant, making the Native person essentially an indentured servant of any white person who paid their fines.

Texas Rangers - A Western Expansionist Police Force



Figure 12.4.5: Statue outside Texas Rangers Museum. (CC BY-SA 3.0; Pi3.124 via Wikimedia Commons)

The U.S. also has our own examples of colonial policing on the domestic front. Tejana/o/xs found themselves to be subject to second-class status at the conclusion of the U.S.-Mexico War and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Upon the discovery of gold in California and in accordance with the doctrine of Manifest Destiny, over half of Mexico was taken over by the United States, including the state of Texas. In fact, Anglos had already taken over parts of Texas by 1836, making it a state in 1845 (Martinez, 2009). For Mexicans who ended up north of the new border, their lands and political power were taken away, they were segregated in Mexican American barrios, and were concentrated in low-paying industrial, service, or agricultural work.

The U.S. established the Texas Rangers in order to "protect the interests of newly arriving white colonists, first under the Mexican government, later under an independent Republic of Texas, and finally as part of the state of Texas" (Vitale, 2017, p. 45). Their objective was to "hunt down native populations" who white settlers claimed attacked them and accused of stealing cattle. However, it was white settlers who would steal cattle from Mexican rangers, and when the *vaqueros* attempted to take them back, that's when whites would call on the Rangers and accuse Mexican Americans of stealing. Essentially the Texas Rangers acted as "a major force for white colonial expansion pushing out Mexicans through violence, intimidation, and political interference" (p.45). For example, if any Native American or Mexican American person resisted the Rangers, they might have been killed, beaten, or arrested. They were so ruthless that Vitale cited Texas author, Mike Cox, who described the Rangers' intent on driving out or killing the entire Native population of Texas an "extermination campaign" (2008).

In another example of mass violence, the Rangers killed fifteen unarmed residents at the 1918 massacre of Porvenir, Texas. The rest of the community fled to the south of the border. The state legislative hearings about these extrajudicial killings resulted in no formal charges and the records were sealed for fifty years in order "to avoid any stain on the Rangers' 'heroic' record" (Vitale, 2017, p. 45). The Rangers were often written as heroes in the press, where the killing of Mexicans they named as "bandits and outlaws" were celebrated. This praise of anti-Mexican violence continued to be "a model for American policing" into the 20th and 21st centuries, and the 1935 book on the Rangers by Walter Webb even inspired "generations of films and novels iconizing the Rangers, culminating in the 1990's television series, *Walker, Texas Ranger*, starring right-wing martial-arts expert Chuck Norris" (pp. 46 - 47).

Into the 20th century, the Mexican American and Chicanx communities of Texas experienced "Juan Crow," much like Jim Crow segregation and discriminatory practices of the Southeast. They were excluded from certain hotels, restaurants, public pools, and bathrooms. Chicanx residents who tried to vote were met with intimidation by local police, including the Texas Rangers. In Crystal City in 1963, Rangers were used to suppress voter rallies and Chicanx candidates for city council were assaulted and arrested. The Texas Ranger were also used to interrupt the Chicano Movement in Texas, including the farmworkers movement through tactics like intimidation, arrests, and beating protestors (Vitale, 2017, p. 46).

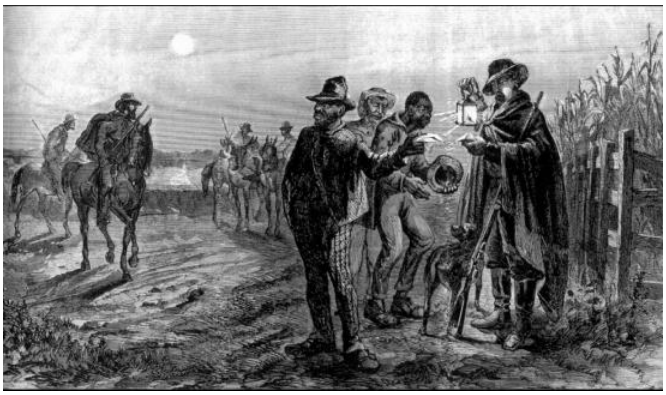


Figure 12.4.6: Passed by Congress in 1793, the "Fugitive Slave Act" not only gave legal credence to the objectification and debasement of black slaves as commercial property, it created a cottage industry of legal bounty hunters. 1863. (Public Domain; Frederic B. Schell via Wikimedia Commons)

Alex Vitale also wrote that, "slavery was another major force that shaped early US policing" (2017, p. 47). Policing in the South has roots in **slave patrols** which were organized to reinforce racist restrictions on enslaved African American populations in the 18th and 19th centuries and to make sure they were suppressing slave rebellions. Slave patrols were allowed to visit plantations and search the premises, making sure that slaves weren't hiding weapons or fugitives, meeting together, or learning how to read or write. Slave patrols also worked to prevent runaway slaves from crossing into the North (Vitale, 2017; James, 2009). Jessica James calls the slave patrol among the first organized and race-based methods of social control in the U.S. Many of these patrols were originally compulsory state militia called "musters," and patrol duty was shared across the classes, as some patrol captains owned slaves (2009, pp. 748-749).

For enslaved women, they were often subjected to "plantation justice," including sexual violence and rape, which were never considered a crime under slave codes (Ritchie, 2017, pp. 26 - 28). Angela Y. Davis (1981) wrote that "Slavery relied as much on routine sexual abuse as it relied on the whip and the lash….Sexual coercion was, rather, an essential dimension of the social relations between slavemaster and slave" (as cited in Ritchie, 2017. Pp. 27 - 28). For Black women, they were also subject to sexual assault if a slave patrol entered their home during a search.

The Charleston City Guard and Watch emerged from slave patrols and was professionalized in 1783. By the mid-1800s, Charleston had 100 City Guards and sixty State Guards who patrolled enslaved people who worked off the plantation property in the industrial era warehouses or workshops. These "unaccompanied" slaves who moved around the city freely with the potential to meet with free Blacks created anxiety among whites, so the City Guards were "deemed essential" (Vitale, 2017, p. 47). Consequently, the entire Black population ended up being surveilled or monitored by armed police, who would typically harass any Black person, demanding to inspect their passes from employers or documents proving they were free.

James (2009) explained that African Americans sometimes resisted by creating warning systems and pretending to be innocent or unknowing when caught. Some even rubbed cow manure on their feet to throw off their scent when dogs were used to track runaway slaves. Others used more force, for example using ropes to trip the patrollers' horses or by throwing hot coals. Although patrols were typically not allowed to kill an enslaved person, since they were considered "property," in these encounters both patrollers and the enslaved might end up dead.

When slavery was abolished, rural towns also transitioned from slave patrols to professionalized policing to deal with the newly freed Black population. Black codes replaced slave codes and were used to control the movement of newly freed people, forcing African Americans into "subservient economic and political roles" (Vitale, 2017, p. 48). Laws against vagrancy were used to submit Blacks into accepting jobs in the sharecropping system and poll taxes were endorsed by the police. For Black women, this meant being subject to working as a domestic servant. If a Black resident didn't have any proof of employment, they would be arrested and subjected to slave labor through the convict leasing system and prison farms. Some sheriffs and judges even received "kickbacks" for arresting Black people and created lists of "hardworking blacks to be incarcerated on behalf of employers, who would then lease them out to perform forced labor for profit" (p. 48). If Black women were not performing "their natural duties as washerwomen and domestic servants," they were subject to punishment (Haley, 2016, as cited in Ritchie, 2017, p. 30).

Furthermore, the Reconstruction era in the south falsely criminalized and targeted Black people to regulate and control this population. Black women were villainized in false newspaper headlines as monstress, crazy, biologically inclined to act "immoral" and deranged, allegedly killing their own children. Citing Patricia Hill Collin's work on how Black women are racialized and gendered, Ritchie points out that Black women are simultaneously hypersexualized and masculinized, "thereby removing them from protective spheres" that are often granted automatically to white women. Ritchie continues, that portrayed as "subhuman, animalistic, to be violated, feared, and punished," violence against Black women by the police is regularly accepted (2017, p. 36).

Soon Jim Crow segregation laws replaced the slave codes and Black codes from the early half of the 20th century. Ritchie (2017) informs us that there were many instances of police brutality cases against Black women during this era, both in the South and North. For example, the Civil Rights Congress filed a petition in 1951 presenting hundreds of cases between 1945-1951 proving genocide against African Americans as a people under the 1948 Convention on the Preventing and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Mrs. Lena Thomas was beaten by the police who were called after she got into an argument with a food checker in Harlem. She successfully sued the New York Police Department for $10,000 in damages (pp. 31-32). There were also instances of rape and sexual assault by police, such as in 1946 when Nannie Strayhold accepted a ride home from two police officers in Virginia and was instead driven to a deserted area and raped by at gunpoint. Women who were actively protesting Jim Crow were "singled out for particularly violent police abuse" such as the case of three women from the US Women's Army Corps who were brutally beaten at a Kentucky bus terminal for sitting in a white section when the "colored" section was full (p. 33). Or how in 1942, years before Rosa Parks, Ella Ree Jones was violently beaten and threatened, then thrown into jail by her hair for refusing to give up her seat to a white man (pp. 33 - 34). Ritchie cites Angela Y. Davis's research which reported how police regularly raped Black women activists who were arrested for their participation in the Civil Rights Movement. In fact, in 1964, Fannie Lou Hamer famously testified on national television about how she was assaulted by the police when under arrest, beaten and stripped naked (p. 35).

At the height of the Jim Crow era, policing became, "a central tool of maintaining racial inequality throughout the South, supplemented by ad hoc vigilantes such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), which often worked closely with - and was populated by - local police" (Vitale, 2017, p. 49). James wrote that in the end,

> Southern police officers adopted methods used by slave patrollers, such as enforcing curfews and vagrancy laws targeted at African Americans. These practices endured well into the 20th century, and terms used during slave patrols, such as *walking the beat* and *patrolling*, have become commonplace in American parlance (2009, p. 749).

Immigration Enforcement

Ritchie (2017) reviews the policies and practices set in order to police the migration of women of color, focusing on how especially women who were considered indecent or undesirable were restricted entry. For example, the first law to restrict migration by race and gender was the Page Act of 1875 which barred Asian women on the presumption that they were prostitutes (p. 38). Immigration laws also banned "homosexuals" or anyone perceived to be sexually deviant, such as the case of Sarah Harb Quiroz, a Mexican mother and US permanent resident who was denied entry at the US-Mexico border in 1960 because of her short hair cut and for wearing pants. She was deported to Mexico, "confirming that immigration enforcement was to operate as if there was no place in the United States for gender or sexual nonconformity, as gender and sexual norms were defined by whiteness" (p. 38). Women of color who were perceived to breed too many children also faced exclusion, such as how in 1920 Japanese women, the wives of Japanese immigrant men, were prevented from entering the U.S. under the idea that they bore too many children which was seen as a threat of Japanese conquest of the west (p. 39).

Chinese women were regularly surveilled under the belief that they were all prostitutes and "purveyors of disease and immorality" which threatened the ideals of the white family. Chinese and Mexican brothels in San Francisco were regularly targeted by the police and if anyone was found to be participating in sex work within three years of entrance to the US, they could be legally deported. Ritchie wrote, "...controlling narratives of immigrant women as importers of vice, disease, and uncontrolled reproduction were mobilized to justify state violence" (2017, p. 39). Asian women were profiled as immoral, hypersexual, and subservient, and Latina/xs were presented as hotblooded, promiscuous, gang members or thieves. Immigrant women of color's motherhood were also "portrayed as a threat to the nation's safety net" (p. 40). And more recently, Haitian, Arab, Muslim, and South Asian immigrant women have also been devised as a threat to the U.S. and as a result Ritchie argues that "these archetypal representations play out in police interactions" (p. 40).

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12.5: Is Policing Inherently Racist?

Racial Profiling under Police Discretion

Michelle Alexander explains that **racial profiling** by law enforcement has long been allowed, a "dirty little secret," legally affirmed by the Supreme Court in 1975 (2020, p. 163). In *United States v. Brignoni-Ponce*, the court upheld the use of "Mexican appearance" as a relevant factor for Border Patrol when deciding to stop someone under suspicion of unlawful presence. Justice Lewis Powell stated, "The likelihood that any given person of Mexican ancestry is an alien is high enough to make Mexican appearance a relevant factor" (Alexander, 2020, p. 164; Andrade, 2014, p. 723).

Despite this and the fact that police officers regularly use race as a factor when deciding whom to stop and search, most or all police departments claim they don't racially profile, convinced that it's only racially profiling if race is the sole factor for stopping someone. Alexander explains that if a group of Black youth are stopped in front of their high school and are dressed similarly in baggy pants, the police can argue that they stopped to search this group because "they look like drug dealers," claiming non-racial factors into their discretion. However, race is still a determining factor if a group of white youth were in the same situation, as they would not be stopped. She writes, "Similarly situated people inevitably are treated differently when police are granted permission to rely on racial stereotypes when making discretionary decisions" (2020, p. 165).

Additionally, seemingly race-neutral factors such as "prior criminal history" that will influence whether prosecutors will throw the book at Black youth with multiple arrests, are not actually race-neutral. This is because people living in racially segregated ghettos that face heavy policing are more likely to encounter police and be arrested for possession, let's say of marijuana, while, for example, a white college student who smokes pot in his dorm room will not have a record even if his use of drugs may be no less than the Black youth in poorer communities. Such practices actually "...often exacerbat[e] racial disparities created by the discretionary decision to wage the War on Drugs almost exclusively in poor communities of color" (Alexander, 2020, pp. 165 - 166).

Further, Alexander explains that police are "highly adept" at pointing to race-neutral explanations for overwhelmingly stopping and searching African Americans such as failing to use the turn signal or because one seemed nervous around police. As long as officers and prosecutors don't use explicitly racist terms, and "the good sense not to say 'the only reason I stopped him was 'cause he's black,' courts generally turn a blind eye to patterns of discrimination by the police" (2020, p. 166). Despite denial by police that they practice racial profiling, multiple studies have proven otherwise.

Driving While Black or Brown



Figure **12.5.1**: "Stop Racial Profiling" - Supporters of Dontre Hamilton who was shot and killed by police, at the Police and Fire Commission Meeting, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. November 8, 2014. (CC BY-NC 2.0; Joe Brusky via Flickr)

A famous study was conducted in New Jersey and Maryland in the 1990s which demonstrated how a federally funded program called Operation Pipeline, stemming from the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), "resulted in 'a dramatic pattern of racial bias in highway patrol stops and searches'" (Alexander, 2020, p. 166). Even though only 15% of all drivers on the New Jersey Turnpike were people of color, they made up 42% of all stops by police and 73% of arrests were of Black drivers. This was despite the fact that Black and white drivers violated traffic laws at the same rate. 77% of consent searches were of people of color. In

Maryland, Black people made up 17% of all drivers on the I-95 outside Baltimore, yet they made up 70% of those stopped and searched by police (p. 167). Once stopped, whites were in fact more likely to be found carrying illegal drugs or contraband in their vehicles in both states. In New Jersey whites were more than twice as likely than African Americans to be found with drugs and contraband and five times more likely than Latinx drivers. Despite this truth, whites are stereotyped to be less likely to carry drugs so they face far fewer stops, searches, and arrests.

Studies analyzing the racial demographics of police stops of vehicles support the claim of racial profiling by police:

- Of the 1,000 stops by state troopers on a Florida highway, 80% of drivers stopped and searched were African American or Latinx, despite making up only 5% of all drivers on the road (p. 168).
- In Illinois, Operation Valkyrie targeted Latinx drivers, making up 30% of those stopped and searched for drugs by state police, even though Latinx residents only made up 8% of the state's population and 3% of drivers. They were also much less likely than whites to carry illegal contraband.
- A racial profiling study in Oakland, CA in 2001 found that African Americans were twice as likely as whites to be stopped and three times more likely to be searched by police.
- The San Francisco Chronicle found in 2022, that despite decades of gentrification pushing out the Black population of this city, African Americans are *still* more than 5 times more likely to be stopped.

A recent San Francisco Chronicle article pointed out that racial profiling in the state of California is still a major issue, even after decades of new training and policies created to curb racial profiling and "confront the unconscious bias" among police (Gardiner and Neilson, 2022, para 1). The state attorney general's data revealed that Black people in California are still facing disproportionate stops by police between 2019 and 2020. In San Francisco and Los Angeles, Black people were six times more likely than whites to be stopped by the police even after factoring in relative city demographics. In Oakland, Black people were 5.3 times more likely to be stopped, in Sacramento, 3.7 times more likely. This study also found that even though African Americans were stopped and searched more often than whites, they were *less* likely to be carrying contraband than whites. Still Black people faced heavy use of force against them in their interaction with police.

Police agencies and officers were defensive, claiming that the racial disparities didn't consider how police more regularly patrolled low-income communities of color, which led to disproportionate arrest rates (Gardiner and Neilson, 2022, para 26). However, the state also analyzed data of police stops during the night, when officers can't see faces as clearly, and found that the racial discrepancy rates between Black, Latinx, and white people fell by two percentage points. This suggested that "officers' perception of race is playing a role on its own - not just the neighborhood type or arrest rates" (para 28).

Stop-and-Frisk



Figure **12.5.2**: Tens of thousands of people, led by Rev. Al Sharpton and NAACP President Benjamin Jealous, marched silently in New York to protest the police policy of making random anti-crime street searches. June 17, 2012.
(CC BY-SA 2.0; Michael Fleshman, photographer via Flickr)

Found unconstitutional in 2013 (Goldstein, 2013), the **stop-and-frisk** policy enforced by the New York Police Department (NYPD) allowed officers to use discretion when deciding whom to stop, interrogate and search. Unsurprisingly, this practice led to the targeting of Black and Latinx people, who made up the vast majority of those harassed by police. Michelle Alexander wrote that the NYPD began collecting data after the violent killing of Amadou Diallo in 1999, an unarmed African immigrant from Guinea,

fired at by four plainclothes officers a total of 41 times. The officers were found not guilty. Facing pressure after massive protests and outcry from the community, the NYPD released statistics from 2007 that showed that police stopped over 500,000 pedestrians, often making people lie face down on the concrete, stand spread-eagle against a wall, and searched and groped aggressively as people watched or walked by. Black people were stopped at six times the rate of whites, but resulted in less arrests because they were less likely to be found with drugs (Alexander, 2020, p. 169). Data from 2008 showed that 80% of those stopped by NYPD officers were Black and Latinx (p. 170).

The highest concentration of stops were in the Brownsville neighborhood of Brooklyn, where a majority of residents were Black. They faced a stop rate of 13 times the average for the entire city. At its height in 2011, under the mayorship of billionaire Michael Bloomberg, NYPD made nearly 700,000 stops of largely Black and Latinx people (New York Civil Liberties Union, 2019). The justification was to reduce crime and get guns off the streets, but less than 1% of the stops resulted in finding guns and African Americans and Latinx people were less likely than whites to have guns.

Stopped by police in the summer of 2011, Alvin, a local teen, secretly recorded the interaction. He stated that he was just stopped two blocks back, and we can hear the police officer replying, “because you look very suspicious.” Then we hear a scuffle between the officer and the teen, Alvin pleading, “why you push me like that for?” and the officer swearing at him. The recording also caught the officers threatening to hit Alvin, threatening to take him to jail, and stating that he was being arrested “for being a fucking mutt” (Tuttle, 2012).

Alexander wrote that stop-and-frisk operations functioned as

> …humiliating, demeaning rituals for young men of color, who must raise their arms and spread their legs, always careful not to make a sudden move or gesture that could provide an excuse for brutal—even lethal—force. Like the days when black men were expected to step off the sidewalk and cast their eyes downward when a white woman passed, young black men know the drill when they see the police crossing the street toward them; it is a ritual of dominance and submission played out hundreds of thousands of times each year (2020, p. 170).

More importantly, this routine contact between the police and men of color served as “a gateway into the criminal justice system” and as a way to collect personal information on individuals not yet in the criminal database; these are the very same data used by police, prosecutors, employers, and housing officials to create barriers for this community (Alexander, 2020, p. 171). Other metropolitan city police departments like the LAPD have also collected an overwhelming amount of personal data on young Black men in the city, including their names, addresses and more. In Denver, it was found that 80% of all people of color in the city were on the police’s list of criminal suspects (p. 171).



Figure 12.5.3: "Abolish Guantánamo." For 20 years, the U.S. has operated an extralegal military prison and torture facility for Muslim men on Cuban soil in Guantánamo Bay. This must end!
(CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; Aaron Hughes via Justseeds)

Irum Shiekh, Ethnic Studies professor at University of Oregon, explained that she was inspired to research post-9/11 detentions because her own two brothers were investigated by the FBI. She wrote that they were targets of discrimination because of their ethnicity and religion, reminding her of "the Japanese Americans who, during World War II, were harassed and ultimately sent to internment camps because of their race and national origin" (2011, p. 2). In fact, a pattern of racial profiling by law enforcement of "Muslim-looking" men and communities began after September 11, 2001, all in the name of national security. Shiekh continues that one major difference was that the sweeps by the government were on a narrower scale (compared to Japanese American incarceration) and based on "immigration status and Muslim appearance" (p. 2), a difference which allowed for a perception that they were targeting "real terrorists." Targeting immigrants, who were "much easier to harass and detail legally," helped sustain the U.S. wartime "tradition of creating domestic enemy aliens" (p. 2).

It's important to note that not all Muslims are Arab or from the Middle East and vice versa. However, due to the legacy of Orientalist framing of Arabs as "the Other," and a relatively newer history of anti-Muslim and anti-Arab framing rooted in U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East since the 1960s, Muslims and Arabs are often conflated in the U.S. There have been other law enforcement operations and surveillance of Muslim communities before 9/11 happened, including the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act that impacted civil liberties of Muslims (Shiekh, 2011, p. 7). Shiekh points out how anti-Muslim framing demonized the entire Islamic religion as the enemy of the West, capitalism, democracy, and Christianity, helping to create "the image of Muslims as terrorists who are barbaric, savage fundamentalist, and inhumane" (p. 8). The 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon ultimately "provided the catalyst for rounding up and deporting over 1,000 Muslims in the three months after 9/11" (p. 8).

The U.S. government initiated several policies that allowed law enforcement to question and detain Muslims on suspicion of terrorism. The U.S. PATRIOT Act adopted October 26, 2001, "expanded the state's power to wiretap, question, and keep individuals under surveillance" (Shiekh, 2011, p. 15). This "War on Terror" has wrongfully associated Muslim, Arab, and South Asian people to terrorism and 9/11 attacks, displacing blame on the most vulnerable of these communities. Further, the extralegal military prison camp, Guantánamo Bay opened in 2002, leading to the detainment, abuse, and torture of hundreds of so-called terrorism suspects sent to imprisonment without due process. Guantánamo Bay has become what the ACLU calls "a symbol of injustice, abuse, and disregard for the rule of law."

9/11 Detentions

"9/11 detentions" refers to people who were arrested after 9/11 on suspicion of terrorism and held under unrelated immigration or criminal charges. The number detained is unknown, but the government shared that they detained 1,182 people in the two months

after 9/11 (Shiekh, 2011, p. 8). Of this group, the majority are from predominantly Muslim nations including Pakistan, Egypt, Turkey, Yemen, Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and more. They also included individuals who were British and French citizens. Shiekh speculates that even though none of the 9/11 hijackers were from Pakistan, many Pakistanis were targeted by law enforcement (33%) because they were working in low-paying jobs in public spaces (taxis, restaurants, newspaper stands) "and stood out because of their brown skin color" (p. 9). Furthermore, a majority of arrests (62%) happened in New York even though other areas had larger populations of Arabs and Muslims. The Office of the Inspector General's (OIG) report found that guards at the Metropolitan Detention Center in Brooklyn, New York had lost relatives and friends on 9/11 and "harbored anger and vengeance toward the detainees" (p. 9) perhaps explaining why so many arrests were concentrated in New York.

A majority of arrests since 9/11 happened because of tips and racial profiling, meaning "individuals who slightly resembled the 19 hijackers - those whom officers perceived as being from the Middle East - were subject to surveillance, questioning, scrutiny, and detentions" (Shiekh, 2011, p. 10). Due to the nature of racial profiling, many non-Muslims were stopped and questioned by law enforcement as well, especially Sikhs and Hindus, and depending on the individuals stopping them, sometimes arrested. The general public also called FBI tip hotlines which were mostly based on "fear, ignorance, and hearsay," the callers attributing "suspicious activities" to "Arab men" (p. 12). Undocumented immigrants were largely targeted and ultimately deported for immigration violations having nothing to do with terrorism. Michael Welch's *Scapegoats of September 11* (2006) argued that undocumented Muslim men were targeted because they were easy to hold under immigration laws, not because they had any actual links to terrorism (Shiekh, 2011, p. 14). Lacking political power, undocumented immigrants were the most vulnerable to abuse since they were not familiar with immigration laws, and many didn't have any family to support them outside the jail. Shiekh also states that undocumented immigrants "bore the brunt of antiforeign sentiments because they lacked public sympathy and support" (p. 15).

In the aftermath, many human rights organizations published reports on disappearances of people, the lack of transparency, and mistreatment of detainees, including a March 2002 report by Amnesty International which brought concerns about harsh conditions, prolonged detentions, and possible violations of international law (Shiekh, 2011, p. 17).

NYPD Spying on Muslim Communities

In 2001, the New York City Police Department (NYPD) established a secret surveillance program called Demographics Unit, targeting Muslim communities within the city and in surrounding states. With help from the CIA, this unit listened in on conversations at mosques, assembled databases on where Muslims shopped, worked, and prayed, and the police infiltrated Muslim student groups and placed informants in local mosques. The Associated Press (AP) were the first to report leaked documents about this program in 2011 and reported a year later that this unit "never generated a lead or triggered a terrorism investigation" (Goldman and Apuzzo, 2012, para 1). Once the report about this unit got out, Mayor Bloomberg and supporters defended the program, arguing it helped to keep the city safe, and held the police department's "counterterrorism tactics as a model for the rest of the country" (para 6).

Chief of NYPD Intelligence Division, Paul Galati admitted under sworn testimony that the police gathered information on individuals even where "there is no evidence of wrongdoing, simply because of their ethnicity and native language" (Goldman and Apuzzo, 2012, para 8). He gave examples of when police collected information on men speaking Urdu, one of the national languages of Pakistan, stating, "Most Urdu speakers from that region would be of concern, so that's why it's important to me" (para 15). In another example, Galati discussed eavesdropping on a conversation in a Lebanese cafe no matter the topic, simply because a customer could be "a sympathizer to Hezbollah because Southern Lebanon is dominated by Hezbollah" (para 17). Despite the request by some members of Congress that the Justice Department investigate the NYPD, John Brenna, President Barack Obama's top counterterrorism adviser, stated that he was confident that the NYPD was acting lawfully and is keeping the city safe.

But who is actually being kept safe? A report by the Creating Law Enforcement Accountability & Responsibility (CLEAR) Project of CUNY School of Law in collaboration with the Muslim American Civil Liberties Coalition (MACLC) and the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF) found among interviews with American Muslims in the city that the surveillance program caused "a climate of fear and suspicion," impeding on their constitutionally protected rights to political and religious freedom. The report also found that spying by the police resulted in mistrust in law enforcement (CLEAR Project, 2013, p. 4).

The report uncovered how places of worship were the focus of the NYPD's secret unit, mapping, surveilling, and infiltrating at least 250 mosques. Amira (aliases have been used to protect the identities of interviewees), a 22-year old Sunday school teacher

stated: “Everyone in the community knows that our mosque is being surveilled.... A few years back they used to just park this undercover car outside the mosque. They would just watch people walk in and out” (CLEAR Project, 2013, p. 12). Many shared that people stopped attending mosques because “the risk of subjecting oneself to being featured in a police file is reason enough to cease attending the mosque or praying with other Muslims” (p. 14). Imams who were interviewed shared that they “felt that their own ability to fulfill their role as spiritual advisors and guidance were hindered by surveillance,” unable to guarantee confidential consultations or that they avoided one-on-one consultations because they were never sure if someone was an informant or not (p. 15).

The report also found that American Muslims would be targeted for “appearing to be a certain type of Muslim” such as wearing a hijab (headscarf) or growing a beard. Assia (alias), an interfaith community organizer, stated that dressing in a certain way “has become charged with suspicion. A hijab or a beard isn’t just about being different and not fitting in. But now, it’s not just that, it’s also that people will see me as prone to violence” (CLEAR Project, 2013, p. 15). Some younger people shared that their parents didn’t want them to join the Muslim Student Association (MSA) at school or wear a Muslim hat, worried that it would draw “police scrutiny” (pp. 15-17).

Interviewees in this report also noted how their free speech and engagement in political expression were also stifled due to fears of police surveillance. Therefore, the report notes that “it is clear that the surveillance program has, in fact, quelled political activism, quieted community spaces and strained interpersonal relationships….many American Muslim organizations and individuals hesitate to participate in protests, to lobby, and to speak out” (CLEAR Project, 2013, p. 20). Police surveillance, especially on college campuses, have resulted in self-censoring in the classroom by Muslim students, out of concern of police scrutiny, but also classmates and professors misinterpreting their views (p. 44).

Many in the community have come out to criticize this spying program by the NYPD, attending rallies, press conferences, and participating in boycott and media campaigns. Some organizations have broadened their campaigns and collaborated with larger calls for police accountability, connecting issues of profiling Muslim communities with broader issues of racial profiling and policing in communities of color (CLEAR Project, 2013, p. 46). Activists and advocates have demanded an end to surveillance programs, hearings on activities by the NYPD’s intelligence division, legislation prohibiting racial profiling and other bias-based profiling, and more. Some have filed discrimination lawsuits against the city, police department and mayor.

In 2018, a settlement from a suit on illegal spying of Muslims by the NYPD resulted in the dismantling of their surveillance unit and an agreement to end religious-based surveillance in the future in New Jersey as well as New York. The settlement also included a payment of damages to businesses and mosques totaling $47,500 and $25,000 to individuals targeted (Pilkington, 2018).

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12.6: School-to-Prison Pipeline

Punishing Children

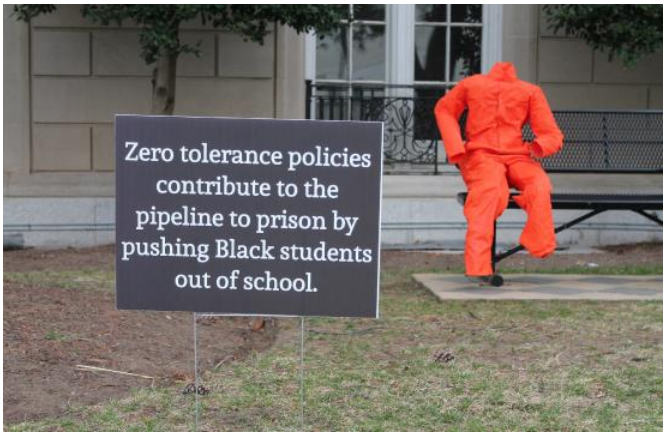


Figure 12.6.1: "Disrupting the Cradle to Prison Pipeline" Art Installation by Ndume Olatushani at the United Methodist Church Building, Washington, D.C. 7 March 2017. (CC BY-SA 2.0; Photographed by Elvert Barnes via Flickr)

Figure 12.6.1 is a photo of an art installation by Ndume Olatushani. Pictured is a stuffed orange jumpsuit placed in a sitting position on a bench with a sign reading: "Zero tolerance policies contribute to the pipeline to prison by pushing Black students out of school." Angela Y. Davis wrote: “When children attend schools that place a greater value on discipline and security than on knowledge and intellectual development, they are attending prep schools for prison” (2003, pp. 38 - 39). This is what many today now call the **School-to-Prison Pipeline**, a metaphor for the manner in which disproportionate methods of punishment are enforced against students of color, LGBTQ, and Disabled students, which often lead them to be entangled in the criminal justice system. How did we get here?

Alex S. Vitale wrote that trends in the late 1990s toward harsher punishment and the rise of prisons, in combination with the increased presence and role of School Resource Officers (SROs), have contributed to this problematic pattern. The phenomenon of children being policed in schools multiplied over the last twenty years and by 2017, 40% of all schools had police officers present on campus, and involved in school discipline enforcement rather than just maintaining security. The rise of SROs was due to our Justice Department’s “Cops in Schools” program which contributed $750 million to hire 6,500 school police. Vitale continues:

> While many of these officers work hard to maintain a safe environment for students and to act as mentors and advisors, the overall approach of relying on armed police to deal with safety issues has led to a massive increase in arrests of students that fundamentally undermines the educational mission of schools, turning them into an extension of the larger carceral state and feeding what has come to be called the school-to-prison pipeline (pp. 55 - 56).

Several reasons contributed to the justification of adding police in more schools, including a theory argued by conservative criminologist John DiLulio in the 1990s that the U.S. would be met by “a wave of youth crime driven by the crack trade, high rates of single-parent families” and other racist stereotypes used to blame supposed declining values. DiLulio argued that these youth were “hardened criminals,” quoting then-district attorney of Philadelphia, Lynne Abraham, who warned of “...elementary school youngsters who pack guns instead of lunches” with “absolutely no respect for human life” (Vitale, 2017, p. 56; DiLulio, 1995, para 2). This is the same DA who’s nickname was “the Queen of Death” for the unusually high number of death sentences she pursued during her tenure (Pilkington, 2016, para. 21). Such ideas were motivated by racist assumptions that are completely baseless and proven false since juvenile crime declined over the years. Regardless, the “superpredator” myth remained and led to new laws that more easily led to the caging of children and increased police presence in schools.

Another justification for increased policing of school children was the Columbine school shooting in 1999 in a white middle-class community. Two white high school students massacred twelve students and a teacher even though there were armed police on campus. The general response was to “get tough on crime,” calling for more armed police in schools, and ignoring the “underlying social issues of bullying, mental illness, and the availability of guns” (Vitale, 2017, p. 57). This, plus more punitive measures

including “zero tolerance,” led to increased rates of suspensions, expulsions, and arrests often based on little evidence and for very minor offenses.

Next, Vitale argues that the rise of “neoliberal school reorganization” prioritizing high-stakes testing, led to reduced school budgets and an enforcement of more punitive disciplinary policies. With the survival of schools and teacher pay being based on testing outcomes, “a pressure-cooker atmosphere” was developed, pitting student interests against those of teachers and administrators. Administrators were motivated to “get rid of” students who “dragged” the school’s scores due to low performance or disruptive behavior, giving them a substantial incentive to drive out students through suspensions, expulsions, or by letting them drop out.

Testing and Suspensions

Unfortunately, along with the reshifting of priorities on high-stakes testing in our schools, came the dismantling of the arts and also individualized learning. Students grew listless and uninterested, leading to more discipline problems in the classroom. There was a rise in suspension and expulsion rates, even arrests of students, helping to push youth into the criminal justice system.

In North Carolina, short-term suspension rates increased by 41% and long-term by 135%; racial disparities existed in suspension rates, as Black students were 3.5 times more likely to be suspended. By 2008, twice the number of SROs were employed, leading to over 16,000 arrests of students (Vitale, 2017, p. 58). The state of Florida adopted high-stakes testing by the late-1990s and out-of-school suspensions increased by 20% by the year 2003. In the next year, 28,000 students were arrested *at* school, a majority for reasons that were minor offenses that previously would have been dealt with by school staff. More students were classified as disabled, being taken out of the testing pool and graduation rates fell to 57% by 2006, the 4th lowest in the U.S (p. 58).

Vitale points out Texas as being at the “epicenter of this transformation…where privatization and drastic cuts to the public sector [met] the expansion of punitive mechanisms of social control” (2017, p. 58). Zero-tolerance policies supported the removal of low-performing and disruptive students from the school, and “suspension rates went through the roof - 95 percent of them for minor infractions” (pp. 58 - 59). By 2010, the state of Texas had 2 million suspensions, a vast majority for “violating local code of conduct.” Called “supermax schools,” by journalist Annette Fuentes in her ground-breaking book, *Lockdown High* (2013), she argued that these schools, backed by for-profit corporations with ties to Republican leaders, acted more like prisons than places of learning. Implementations of fingerprint scanners, metal detectors, surveillance, and punitive disciplinary systems treated students as criminals, and suppressed youth rights and educational freedoms. The scarce external evaluations of these schools “found terrible performance and prison-life conditions” (p. Vitale, 2017, p. 59).

Vitale continues that, “The ultimate expression of this transformation in education is the charter-school movement, which fully embraces high-stakes testing and punitive disciplinary systems” (p. 59). This allowed even less experienced teachers to be hired and led to even more restrictive and punitive rules that continued to target the removal of students who may have lowered the school test scores. Vitale cited a PBS NewsHour segment in 2015 that found a charter school suspending kindergarten students. A principal at Success Academy, part of the largest charter school network in the city of New York, suspended 44 kindergartners and first graders in 2014. The CEO of Success Academies, Eva Moskowitz defended this practice, stating, “If you get it right in the early years, you actually have to suspend far less when the kids are older, because they understand what is expected of them” (PBS NewsHour, 2015). Some Success Academy schools had a suspension rate of 23%, while the public school suspension rate was 3%. Some parents were threatened with calls to the police if a child’s behavior didn’t improve (Vitale, 2017, p. 60). He pointed out that this inevitably pushes out a high rate of students and the charter school system can claim a high graduation rate since students leave voluntarily.

Schools as Prisons

Boarding Schools enrolling kidnapped Native American children should be recognized as one of the first systematic ways that children of color have been incarcerated and punished in schools. To learn more, see Chapter 4, section 4.4 under "Assimilation, Boarding Schools and Adoption."

Today, schools are resembling prisons more and more, and relying on punishment of school children. Further, patterns of increased punishment in schools have coalesced with the rise of mass incarceration in general over the past few decades. In the setting of the rise in “three strikes” laws and mandatory minimum sentencing, President Bill Clinton instituted the Gun-Free Schools Act, preceded by “zero tolerance” school policies, and an overall increase of harsher punishment, metal detectors, video surveillance, and more school police. Vitale wrote that such policies actually “led to the growing criminalization of young people, despite falling

crime rates" (2017, p. 61). The Department of Education, for example, reported that 92,000 arrests were made in the 2011-2012 school year and a study by the Justice Policy Institute expressed how campuses with SROs had five times the arrest rate of schools without SROs, even after controlling for the race and income of students.

Sidebar: graph on arrest rates at schools with SROs

Check out Vox's 2015 article, "The school-prison-pipeline, explained" and scroll down to a graph by Justice Policy Institute. The graph demonstrates how schools with SROs have higher arrest rates of students, showing that the presence of school police only serve to criminalize student behavior.



Figure **12.6.2**: Schools Not Jails. From rally and teach-in at Manual Arts high school in L.A. October 8, 2009. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; ACLU of Southern California via Flickr)

The impact of such practices have been disastrous for marginalized students, especially students of color, students with disabilities, and LGBTQ students. Vitale reported that schools with more students of color are more likely to have these policies set in place and produce higher suspension, expulsion, and arrest rates. In a 2011-2012 survey by the U.S. Department of Education, they found that Black, Latinx, and special-needs students were disproportionately vulnerable to criminal justice actions in schools. Black students made up 27% of those referred to law enforcement, despite only making up 16% of school enrollment, and 31% were subject to arrests. White students made up 51% of school enrollment, yet only made up 41% of those referred to law enforcement and 39% arrested. In Chicago, Black students were 27 times more likely than white students to be arrested, and more than half were children under the age of fifteen (2017, p. 61). The arrests are often for small acts of disobedience or disruptions like using one's cell phone or disrespecting a teacher.

Vitale found that schools with SROs were more and more likely to turn over disciplinary actions to the police, "...finding it easier just to have a police officer come in and remove and arrest a student than to put in the hard work of establishing a reasonable classroom environment through enlightened disciplinary systems" (2017, p. 62). Creating an effective school environment takes time, work, and resources, and Vitale points out are "a lot cheaper than paying for extra armed police" (p. 62).

Similarly, suspension rates are racially disproportionate. A 2010 study by the Southern Poverty Law Center of 9,000 middle schools reported that 28% of Black male students were suspended three times as often as white male students. Black female students were suspended at four times the rate of white female students. Special needs students are targeted as well. The Children's Defense Fund, Ohio found similar disproportionate rates, with Black students being four times more likely than white students to be suspended. Vitale notes similar results in studies all across the nation (2017, p. 62).

A 2022 investigative report by ProPublica found that Gallup-McKinley County Schools in New Mexico state, which enrolls more Native American students than any other public school district in the U.S. (most of them Navajo), disproportionately disciplined Native students compared to white students. The district alone was responsible for at least 75% of Native expulsions statewide, while in the entire state of New Mexico, the expulsion rate for Native students was 13 times the rate for white students from 2016 - 2020 (Furlow, 2023; Jacobs and Furlow, 2022). According to ProPublica and New Mexico In Depth's analysis, "Students in Gallup-McKinley schools faced 735 disciplinary incidents involving law enforcement" (Furlow, 2023, para 22) four times the rate for the rest of the state. See also "Indian Education" under Chapter 4, section 4.5 Perspectives and Future Directions.

Girls of Color

As mentioned earlier, controlling images scrutinize Black women as criminal, immoral, to be punished, so that violence against Black women is normalized. This unfortunately extends to Black girls in school who are framed as "insubordinate," "disrespectful," and "oppositional." Monique Morris's *Pushout: The Criminalization of Black Girls in School* (2015), reveals many instances of young Black girls being criminalized, including several stories about six and seven year-olds getting arrested in school (Ritchie, 2017, p. 74). Jaisha Aikins was only 5 years old in 2005 when she was handcuffed and arrested in her school at St. Petersburg, Florida for essentially throwing a temper tantrum, something every 5-year-old does. Administrators claimed she "punched" the vice principal when video clearly demonstrated the vice principal wasn't hurt. After three fully grown white police officers arrived at the school, they handcuffed this kindergartener as she cried and begged them not to. She was only released to her mother after the prosecutor refused to file charges.

The New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) uncovered several instances of young women of color getting physically handled by school police for minor things like leaving class a few minutes late or cursing in the hallway. Ritchie refers to another instance where 16-year-old Pleajhai Mervin was slammed on a table by a school safety officer in Palmdale, California, for failing to pick up cake from the cafeteria floor. The officer yelled, "Hold still, nappy head," as he held her down (2017, p. 75). On October 26, 2015, a viral video revealed a shocking incident of a school resource officer in South Carolina grabbing a young Black high school student by her neck and flipping her desk while she was sitting in it. He slammed her head on the ground then dragged both the girl and desk toward the door. Sixteen-year-old Shakara was sitting calmly at her desk when the officer, Ben Fields, demanded that she leave the classroom. He escalated quickly to physically assaulting her when she refused to comply, resulting in injuries to Shakara's neck, shoulders, and arm before placing her under arrest. Another young Black woman at the school, Niya Kenny protested this treatment and also was arrested. Both were charged with "disturbing school" (p. 72).

Due to protest and outrage expressed on social media, the charges against both girls were dropped and the officer was fired, but no charges were brought against Fields. Ritchie notes that this attack in particular "exemplifies how zero-tolerance policies…place disagreements between students and teachers, regulations of classroom behavior, and enforcement of school rules in the hands of armed police officers stationed in public schools, creating opportunities for violation and criminalization of young Black women" (2017, p. 73). The increased police presence in schools have led Black girls to be the fastest growing group to face suspension and expulsion as part of the school-to-prison pipeline. They make up around 33% of girls referred to law enforcement despite only making up 16% of the female student population, yet, Ritchie writes, "the discourse around…the 'school-to-prison pipeline' continues to focus nearly exclusively on boys and young men" (p. 77).

Ritchie also points out that Native youth are impacted by the school-to-prison pipeline as well, who are three times more likely to be referred to the police than white students. In Utah, for instance, Native students from kindergarten to sixth grade were referred to law enforcement more than any other group. Young Native women are five times more likely than white girls to be detained in juvenile hall. In South Dakota, the Rosebud Sioux nation successfully filed a suit challenging arrest practices in schools targeting Native girls. In one example, 13-year-old Mindi struck a white girl at her school after she scratched and cursed at her Native friend and the two Native American girls were arrested while the white girl was not. Mindi was charged with "disturbing school" and "disorderly conduct" (2017, p. 79). In another instance, Josei Traversie was arrested for defending herself against students who spit on her, placed on probation, then held in a juvenile detention center.

Sexual harassment and assaults by police officers on campuses also impact girls of color including inappropriate comments about their bodies, or degrading and violating pat-downs by male officers through security checkpoints. Jacquia Bolds from Syracuse, New York testified to a UN committee in 2008, "It is more uncomfortable for girls because sometimes they check you around your most private areas" (Ritchie, 2017, p. 80). A 14-year old Chinese American student stated, "The security guard accused me of having a knife….They took me to a room and made me take off my shirt and pants to check my bra. They didn't call my parents or let me talk to a teacher I know" (p. 81). Muslim students shared that school safety agents would pick on girls wearing scarves and hijabs, one stating, "For some of us…it's like you're covered up too much" (p. 81). In one survey, young South Asian women shared that they experienced gender-based and sexual harassment by school police who made lewd comments during security checks, and almost half of the surveyed stated that they were asked about their immigration status. Sadia, a 17-year-old Pakistani woman shared, "I am in constant fear that my immigration status will be revealed" (p. 82).

Young women of color are organizing against police violence directed toward them, both inside and out of schools, such as calling for an end to school policing, decriminalizing offenses, or closing jails. Ritchie calls for action by writing,

> It is our responsibility to create spaces in which girls' and young women's experiences of policing can be seen and heard, and to support their leadership and their demands to get police out of schools…and promote conditions under which young women of color can be safe and thrive (2017, p. 87).

Special Needs Children

Students with special-needs, who have physical or learning disabilities, are also disproportionately represented among students referred to law enforcement at about 26% while they only make up 14% of the entire student population. Black and Latinx students are referred in disproportionate numbers to their enrollment rate (Ferris, 2015; Vitale, 2017, p. 62). In 2015, an 11-year-old African American student with autism from Lynchburg, Virginia, Kayleb Moon-Robinson, was charged with criminal offenses by the school's SRO multiple times. Once for kicking a garbage can and another time for resisting the officer who was trying to grab and drag him out of the classroom. The student was charged with a misdemeanor for disorderly conduct and a felony for assaulting a police officer and a family court judge found the child guilty of all charges (Vitale, 2017, p. 62).

Kayleb stated that the school police, "...grabbed me and tried to take me to the office…I started pushing him away. He slammed me down, and then he handcuffed me" (Ferris, 2015). A teacher confirmed that the officer grabbed Kayleb's chest and he cursed and struggled. School officials only defended the presence of police in schools. Kayleb's mother, Stacey Doss shared, "I thought in my mind - Kayleb is 11…He is autistic. He doesn't fully understand how to differentiate the roles of certain people" (Ferris, 2015). In the same report Ferris found that Virginia schools referred students to law enforcement at nearly three times the national rate. The Center for Public Integrity found that thousands of complaints filed in courts against students were mostly for disorderly behavior and against preteens or middle school students.

In another incident, a 12-year-old girl from Virginia was charged with four misdemeanors including "clenching her fist" at a school police officer. In Green County, Virginia in 2014, the school police handcuffed a 4-year-old child for throwing blocks and kicking at teachers. He was driven to the sheriff's department. In August of 2015, a Kentucky sheriff's deputy handcuffed two disabled students, an 8-year old and 9-year old for minor disorderly behavior that were related to their disabilities and for one child, related to trauma (ACLU, 2015; Vitale, 2017, p. 62). Video footage of the arrested third-grader showed that his arms were so small that the officer had to handcuff his biceps behind his back, as he cried, "Ow, that hurt" (ACLU, 2015). The ACLU filed a lawsuit and explained that this particular child who was filmed was crying out in pain for 15 minutes. They also stated that disabled students made up 75% of all students subject to physical restraint at school according to the U.S. Department of Education. The ACLU pointed out that the school's reliance on armed police to manage the behavior of special-needs students was a "fundamental violation of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and civil and human rights" (Vitale, 2017, p. 63). In the video description, an update from October 13, 2017 states that a federal judge in Kentucky found this act of cuffing disabled students unconstitutional and Kenton County is liable for the deputy sheriff's actions.

Being arrested and charged is an introduction into the school-to-prison pipeline for students. It can create a record that further stigmatizes special-needs students at schools. Judges can order them to conduct community service, meet with probation officers, wear electronic monitors and place students in detention before and after a hearing, essentially criminalizing youth in a severe matter with serious life-long consequences.

The Autistic Self Advocacy Network reported that all charges against Kayleb were eventually dropped after petitions were filed in defense of Kayleb and most likely because his story got some media attention (Autistic Self Advocacy Network, 2016). This should be celebrated, but how many more thousands of children are punished cruelly and unnecessarily every year in our schools, just for having disabilities?

Militarization of Schools

Those glued to the TV or social media in the summer of 2014 witnessed armored tanks and police in military gear pointing semi-automatic rifles at protestors in Ferguson, Missouri. Large demonstrations demanded justice for Michael Brown, who was killed at only 18-years of age by Ferguson Police Department officer Darren Wilson on August 9, 2014. The protest scenes looked more like a war battle scene. Since when did local police forces have access to such military equipment, typically used in a war? One analysis by National Public Radio found that the Pentagon has given local police forces close to $2 billion of military-grade equipment like mine-resistant vehicles, assault rifles, and grenade launchers. In the case of Ferguson Police, they received gear from private companies including computers and utility trucks at Urban Shield (Bauer, 2014, para. 7).

Funded through a counterterrorism grant from the Department of Homeland Security, Urban Shield claimed to be the largest first-responder training in the world, bringing in people from across the globe including Israel and South Korea. Started by the Alameda County Sheriff's Office in California, Urban Shield offered militarized police training and a weapons expo and also received funding from over 100 corporations including Verizon, Motorola, and military supply companies (Critical Resistance; Bauer, 2014, para. 4-5). Urban Shield in Alameda County was stopped in 2018 due to the grassroots organizing and legislative advocacy amongst various community organizations, most notably under the Stop Urban Shield Coalition.

Mother Jones reported that "outfitting America's warrior cops" is major business, with the Department of Defense having given $5.1 billion worth of equipment to local and state police departments since 1997, and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) giving out $41 billion since 2002 in the form of grants, specifying that they can be used to shut down protests, serve warrants, and search homes (Bauer, 2014, para 7). Such programs have led to the proliferation of SWAT teams and raids, the ACLU finding that SWAT raids were more likely to hit Black neighborhoods than white neighborhoods (Lopez, 2016, para 7).

Vitale reported that school police are also joining in and purchasing military-grade equipment and weapons including AR-15 assault rifles, shot guns, and mine-resistant ambush protection (MRAP) vehicles, and school children in largely Black or Brown neighborhoods are facing SWAT raids as well (2017, p. 63). In 2003, Goose Creek High School in South Carolina coordinated a massive SWAT raid for drugs and guns. Police had their guns drawn out, brought in police dogs, searched students, and ordered the largely Black student body to get on the ground. No drugs were found. Vitale wrote, "The use of guns and militarized equipment undermines the basic ethos of school as a supportive learning environment and replaces it with fear and control" (p. 63). He stated that the National Association of School Resource Officers has become the "bastion of this process," where at its annual conference we can find military contractors selling schools security systems and training officers in paramilitary techniques. Once a keynote speaker at this conference told the audience:

> You've got people in your schools right now planning a Columbine….we have Al-Qaeda cells thinking of it. Every school is a possible target of attack...You've got to have enough guns and ammunition and body armor to stay alive...You should be walking around in school everyday in complete tactical equipment, with semi-automatic weapons and five rounds of ammo...You must think of yourself as soldiers at war (p. 64).

The Southern Poverty Law Center filed a class-action lawsuit in 2010 against Birmingham, Alabama schools for systematically using excessive force on students, alleging that close to 200 students were sprayed with pepper spray and tear gas, causing extreme pain, skin irritation, and problems with breathing and vision. All the students targeted were Black, one student was pregnant, and many were bystanders. The school district was found guilty in 2015 and the use of sprays were banned (Vitale, 2017, p. 64). In 2013, a Texas student, Nino de Rivera was tasered by a school resource officer and critically injured by the resulting fall and blow to the head. He had to have surgery to repair a "severe brain hemorrhage" and was in a medically induced coma for 52 days.

In 2015, *Mother Jones* reported that at least 28 students had been seriously injured between 2010 and 2015, in one case a student was shot to death by an SRO. They reported that there is a lack of government data on police conduct in schools and they seem to lack training and oversight, disproportionately impacting students of color and disabled students (Lee, 2015, para 1-2). At a middle school in Louisville, an officer punched a 13-year-old student in the face for cutting the cafeteria line, and the same officer put another middle-schooler in a chokehold, knocking him unconscious (para 3). In May of 2014, a high school student in Houston, Cesar Suquet, was hit at least 18 times by a baton by police officer, Michael Y'Barbo (para 4). On November 10, 2010, 14-year-old Derek Lopez punched another student outside Northside Alternative High School near San Antonio, Texas. Officer Daniel Alvarado witnessed the event, ordered Lopez to freeze, then chased Lopez to a shed behind a house and shot him, ending Dreke Lopez's life. Lopez was unarmed, yet the officer claimed he "bull-rushed" the officer. A 2012 grand jury declined to indict Alvarado (para 6).

Vitale wrote that there is no evidence to suggest that the presence of School Resource Officers (SROs) reduce crime, or reduce thefts or violence. There's only been a few instances where officers averted a potential gun crime. In fact, schools with police presence report that they feel less safe than similar schools with no police (2017, p. 65). Data show that reported crimes increase with more SROs, partially because they treat more things as criminal matters.

Ultimately, schools are places of learning and student learning improves when students feel safe and supported. Even well-intentioned school policing and punitive discipline practices undermine that, because it can create a climate of distrust which can increase disruptive behavior. Armed police have not shown to improve the safety of students and won't protect schools from

intruders. School Resource Officers are mostly effective at driving out youth from schools and into the criminal justice system. Vitale summarized, “Our young people need compassion and care, not coercion and control” (2017, p. 73).

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12.7: Alternative Solutions

Building a Youth Support Complex



Figure 12.7.1: No Justice in a Racist System. An illustration of the scales of justice on fire with skulls on both sides and the phrase, "There is no justice in a racist system" written across. (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0; Roger Peet via JustSeeds)

When thinking of alternative solutions to modern day incarceration, we must examine and learn from the culture of policing before colonization of the Americas and how policing has been used to further the efforts of colonization. For example, the modern day Tribal Police found on many Native American reservations are the product of various attempts to police Native Americans who were relegated to segregated and isolated communities.

American Indians were not allowed to participate in policing reservations until the 1860s (Wakeling et al., p.41). Although at that point most of those who were policing reservations were Native American (local tribal members and from other reservations), some continued to be non-native. However, because they were a part of the policing institution Native Americans were seen as representatives of the U.S. government and in many cases not trusted (p. 41). “Their duties included determining whether a fellow tribesman was working enough to merit his sugar, coffee, and tobacco rations” (p.41). This relationship between tribal members and Tribal Police caused much animosity which the federal government was more than happy to take advantage of. Moreover, the federal government believed that utilizing Native Americans as Tribal Police was more viable than utilizing white officers due to the shared experiences that native officers had with the local population.

In his book, *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys*, Dr. Victor Rios, who teaches Sociology at UC Santa Barbara and has a PhD in Ethnic Studies, tells us how young Black and Latinx boys in Oakland’s Fruitvale district have not been abandoned by the state but instead are hypercriminalized by what he theorizes as the **Youth Control Complex**. Rios defines the Youth Control Complex as a system of criminalization molded by the synchronized, systematic punishment meted out by socializing and social control institutions (Rios, 2011, p. 21). Rios emphasizes that there are many approaches to interrupting the hypercriminalization of young Black and Latinx boys and the school-to-prison pipeline and the following are some of his solutions toward dismantling the Youth Control Complex.

This section will focus on the solutions Rios proposes in the closing chapter, especially those found in: “Building a Youth Support Complex, Facilitating Dignity and Freedom for All Young People, and One Youngster at a Time” (Rios, 2011, p. 161). When creating a **Youth Support Complex** Rios states that youth will need many mentors along the way with academic, cultural, and affirmative action programs (p. 162). Furthermore, when poor, young, Black and Latinx boys make mistakes they should be given the opportunity to learn and grow from their mistakes in order to allow transformation (p. 162). Rios also emphasizes that their resistance should be redirected toward learning to navigate mainstream institutions to become more productive citizens. By remaining free from prison, the boys in this study demonstrated that they were resisting the system: “freedom is work.” Rios adds

that “the social movements of the new millennium among the most marginalized classes will be centered on dismantling punitive social control” (p. 163). These sections also suggest that when policymakers want to be supportive they will have to take risks when proposing (and implementing) new policies to dismantle punitive social control (p. 164).

Furthermore, Rios recommends that schools and criminal justice institutions “respect and embrace the work that young people do for dignity and freedom” (2011, p. 164). He also advocates having participation from young people when creating programs that can support them and in turn empower them simultaneously (p. 165). Rios writes, “the key is to provide all marginalized youths a stage with good props, good lighting, and a supportive audience” (p. 166). Ultimately Rios urges the reader that “redistributing resources from criminal justice institutions back into nurturing institutions must become a priority” (p. 166).

Abolition Now



Figure 12.7.2: Black Unity marching in Eugene, Oregon. (CC BY 2.0; David Geitgey Sierralupe via Flickr)

In her book, *Are Prisons Obsolete?* (2003) Angela Y. Davis mentions that prison abolitionists are stereotyped as utopian dreamers and naive. Davis goes on to state that the general free population have a passive role in consenting when new prisons are being built. The logic of the free population is that when more prisons are built, the more the free population feel that their rights are being protected. Ultimately, the Prison Industrial Complex (PIC) has distorted the free population's sense of harm and attributed abolition to “letting people off easy.”

In order to address how prison abolitionists are stereotyped as utopian dreamers we need to critically analyze prisons as a racial or racist project. How is prison abolition a racial project?

For example, the original idea of a stimulus check in 2020 to financially aid the unemployed and financially impacted during the COVID-19 pandemic was an idea of utopian dreamers. This immediately caused uproar from right wing proponents. Questions arose, such as: Who would be worthy of getting a stimulus check? Who would pay for it? Was this a band aid solution that would have major repercussions? It is imperative to highlight how the pushback against the idea of a stimulus check to those facing economic hardships during COVID-19 may have had racial undertones.

When examining the pushback against even the very idea of prison abolition, we need to be fully aware of the racialized undertones. When prison abolition is seen as a goal synonymous with utopia, what does that utopia look like? Whose utopia? What do the racial demographics look like in an abolitionist utopia? As we have covered throughout this chapter, the creation of police and prisons have led the US towards a carceral dystopia.

The first book from Kaepernick Publishing is called *Abolition for the People: The Movement for a Future Without Policing & Prisons (2021)*. Many important authors involved in the **abolition movement** are included in this work such as: Angela Davis, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Mumia Abu-Jamal, Robin D.G. Kelley, among others. One purpose of this work is to “ensure that the book before you is useful and that it inspires you to take action to build a world without and beyond police and prisons” (Kaepernick, 2021, p.13). The book argues “that the efforts to reform police and prisons have nearly always enhanced their power, reach, and legitimacy” (Preface). Furthermore, *Abolition for the People* aims to answer the following questions: What is abolition? Is abolition practical? and what does abolition look like in the real world? Abolition is defined by Dylan Rodriguez as “the work of constantly

remaking sociality, politics, economy, place and (human) being against the duress that some call dehumanization, others name colonialism, and still others identify as slavery and incarceration" (Kaepernick, 2021, p.15).

In *Abolition for the People*, Robin D.G. Kelley writes in "Change from the Roots: What Abolition Looks Like, from the Panthers To The People" that the abolitionist movement is not new and that the "Black Panther Party (BPP) was formed in 1966 in Oakland, California, precisely to monitor police violence" (Kaepernick, 2021, p.189). Through their abolitionist work the BPP provided many services to their communities such as the free breakfast program, patrolling the streets, know-your-right workshops, exposing the names of brutal police, and liberation schools for children (Kaepernick, 2021, p.189). Furthermore Kelley defines Abolition as,

> Work[ing] to dismantle systems that have caused harm, namely police and prisons, and reallocate funds to social and economic resources, and to develop new systems of community-controlled public safety and restorative justice (Kaepernick, 2021, p.187).

The abolitionist movement is very real such as the Movement for Black Lives, a coalition that is made up of over 150 abolitionist organizations. Abolitionist efforts have intentionally worked to center the experiences of gendered violence as a key abolitionist issue (Kaepernick, 2021, p. 187). For more analysis of gender-based violence, please see the sections in this chapter titled "Colonialism and Violence against Indigenous Women," "The Slave Patrol," "Immigration Enforcement," and "Girls of Color."



Figure **12.7.3**: Defund the Police, taken June 5, 2020. (CC BY 2.0; Taymaz Valley via Flickr)

Defund the Police

Leading police and prison abolitionist, Mariame Kaba wrote "enough" to police reform and giving police departments hundreds of millions of dollars. In a New York Times Op-Ed, Kaba wrote, "Enough. We can't reform the police. The only way to diminish police violence is to reduce contact between the public and the police" (2020, para 2). She pointed out that there's never been a moment in U.S. history when police were not a force of violence against marginalized populations, in order to "protect the status quo" (para 3).

As an abolitionist, Kaba calls for an immediate demand all of us can make, which is to defund the police: "Cut the number of police in half and cut their budget in half. Fewer police officers equals fewer opportunities for them to brutalize and kill people" (para 9). Kaba reminds us that reforms have never proven to reduce violence nor protect vulnerable communities. She points out that, "The philosophy undergirding these reforms is that more rules will mean less violence. But police officers break rules all the time" (para 16) without ever facing serious repercussions.

By defunding the police, Kaba writes that "We are not abandoning our communities to violence" (para 19). Kaba and other abolitionists call to redirect those billions toward health care, housing, education, and jobs so that there would be less need for police in the first place. She calls for trained community care workers to respond to mental-health checks and implement restorative justice models instead of simply throwing people into jail cells. As for the crime of rape, Kaba reminds readers that our current approach isn't working, and that most rapists never go to court. Two-thirds of people who face sexual violence don't report it and people who do file a report with the police are typically "dissatisfied with the response" (para 22). Furthermore, it's police officers themselves who commit sexual assault "alarmingly often" (para 22).

In conclusion, Kaba calls on us to imagine a different approach:

> As a society, we have been so indoctrinated with the idea that we solve problems by policing and caging people that many cannot imagine anything other than prisons and the police as solutions to violence and harm. People like me who want to abolish prisons and police, however, have a vision of a different society, built on cooperation instead of individualism, on mutual aid instead of self-preservation. What would the country look like if it had billions of extra dollars to spend on housing, food and education for all? This change in society wouldn't happen immediately, but the protests show that many people are ready to embrace a different vision of safety and justice (2020, para 23-24).

Alternatives to School Police

There has been some push back recently from the community, youth, and organizers to remove school police. The Oakland School Board, for example, unanimously passed the George Floyd Resolution in June of 2020, after a decade of organizing and advocacy work led by the organizers and youth of the Black Organizing Project (Black Organizing Project). The school board committed to eliminating the Oakland School Police Department and reinvesting the $6 million budget to a safety plan that will work to dismantle the school-to-prison pipeline (Getachew, 2021, para. 1-2). In 2021, Los Angeles Board of Education voted to eliminate a third of the Los Angeles School Police Department's police force and ban the use of pepper sprays. Other major cities including Seattle and Denver have also recently taken steps to remove funding from school police.

As some districts are pivoting away from an over reliance on ineffective SROs, Vitale calls for non-punitive disciplinary measures in school and to include school staff to be a part of the solution, instead of relying on the criminal justice system. Furthermore, resources that support the *whole* students can benefit the entire learning community, especially students who shouldn't have to just focus on testing at the expense of emotional and bodily health (2017, pp. 68 - 69). This includes increased investment in training, counselors, and support staff to provide effective services to students and their families.

For example, the American Federation of Teachers have supported the establishment of "community schools" where they provide wraparound services including medical and mental health care, counseling, tutoring, and social justice programming, as well as adult education for parents. Such services are provided through partnerships with local community organizations (Vitale, 2017, p. 69). In Salt Lake City, the United Way partnered with eleven community schools, with over half of the students coming from low-income families and 25% English learners. This partnership increased academic achievement amongst students and reduced chronic absenteeism. In Baltimore, they have 45 community schools serving a majority poor and student of color population, and such restructuring has improved attendance, reduced suspensions, increased graduation rates and test scores. Some of the schools have uniformed police, but they are unarmed and the community are pressuring to reduce their presence even further (pp. 69 - 70).

Restorative Justice Programs

Restorative justice is considered to be the most established of alternatives to school police and punitive policies against youth. More and more school districts are adopting these methods and turning away from punishment based approaches to student behavior. Based on indigenous practices from across the globe, restorative justice programs address underlying causes and involve students as responsible members of the community.

The program may implement peer juries, problem-solving circles, conflict mediation or community service and requires time to build buy-in from school staff and student trust. Vitale writes that at the center of these programs lies,

> ... the desire to make schools a welcoming place for young people regardless of the problems they bring to school and to try to work out those problems cooperatively in a way that is in the best interest of the student and the larger school community (2017, p. 70).

One of the core principles involves conflict resolution that requires participants to take on "meaningful responsibility" for their actions and work toward changing them in order to build healthy relationships. It's about reducing and repairing harm, and restoring positive relationships. In order for this program to be effective, a substantial amount of time and resources must go into training. Vitale also notes that if schools face stress about testing affecting school budgets, it will be difficult to cultivate support and buy-in if teachers will be reluctant about taking time away from instruction. Simply replacing suspensions with forced community service won't make much of a difference (2017, p. 71).



Figure **12.7.4**: Exterior view of Oakland's Fremont High School's Library. April 19, 2013. (CC BY-SA 3.0; Syghost via Wikimedia Commons)

Fremont High School in Oakland, CA has reported a complete turn-around thanks to a $2.5 million investment into restorative justice programs in their school district. The high school once had the highest student suspension rate in Oakland Unified, but in 2022, the school focused on improving campus climate. Their enrollment has gone up 20%, and the number of students qualifying for college admission has tripled. Tatiana Chaterji, Fremont High's restorative justice facilitator stated that they've "...worked hard on building community, relationship, trust" (Jones, 2022, para 4).

Although the focus of the program started with resolving conflict, now, Fremont High students use restorative justice circles to welcome new students and build bridges across different ethnic groups. They are held in multiple languages including Arabic and Mam, a Mayan language spoken by indigenous migrants from Guatemala. Ebrar Wasel, a junior, expressed that circles in Arabic and English helped her adjust to a new school, especially after fleeing a war in Yemen. She stated, "I used to be scared people would laugh at me…But then in circles, I learned that it was the same for other people, too" (Jones, 2022, para. 14 - 15).

Fremont High students even lead circles at a nearby elementary school, Horace Mann. Aaron Gray of the program at the elementary school shared that "it's never too early to teach children about restorative practices" and that such skills "will help them feel safer and more comfortable at school, which in turn leads to better academic performance and an overall improved campus climate for everyone" (Jones, 2022, para. 26). He stated that when he first started working at the school, "I was dealing with conflicts all day. But now, there's been a shift. Kids are resolving their own issues and organizing their own RJ circles….There's been a huge change in the culture" (para. 27).

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12.8: Summary/Review

Conclusion

In this chapter we reviewed the various institutions, policies, laws, and practices that have led to the creation of the Prison Industrial Complex and mass incarceration of largely Black Americans and poor communities of color. The media and rhetoric by politicians and police have helped to normalize imprisonment and criminalization of people of color, when in fact decades of research and activism has proven how ineffectual imprisonment and policing are when it comes to increasing safety. Instead, many scholars and activists cited in this chapter have expressed that policing and caging people is an extension of white supremacy, slavery, Jim Crow, and settler-colonialism.

We've reviewed the ways in which drug use has been criminalized for political reasons in the War on Drugs. Due to this shift and continued heavy policing in poor communities of color and extraordinary discretion given to law enforcement, we've witnessed the normalization of caging millions of people and allowing system-impacted people to be legally discriminated against after having served their time.

This chapter has also explained the ways in which our punishment system is, as Angela Y. Davis (2003) argues, entrenched in antiblack racism, and other racialized histories of minoritized people. Michelle Alexander poignantly states that the U.S. justice system is "no longer concerned…with the prevention and punishment of crime, but rather with the management and control of the dispossessed" (2020, p. 233). We see this in how policing is drenched in the legacy of systemic violence related to settler-colonialism, worker suppression, slavery, and anti-immigrant practices, including practices that target women and girls, and members of the LGBTQ community. We see institutional racism tied to policing that targets people of color for stop-and-search, even though whites are more likely to use and carry weapons and drugs. We also see racial discrimination in the conviction process, as many are denied legal representation and forced to plead guilty or snitch for a lesser sentence. Despite pages of data proving racial discrepancies in sentencing, the Supreme Court has made it impossible to challenge racial discrimination practiced by law enforcement unless it's explicitly admitted.

Furthermore, this chapter has reviewed the ways in which children are increasingly policed in our schools with shocking and tragic outcomes that push more youth into the criminal justice system.

Still, this chapter has also reviewed the ways in which our communities have and continue to resist policing and caging and fight back against systemic oppression. Some examples are prison abolitionists organizing for a prison and police free future. Others are working toward dismantling school police and instead instituting effective programs like Restorative Justice. The authors of this chapter hope readers will see how these struggles are intrinsically tied to anti-racist movements for justice and equity.

Key Terms

- **Prison Industrial Complex (PIC):** the overlapping interests of government and industry that use surveillance, policing, and imprisonment as solutions to economic, social and political problems.
- **Criminalization:** Criminalization is the act of making something or someone illegal. It also applies to practices, prejudices, and policies that frame certain groups of people as a criminal, or someone who doesn't deserve to have rights or be treated with respect. Many scholars and activists point to how poor people, undocumented immigrants, and people of color are often criminalized by politicians or specific policies that scapegoat communities without much political power. Criminalization of such communities rely on the perpetuation of negative stereotypes that simply being undocumented, or Black, or poor is viewed as criminal. Criminalization leads to over-policing in poor communities of color, racial profiling of Arabs, Muslims, and South Asians at the airports, punitive policies against youth of color, and mass deportations of Latinx communities.
- **Convict Leasing:** A practice of forced labor, where incarcerated people are leased to work for private and public institutions, typically for the financial benefit of the carceral system. Many scholars agree that the convict lease system was a reincarnation of slavery, and some of the similar methods of labor control and intimidation were used. Prisoner labor essentially supported agricultural labor and industrialization in the South. Today, we continue to rely on prisoner labor for countless products, to fight wildfires under dangerous conditions, and they've been on the frontlines of pandemic response, manufacturing masks and other PPE that prisoners were not allowed to use to protect themselves. Prisoner labor is also relied on to maintain the costs of running a prison.

- **Crimmigration** is the merging of immigration law with criminal law and posing immigrants as lawbreakers usually through a racialized lens. Through various laws and policies, crimmigration promotes the notion that an individual must be a citizen in order to be prequalified for basic civil and constitutional rights such as privacy, due process, and the right to not incriminate oneself.
- **The War on Drugs:** A “colorblind” vehicle that’s driven millions, particularly poor people of color, into the prison system. A shift in the modern criminal justice system framed drug abuse as “public enemy number one” during Richard Nixon’s presidential term in 1971. Exposed to decades of media “images of Black men in handcuffs” and the narrative that “bad guys” are in prison, the “new normal” includes: the rapid establishment of prisons, jails, and immigration detention centers, the Drug Enforcement Agency, over-policing of communities of color, legalized discrimination against system-impacted people in employment, housing, and public benefits, mandatory minimum sentencing, and plea deal bargains.
- **Slave Patrols:** These were early policing groups that would extend the reinforcement of racist restrictions, or slave codes, against enslaved African Americans both on and off plantations. Slave patrols were created to suppress slave rebellions and they would surveille, intimidate, search for weapons or evidence of learning how to read and write, and interrogate and lash anyone they pleased. They also worked to prevent runaway slaves from crossing into the North. Slave patrols turned into some of the earlier policing agencies in the South.
- **Racial Profiling:** The discriminatory practice by law enforcement of stopping, interrogating, arresting, harassing, or searching an individual based on their race, ethnicity, religion or national origin. Some examples of racial profiling including border patrol stopping someone with “Mexican appearance,” highway patrol pulling over Black and Latinx drivers, the Stop-and-Frisk policy of targeting Black and Latinx pedestrians, and Arab, Muslim, and South Asian people being targeted at airports or for detention and minor immigrant violations.
- **Stop-and-Frisk:** A policy enforced by the New York Police Department that allowed officers to use discretion on deciding who to stop, interrogate, and search. The practice almost exclusively targeted Black and Latinx people, who were regularly harassed by the police, for some, multiple times in the same day. This routine contact between the police and men of color served as “a gateway into the criminal justice system” and as a way to collect personal information on individuals not yet in the criminal database, which create barriers for jobs, housing, and access to resources. Similar practices have been endorsed in other police departments across the nation. The practice has been found unconstitutional as of 2013.
- **School-to-Prison Pipeline:** A set of institutional practices, policies, and culture that inflict methods of punishment that end up disproportionately being enforced against poor students of color, LGBTQ, and disabled students. Such punitive institutional practices often lead disenfranchised students to be entangled in the criminal justice system.
- **Youth Control Complex:** A term coined by Victor Rios, it is a system of criminalization molded by the synchronized, systematic punishment meted out by socializing and social control institutions. Examples are parole officers, police officers, school principals, teachers, parents, social workers, and the media.
- **Youth Support Complex:** Approaches or resources used to interrupt the hypercriminalization of young Black and Latino boys and the school to prison pipeline. Examples are mentors, educational programs, affirmative action programs, and after school programs.
- **Abolition (Movement):** Dr. Dylan Rodriguez defines it as "the work of constantly remaking sociality, politics, economy, place and (human) being against the duress that some call dehumanization, others name colonialism, and still others identify as slavery and incarceration."
- **Restorative Justice** is a growing alternative to school police and punitive policies against youth and based on indigenous practices from across the globe. Restorative justice programs address underlying causes and involve students as responsible members of the community. They may implement peer juries, problem-solving circles, conflict mediation or community service. The core principle is creating a welcoming space for students to work on issues in a cooperative manner, in a way that is in the best interest of the student and the school community.

Discussion Questions

1. The first book from Kaepernick Publishing is called *Abolition for the People: The Movement for a Future Without Policing & Prisons*. Many important authors involved in the abolition movement are included in this work such as: Angela Davis, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Mumia Abu-Jamal, Robin D.G. Kelley, among others. One purpose of this work is to “ensure that the book before you is useful and that it inspires you to take action to build a world without and beyond police and prisons” (Kaepernick, 2021, . The book argues “that the efforts to reform police and prisons have nearly always enhanced their power, reach, and legitimacy”.

Furthermore, *Abolition for the People* asks the following questions: What is abolition? Is abolition practical? and What does abolition look like in the real world? Please answer the three above questions to the best of your abilities.

2. According to this chapter, what is crimmigration? How have immigrants been criminalized in the United States? Please provide specific examples (policies and laws). How have immigrants pushed back against laws that criminalize them because of their immigration status?
3. Summarize and explain 2-3 myths and truths about our criminal justice system, such as “prisons work to put away ‘bad’ guys so that the rest of us can be safe.”
4. What is the School-to-Prison pipeline and explain 2-3 practices that create hostile schools, especially for students of color and special needs students.

Journal Prompts

1. Are prisons racist institutions? Can we eliminate one without the other?
2. What can we do to abolish prisons, resist the prison industrial complex, or dismantle what Michelle Alexander calls the “New Jim Crow” – this social system used to control racial minorities in the U.S.?
3. Are you, or is anyone you know locked in a second-class status—unable to vote or legally discriminated against in employment, housing, education, or access to public benefits?
4. Did you attend a school with School Resource Officers (SROs)? If so, what was your experience with campus police or what did you observe?

Class Activities

In-person - Racial Profile while Driving

1. In small groups students will review the California maps providing geographical information on Driver’s License Suspension Rates and Poverty Rates. What patterns do you see? What problems do you see in the patterns found in the map? (15 minutes)
2. Students then read and take notes from the *Back on the Road* website and understand “the problem” of this project and the solutions. Also, please review the section of this chapter titled "Driving While Black or Brown" on page 10.5 "Is Policing Inherently Racist?" (10 minutes)
3. Students share their small group analysis with the class. Any experiences being pulled over? Students should explore the following themes someone may experience while being pulled over: racial profiling (driving while black/brown), immigrant status profiling, socioeconomic class profiling, etc. (15 minutes)

In-person - Four Corners:

It is suggested to conduct this activity before students read this chapter and learn about Incarceration, Policing, and State Sanctioned Violence. “Four Corners” is an activity that allows students to move around the classroom and discuss their opinions or share their experiences with different classmates in response to general statements read by the instructor. The statements may be generalizations or based on stereotypes related to Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.

Materials:

4 pieces of paper

Tape

Statements (use ones below or write your own)

Instructions:

Write the following words on a piece of paper (one per paper) and tape in the four corners of the classroom: “Agree,” “Disagree,” “Strongly Agree,” and “Strongly Disagree”

Instruct students to gather in the center of the classroom and listen to each statement (see samples below) read by the instructor. Once a statement is read, students will quietly decide which corner they move to. For example, if a student “agrees” with the statement read by the instructor, they will move into the corner labeled “Agree.” Students must choose a corner - if they are stuck between two, ask them to move to a corner that’s the closest to how they feel about the statement.

Once students choose a corner, they may discuss the following with people in their corner:

Why did you choose this corner?

Why do you think others chose their corners?

After giving students 5 minutes or so to discuss in smaller groups, the instructor can ask a representative from each corner to share a summary of what was discussed in their respective corners. A healthy debate may ensue after students hear each of the corners' responses and individuals may decide to move if they've changed their minds based on what is shared by their classmates.

Repeat steps 2 to 4 for each statement.

Once completed, you may have students debrief on this experience.

Review these Vocabulary words before the 4 Corners Statements:

- **Punishment**: penalties imposed as a result of a criminal offense (i.e., incarceration). The goal is to penalize the offender and to deter others from committing criminal offenses.
- **Rehabilitation**: actions and programs designed to change the behavior of an offender or help them with specific issues. The goal is for offenders to successfully re-enter society as productive citizens.
- **Restorative Justice**: specific approaches (such as mediation and sentencing circles) that focus on the offender understanding and addressing their actions harmed the victim and community. The goal is reconciliation and healing for all parties involved.

Sample Statements:

- Our public schools and public colleges/universities should have police presence at all times.
- The point of the criminal justice system is to punish criminals. Offenders should be punished harshly to deter others from committing crimes.
- Our correctional system should have opportunities for education, therapy, and other types of rehabilitation.
- Someone who commits a crime deserves a second chance if they apologize for their actions. Criminal offenders should have the opportunity to work with victims and do things to make amends for their actions.
- When previously incarcerated people re-enter society they usually have a lot of support from society.
- Because of the internet, previously incarcerated people have an easy time getting a job.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

13: Social Movements- Resistance and Solidarity

By Dr. Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick and Kay Fischer

Learning Objectives

- Identify and evaluate social movements, labor movements, and various resistance struggles led by communities of color;
- Analyze the connections between social movements, including solidarity across ethnic groups and the influence of historical movements on contemporary activism;
- Describe principles of anti-racism and social justice, including equity, self-determination, liberation, and decolonization;
- Critically discuss the role of solidarity across liberation and resistance struggles as experienced by communities of color and how they are relevant to current issues;
- Demonstrate active engagement with anti-racism, practices and movements to build a diverse, just and equitable society beyond the classroom.

13.1: Introduction
13.2: Frameworks for Action
13.3: U.S. Civil Rights and Liberatory Movements
13.4: Labor Movements- Domestic Workers
13.5: Labor Movements- Agricultural Workers
13.6: Transnational Organizing in the Diaspora
13.7: Contemporary Environmental, Racial and Gender Justice Movements
13.7.1: Black Lives Matter
13.7.2: Indigenous Sovereignty and Environmental Justice
13.7.3: Immigrant Rights
13.8: White Nationalism
13.9: Summary/Review
13.10: References

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13.1: Introduction

Social Movements

A **social movement** may be defined as an organized effort by a large number of people to bring about or impede social change. Defined in this way, social movements might sound similar to special interest groups, and they do have some things in common. However, a major difference between social movements and special-interest groups lies in the nature of their actions. Special-interest groups normally work within the system via conventional political activities such as lobbying and election campaigning. In contrast, social movements often work outside the system by engaging in various kinds of protests, including demonstrations, picket lines, sit-ins, and sometimes outright violence. These rallies, demonstrations, sit-ins, and silent vigils are often difficult to ignore. With the aid of news media coverage, these events often throw much attention on the problem or grievance at the center of the protest and bring pressure to bear on the government agencies, corporations, dominant groups or people of color, or other targets of the protest.

Types of Social Movements

We know that social movements can occur on the local, national, or even global stage. Are there other patterns or classifications that can help us understand them? Sociologist David Aberle (1966) addresses this question by developing categories that distinguish among social movements by considering what it is the movement wants to change and how much change it wants. Over time, Sociologists have identified several types of social movements according to the nature and extent of the change they seek. This typology helps us understand the differences among the many kinds of social movements that existed in the past and continue to exist today (D. A. Snow & Soule, 2009).

1. Reformative (partial social change)

One of the most common and important types of movement is the reform movement. **Reformative** movements seek to change something specific about the *social* structure. They may seek a more limited change but are targeted at the entire population. They may be progressive or regressive.

- **Progressive examples**
  - *Historical* examples include the abolitionist movement before the Civil War, the woman suffrage movement after the Civil War, the Southern civil rights movement, the gay rights movement, and the environmental movement.
  - *Contemporary* examples of reform movements include "Buy Nothing Day," which protests the rampant consumerism of Black Friday, the DREAMers movement for immigration reform, and the Black Lives Matter movement.
- **Regressive examples**
  - Conservative reformative movements attempt to restore the institutions and values of the past by eliminating existing ones. They seek to uphold society's values and institutions and generally resist attempts to alter them.
  - For example, the preservationist side of the environmental movement advocates for saving or restoring wilderness and natural areas by ending or limiting access and use by tourists and business interests.

Reactionary

- R**eactionary movements seek to block or undo change** to the social structure. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and the Minutemen militia represent examples of reactionary movements. Both of these movements reflected white supremacy, while the KKK projected anti-Black, anti-Jewish, and anti-immigrant attitudes, and the latter reflected **nativism**, the policy and practice of promoting the interests of "native" inhabitants against those of immigrants.
- In their attempt to return the institutions and values of the past by doing away with existing ones, conservative, reactionary movements seek to uphold the values and institutions of society and generally resist attempts to alter them. In contemporary society, white nationalism represents a reactionary movement that grew as a result of the "birther movement," trying to sway public opinion that President Obama was not born in the U.S. and expanded during President Trump era with the rise of hate groups and hate crimes against Asian American Pacific Islanders, immigrants, Mexicans, and African Americans. Such conservative, reactionary movements may elicit polarizing attitudes and behaviors reflecting a different type of social movement. Some Sociologists feel Reactionary movements should be in their own category.

2. Alternative movements (partial individual change)

Alternative movements are typically focused on limited *individual* social change and specific changes to individual beliefs and behavior. Examples include Alcoholics Anonymous, Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD), and Planned Parenthood. These movements are "meaning-seeking" and focus on a specific segment of the population. Their goal is to provoke radical change or spiritual growth in **individuals**. Some sects fit into this category.

Self-Help

- Two other types of movements are *self-help* movements and *religious* movements. As their name implies, self-help movements involve people trying to **improve aspects of their personal lives**; examples of self-help groups include Alcoholics Anonymous and Weight Watchers.

3. Transformative/Revolutionary (complete change)

Transformative or revolutionary movements seek to completely change every aspect of society—their goal is to **change all of society in a dramatic way.** They extend one large step further than a reform movement in seeking to overthrow the existing government and bring about a new one and even a new way of life.

- Examples include the Civil Rights Movement or the political movements, such as a push for communism.
- The United States, French, Mexican, and other national revolutions fall under this category.

4. Redemptive (total individual change)

These movements are "meaning-seeking" and focus on a specific segment of the population. Their goal is to provoke radical change or spiritual growth in **individuals**. Some sects fit into this category.

Religious

- Religious movements aim to **reinforce religious beliefs** among their members and to convert other people to these beliefs. Early Christianity was certainly a momentous religious movement, and other groups that are part of a more general religious movement today include the various religious cults. Sometimes, self-help and religious movements are difficult to distinguish from each other because some self-help groups emphasize religious faith as a vehicle for achieving personal transformation.

Other helpful categories that are helpful for sociologists to describe and distinguish between types of social movements include:

- **Scope**: A movement can be either reform or radical. A reform movement advocates changing some norms or laws, while a radical movement is dedicated to changing value systems in some fundamental way. A reform movement might be a green movement advocating a sect of ecological laws or a movement against pornography, while the American Civil Rights movement is an example of a radical movement.
- **Type of Change**: A movement might seek change that is either innovative or conservative. An innovative movement wants to introduce or change norms and values, like moving towards self-driving cars, while a conservative movement seeks to preserve existing norms and values, such as a group opposed to genetically modified foods.
- **Targets**: Group-focused movements focus on influencing groups or society in general, such as attempting to change the political system from a monarchy to a democracy. An individual-focused movement seeks to affect individuals.
- **Methods of Work**: Peaceful movements utilize techniques such as nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience. Violent movements resort to violence when seeking social change. In extreme cases, violent movements may take the form of paramilitary or terrorist organizations.
- **Range**: Global movements, such as communism in the early 20^{th} century, have transnational objectives. Local movements are focused on local or regional objectives such as preserving a historic building or protecting a natural habitat.

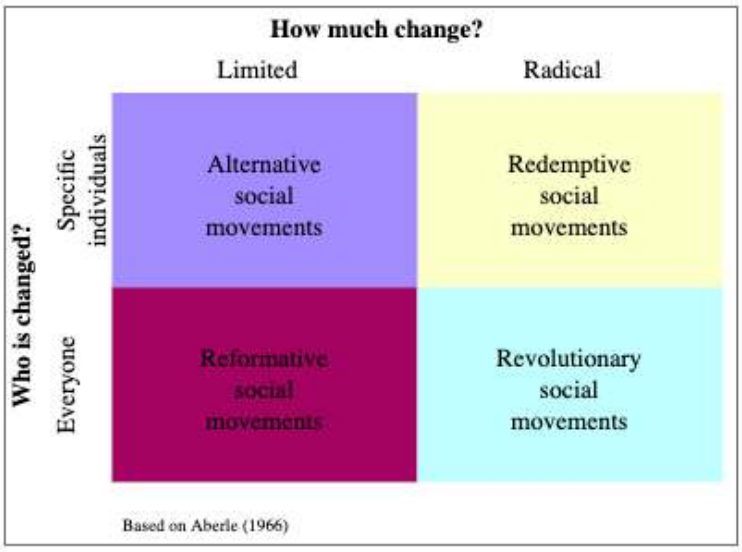


Figure 13.1.1 David Aberle identified these four types of social movements, with some types of movements targeting either specific individuals or everyone, while some want limited changes, and others are more radical. (Chart based on Aberle)

Ethnic Studies on Resistance and Solidarity

A major element in the discipline of Ethnic Studies is understanding but also participating in liberation struggles, particularly those resisting white supremacy, capitalism, colonialism, imperialism, patriarchy, or any intersecting powers that have suppressed communities of color. In fact, the genesis of Ethnic Studies as an academic discipline came out of student struggle and solidarity across racial and ethnic groups. In this chapter, the authors will first introduce frameworks of resistance, such as Indigenous sovereignty and the impact of digital and artistic activism. We will also review key influential US-based liberatory movements and organizations, such as the Black Panthers and American Indian Movement, and the role of solidarity in these organizations. In the section on labor movements, we focus on domestic workers' and agricultural workers' struggles to understand how capitalism, white supremacy, colonialism, and patriarchy function as interlocking systems of oppression. Then, we examine the fight for justice for so-called "comfort women" as a transnational movement with a prominent base in the U.S. Finally, we wrap up with a section that highlights more contemporary movements focusing on environmental justice, racial justice, and gender justice. This section also analyzes how movement work has transitioned in the 21st century and how our communities adapt to continue addressing important issues that affect our lives today.

What is incredibly inspiring about the history of struggle in the United States is that contrary to popular view, people of color have a legacy of being defiant and have fought for our freedom from the beginning. We believe it is of absolute necessity to understand our history of resistance and solidarity within an Ethnic Studies framing so that students are able to identify the ways people of color have often been at the center of these struggles. Overall, we hope that students will be able to understand our rich history of resistance and be inspired to apply our collective power to demand change and organize for a more equitable, anti-racist, and liberatory future for our communities.

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13.2: Frameworks for Action

Ethnic Studies in Action

In Ethnic Studies, there are multiple frameworks for action to address the complex process of dismantling structural hierarchies and working toward racial justice, decolonization, and equity. Activism has driven the field and community action is a recurring principle in Ethnic Studies classrooms and scholarship. These frameworks reflect the different standpoints that advocates and community organizers bring into the process of creating change and how activism takes place. The picture included in Figure **13.2.1**, "I Get it From My Mama" by Melanie Cervantes highlights the importance of intergenerational knowledge in shaping social movement activism.

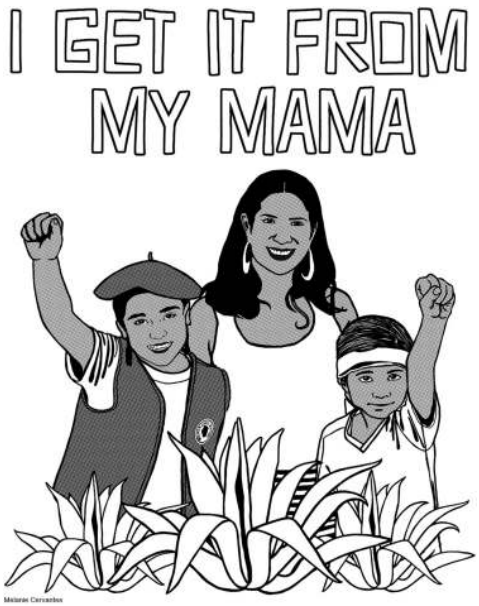


Figure **13.2.1**: I Get it From My Mama. (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; Melanie Cervantes via JustSeeds)

Indigenous Sovereignty

Indigenous sovereignty refers to the self-determination and legal standing of Native and Indigenous peoples. Sovereignty is distinct from other forms of justice because it refers to the historical relationship between peoples and governments, including the system of government within a particular society or territory. Sovereignty is an explicitly political project that concerns land rights, treaties between tribes and other governments, including the United States, and the political standing of Native Americans and Indigenous peoples. Sovereignty is also a matter of economic capacity and spiritual integrity. Native and Indigenous peoples work to ensure that there are resources to support and grow self-determination, as well as the continuation of cultural, religious, and spiritual traditions that sustain political processes and traditional knowledge.

The project of decolonization refers to the continued struggle to assert and restore tribal sovereignty in the face of settler-colonialism and systems of genocide. Decolonization is a far-reaching agenda that requires us to commit to changing how we think about ourselves and our history, in tandem with political and cultural advocacy that affirms sovereignty (Tuck and Wang 2012).

Queer and Trans of Color Critiques and Intersectionality

Intersectional and queer of color approaches to collective action have worked to address justice for historically minoritized and exploited groups by focusing on those who experience multiple forms of oppression. The term intersectionality was coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) to describe the unique experiences of Black women, whose claims of illegal discrimination based on race and sex were denied in the court system. Beyond the legal system, intersectionality has been used to highlight how mainstream narratives erase the unique experiences of women of color and other multiply marginalized groups. The notion of intersectionality resonated with other groups like Chicanas, Native and Indigenous feminists, and womanists, who have developed the framework for over 30 years. See also Chapter 8, section 8.2 "What is Intersectionality?"

The phrase intersectionality is a key term for emphasizing experiences of race, gender, sexuality, immigration status, and more. The idea behind intersectionality was developed within social movements and activist communities, including within the Black feminist lesbian tradition (Lorde 2007). The Combahee River Collective statement in 1977 articulated some of the key aspects of intersectionality, including a focus on power relations, systemic oppression, and the importance of continually taking action to make change. You can read this statement in full on the Black Past website. Similarly, Brazilian Black feminists like Lélia Gonzalez also articulated these ideas long before 1989.

These key principles are also utilized in queer and trans of color frameworks (Ferguson, 2003). For example, while many are familiar with the parades and community gatherings held for Pride celebrations today, these would not have been possible without the leadership of queer and trans people of color like Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson. These figures were fearless advocates for the trans people of color and queer people of color experiencing vulnerability and risk based on discrimination and exclusion. Cisheteropatriarchy has been resisted within Ballroom culture, which provides a unique social setting for People of Color, including Black drag queens, to celebrate diversity and cultivate spaces to disidentify with dominant cultures (Muñoz, 1999).

Sidebar: Ballroom Culture

Ballroom culture originated in the late 20th century in big cities around the country, with Black and Latinx LGBTQ+ communities celebrating culture and community through dance, performance, and fashion. The styles of Ballroom dancing have had major impacts on popular culture, including being the source of Madonna's *Vogue* and popularizing dance moves like the "death drop" that appear in RuPaul's Drag Race and on memes circulated online. Despite this mainstream influence, many of the performers and organizers of Ball culture remain in precarious housing and economic situations, with little resources or security. The 1990 documentary, *Paris is Burning*, introduces Ball culture with a more serious consideration of participants' lived experiences. More recently, the TV series *Pose* (2018-2021) featured a popular, fictional retelling of the inner-workings of New York City Ball culture in the late 1980s.

Disability Justice Framework

Working in solidarity for social transformation includes many groups that have been marginalized and oppressed. In addition to ethnicity, race, gender, and sexuality, people with disabilities have built movements for self-representation, advocacy, and social change using a **disability justice framework**. The category of disability is broad and can include physical disabilities, emotional disabilities, and cognitive disabilities. Within any of these categories, a disability may be visible or invisible, and temporary or permanent.

The group Sins Invalid has put forward a framework to organize work for disability justice, which has ten components.

1. Disability justice must be intersectional and take into account the range of experiences and identities that overlap with disability experiences.
2. Disability justice means centering the leadership of the most impacted individuals and communities. This means prioritizing people with disabilities based on their own perspectives and not their family members, doctors, or other "experts."
3. Disability justice means taking up anti-capitalistic politics. Capitalism places value on people based on their productivity and ability to create monetary gains, and many people with disabilities cannot or do not translate their worth in terms of paid employment.
4. Disability justice is a commitment to cross-movement organizing, such as economic justice movements, racial justice, and gender justice.
5. Disability justice is recognizing wholeness. This means taking a broad perspective on our humanity, and not defining people solely based on one aspect of themselves, such as a single identity. Some people with disabilities intentionally chose "person-first" language like, "people with disabilities" as opposed to "disability-first" language like "disabled people" to emphasize humanity and wholeness. Notably, some people with disabilities choose to use terms like "disabled" so that it draws attention to the process of society disabling people through active choices and policies.
6. Disability justice is sustainability, meaning that at an individual, social, and environmental level, we must be able to sustain our movements and support ongoing activism.
7. Disability justice is a commitment to cross-disability solidarity. This means working together across different experiences of disability. People with physical disabilities, emotional disabilities, and cognitive disabilities may have little in common within

their day to day experiences, however, through intentional movement building and solidarity, everyone's concerns can be brought together.

8. Disability justice is interdependence, which involves a recognition that we are all implicated with each other. It is sometimes characterized that people without disabilities are independent and people with disabilities are dependent. However, all people are both independent and dependent, and when we recognize our interdependence, we can be more effective in supporting each other.
9. Disability justice is collective access. This builds on the notion of interdependence to think beyond the individual level when considering disability issues. Collective access can mean considering how groups, families, and communities can access spaces and institutions. For example, are ramps, elevators, and sidewalk cutouts present throughout entire neighborhoods? And, which neighborhoods have these supports available in the built environment? Are caretakers and family members of people with disabilities included in accommodations and accessibility procedures?
10. Disability justice is collective liberation. This emphasizes that when working for inclusion, justice, and equity, marginalized groups can support each other to reach further and create change.

Together, these principles are essential for understanding disability justice, and they can also be applied and adapted to consider a range of social issues and movement organizing.

Sidebar: Disability Advocacy and Pop Culture

Disability justice advocates help to identify when words or phrases are exclusionary to people with disabilities. For example, in June 2022, fans discovered that Lizzo's upcoming song featured an offensive term and Twitter user @hannah_diviney posted this to express her disappointed. Many more began to join in the conversation and speak out against this particular term, along with other commonly used words that maintain derogatory meanings against people with disabilities. Lizzo revised her song and made a public apology, which was met with widespread admiration on social media. However, the reading of "spaz" as a derogatory term has been challenged by Black disabled people who recognize that it has a different history and context among Black people. However, as a non-disabled person, Lizzo acted as an ally to the people who were harmed by her word choice, a concept which is covered further in the next section.

Allies, Accomplices, and Co-Conspirators

When considering the use of these structural frameworks for sovereignty and justice, it is important to recognize that change is carried out by individual people working in community. Individuals may carry a range of marginalized or privileged statuses, including in combination. When thinking about working from the space of privileged identities, scholars and activists have described opportunities to be an accomplice, ally, or co-conspirator.

Allies are members of a dominant group who take an active role in understanding their own privilege and working to support members of a marginalized group. Some examples of actions that allies take include: educating themselves about historical and contemporary injustice, being vocal advocates for anti-racism, interrupting acts of bias, and supporting people who have experienced discrimination. There is no one right way to be an ally, but many opportunities to practice allyship when a person is operating from the standpoint of privilege. This practice builds relationships across differences and encourages listening, learning from mistakes, and continually taking action. Allies take action without centering their own identity or seeking validation of their allyhood. When individuals from a privileged standpoint recenter themselves and their own validation, they are no longer acting as an ally or working against a pattern of marginalization.

Allyship is just one component of acting in solidarity against systems of marginalization. For instance, **accomplices** go beyond supporting members of a marginalized group to take sustained and proactive action. This includes white people who actively work toward anti-racism, men committed to ending patriarchy, and straight/cisgender people who work against the oppression of LGBTQ+ people. Accomplices have already developed substantial knowledge and cultural humility to align their actions with the leadership and goals of marginalized group members. The concept of solidarity is visualized in the image contained at the end of this section. Another term that is often used to describe this kind of solidarity practice is co-conspirator. This refers to the necessity of working actively in continual collaboration with people of color and other marginalized groups and taking active risks to unsettle the status quo. In Figure 13.2.2, you can see an artistic rendition of solidarity, with a group of individuals protesting together,

including a sign that says, "We work in solidarity with everyday people impacted by U.S. wars and militarism. We prioritize solidarity with the demands of grassroots liberatory movements wherever possible, not state powers."

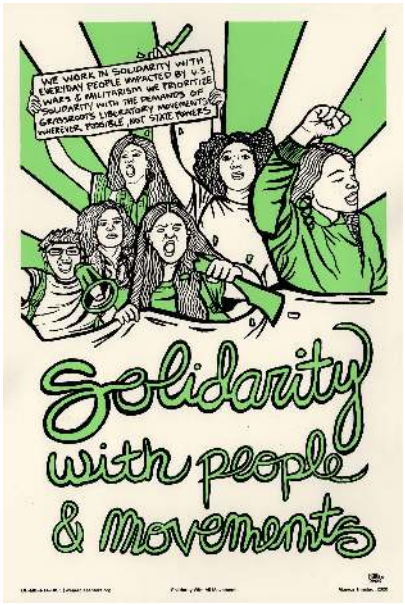


Figure 13.2.2: Solidarity with All Movements. (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; Monica Trinidad via JustSeeds)

Digital Activism

The Internet has created many new opportunities for activism, social movement building, and connecting people together to help create change in our communities and society. In the early 21st century, Internet-enabled devices like computers, tablets, and smartphones became increasingly more accessible to the public. New forms of social media allowed for direct communication between individuals at a global scale without the same barriers and gatekeepers involved in broadcast media, like television, radio, and publishing. This became a major asset for activists in repressive countries with strict governmental controls, leading to events like the “Arab Spring” in 2010 and 2011, where activists staged massive protests against authoritarianism and corruption. In the United States, the Occupy Wall Street movement in 2011 was an early example of social media being used to spread information about protests. You can learn more about the Arab Spring from the 11-minute radio report on NPR linked here. Occupy Wall Street originated the slogan of the “99%” for economic solidarity among working-class and middle-class communities, and you can find out more about the movement on their website linked here. The tweets that brought activists together to protest capitalism and economic exploitation in New York City quickly spread around the country and eventually the globe, spawning “Occupy” demonstrations in cities and towns where people set up camps in public places that functioned on a collectivist ethic, prioritizing horizontal leadership, as well as raising awareness about economic inequalities.

Now, digital activism is included in nearly every social movement and social justice issue. According to an article by the Pew Research Center (2021), 60% of adults in the U.S. use their smartphone, computer, or tablet often. The rising popularity of social media activism has also led to critiques of what some refer to as “slack-tivism” where people post something on social media but do not engage in sustained action beyond a single post. In these instances, digital activism is mostly seen as a performance that is disconnected from the sustained work of movement building, collective action, and social change. However, digital activism emphasizes the multiple potential targets of social movement organizing. For instance, Twitter users can post messages and start hashtags that seek to raise awareness about political issues and elections, hold corporations accountable, share and critique cultural productions, and organize public discussions. Hashtags are used to raise awareness and inspire people to join in the movement and make it their own. In Figure 13.2.3, the artist has rendered the hashtag "#JusticeForGeorgeFloyd," demonstrating how social media conventions have permeated all forms of representation, including art.

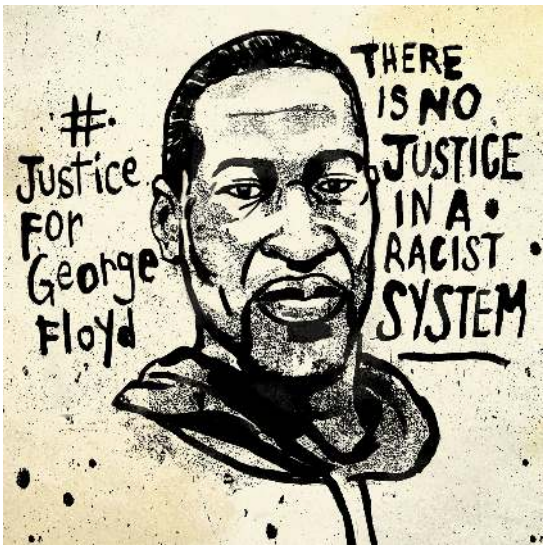


Figure 13.2.3: Justice for George Floyd. (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; Damon Locks via JustSeeds)

Artistic Resistance

Arts and culture are vital domains for activism and social movements. Artistic expression can be used to communicate critiques of social institutions and authority structures and as a way of building and mobilizing collective identities. Art is a powerful communication tool and has the advantage of having multiple meanings for multiple audiences. Phrases and melodies used in hip-hop, poetry, and music of various genres can illuminate social structures and build connections in place of isolation. Art is also used to spread messages through the built environment through monuments, sculptures, murals, tagging, posters, and stickers.

For example, memorials are an important site of collective identity both for social movements and social institutions. For example, in the southeastern United States, many statues honor Confederate leaders and soldiers from the U.S. Civil War. The Confederacy existed from 1861-1865 as a last-ditch attempt to maintain the system of U.S. chattel slavery. However, many Confederate memorials and symbols are circulated both within and beyond the former Confederate states in the U.S. South. The supporters of these monuments often claim to recognize their historical or cultural value, but they communicate support for slavery and racism among white people. Similarly, in 2021, First Nations activists in Canada toppled a statue of both Queen Victoria and Queen Elizabeth II in response to the discovery of mass graves of Native children in the country's Boarding Schools.

Art can be powerful in conveying messages through symbols. For example, in the image shown in 13.2.4, the long shadow behind students conveys the heavy weight of fear in living in a society where school shootings are normalized.



Figure 13.2.4: Protect Students Not Guns. (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; Pete Railand via JustSeeds)

Images can also communicate complex social realities and contradictions. For example, in the activist poster in Figure 13.2.5, a Latina migrant woman is shown looking backward over a coastal landscape with a traditional scarf, a monarch butterfly perched on her shoulder, and the circular halo associated with Catholic saints, but mirroring the color and pattern of the monarch butterfly's wings. Accompanied by the text, "Migrar es resistencia anticolonial" ("Migration is anticolonial resistance"), this image signals a transnational identity rooted in liberation and faith.



Figure 13.2.5: Migrar es Resistencia Anticolonial (Migration is Anticolonial Resistance). (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; Pilar Emitxin via JustSeeds)

Because of art's ability to challenge conventional thinking and reveal important social realities, it has always been a crucial tool for social movements. One way this can be seen is that authoritarian regimes often target artists and scholars to help maintain social control and oppression. Creativity can be dangerous to those in power who seek to divide and exploit. Culture plays an important role in shared struggles over who we are, how we remember the past, and what that means for the future.

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13.3: U.S. Civil Rights and Liberatory Movements

The Civil Rights Movement

The Montgomery bus **boycott** of 1955 is widely recognized as the start of the modern **Civil Rights Movement** in the United States, with the arrest of Rosa Parks who refused to give her seat to a white passenger. Still, it should be noted that earlier court cases, direct actions, and civil disobedience all led to the development of this movement, and Parks was not the first to refuse giving up her seat on the bus. However, Parks' actions *did* lead to the Montgomery bus boycott becoming one of the most impactful boycotts in the U.S., ushering in a mass movement to dismantle the Jim Crow South and legal segregation of schools, businesses, and public transportation. The Civil Rights Movement also instituted voting rights for African Americans and other disenfranchised communities. This era culminated into significant legislative victories including: the U.S. Supreme Court decision of Brown v. Board of Education (1954), the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968.

The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. emerged as a leader for this movement, although there were many others who haven't been as widely recognized for their contributions including women and gay men. Bayard Rustin, Fannie Lou Hamer, Ella Baker, and Septima Clark, to name a select few, played instrumental roles in what is considered one of the most effective mass movements in U.S. history.

One year since the start of the boycott, buses were desegregated following a Supreme Court ruling and Dr. King quickly became a national political figure. He established the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and led multiple nonviolent protests against "the moral injustices of a segregated society" (Paulson, 2020, p. 144). Dr. King led more than 200,000 supporters of the movement in the 1963 March on Washington, D.C., and led another major protest of the movement in 1965, marching from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama to pressure Congress to pass the voting rights bill. In most instances, peaceful demonstrators were met with violence, harassment, arrests and even death by white mobs and police.



Figure **13.3.1**: Civil Rights March on Washington, D.C. (Children near the Washington Monument), August 28, 1963. (Licensed under Public Domain; U.S. National Archives and Records Administration)

An earlier landmark decision was the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which overturned the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling on "separate but equal" in public education, making racial segregation in schools illegal (pp. 142-143). The decision was met with severe resistance from whites, with some school districts preferring to close their schools instead of integrating with African American students. When a violent white mob attempted to stop the integration of Black students in Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, President Eisenhower sent federal troops to protect the "Little Rock Nine" (p. 143). See also "Challenges to Legal Segregation" under Chapter 2.

It is important to note that the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case was not the first to address segregation and discrimination in schools. In 1884, Chinese Americans Mary and Joseph Tape were not allowed to enroll their daughter in the San Francisco public school district because she was Chinese. The Tapes sued the school board and the landmark California Supreme Court Case, *Tape v. Hurley* (1884) ruled that all children, including children of non-white immigrants, were entitled to public education in the state.

However, the state assembly passed a law that established racially segregated schools under a separate but equal doctrine and the Tapes' daughter, enrolled in a separate school in Chinatown that was created for Chinese and other Asian American children.

The 1946 *Mendez v. Westminster* case was another landmark decision challenging school segregation, and this was a crucial precursor to *Brown v. Board of Education.* Gonzalo Mendez (Mexican American) and Felicitas Mendez (Puerto Rican) tried to their enroll their three children in a public elementary school in Orange County but were denied because the school didn't allow Mexican Americans to attend. They and 5,000 other similarly aggrieved parents filed suit against multiple Orange County schools districts and ultimately the Supreme Court declared that segregation on the basis of a Spanish surname was unconstitutional. See also "Sidebar: *Mendez vs. Westminster* and Discrimination in California's Public Schools" under Chapter 2.



Figure **13.3.2**: A 2007 stamp commemorated the Mendez v. Westminster case that ended school segregation in California. (CC BY 2.0; USDA photo by Bob Nichols).

“Sit-ins” were another useful tactic for the Civil Rights movement, started by four Black college students protesting the discrimination of Black patrons at the local Woolworth’s lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. These students and supporters formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1960, and they played an important role in voter registration drives.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 prohibited literacy tests and an amendment in 1970 and 1975 banned literacy tests in all fifty states permanently (p.142). Literacy tests, poll taxes, white primaries and other policies were adopted in the Jim Crow South at the end of Reconstruction as a way to eliminate the African American right to vote (p. 141).

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 made it illegal to discriminate on grounds of “race, color, religion or national origin,” adding the banning of discrimination in employment practices, and it was followed up by the Civil Rights Act of 1968, also known as the Fair Housing Act, which prohibited discrimination in housing.

Black Panthers

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, often called the Black Panther Party (BPP) was a political organization founded in 1966 in Oakland, California by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. The BPP was rooted in the ideology of Black nationalism, socialism, and armed self-defense, and the organization based its practices on the logic of separatism, rather than the integration approach taken by other civil rights organizations. This debate is a profound and existential one for many activists and movements, who must decide when to operate within the systems that exist and when to challenge the system as a whole and work for transformation. Stokley Carmichael was a BPP leader who led the party to form educational and social programs, in addition to political activity. Women also played an important role in the BPP, and can be seen in formation in Figure **13.3.3**.



Figure **13.3.3**: Black Panthers Women. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Rainalee111 via Wikimedia Commons)

Leaders like Bobby Seale sponsored initiatives like the Free Breakfast Program, which provided meals to low-income children, helping them to be better prepared and engaged throughout their school day. This was an effective strategy because it directly helped people in need, it demonstrated the capacity and funding for a group of people to provide and distribute food for free, and it raised awareness about one way that economic condition (the ability to provide breakfast) was influencing academic outcomes (participation and engagement in school). Because of their high-profile successes, the BPP quickly became a target for the FBI, headed at the time by J. Edgar Hoover, who created the COINTELPRO program to infiltrate, surveil, and divide members to bring down and dismantle domestic organizations that challenged the status quo, including the Black Panther Party. An image showing the targeting of Black Panther Party leaders is included in Figure **13.3.4**.



Figure **13.3.4**: Black Panther Party poster - Featuring Black Panther Party leaders, which reads, “Revolutionary Intercommunal Day of Solidarity for Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Political Prisoner, Ericka Huggins, Black Panther Party, Political Prisoner, Angela Davis, Political Prisoner, Ruchell Magee, Political, Prisoner, and a Post-Birthday Celebration for Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense and Supreme Commander of the Black Panther Party, Speakers: Huey P. Newton, Kathleen Cleaver, Communications Secretary, Black Panther Party, Music by the Grateful Dead, Friday March 5th, 1971, 7:00 PM to 11:00 PM, Oakland Auditorium Arena, 10-Tenth Street, Oakland, California.” (CC BY 2.0; CIR Online via Flickr)

Asian American Movement, 1960s - 1970s

In the wake of the Civil Rights Movement and Black Power, Asian Americans were inspired to forge their own way based on a pan-ethnic identity. Rejecting the label, “Oriental,” young Asian Americans of the 1960s adopted the term “Asian American” to describe their identity and movement. Resisting both the “model minority” and “yellow peril” stereotypes, they organized for

economic and racial justice in education, labor, and housing, along with fighting in solidarity with Black, Brown, and Native communities who faced related oppressions rooted in white supremacy, capitalism, and imperialism.

Asian American Studies historian, Daryl Maeda, pointed out how the Asian American movement "drew heavily from the African-American movement" in order to inform Asian American subjectivity and racial commonality, such as embracing the militant style of dress, adoption of the "Black Power" slogan to "Yellow Power," and deeper connections between the Asian American and African American movements. For instance, the work of Japanese American activist Yuri Kochiyama's dedication to Back liberation struggles and close friendship with Malcolm X (Fujino, 2005) (Dhingra and Rodriguez, 2021, p. 73).



Figure **13.3.5**: Illustration of Japanese American activist, Yuri Kochiyama (watercolor and collage). (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0; By Kay Fischer)

Asian American activists and organizations participated in **"serve-the-people" programs** fighting for affordable housing, access to healthcare and social services, labor rights, women's rights, and LGBTQ rights. For example, one of the major campaigns for housing was the decades-long effort to save the International Hotel (I-Hotel) in San Francisco, which primarily housed elderly Filipinx and Chinese men who lived in the single room occupancy building. When in 1969, the owners of the I-Hotel attempted to evict residents who had nowhere else to go, the Asian American movement rallied to protect the residents, even forming barricades and facing 250 riot police (Lee, 2015, p. 307 - 308).

Similar to what many other women of color activists faced in that era, Asian American women called out the sexism and secondary status they faced, being relegated to background work like taking notes, making coffee, and even cleaning toilets. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Asian Americans felt marginalized both within the mainstream white gay liberation movement and within the Asian American movement. Activist and journalist, Helen Zia remembered being put on trial by other Asian American and Black liberation activists in Boston, stating, "I had not yet come out, and they made it clear that if I did, I would also be out of the liberation community. That threatening message kept me in the closet for the next several years" (pp. 309 - 310).

The Asian American movement was uniquely transnational as well, as members organized against U.S. wars, militarism, and imperialism in Asia. For example, they protested against the Vietnam War, critiqued US military occupation in Okinawa and Korea, and aligned with other anti-colonial, anti-imperial, socialist, and communist struggles in Asia. As noted by Maeda, the Asian American movement "sought to achieve radical social change by building interracial coalitions and transnational solidarities" with the goal of dismantling interlocking systems of oppression (p. 304, p. 308).

The Asian American movement was formed across college campuses, including the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA) started by Yuji Ichioka and Emma Gee in 1968 at UC Berkeley. They were the first organization to use the term "Asian American." AAPA was intentionally pan-ethnic, bringing together Asian Americans across generations, class, and ethnicity. AAPA also "explicitly critiqued the United States as a racist, imperialistic, and exploitative society," pointing out how Asian Americans have been systematically affected by racial injustice. AAPA also committed to interracial solidarity with other "Third World people," both abroad and within the United States. AAPA played a major role at both SF state (1968) and UC Berkeley's (1969) Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) strike to bring about Ethnic Studies at colleges and universities across the nation (pp. 304 - 305).

Young Lords (1968 - 1972)

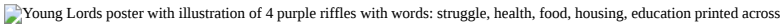


Figure **13.3.6**: Young Lords Party: Health, Food, Housing, Education. (Public Domain; Smithsonian Institution)

The Young Lords started in 1968 with Puerto Rican youth in Chicago, many of whom were former gang members. The socialist organization advocated for grassroots services controlled by and for the people. They also organized for Puerto Rican independence (a U.S. territory since the 1898 Spanish-American War), including leading a march of 10,000 in 1970 in New York City. The Young Lords Organization (YLO) chapter in New York City, founded by Puerto Rican college students, became the Young Lords Party. Chapters were formed mostly o the east coast and also briefly in Hayward, California (Ruíz and Sánchez, Korrol, 2006, pp. 815 - 816). The Young Lords were inspired by global liberation struggles and the Black Panther Party (BPP). The original Chicago group gained a national spotlight when taking over a local church to provide community services for the poor. Similar to the Black Panthers, the Young Lords dressed in military style with army jackets, combat boots, and purple berets with a YLO button (Hulst, 2013, pp. 636-639).

The Young Lords' community organizing centered on the social needs of working class and poor Puerto Rican communities, including garbage collecting, free hot breakfast for children, clothing drives, child-care services, Puerto Rican history classes, health programs, and entertainment through poetry readings, music, etc. Their health offensive focused on taking over the Lincoln Hospital in the South Bronx and organizing a lead poison and tuberculosis testing site. Another offensive focused on prison conditions for incarcerated Puerto Rican and African Americans, who were reporting high suicide rates, in addition to addressing police violence, drug addiction, and the war in Vietnam (Ruíz and Sánchez Korrol, 2006, p. 816).

Puerto Rican women were active in the Young Lords from the beginning, confronting "male chauvinism" within the party. In 1971, Denise Oliver, the first woman on the Central Committee, called for women's participation, stating,

> when the Party got started, there were very few sisters….We saw that we really weren't gonna be able to do any kind of constructive organizing in the community without sisters actively involved…because most of the people that we're organizing are women with children, through the free-breakfast program and through the free-clothing drive and health care programs (Ruíz and Sánchez Korrol, 2006, p. 816).

Women in the party called out how they were often relegated to domestic and office work, such as typing, taking care of children, and being sexualized by male members. Female Young Lords formed a women's caucus, recognizing the need to discuss and dismantle machismo culture in the community. The party recognized the intersection of women's oppression, capitalism, and imperialism, and eventually revised their Thirteen Point Program to assert gender equality and an end to homophobia (Ruíz and Sánchez Korrol, 2006, p. 816). The program also addressed the group's desire for self-determination, anti-racism, community control over institutions like hospitals, schools, and law enforcement, for Puerto Rican history and Spanish language to be taught, and they demanded a socialist and nonviolent state (Hulst, 2013, pp. 636-639).

The Young Lords didn't last a very long time, but they still made an impact by asserting Puerto Rican independence and rights for Puerto Ricans in the U.S. They experienced some divisions within the organization as well as infiltration by the FBI's COINTELPRO, similar to what happened to the BPP. In 1972, the remaining Young Lords became the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (Hulst, 2013 & Ruíz and Sánchez Korrol, 2006). Former members continued the fight for Puerto Rican freedom, by occupying the Statue of Liberty in 1977, demanding the release of Puerto Rican political prisoners and protesting against U.S. military exercises on the island of Vieques (Hulst, 2013, pp. 636-639).

Brown Berets

In the 1960s, heightened awareness of racial injustice inspired many groups to stand up and take action. The Brown Berets were one such group that formed among Chicana/o/x activists. It began with a group of high school students who were part of a civic participation program inspired by the Black Panther Party to take a stance of radical nationalism. Chapters formed in California and around the country, and many are still active today. The group shared ideological positions with the Black Panther Party, including resistance to police brutality, opposition to the Vietnam War, and a militant commitment to revolutionary social change. This position also made them a regular target for government interference and sabotage. They implemented free medical and food programs to help community members affected by disparities in access. The Brown Berets have always taken on a coalitional standpoint and embraced a commitment to Third World alliances with other communities of color in the U.S. and around the world.

The image shown in Figure **13.3.7** features a young activist in 1994 as part of the Brown Berets preparing to participate in a protest for immigration equity and against Proposition 187.



Figure **13.3.7**: 1994 No On 187 March Kings Canyon Rd Fresno. (CC BY 2.0; David Prasad via Flickr)

American Indian Movement

During the 1960s, Native American communities were dealing with many of the same issues as communities of color in the United States. The US government embraced an urban relocation model that forced Native Americans off of reservations and traditional lands into low-income jobs and neighborhoods in cities and urban areas. Although the government promised jobs, housing, and healthcare, these were few and far between. The mixture of many tribal groups in large cities led to the embracing of a pan-Indian identity united by shared experiences of settler-colonialism, genocide, and displacement. This included dealing with tensions between urban Native communities and those living on reservations, the highest unemployment rates of any racial or ethnic group, and disparate rates of child abductions and children being taken into foster care and adopted by non-Native families. The pan-Indian community acted as a support system and buffer against racism and poverty and fostered resilience. Today, there is a backlash against the pan-Indian identity because it erases cultural specificity and traditional tribal knowledge.

The American Indian Movement (AIM) was first formed in Minneapolis in 1968 before expanding to other chapters around the country. Some of the key figures in AIM include Russel Means, Dennis Banks, Clyde Bellecourt, John Trudell, Leonard Peltier, and Mary Jane Wilson. Roberta Downwind suggested the name “AIM,” which lends itself to graphic interpretation in the form of arrows and targets, signaling the legacy and importance of resistance. One major difference between AIM and other civil rights movements was that their focus was less on integration with dominant society and more on maintaining cultural integrity, the enforcement of treaty rights, and empowering tribal sovereignty. Key issues for AIM included: economic independence and opportunity, police brutality and abuse, and culturally relevant healthcare. Women leaders played a key role in speaking up to both anti-Native issues but also the unique experiences and perspectives of Native feminists. AIM was involved in many demonstrations, including the occupation of Alcatraz Island in the San Francisco Bay from 1969-1971, as well as the Longest Walk from Alcatraz to Washington, DC.

One major success of AIM was lifting the ban on Native American spiritual ceremonies that was established by U.S. law in 1884 through the American Indian Religious Freedom Act in 1978. This built on a decade of legal reform, including the 1965 Indian Self-Determination and Education Act, 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act, 1972 Indian Education Act, 1975 Indian Education Assistance and Self-Determination Act, and 1978 Indian Child Welfare Act. Like the Black Panthers and Brown Berets, AIM was targeted by the FBI for infiltration and disruption, and the national organization disbanded in 1978, although it was outlived by local chapters of AIM that continue to mobilize and inspire Native American and Indigenous activists today.

AIM was not the only organization to mobilize Native peoples from multiple tribes. For example, the National Congress of American Indians was founded in 1944 to face off against the federal government and improve the conditions of Native Americans. The group was somewhat more moderate in advocating for reforms. The National Indian Youth Council was formed in 1961 to advocate for sovereignty and human rights. Youth were dissatisfied with the advocacy and leadership of elders. Similarly, Women of All Red Nations (WARN) formed out of AIM and focused on the leadership and experiences of Native women.

Women advocates were key to many aspects of Native American and American Indian movements. For example, the occupation of Wounded Knee was a protest designed, organized, and implemented by older women. After spearheading dissent at Pine Ridge, the Oglala Lakota Sioux women took on more responsibilities, including carrying weapons. Leaders like Bisonette and Moves Camp were key elders who carried out negotiations on behalf of the movement. See also "Alcatraz, AIM and Wounded Knee" under Chapter 4.

Sidebar: Political Prisoners

As part of the strategy of intimidation and subversion, the U.S. federal government has taken activists as political prisoners. Mumia Abu-Jamal was 14 years old when we has beaten by white racists and a police officer. He found the Black Panther Party (BPP) and embraced its approach to change, moving to Oakland to live with BPP members and organize for the movement. However, he also came under surveillance by the FBI, which made him a target. He was charged and convicted with killing a police officer and has been held in prison ever since, currently serving a life sentence without parole. Similarly, Leonad Peltier was arrested shortly after his involvement in the Wounded Knee occupation and general community leadership. He was charged for the death of two police officers, although there is much evidence that was missing from the trial. Peltier maintains his innocence and substantial evidence was not reviewed in the first trial and appeal for the case. However, the targeting of activists for their outspoken advocacy can lead to a “chilling effect” where activists are less likely to take risks out of fear of imprisonment or other consequences. You can view artistic renditions of both individuals in Figure **13.3.8** and Figure **13.3.9**.

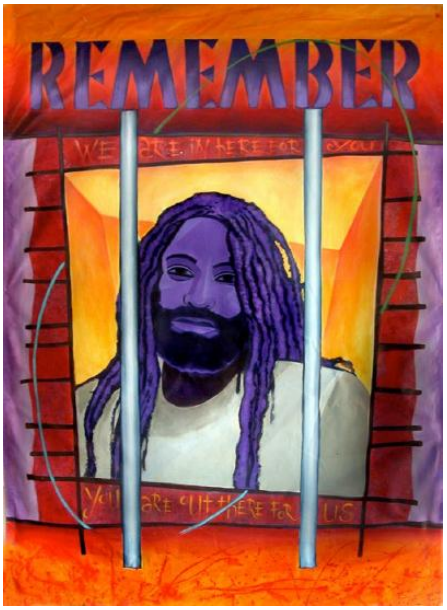


Figure **13.3.8**: Mumia. (Free Cultural Works; Mike Alewitz via Wikimedia Commons)



Figure **13.3.9**: Leonard Peltier. (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; Bec Young via JustSeeds)

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13.4: Labor Movements- Domestic Workers

13.4.1: Worker-led Struggles

> Institutionalized rejection of difference is an absolute necessity in a profit economy which needs outsiders as surplus people.
>
> - Audre Lorde, 1998

Although many workers in the U.S. today might take for granted the 8-hour work day, the end of child labor and slave labor, minimum wage, and more, these basic workers' rights weren't simply handed down from our government, "generous" companies, nor bosses. These were hard-won rights that took decades and unfortunately many lives. Even when workers' rights were won, they weren't always equally applied, such as when the National Labor Relations Act was passed in 1935, and African Americans and other workers of color were largely excluded from such legislative protections until decades later. Lately however, even those important wins stemming from our rich and violent history of labor struggles have been taken away due various structural changes, including the rise of mega-corporations, the consolidation of wealth, deindustrialization, and the continued hyper-exploitation of contract, part-time, undocumented, immigrant, and female workers.

Along with the capitalist exploitation of the masses (intersecting with white supremacy and colonialism), there are worker-led struggles whose legacies have most definitely made an impact and continue to influence current workers' movements. In this section, we'll examine the domestic workers labor struggle through an Ethnic Studies lens. In the next section, agricultural workers.

13.4.2: Domestic Workers

Paramount to understanding the significance of labor movements, we should start by examining the experiences and movements of the most exploited workers, who often end up being women of color, including colonized women, enslaved women, and immigrant women of color.

In this section, we'll examine the political impact made by domestic workers movements. As pointed out by Premilla Nadasen in her book, *Household Workers Unite* (2015), social movements and activism by domestic and household workers are often ignored in the media, overshadowed by narratives of helplessness and domestic workers needing rescue. Contrary to popular discourse, women of color domestic workers have resisted oppression for hundreds of years, from colonization to slavery to modern-day systemic racism, patriarchy, and capitalism. Through it all, they have attained political power, commanded respect in their work, and continue to make significant legislative, economic, and social transformations for domestic workers.

Sidebar: "A History of Domestic Work and Worker Organizing" Timeline

Take a look at the "A History of Domestic Work and Worker Organizing" digital timeline by the National Domestic Workers Alliance and activist-scholars Jennifer Guglielmo, Michelle Joffroy, and Diana Sierra Becerra. Using vibrant images and informative text, the timeline offers an in-depth examination of the rich history of domestic workers "resilience and resistance."

13.4.3: Enslaved Indigenous and African American Domestic Workers

We start with the impact of European colonization on indigenous populations of the Americas and the congruent enslavement of people from Africa. Although approaching the first Europeans with generosity and peace, Indigenous peoples were met with perverse violence and cruelty, their estimated population of 100 million slashed severely by 95% within the first 200 hundred years of colonization. By the 1600s, the Spanish were prominent settler-colonists of the Americas and had coerced, often violently, both Indigenous and African populations into a permanent servant status. This included unpaid domestic labor at Catholic missions, where Indigenous women were abused. They resisted in both covert methods, such as slowing down work, or more openly by leading revolts and setting missions on fire. One such resistor was Toypurina, a Gabrielino Tongva medicine woman, who led an armed rebellion against the San Gabriel Mission in 1785 (Domestic Workers Make History, 2022, 03:02).

Amongst early New England settler-colonists, the developing society began to rely on enslaved African labor by the mid-18th century. Tera W. Hunter, professor of American History and African American Studies, noted that enslaved Black women were creative in "seiz[ing] time…which they weren't given" (Domestic Workers Make History, 2022, 03:59). This included passing

around abolitionist newspapers in secret, joining rebellions, going on strikes, or running away from slave-owners. One of the most well known household names for abolitionists was Harriet Tubman, who was also a former domestic worker. Famous for leading some 13 expeditions to free others from slavery, Tubman also led African American union soldiers to free over 700 enslaved people in South Carolina in 1863 (04:45).

13.4.3.1: Legacy of Slavery Among Domestic Work in the South

Despite slavery being abolished through the 13th amendment, Black domestic workers continued to labor in slave-like conditions. Although technically free people, the legacy of slavery remained steadfast (Domestic Workers Make History, 2022, 05:47). Black domestic workers organized for better pay and set parameters around their labor, such as insisting that if they were hired to be a cook, they should not have to clean the house or become a child nurse. They created mutual aid groups and pooled their resources so that they could support one another economically during times of need.

In 1881, the largest domestic workers strike of the 19th century took place in Atlanta, Georgia, where a group of 20 Black washerwomen collectively decided on a standard rate for their work. They named themselves the Washing Society and within three short weeks, they had already recruited 3,000 members (including Black cooks and housekeepers, and Irish immigrants). They threatened to go on a general strike and were met with arrests and fines as retaliation. Regardless, the movement spread and washerwomen struck across various states. In North Carolina, strikers declared: “Let the white people learn to serve themselves” (Domestic Workers Make History, 2022, 09:30).

By the 1930s when the Great Depression hit, workers and unemployed people demonstrated on the streets, demanding labor protections, soon compelling the federal government to pass some of the first labor protection laws. Professor Nadasen stated how 8 hour days and overtime pay were all a part of labor laws “that established a broad safety net for workers across the country.” Yet two categories of workers were excluded from such legislation: agricultural and domestic workers, populations that disproportionately included African American and Latina women, “so racism played a big role in how labor protections were allocated in the 1930s” ((Domestic Workers Make History, 2022, 10:30).

13.4.3.2: Kidnapping Native American Children



Figure **13.4.1**: Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pa. Cooking class. Frances Benjamin Johnston Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Reproduction number LC-USZ62-26783. (Photo by Frances Benjamin Johnston)

From the late 19th century into the mid-20th century, the practice of kidnapping Indigenous children from their families and imprisoning them at government sponsored, so-called Indian Boarding Schools was common practice. The motto “Kill the Indian, Save the Man” was used to justify the violent and abusive treatment endured by 20,000 Native children at these schools, with the purpose of destroying Indigenous cultures and families. Native girls were tracked to provide domestic work, trained to do ironing, cooking, and housekeeping. Brenda Child (Red Lake Ojibwe) wrote, “Indian students in the government boarding schools were constantly bombarded with the notion that they were best suited for menial labor” (Guglielmo, et al., 2021, “Menial Labor as Civilization”). Outing programs placed Native teen girls to be live-in domestic workers in white homes across the southwest in cities like Los Angeles, Tucson, and San Francisco. The practice of separating Native American children from their parents and

families continued until 1978, when the Indian Child Welfare Act gave Native American parents the legal right to resist their child's placement in Indian Boarding Schools. See also "Assimilation, Boarding Schools and Adoption" under Chapter 4.

13.4.4: Domestic Work in the Borderlands

Indigenous and Mexican women of the borderlands had been resisting slavery, kidnappings, and deplorable working conditions as domestic workers for over 100 years. Workers fought back in various ways, from work stoppages to leaving ranchos, to violent insurrections like the one at Rancho Jamul near San Diego, California in 1837 (Guglielmo, et al., 2021, "The Rancho Jamul Raid"). After U.S. conquest (1848) led to a remapping of borders, Indigenous populations faced land-theft, removal, containment, and surveillance. Chicanx people now on U.S. territory lost property as well, being "relegated to low-paid, low-status work, such as domestic and agricultural labor" ("We Didn't Cross the Border, the Border Crossed Us").

Mexican domestic workers were paid a third of what white domestic workers (largely European immigrants) were paid for the same work. In 1933, Chicana domestic workers established the Asociación de Trabajadoras Domésticas (The Association of Domestic Workers), organizing 700 domestic workers to demand higher wages. By the 1930s, almost all domestic workers were Mexican women from El Paso, Texas or Ciudad Juarez, just south of the border in Mexico. Employers in Texas would pit domestic workers from El Paso and Juarez against one another through low wages (Guglielmo, et al., 2021, "On Strike in El Paso"). If a worker in El Paso wanted fair wages, the employer would simply hire women from Juarez and pay them even less.

Despite the perpetual threat of deportations looming over workers, domestic workers continued to organize. When the Asociación de Trabajadoras Domésticas organized a strike, employers tried to have one of the leaders deported, even though she was a U.S. citizen. But after other unions joined in support, the employers conceded and met the strikers' demands, agreeing to pay domestic workers a dollar more per week.

13.4.5: Domestic Workers in the Civil Rights Movement

The modern Civil Rights Movement in the U.S. is recognized as having started with the arrest of Rosa Parks and the Montgomery bus boycott. More than a half century later, much of the labor and leadership by African American women have been erased from historic accounts of this movement, including the role of Black domestic workers in bus boycotts. In fact, most bus riders in the South were Black domestic workers, and *they* were the ones to initiate bus boycotts to bring an end to racial segregation. Depending on public transportation to get to their place of employment, domestic workers faced abuse and patronizing treatment by drivers. If the women didn't give up their seats for a white passenger, they risked getting kicked off the bus, arrested, hit, or even killed for their resistance, as some drivers carried weapons (Guglielmo, et al., 2021, "The Struggle Against Everyday Violence").

Georgia Gilmore, a cook and maid, had stopped riding the bus in protest of her mistreatment, years before Rosa Park's famous arrest. Of the boycott, Georgia said,

> This new generation had decided that they just had taken as much as they could….After the maids and the cooks stopped riding the bus, well, the bus didn't have any need to run. And so instead of riding the bus, they would walk. And then they began to form a carpool (Domestic Workers Make History, 2022, 16:16).

Domestic workers organized their friends to join the boycott, passed out flyers, and fundraised by selling pies and other meals, leading to a successful boycott of over a year when on November 13, 1956, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a lower court's ruling that segregation on buses violated the Fourteenth Amendment. According to Professor Nadasen,

> The Montgomery Bus Boycott was the moment that signifies the ways in which domestic workers were really the leaders of the boycott. And without their support, without their involvement, the Montgomery Bus Boycott, and much of the Civil Rights Movement would not have been possible (2022, 17:25).

13.4.6: The Rise of Workers Centers and Domestic Worker Organizing Today

Also during the 1970s and '80s, African American women began shifting out of domestic labor, as job markets started to slowly open up due to reforms that came out of the Civil Rights Movement. In the aftermath of U.S. wars, occupations, changing immigration laws, and interventions in Asia and Latin America, millions were uprooted from their homes resulting in migrations to the United States (Domestic Workers Make History, 2022, 28:05). With limited access to citizenship, women of the Caribbean, the

Philippines, Mexico, and Central America were starting to find scarce opportunities for employment other than domestic work. Linda Burnham of the National Domestic Workers Alliance notes that because some of these women came as experienced organizers from their countries of origin, the domestic workers movement evolved to be primarily led by immigrant women. With this came **workers centers** - places that addressed "particularly high degrees of exploitation" that the largely undocumented immigrant labor force faced, such as wage theft and "absolutely no rights to the basics" (29:20).

Mujeres Unidas y Activas (MUA) was an early workers center, established in the Bay Area. One of their co-founders, Clara Luz Navarros, used to be a nurse and community leader in El Salvador, fled political persecution, and brought her skills to the San Francisco Bay Area (Domestic Workers Make History, 2022, 30:31). Still active today, MUA is a grassroots organization led by Latina immigrant women advocating for "personal transformation and building community power for social and economic justice" (Mujeres Unidas y Activas, "MUA mission"). MUA pushed for the California Domestic Worker Bill of Rights, which passed as state law in 2016, and continues to fight for sanctuary protections in Alameda County to advocate for women seeking asylum or facing deportation, including the right to asylum for domestic violence survivors.

13.4.6.1: Transnational Movement Building by Filipina/x Domestic Workers

In the case of the Philippines, their economy, labor, and education continue to be heavily tied to and influenced by U.S. colonialism and militarism. Asian American Studies professor, Dr. Robyn Rodriguez, argues that the Philippines has become a "labor brokerage" state that "actively mobilizes and facilitates the export of workers…because it benefits from remittances (money sent to the homeland from immigrants…working abroad)" and therefore commonly migrate to the U.S. as workers (Dhingra & Rodriguez, 2021, p. 196). Neoliberal policies that further impoverish so-called "third world" nations have made it difficult for ordinary Filipinx people to find jobs and care for their families in the Philippines, and therefore end up working in a foreign country as temporary migrant workers. This is such a phenomenon that an acronym was created: OFWs or Overseas Filipino Workers, who were at 1.77 million in 2020 (Republic of the Philippines Statistics Authority, 2021). Remittances sent from OFWs in Canada, the United States, Japan, and more are what many in the Philippines depend on for survival, and remittances sent from domestic workers abroad are the "third-largest source of tax revenue for the Philippine government" (Guglielmo, et al., 2021, "Exporting Domestic Workers for Profit"). Some are even trafficked into domestic work, tricked into false contracts, having their pay withheld, and must endure living in an abusive setting (Benitez, 2018).

The Damayan Migrant Workers Association in New York City organizes with low-wage migrant workers to end labor trafficking and demand worker rights. Lead organizer, Riya Oritz, who considers herself a product of forced migration and a child of one of Damayan's co-founders, explained how being put in a desperate situation made thousands vulnerable to placement agencies that would often exploit and profit off OFWs. Ortiz's mother, Linda Oalican, pointed out how the struggle for domestic workers rights is multifold: addressing immediate conditions for workers, but also addressing larger systems of exploitation, such as patriarchy, imperialism, neoliberalism, and white supremacy, that created oppressive conditions for domestic workers in the first place (Benitez, 2018).

13.4.6.2: Domestic Workers Bill of Rights

At the first U.S. Social Forum in Atlanta, Georgia in 2007, domestic workers across the country gathered and established the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA). Along with various organizations and workers centers, they helped to pass the first comprehensive **domestic workers bill of rights** in New York in 2010, and soon similar campaigns sprang up across the nation. Silvia Gonzalez of Casa Latina, Seattle, stated (translated from Spanish): "There is more power and we start winning more bills of rights in more places. It's like popcorn when they start popping: we won one state, we won in another state" (Domestic Workers Make History, 2022, 35:05). In 2019, NDWA introduced the Domestic Workers Bill of Rights at the federal level. Central to NDWA's organizing mission is "building a multi-racial alliance to address the impact of anti-Black racism, unjust immigration policies, and other systems of oppression" (35:26). Allison Julien, of We Dream in Black, NDWA-New York, stated that she's "inspired by the domestic worker history. I'm inspired by their resilience, their ability to build community, their ability to build relationships in order to advocate for the change needed in the domestic work industry" (36:38).

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13.5: Labor Movements- Agricultural Workers

California's Dependence of Immigrant Farmworkers



Figure **13.5.1**: A crew of Filipinx farmworkers cut and load lettuce in the Imperial Valley, California. 1937. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Reproduction Number: LC-USF34-T01-016206-E. (Public Domain; Photo by Dorothea Lange)

Since the early 20th century, the California agriculture sector has largely depended on immigrant farmworkers. This started with Chinese immigrant laborers who shoveled irrigation channels and cleared the land in the Sacramento-San Joaquin River deltas, helping to transform this region into one of the most fertile farmlands in the nation. Anti-Asian racism persisted and with each iteration of Asian exclusion laws, the agricultural industry of California depended on the labor of different groups including Japanese, South Asian, Filipinx, and Mexican laborers. In the 1930s, some 400,000 white laborers impacted by the Great Depression came with the Dust Bowl migration and were also hired to work in the farm fields (Sowards, 2019, p. 19).

The Bracero Program (1942 - 1964) was another important moment in California's agriculture worker history. A joint agreement between U.S. and Mexican governments resulted in the "importation" of male agricultural laborers, also referred to as *braceros*, from Mexico to the U.S. to help fill the labor shortage during WWII. The second initiation of recruitment resulted from a U.S. executive order, and was essentially a guest worker program where *braceros* were hired cheaply to work temporarily and returned to Mexico. During such back and forth migration by Mexican workers, the lines of being documented and undocumented became blurred, resulting in a large-scale migration of undocumented workers to the United States (Quintana, 2018).



Figure 13.5.2: Mexican agricultural workers in Stockton, California in 1943. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Reproduction Number: LC-DIG-fsa-8d29109 (Public Domain; Photography by Marjory Collins)

Growers benefited from hiring immigrant laborers with limited access to other work opportunities and civil and human rights. According to Marshall Ganz, "Growers, in other words, learned how to recruit a workforce too powerless to give them much trouble—a workforce of impoverished new immigrants, noncitizens, and people of color" (2009, p. 24). This naturally resulted in not only abysmal pay, but enormously challenging working and living conditions. In addition to the physically tasking labor of bending over repeatedly under harsh weather, workers were exposed to dangerous chemicals, and families were forced to continuously move with the crop seasons, keeping their children out of school. By the 1960s, life expectancy for farmworkers in California was around forty-nine years (Ruiz and Korrol, 2005, p. 241).

Large growers in California had developed a tried and true strategy of hiring workers of different ethnicities and pitting them against each other through segregated housing and a racially and ethnically stratified wage scale, relegating the least desirable jobs and lowest pay to those on the bottom of the racial hierarchy, often Filipinx laborers (Mabalon, 2013, p. 66). Filipinx laborers were a part of "a massive army of seasonal migratory workers toiling up and down the West Coast" (p. 69), working in what writer Carey McWilliams called "factories in the fields." Growers claimed that Filipinx and Mexican workers were more physically suited for these harsh working conditions that oftentimes kept white workers away (Lee, 2015, p. 180).

The Start of the Delano Grape Strike

The Delano Grape Strike of 1965 is arguably the most important and successful farmworkers' strikes in California labor history. The strike was initiated by Filipinx labor leader Larry Itliong, with the eventual merging of the Filipinx union and the Mexican union headed by César Chávez and Dolores Huerta. The strike ended up lasting five long years, and Chicano Studies historian, Rudy Acuña, pointed out that César Chávez emerged as a civil rights leader and an icon for the Chicano movement ("Struggle in the Fields," 1995, 19:05 - 19:48). This strike is also recognized by Alex Fabros, Filipino American Labor Historian, as the Filipinx "civil rights movement in California" (Delano Manongs, Arroy and McKay, 2014, 01:22 - 01:26). Yet there is a notable "historical void regarding the role of Filipinos in this important labor movement" (Scharlin and Villanueva 2000, xxv). Larry Itliong and Philip Vera Cruz, both longtime Filipinx labor organizers and farmworkers were instrumental in the development of the United Farm Workers (UFW) union and approaching César Chávez about the grape strike in Delano.

By the 1960s, Filipinx agricultural workers had spent over three decades working crop cycles up and down the west coast, striking "for a few cents more each season," and therefore had a strong labor consciousness (Delano Manongs, Arroy and McKay, 2014, 08:19 - 08:42). Dolores Huerta, labor organizer with the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), later with the United Farm Workers, explained how Filipinx workers had a reputation for leading many strikes and were known to be militant (07:29 - 07:52).

The strikes would result in wage increases, but workers continued to face challenges because a contract was never signed, which would institute more long-term changes in favor of the workers (07:53 - 08:18).

These older Filipinx farm laborers were also affectionately called *manongs* by the 1960s, a term of respect meaning “elder brother” in the Illocano language spoken by this community (from Luzon, Philippines). The *manongs* were in their twilight years by this decade and faced discriminatory policies that banned them from owning property, voting, and the most devastating were the anti-miscegenation laws that banned interracial marriage. This caused what many call the “lost generation” - the second generation of Filipinx people that might have been, had it not been for racist laws. The *manongs* were largely bachelors with no children of their own (04:19 - 04:55). With no property, barely any savings for their retirement, and no children to rely on, the *manongs* had everything to lose if their work conditions didn’t improve.



Figure **13.5.3**: A mural depicting UFW organizers, Philip Vera Cruz, Larry Itliong, and Cesar Chavez in Los Angles. (Licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Photo by Kenny Chang)

Filipinx workers were encouraged when they won a “wildcat” (spontaneous, grassroots) grape strike in Coachella Valley in the summer of 1965. The strikers decided to move north and attempted another grape strike in Delano, under the banner of the largely Filipinx led, Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), AFL-CIO (Chávez, 2005, p. 247). Philip Vera Cruz who had spent over three decades working in the fields and in canneries and restaurants, ended up an organizer with the AWOC, AFL-CIO (Lee, 2015, p. 301-302). Vera Cruz noted that this strike changed his life, reflecting that “As a Filipino it gave me the opportunity to participate in the political struggles of this country” (Scharlin and Villanueva, 2000, p. 33).

Larry Itliong, a dynamic and respected leader of the Filipinx labor movement, known to be tough and always have a cigar in his mouth, was the southern regional director of the AWOC. Like Vera Cruz, Itliong had a long history as a laborer in the United States, starting at age fifteen, working in the farmlands of California and in the Alaskan salmon canneries. Described as brave and strong, Itliong called himself “a son of a bitch…in terms of fighting for the rights of Filipinos in this country” and stated that he wasn’t scared of anyone (Delano Manongs, Arroy and McKay, 2014, 07:12 - 07:27).

On September 8, 1965, Filipinx members of the AWOC met at the Filipino Hall in Delano and made the decision to strike. The night before, Itliong warned strikers that even if they voted to strike, there were plenty of Mexican workers in Delano who would likely break the strike. He told them, “you’re going to suffer a lot of hardships, maybe you’re going to get hungry, maybe you’re going to lose your car, maybe you’re going to lose your house.” Workers replied, “We don’t care” (Mabalon, 2013, p. 261). As Itliong predicted, the strike was brutal. The growers responded with violence, used intimidation tactics, and attacked homes in the labor camps by turning off the lights, gas, and water (Delano Manongs, Arroy and McKay, 2014, 13:41 - 14:26). Strikers lost their jobs and homes, and ended up having to sleep in their cars.

The United Farm Workers: A Filipinx and Mexican labor union

The growers used race to pit workers against one another, regularly hiring Mexican workers to cross the picket line. Filipinx strikers understood that in order for their strike to be successful, they needed Mexican workers to join them. Filipinx and Mexican community members of Delano would socialize together, but out on the fields, they were segregated (Delano Manongs, Arroy and McKay, 10:09 - 10:22). Itliong knew Dolores Huerta from when she used to be an organizer for the AWOC. He approached Huerta and Chávez days after the grape strike in Delano began with a determination to convince the NFWA to join the strike. Chávez

initially said no, that they needed more time to organize. Huerta pointed out that the NFWA had planned to organize discreetly and wanted five more years to organize the whole San Joaquin Valley before striking (Ruiz and Korrol, 2005, p. 247).

Itliong convincingly argued "that if the Mexicans did not stand with the Filipinas/os, if they were scabs while the Filipinas/os struck, then when the Mexicans went on strike, the Filipinas/os would be scabs" (Mabalon, 2013, p. 261). Fabros provided context by stating,

> …you have to remember, the Filipinos were getting old. For them, for every penny, for every quarter, for every dollar, for every lug that they got paid extra, that went into the retirement fund (Delano Manongs, Arroy and McKay, 2014,15:53 - 16:30).

For Mexican workers and the NWLA, it would be risky to join the strike. They didn't have a strike fund nor any savings to support a walkout. Artist Ester Hernandez, who was a child of farmworkers during this era explained that, "...the bosses of the fields were threatening everybody left and right that they would lose their jobs, or that they would not be hired, or there were even threats of deportation….So it was pretty frightening" (The Struggle in the Fields, 1995, 09:01 - 09:25). Eliseo Medina, a labor organizer with the NFWA, remembered being moved by Chávez's words at a union meeting, sharing that he gave everyone hope that they could win despite their fears (10:17 - 10:53). Hernandez added that her family realized there was a lot at stake, but that, "even if we starved to death, that we would not be alone….we had to stay and fight because otherwise nothing was going to change" (11:28 - 11:52).



Figure **13.5.4**: United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFW) president, César Chávez. (Licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0; By Movimiento)

Mexican workers voted to join the strike on September 16 (Mexican independence day) and then Filipinx and Mexican workers were united, fighting for the same cause. The AWOC and NFWA combined and formed a new union, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFW), with Larry Itliong as second in command under César Chávez (Delano Manongs, Arroy and McKay, 2014, 18:38 - 18:45).

Strikers met challenges on the fields, as growers brought in bus loads of replacement workers and attempted to halt the effectiveness of the strike with legal injunctions, limiting where strikers could picket. Strikers were also met with violence and arrests (The Struggle in the Field, 1995, 20:42 -22:08). Soon strike organizers orchestrated a grape **boycott** campaign, involving the average consumer who were encouraged to boycott purchasing grapes at their local supermarket until a deal was made with the UFW. Then governor of California, Ronald Reagan, would eat grapes in photo ops as often as he could, stating that he thought the boycott was immoral (Delano Manongs, Arroy and McKay, 2014, 19:38 - 1944).

With the *peregrinación* or Easter pilgrimage march in 1966, the movement gained mainstream visibility, changing "the course of American labor history" forever (Ruiz and Korrol, 2005, p. 248). A 300-mile march to the state capital resulted in Chávez emerging as the leader and the farmworkers' struggles became a symbol of the Chicano civil rights movement. Acuña emphasized that in addition to addressing the farmworkers' demands, Chávez also discussed larger economic justice issues and talked about non-violence (The Struggle in the Fields, 1995, 19:36 - 19:48).

An important aspect of this movement was non-violence, especially in contrast to the violence inflicted by growers and local police. It was important that, “Both César Chávez and Huerta adhered to the principles of Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr” (Ruiz and Korrol, 2005, p. p. 247). In an effort to maintain non-violence principles, Chávez made a decision to go on a fast on Valentine’s Day, 1968. When Chávez broke his fast after 25 days, he attended mass, along with 4,000 supporters, including Senator Robert Kennedy, showing that the workers believed in Chávez’s leadership (The Struggle in the Fields, 1995, 39:32 - 44:15).



Figure **13.5.5**: UFW picket line urging a boycott of the Langley Park, MD Safeway Store which was carrying non-UFW grapes, Summer 1973. (Licensed under CC BY-NC 2.0; Photo by G. Dunkel/Workers World, retrieved from Washington Area Spark)

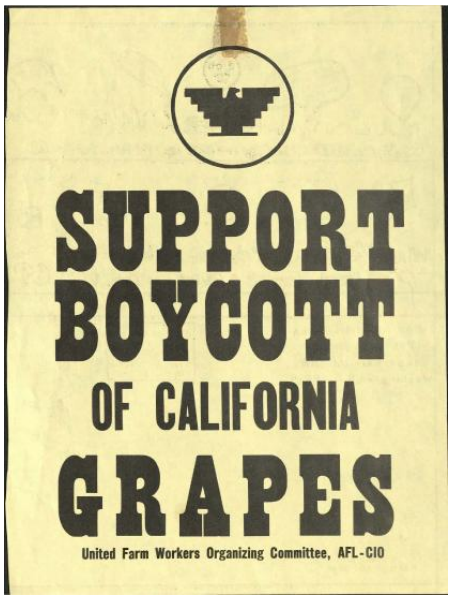


Figure **13.5.6**: A UFW leaflet with the phrase "Support Boycott of California Grapes" passed out in the Washington, D.C. are circa 1969 during the years-long boycott of California table grapes in an effort to secure a labor contract for farmworkers. (Licensed under CC BY-NC 2.0; Image retrieved from Washington Area Spark)

Huerta successfully conducted an industry-wide grape boycott from 1968 - 1969, which received nationwide public support, with an estimated 17 million consumers supporting the boycott in 1970, shipments falling by 22% (Ruiz and Korrol, 2005, p. 248). After five long years of the strike, multiple growers signed contracts with the UFW and their grapes were officially union approved, stamped with the UFW label, “signaling the union’s approval to consumers” (p. 248). Twenty-six growers signed contracts with the UFW, raising wages to $1.80 an hour and $0.20 per box. They also secured hiring provisions around seniority when hiring workers, and placed strict protocols on the use of harmful pesticides (Ruiz and Korrol, 2005, p. 248 - 249).

Growers and farmworkers signed the contracts in the union hall in Delano on July 29, 1970, almost five years after the strike began. There was hope for this momentous ending to the most important farm working struggle. Eliseo Medina, a labor organizer

noted the movements' impact: "I think the greatest achievement is in the change that it made on people. Teaching them how they could fight, how they could stand up for their rights and win" (The Struggle in the Fields, 1995, 50:55 - 53:58).

For the Filipinx *manongs*, the signing of the contracts didn't result in their favor. As the boycott gained national coverage, the media was focused on Mexican workers. Itliong commented: "To hear what's going on, newspapers and TV and everything, it's done by Mexicans. Nothing is being done by us. So naturally the Filipinos started drifting away" (Delano Manongs, Arroy and McKay, 2014, 20:16 - 20:28). *Manongs* left Delano in order to work the crop cycle and survive, essentially walking out of one of the longest strikes in labor history. Once contracts were signed in 1970, and the *manongs* returned to Delano for the new grape harvest season, they found that they were pushed out of work (21:38 - 21:48). New union rules favored local farmworkers over migrant workers, so the *manongs* ended up losing their jobs. Worse still, farmers closed the labor camps so Filipinx workers lost their homes as well. Fabros explained that many of the *manongs* held Chávez in high regard and didn't want to say anything negative. He stated that ultimately the strike had achieved a union, a goal for the *manongs*, but, "I don't think it was in the image that they wanted. They didn't control it. We started it, we lost in the end" (21:49 - 22:51).

Of the frustrations Itliong faced working in the UFW, he said, "To tell you the truth, I've never taken the shit that I've been taking in this organization. But I do it, because I think it's bigger than me for the farmworkers to have an organization. It's the reason I do it" (22:51 - 23:08). Itliong eventually left the union and continued to work for the Filipinx community. He left behind a vision for a retirement home for the *manongs* and the UFW built this home in 1974. Richard Chávez commented that many volunteers came to help build it. At the opening celebration in 1975, a *manong* shared that this home gave him hope "That I'm going to be in a home that I might call my own, our own" (23:33 - 23:46).

Sidebar: Dolores Huerta



Figure **13.5.7**: Dolores Huerta at the Montclair Film Festival in 2017. (Licensed under CC BY 2.0; Photo by Tony Turner/Montclair Film)

Dolores Huerta has been described by Alicia Chávez, professor of American Studies and Ethnicity, as "Unflappable as a union organizer…unapologetic as she lived against the grain…she leaves an indelible legacy of labor-organizing in U.S. history" (Ruiz and Korrol, 2005, p. 240). Huerta played an instrumental role in the success of the farmworkers movement of the 1960s, yet as noted by author Stacey K. Sowards, César Chávez is the established public figure representing the movement, and Dolores Huerta, on the other hand, had "received relatively little attention" (2019, p. 1).

Born April 10, 1930, in Dawson, New Mexico, Huerta was named Dolores Fernández. Her father was a coal miner, but also worked as a farm laborer and was involved in labor issues. When her parents divorced, Dolores moved to Stockton, California,

where she was raised among the diverse farm working community of the Central San Joaquin Valley. Although Dolores was not a farmworker herself, her upbringing was influential in her decision later in life to be a labor organizer.

Dolores earned an Associate's degree and provisional teaching credentials at the College of the Pacific in Stockton and she taught English to the children of migrant farmworkers, giving her insight into their lives (Ruiz and Korrol, 2005, p. 243). But she eventually left teaching to go into community organizing. Dolores helped mobilize Chicanx communities for voter registration campaigns, addressed police harassment, and advocated for access to healthcare. After meeting César Chávez, they founded the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) in 1962, in Delano, CA, which eventually became the United Farm Workers, or UFW. Huerta ended up dedicating 40 years of her life to this organization, playing "...an integral role in the UFW, as cofounder; vice president; key negotiator with growers; advisor to Chávez; lobbyist in Washington, DC, and Sacramento; and boycott organizer" (Sowards, 2019, p. 2).

The NFWA joined the Delano Grape Strike in 1966 and Dolores was known as an intrepid organizer, helping to formulate the UFW's base by talking to people one by one. She conducted door-to-door canvassing, traveled to speaking engagements, and became the first woman and Chicana to organize a union contract with California growers in 1970. And all while a mother to eleven children. Dolores continued lobbying for laws that would protect farmworkers, which eventually led to the passage of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975. She also spoke up for women's rights (Ruiz and Sánchez Korrol, 2005, p. 241).

Despite such major accomplishments, her leadership was largely ignored and she faced various challenges due to racial and gender discrimination. In one interview Dolores shared that she faced backlash for being an organizer from her family, farmworkers, as well as religious leaders. She had to work undercover through her husband and brother because organizing wasn't considered appropriate for women (Sowards, 2019, p. 31). Furthermore, much of Dolores's contribution to the movement "may have been misattributed to Chávez" including the slogan, "Si se puede" (p. 8).

Of Dolores's legacy, Alicia Chávez wrote: "She championed the often unrecognized skills that women brought to the union from their own life experiences, such as management of limited resources, organization, and vision for the long-term well-being of their families" (Ruiz and Korrol, 2005, p. 252). It's certainly not an overstatement to acknowledge Dolores Huerta's role and the unique skills she brought to the table in one of the most important labor movements of U.S. history.

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13.6: Transnational Organizing in the Diaspora

Justice for Comfort Women



Figure **13.6.1**: "Comfort Women" - San Francisco Comfort Women Memorial, Column of Strength Statue. Statue designed by Steven Whyte. (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0; Photo by Stephanie Contreras)

"Comfort Women" is a euphemistic phrase used to describe around 200,000 women and girls (actual numbers vary according to each source, although some claim the numbers might have been as high as 400,000) who were coerced into sexual slavery by the Japanese Imperial Army in occupied territories before and during WWII (1931-1945). This was the largest institutionalized system of sexual slavery in the twentieth century. Girls as young as 10 years old and women from at least 13 countries were taken, including: Korea, China, the Philippines, Taiwan, Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Okinawa, East Timor, Guam, and Australia.

The Japanese Imperial Army first started with early recruitment during the Russo and Sino Japanese Wars (1894 - 1895 and 1904 - 1905), but it wasn't until the Nanjing Massacre in 1937, where the "comfort woman system" became fully operational, as testimonies and reports told how women and girls were raped and systemically prostituted in Japanese "comfort stations." The justification for this system was apparently to prevent soldiers from gang-raping women in occupied Manchuria (Fukushima, 2010, p. 761). Soon, the military enacted forced "recruitment" and kidnappings across Japanese colonies. Girls and women were either directly taken by the Japanese, or by local governments and police departments who were ordered to provide women for them. They were also tricked with false promises of jobs (working in factories or hospitals) and instead, "found themselves trapped in a system of normalized sexual violence, or, rather, institutionalized rape" (p. 759).

These so-called "Comfort Women" were mostly teenagers, between the ages of 13-16. They were trafficked to comfort stations located all over occupied Japanese territory, oftentimes far from their homes, and trafficked from location to location. They were raped by some accounts up to 50 times daily, and when they resisted, the girls and women were starved, beaten, tortured, killed, and many ended up committing suicide. If they became pregnant, abortions were forced and some became infertile because of the daily systematic abuse and torture or due to STDs. It's estimated that only 10 - 35% survived, particularly after Japan's defeat in 1945 when many of the girls and women were killed by soldiers in an attempt to destroy evidence of the "comfort women" system (Fukushima, 2010, p. 761; Qiu, et al, 2013, p. 71 and p.74). The few who escaped or survived were abandoned in foreign countries, far from their homes. Many did not return home due to shame or for fear of being rejected by their families. They lived for decades in secrecy and suffered alone in silence, until 1991 when survivors began to share their testimonies publicly and confronted the Japanese government, demanding reparations and a formal apology. Three decades later, those demands have not been met.



Figure 13.6.2: Dozens protested and marched in Berlin, to demand justice for the Korean "Comfort Women." (CC BY 2.0; Photo by Hossam el-Hamalawy)

Decades of silence and denial followed the war, but during the 1980s and 1990s, Japanese, South Korean, and Chinese activists, journalists, and feminists started to bring attention to this history. In 1991, former "comfort woman" Kim Hak-soon broke the silence and was the first to publicly testify to her experience, then others followed suit. The Japanese government denied any military and state involvement in creating a sex slavery system. Kim testified,

> For fifty years, I have had a heavy, painful feeling, but kept thinking in my heart about telling my experience some day. . . As I try to speak now, my heart pounds against my chest, because what happened in the past was something extremely unconscionable . . . Why does [the Japanese government] tell such a lie [to deny its knowledge of comfort women system]? Actually, I was made into a comfort woman, and I’m here alive (Nozaki 2005).

In 1992, Japanese historian Yoshiaki Yoshimi discovered direct evidence of the Japanese military’s role in overseeing “comfort stations” despite the government's absolute silence about wartime atrocities committed during Japanese occupation in various parts of Asia. The continued denial is a struggle this movement faces, but the justice for “Comfort Women” movement remains “one of the most visible global initiatives to break the silence surrounding wartime atrocities and sexual violence” (Fukushima, 2010, p. 760). The movement to reveal the “dirty” secret of war and the use of rape as a weapon is an international human rights issue. The call for redress and reconciliation exposed the systemic role of the military in organized rape and torture, and Asian Americans in this movement have made important connections to the hypersexualization of Asian women and men, impacts of colonialism, western expansion being linked to violence, racism, and sexism, redress for war crimes, and the effects of sexual violence against women (pp. 759-760).

The movement uplifted testimonies of the brave “grandmothers,” highlighting the important role of testimonies by everyday persons in the field of Ethnic Studies and understanding the history of marginalized racial groups. Professor of Ethnic Studies, University of Utah, Annie Fukushima, wrote that,

> Testimonials by surviving comfort women have shifted the paradigm of what counts as truth in Asian American history because the movement is defined by the voices of the comfort women, who suggest that there is a need to tell stories from the "ground up" and to hear the words of those who directly experience struggle. Testimonies convey that there are no words that can easily describe what the women went through. Such testimonies have proved valuable to the work of historians. Testimonies also proved critical for conveying to the Asian American movement what the comfort women experienced (2010, p. 760).

Surviving "Comfort Women" and activists have demanded a formal apology from the Japanese government, and sued for compensation. Some statements and apologies have been given by individual members of the Japanese government, such as when Prime Minister Miyazawa Kiichi officially apologized to South Korea (Nozaki 2005). But, there’s yet to be an official apology directed toward all the women of various nationalities, nor major policy changing statements. There's been minimal education about "comfort women" in school textbooks in Japan. Private funds were set in 1994 to compensate survivors, but many "comfort women" activists rejected it, citing it wasn't official since money came from private donations. More recently, there have been efforts by the conservative Japanese government and revisionist organizations to interrupt memorialization efforts in the U.S., largely denying the government's involvement or claiming that "Comfort Women" were highly paid prostitutes. As of 2022, the

Japanese government continues to publicly deny any involvement, including one of their most boisterous deniers, former Prime Minister of Japan, Shinzo Abe (who was assassinated on July 8, 2022).

The 2015 “Agreement” between Japan and South Korea

The so-called 2015 “Agreement” between Japan and South Korea was only an oral “agreement,” never written, and has been rejected by “Comfort Women” survivors and their supporters. The discussed fund to support “Comfort Women” was conditional, Japan demanding that South Korea stop criticizing them and remove the "comfort women" memorial in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul, and consider the matter a "final and irreversible resolution." This “agreement” has also faced criticism for excluding surviving “Comfort Women,” including those from 12 other nations, for negating coercion and legal responsibility by the Japanese government, and because this so-called compensation would not be paid directly to survivors.

Surviving “comfort women” filed a lawsuit against the Japanese government and in January 2021, they won the case, but the Japanese government ignored the ruling. In another verdict in April of that same year, the court granted sovereign immunity to Japan and the “comfort women” victim’s lawsuit was ended. Regardless, both trials acknowledged the survivors’ claims about the Japanese military’s role in coerced sex slavery (Hosaka, 2021).

Fighting for Justice from the U.S.



Figure **13.6.3**: Author Kay Fischer and Chabot College students pose with Grandma Lee Yong-soo at the *Columns of Strength* memorial unveiling in San Francisco, September 22, 2017. (Licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0; Photo by Kay Fischer)

Activists in the United States also fought for justice for our "grandmothers," pressuring political representatives to take action. In 2007, Representative Mike Honda sponsored House Resolution 121 which expressed that the government of Japan "should formally acknowledge, apologize, and accept historical responsibility in a clear and unequivocal manner for its Imperial Armed Forces' coercion of young women into sexual slavery."

In 2015, San Francisco Board of Supervisors unanimously voted to approve a “Comfort Women” memorial to be built, becoming the first major city in the United States to have such a memorial. In addition, four more “Comfort Women” memorials exist in the U.S.: Glendale, CA, Virginia, Michigan, and New Jersey. In 2016, the California Board of Education approved the inclusion of "comfort women" in 10th grade world history curriculum. Both efforts have been supported by various human rights, feminist, and Asian American organizations, such as the "Comfort Women" Justice Coalition (CWJC), self-described as “a grassroots, multi-ethnic and multi-national group of individuals and organizations” ("Comfort Women" Justice Coalition). Author, Kay Fischer, is a member of Eclipse Rising, one of the partner organizations that participated in this coalition and in the campaign to bring about the memorial.

Prompted by the Abe administration’s “massive global PR campaign to ‘correct’ the world’s understanding of Japan’s history….‘Comfort Women’ denialism has come stateside, hitting home for Asians and Asian Americans across the diaspora” (Kim Lee, 2016). Revisionists have claimed, without evidence, that memorials prompt hate crimes towards the Japanese community, and

often completely deny that such a system ever existed, asserting that “Comfort Women” were “highly paid prostitutes,” accusing these women to be liars, or disputing the number of women and children affected by this sex slavery system. American professor of Japanese Legal Studies, Harvard, Mark Ramseyer repeated such assertions in 2021, stating that Korean “comfort women” “chose prostitution.” Opponents went as far as attempting to sue the city of Glendale, CA to demand the removal of their memorial, but the lawsuit was dismissed in 2016 (Constante, 2017). Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Kim McLane Wardlaw claimed that Glendale erected a memorial that takes a stand against human rights violations which is well within the rights and responsibilities of local governments.

In 2018, the mayor of Osaka, Japan, Hirofumi Yoshimura, severed sister-city ties with San Francisco, attempting to force the mayor, London Breed, to take down the memorial, *Column of Strength* (Ingber, 2018). The San Francisco-Osaka Sister City Association responded that the sister-city relationship is not between the two city governments, but instead a partnership between the two cities’ civic organizations, nonprofits, and businesses. On the one-year anniversary of the memorial’s unveiling in San Francisco, September 22, 2018, delegates from two Japanese organizations, the Kansai Network to Resolve the Comfort Women Issue and the Forum from the Improvement of Osaka, visited and participated in the ceremony. Pang Chung Ja of the Kansai Network, stated, "Even if the mayor of Osaka proceeds with the termination, I feel that our relationship with the people of San Francisco has only deepened these past few years and only continues to grow stronger….Let us work together to solve this issue" (Hirai, 2018). Hisaye Ogawa with the Osaka delegation mentioned that they came to seek an apology from their own Japanese government.

Miho Kim Lee of Eclipse Rising and the CWJC, who was instrumental in coordinating visits by the two delegations from Japan, wrote that teaching “Comfort Women” history and erecting memorials serve the long-term purpose of remembrance, but is also in and of itself a “subversive act of resistance.” She continued, “...let us fight for the right to remember our beautiful and enduring legacy of suffering, courage, survival and joy, which serves as a reservoir of strength to inform our cultural identities and visions for the world” (Kim Lee, 2016).



Figure **13.6.4**: "Unifying Hands" - San Francisco Comfort Women Memorial, Column of Strength Statue. (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0; Photo by Stephanie Contreras)

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13.7: Contemporary Environmental, Racial and Gender Justice Movements

21st Century Movements

Many of the core issues faced by earlier generations of activists still dominate our social world today: police brutality, war, environmental destruction, racism, gender inequities, healthcare, sovereignty, and education. Movements in the 21st century are different because we also face different challenges like Climate Change, and utilize distinct tools and technologies that are specific to our time period, like social media, Internet technology, and digital art. Ultimately, the successes and victories of these movements are still being decided today, by activists, social movement organizations, advocacy coalitions, governments, corporations, counter-movements, and countless other stakeholders. It will be up to individuals to participate and become leaders for these movements to determine if they continue to grow, and succeed in achieving justice and liberation.

Environmental Justice

Environmental justice is a common issue for movements led by communities of color and Indigenous peoples. Centuries of settler-colonialism have assaulted the land and separated Indigenous peoples from their traditional homes, cultural sites, and ecological niches. Related, environmental racism describes the pattern of environmental hazards having a disproportionate impact on communities of color. For example, the concentration of industrial waste from factories and refineries tend to pollute the air and water of low-income communities of color. In 2017, CAUSE (Central Coast Alliance for a United Sustainable Economy) led organizing efforts in Oxnard, California to prevent the building of a power plant and after years of fighting along with other community organizations managed to defeat the initiative and help enable cleaner air. The community, according to CAUSE, is home to over 85% people of color of a total of 200,000 population. Structural violence maintains its systemic force by both producing health disparities in the environment and disconnecting communities from systems of care and support that offer protection from these harmful effects. Environmental justice movements work to address the overlapping systems of environmental exploitation and racism.

Native American and Indigenous communities approach environmental justice in tandem with struggles over sovereignty and self-determination. Land Back movements have been influential in amplifying calls for Native people to be reunited with their traditional homelands. This includes both the surrender of private lands owned by individuals and corporations, as well as the restoration of land rights based on generations of treaties between the U.S. government and Native American tribes.

The NDN Collective has been a champion for Land Back movements and staged high-profile demonstrations in support of these goals. While Land Back emphasizes the harm of unrightful land ownership, Indigenous movements for the environment also focus on stewardship and the interrelations between the land, water, air, and environment as a whole. Water Protectors have become active leaders in the movements against multiple large pipeline projects in the United States, including the Dakota Access Pipeline and Line 3. See also "Standing Rock - Protests of the Dakota Access Pipeline" under Chapter 4.

These movements provide opportunities to stop the ongoing project of settler-colonialism, restore and support Indigenous sovereignty, and begin a process of healing between the people and the land. For example, the Sogorea Te' Land Trust is a project started by Corrina Gould and Johnella LaRose, along with other Native activists. The project is led by urban Indigenous women and advocates for the traditional Ohlone lands in northern California that are threatened by development and encroachment. You can learn more about their project and current initiatives on the Sogorea Te' Land Trust website online. In Figure **13.7.1**, you can see an example of this type of activism in a poster of support for #NoDAPL, which reads: “We Are Not Protestors. We Are Protectors” - Iyuskin American Horse. Stop the Dakota Access Pipeline.

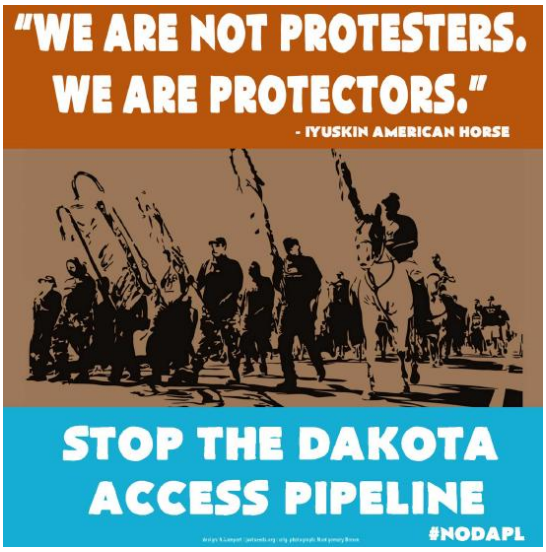


Figure 13.7.1: We Are Not Protestors. We Are Water Protectors. (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; Nicolas Lampert via JustSeeds)

Racial Justice and Gender Justice

Racial justice struggles in the 21st century have taken a prominent role in political and cultural life, ranging from representation in politics and media to everyday people taking to the streets, sharing their opinions on social media, and engaging with new content and new perspectives. The Black Lives Matter network formed in 2013 by Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi to coordinate protest movements in response to the killing of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, and Rekia Boyd, among others. While the group responds specifically to the issue of police officers killing unarmed Black people, it also has become a platform for a range of cultural conversations about race, racism, and politics internationally. In 2014, the African American Policy Forum launched the campaign #SayHerName to bring attention to the Black women, girls, and femmes who are targeted by police violence. The growing Black Lives Matter and Say Her Name movements also elevated calls to defund the police, abolish prisons, and address systemic racism in all its forms. For more context on these issues, you can revisit Chapter 10.

The 21st Century has also seen increased anti-Asian violence and discrimination, including following the September 11 terrorist attacks (9/11) and the COVID-19 pandemic. After 9/11, the "War on Terror" amplified racist sentiments toward Arab, Arab American, Muslim, South Asian, and Southwest Asian people in the United States, as well as a generalized increase in xenophobic sentiment and anti-immigrant discrimination. See more on post-9/11 racial profiling of these communities in Chapter 10. Throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, individual people and political leaders have actively sponsored anti-Asian lies that scapegoat Asians and/or Asian Americans for a global public health crisis. While hatred and bigotry spread, at the same time, people have come together to stand up in support of their own communities and in alliances against xenophobia.

From an intersectional perspective, gender justice has also taken an important role in 21st century movements and politics. Gender and patriarchy deeply impact racial justice, and addressing racism is central to enacting gender equity and feminism. The Women's March, which was formed in 2016, sought to bring this vision of intersectional feminism to the center of the mainstream women's movement, which has often been critiqued for not challenging white supremacy and capitalist exploitation. These dynamics were seen in the #MeToo movement, which centrally focused on high-profile sexual predators like Jeffrey Epstein, who targeted celebrities and other affluent or middle-class women. Despite this media focus, farmworker activists and other groups utilized this same tag and movement momentum to seek justice for survivors of sexual and gender-based violence outside of the entertainment industry. Similarly, the #MMIWG2S movement brings attention to the transnational issue of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls, and Two-Spirit people. In the United States, in particular, activists have also brought attention to the disproportionate murders of Black and Latina/x trans women. Trans rights remain an important part of larger struggles for gender justice and intersectional liberation. In Figure 13.7.2, there is an activist poster showing the faces of Black trans women, along with the text, "Black Trans Lives Matter" #saytheirnames.

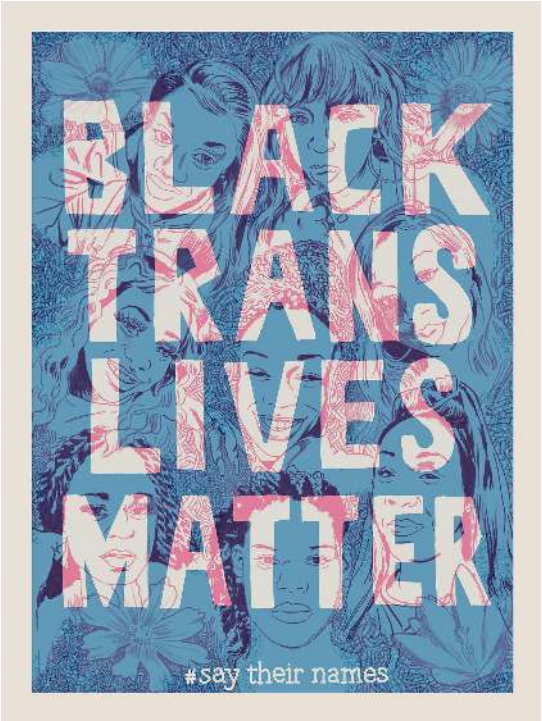


Figure 13.7.2: Black Trans Lives Mater- Say their name. (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; José 'Primo' Hernández via JustSeeds)

Sidebar: Linda Sarsour and the Women's March



Figure 13.7.3: Linda Sarsour at the 2016 Festival of Faiths "Sacred Wisdom, Pathways to Nonviolence" panel discussion. (CC BY 2.0; Festival of Faiths via Flickr)

Linda Sarsour is a Palestinian Muslim American activist and organizer from Brooklyn, New York. She served as a national co-chair of the Women's March and a co-founder of MPower Change, a Muslim digital advocacy organization that works toward race, social, and economic justice. The Women's March in 2017 ended up being the largest single-day protest in US history at the time.

Upon Trump's victory the day after the presidential election in 2016, women across the nation were connecting online to plan a Million Women's March for the day after Inauguration Day in January of 2017. According to Sarsour's memoir, *We Are Not Here to Be Bystanders: A Memoir of LOVE and RESISTANCE* (2020), Vanessa Wruble, founder of OkayAfrica, noticed that all the people conversing online were white and reached out to a trio of women of color who "can organize in their sleep": Tamika Mallory, Carmen Perez, and Linda Sarsour (pp. 201-202). These three women ended up being national co-chairs of the Women's March alongside Bob Bland. They first changed the name of the march to simply the Women's March since the Million Women's March "echoed the name of an action" (p. 202) led by Black women in Philadelphia twenty years ago. Sarsour explains that the white women organizers weren't aware of the earlier march but in their ignorance, had offended African American women who saw this as co-opting the name of a march about the "empowerment of Black women" (p. 202).

Sarsour continues, “This kind of miscommunication was why the organizers needed women of color in the mix, not just Carmen, Tamika, and me, but a whole roster of brilliant Black and brown women who now joined us at the table” (p. 202).

Sarsour discusses some of the challenges they faced while organizing the march, particularly from “white women in our group [who] were not used to answering to a fierce, bristling ball of fire in the body of a petite Black woman” (p. 204) referring to Tamika’s leadership. The co-chairs pushed for a diversity of speakers who would speak to a broad audience and made sure that the march wasn’t only about expressing rage, but also about “demanding change” (p. 204). In addition to gender issues, Sarsour and women of color organizers made sure that central to the vision of the march was that they were fighting for “the right for everyone to live freely and practice their religion and have economic, racial and social justice” (p. 205). They applied an intersectional framing to this vision, including the voices of people affected by immigration policies, environmental racism, and structural violence.

Sarsour and other women of color in the organizing group were accused of being divisive when intersecting racial justice with gender issues and some women of color were concerned that white women were feeling alienated. However, Sarsour reminded organizers that the…

> concern itself was problematic, because centering the experiences of marginalized women was not about upsetting white women; it was about helping them to recognize how they were consciously or unconsciously aiding and abetting the very patriarchy that they claimed to be fighting against (pp. 206-207).

On January 21, 2017, millions across the nation and the globe joined companion marches. Sarsour described that the excitement was tangible in Washington, D.C., but what moved her the most was that many were carrying posters of an image by artist Shepard Fairey of a Muslim woman in an American-flag hijab. Sarsour wrote, “My skin tingled at the sight of her, because in my country, on this day, a Muslim woman in a hijab had become a potent symbol of American freedom” (p. 211). Seven million people marched that day, and 1.2 million were in Washington. When Sarsour spoke on the stage, she brought her mother and her three children. She stated, “*Assalamu alaikum*, may peace be upon you, brothers and sisters….I stand here before you unapologetically Muslim American, unapologetically Palestinian American, unapologetically from Brooklyn, New York” (Democracy Now!, 2017; Sarsour, 2020, p. 212). When reflecting on her speech and the other women who marched and spoke on that stage on that historic day, Sarsour wrote in her memoir:

> We had put the forces of hate and division on notice that we were marching to center stage, and they’d better get ready because the reckoning was here, and we would bring our sisters, mothers, and daughters along with us, and the men who were our allies, and together we would change the world (p. 213).

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13.7.1: Black Lives Matter

Social Movement Stages, Media, and Black Lives Matter

Chances are you have been asked to tweet, friend, like, or donate online for a cause. Nowadays, social movements are woven throughout our social media activities. After all, social movements start by activating people.

Considering the ideal type stages discussed above, you can see that social media has the potential to dramatically transform how people get involved. Look at stage one, the **preliminary stage**: people become aware of an issue, and leaders emerge. Imagine how social media speeds up this step. Suddenly, a shrewd user of Twitter can alert their thousands of followers about an emerging cause or an issue on their mind. Issue awareness can spread at the speed of a click, with thousands of people across the globe becoming informed at the same time. In a similar vein, those who are savvy and engaged with social media emerge as leaders. Suddenly, you don't need to be a powerful public speaker. You don't even need to leave your house. You can build an audience through social media without ever meeting the people you are inspiring.

This is what happened in the case of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. The movement was co-founded in 2013 by three Black community organizers: Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi. Garza, Cullors and Tometi met through Black Organizing for Leadership & Dignity (BOLD), a national organization that trains community organizers. They began to question how they were going to respond to what they saw as the devaluation of Black lives after George Zimmerman's acquittal in the shooting death of African-American teen Trayvon Martin in February 2012. Garza wrote a Facebook post titled "A Love Note to Black People" in which she said: "Our Lives Matter, Black Lives Matter." Cullors replied: "#BlackLivesMatter." Tometi then added her support, and BLM was born as an online campaign to support all Black lives - including women, queer, and transgender people.

This emergence stage quickly escalated to coalescence, as the movement became nationally recognized for its street demonstrations following the 2014 deaths of two African Americans: Michael Brown—resulting in protests and unrest in Ferguson (St. Louis) - and Eric Garner in New York City. Since the Ferguson protests, participants in the movement have demonstrated against the deaths of numerous other African Americans by police actions or while in police custody. In the summer of 2015, Black Lives Matter activists became involved in the 2016 United States presidential election.



Figure **13.7.1.1**: Black Lives Matter - We Won't Be Silenced - London's Oxford Circus - 8 July 2016. (CC BY-NC 2.0; Alisdare Hickson via Flickr)

Social media is immensely helpful during the coalescence stage. **Coalescence** is the point when people join together to publicize the issue and get organized. President Obama's 2008 campaign was essentially a case study in organizing and publicizing through social media. Using Twitter and other online tools, the campaign engaged volunteers who had typically not bothered with politics and empowered those who were more active to generate still more activity. It is no coincidence that Obama's earlier work experience included grassroots community organizing. In 2009, when student protests erupted in Tehran, social media was considered so important to the organizing effort that the U.S. State Department actually asked Twitter to suspend scheduled maintenance so that a vital tool would not be disabled during the demonstrations.

The next stage of the development of a social movement is **institutionalization,** when it it is an established organization, typically with a paid staff. In the case of Black Lives Matter, the movement grew into a national network of over 30 local chapters between 2014 and 2016. The overall Black Lives Matter movement, however, is a decentralized network and has no formal hierarchy. The movement still has a strong presence and has even joined forces with other, more systematically organized groups, such as the Movement for Black Lives (M4BL). There is now a coalition of groups across the United States which represent the interests of

Black communities. It was formed in 2014 as a response to sustained and increasingly visible violence against Black communities, with the purpose of creating a united front and establishing a political platform. The collective, also known as a social movement sector, is made up of more than 150 organizations, with members such as the Black Lives Matter Network, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights.

Watch the Video 11.3.2 below, Black Lives Matter: A History, as it explains how this group has been fighting to be heard since 2013 - and the phrase itself is now being seen on streets and screens all around the world after the killing of George Floyd.



Video **13.7.1.2**: Black Lives Matter Explained: A History. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; Channel 4 News (UK) via YouTube)

2020 Uprisings

In the summer of 2020, in the middle of a global pandemic, masses of Americans took the streets to demand justice for George Floyd who was pressed to the ground by his neck by a Minneapolis police officer for more than 9 minutes while he called for his deceased mother and pleaded, "I can't breathe" (as was presented at the beginning of Chapter 1.1). The footage of the brutal murder went viral via social media incensing Americans already in a state of anxiety, locked down in their homes, and economy shut down due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The calls for justice soon began to culminate in more specific demands to defund the police. Scholar Angela Davis, also a prison and police abolitionist, argues that these calls are rooted in abolitionist philosophy which aims to strategically shrink the size of the prison industrial complex (PIC) eventually rendering it impotent while diverting funds towards community investment and social services such as youth centers, addiction and substance abuse supportive services, mental health, and education to more effectively target the root causes of crime (Democracy Now!, 2020). Activists and scholars view the prison industrial complex as a system designed to marginalize Black, Brown, Indigenous, and poor communities while providing slave labor for corporations and the state while also disenfranchising those communities electorally (CR10 Publications Collective, 2008).

While some argue that defunding the police would make communities less safe (Southers, 2020), abolitionists argue that the latest expansion of the PIC originates in false fears engineered by politicians, like Richard Nixon, aiming to redirect the primary national concerns of the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights Movement to the need to crack down on drugs and crime. As explained in the 13th documentary below, in the 1980's President Ronald Reagan doubled-down on this tactic by waging a "War on Drugs" that disproportionately incarcerated Black and Latinx populations. The "tough on crime" political tactic has been effective in ginning up the public fear needed to justify expansion of local police budgets and lengthier sentencing policies such as those featured in the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, which was signed in to law by President Bill Clinton and largely written by now Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden (Alexander, 2010).



Video **13.7.1.3**: The film *13th*. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; NetFlix via YouTube)

Another point of controversy is that fact that these uprisings grew violent, sparked by the burning down of the 3rd precinct where the 4 officers involved in Floyd's murder worked. One Monmouth University poll revealed that 54% of respondents thought the actions taken by protesters, including the burning of the precinct building, was fully or partially justified (Monmouth University Poll, 2020). The demands to defund the police have been influential in Minneapolis where Floyd's murder took place, as the City Council has agreed to disband the police department and create a new public safety system, though activists say they will have to wait and see what actually comes of these efforts.

While comparisons to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s abound, the broader legislative and structural impact of these uprisings is yet to be seen. Still, polls showed that in the two weeks following Floyd's murder, support for Black Lives Matter increased significantly as unfavorable views of the police surfaced which combined with increasing public sentiment, among all Americans, that African Americans face substantial discrimination.

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13.7.2: Indigenous Sovereignty and Environmental Justice

While each one of the movements covered in this chapter has specific identities that were central, in reality, social movements centering around race have intersecting dynamics, especially around social class and gender. Similarly, the fight against building oil pipelines on Indian reservations has implications for the drinking water of millions of non-Native people and on the climate and global population as a whole. Environmental injustice harms not just one marginalized group but many in addition to poor whites, so calls for justice require solidarity across these categories of identity (Mohai, Pellow & Roberts, 2009). We have seen how pivotal social media and media coverage is to amplifying these causes and most importantly, bringing diverse people together for the same cause. Dr. King, a sociologist in his own right, understood the importance of appealing to allies and what are commonly referred to today in the movements as "accomplices" or "co-conspirators," or individuals engaged in proactive behavior that helps support the movement or cause, which is why he was willing to lead a group of peaceful protestors from Selma to Montgomery to demand voting rights for African Americans despite the risks of physical violence and brutalization from law enforcement and white terrorists, in part because he understood that the national broadcasting of these images would draw empathy from otherwise privileged and unengaged audiences (Powell & Kelly, 2017). Though the march started with only 2,000 participants, ultimately 50,000 supporters from across the country joined in the efforts.

Similarly, when tribal historian LaDonna Brave Bull Allard put out the call for supporters to join the prayer camp at Standing Rock, it swelled to thousands. Those who could not travel supported through online fundraising campaigns and donated supplies such as blankets, heavy jackets, and camping supplies to the encampment. Allard thanked the "keyboard warriors" who amplified the cause via social media and despite the mainstream media blackout, many became aware of their struggles against the Dakota Access Pipeline through these acts of solidarity and online activism (Democracy Now!, 2020). Likewise, the 2020 summer protests following the police lynching of George Floyd were comprised of a diverse collective, of mostly young people in the U.S. and internationally, in which signs read, "Latinos for Black Lives," "White Silence is Violence," "Filipinos for Black Power," and "Queer and Black Trans Lives Matter."

Standing Rock Sioux Opposition to Dakota Access Pipeline

At the core of the struggles of Native American people are the issues of land use and sovereignty (discussed earlier in Chapter 5.5). A **sovereign state** is a political organization with a centralized government that has supreme independent authority over a geographic area. The U.S. has a long history of breaking treaties with American Indian Nations for the purposes of resource extraction. As awareness of the climate crisis increases, especially among young people, resistance to new fossil fuel infrastructure such as the Keystone XL(KXL) pipeline and the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) is playing a central role in climate activism. Groups like the Indigenous Environmental Network (IEN), formed in 1990, lie at the intersection of these social issues. Merging cultural beliefs and activism, IEN's direct-action training against the KXL referenced the Lakota prophecy of the Black Snake, which they believe to be a "manifestation of the sickness of society" and symbolic of oil pipelines (Bioneers, 2017). Their organizational goals are as follows:

1. Educate and empower Indigenous Peoples to address and develop strategies for the protection of our environment, our health, and all life forms – the Circle of Life.
2. Re-affirm our traditional knowledge and respect of natural laws.
3. Recognize, support, and promote environmentally sound lifestyles, economic livelihoods, and to build healthy sustaining Indigenous communities.
4. Commitment to influence policies that affect Indigenous Peoples on a local, tribal, state, regional, national and international level.
5. Include youth and elders in all levels of our work.
6. Protect our human rights to practice our cultural and spiritual beliefs.

These efforts culminated in 2016 as a group of Indigenous youth dubbed the Youth Council some of whom had been trained by IEN., staged a 2,000 mile relay run from the Sacred Stone Camp, a prayer camp established to resist DAPL on the northern end of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, to Washington D.C. to deliver a letter to the Army Corps of Engineers asking that the permit for DAPL to cross the Missouri River be denied.

As explained in the DAPL Fact Zine:

The Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) is proposed to transport 450,000 barrels per day of Bakken crude oil (which is fracked and highy volatile) from the lands of North Dakota to Patoka, Illinois. The threats this pipeline poses to the environment, human health and human rights are strikingly similar to those posed by the Keystone XL. Because the DAPL will cross over the Ogallala Aquifer (one of the largest aquifers in the world) and under the Missouri River twice (the longest river in the United States), the possible contamination of these water sources makes the Dakota Access pipeline a national threat.



Video **13.7.2.1**: "Mni Wiconi: The Stand at Standing Rock." (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; Divided Films via YouTube)

As featured in the video above, Mni Wiconi: The Stand at Standing Rock, what followed were months of peaceful protest that became the single largest gathering of Native Americans in 100 years. In the Sioux language, Mni Wiconi translates to "Water Is Life, Water is Sacred." Led by LaDonna Brave Bull Allard, the water protectors organized at Standing Rock were comprised of Standing Rock Lakota Sioux tribal members in conjunction with peoples from more than 280 Indigenous Nations, including former Vice-Presidential candidate Winona LaDuke, and allies such as Bernie Sanders and Leonardo DiCaprio in addition to people from numerous civil rights, environmental, and veterans organizations. Unarmed protestors faced down private security forces and were attacked by security dogs, sprayed with pepper spray, and hosed down with water canons in freezing temperatures by the Morton County Sheriffs Department. Though President Barack Obama made statements in support of a re-routing of the pipeline "in a way that is properly attentive to the traditions of the first Americans," as one of his first acts as President Donald Trump signed an executive memorandum instructing the Army to expedite the review and approval process for the unbuilt section of the Dakota Access Pipeline. As of the writing of this text, DAPL has oil flowing but it is still being litigated.



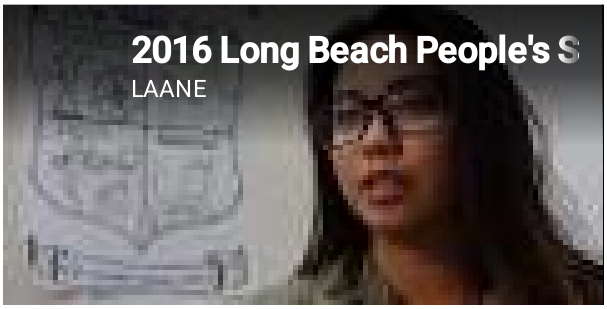
Figure **13.7.2.2**: MNI WICONI banner. (CC BY 2.0; Becker1999 via Wikimedia)

Did you know?

Youth led movements such as the Sunrise Movement along with indigenous groups such as IEN are advocating for a Green New Deal (GND) in the United States which would implement a just transition from a fossil fuel based energy economy to a sustainable "green" economy. The GND employs an environmental justice lens that addresses the needs of black, brown, indigenous, and marginalized communities while developing jobs in infrastructure and clean energy. The GND is a plan for one

hundred percent clean, renewable energy by 2030 utilizing a carbon tax, a jobs guarantee, free college, single-payer healthcare, and a focus on using public programs.

A final example of solidarity and intersectionality can be understood on a local level in Long Beach, California. A grass-roots coalition of nearly 20 community groups created the People's State of the City in 2013, as a way of drawing attention to experiences of marginalized groups living and working in the city - as their issues were generally not addressed by the local power structure. Video 11.6.3 provides an excerpt from the 2016 People's State of the City, a glimpse at the solidarity and intersectionality of diverse groups such as East Yard Communities for Environmental Justice, Unite! Here Local 11 (hotel workers), Californians for Justice (educational justice), Mentoring Youth Through Empowerment (a program of the LGBTQ Center), and Khmer Girls in Action. The People's State of the City emphasizes "people power" and giving voice to lived experiences of people of color in the city.





Video **13.7.2.3**:: 2016 Long Beach People's State of the City. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; LAANE via YouTube)

Media Blackout & Social Media

Just as with the Black Lives Matter movement, social media played a pivotal role in amplifying the call to hopeful protestors who preferred to be called water protectors. Activists noted that the mainstream media was not covering the protests as much as they felt it should. Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, an organization that aims to challenge media bias, noted that by September 7th, 2016, many months into the protests that had already drawn thousands of peaceful supporters that were subject to violence from both private security and local law enforcement, of the three major media outlets ABC, CBS, and NBC, only CBS had aired a lone 48 word segment that ran at 4 a.m. Independent journalist and host of Democracy Now!, Amy Goodman said of the apparent media Blackout,

It is astounding how little coverage they have gotten over these months. But this very much goes in lockstep with a lack of coverage of climate change. Add to it a group of people who are marginalized by the corporate media, Native Americans, and you have a combination that vanishes them. And yet these protests have only intensified, the resistance camps have only grown over the months, without the media megaphone of the corporate media.

Goodman herself was present at the protests, and had a warrant issued for her arrest alleging that she participated in a "riot." This shows that while "the revolution will not be televised," it may end up being tweeted instead.



Video **13.7.2.4**: "Gil Scott Heron: The Revolution Will Not Be Televised with lyrics." (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; Jeremy Alexander via YouTube)

Key Takeaways

- Indigenous rights and sovereignty are intertwined with environmental justice causes.
- White supremacists continue to pose the greatest threat to public safety in the 21st century and the threats are amplified by internet communications and widening wealth inequality.
- Multi-racial solidarity remains the key to combating racism and economic oppression.

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13.7.3: Immigrant Rights

The Boundaries of Citizenship

In this modern era of globalization the boundaries of national citizenship have been challenged by multi-national trade agreements, offshore manufacturing and growing international migration. These forces have contributed to a domestic struggle to reassert the parameters of national identity, especially among many middle-class and white working class Americans. The perceived advances of outsider reference groups during this period such as immigrants and minorities further contribute to sense of crisis in the boundaries of national citizenship (Nicholls, 2019). These developments have led some Americans to feel like "strangers in their own land" as if they have been patiently waiting in line for their American Dream only to watch other historically marginalized groups cut in line ahead of them (Hochschild, 2016). At the same time, as Walter J. Nicholls (2019) notes, "The leading advocates (of the immigrant rights movement) from the mid-2000s onward embraced a liberal variant of nationalism that depicted America as welcoming and immigrants as highly deserving subjects. Rather than call for the dismantlement of borders or for post-national citizenship, the mainstream immigrant rights movement celebrated the nation and wrapped immigrants in the American flag" (p. 2). This struggle over who belongs and who doesn't is not a new one, but has become an central issue in modern politics as workers are squeezed by the rapidly accelerating forces of globalization, and politicians, both local and national, seize on these insecurities and promote "law and order" approaches to limiting immigrant rights.

Thinking Sociologically

Some have advocated for **post-nationalism** since today's world is very globalized with goods and services crossing borders on a daily basis. According to post-nationalism, the category of the nation is no longer sufficient to describe the fundamentals of political identity or state government. The concept of postnationalism seeks to break the tie between citizenship and ethnic identity or existential difference. One example of this is the European passport (Sassen, 2002). Do you think people should be able to move across borders on the American continent with some kind of postnationalist or denationalized passport? Why or why not?

Battleground: Suburbia

The first battleground of the contemporary struggles for immigrant rights was suburban America in the 1990s where immigrants began to be more visible as street corner vendors and day laborers seeking work in shopping center parking lots. Larger gateway cities were no strangers to immigrants and generally are characterized by more diversity and liberal political cultures (Walker & Leitner, 2011). Suburbia, however, characterized by the legacy of redlining policies made it less receptive to integrating outsiders who were perceived as threats to the culture and civic conditions (Massey & Denton, 1998). Xenophobic responses translated into policies that restricted immigrant assimilation such as bans on soliciting work in public, street vending, renting apartments to undocumented immigrants, and the use of foreign languages in public records (Nicholls, 2018). Various actors were employed in the enforcement of these policies including police, landlords, store owners, employers, and contractors. These repressive measures created a sense of out-group solidarity and elicited resistance from targeted immigrants and their supporters who argued that undocumented immigrants had a right to free speech, assembly. and due process.



Figure **13.7.3.1**: No Day Laborers - Walgreens. (CC BY-NC 2.0; cobalt123 via Flickr)



Figure **13.7.3.2**: Natural Allies. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; SEIU International via Flickr)

Natural Allies

Because many other members of society were "entangled" with the lives of undocumented people, many natural allies have come to their defense. Many undocumented people live in mixed status families (as discussed earlier in Chapter 3.5) which means that even those with legal status have much to lose when their family members are targeted for deportation. Latinx immigrants with legal status or citizenship status were also targeted and discriminated against as illegal due to their racialized traits and cultural dispositions. Policies like Arizona's SB1070, the so-called "show-me-your-papers" statute, meant that law enforcement could ostensibly racially profile anyone of Latinx descent (discussed earlier in Chapter 3.4). Undocumented people have friends and neighbors, go to church, contribute to the local economy through their spending and taxation, thus dispersing the financial, psychic, and emotional costs of their repression. These social connections provide undocumented people with a reservoir of sympathy and solidarity for which to lean on for protection and support.



Figure **13.7.3.3**: Dreamers. (CC BY 2.0; Molly Adams via Flickr)

Intersectionality

The immigrants rights movement in the United States also opens up intersectional discourse of the U.S. role abroad and questions of militarism, global capitalism, and even the impact of the "War on Drugs" on not only poor communities of color in the U.S. but in other nations. Reflecting on the work of artivist Julio Salgado, featured in Chapter 8.3, the intersection of undocumented and LGBTQIA+ statuses led to a new term, Undocuqeer. Pointing back to Chapter 1.1 and a century ago, W.E.B. Du Bois highlighted that the "problem of the color line" is not just specific to the experience in the United States, rather it is an issue of global importance. As we seek to improve race relations domestically, it is vital to take a global intersectional perspective that does not make invisibile the experiences of the "third" or exploited world (Mohanty, 1984). Racial hierarchy and division was historically constructed as a tool to disempower and dominate, so any attempt to challenge such structures requires an intersectional perspective that can strengthen movements and highlight the need for solidarity and awareness among members of various oppressed and dominant groups, with the aim to improve the human condition.



Figure **13.7.3.3**: "London Refugee Solidarity March" (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Manos Simonides via Flickr)

Dreamers

On June 15, 2012 President Barack Obama issued an executive branch memorandum known as Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) that allowed some individuals who were brought to the United States illegally as children to apply for a renewable two-year period of deferred action from deportation and to become eligible for a work permit in the United States. Recipients cannot have felonies or serious misdemeanors on their record and would not have a path to citizenship through this policy. This policy was a major victory for a young generation of activists dubbed Dreamers, after the failed DREAM Act (2001) which would have provided paths to citizenship through two years of military service or 2 years of college education. Though the policy did not apply to all who were brought as children as they had to be no older than 31 on the date it was signed and had to have been brought before June 2007 as a child no older than 15, the Migration Policy Institute estimates that over 1.3 million

people qualified. As of March 2020, there are 643,560 DACA recipients who have been able to come out of the shadows and, at least temporarily have some sense of stability and opportunity that evaded them previously.

DACA would not have been possible if it weren't for the brave young organizers and activists, such as Jose Antonio Vargas featured in Video 11.2.5 below, and the various advocacy organizations who created spaces for young undocumented people to share their stories and realize that they were not alone. "This kind of political socialization helped shape how they thought and felt about their own "illegality." They learned that there was nothing to be ashamed of. They also learned that sticking together as a group allowed them to make powerful claims for equal rights" (Nicholls, 2014). They took their powerful claims and newfound strength in numbers to the offices of senators and the Department of Homeland Security to stage acts of civil disobedience. For this subgroup of undocumented immigrants, the narrative was compelling: they were socialized in U.S. schools, were not familiar with any other country, they played by the rules, and therefore had the right to pursue the American dream.



Video **13.7.3.4**: Actions are illegal, never people: Jose Antonio Vargas. (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; TEDx Talks via YouTube)

According to a June 2020 Pew survey, 74% of Americans support granting legal status to immigrants who were brought to the U.S. illegally as children, but as is discussed later in Chapter 11.5, white nationalist sentiments pervade the Trump White House which is why on September 5, 2017, President Trump announced an end to DACA (Edelman, 2017). Then Attorney General Jeff Sessions criticized DACA as "unilateral executive amnesty" and claimed that it "yielded terrible humanitarian consequences" in addition to making unsubstantiated claims that it "denied jobs to hundreds of thousands of Americans by allowing those same jobs to go to illegal aliens." This announcement sent the hundreds of thousands of DACA recipients into panic-mode as their futures were uncertain yet again. Luckily for them, on June 18, 2020 the Supreme Court ruled that the way DACA was rescinded was unlawful. Then, the most recent announcement from the Department of Homeland Security substantially limits the policy by only allowing those who have already received DACA previously to reapply for only one year of deferred action, placing additional financial burdens as the fee to renew is $495. Many local organizations have taken to raising funds for this renewal fee as most come from economically disadvantaged backgrounds again demonstrating the pivotal role that allies play in this struggle for immigrant rights. Most recently, on December 4th, 2020, a federal judge ordered a full restoration of DACA which means that first-time applicants will be accepted. Additional court cases challenging DACA are pending.

Asylum Seekers

The United States is a signatory to the United Nation's 1967 Protocol which defines a refugee as "as a person who is unable or unwilling to return to his or her home country, and cannot obtain protection in that country, due to past persecution or a well-founded fear of being persecuted in the future “on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.” According to the American Immigration Council, from 2004-2019 upon arriving at the U.S. border an asylum seeker must undergo a credible fear and reasonable fear-screening which is a part of the expedited removal process. If the asylum officer deems that the person has a "significant possibility" of establishing eligibility for asylum, they are referred to immigration court to proceed with the defensive asylum process, otherwise the person is removed from the United States.

Under the Trump administration this process has been substantially changed. As of April 2018 asylees arriving at the U.S.' southern border are now told to wait in Mexico until Customs and Border Protection officers determine that a given port of entry has

capacity to process them. Additionally, those fleeing domestic violence no longer qualify for asylum, and as of July 2019 anyone who transited through a third country must apply for asylum there before arriving in the United States. Under this rule, almost everyone who arrives at the U.S.-Mexico border is ineligible for asylum as many are fleeing violence and poverty in Central American countries such as Guatemala and El Salvador.

No change however has elicited more public outcry than that of family separation. As a part of President Trump's "zero-tolerance" approach a policy of separating children from the parents or guardians that they entered the U.S. with at the southern border Mexico was officially adopted in April of 2018, though later investigations showed that the practice was in place for an year prior to the announcement. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, at least 4,368 children were separated as of January of 2020. In response, a coalition of 250 organizations led by the National Domestic Workers Alliance, Women's Refugee Commission, MomsRising, FWD.us, United We Dream, People's Action, ACLU, Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, MoveOn called "Families Belong Together" formed. Even though President Trump signed an executive order ending the policy on June 20, 2018 - on June 30th, hundreds of thousands of people in all 50 states participated in a "Families Belong Together" protest showing the interest the general public has in immigration issues.



Figure **13.7.3.6**: Families Belong Together Rally at the Border. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; mirsasha via Flickr)



Figure **13.7.3.7**: Migrant detention facilities. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Thomas Cizauskas via Flickr)

Migrant Detention Facilities

The outrage at family separation brought to light the existence of and conditions in immigrant detention centers. Images of children on cold cement floors in warehouses caged by chain linked fences and covered in metallic space blankets circulated widely on the internet eliciting shock and disgust at the Trump administration even though many of the photos were taken during the Obama administration (Gomez, 2019). In reality, migrant detention has been on the rise for the past 3 decades leading Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to outsource the detention to private companies (Law, 2019). The conditions in these facilities have been characterized as "squalid conditions, overcrowding, cold temperatures, (and) inadequate medical care," leading to "tragic deaths." Many activists and civil rights organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) have argued that the

increase in immigrant detention is in reality an expansion of the **prison-industrial complex** (PIC) (Luan, 2018). The PIC is a term used by activists to characterize the mutually profitable relationships among private corporations that secure government contracts to build and maintain prison facilities, those that profit from the use of prison labor and the politicians they lobby for "tough on crime" and "zero tolerance" immigration policies. According to government data, over 70% of migrants are held in private detention facilities. In 2018, the U.S. awarded 6.8 billion dollars in federal contracts for private detention facilities run by companies like the two largest Geo Group and Core Civic (formerly Corrections Corporation of America). Just as in private prisons, migrants are held in some facilities where they are coerced to work for as little as a dollar a day, as has been alleged in 4 ongoing lawsuits. Rising awareness of these perceived abuses has led to nation-wide "Close the camps" protests and calls to "Abolish ICE." Other tactics include targeting the banks that finance private detention facilities. For example, the aforementioned Families Belong Together coalition collected over 1 million signature urging JP Morgan Chase to divest from Geo Group and Core Civic, and in March 2019 they announced they would be doing just that (Green, 2020). This successful campaign shows the importance of digital media in spreading awareness and in mobilizing people to bring about tangible progress towards social justice.

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13.8: White Nationalism

"Free White Persons"

The Nationality Act of 1790 granted naturalization and citizenship in the United States to "free white persons" only and as we covered in Chapter 6.1, immigration policies have kept the country largely white. However, by 2050, the U.S. is projected to become a majority-minority country, discussed further in Chapter 12.5. Across U.S. history, some whites have met changes towards diversity and integration with violence and state legislation designed to restrict and prevent equal opportunity and advancement for all. In recent years, **white nationalism** (the belief that the United States should be a white ethnostate or white nation-state) has experienced a resurgence as populist attitudes, right-wing political beliefs, and anti-immigrant sentiment have been spurred on by an increasingly globalized world and changing racial landscape. White nationalists see themselves as protecting the Western world from non-white invasion and theft of resources and national identity which has shaped recent political campaigns in the U.S. that deploy "anti-globalist" and anti-immigrant rhetoric (Bonikowski & DiMaggio, 2016).

Radicalization Online

In 1995, there were only a few hate groups online; today there are hundreds. The internet is a low-cost and efficient medium with which to amplify the white nationalist message. According to hate group expert Mark Potok,

> The internet is allowing the white supremacy movement to reach into places it has never reached before -- middle and upper middle-class, college bound teens. The movement is terribly interested in developing the leadership cadre of tomorrow...The movement is interested not so much in developing street thugs who beat up people in bars, but [in] college-bound teens who live in middle-class and upper-class homes (Swain, 2004).

Many of these websites present with informational resources where one can learn about American history and society. In fact, until recently one such site (stormfront.org) had a page dedicated to the "true historical examination" of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. that depicted him as a communist, a drunk, and a rapist. The site also provided a link to download flyers which visitors were invited to distribute at their schools (Lee & Leets, 2002). Additionally, with the advent of social media (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.), radicalization has spiraled in the last several years. As explained in the 2020 documentary (see trailer below in Video 12.5.1), The Social Dilemma, technology via social media connects us but also controls us, divides us, monetizes us, manipulates us, polarizes us, distracts us, and divides us, to the point that former technology executives and designers predict a civil war as a result of the radicalization online.



Video **13.8.1**: "The Social Dilemma | Official Trailer | Netflix." (Close-captioning and other YouTube settings will appear once the video starts.) (Fair Use; NetFlix via YouTube)

Mainstreamers, Vanguardists & Alt-right

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center there are two major categories for pursuing a white enthnostate: **mainstreaming** and **vanguardism**. Mainstreamers seek to obtain power through an infiltration of traditional political institutions. The goal is to

access positions that would put white nationalists in control of resources that could help to exclude and further marginalize non-whites such as instituting anti-immigration policies and eliminating social welfare programs.

Vanguardists take a more radical position that encourages a violent overthrow and seek to antagonize society towards a race-war and what they believe to be the inevitable collapse of America.

A third, more recent development merges these two styles and has come to be referred to as the "alt-right." Alt-right tactics focus on online activism in the form of "shitposting," meme making, and online harassment.



Figure **13.8.2*a***; Alt-right. "Alt-Right" (CC BY 2.0; Mike Licht, NotionsCapital.com via Flickr) Figure **13.8.2*b***; Donald Trump Alt-right supporter. "Donald Trump alt-right supporter" (CC BY 2.0; Fibonacci Blue via Wikimedia)

Unite the Right Rally

On the weekend of August 11, 2017, an estimated five hundred white supremacists and neo-Nazi's marched in the streets of Charlottesville, Virginia, decrying the proposed removal of a Robert E. Lee statue and chanting "Jews will not replace us!" and "Blood and soil!" They also chanted nationalist slogans representing Nazi Germany's ideal of a "racially" defined national body. Unlike the Ku Klux Klan which traditionally wears white robes and pointed hoods to conceal their identity, the participants in the "Unite the Right" rally donned tiki torches, white polo shirts and khaki slacks, uniforms that are linked to far-right groups such as Vanguard America and Identity Evropa, which has since rebranded as the American Identity Movement. The purpose of these strict fashion choices are to help the members distance themselves from their historical ideological roots and appear more mainstream and palatable to the broader public.



Figure **13.8.3**: Charlottesville "Unite the Right" rally. (CC BY 2.0; Anthony Crider via Wikimedia)

The following day, an estimated 1,000 counter-protestors, many of whom were ordinary residents of Charlottesville while others were part of more organized efforts from the faith-based groups, civil rights organizations, local businesses, and faculty and students at the University of Virginia, gathered to voice their disapproval of the rally. Tragically, one white protestor, Heather Heyer, 32, died when James Alex Fields Jr. plowed his car into a crowd of peaceful counter-protestors. In what some have argued is a lightly veiled approval of the rally's demands, President Trump remarked that "there were very fine people" on both sides of the

protests spurring more debate on whether President Trump is a white nationalist himself, though he claimed he was merely voicing support for the defense of the Robert E. Lee statue (Kessler, 2020).

January 6, 2021

While most of the thousands of protesters were peaceful, an extreme incidence of violent domestic terrorism occurred on January 6, 2021 as alt-right, paramilitary and white supremacists stormed the U.S. Capitol building in Washington, D.C. Orchestrated by the Oath Keepers and Proud Boys, the violent protesters responded to the online, social media calls to "stop the steal," the (false) reference to President Biden stealing the election from former President Donald Trump - despite the fact that 7 million more Americans voted for Biden who also won the electoral college vote. Hundreds of individuals have been arrested for the violence in the Capitol, violence that was broadcast worldwide, including through the protesters' social media accounts, which in turn led to their tracking and arrests. The deaths of 5 individuals were attributed to the insurrection of January 6, and former President Trump was tried for impeachment in the House and Senate, though the latter fell short of the required 67 votes to impeach. National intelligence experts warn of the increasing threat of domestic violent terrorism, from both the political right and left, pose to our national security. Further, the fragility of our democracy was evidenced in this fateful event.

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13.9: Summary/Review

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have explored the dynamics and outcomes of social movements, which drive the history of Ethnic Studies both in terms of its content and pedagogy. Movements for racial justice and decolonization have been critical in advancing civil rights, Indigenous sovereignty, improved labor conditions, and transnational solidarity. These movements have inspired change and continue in our contemporary society as agents for change and transformation. Solidarity and resistance bring together communities, and address the root causes of inequity and exclusion.

In learning about various frameworks for action, we can see that intersectionality and decolonization share many principles with other anti-oppressive systems. However, diverse communities must always leverage the resources available in their own local contexts. For instance, we learned about the role of organizing mutual support for marginalized communities within social movements, like the Black Panther Party's free breakfast for neighborhood children. Developing greater knowledge of how activists have worked toward change creates new possibilities for students, advocates, and scholars to envision and bring about more just and equitable societies, centered on the principles of anti-racism, decolonization, and solidarity. The goal of sovereignty and agency is shown visually in Figure **13.9.1**, which represents a fist emerging out of the waves of the ocean, along with the words Self-Determination.



Figure **13.9.1**: Self-Determination. (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0; Aaron Hughes via JustSeeds)

Key Terms

- **Indigenous sovereignty:** This refers to the self-determination and legal standing of Native and Indigenous peoples. Sovereignty refers to the historical relationship between peoples and governments and is an explicitly political project that concerns land rights, treaties between tribes and other governments, and the political standing of Native Americans and Indigenous peoples.
- **Disability Justice Framework:** A framework for social justice organizing centering people with disabilities focused on representation, advocacy, and social change.
- **Allies:** Allies are members of a dominant group who take an active role in understanding their privilege and working to support members of a marginalized group. This practice builds relationships across differences and encourages listening, learning from mistakes, and continually taking action. Allies take action without centering their own identity or seeking validation of their allyhood. Allyship is one component of acting in solidarity against systems of marginalization.
- **Accomplices:** Accomplices go beyond supporting members of a marginalized group to take sustained and proactive action, such as when white people actively work toward anti-racism, men commit to ending patriarchy, and straight/cisgender people

work against the oppression of LGBTQ+ people. Accomplices have already developed substantial knowledge and cultural humility to align their actions with the leadership and goals of marginalized group members. Another term is co-conspirator. This refers to the necessity of working actively in continual collaboration with people of color and other marginalized groups and taking active risks to unsettle the status quo.

- **Boycott:** A nonviolent action of protest, boycotts call on the masses to abstain for commercial services in order to make an economic impact. The hope is that pressure from boycotts will push those in power to negotiate with the protestors, leading to significant social transformation. For example, Black domestic workers led the Montgomery Bus Boycott in order to challenge racial segregation in public transportation. And the United Farm Workers movement urged consumers to boycott grapes in order to pressure agricultural corporations to negotiate fair contracts with farm workers.
- **Civil Rights Movement:** Considered one of the most effective mass movements, the Civil Rights Movement in the United States ushered in a series of changes to laws and practices that led to the dismantling of the Jim Crow South and legal racial segregation of schools, businesses, and public transportation. The movement also led to instituting voting rights for African Americans. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. emerged as a leader for this movement, although there were many others who haven't been as widely recognized for their leadership such as Bayard Rustin, Fannie Lou Hamer, Ella Baker, and Septima Clark. The Civil Rights Movement and Dr. King utilized nonviolent actions including sit-ins, protests, and marches.
- **"Serve-the-people" programs:** A core objective for various liberatory movements of the 1960s and '70s, the Asian American movement, Black Panthers, Brown Berets, American Indian Movement, and the Young Lords organized services for communities of color that the government failed to provide, such as access to affordable housing, healthcare, labor rights, free breakfast programs, women's rights and more.
- **Workers centers:** Workers centers are places and organizations that support and organize with immigrant workers who are particularly vulnerable to exploitation, such as undocumented immigrant laborers, especially women. Abuses include wage theft, no labor rights, sexual harassment, and more. These centers, like Mujeres Unidas y Activas (MUA) were established upon the arrive of immigrants with community organizing backgrounds. They work various issues including preventing deportations, supporting sanctuaries, and establishing workers rights like the Domestic Workers Bill of Rights.
- **Domestic Workers Bill of Rights:** A set of basic workplace rights and protections for domestic workers that are too often not considered. Some of these rights and protections include overtime pay, paid sick leave, legal protection from harassment and discrimination, set safety practices, rest and privacy. New York passed such a bill in 2010 and a Bill of Rights at the federal level has been introduced.
- **The Bracero Program:** The Bracero Program (1942 - 1964) started as a joint agreement between the U.S. and Mexico that led to the "importation" of male agricultural laborers, also referred to as *braceros*, from Mexico to the U.S. to help fill the labor shortage during WWII. The second initiation of recruitment resulted from a U.S. executive order, and was essentially a guest worker program where *braceros* were hired cheaply to work temporarily and returned to Mexico.
- **The Delano Grape Strike:** The Delano Grape Strike of 1965 is arguably the most important and successful farm workers strikes in California labor history. Initiated by Filipinx labor leader, Larry Itliong, he convinced the Mexican union to soon join, led by César Chávez and Dolores Huerta. The strike ended up lasting five long years, and strikers lost their homes and were met with violence and arrests. Organizers orchestrated a grape boycott campaign, encouraging millions of consumers to boycott purchasing grapes at their local supermarket until a deal was made with the United Farm Workers (a union created from Filipinx and Mexican unions). In 1970 multiple growers signed contracts with the UFW, raising wages, securing hiring provisions around seniority when hiring workers, and placing strict protocols on the use of harmful pesticides.
- **"Comfort Women":** "Comfort Women" is a euphemistic phrase used to describe around 200,000 women and girls (actual numbers might be twice as high or more) who were coerced into sexual slavery by the Japanese Imperial Army in occupied territories before and during WWII (1931-1945). This was the largest institutionalized system of sexual slavery in the twentieth century. Girls as young as 10 years old and women from at least 13 countries were taken, including: Korea, China, the Philippines, Taiwan, Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Okinawa, East Timor, Guam, and Australia. Today, surviving "Comfort Women," affectionately called "grandmothers" and their supporters have demanded a formal apology and reparations from the Japanese government. Some members of the government, and their supporters, continue to actively deny this history and suppress calls for justice in Japan and across the globe, including in the U.S.
- **Environmental Justice:** These are movements led by communities of color and Indigenous peoples calling out the disastrous effects of centuries of environmental destruction. Environmental racism calls attention to how low-income communities of

color are targets of pollution, including the dumping or leaking of hazardous waste, air and water contamination, and more. Environmental justice movements work to address the overlapping systems of environmental exploitation and racism.

Discussion Questions

1. Review the section on allies, accomplices, and co-conspirators. What are some examples of these you have seen? How have others shown up for you as an ally, accomplice, or co-conspirator?
2. When is the first time you remember learning about social movements? What was the context? How has your understanding changed over time?
3. Struggles for racial justice and decolonization have always included mass participation by everyday activists. What are some of the core reasons that people get involved in social movements? What would motivate you to protest a policy or institutional practice?

Journal Prompts

1. You've been introduced to several frameworks for action in this chapter. Summarize 2-3 key points for one of the frameworks that you're most drawn to. Then, explain why you're interested in that framework. If you've already been engaged in activism, how have you applied this framework of action to your own activist work? Or how might you want to?
2. What is significant when learning that the farmworkers movement was multiracial with Mexican and Filipinx farmers and leaders? Why do you think that more mainstream narratives around the farmworkers' movement don't include (or minimize the roles of) Dolores Huerta or Filipinx leaders?
3. Analyze two reasons why we should learn about the history of the domestic workers' movement and the role that women of color played in campaigns for workers' rights and justice.

Class Activities

Allyhood Role Play and Guided Discussion

- In this activity, we will explore what it means to be an ally and an accomplice. Your groups will generate different responses to a specific scenario.
  - In the groups, roleplay the scenario to generate responses that are meaningful and authentic.
    - For a small group, use one scenario and have two groups. The first group will discuss the ally response to the scenario, and the second group will discuss the accomplice response to the scenario.
    - With larger groups, you may want to create multiple ally and accomplice groups. Then they can be paired together for a comparison of their perspectives before returning to the large group to debrief.
- Example Scenarios:
  - You are shopping with a friend at a clothing store, and the clerk is continuing to follow them and watch their movements. Consider how the dynamics between your friend and the clerk may be impacted by your actions.
  - While talking with a group of friends, someone mentions that they were surprised that their Black teacher had gone to a prestigious university and was very “articulate.”

Activist Sign-Making

- One of the main goals of political protests can be to raise awareness and influence how people perceive different social issues. Activist signs are typically carried at protests and usually include a slogan or phrase, along with some artistic representation or design. Some are quite simple, with a phrase or word in black Sharpee on a piece of ripped cardboard, or printed signs showing a group’s logo or candidate’s name. Others are quite elaborate, include mixed media, and make use of humor, puns, satire, and critique to evoke an emotional response and ensure retention.
  - For inspiration, you may want to look for examples. Some starting places can be found in the links in the following list.
    - Unforgettable Black Lives Matter Protest Signs
    - Here Are Some Of The Most Powerful Protest Posters From History
  - You can either conduct this activity using cardboard paper, markers, glue, and other sign-making materials, or online usING a service like Canva or other software.

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