

Series on the history of structural inequity in the U.S.



Seminar #4

A Short History of Latinx Racialization

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UC MERCED LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Local indigenous people, including the Yokuts and Miwuk who understand the earth as a place for everyone, first inhabited the land where UC Merced is located. When we address diversity on this campus, we do so boldly, daring to look forward and backward, imagining diversity's demand for the 21st century and the importance of diversity in addressing past wrongs, reaffirming humanity, and ensuring a reconciliatory path of redress for the future. The most prominent path on our campus is called Scholars Lane. By day, you can see, hear and witness the embodiment of our diversity through campus community members making their way across campus framed by the slopes and peaks of the Sierra Nevada.

REFLECTION

- What intentions do you have to disrupt and dismantle colonialism beyond this land acknowledgement?
- What is your organization doing beyond acknowledging whose land and labor allow you to live, work, and/or learn in that space?

COMMUNITY GUIDELINES

This space is to provide UC Merced the foundations needed to astutely build an anti-racist strategy. Our campus is set to will grow. As we do, we will weave the values of equity, diversity, and inclusion within academic affairs, student affairs, our business units, and organizational decision making.

You are critical in this transformative work.

Discussions of racism, its pervasiveness, and how it shows up in your day are extremely difficult. To help process today's content, please honor the following guidelines:

Community Guidelines:

- Share the airspace (one divx, one mic)-Engagement
- Reflect and participate in the chat
- Process, process, process whether at home, in the chat, in discussion, etc.
- The goal is to bring this reflection back to your daily practice and drive session #7

Seminar Logistics and Expectations

1. **CHAT:** Write your clarifying questions in the chat, and someone will communicate them to me. I will not check the chat until breaks, but feel free to communicate with other participants.
2. **TAKING NOTES:** The material is dense & complex, so I strongly encourage using **ACTIVE LEARNING STRATEGIES:** note-taking, asking questions, and discussing (*rather than just listening, which is passive learning*):
 - Please take notes using the outline provided in the Word doc
 - Please share your thoughts in the chat when I request (this also allows us to **hear ALL the voices in the room**)
3. **BREAKS:** We will have **three 2-minute “brain breaks”**: 30 seconds to rest our brain, 90 seconds for active processing in our notes.



End-of-Presentation Discussion

1. Share thoughts and take-aways in chat

(We would like 100% participation!)

2. Verbal discussion

(Please limit comments to 1 minute)





Uprooting Inequity LLC—UC Merced
Seminar #4.
A Short History of Latinx Racialization

OUTLINE/NOTES:

1. An Overview of Latinx Demographics

In this section, I will provide a demographic overview of the Latinx community using graphs of data (mostly from the U.S. Census): share of U.S. population, geographic concentrations, by national origin/heritage, by immigrant generation, by racial identification, and by language dominance.

2. A Short History of Latinx Racialization

“Racialization is how society and the state assign individuals to racial groups and the relative position of groups to each other”.

a. Layer 1: Under Spanish colonial rule

Historian Seth Rockman (2005) “Liberty is Land and Slaves: The Great Contradiction”
“It was not just a coincidence that some people in 19th century America had liberty while others did not; rather, some people’s liberty depended upon the denial of liberty to others”
The liberty that offered prosperity to southern white men required expansive oppression--the violent appropriation of millions of acres of “frontier” land from the Native American people who possessed them, and the violent enslavement of millions of African Americans whose labor would transform these lands into profitable plantations.
...liberty for some was made possible by oppression for others”.



Note-taking Outline (Word Doc)

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
MERCED

Office of Equity, Diversity and Inclusion

Meet the Interim Vice Chancellor & CDO About the Office Values Accountability Events Funding Resources & Partners

Initiatives EDI Newsletters

Events

- Drop-Ins With the Interim Chief Diversity Officer
- Virtual Dialogue Series: Lunch and Learns
- Dialogues That Matter
- Equity Advancing Showcase on Education (EASE)
- Free Speech Week
- NADOHE Northern California Summit
- Reflecting on Anti-Racist Pedagogy
- Uprooting Inequity Seminar
 - Seminar 1
 - Seminar 2
 - Seminar 3
 - Seminar 4**
 - Seminar 5
 - Seminar 6
 - Seminar 7

Seminar 4

Seminar #4: A short history of Latino Americans

October 20th | 1:00pm-3:30pm

[Register Here](#)

Factual Content:

Notable events and developments in the history of the following groups:

- Mexican-Americans/Chicanos in the Southwest
- Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and Cubans in New York City
- Central Americans (mostly Washington metro area)
- Cubans in Miami

Themes:

- Civic vs. ethnic/racial American citizenship and manifest destiny
- Role of U.S. intervention in Latin America
- The racialization of Latinx immigrants
- The correlation of Anglo attitudes towards Latinx with economic interests
- Advocacy and Activism

[Agenda/Notes](#)

Presentation Slides (Coming Soon)
Seminar #4 Video (Coming Soon)

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People remember:

10% of what they read

20% of what they hear

30% of what they see

50% of what they
see & hear

70% of what they
say & write

90% of what they
do

**Passive
Learning**

**Active
Learning**



Series on the History of Structural Inequity in the U.S.

- 1. Origins: The Social Construction of Race, Ethnicity, and Racism**
- 2. The Historical Reproduction of Anti-Black Racism**
- 3. The Causes and Impacts of Structural Racism**
- 4. A short history of Latinx Racialization**
- 5. A short history of Asian American Racialization**
- 6. History of Coalition & Conflict between Blacks, Latinos, Asians, & Poor Whites**
- 7. Towards an Equitable “Us” Society: Lessons learned and Directions Forward**



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Agenda

- 1. An Overview of Latinx Demographics**
- 2. A Short History of Latinx Racialization:**
 - a. Layer 1: Under Spanish colonial rule**
 - b. Layer 2: Post-Independent Latin America**
 - c. Layer 3: Under United States colonialism**
 - d. Layer 4: Latinx racialization in the United States**



Agenda

1. An Overview of Latinx Demographics

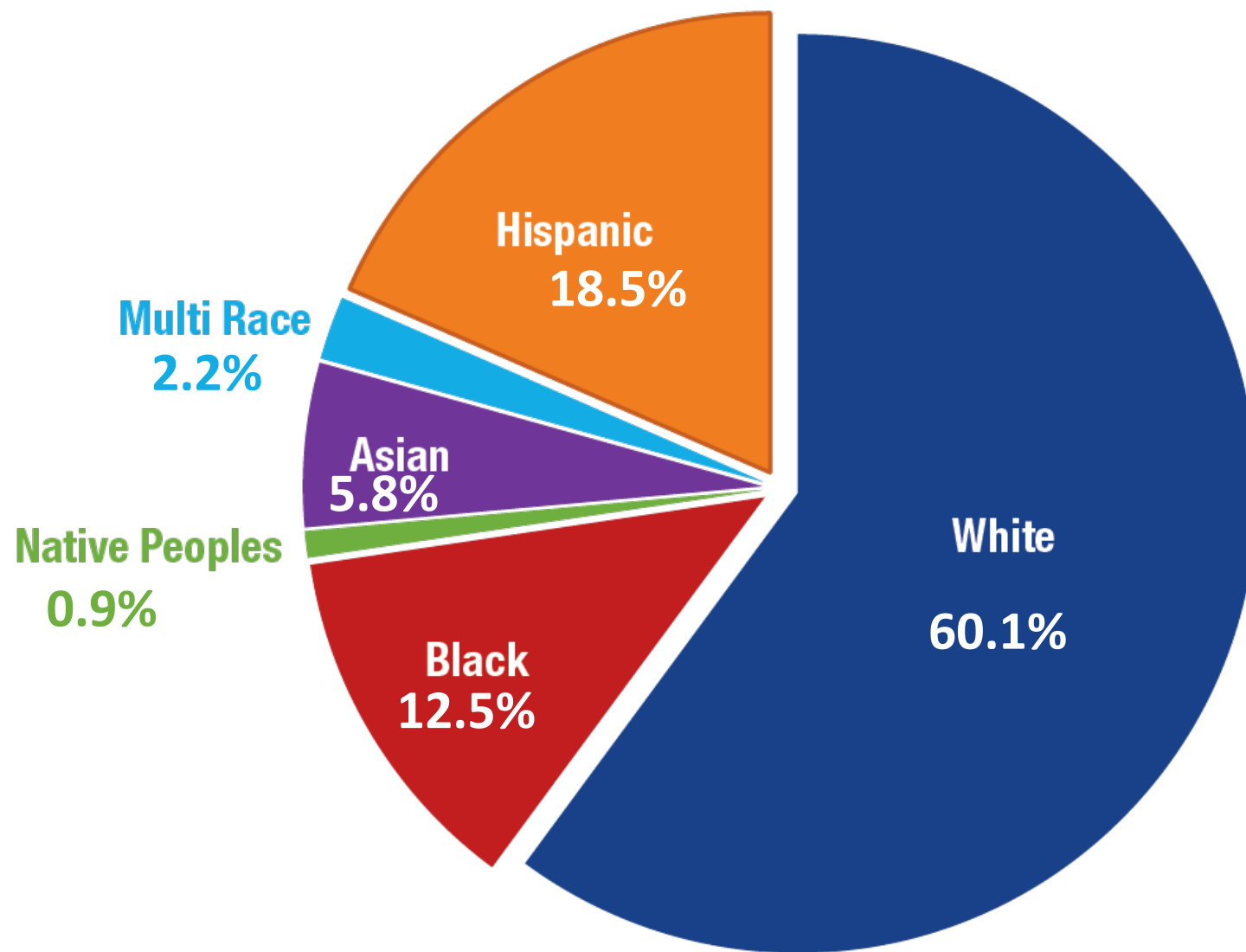
2. A Short History of Latinx Racialization:

- a. Layer 1: Under Spanish colonial rule**
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U.S. Population by Race and Hispanic Origin, 2019

Note: The Hispanic category includes Hispanics of any races.



Hispanics made up more than half of total U.S. population growth from 2010 to 2020

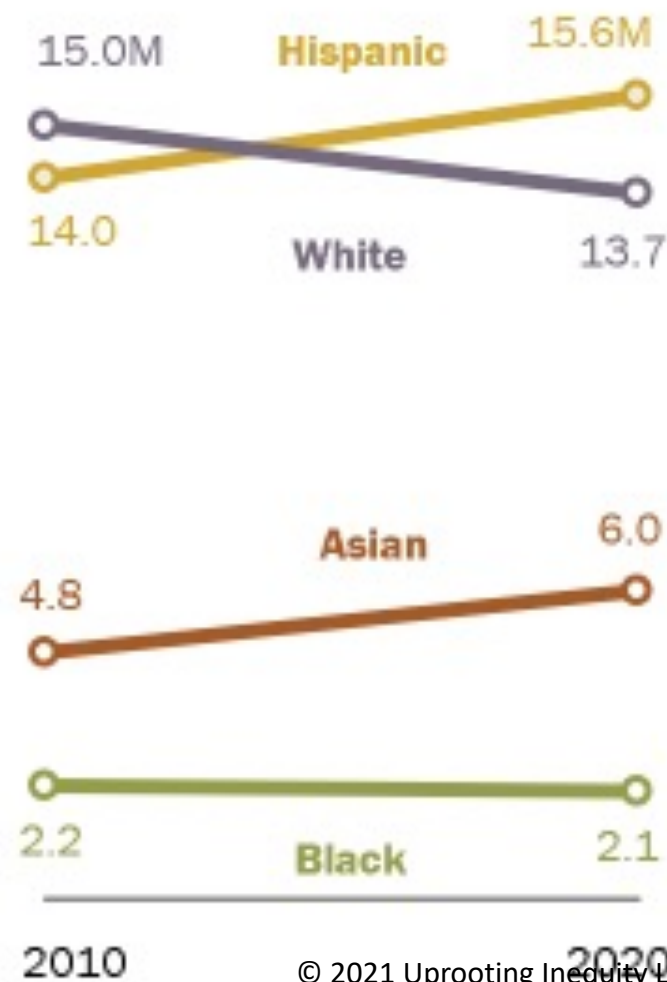
U.S. population change by race and ethnicity, 2010-2020

	2020 population	Change, 2010-20	Share of total increase
Hispanic	62,080,000	11,602,000	51%
Asian	19,619,000	5,154,000	23%
Black	39,940,000	2,254,000	10%
White	191,698,000	-5,120,000	<0%
Total	331,449,000	22,704,000	



In California, Hispanics were the largest racial or ethnic group in 2020

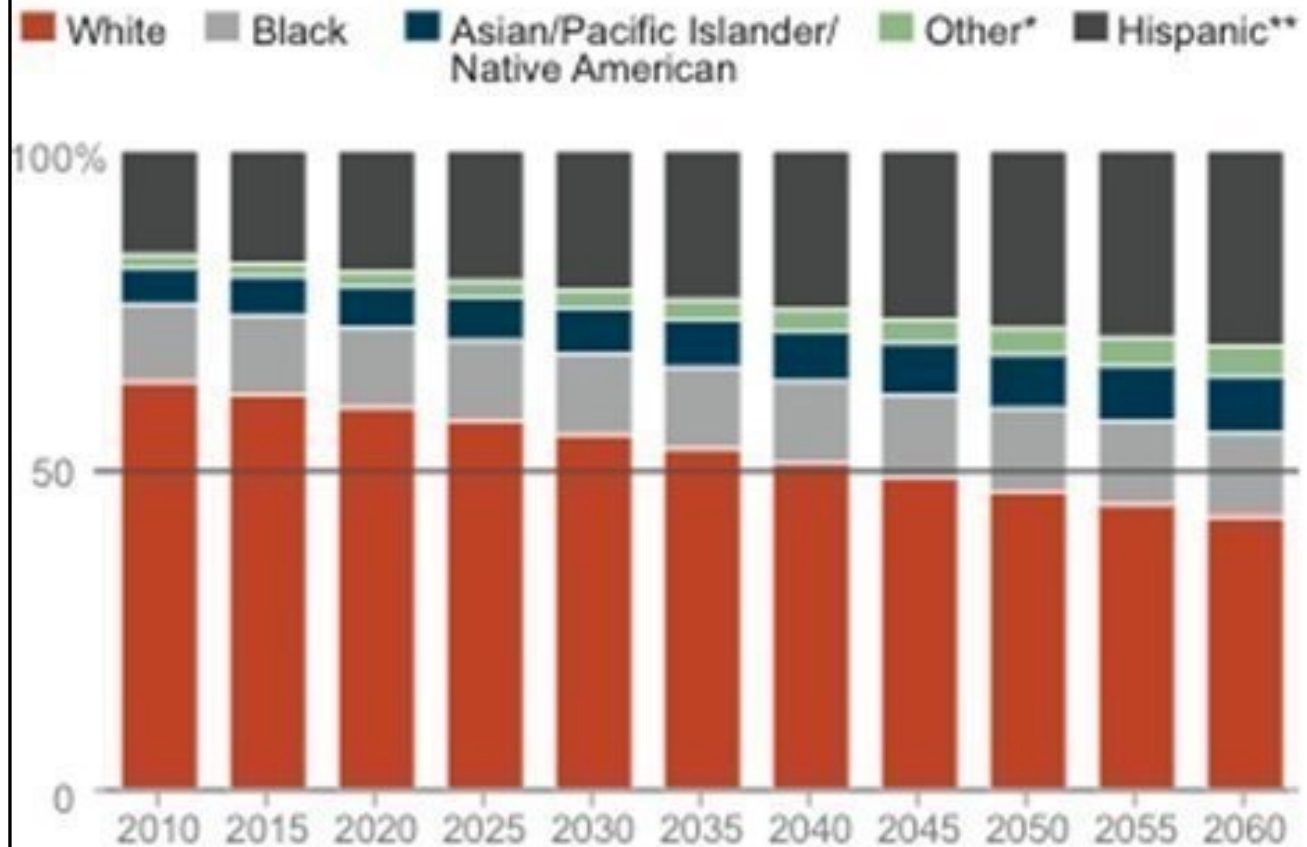
In millions



The share of Latinx in the U.S. population will continue to grow.

Tipping toward a white minority

Non-Hispanic whites will drop below 50 percent of the U.S. population sometime around the year 2043, according to census projections.



*Includes people of more than one race

**Considered an ethnicity; Hispanics may be any race

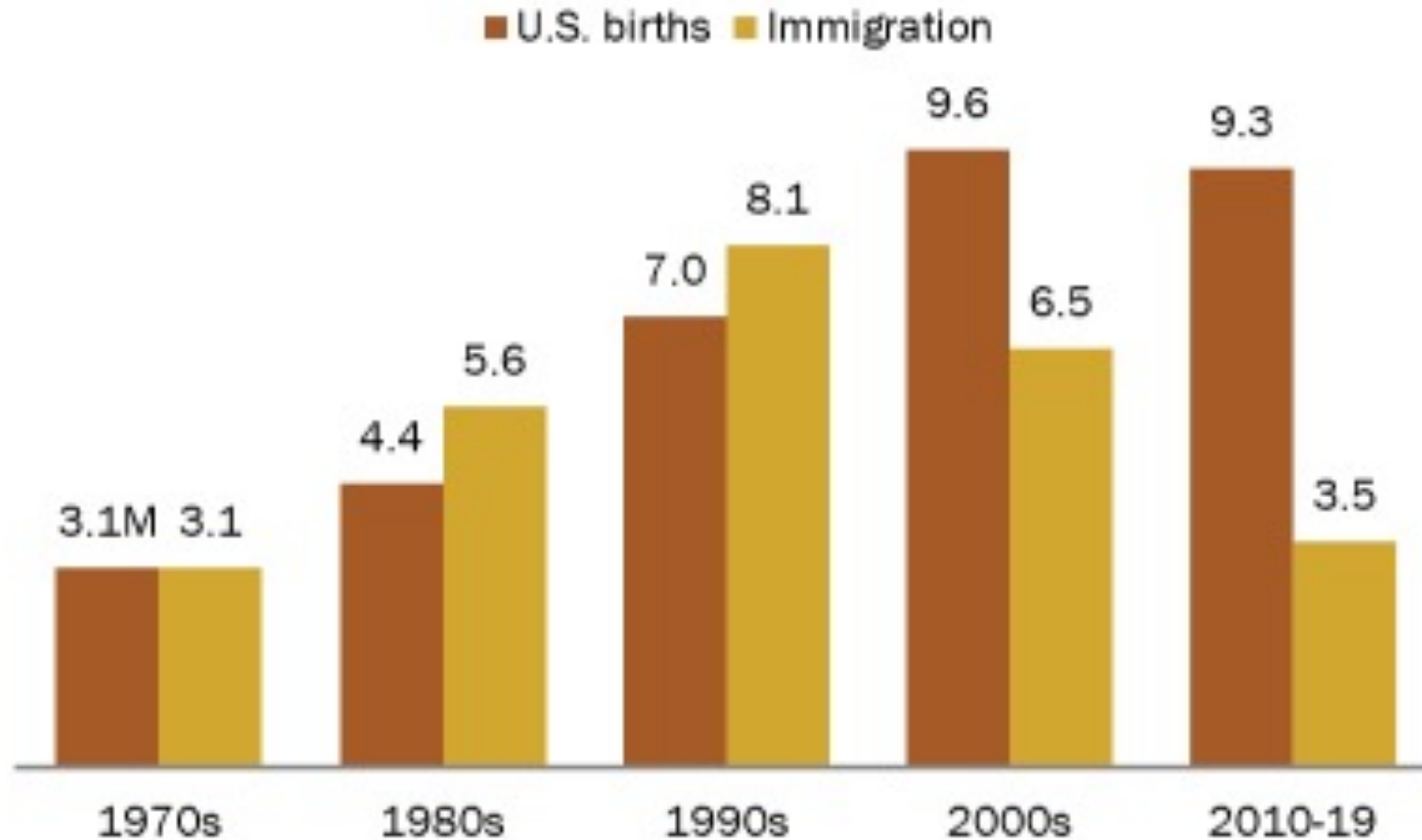
SOURCE: Census Bureau

AP



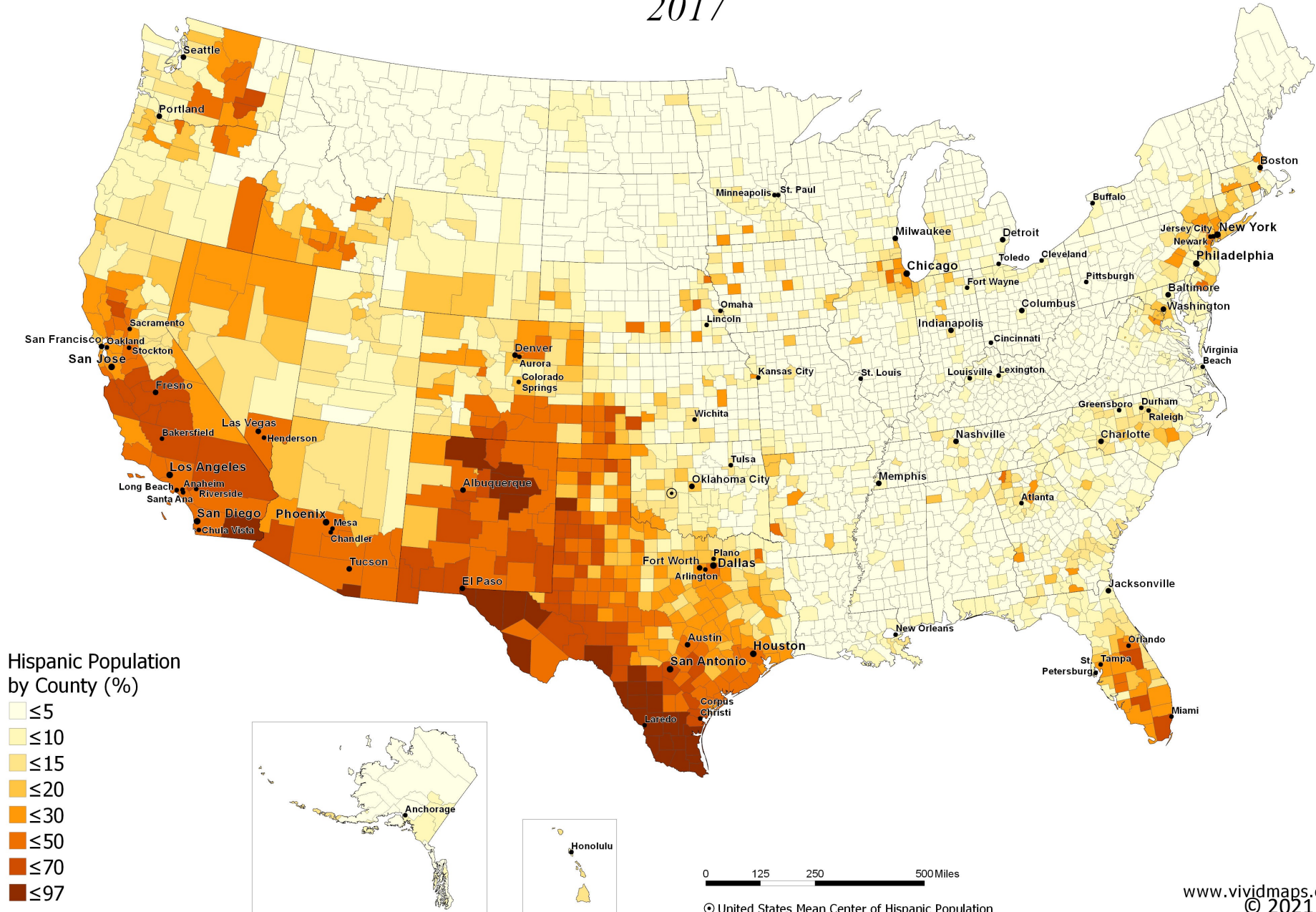
Newborns have driven U.S. Hispanic population growth in recent decades, while immigration has slowed

In millions

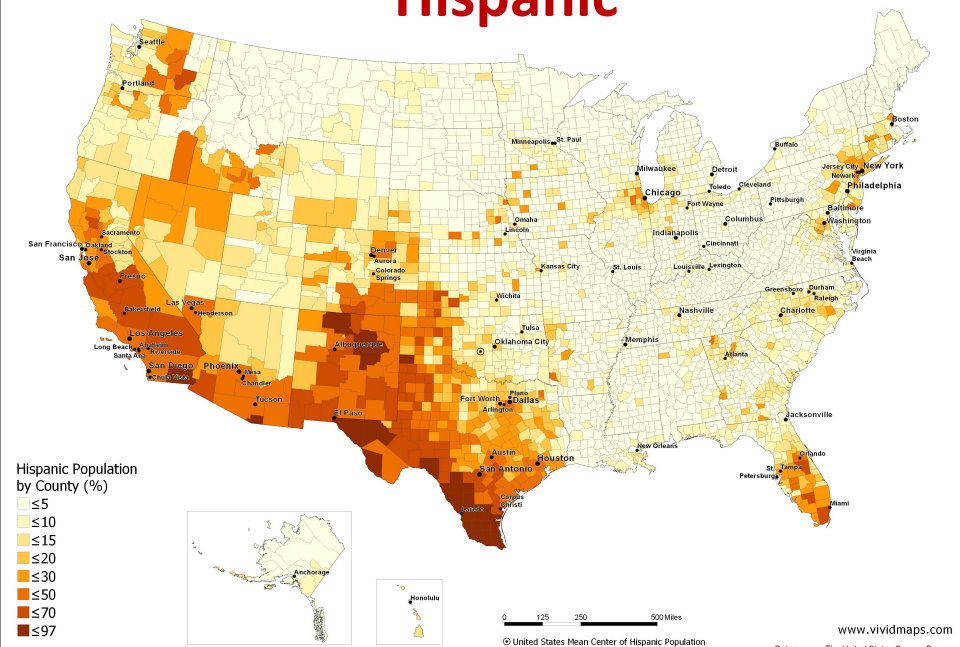


U.S. Hispanic Population by County

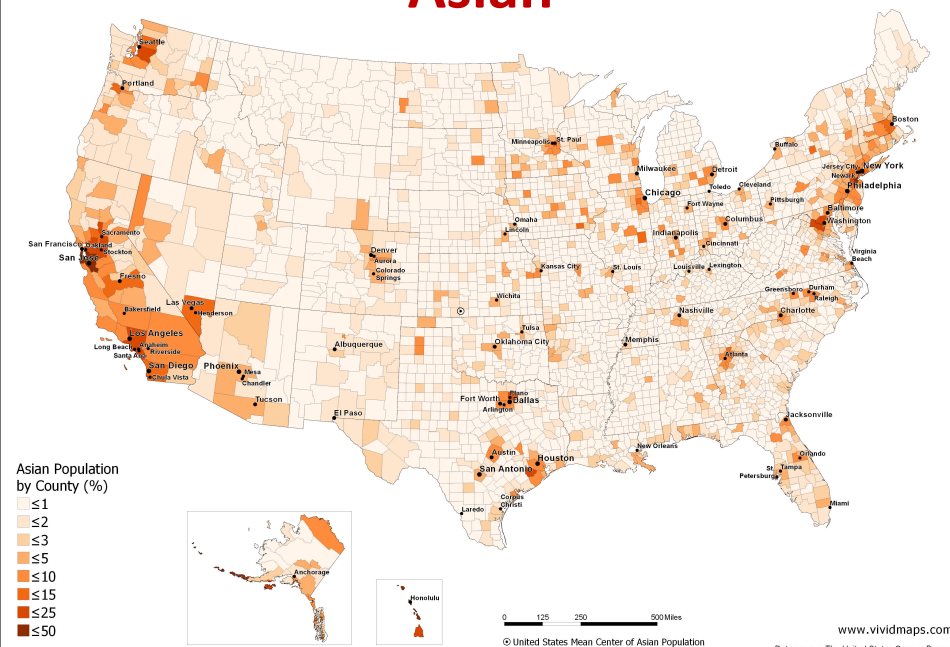
2017



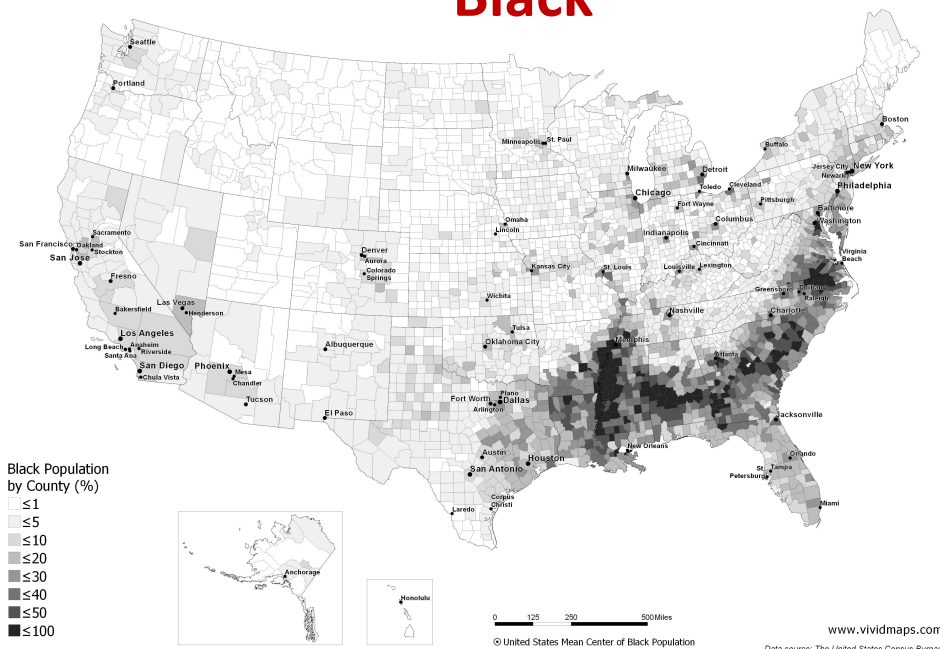
Hispanic



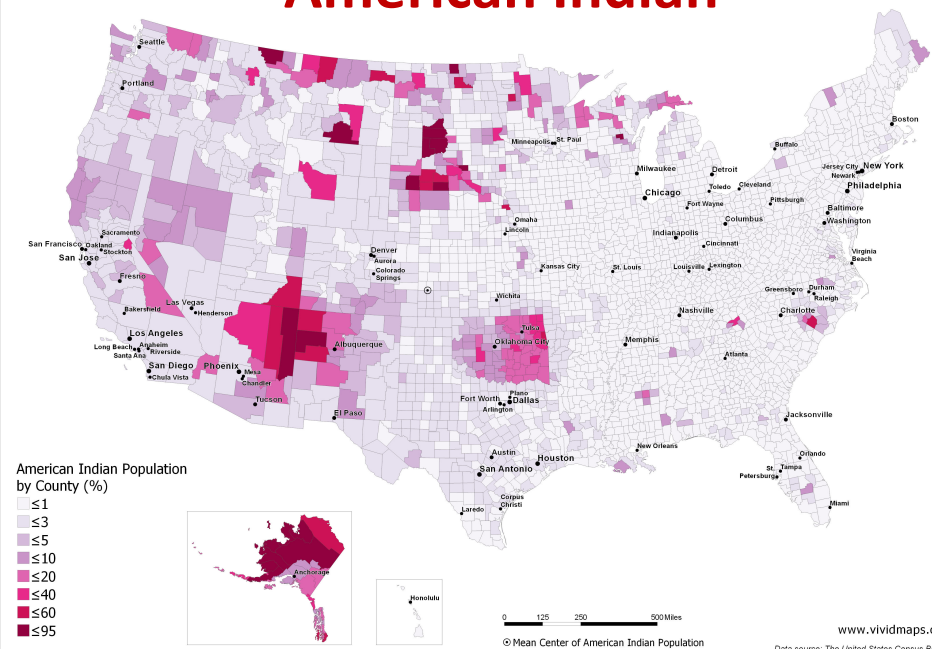
Asian



Black



American Indian



People who complain about
Spanish language is spoken in the US,
maybe should remember that:



**Spanish is the oldest non - native
american language spoken in the US**

Source: FB:
@LangCultLing

Mexico lost one-third of its territory to the U.S.: Texas in 1836 and Alta California and Nuevo Mexico in 1848

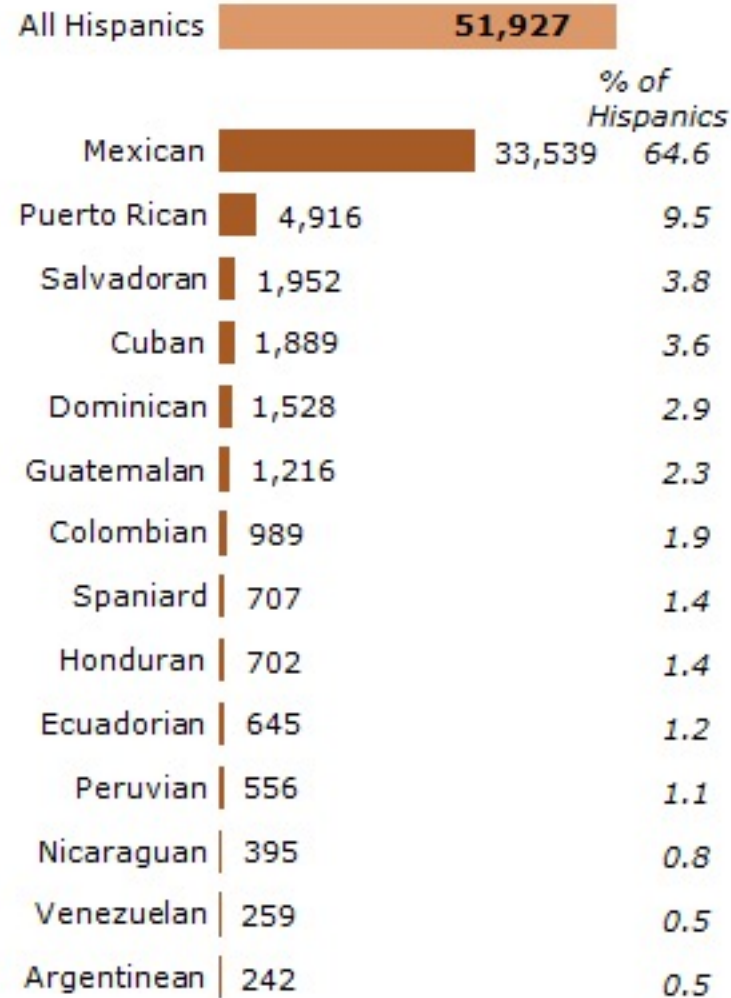






**65% of Latinx
are of Mexican
origin, and
almost 10% are
of Puerto Rican
origin**

**U.S. Hispanic Population, by Origin,
2011**
(in thousands)



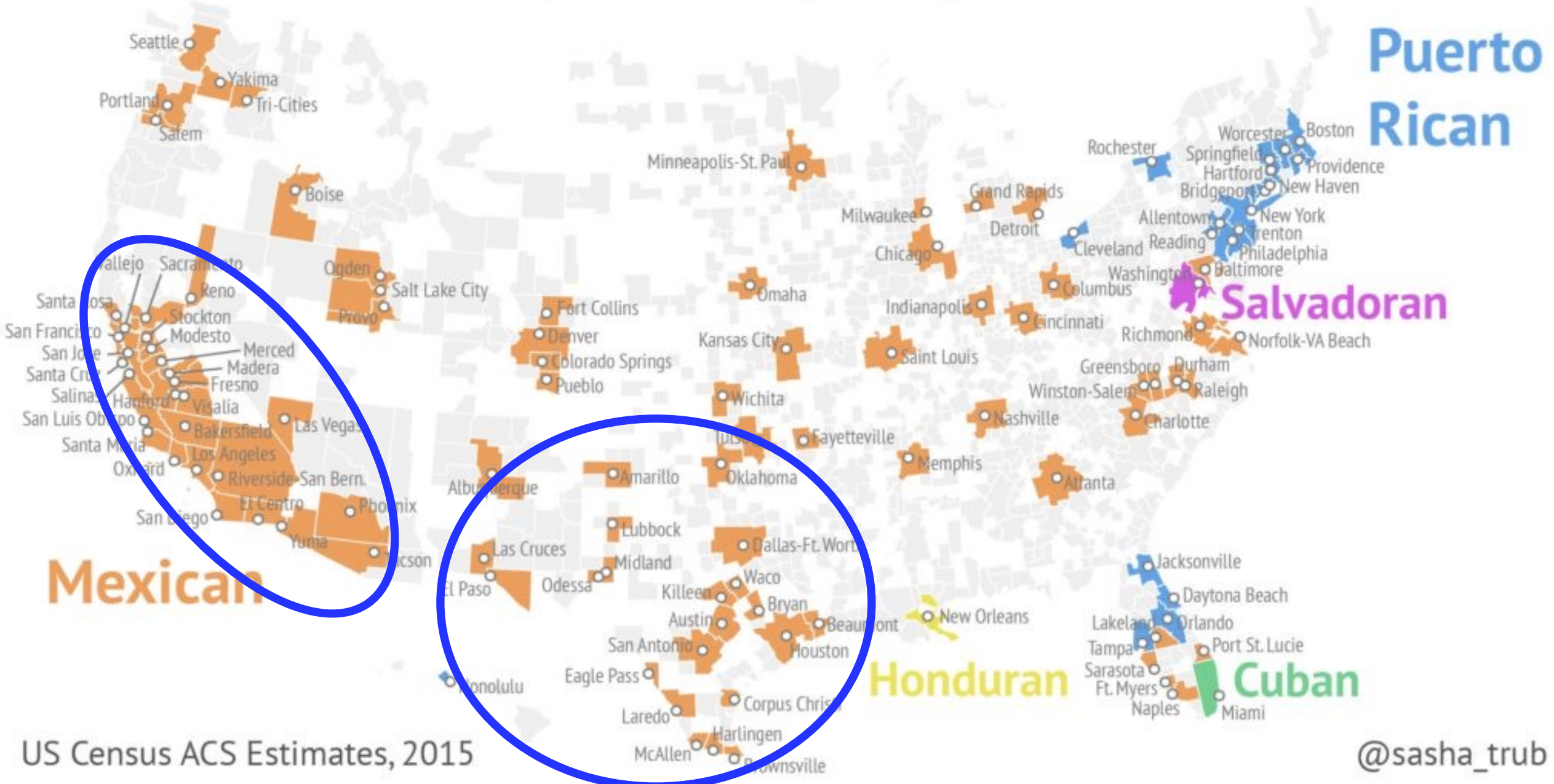
Note: Total U.S. population is 311,592,000 (rounded to the nearest thousand).

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of the 2011 ACS (1% IPUMS)

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

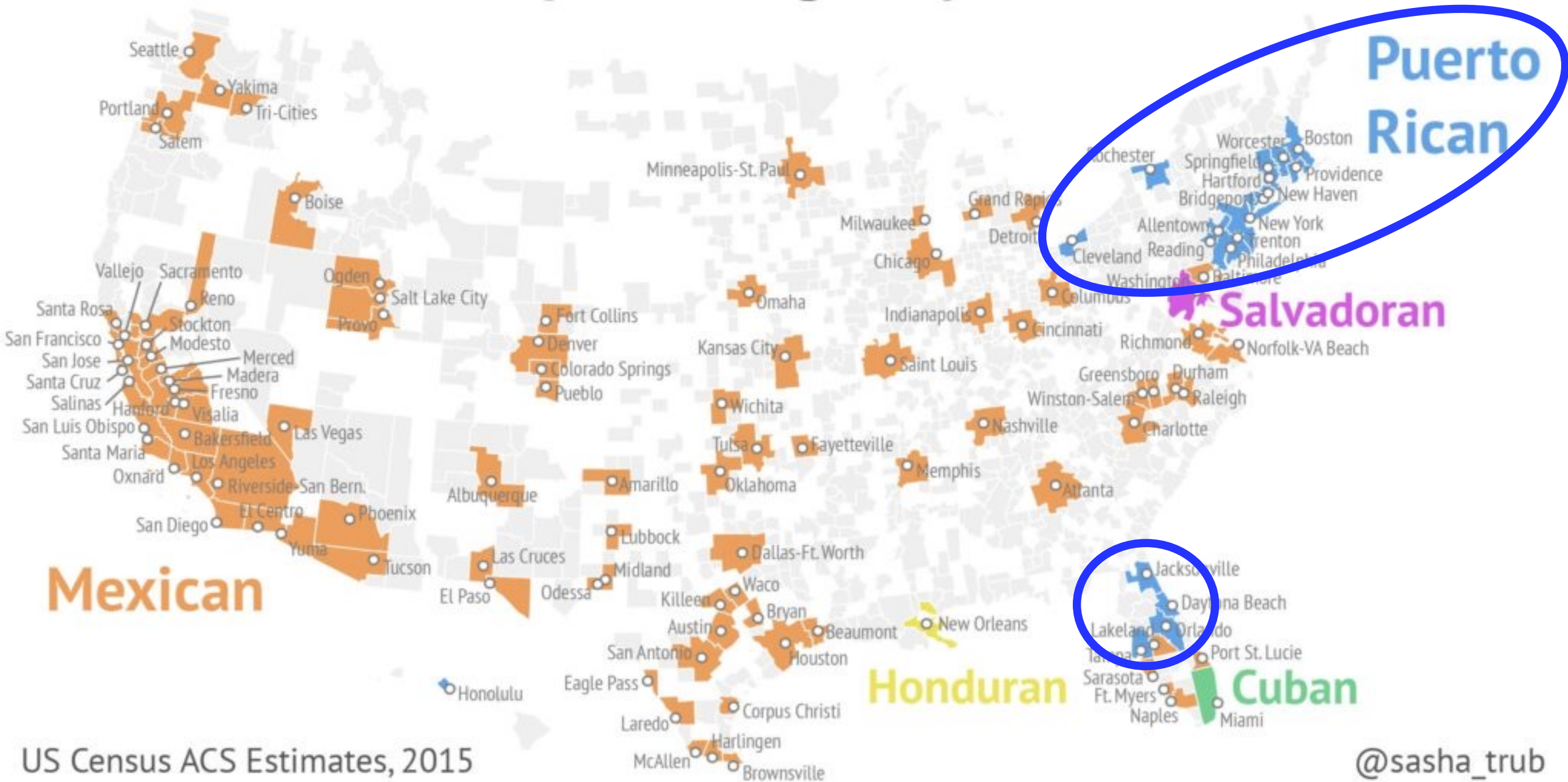


Most common Hispanic origin by metro area

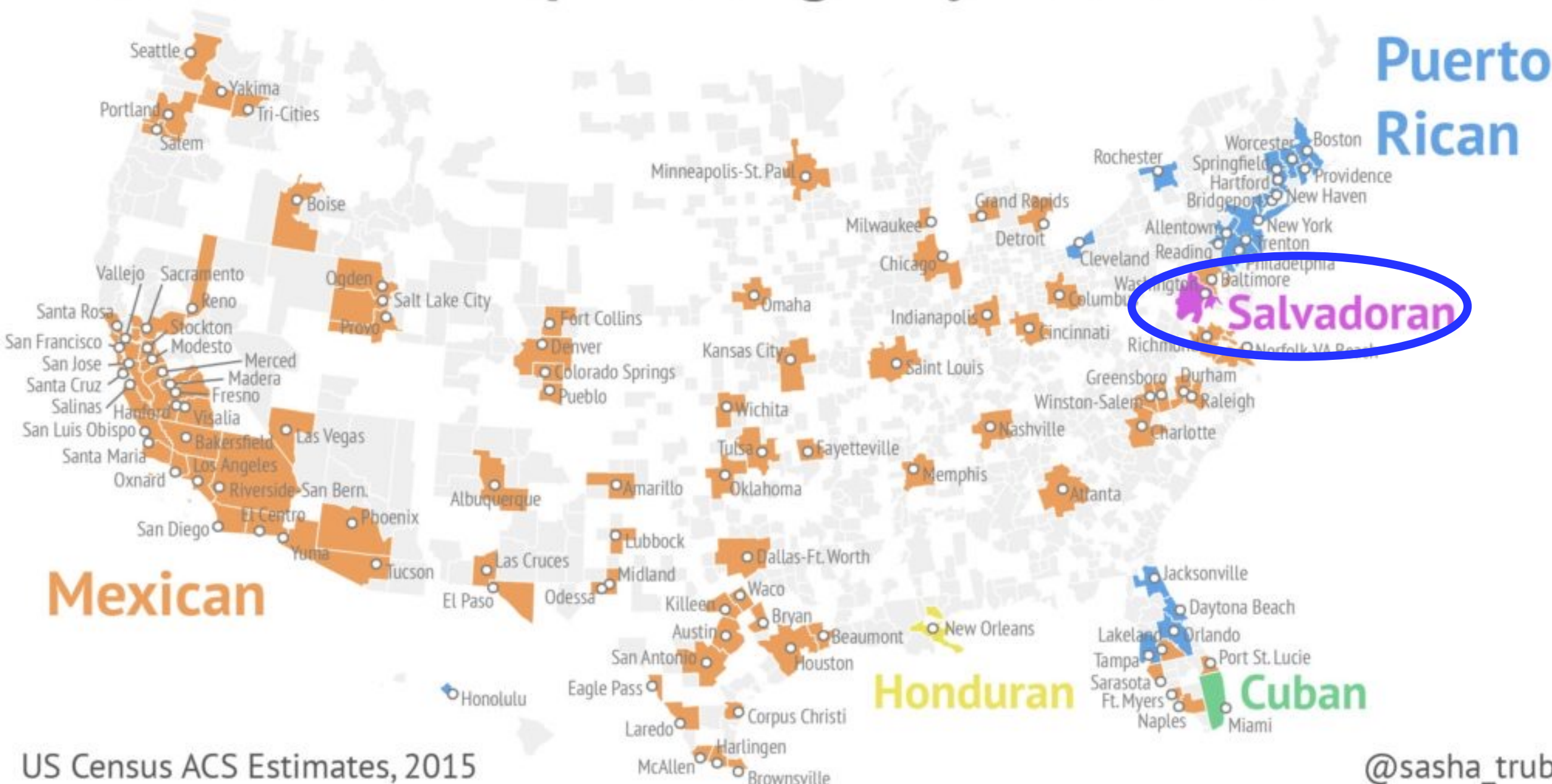


@sasha_trub

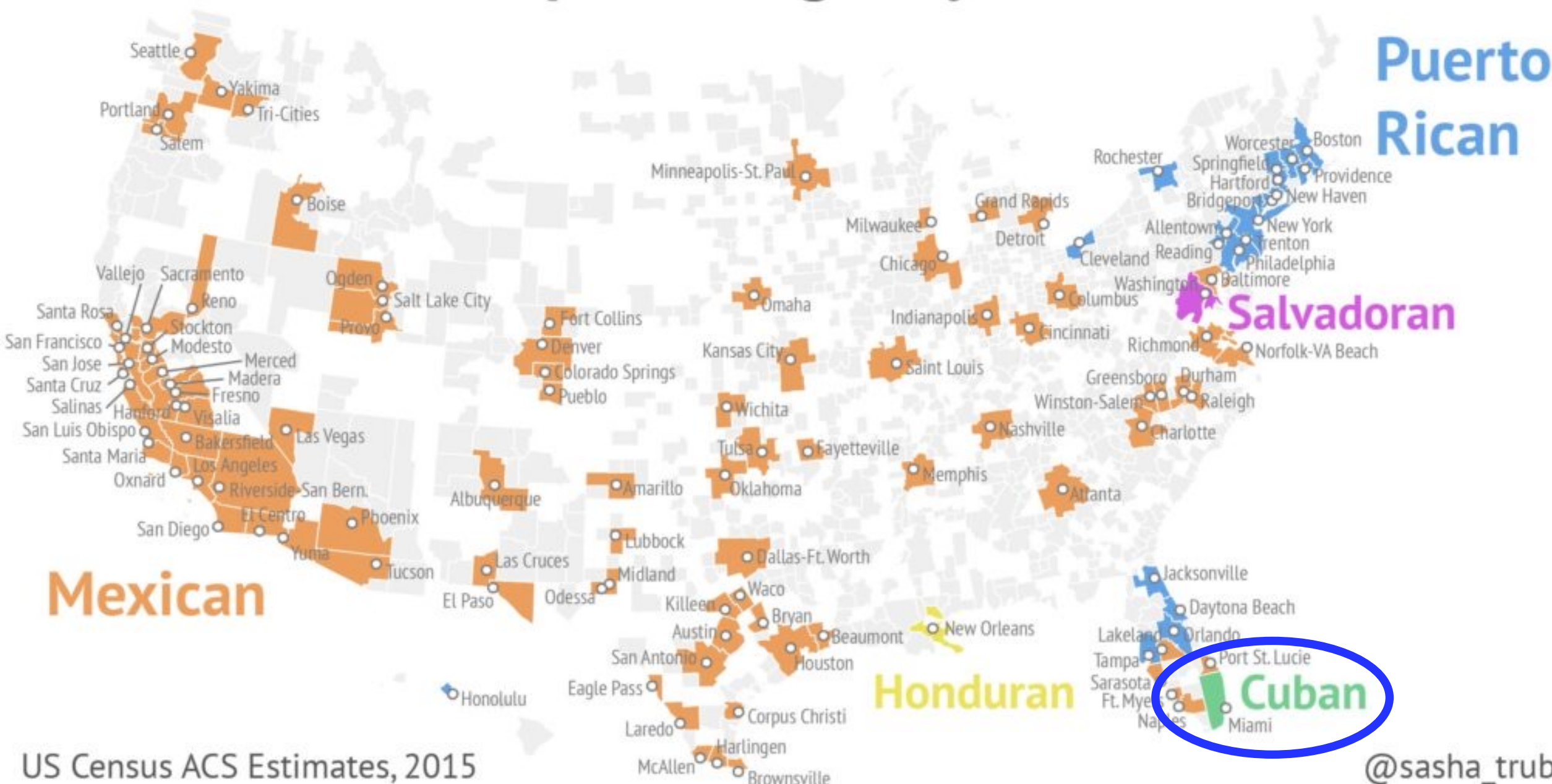
Most common Hispanic origin by metro area



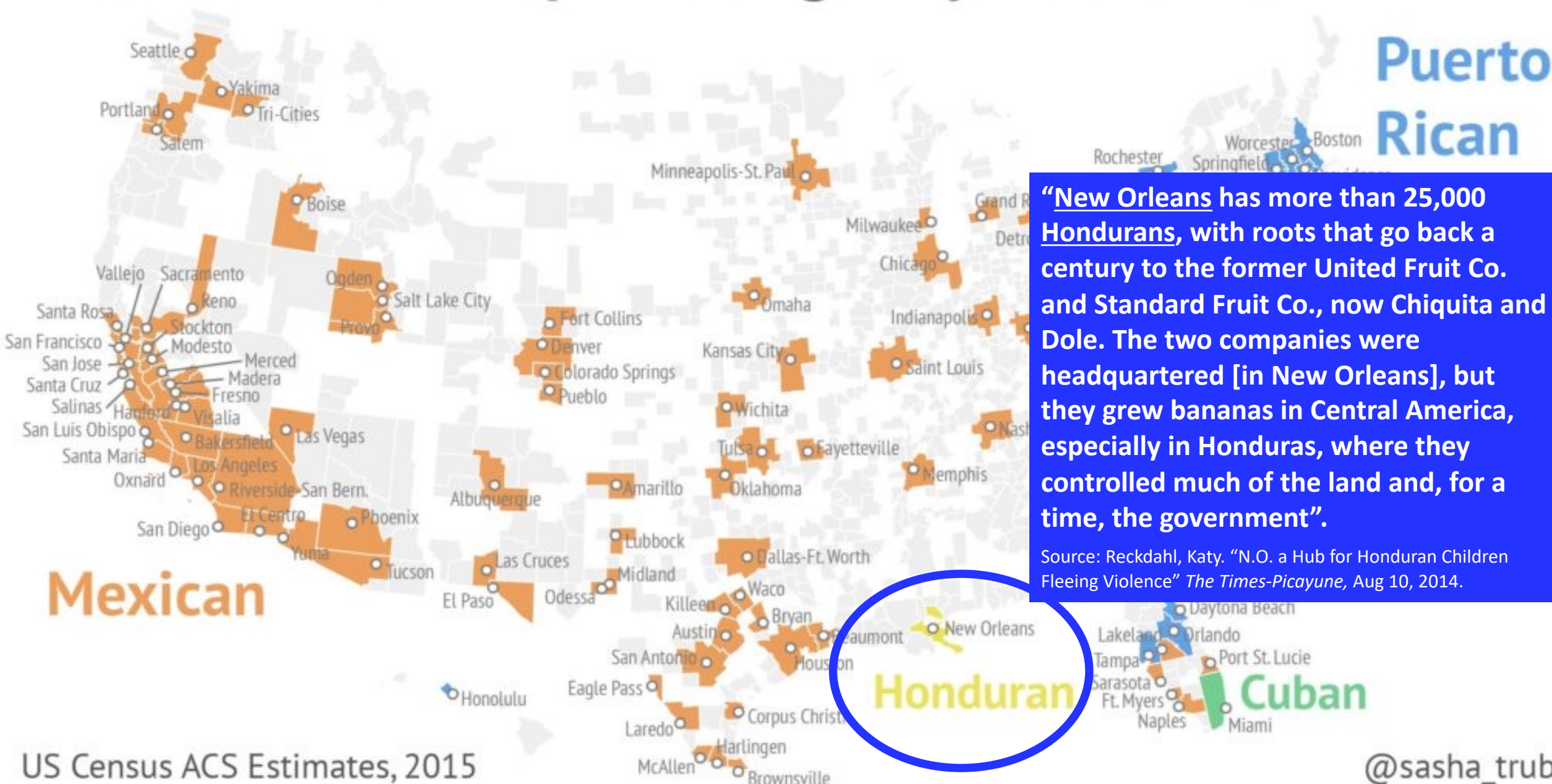
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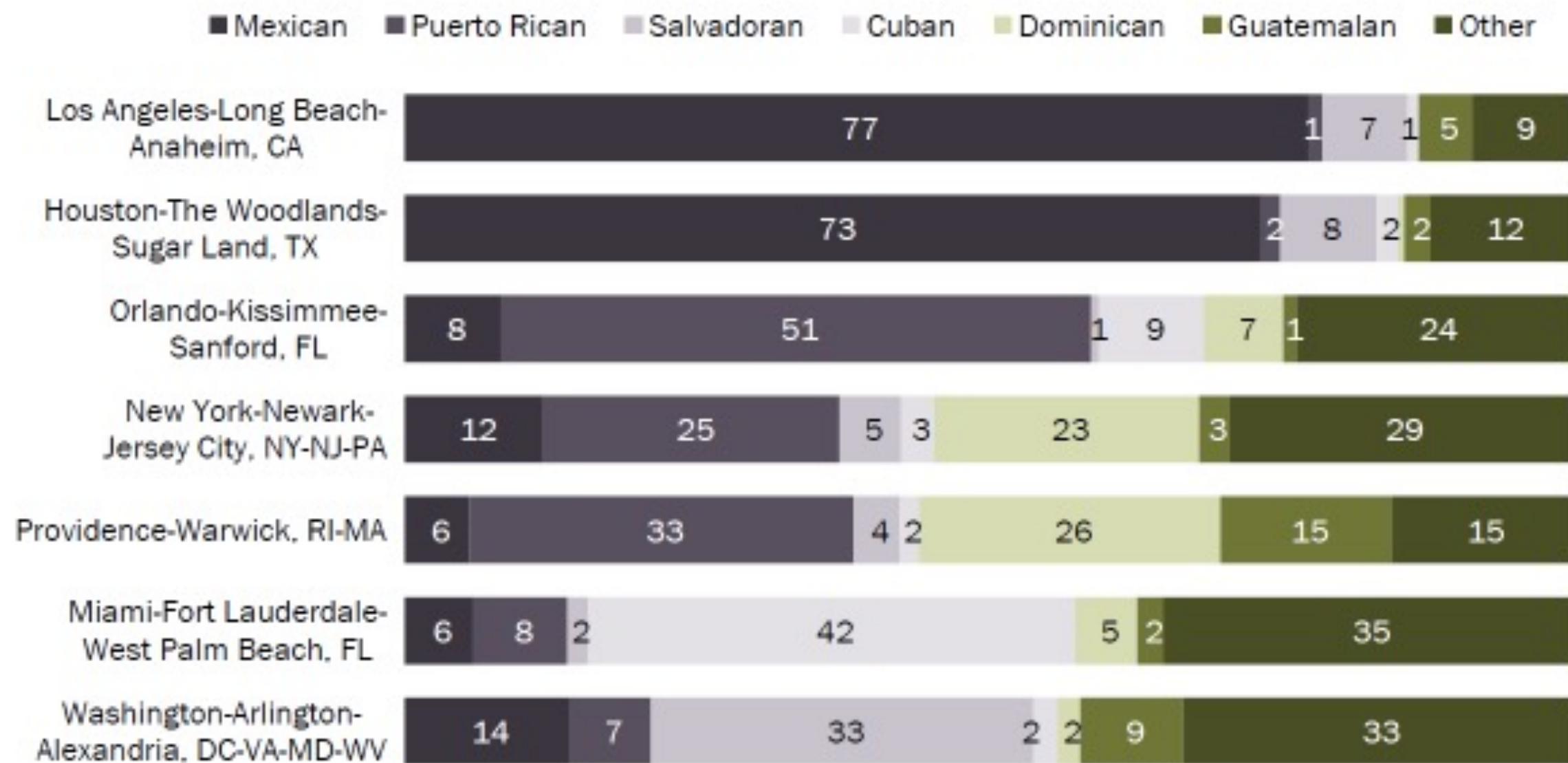


“New Orleans has more than 25,000 Hondurans, with roots that go back a century to the former United Fruit Co. and Standard Fruit Co., now Chiquita and Dole. The two companies were headquartered [in New Orleans], but they grew bananas in Central America, especially in Honduras, where they controlled much of the land and, for a time, the government”.

Source: Reckdahl, Katy. “N.O. a Hub for Honduran Children Fleeing Violence” *The Times-Picayune*, Aug 10, 2014.

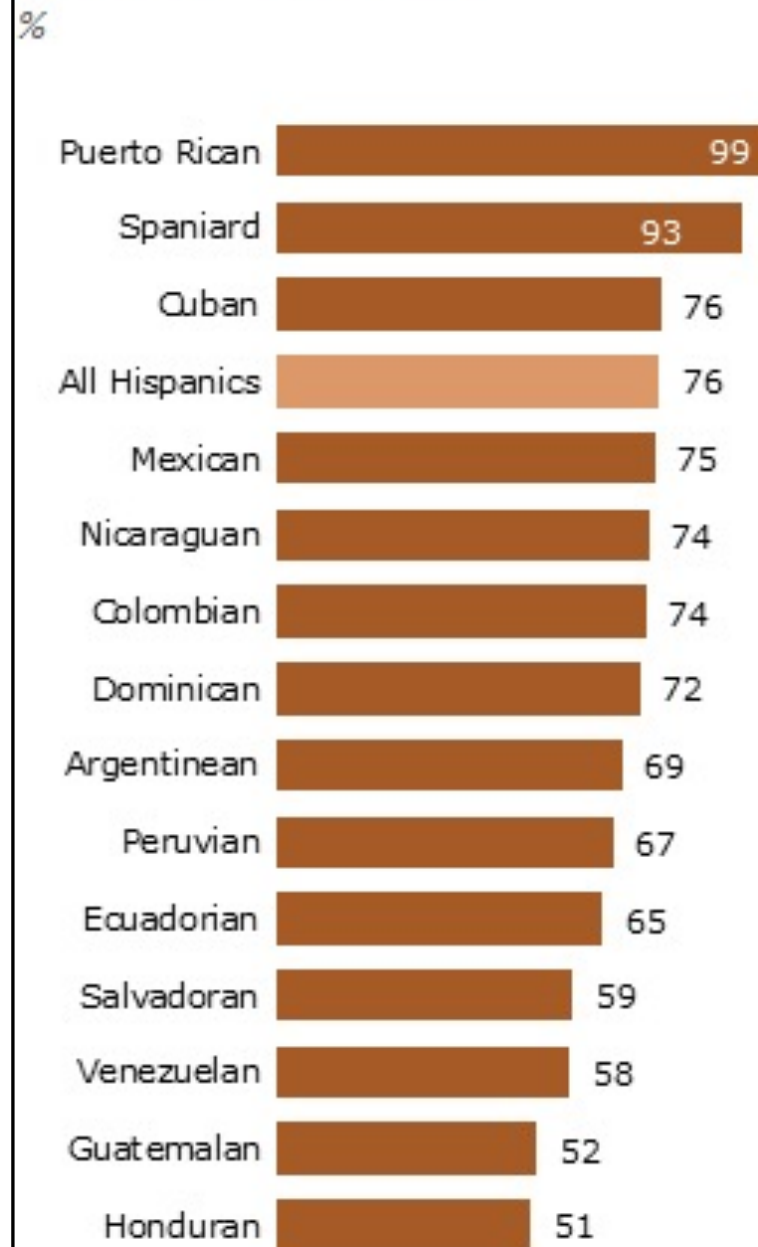
Latino populations in U.S. metro areas are more diverse along the East Coast

% of Hispanics who are of ____ origin, 2017



Guatemalans and Hondurans had among the lowest shares of U.S. Citizens

U.S. Citizen Share Among Hispanic Origin Groups, 2013

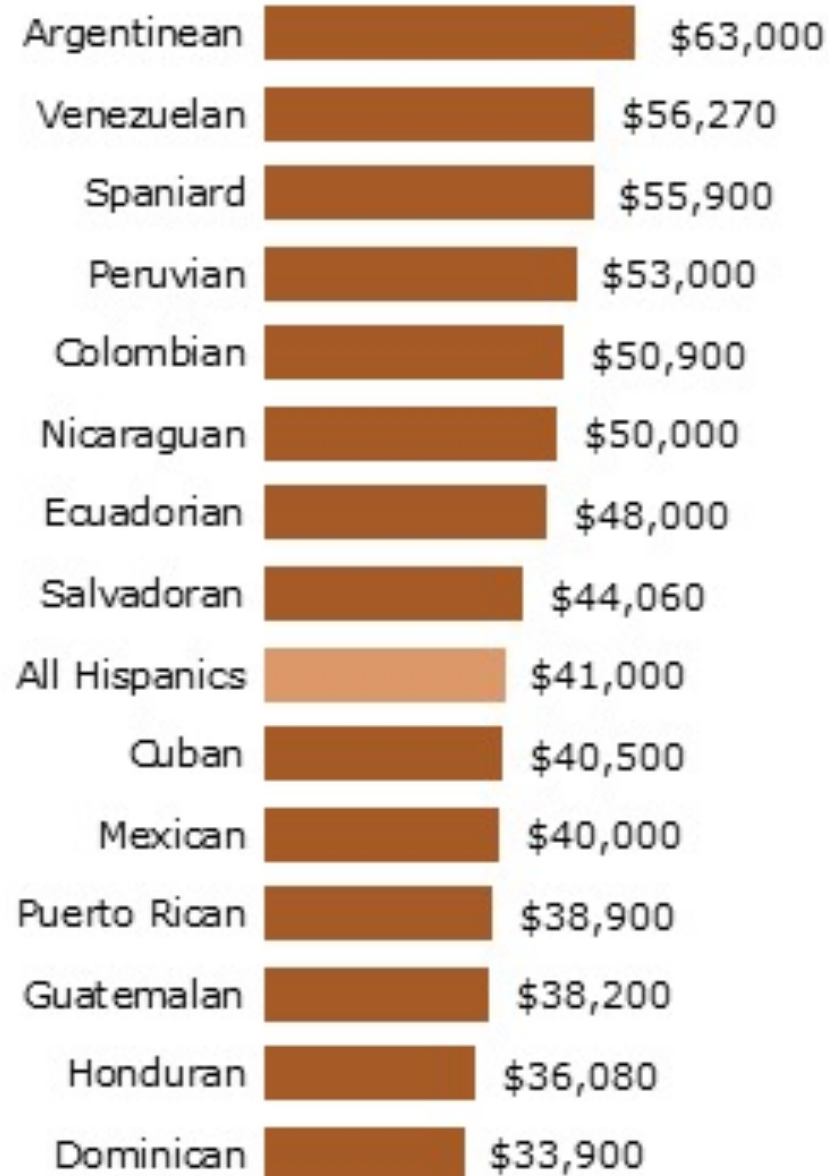


A small number of residents of Puerto Rican origin indicated that they were born outside of the U.S. and Puerto Rico, and thus were not U.S. citizens.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey

South Americans tend to have the highest household income levels, while Dominican, Honduran, Guatemalan, and Puerto Ricans tend to have the lowest levels.

Median Household Income Among U.S. Hispanic Origin Groups, 2013



Median U.S. Household income was \$52,000.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey



Primary Language

(%)

Spanish dominant Bilingual English dominant

All Hispanics



Hispanics by generation

First



Second

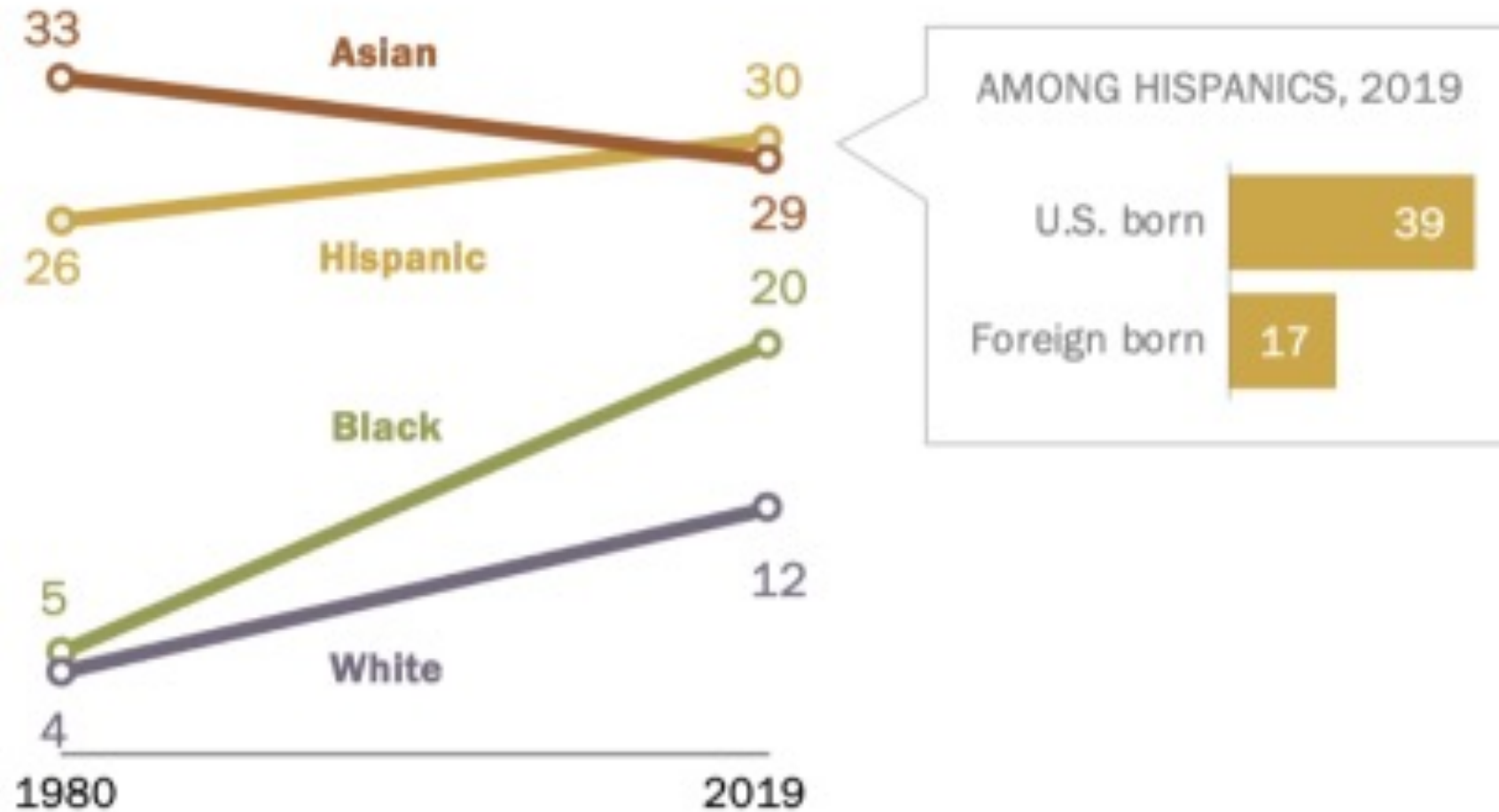


Third and higher



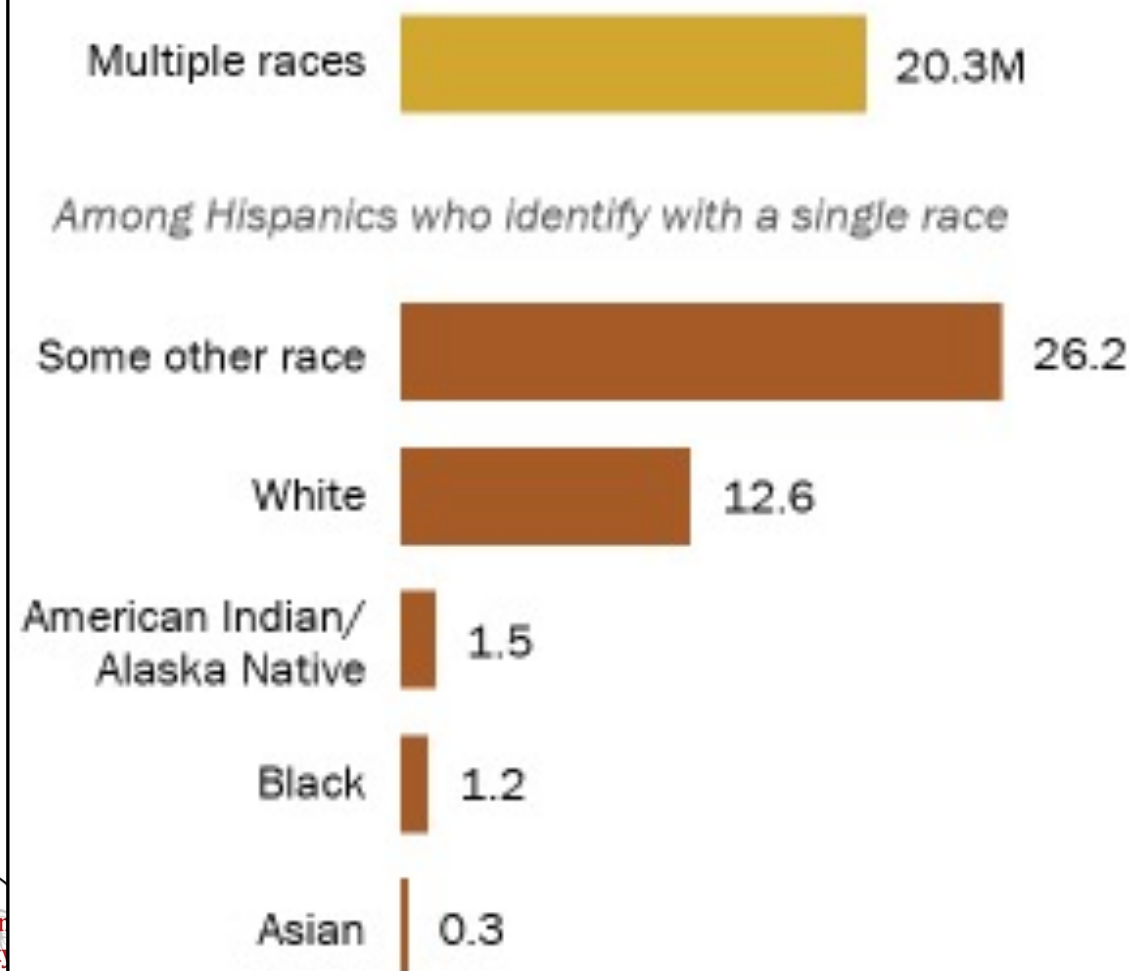
Three-in-ten Hispanic newlyweds married someone who is not Hispanic in 2019

% of U.S. newlyweds who are intermarried



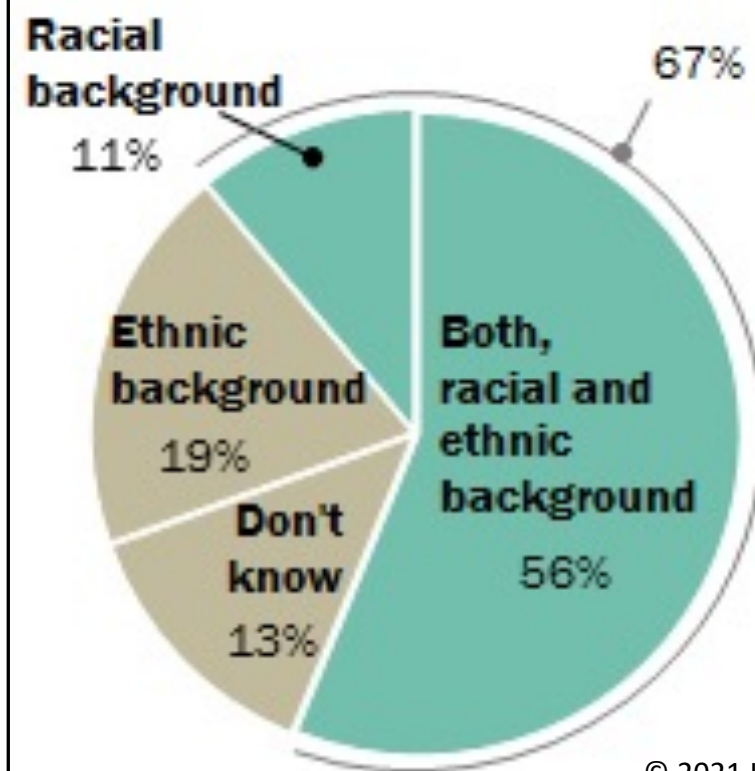
Most Hispanics identify with a racial group other than White, Black or Asian

Number of U.S. Hispanics who identify with a racial group in 2020 (in millions)



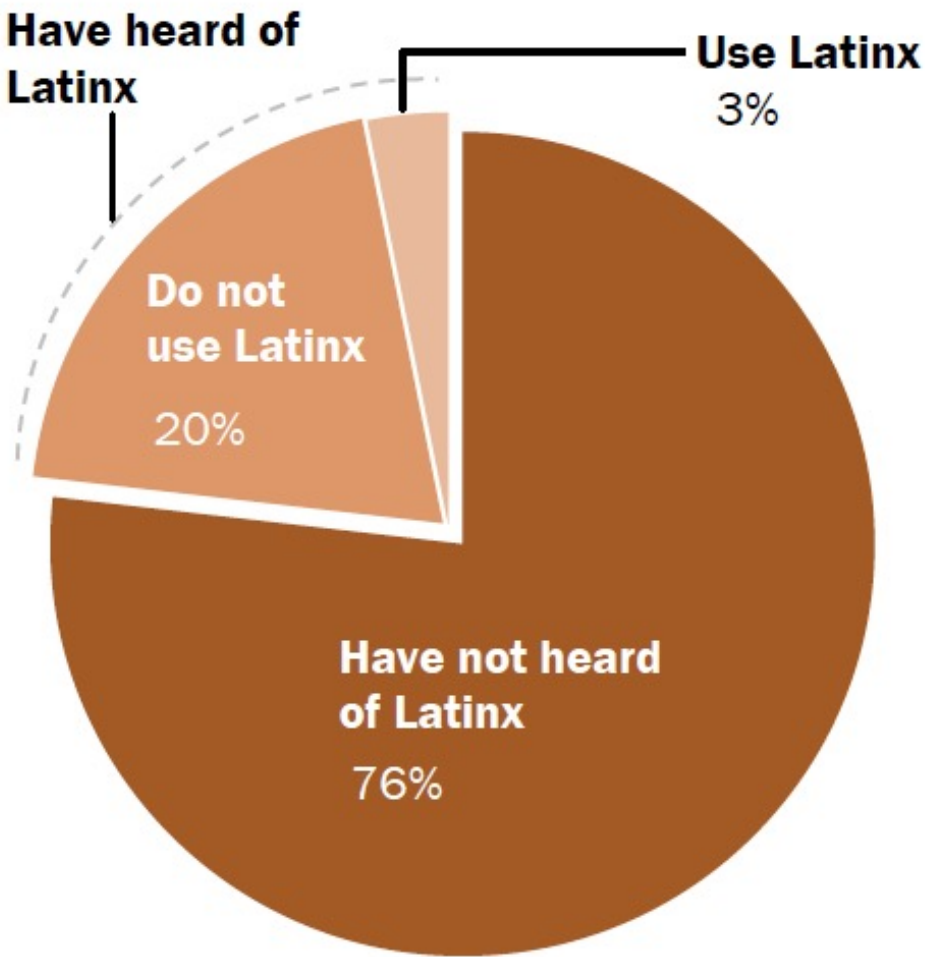
Two-Thirds of Hispanic Adults Say Being Hispanic Is Part of their Racial Background

% of Hispanic adults who say being Hispanic is part of their ...



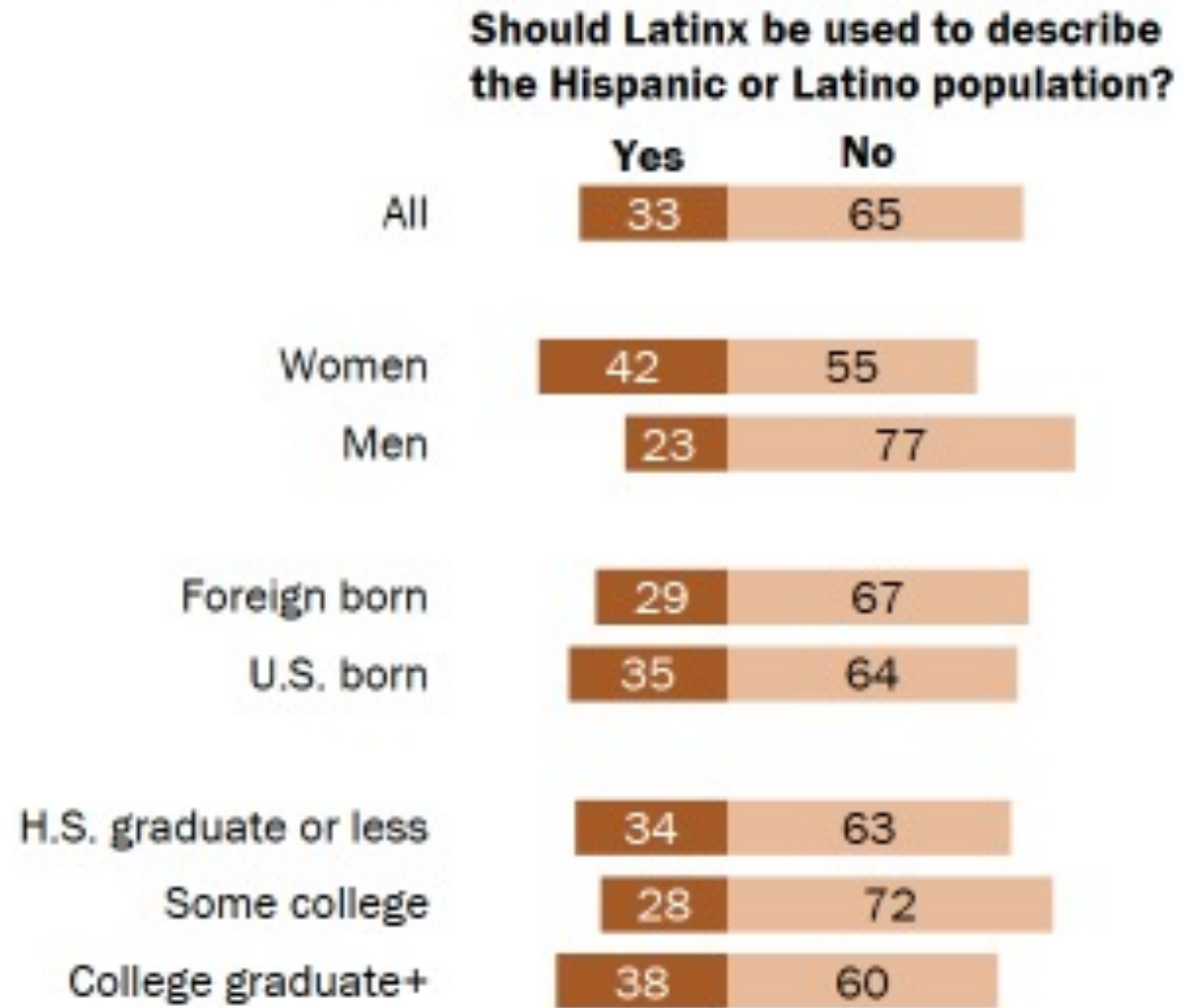
Most Latino adults have not heard of the term Latinx; few use it

% who ...



One-third of Latinos who are aware of Latinx say it should be used as a pan-ethnic term

% among respondents who have heard of Latinx



2-Minute Brain Break:

- 1. 30 seconds to rest your brain**
- 2. 90 seconds for active processing in your notes:**
 - Summarize main ideas in your own words**
 - Identify important new ideas**
 - Note areas where you would like additional clarification**



Agenda

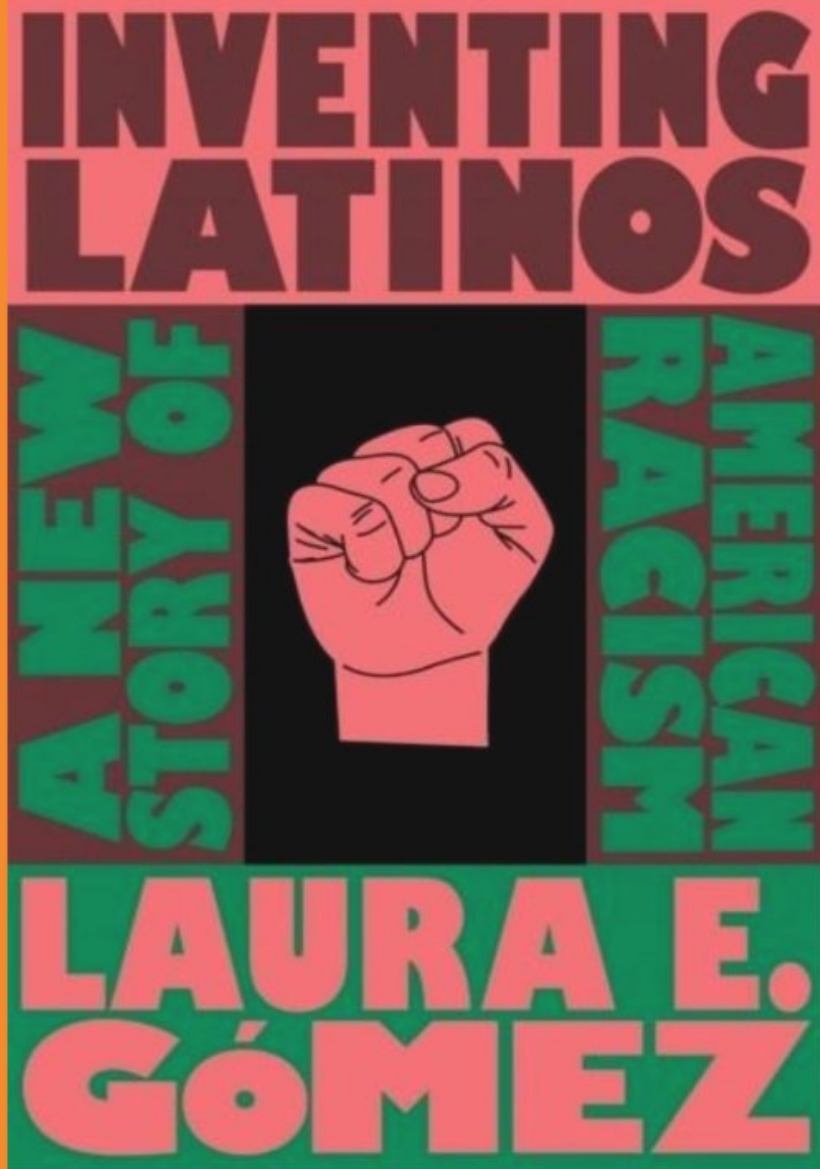
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- a. Layer 1: Under Spanish colonial rule
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Laura Gómez
Professor of Law, UCLA



Racialization

“Racialization is how society and the state assign individuals to racial groups and the relative position of groups to each other”.



The History of Latinx Racialization

"We now turn to examining racism toward and racialization of Latinos, but we must do so by seeking to understand the legacy of four layers of white supremacy, some of them overlapping in time:

- 1. Under Spanish colonial rule in Latin America;**
- 2. After independence from Spain;**
- 3. Under American colonial rule in Latin America; and**
- 4. In terms of racialization in the United States".**



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Race in the British Colonies

Whites

**Native
Americans**

Blacks

Race in the British Colonies

Whites

**Native
Americans**

Blacks

Historian Seth Rockman (2005)

“Liberty is Land and Slaves: The Great Contradiction”

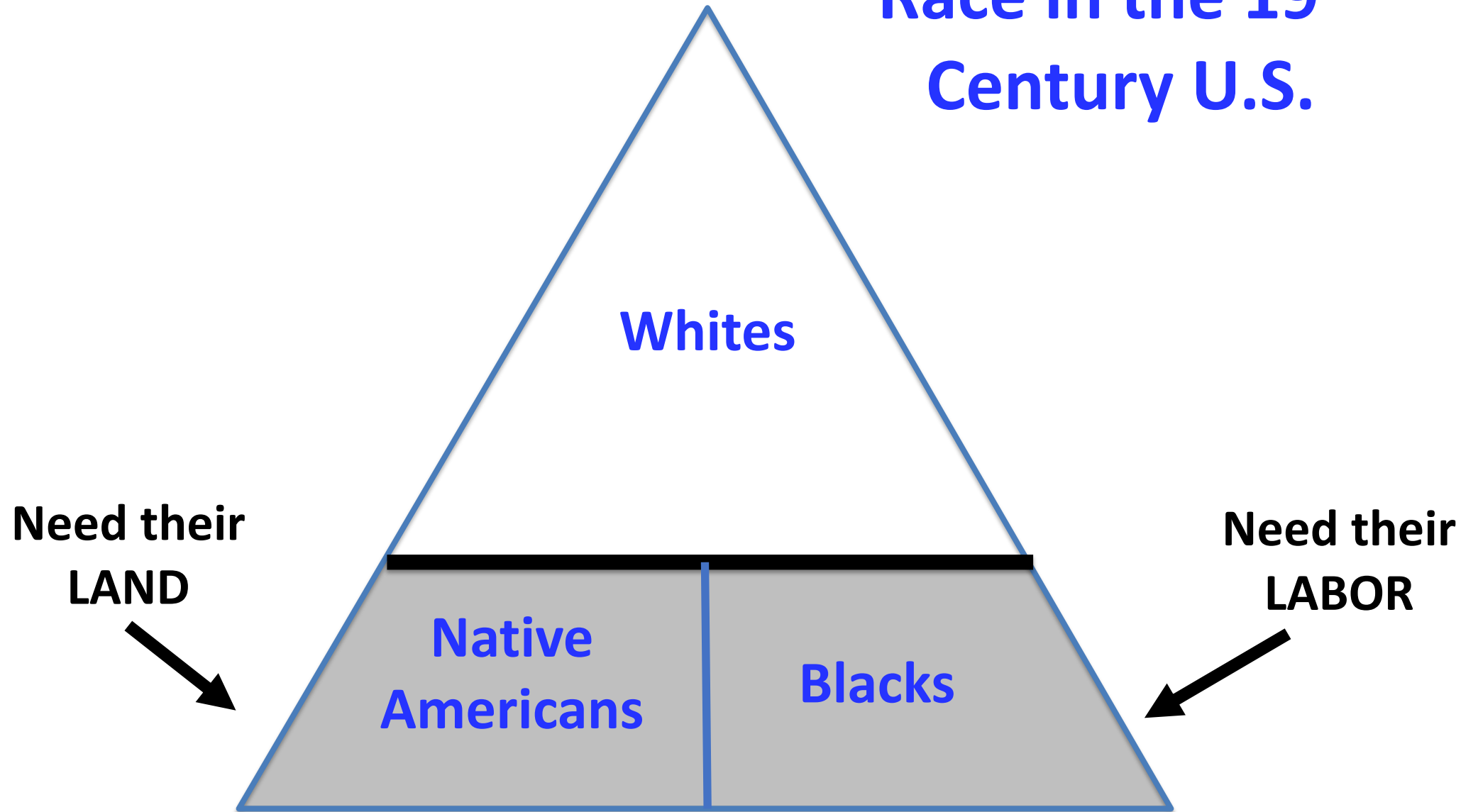
It was not just a coincidence that some people in 19th century America had liberty while others did not; rather, **some people's liberty depended upon the denial of liberty to others”**

The liberty that offered prosperity to southern white men required expansive oppression--**the violent appropriation of millions of acres of "frontier" land from the Native American people who possessed them, and the violent enslavement of millions of African Americans whose labor would transform these lands into profitable plantations.**

...liberty for some was made possible by oppression for others.



Race in the 19th Century U.S.



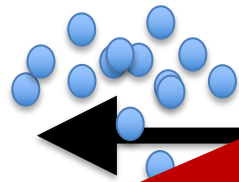
The White and Black Races Were Socially Constructed Through Laws

EARLY Colonial Period: White

as somewhat

Hypodescent:
(the “one drop rule”)

**Mixed-race children are assigned
to the socially “inferior” race**



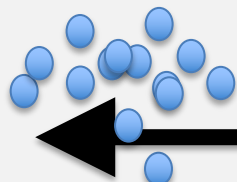
White

Black

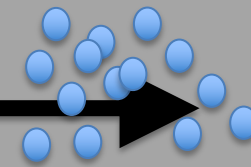
LAT

es

and Negro seen as distinct,
“natural”, God-given binary categories



White
Race



Black Race

***Casta* painting containing complete set of
16 *casta* combinations:
Racial hierarch/classification in
Spanish & Portuguese colonies in the Americas**



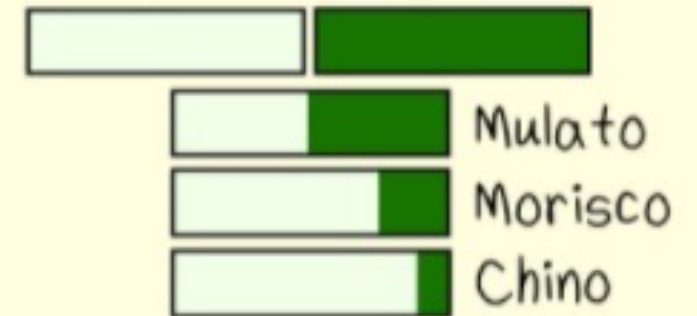
Meanwhile, in the Spanish empire, it not only mattered, officially, that you were "negro," but also *how* "negro..." A quarter? Half? An eighth? Purity of blood was the basis for the "casta de sangre," a complex amalgamation of customs, barriers, and prejudices applied to all citizens of New Spain.

THE "PURE" RACES Español (White), Indio (Native), and Negro (African)

Español + Indio



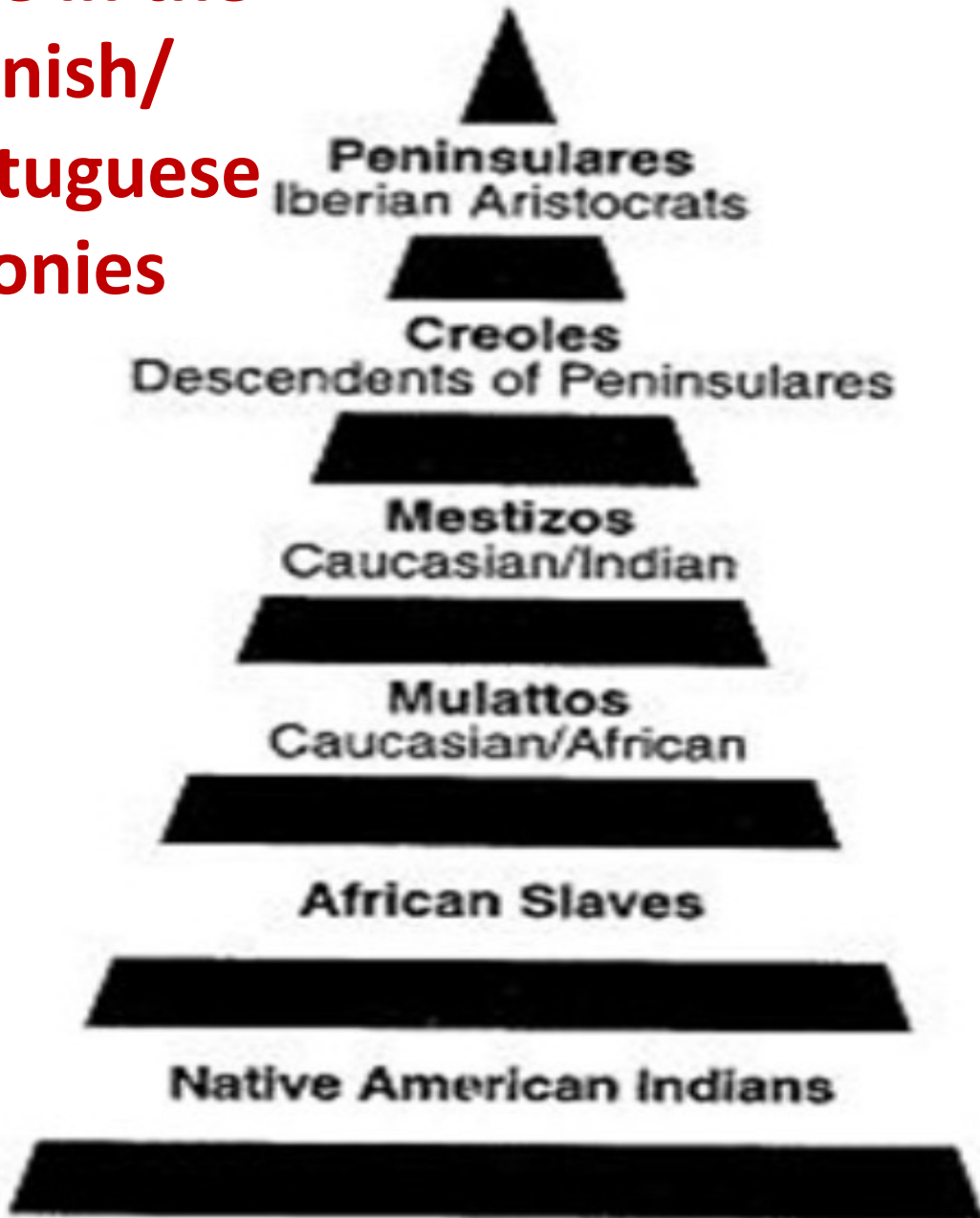
Español + Negro



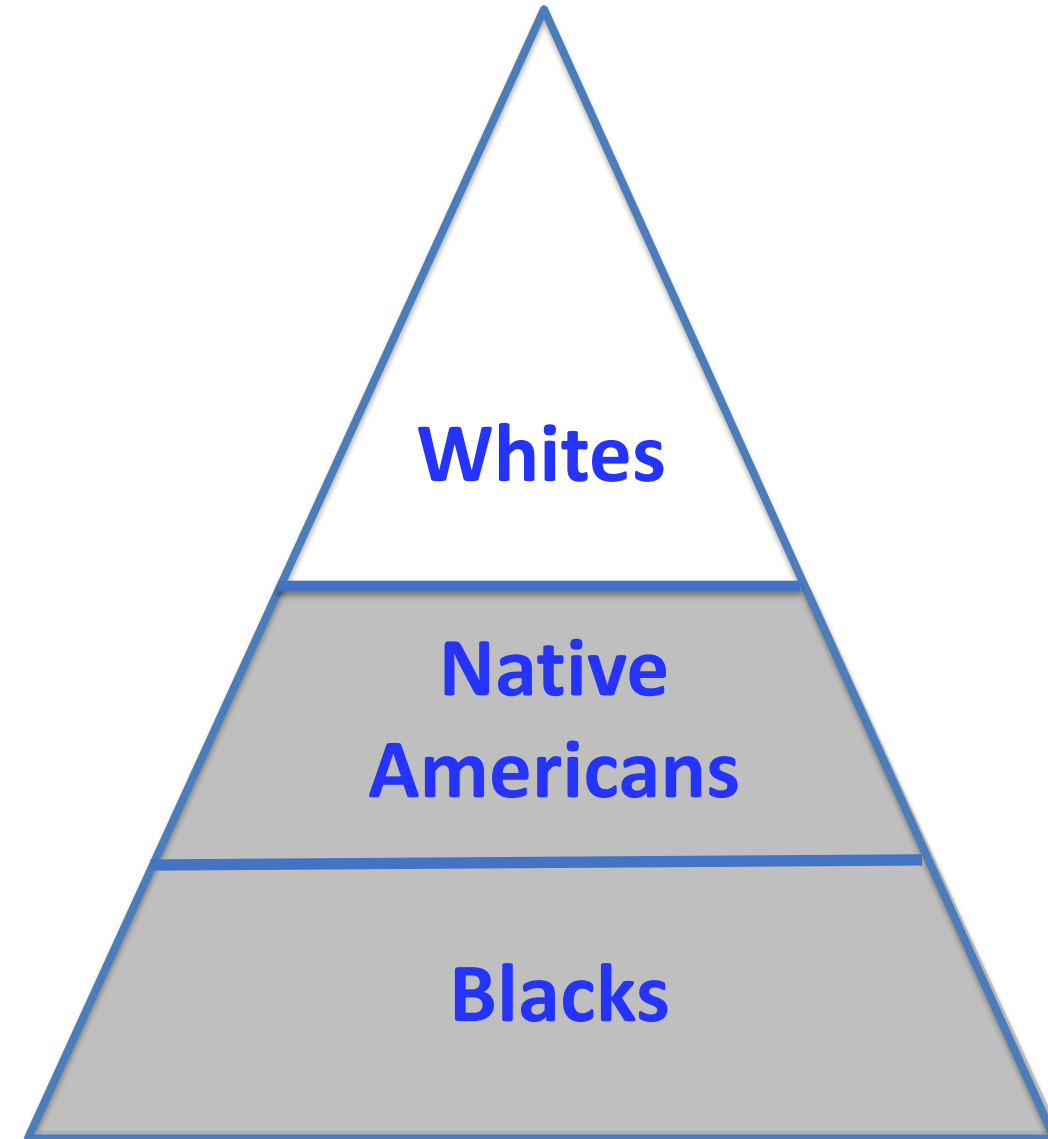
*Graphic based on "casta de sangre" paintings depicting racial hierarchies, commissioned by members of the Spanish upperclass.



Race in the Spanish/Portuguese Colonies



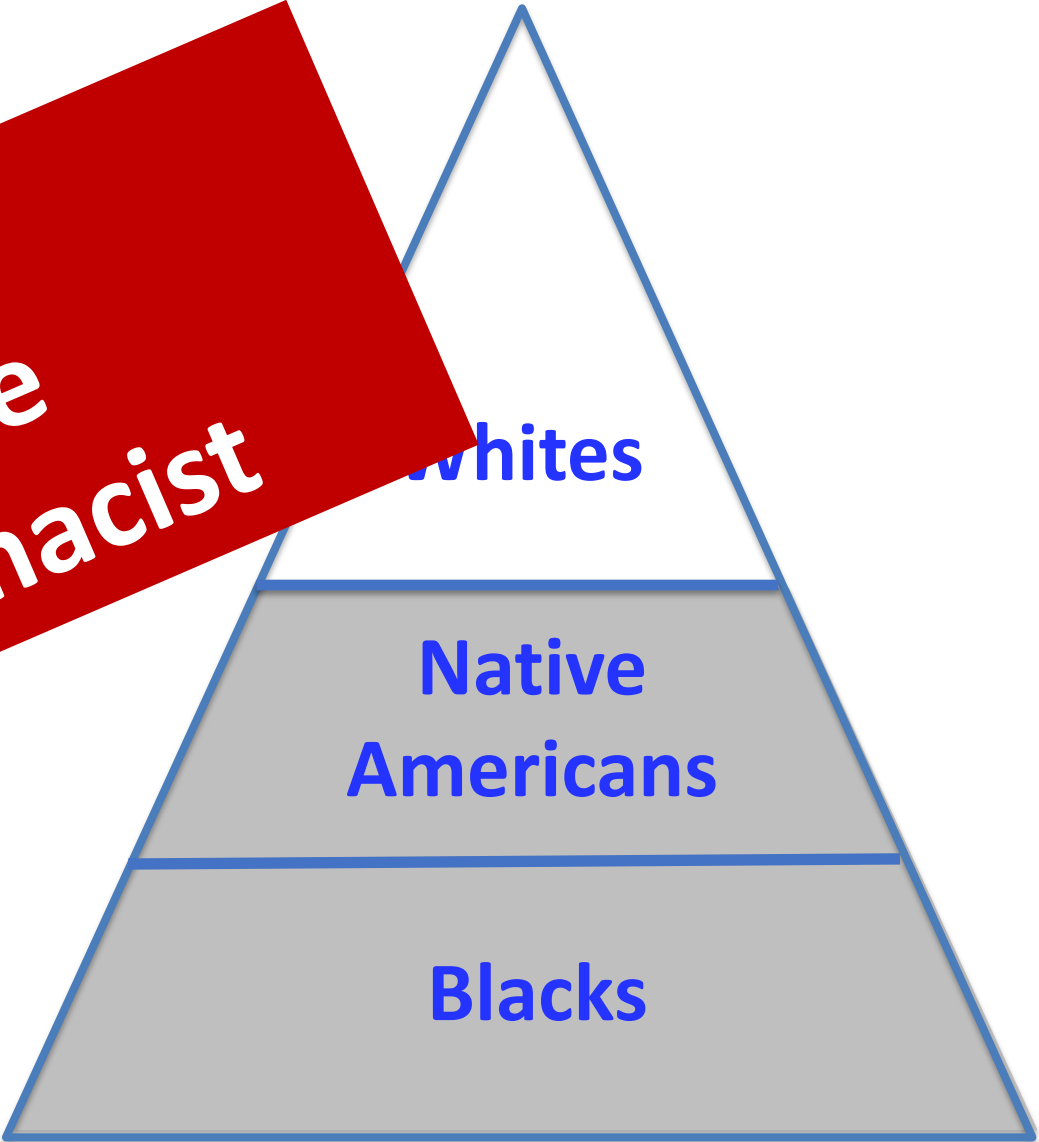
Race in the British Colonies



Race in the Spanish/Portuguese Colonies



Race in the British Colonies



Both White Supremacist



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UNDER SPANISH COLONIALISM:
White Supremacist racial structure
with several mixed-race "races"

Population was majority White

POST INDEPENDENCE:
National ideology
privileges Whites

(Modified) Racial CATEGORIES
White is normative
and privileged;
Blacks/Indigenous are
marginalized and discriminated

**Argentina, Chile, Uruguay,
Costa Rica, southern Brazil**

Population was majority mestizo/mulato

POST INDEPENDENCE:
National ideology privileges
Mestizos or mixed race

RACIAL SPECTRUMS;
Mestizo/mixed Race
(*"la raza cósmica"*)
is normative and glorified;
Blacks/Indigenous are
marginalized and discriminated

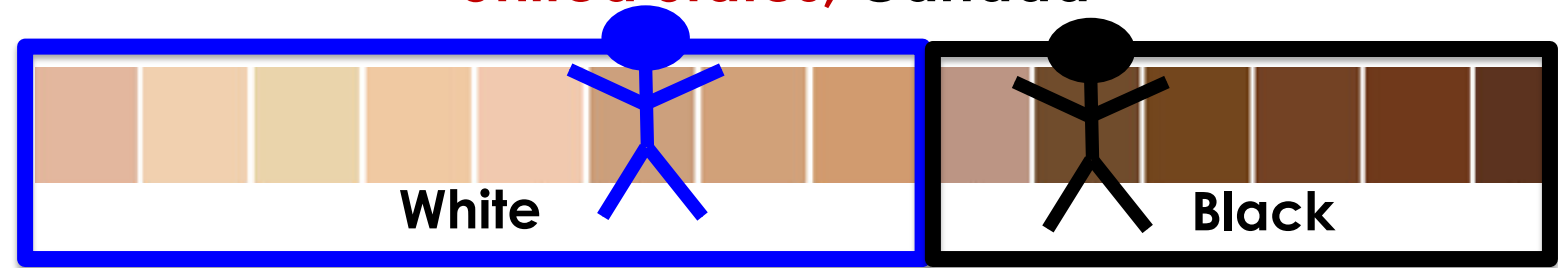
**Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador,
Peru, northern Brazil**



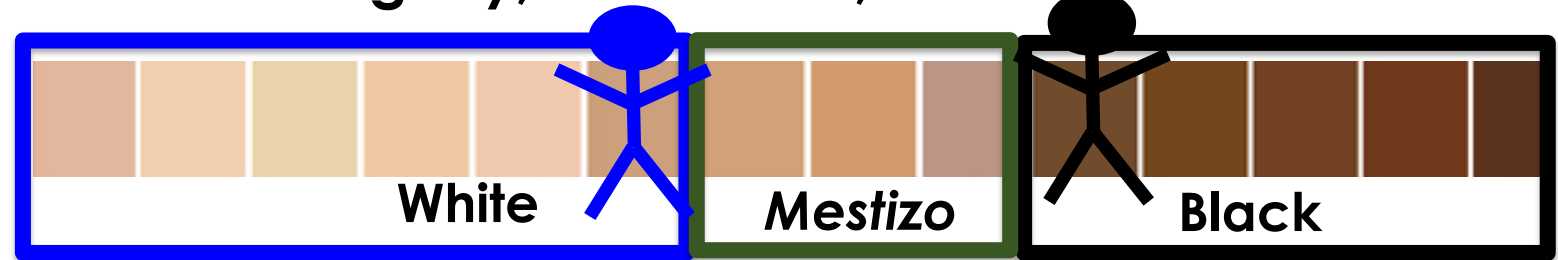
Racial Categories:

Societies with histories of whiteness ideology, and legal racial classification and discrimination

United States, Canada



South Africa, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Southern Brazil



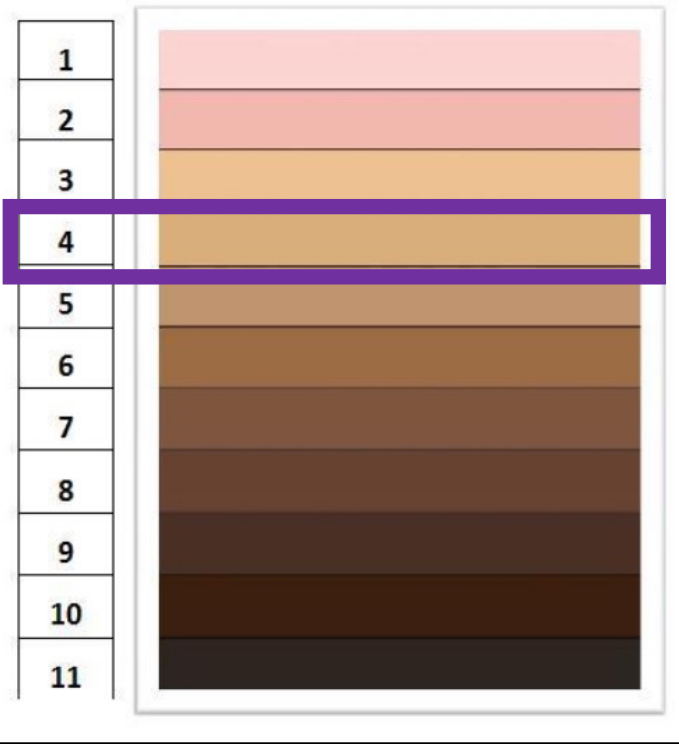
Racial Spectrums:

Societies with histories of mestizaje or racial democracy ideology, and no history of legal racial classification

Colombia, Mexico, Ecuador, Peru, Northern Brazil

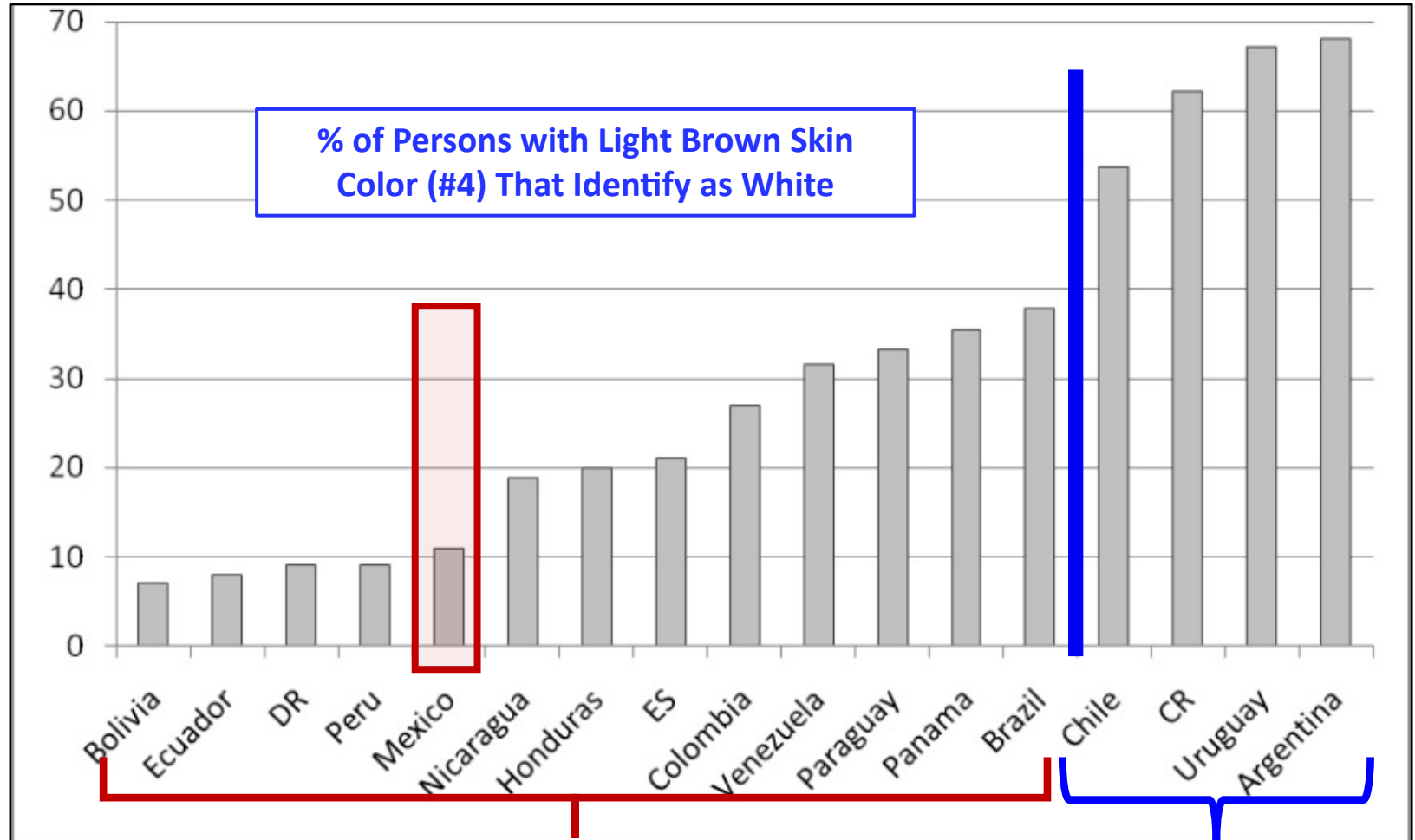


Figure 1. Skin Color Palette Used in the 2010 AmericasBarometer



Racial CATEGORIES: Countries with histories of whiteness ideology. Most identify as either “**black**” or “**white**”. A wide spectrum of light-skinned skin colors is considered “**white**”.

Racial SPECTRUMS: Countries with histories of mestizaje or racial democracy ideology. Only those with the lightest or darkest skin tones identify as “**white**” or “**black**”; most identify as “**mestizo**,” “**mulato**,” etc.



**Racial Spectrums;
Mestizaje is glorified**

**Racial Categories;
Whiteness is glorified**

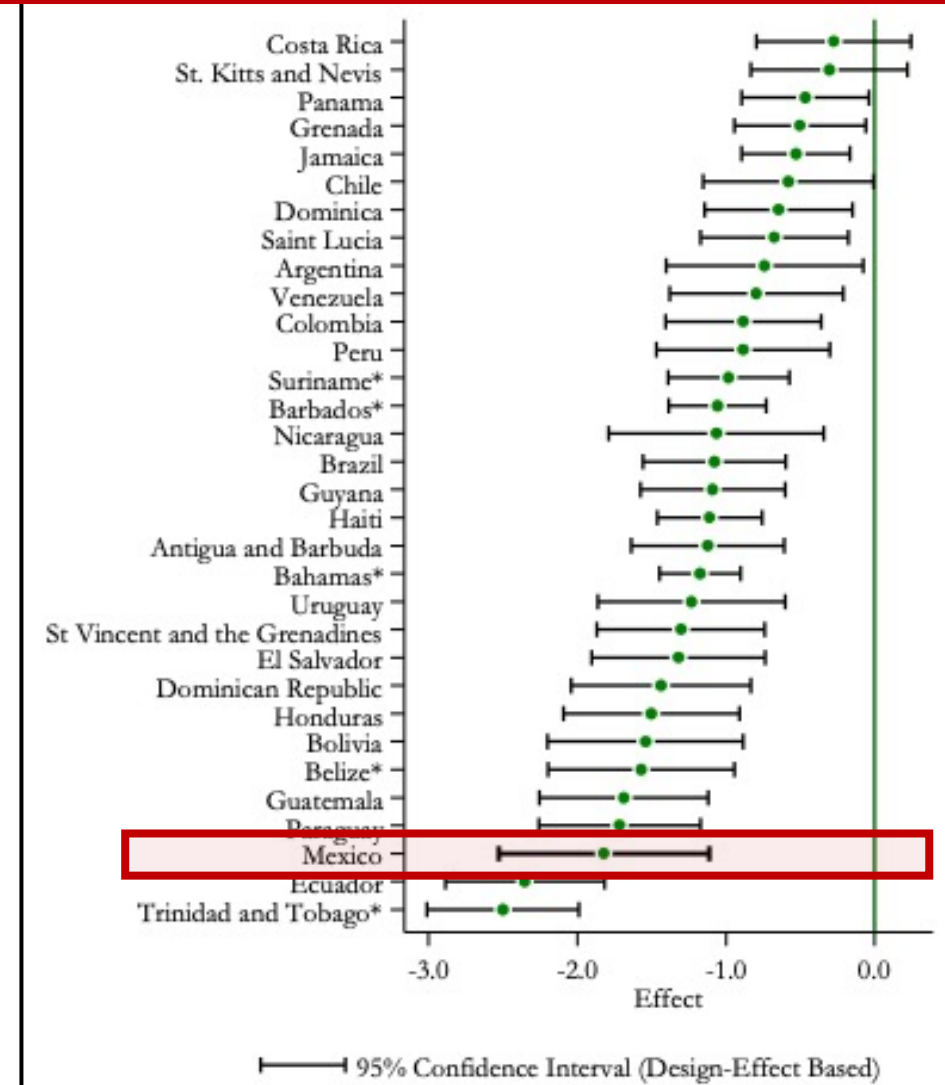
Source: Telles, Edward and Rene Flores, “Not Just White: Whiteness, Nation and Status in Latin America”, *Hispanic American Historical Review* (2013) 93 (3): 411–449. Based on regressions for each country with data from 2010 America’s Barometer.



Even Latin American nations that celebrate mestizaje are still racist

Skin Tone and Material Wealth

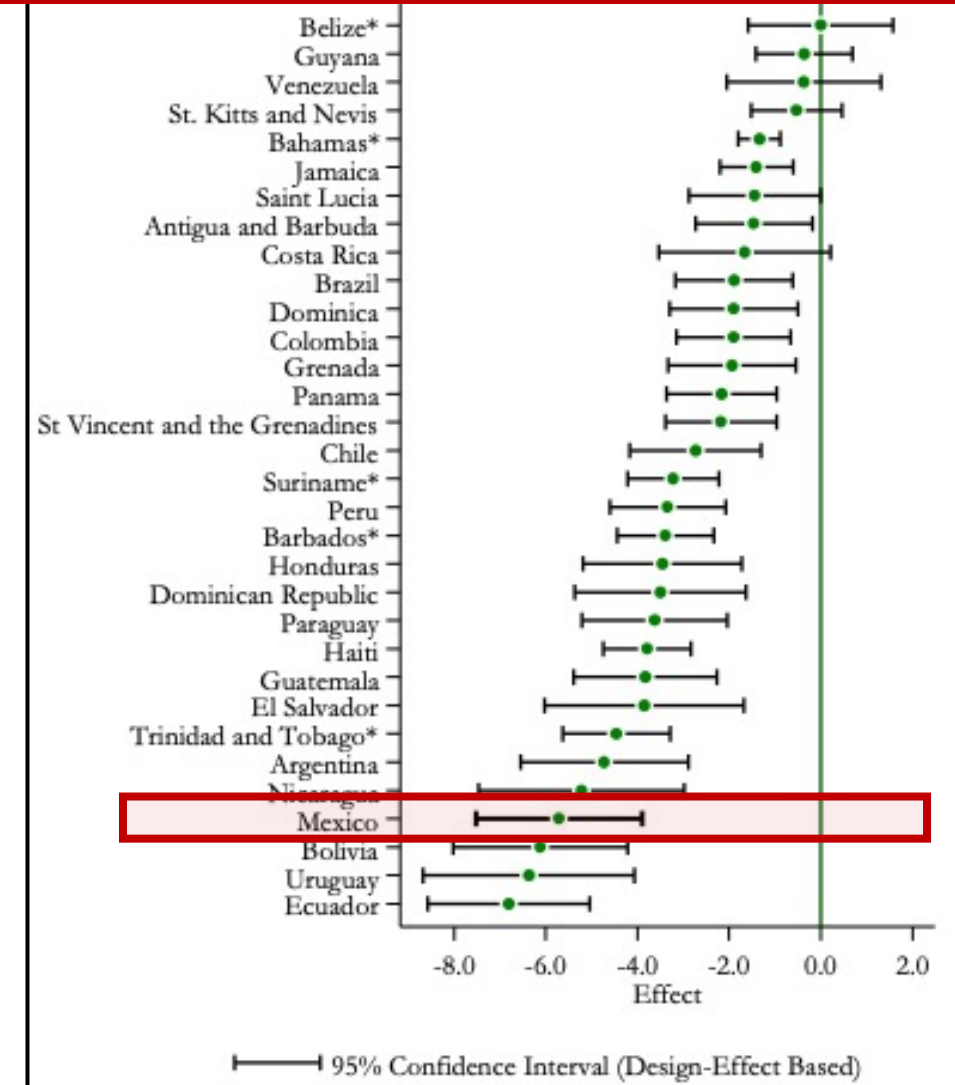
From least to most skin-color discrimination



Source: 2016-2017 AmericasBarometer by LAPOP.
*2014 AmericasBarometer

Skin Tone and Educational Attainment

From least to most skin-color discrimination



Source: 2016-2017 AmericasBarometer by LAPOP.
*2014 AmericasBarometer

Source: Zizumbo-Colunga and Iván Flores Martínez, "Is Mexico a Post-Racial Country? [Inequality and Skin Tone across the Americas](#)" *AmericasBarometer: Topical Brief*. Nov 6. 2017.



Even Latin American nations that celebrate mestizaje are still racist

Skin Color and Racial Inequality in Income Across the Americas

Per capita household income (relative to skin color category 5)

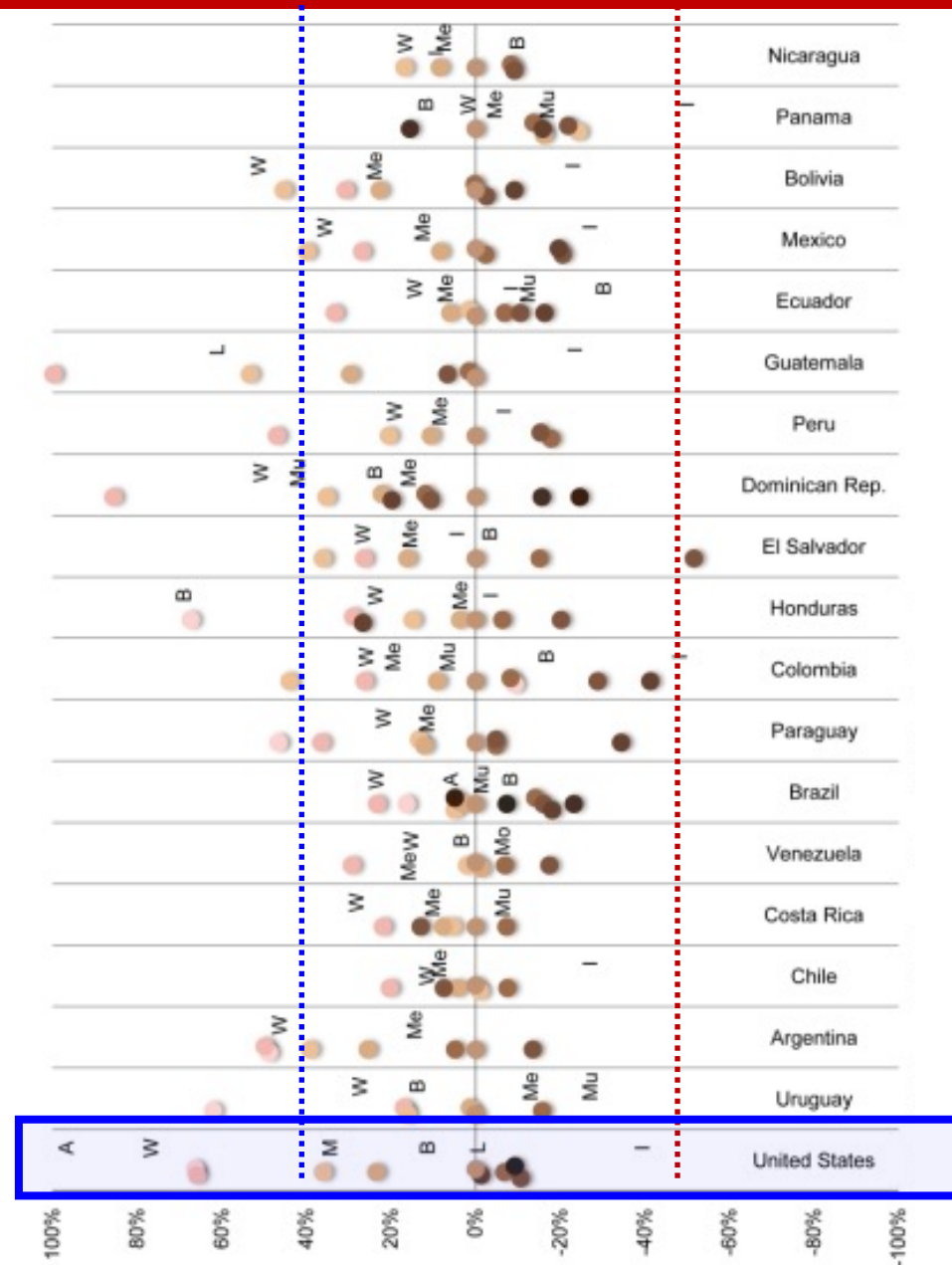
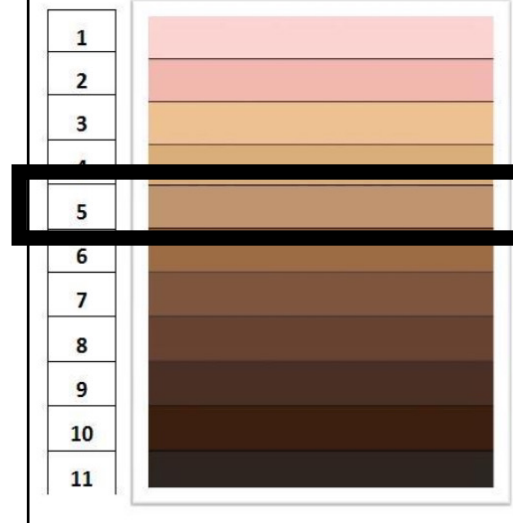


Figure 1. Skin Color Palette Used in the 2010 AmericasBarometer



Source: [Bailey](#), Stanley R., Aliya Saperstein and Andrew M. Penner. 2014. "Race, Color and Income Inequality Across the Americas." Demographic Research 31(24): 735-756. Using data from United States – 2012 General Social Survey; all others – 2012 AmericasBarometer.

Notes: The mean per capita household income of skin color category five serves as the reference (0%) for each country.

Skin color points are shaded to match the category number on the color scales.

Racial categories are denoted by letters – W = white/blanca, B = black/negra, A = Asian/amarela, M = multiracial (US only), L = Latina (US only) or Ladina (Guatemala only), Me = Mestiza, Mo = Morena, Mu = Mulata, I = Indígena/American Indian.

Countries are arranged according to the percent of the sample that falls into the lightest 3 skin color categories (highest to lowest). Only race and color categories with 30 or more respondents are reported.

Even Latin American nations that celebrate mestizaje are still racist

Skin Color and Racial Inequality in Income Across the Americas

Per capita household income (relative to skin color category 5)

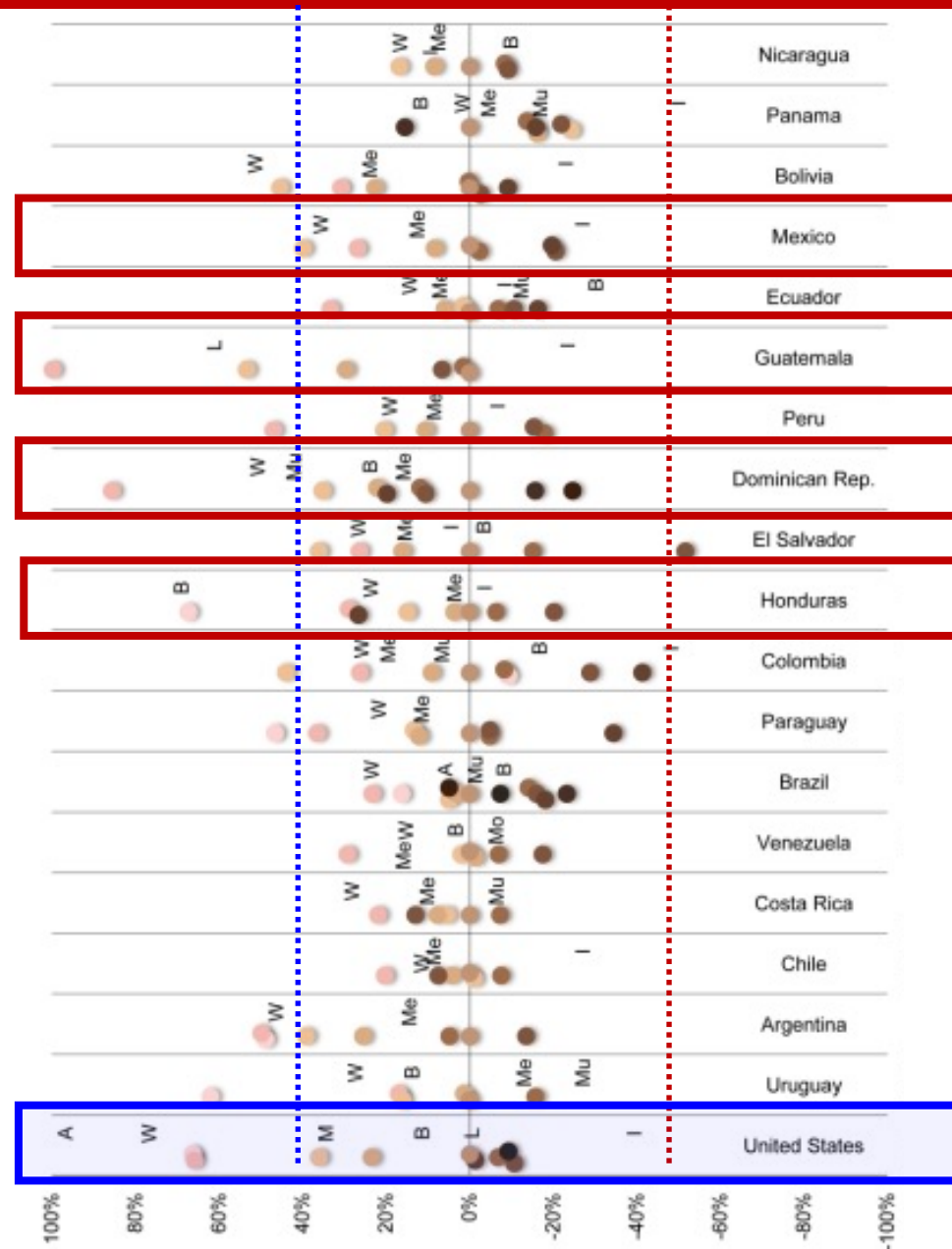
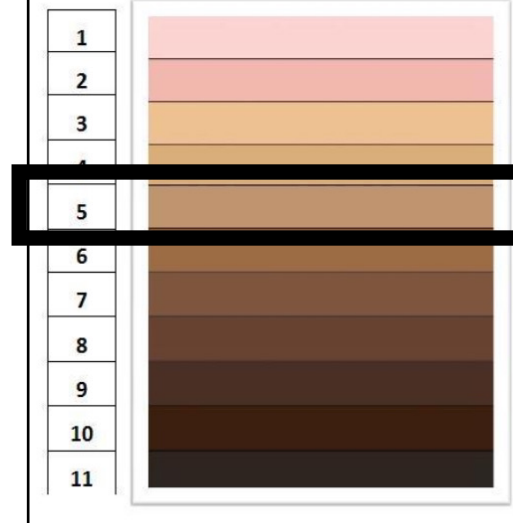


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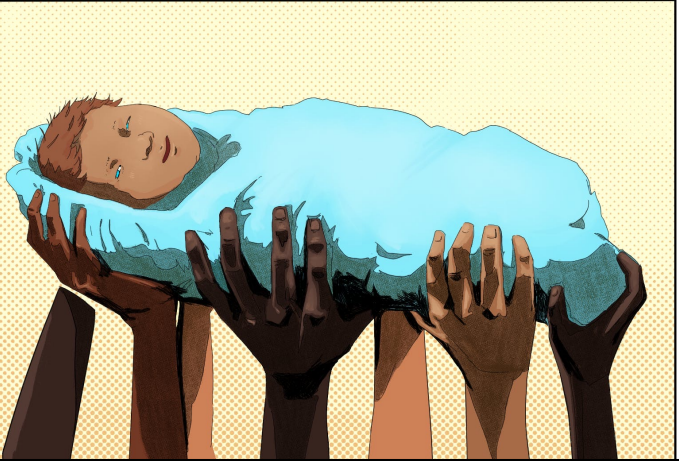
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Even Latin American nations that celebrate mestizaje are still racist

When we fail to recognize the differences between Latinxs, we're overlooking so many rich histories, cultures, struggles, and systems of power (the unearned, colonial sort) that make Latin Americans who they are.

The practice of "mejorando la raza" or "blanqueamiento" (marrying with the intent of having children lighter-skinned than you) is still common across Latin America and the diaspora. It's often passed on from parents to their children as "practical advice."



In short, Latinxs are *hyper-aware* of racialized features, yet we've been trained for as long as we can remember to identify with the nation first and our racial history second (if at all).

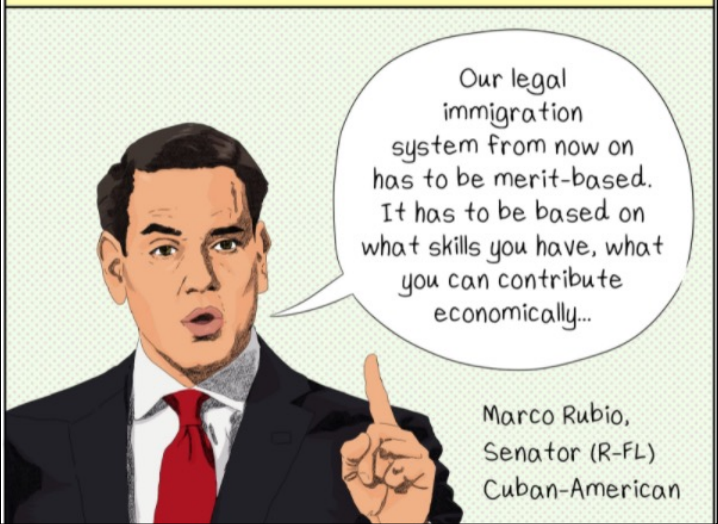


Rafael Trujillo (1891-1961)
President of the Dominican Republic, would powder his face to appear whiter.

And needless to say, "Latinx" is an especially touchy label for many Black and Native Latin Americans who aren't visibly mixed nor white-passing (and thus never benefited from the *casta de sangre* nor its cultural remnants).



And white Latinxs *will* wield that power just as readily as any other white Americans when it suits them.

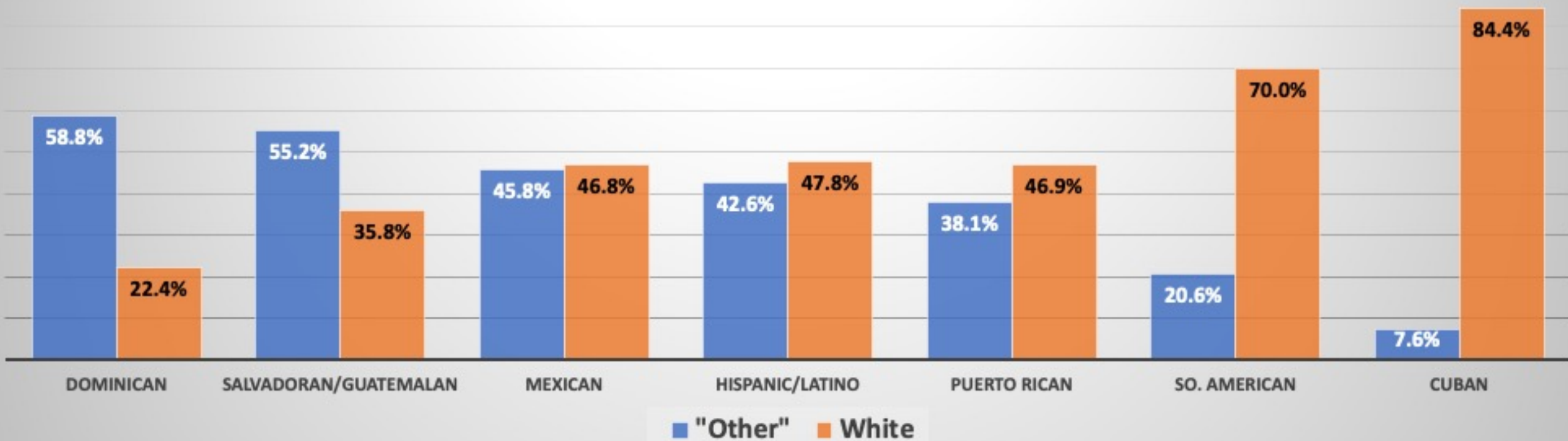


Our legal immigration system from now on has to be merit-based. It has to be based on what skills you have, what you can contribute economically...

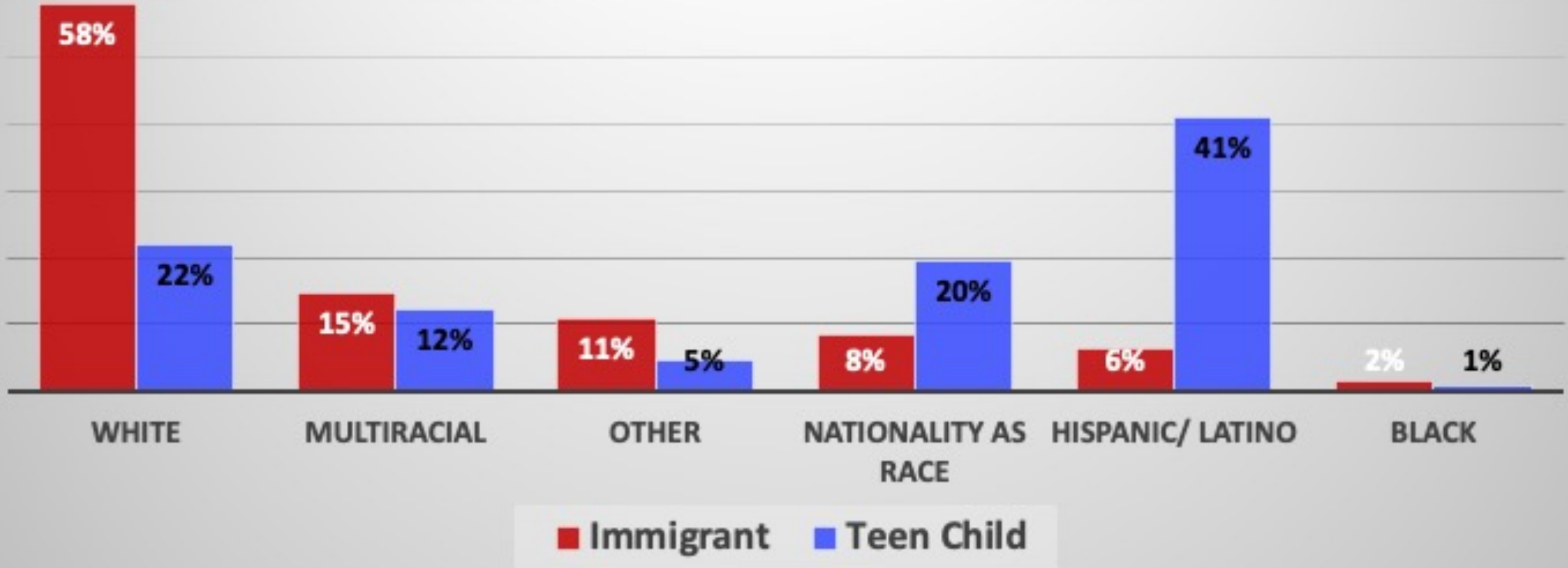
Marco Rubio,
Senator (R-FL)
Cuban-American



Self-Reported Race of Latinx By Ethnic Identity, 2000



Self-Reported Race of Latinx Immigrants and Their Teen Children, 2001 and 2005



2-Minute Brain Break:

- 1. 30 seconds to rest your brain**
- 2. 90 seconds for active processing in your notes:**
 - Summarize main ideas in your own words**
 - Identify important new ideas**
 - Note areas where you would like additional clarification**

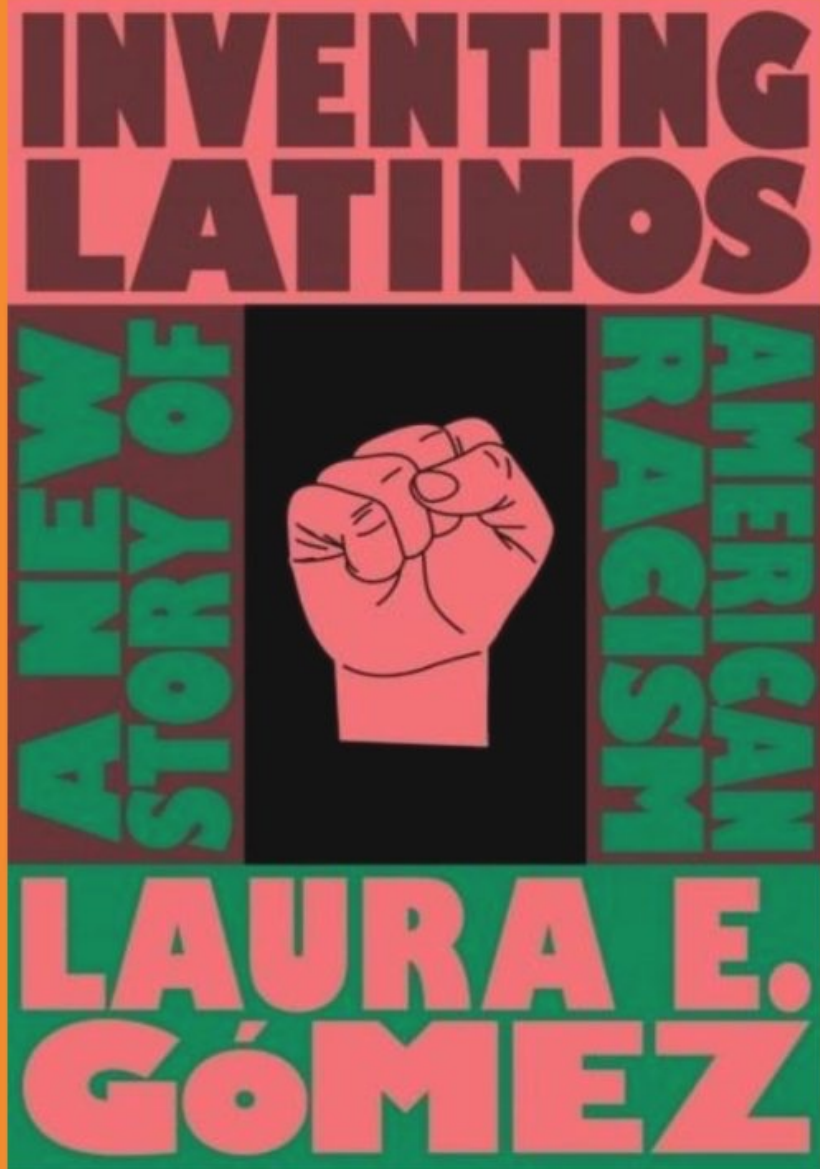


Agenda

- 1. An Overview of Latinx Demographics**
- 2. A Short History of Latinx Racialization:**
 - a. Layer 1: Under Spanish colonial rule**
 - b. Layer 2: Post-Independent Latin America**
 - c. Layer 3: Under United States colonialism**
 - d. Layer 4: Latinx racialization in the United States**



Laura Gómez
Professor of Law, UCLA



“If, for African Americans, the fundamental racial origin story is one of capture in Africa, forced travel to North America, and brutal enslavement itself protected by law, **what is the defining race-making crucible of Latinos? The clear answer is that it begins with American colonialism and empire in Latin America.**

Whether in order to extend the country to the Pacific (**Mexico**), to extract resources like coffee, sugar, or bananas (**Puerto Rico, Cuba, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica**), to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans (**Panama, Nicaragua**), to achieve America’s “manifest destiny” in the hemisphere (all) or to provide access to an exploitable labor force (all), **the United States has invaded, annexed, covertly and overtly interfered, and governed its way across Latin America for two centuries.**

The linkages between America’s overt and sometimes covert interventions in Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central America, and the migration of people northward from those regions connects with how Latinos experience racial oppression today”.

“...the result was uniformly the displacement of peasants and workers in those countries, such that migration to the United States was preordained. ...Once here, most first- and second-generation Latinos... have toiled in the lowest-paying, least-skilled jobs in the agriculture, construction, service, and manufacturing sectors”.

“Just as Sivanandan expressed about Britain, colonialism and migration are likewise on the same continuum for the United States... *‘we are here because you were there’*”



Mexico lost one-third of its territory to the U.S.: Texas in 1836 and Alta California and Nuevo Mexico in 1848

Territorial Evolution of Mexico since 1821 to 2019



**“We didn’t cross the border;
the border crossed us”**



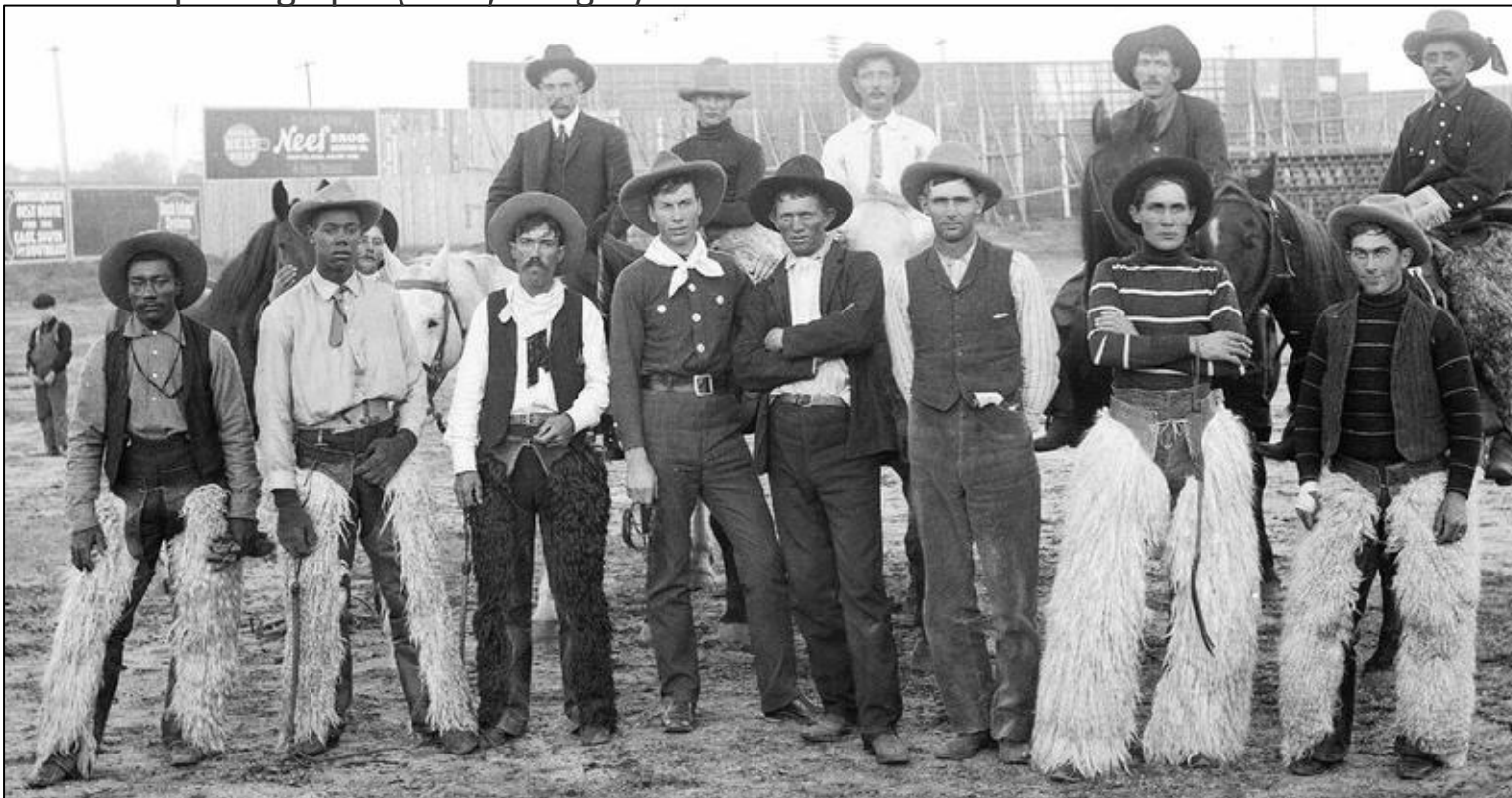
**15-33% of cowboys
were Mexican
Americans
(20-25% were Black).**

**Left: Native American and
African-American cowboys,
circa 1860-1870.**

Buyenlarge/Getty Images, FILE

Below: Group portrait of American cowboys.

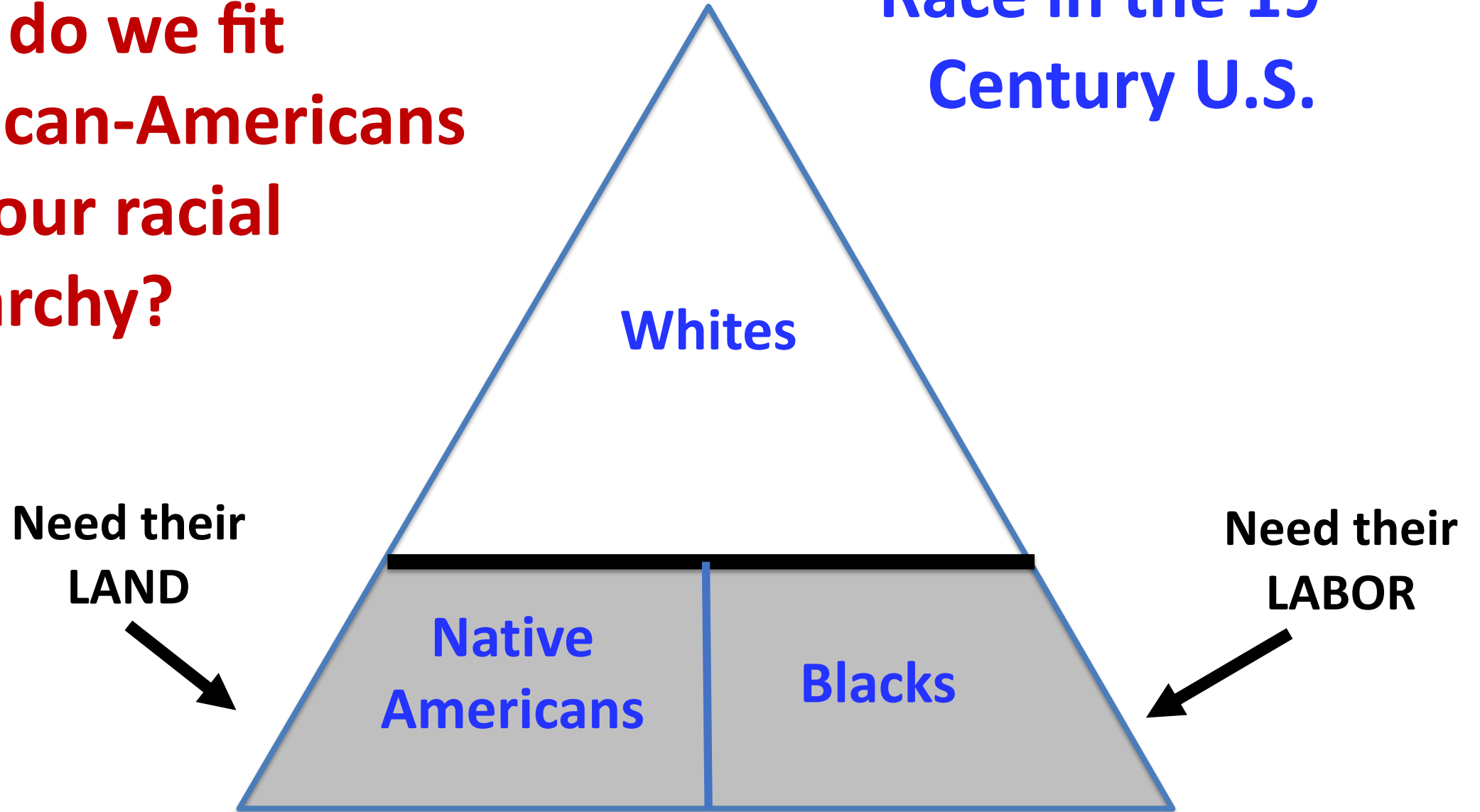
Undated photograph. (Getty Images)



Haebler, Jonathan (August 15, 2003). "Vaqueros: The First Cowboys of the Open Range". *National Geographic News*. Retrieved July 27, 2019. Nodjimbadem, Katie (February 13, 2017). "The Lesser-Known History of African-American Cowboys". *Smithsonian*. Retrieved 6 July 2019.

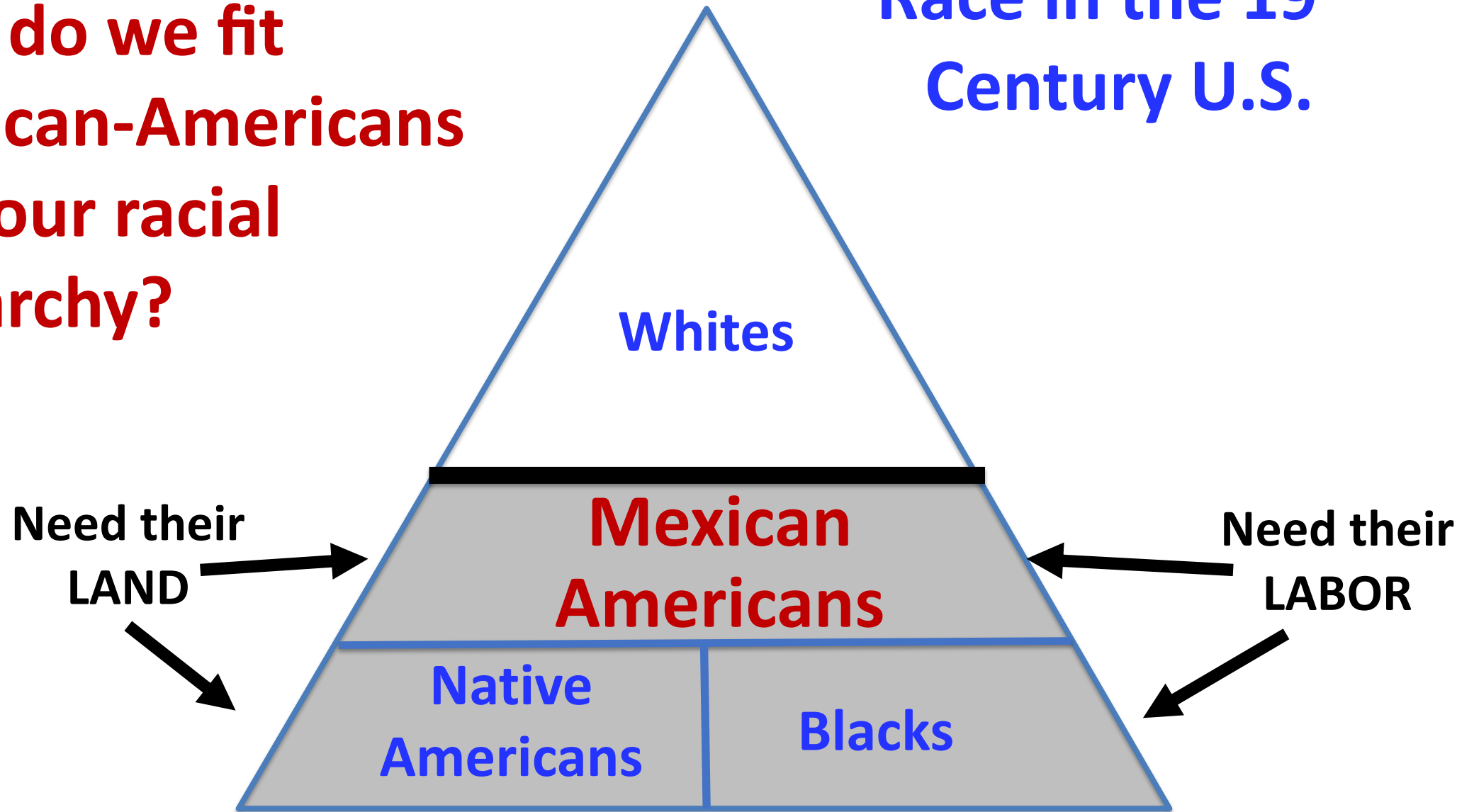
**How do we fit
Mexican-Americans
into our racial
hierarchy?**

**Race in the 19th
Century U.S.**



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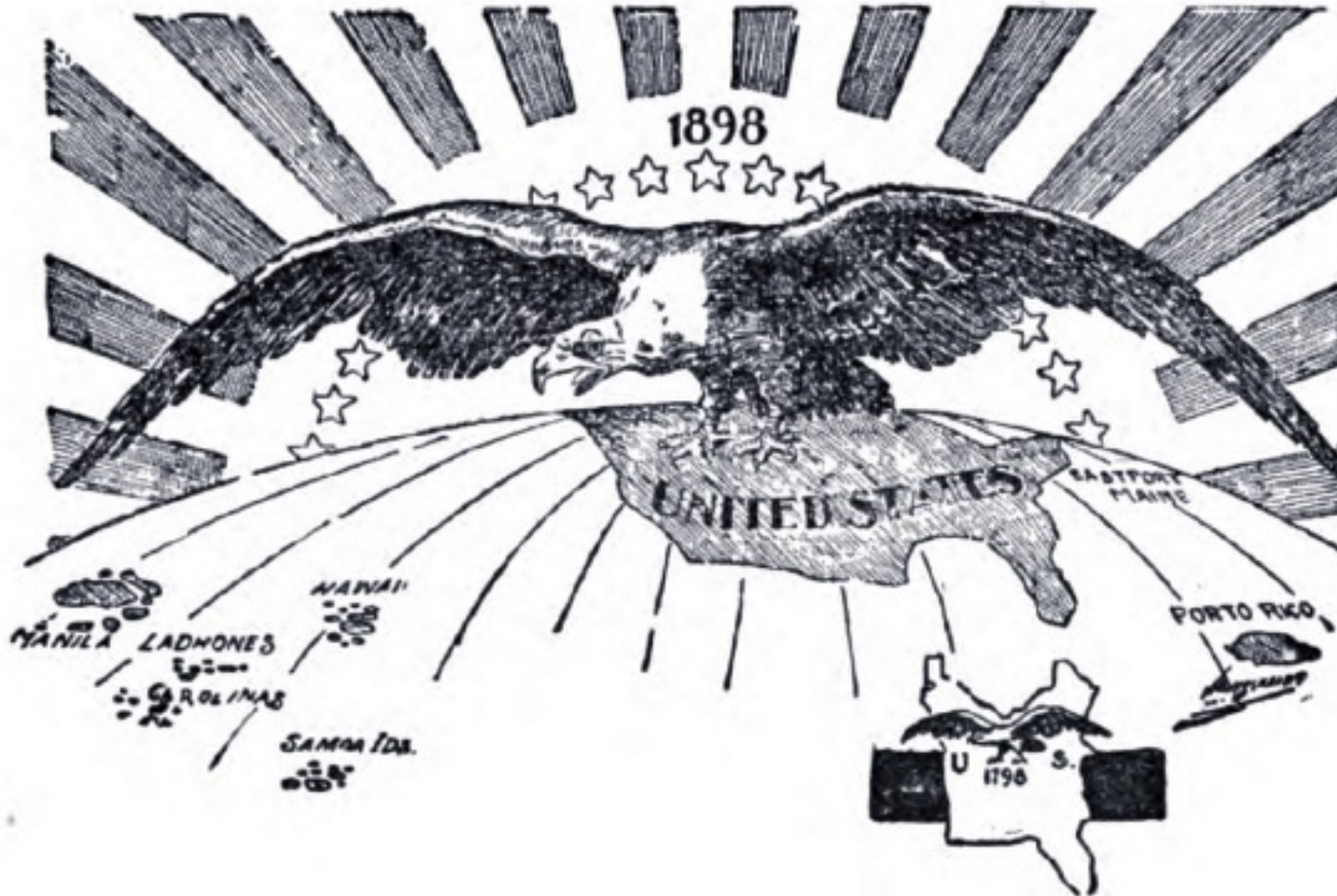


Manifest Destiny

“American Progress”, John Gast, 1872.



Manifest Destiny and Imperialism



“10,000 Miles From Tip to Tip”, 1899

Ten thousand miles from tip to tip.—Philadelphia Press.



Puck,
1899
 25 January
 1899

Caption: "School Begins. Uncle Sam (to his new class in Civilization): Now, children, you've got to learn these lessons whether you want to or not! But just take a look at the class ahead of you, and remember that, in a little while, you will feel as glad to be here as they are!"

Blackboard: The consent of the governed is a good thing in theory, but very rare in fact. — England has governed her colonies whether they consented or not. By not waiting for their consent she has greatly advanced the world's civilization. — The U.S. must govern its new territories with or without their consent until they can govern themselves.

Poster: The Confederate States refused their consent to be governed, but the Union was preserved without their consent.





Puck,
1899

25 January
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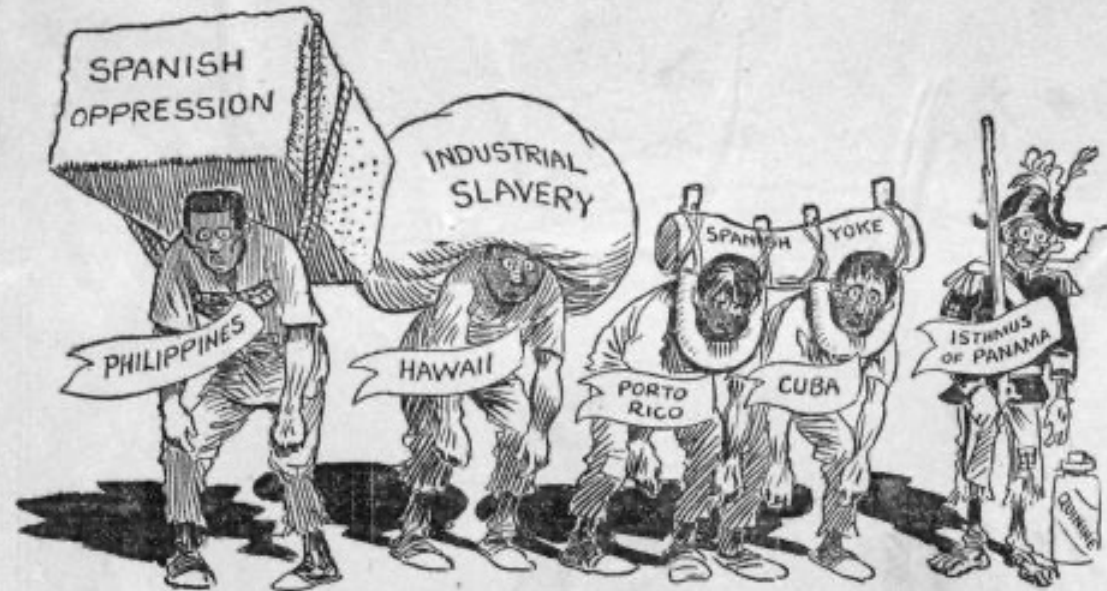
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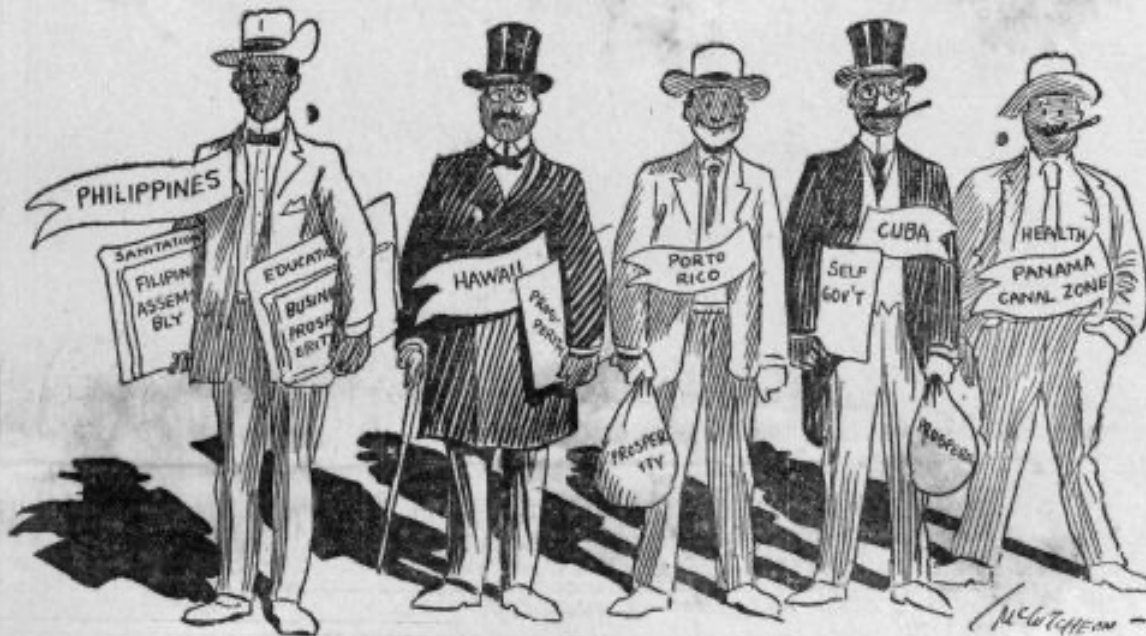
Poster: The Confederate States refused their consent to be governed, but the Union was preserved without their consent.

WHAT THE UNITED STATES HAS FOUGHT FOR

(Copyright: 1914: By John T. McCutcheon.)



Before the United States intervened in behalf of these oppressed people.



After the United States had rescued them from their oppression.

A cartoon depicting the rescue of oppressed people by the United States, entitled "What The United States Has Fought For". 1914.

McCutcheon, John T., 1914.

© 2021 Uprooting Inequity LLC

White Man's Burden



“John Bull” (the personification of the U.K.) and “Uncle Sam” (the personification of the U.S.)

“The White Man’s Burden” was an 1899 poem by British novelist **Rudyard Kipling** (author of *The Jungle Book*), urging the U.S. to take up the “burden” of colonization.

“THE WHITE MAN’S BURDEN.”

(Apologies to Rudyard Kipling.)

Gillam, Victor. "The White Man's Burden." *Judge*, 1899.





A REVELATION IN REVOLUTIONS.

UNCLE SAM.—Well! Well! You boys have at last had a revolution which will help the whole world.

“A Revelation in Revolutions”

CAPTION. Uncle Sam: “Well! Well! You boys have at last had a revolution which will help the whole world”.

Roosevelt and the federal government backed the Panamanian Revolution in exchange for the right to build a canal across Panama.

Most Americans at the turn of the century understood their government’s role and supported their president’s actions regarding Panama.

Illus. in: *Puck*, v. 54, no. 1395 (1903 November 25), cover.

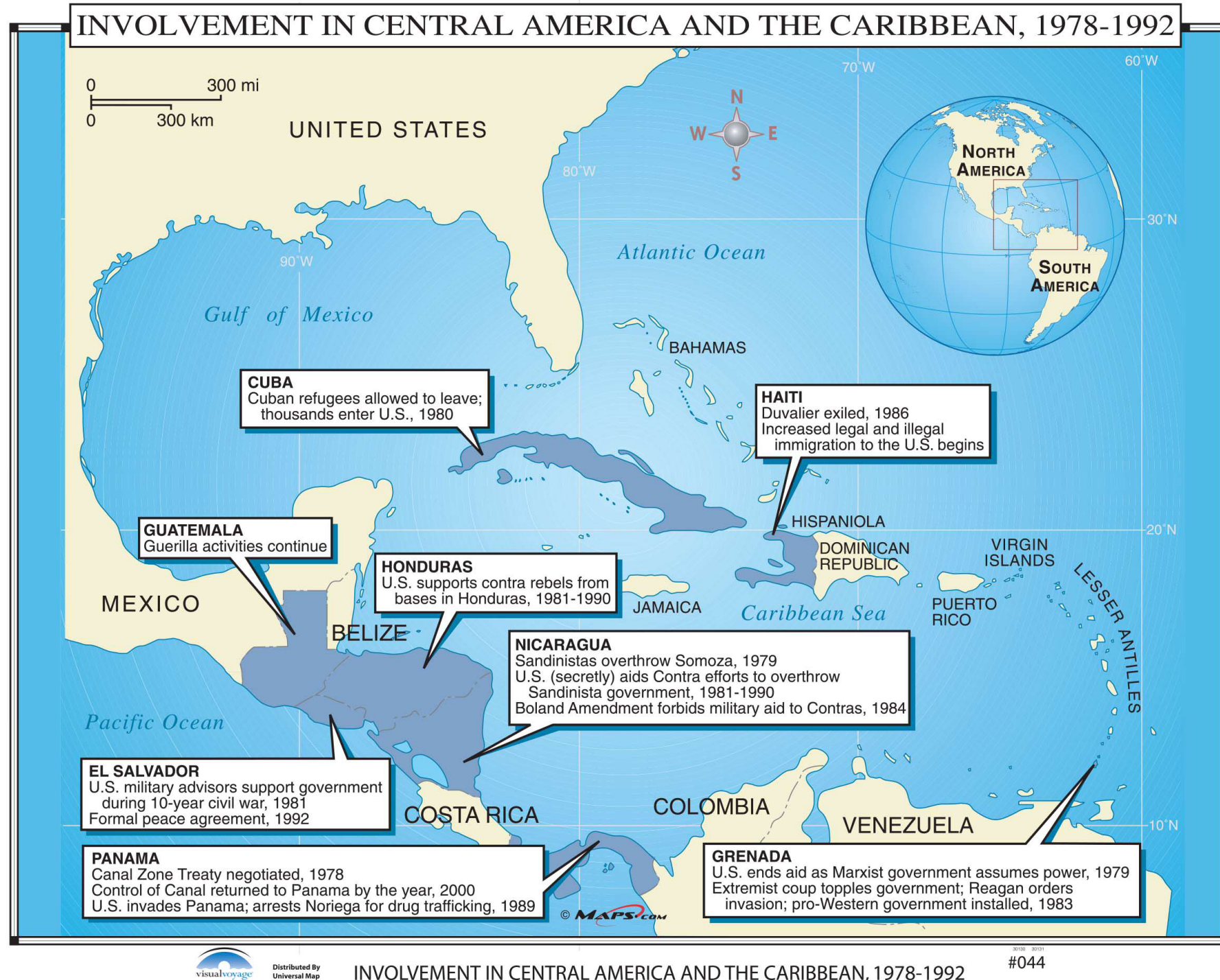
Copyright 1903 by Keppler & Schwarzmann.

Many of the refugee seekers at the U.S. border are fleeing humanitarian crises (violence and political and economic instability) that have their roots in U.S. military intervention in Central America.

U.S. intervention has including coups, civil wars, military occupations and training and funding for the death squads.



The U.S. intervened in these countries to stop the spread of socialism, to compete with the U.S.S.R. ("proxy wars"), to prop up regimes friendly to the U.S., and to protect the interests of U.S. corporations (e.g. United Fruit Co. and Standard Fruit Co.).



U.S. Interventions in Latin America, 1898-1934





**“Just as Sivanandan expressed about
Britain, colonialism and migration are
likewise on the same continuum
for the United States...**

‘we are here because you were there’”



Central American Refugees Treated Unequally by a Biased Federal Government

**% of Asylum Applications Approved,
1983-1991**

Nicaraguans

25%

Cubans

19%

Salvadorans

3%

Guatemalans

2%

*American Baptist
Churches v. Thornburgh
(ABC) Settlement
Agreement, 1990*



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Anti-Latinx Racism #1: Ethnic Citizenship and “Alien Citizens”

Civic Nationalism:

A nation based on shared citizenship
and common adherence to a set of
values, beliefs and laws

...regardless of their ethnicity or culture

Ethnic Nationalism:

A nation based on a common
race, ethnicity, or cultural or
linguistic heritage.

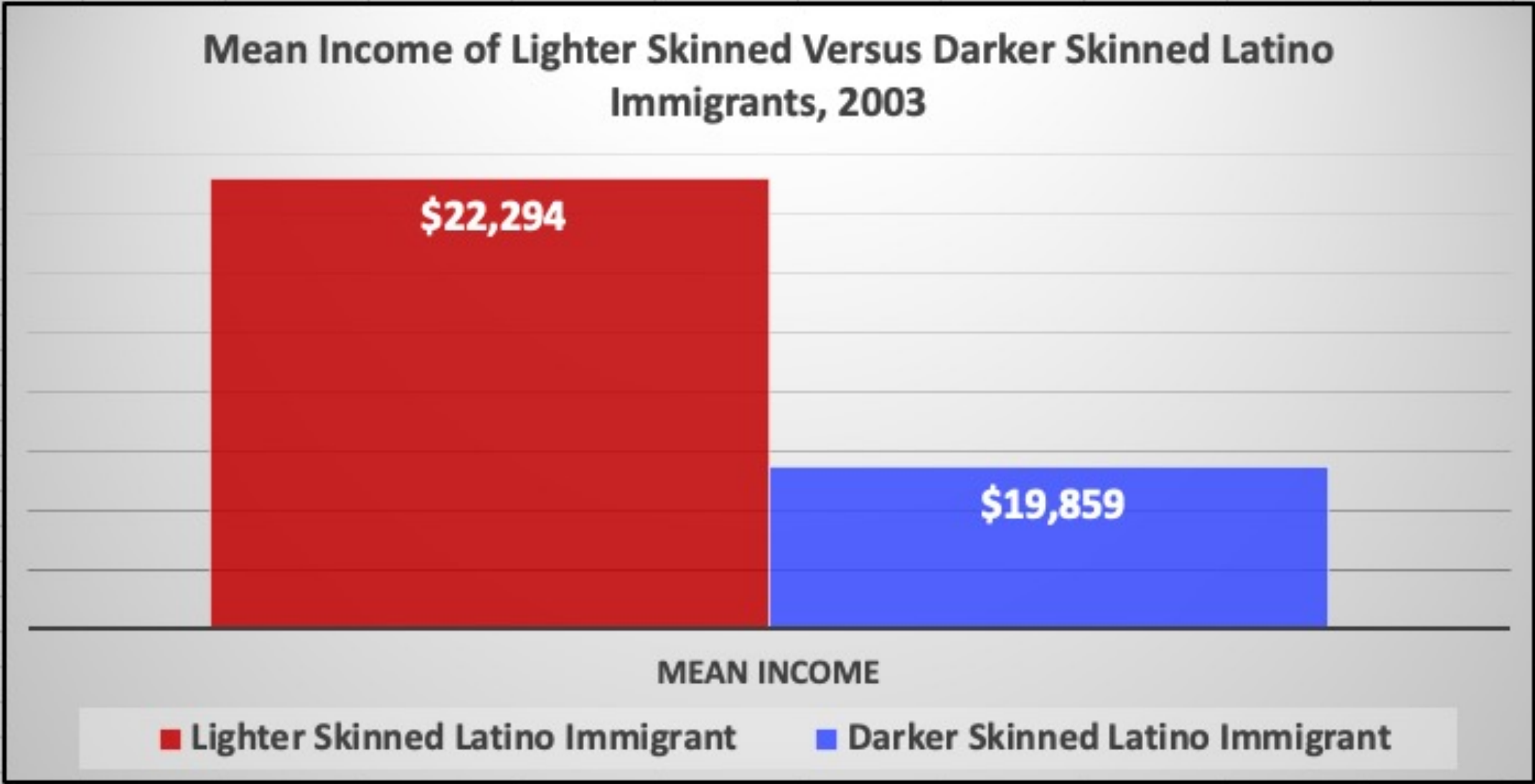
Formally, the United States is characterized by **civic nationalism...**

...but *in practice*, Latinx Americans, regardless of how many generations they've been citizens, are often not considered “*real*” Americans

...instead, they are perceived as “alien citizens”

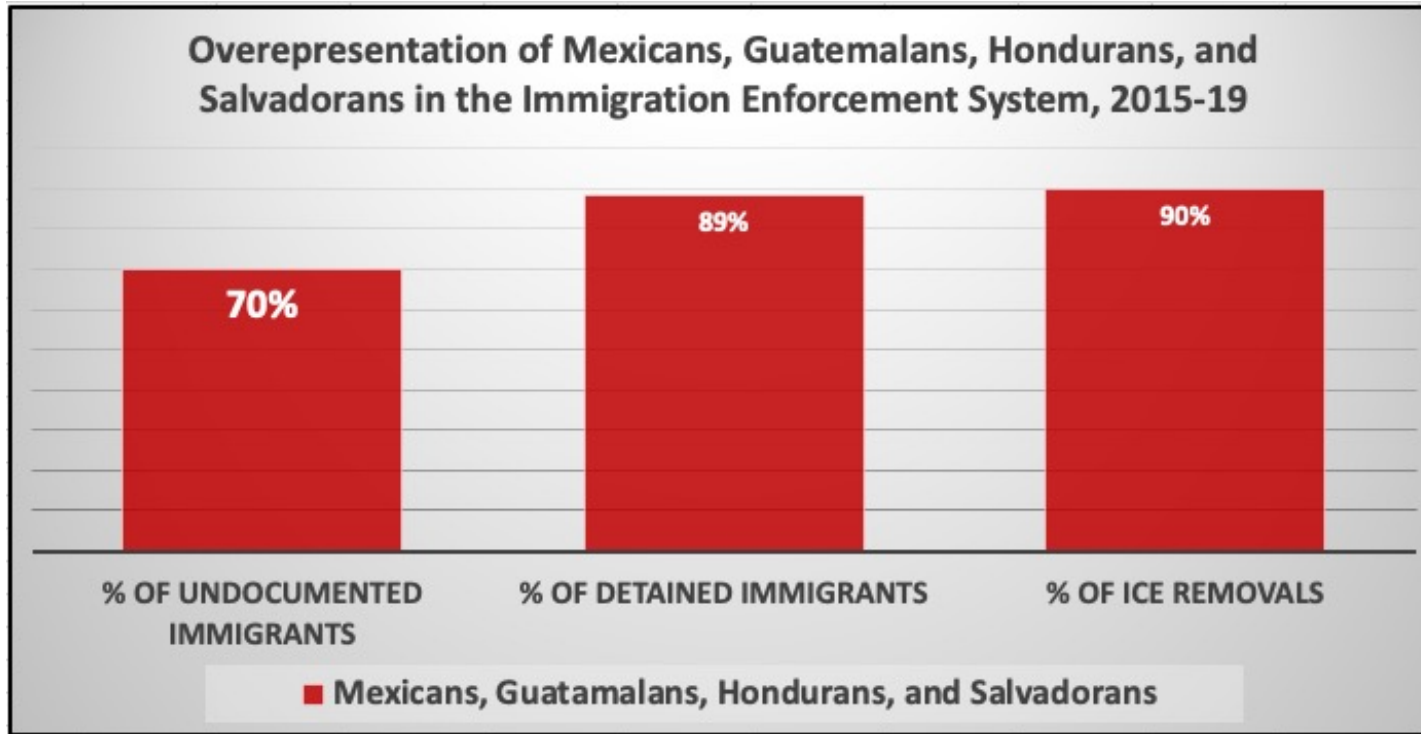


Anti-Latinx Racism #2: Colorism



Ayo Magwood (Uprooting Inequity LLC), using data from Frank, Reanne, Ilana Redstone Akresh, and Bo Lu. "How do Latino immigrants fit into the racial order?." *Inequality in the 21st Century*. Routledge, 2018. 329-335.

Anti-Latinx Racism #2: The Racialization of “Illegality”



“Sociologists and immigration scholars who point to the **increasing use of undocumented legal status as a proxy for race** and to the centrality of racialization processes in the immigration system argue that **the status of “illegality” is not a race-neutral term; it has become synonymous with “Mexicanness” and with being Latina/o**”.

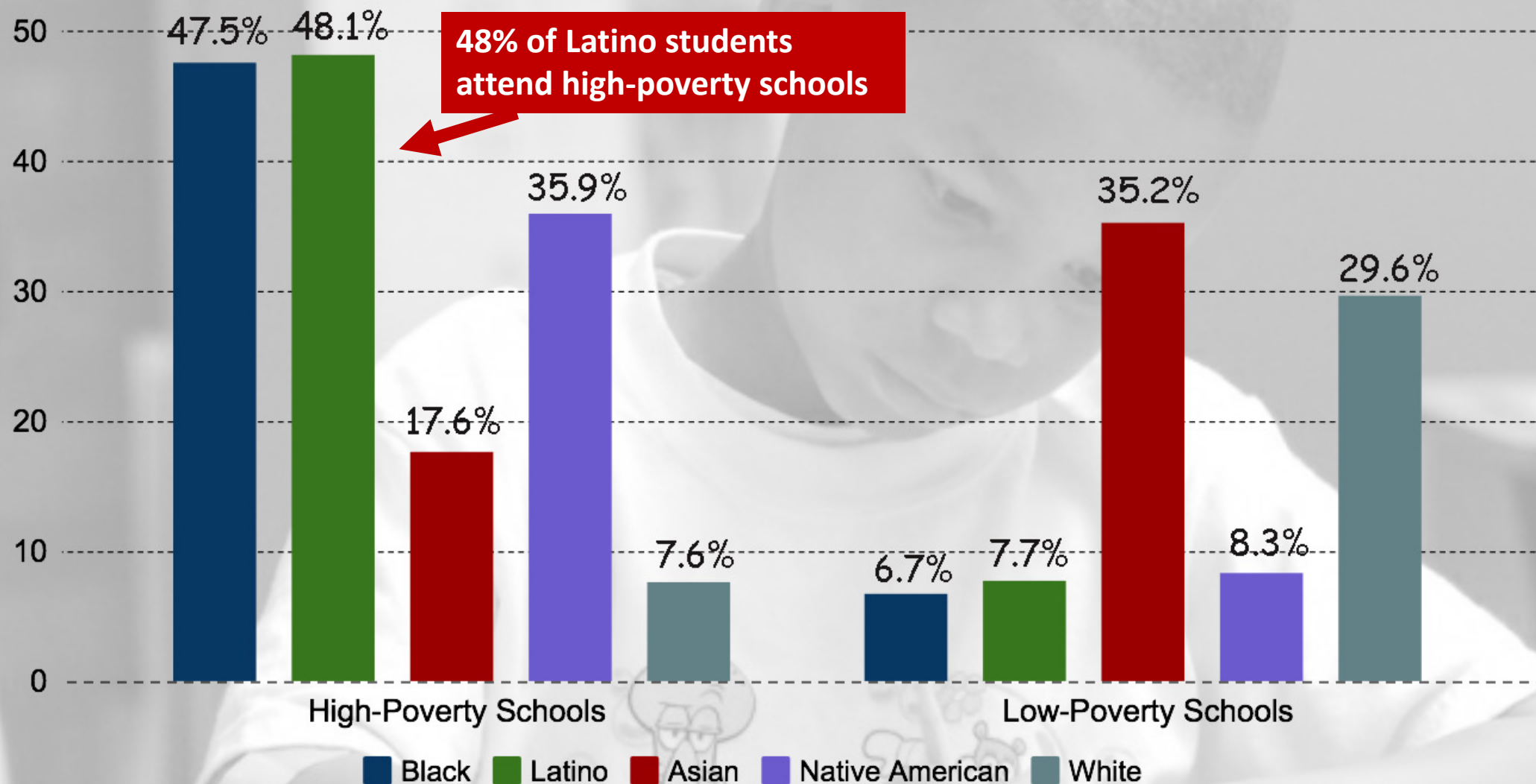
“And since race is a “fundamental organizing principle of social relationships”, **“illegality,” like race, has become an axis of stratification with effects similar to those of other social hierarchies**”.

“This race-based enforcement system, as Douglas Massey has argued, **affects Latinas/os in similar ways as the criminal justice system marks Blacks**”.



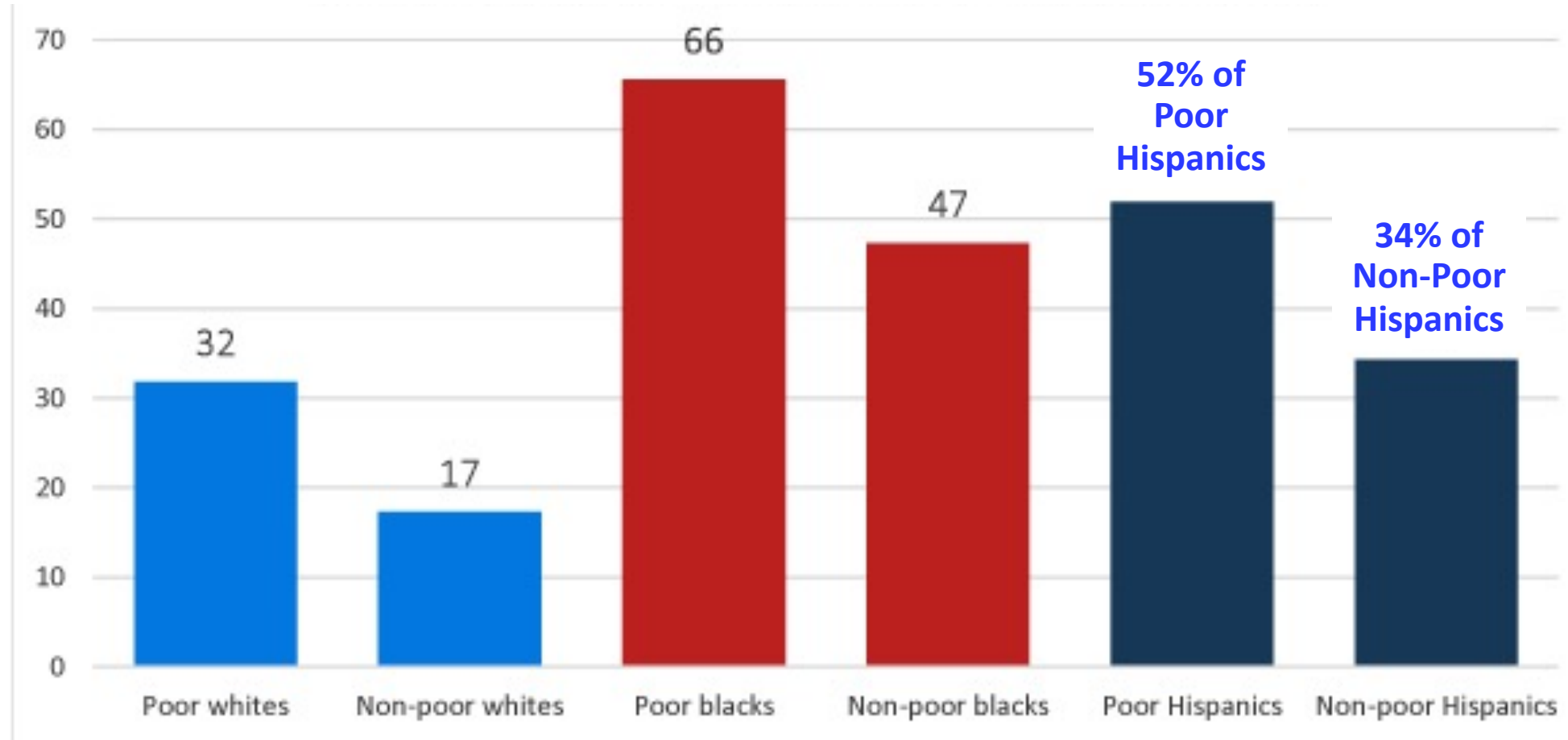
High-Poverty vs. Low-Poverty Schools

(Percent of students attending low- and high-poverty schools, by race)



Percent Living in Zip Codes with Concentrated Poverty, 2014

(Where 20% or more live below the federal poverty line)



Source: Author's calculations using the Federal Reserve Board's 2014 Survey of Household Economics and Decisionmaking (SHED) 2008-2013 American Community Survey (ACS) data accessed from the Missouri Census Data Center, <http://mcdc2.missouri.edu/>



Ethnic citizenship:
“Alien Citizens”

Colorism

“The racialization
of illegality”

Brown-skinned immigrants are more likely to attend poorly-funded schools, receive lower-quality education, be undocumented, and hold low-skill, low-prestige jobs

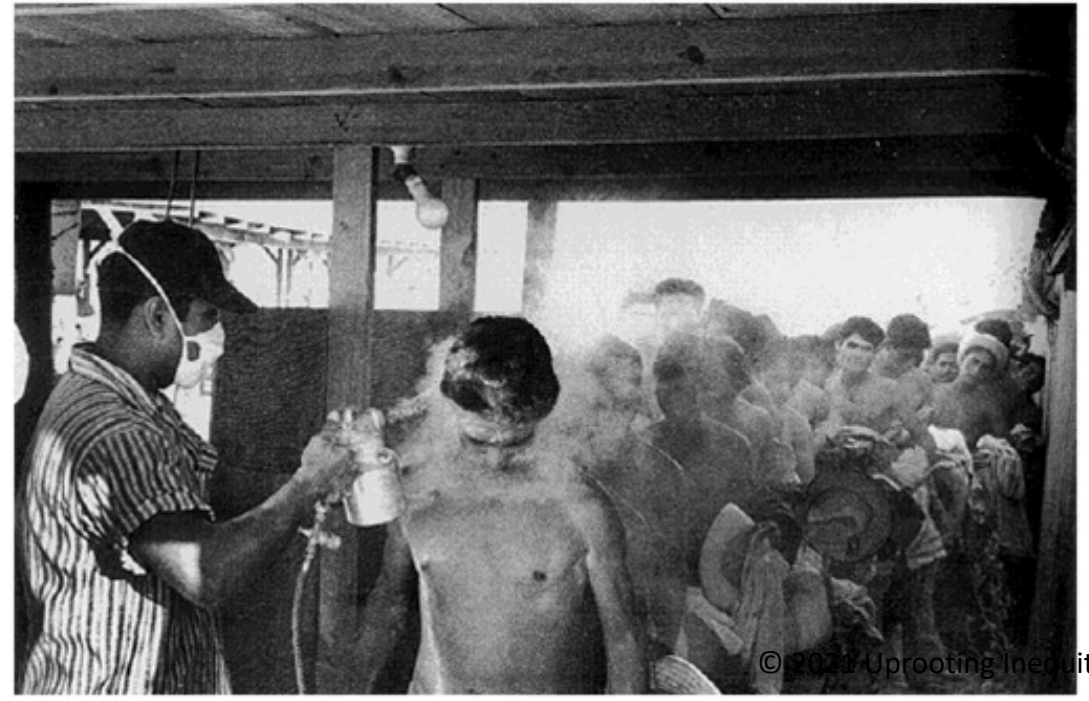
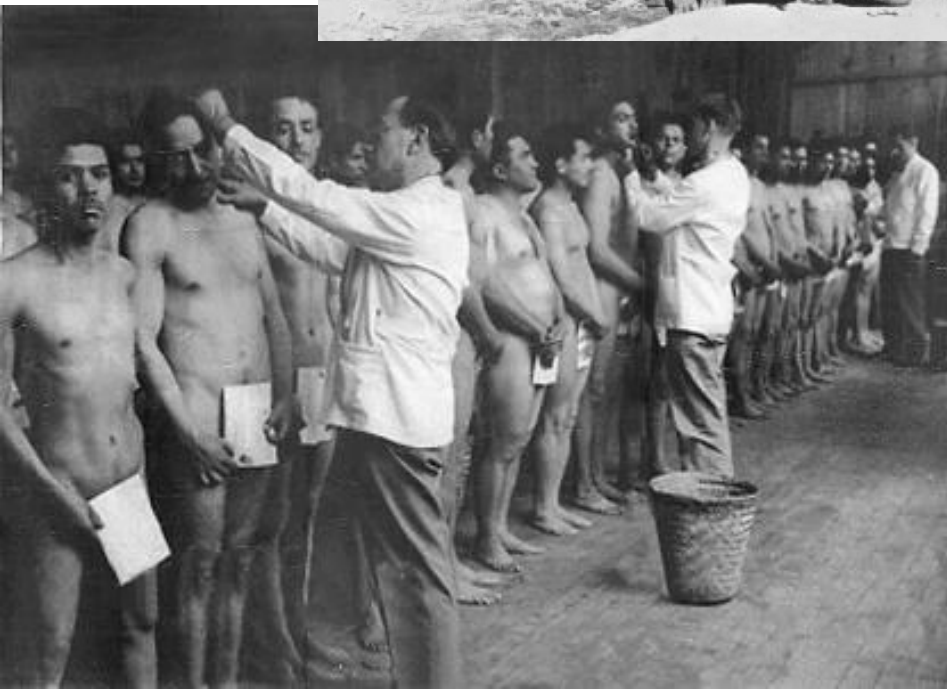
Up to 1 million Mexican-American CITIZENS (and almost that many Mexican immigrants) were deported (“repatriated”) during the Great Depression (1930-1943).



UCLA D

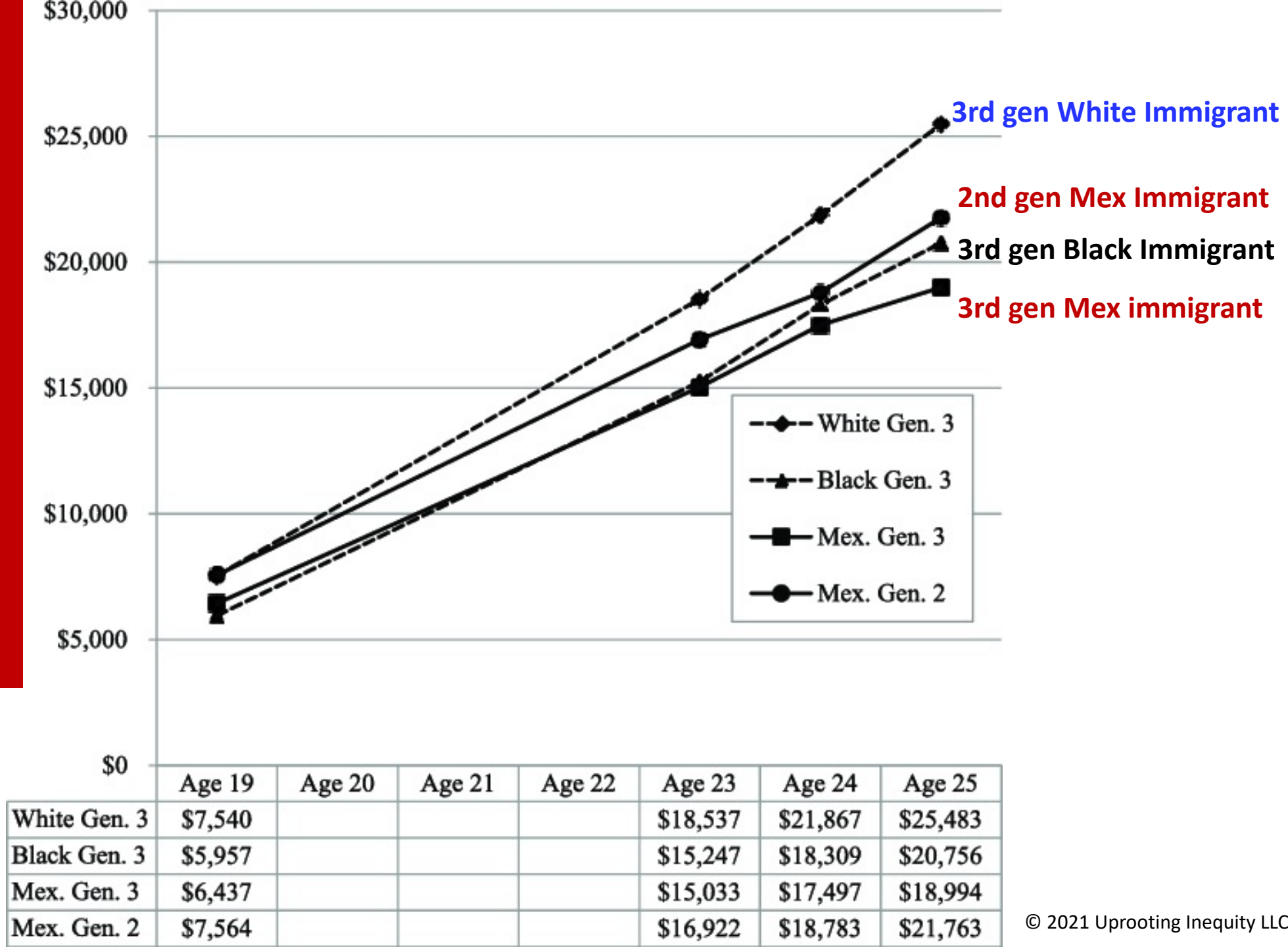


Mexican Bracero Program, 1942-64 (Up to 125,000 Mexican farmworkers at one time)



Third-Generation Disadvantage for Mexican Immigrants:

Many Mexican immigrant families are less likely to experience the white immigrant success story



Ortiz, Vilma, and Edward Telles. "Third generation disadvantage among Mexican Americans." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 3.4 (2017): 441-457.



Ethnic citizenship:
“Alien Citizens”

Colorism

“The racialization
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Brown-skinned immigrants are more likely to attend poorly-funded schools, receive lower-quality education, be undocumented, and hold low-skill, low-prestige jobs

Seeing brown-skinned immigrants in low-skill, low-prestige jobs increases stereotyping, discrimination, and racialization of brown-skinned Latinx by Whites

Experiences with prejudice and discrimination increase Latinx self-identification as “Latinx/Latino”, “Brown” or “Afro-Latino”



Ethnic citizenship:
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ANCESTRY OF ASIANS IN AMERICA

in thousands



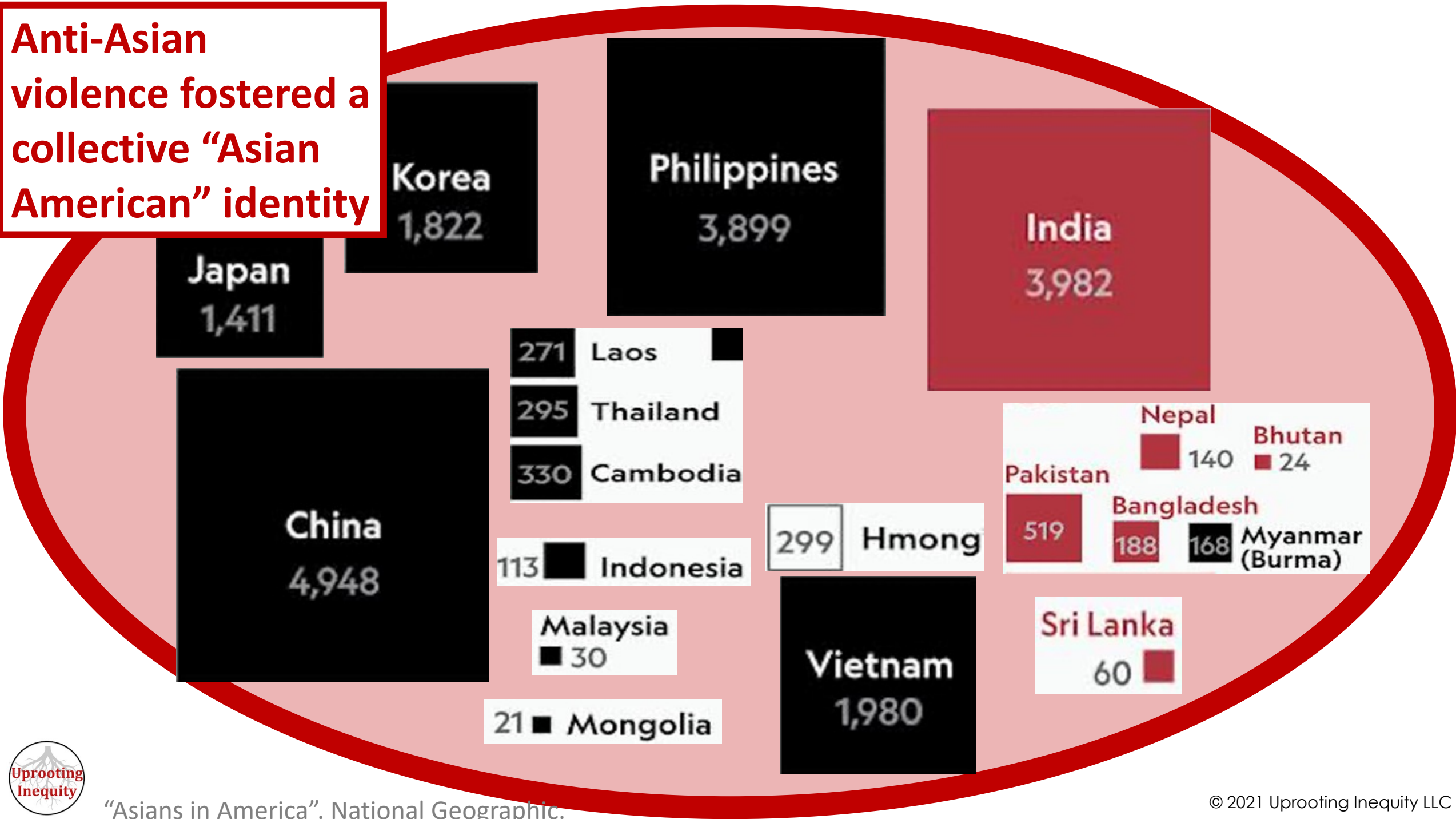
*THE HMONG ARE AN ETHNIC GROUP ORIGINATING IN CHINA AND LIVING IN MULTIPLE SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES.

ALBERTO LUCAS LÓPEZ, NGM STAFF; SHELLEY SPERRY
SOURCES: PEW RESEARCH CENTER; NATIONAL CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING STATISTICS, NSF; U.S. CENSUS BUREAU. NOTES: ALL DATA 2015. SOME GROUPS WERE OMITTED WHEN DATA WERE INCOMPLETE OR NOT AVAILABLE.

“Asians in America”. National Geographic.



**Anti-Asian
violence fostered a
collective “Asian
American” identity**



Negotiating and Contesting Identity

**Claiming
white identity**

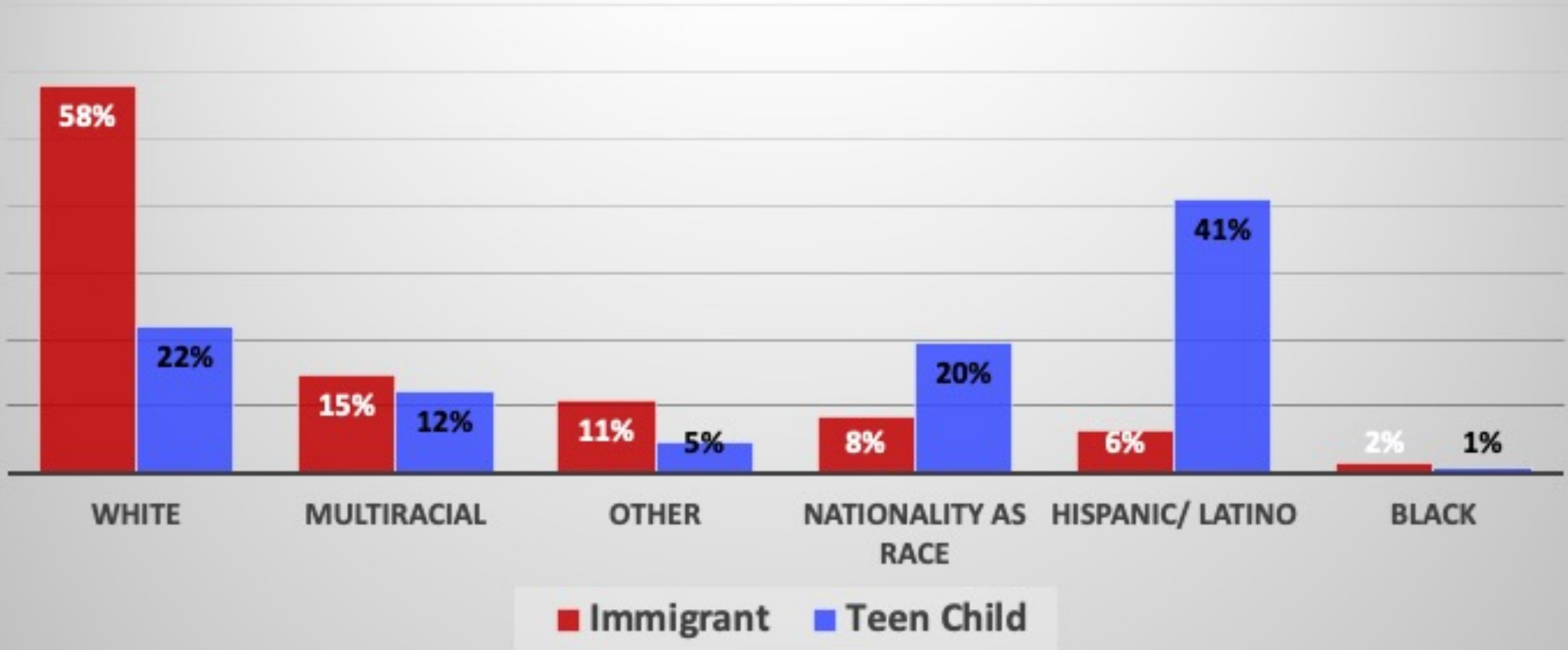
**Embracing Afro-Latinx
Chicano, or “Brown”
identity and culture**

**“Distancing” from
Blacks and Indigenous
peoples;
OR embracing
Indigenous identity to
distance one’s African
roots**

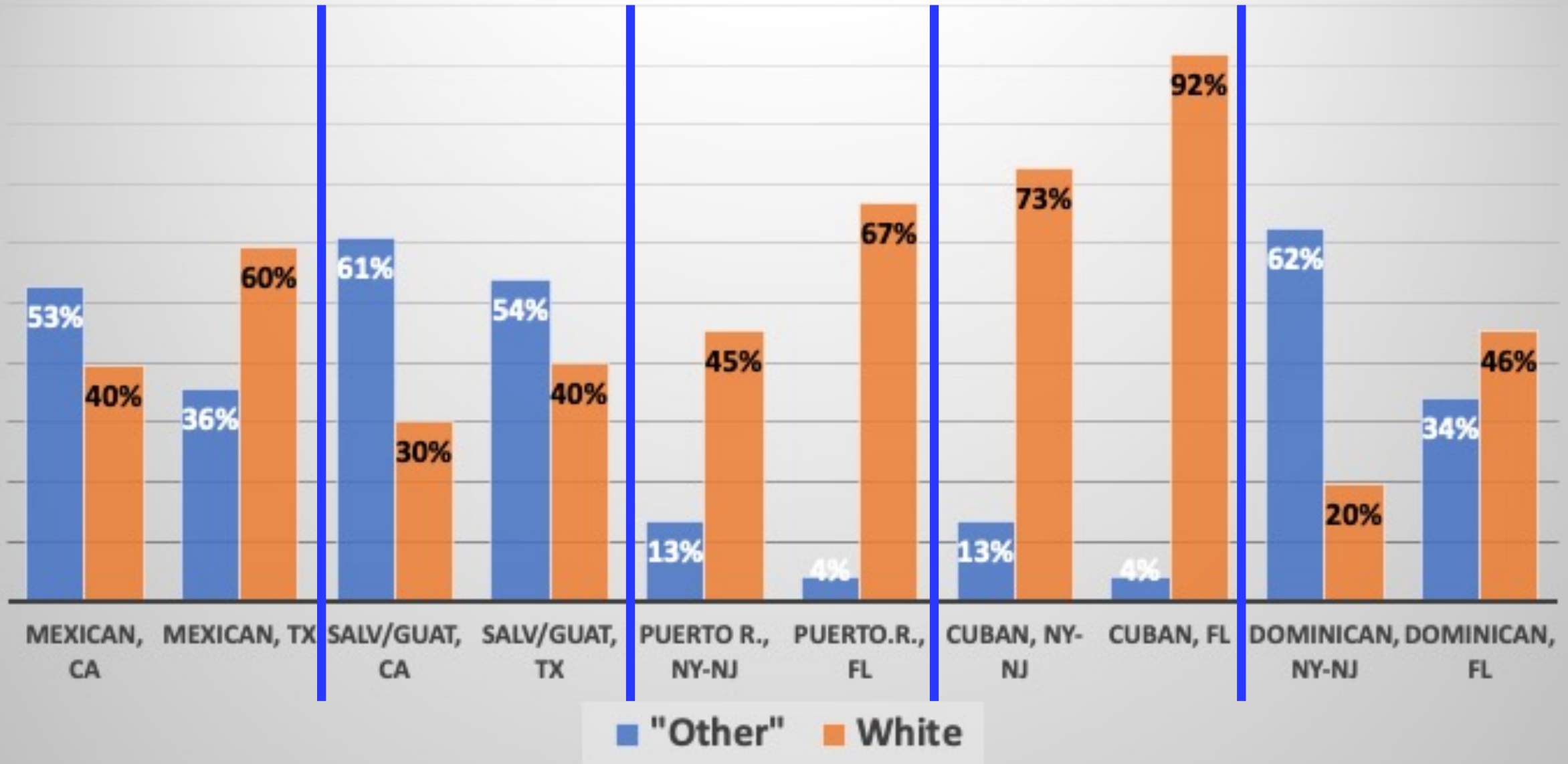
**Social and political
collaboration and
community
between Latinx
and Black-
Americans**



Self-Reported Race of Latinx Immigrants and Their Teen Children, 2001 and 2005



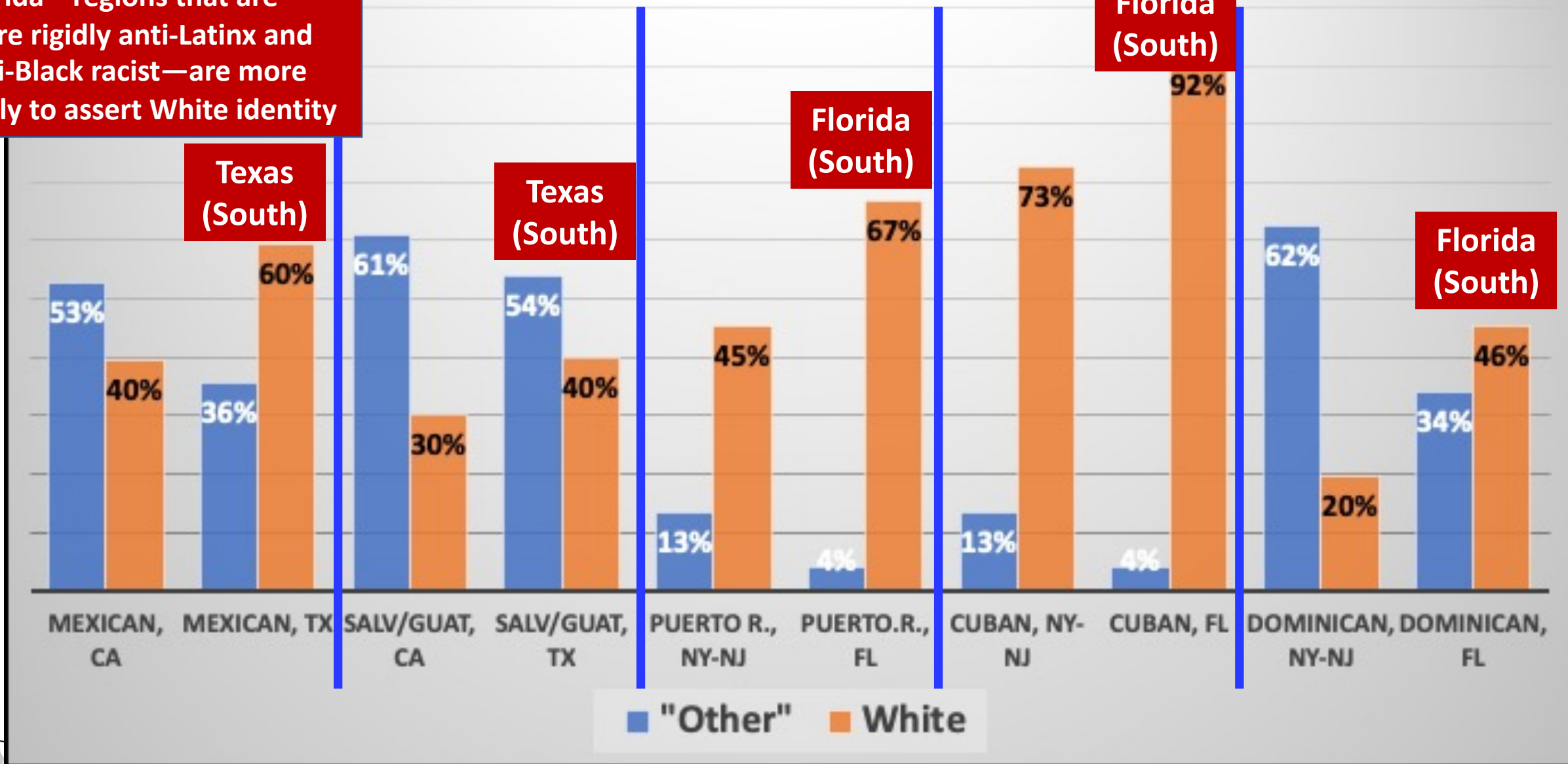
Self-Reported Race of Latinx by Region, 2000



Ayo Magwood (Uprooting Inequity LLC), using data from Rumbaut, Rubén G. "Pigments of our imagination: on the racialization and racial identities of 'Hispanics' and 'Latinos'." *How the US racializes Latinos: White hegemony and its consequences* (2011): 15-36.

Regardless of national heritage, Latinx in Texas and Florida—regions that are more rigidly anti-Latinx and anti-Black racist—are more likely to assert White identity

Self-Reported Race of Latinx by Region, 2000



Understanding the Racialization and Self-Identification of Latinx

"We now turn to examining racism toward and racialization of Latinos, but we must do so by seeking to understand the legacy of four layers of white supremacy, some of them overlapping in time:

- 1. Under Spanish colonial rule in Latin America;**
- 2. After independence from Spain;**
- 3. Under American colonial rule in Latin America; and**
- 4. In terms of racialization in the United States".**



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End-of-Presentation Discussion

1. Share thoughts and take-aways in chat

(We would like 100% participation!)

2. Verbal discussion

(Please limit comments to 1 minute)

