

REVISED FIRST EDITION

CHALLENGING INEQUALITIES

Readings in Race, Ethnicity,
and Immigration

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Edited by
Hortencia Jiménez

FIRST EDITION

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READINGS IN RACE, ETHNICITY, AND IMMIGRATION

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CONTENTS

Contents

Wave To Salinas	ix
<i>By James B. Golden</i>	
Preface	xi
Organization of this Textbook	xiii
Dedication	xvi
Acknowledgments	xvii
Readings in Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration	xix
The Increasing Diversity of Immigrant America	xxx
PART I: UNDERSTANDING WHY RACE AND ETHNICITY STILL MATTER	1
Pacific (A Historian)	2
<i>By Eduardo Velasquez</i>	
Racist America: Racist Ideology as a Social Force	4
<i>By Joe R. Feagin</i>	

Racial Formation: Understanding Race and Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era	24
<i>By Michael Omi and Howard Winant</i>	
Embracing a Cross-Racial Dialogue	46
<i>By Beverly Daniel Tatum</i>	
PART II: CONQUEST, SLAVERY, AND MIGRATIONS	59
Double-Crossed, Double-Bordered	60
<i>By Iris Rodriguez</i>	
Contemporary Native American Issues, 1900–Present: An Overview	62
<i>By Rebecca Bales</i>	
The Sexual Politics of Black Womanhood	69
<i>By Patricia Hill Collins</i>	
What Race Are Mexicans? A Brief History of the Racialization of Mexican Americans	96
<i>By Agustin Palacios</i>	
Asian Americans: Unity in Diverse Experiences	108
<i>By Wendy Ng</i>	
Immigration to a Rising Metropolis	115
<i>By Rudy P. Guevarra Jr.</i>	
You Ain't White! The Experience of Middle Eastern Americans	156
<i>By Rita Stephan</i>	

**PART III: SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS:
MAINTAINING INEQUALITIES** **165**

Untitled 166

By Luis Xago Juárez de Baktun 12

Beyond the White-and-Black, Heteronormative
Binary: Black, Latinx, and Indigenous Parallel
Experiences of State-Sanctioned Policing 168

By Hortencia Jiménez

What Does It Mean to Return Home?
Narratives of Hope and Uncertainty 190

By Monica Lugo

The Power of (Mis)Representation: Why Racial
and Ethnic Stereotypes in the Media Matter 200

By Mari Castañeda

All That Refuses to Change 208

By Eduardo Velasquez

Undocumented Workers and Precarious Labor 210

By Shannon Gleeson

Trapped in the Working Class? Latino Youth
Struggle to Achieve the American Dream 217

By Karina Chavarria and Veronica Terriquez

Race Frames and Their Impact on the
Sense of Belonging of Black Students
in a College Community 226

By Anita Davis, Angela Frederick, and Christopher Wetzel

Nepantleras in a Community College: Student
Mothers Negotiating Mothering, School, and Work 237

By Nereida Oliva and Hortencia Jiménez

PART IV: OLD AND NEW CHALLENGES: LOOKING INTO THE FUTURE	251
All in the Name of Assimilation <i>By Celeste Torres</i>	252
Water Protectors: Stories of Inhabited Territories <i>By Gilliam Jackson, Trey Adcock, and Juan G. Sánchez Martínez</i>	254
Black and Latinx Millennial Students and Racial Justice Activism in the Age of Black Lives Matter <i>By María Joaquina Villaseñor</i>	273
White Privilege: Moving Beyond Guilt into Responsibility and Action <i>By Debra Busman</i>	285
<i>Semillas y Culturas</i> : Foodways in Ethnic Studies <i>By Melissa M. Moreno</i>	296
From Mexico to the United States: Discovering and Advocating for Social Justice <i>By Cristobal Salinas Jr.</i>	312
Indigenous Immigrants from the Mexican State of Oaxaca Residing in Monterey County, California: The Search for Meaning and Agency <i>By Renata Funke</i>	319
Reincarnation <i>By Gloria Anzaldúa</i>	330
References	332

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PREFACE

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Teaching courses on the sociology of race and ethnic relations and courses on ethnic studies to hundreds of students over the years has allowed me the opportunity to reflect on my teaching pedagogies and the textbooks used in these courses. Contemporary students' levels of knowledge of issues surrounding racism range from very rudimentary to firsthand experiences, yet most contemporary students lack the language with which to articulate those individual experiences in relation to larger societal structures. Most students find it difficult to see how structural arrangements in society impact the lives of individuals and groups, depending on their race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, gender, sexuality, class, and immigration status. In light of this challenge, *Challenging Inequalities: Readings in Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration* is a book intended for undergraduate courses, such as those on race and racism, education/counseling, history, ethnic studies, introductory sociology, and other general education courses that are taught every semester in the community college and university settings. Students in these courses will develop a critical framework for understanding how and why race still matters. The readings contained herein exhibit the ways in which the social construction of race has shaped the experiences of ethnic and racial groups in the United States, from the nation's founding to the present. I take the position of Cornel West, who notes that in order to understand our multicultural society, we must have a "sense of history and open, honest dialogue." This book seeks to engage such dialogue by offering the reader insights on how the history of racism can be examined at the micro (individual) and macro (institutional) level. The contributors highlight the ways in which race is structured in social institutions, and the ways in which these institutional structures continue to maintain and perpetuate social inequalities.

Challenging Inequalities: Readings in Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration includes chapters by pioneers in the field of race, ethnic groups, and immigration, as well as both established and emerging scholars. Contributing authors come from a wide range of fields of study, such as ethnic studies, Chicana/Latina studies, history, educational leadership, immigration, creative writing, sociology, communication studies, and Native American studies;

they have been on the front lines teaching these topics or involved on the ground through their grassroots efforts. *Challenging Inequalities: Readings in Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration* provides chapters that are conceptually and theoretically informed yet accessible to undergraduate and nonacademic audiences. My hope is that this book is used by faculty teaching in different academic institutions, as well as nonacademic audiences, such as practitioners in the fields of social work, racial justice, and civil and immigration rights, or those working in nonprofit organizations and advocacy organizations whose work is crucial in moving toward greater racial equity.

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ORGANIZATION OF THIS TEXTBOOK

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Challenging Inequalities: Readings in Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration is organized into four parts: (1) Understanding Why Race and Ethnicity Still Matter; (2) Conquest, Slavery, and Migrations; (3) Social Institutions: Maintaining Inequalities; and (4) Old and New Challenges: Looking into the Future. It is composed of a total of twenty-two chapters—seventeen original chapters and five previously published—as well as several poems. Although the structure of the book follows a linear path, the reader can pick and choose the order of readings. The majority of the chapters include resources for teaching in the classroom, such as a list of suggested discussion questions, supplementary readings, website links, and audiovisual aids.

PART I. UNDERSTANDING WHY RACE AND ETHNICITY STILL MATTER

In this section, authors introduce students to the sociohistorical context of race and to ideas regarding racial inequality. Contributors argue that race is a social construction rather than a biological one. Topics covered include the development of racist ideologies in North America, the theory of racial formation, and engaging in critical thinking and racial dialogue about racism.

PART II. CONQUEST, SLAVERY, AND MIGRATIONS

The contributing authors in this section show how historical contexts of conquest and slavery have led to the formation of interethnic and interracial mixing, as well as contemporary contexts of migration. Topics covered include Native American issues with the federal government, the sexual politics of Black women's bodies, the racialization of

Mexican Americans, the demographic composition of Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) Americans and their racial identity, and the mixed-race experiences of people of Filipino-Mexican (Mexipino) descent. This section also examines the issues facing Asian American ethnic groups and the structural discrimination, prejudice, and stereotyping faced by the group as a whole. The chapter by Rudy P. Guevarra Jr. on the overlapping migrations of both Mexicans and Filipinos to the United States resonates today with the discourse that the United States relies on a cheap labor pool and then disposes of it when those workers are perceived as a threat to US economic interests. Rita Stephan's chapter highlights the fact that Middle Eastern Americans in most Census Bureau surveys are categorized as an ethnicity within the White race, a racial identity to which many of them do not subscribe.

PART III. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS: MAINTAINING INEQUALITIES

This section illuminates how race is structured in social institutions that continue to maintain and perpetuate social inequalities. The focus is on the manner in which institutional practices, policies, and ideologies help maintain systems of oppression. Contributing authors from communication studies, ethnic studies, educational leadership, and sociology focus on the ways in which the institutions of the family, education, the media, the economy, and politics interact with issues of race, class, gender, immigration status, and citizenship.

PART IV. OLD AND NEW CHALLENGES: LOOKING INTO THE FUTURE

This section addresses old challenges of race, ethnicity, and immigration, and also provides current literature on how individuals and groups are working toward racial justice. Topics in this section include undocumented Mexican immigrant women and notions of belonging, indigenous Oaxacans, teaching pedagogies on food justice, and indigenous resistance of activism and advocacy. The chapter by Gilliam Jackson, Trey Adcock, and Juan G. Sánchez Martínez highlights five hundred years of indigenous resistance, with two recent testimonies of activism and advocacy in protecting water: (1) the Cherokee resistance against the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in Western North Carolina during the 1970s, and (2) the struggle against the development of the Dakota Access Pipeline on the Standing Rock Sioux reservation from 2016 through early 2017.

My hope is that this textbook will be used and read by students, professors, and people in communities across the United States who have an interest in race, ethnicity, and immigrant experiences in the United States. As a disclaimer, I do not attest or assert that this textbook provides an exhaustive review of the most current and canonical literature. Rather, I offer the reader a selection of classical and original readings that illustrate how race is structured in social institutions that continue to maintain and perpetuate social inequalities. The book's underlying principle is that structural arrangements in society have an impact on the lives of individuals and groups in society, based on race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, gender, sexuality, and class. As the chapters in this book illustrate, racial prejudice, individual and institutional racism, and systematic and structural racism contribute to racial inequality in our country. This is evident in the criminal justice system, employment, education, and immigration legislation.

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DEDICATION

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To my husband Luis Santiago-Sotelo, and children Luis, Itzel, and Elena.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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First and foremost, this textbook project would not have been a reality without the support of Kristina Stolte, senior field acquisitions editor, and Michelle Piehl, project editor. Thank you for believing in my work and nurturing my ideas for this textbook. Special thanks to the Cognella team: Jess Estrella, senior graphic designer, Karen Wiley, associate production editor, Dani Skeen, marketing coordinator, and many others who worked behind the scenes to make this book possible.

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READINGS IN RACE, ETHNICITY, AND IMMIGRATION

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By Hortencia Jiménez

In the United States, race, ethnicity, and immigration have always been omnipresent but have moved unequivocally front and center since the election of Donald Trump to the presidency in 2016. The Southern Poverty Law Center, and the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting noted 201 hate crime incidents following Trump's election in 2016. The attitudes expressed in these incidents ranged from anti-Black, anti-woman, anti-LGBT, to anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim sentiments. The most commonly-reported location of these incidents occurred in K-12 schools (Staff, 2016).

Students' fears are real and omnipresent as they worry about having their families separated, deported, harassed, and detained. They are worried about their future. This leads to stress and feelings of anxiety and uncertainty that impact students' physical and emotional well-being, as well as schoolwork. Sergio Garcia, an immigration lawyer, captures this well when he says, "there's a lot of anxiety, uncertainty of not knowing what tomorrow holds" (Colvin, 2017). As an instructor, I know this all too well, as I witness it first hand with students at my institution who come to my office and express their fear and uncertainty regarding what will happen once their DACA benefit expires. For those who are citizens, their fears are also real, as they worry that their family and community is being threatened, that their undocumented parents will be deported, or that the permanent legal status of family members will be stripped from them. These fears have not subsided, but rather have increased, since January 20, 2017 when Donald Trump officially became the 45th president of the United States.

A day after Trump's inauguration, people all over the nation and around the world protested and called for protecting for the rights of women, immigrants, Muslim, LGBTQ community members, and members of other groups that are likely to be further criminalized and marginalized by the Trump administration. Some estimates note that the Women's March on Washington attracted more than 470,000 people. This number excludes the 670 sister marches around the United States and the world, putting the total number of attendees

at more than four million (Women's March, 2017). These events made history. Political scientists from the Universities of Connecticut and Denver say that the Women's March may have been the largest and most peaceful day of protest in recent history (Chenoweth, Pressman, 2017). Between 3.3 million and 4.6 million marchers made their presence known across the United States. The largest single demonstration was in Los Angeles, where as many as 750,000 women took to the streets. Meanwhile, sister protests across the globe attracted nearly 300,000 more attendees—100,000 of which were in London. Marches of solidarity also occurred from Iraq to Antarctica (Broomfield, 2017).

Since his inauguration on Friday, January 20, 2017 Trump has signed more than a dozen executive actions and memorandums that have sent shock waves across the country, yet such actions are not surprising given the xenophobic and nativist rhetoric invoked throughout his campaign. The Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvement and the Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States contain provisions that are deeply alarming to immigrant and refugee communities and advocates alike. For example, these measures call for the construction of detention facilities and increased federal and local-level immigration enforcement. The government will add 5,000 Customs and Border Patrol agents and 10,000 Immigration and Customs Enforcement officers to perform enforcement functions and maintains as well, that it will move forward with the construction of a border wall. These executive orders also urge collaboration between local law enforcement and federal immigration authorities through 287(g) agreements with state governors. Under these executive orders, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) will publicize a list of jurisdictions that continue to provide sanctuary to undocumented immigrants and such jurisdictions will be ineligible to receive federal grants that are not intended for law enforcement purposes. Additionally, Trump's anti-immigration strategies include publishing a weekly report that lists criminal actions committed by immigrants and establishing an Office for Victims of Crimes Committed by Removable Aliens.

Moreover, under the Protecting the Nation From Terrorist Attacks by Foreign Nationals executive order, the administration immediately denied anyone from seven predominantly Muslim countries (Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Syria, Libya, Somalia, and Yemen) entry to the United States for 90 days and suspended all refugee resettlement for 120 days, with the goal of reducing the number of refugees resettled in the country to 50,000 and an indefinite ban on those fleeing Syria (Vongkiatkajorn and Andres, 2017). Omitted from the list of offending countries are those with links to terrorist attacks such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates and Lebanon (Yglesias, 2017). Pundits have questioned whether Trump deliberately left off countries in which he has business interests (Blaine and Horowitz, 2017). On Saturday, January 28th, immediately following the executive order, hundreds of immigrants and refugees were detained by customs officials across the country, while lawyers quickly filed lawsuits against the Trump administration (Yglesias 2017; Vongkiatkajorn and Andres 2017).

Donald Trump's immigration-related executive orders led to mass confusion at the very agencies that were in charge of implementing them—hundreds of airports across the United States. Officials in the Department of Homeland Security initially interpreted the executive actions as not applying to legal green card holders from the seven banned countries, but the Trump White House overruled that reading and declared they were too barred. The confusion continued to reign for people who have nationality or dual citizenship from these countries (Merica, 2017).

Homeland Security notes that on Saturday, January 28, 2017 about 109 people were denied entry while they were already on their way to the United States. When the order was signed, about 173 people were prevented from boarding planes headed to the U.S. Eighty-one people who were stopped were given waivers to enter the U.S (Shear, Kulish, and Feuer, 2017). Lawyers from the American Civil Liberties Union sued the government to block the White House order. Judge Ann M. Donnelly of Federal District Court in Brooklyn ruled in favor of two Iraqi immigrants, followed by another judge, Leonie M. Brinkema of Federal District Court in Virginia, issuing a temporary restraining order for a week to block the removal of people with green cards at the Dulles International Airport (Shear, Kulish, and Feuer, 2017). A federal judge in New York temporarily blocked part of Trump's order on Saturday, January 28, 2017, ruling that citizens of the seven countries who have valid legal visas cannot be removed from the United States. Nonetheless, Immigration and Customs Enforcement has “discretionary authority” to question travelers from Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Syria, Somalia, Libya, and Yemen (Shear, Kulish, and Feuer, 2017).

There have been countless of stories of faculty and students who attend American universities and were blocked from returning to the United States. Stories like that of Hameed Khalid Darweesh, an interpreter who worked on behalf of the United States government, who was detained for 19 hours and eventually released. Nisrin Omer, a legal permanent resident who was held at Kennedy International Airport in New York for several hours before she was released; as well as the circulated case of Nisrin Elamin Abdelrahman, a Ph.D candidate in Anthropology at Stanford University (Shear, Kulish, and Feuer, 2017, Democracy Now, 2017). Nisrin shared her experience of being detained, patted down, and handcuffed with Amy Goodman and Juan Gonzalez on *Democracy Now* on January 30, 2017. The possibility of being deported brought Elamin to tears, as she shared, “That’s when I started to cry because I felt like—at that moment, I felt like, ‘OK, I’m probably going to get deported.’” Elamin eloquently captures the nuances and complexities, as she lives at the intersection of her various identities as a woman, Black, Muslim, and immigrant:

“I think this order is a reflection of a larger trend in this country to criminalize black people, to criminalize immigrants, to criminalize Muslims. And as a black Muslim immigrant, I’m really concerned about that. And I do think

that the Somalis and Sudanese, people of African descent who are going to be affected by this, you know, I think they're going to be treated differently.” (Democracy Now, 2017)

Feminist and racial scholars contend that we must look at race and gender oppression simultaneously, a concept known as **intersectionality**. Nisrin Elamin reminds us that a narrow lens that focuses on just race and religion is not enough, and we must take into account other crucial aspects of her identity. An intersectional perspective can also shed light on how the executive order can have a devastating impact on immigrants and refugees with disabilities. The Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund (DREDF) condemned the executive order noting that the ban will have an impact on individuals with disabilities and on families who have children with disabilities due to the biased assumptions inherent in the ruling. The underlying premise is that refugees are considered “public charge”—burdens to society who will drain social services. DREDF further notes that the rate of disability among refugees is higher than the general population, and people with disabilities are more likely to be displaced during conflict (Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, 2017).

It is well documented that emigration and displacement can have emotional consequences for many people. The mental and emotional health of refugees and immigrants is shaped by mental health stressors, the most common being migration experience and discrimination. Recently, the American Psychological Association (APA) issued a statement reminding the Trump administration that these executive orders lead to serious mental health consequences for immigrants and refugees. APA president, Antonio E. Puentes, Ph.D notes that these policies can lead to a “perception of reduced freedom, safety and social connection for those directly affected, as well as for society at large” (American Psychological Association, 2017).

Erez Reuveni from the Justice Department’s Office of Immigration Litigation estimates that more than 100,000 visas were revoked, and between one hundred and two hundred people were detained at the nation’s airports following Trump’s ban on travel from the seven predominantly Muslim countries (Jouvenal, Weiner, and Marimow, 2017). People throughout the country have responded to Trump’s executive orders and memoranda, from protesting to calling their local elected officials and state representatives. Thousands of people protested from the East Coast to the West Coast on Saturday, January 28 and Sunday, January 29, 2017 making it the second weekend of demonstrations. News accounts reported protests in at least eight major U.S airports, such as Atlanta, New York, Denver, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Colorado, and Dallas, and many more took place in Orlando, Philadelphia, Seattle, San Jose, to name a few (Ellis, 2017). People also protested in other landmarks, such as the White House, Boston’s Copley Square, and Battery Park in Manhattan (Grinberg, Park, 2017).

On Friday, February 3, 2017, James Robart, a federal judge in Seattle, Washington issued a temporary nationwide restraining order, effective immediately, stopping Trump's executive order on the grounds that the ban targets Muslims and violates constitutional rights of immigrants and their families. Washington Attorney General Bob Ferguson said in a statement after the ruling that "the Constitution prevailed today. No one is above the law—not even the President" (Seipel, 2017). Attorney General Ferguson noted that there is a high probability that the case may go all the way to the US Supreme Court.

We cannot lose hope, as we are reminded by Attorney General Bob Ferguson that there are federal checks and balances in our country. Groups across the country have been protesting Trump's executive actions ranging from national civil rights organizations, to students, to religious and faith-based communities, to actors, to educators, to government officials. For example, former acting Attorney General Sally Yates ordered the Justice Department on Monday, January 30, 2017 not to defend President Trump's executive order on immigration and refugees in court after the president issued it. Yates was fired shortly thereafter. Her stance did not go unnoticed and hashtags #ThankYouSally, #ThankYouSallyYates, and #SallyYates began circulating around the internet to show support for Yates. She was recently nominated for the John F. Kennedy Profile in Courage Award by Representative Jackie Speier from California (Amatulli, 2017). Other examples of unity are reflected in the more than one hundred Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) organizations coming together, such as the 18MillionRising.org, East Coast Asian American Student Union, and cross-movement groups like Asians for Black Lives San Diego who reject the rhetoric that guides Trump's presidency (Rankin, Kenrya, 2017). Officials such as Governor Jerry Brown (CA), Mayor Ras J. Baraka (Newark, NJ), Mayor Rahm Emanuel (Chicago, IL), Mayor Ed Murray (Seattle, WA), Mayor Eric Garcetti (Los Angeles, CA) and Los Angeles police chief Charlie Beck have joined in their commitment to sanctuary cities (Iyer, Deepa 2017).

More recently, on September 5, 2017 Attorney General Jeff Sessions, announced the end of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program. The Department of Homeland Security will not be receiving new DACA applications and people who already have DACA and whose work permits expire between now and March 5, 2018, will be able to apply for a two-year renewal if they apply by October 5, 2017 (National Immigration Law Center, 2017). It is estimated that over 8,000 million DACA recipients will be left without protection (Colvin, 2017). As scholars, we know that policies, executive actions, and memoranda of the Trump administration have an immediate and long-term impact on the lives of faculty members, students, immigrant and refugee communities, as well as U.S citizens from mixed status families. The reality is that undocumented students and international students will continue to face greater obstacles in reaching their academic success, while taking care of their emotional and physical

wellbeing due to the nativist and xenophobic political climate that plagues our country. Professors Anita Casavantes Bradford, Laura E. Enriquez, and Susan Bibler Coutin from the University of California, Irvine wrote in the *Higher Education Journal* that, as educators, we have “the responsibility to mediate the impact of immigration policies on undocumented students” and offered ten suggestions for faculty and administrators to consider. These include:

- being aware of the wide range of people affected by proposed changes to immigration policy
- educating yourself about the laws and policies that impact undocumented students’ educational access
- signaling to students that you are supportive
- (re)considering how you discuss immigration-related issues and the current political climate in your classroom
- maintaining student confidentiality and privacy
- using appropriate terminology when discussing immigration issues
- providing resources that will help mediate the financial instability that many students are facing
- offering career and graduate preparation opportunities
- identifying, improving, and referring students to campus and community resources
- identifying and raising awareness about your campus’s policies regarding undocumented students

As we move forward in these uncertain and turbulent times, Bradford, Enriquez, and Bibler (2017) provide a blueprint of a few ways that we can support undocumented immigrant students that, although they may seem small steps, can have a big impact on students’ day-to-day lives. What else could you do beyond what Bradford, Enriquez, and Bibler identify? What kind of commitment and resources would it take to adequately support students?

DEFINING CONCEPTS

Challenging Inequalities: Readings in Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration utilizes a sociological lens to the study of race, ethnicity, and immigration. **Sociology** is the study of human behavior and central to understanding social life. At the heart of this study, is the application of the **sociological perspective**—an understanding that people’s social experiences are connected to broader social contexts in society. This approach welcomes us to examine the connection between individual human behaviour and the

social structure of society in which people live. The sociological perspective allows us to examine and reflect how society affects us and our behavior and how we also shape society. These reflections can be examined through two levels of analysis: macro and micro. The **macro level** examines large scale patterns in society, including trends and the role of social institutions, while the **micro level** examines the small-scale patterns of society such as face to face interaction, and the examination of people's everyday life experiences. Sociologists who study race, ethnicity, and immigration often use the terms: migrate, emigrate, and immigrate. These words are commonly employed in social science literature and have similar meanings but are differentiated by some important distinctions. The word **migrate** means to move from one country or region and settle in another; and can imply a permanent or temporary relocation. The key distinction in migration is that it does not require moving to a foreign country; it signals moving to a new region. For example, many farmworkers in the United States migrate during the harvest season. Migration is also used an umbrella term, under which both emigrate and immigrate fall. **Immigrate** implies crossing a political boundary (moving to a new country)—a permanent move and settlement. While immigrate means to move into a country, **emigrate** means to move out of a country; it is the act of leaving a country to live in another (Kenton, Bell 2016). For example, I emigrated from Mexico and now live in the United States (immigrate).

Ethnicity is rooted on notions of shared cultural characteristics (i.e., language, religion, speech patterns, dress styles, food, etc.) allowing for people to self-identify as belonging to an ethnic group. There is no scientific foundation to race, there is no biological basis; however, pundits continue to debate race today, from the mapping of the human genome to the concept of race as a scientific foundation. Race is as an ascribed category- an imposed category by social institutions. When sociologists study race, they focus on how race is a social and historical construction endowed with meaning that historically have used to sort and racially classify people to justify colonialism, slavery, exploitation, and genocide. Although **race** is a social construction, it has real and tangible consequences for people living in the United States. Race is a social grouping based on people's physical appearance that affords them a position within a racial hierarchy that values whiteness and places as subordinate anything that is "non-white." In the U.S., in particular, racial categories that differentiate white from non-white originate with slavery and colonialism and are derived from a myth of white racial purity, historically called the "one-drop rule" or the "rule of hypodescent." Race has been associated with human tragedies in U.S history, from slavery, colonization, exploitation and mistreatment, discriminatory policies, to genocide. In this text we use the terms racial and ethnic to acknowledge that race and ethnicity are not mutually exclusive, but rather overlap. The term **people of color** is also used throughout the text to refer to racial and ethnic minorities that have been systematically disenfranchised and been targets of racist, and discriminatory policies.

MINORITY GROUPS OR THE NEW AMERICAN MAJORITY?

Sociologists also use the term **minority group**. Being a member of a minority population has less to do with numbers and more to do with the distribution of resources and power. For example, women are considered to be a separate minority group due to their underrepresentation in politics and positions of power, and yet they are the numerical majority of the U.S population. The overwhelming majority of undergraduate textbooks on race and ethnicity, particularly in the field of sociology define minority groups in terms of their lack of economic and political power. The classic definition by Wagley & Harris (1958) of minority groups has five characteristics:

- 1 . Members of the minority group experience unequal patterns of disadvantage and inequality
- 2 . Members of the minority group share similar physical or cultural characteristics that differentiate them from other groups
- 3 . Membership in the minority group is ascribed, determined by birth
- 4 . Members of the minority group have a strong sense of solidarity/are a self-conscious social unit
- 5 . Members of a minority group generally tend to marry within the same group

Black, Latinx, Asian American and Pacific Islander, and Native American are also referred as racially minoritized groups due to their racial background. **Minoritized** as opposed to minority group according to Benitez (2010, p. 131) is the “process [action vs. noun] of student minoritization.” that reflects an understanding of “minority” as a status which is socially constructed in specific societal contexts. Minoritized people endure discrimination, racism, mistreatment and exclusion; they do not choose to be minoritized but rather area created as a minoritized group.

Steve Phillips, a civil rights lawyer and senior fellow at the Center for American Progress, is the author of *Brown is the New White: How the Demographic Revolution Has Created a New American Majority*. Phillips (2016) challenges the minority label that has been used over the last few decades by putting forth the argument that the “New American Majority” is the coalition of progressive people of color (23%) and progressive whites (28%), making them 51 percent of the population and eligible voters. Phillips comments that the discourse around a “majority, minority” nation is problematic on two grounds: first, it presumes that all “White people are and will continue to be at odds with all people of color, which is untrue and unfounded” given the long history of Whites siding with people of color throughout U.S history (p. xii). Second, he argues that focusing on the census projection that by 2044 Whites will be

the minority overlooks the importance of aggregating the number of today's people of color (who overwhelmingly are progressive) and progressive Whites. Phillips articulates it this way: "[I]t's this calculation that reveals that America has a progressive, multiracial majority right now that has the power to elect presidents and reshape American politics, policies, and priorities for decades to come. Not in 2044. Not in ten years down the road. Today" (p. xii). It is in this context that Phillips calls for a rearticulation of minority groups to a New American Majority that is composed of multiracial progressive individuals who have the power to elect a president to fight for social change and racial equality in the US.

Phillips (2016) in *Brown Is the New White* calls on the New American Majority and progressives to work together to close the racial wealth gap, invest in public education, enact comprehensive immigration reform, end mass incarceration, debunk the myth of America as the land of equal opportunity, and debunk the myth of poverty as a personal failing. What all this points to is that race, ethnicity, immigration, and people of color matter in the United States and issues surrounding racial equality, health outcomes, educational disparities, and the school to prison pipeline continue to be relevant despite claims of a post-racial society. The idea of race has evolved throughout history and continues to shape the way we think and talk today.

Despite the racial progress this country has made, racism is alive and this book's chapters document some of the ways that ethnic and racial minorities experience this very phenomenon in their daily lives. While the election of Donald Trump to the presidency is fairly recent, completing his first year in January 2018, his anti-immigrant, islamophobia, homophobia rhetoric is not new. Trump's rhetoric and policies enact various forms of violence including discursive, psychological, and violence that affects people's physical safety and material living conditions. The book thus contextualizes the present moment by situating it within a broader historical and sociological framework to underscore the reality that this moment in which we find ourselves did not come out of nowhere, but is in fact the direct result of aggregate influences. Likewise, the resistance through protests and use of the courts and the rule of law, as noted at the beginning of this chapter exist within a broader social context. Just as the history of the United States is bountiful with examples of oppressive conditions, it is replete as well, with examples of individuals and groups that have resisted oppression and challenged the status quo as captured in the chapters of *Challenging Inequalities: Readings in Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration*. This book encourages us to have an honest dialogue and take into account how race has been an essential part of our history and of our contemporary society.

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THE INCREASING DIVERSITY OF IMMIGRANT AMERICA

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It is not uncommon to hear that in the United States “we are all immigrants.” While the phrase is often deployed as a rhetorical gesture of inclusion of people of immigrant backgrounds, it nevertheless obfuscates the reality that some groups in the United States have no understanding of themselves as immigrant groups, or have historical origins in the United States as enslaved or colonized peoples.

The US Census Bureau categorizes the population into five racial categories: White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. Of these groups, the largest comprises those who identify as “White alone” (254 million), accounting for 79.7 percent of all people living in the United States. The non-Hispanic, White-alone population is the largest racial and ethnic group and accounts for greater than 50 percent of the nation’s total population. However, by 2060, the non-Hispanic, White group is projected to be 309 million, representing 74.3 percent of the total (Ortman and Colby 2015).

A smaller population in the United States is those who identify as Black or “African-American alone”—42 million people, representing 13.2 percent of the total population. Between 2014 and 2060, the Black-alone population is projected to increase from 42 million to 59 million (14 percent). An even smaller group, the American Indian and Alaska Native population, was 3.9 million in 2014, representing 1.2 percent of the total population. The population is projected to increase to 5.6 million by 2060.

Still, the United States has historically and undoubtedly been a country of immigrant settlement. From the founding of the United States to the twentieth century, the population consisted primarily of European immigrants. The face of immigrant America has since changed, largely shaped by policies regarding who can enter. For example, US immigration policies of the 1920s favored immigrants from Western Europe, while making it difficult for people from Southern and Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa to enter the country. Numerous scholars note that immigration is racialized and can be restrictive or signify openings in the immigration system (Golash-Boza 2015; Portes and Rumbaut 2015). Examples of restrictive

discriminatory legislation range from the 1790 Naturalization Act, the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement, the Tydings McDuffie Act of 1934, the Japanese Internment of 1942, and Operation Wetback in 1954 to the most recent legislation, such as Arizona's SB 1070, passed in 2010, Alabama's HB 546, passed in 2011, and Texas SB4 passed in 2017. Examples of openings in policy range from the 1865 to 1870 amendments to the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, the Bracero Program of 1943, the 1965 Nationality Act Amendments, and the 1986 Immigration and Reform and Control Act (IRCA), to, most recently, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) policy of 2012.

The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, also known as the Hart-Cellar Act, abolished the racially biased quotas set forth in the 1924 Oriental Exclusion Act and the Immigration Act of 1924, and introduced a family preference model, setting a universal quota system of twenty thousand immigrants for every country in the world (Golash-Boza 2015). This piece of legislation altered the patterns of sending nations, basically ending a national-origin quota system that gave preference to European migration. The outcome of this was increased racial diversity, with the introduction of immigrants who were coming primarily from Latin America and Asia.

The foreign-born population today accounts for about 42.3 million people, representing 13 percent of the total US foreign born, including naturalized citizens, legal permanent residents, temporary residents, and unauthorized immigrants. By 2060, the foreign-born population is estimated to be 78.2 million (compared to a native-born population of 338.6 million); that's an increase of 36 million, or 85 percent (Ortman and Colby 2015).

As of 2014, European immigrants numbered 4.8 million of the total foreign-born population of 42.3 million. Zong and Batalova (2015b) note that European foreign-born percentages in the United States plunged from 75 percent in 1960 to 11 percent in 2014. As of 2014, there were 55.4 million Hispanics in the United States, comprising 17.4 percent of the total US population.¹ As such, the group is the largest minority group in the country, according to the US Census, with continued growth expected. By 2060, 28.6 percent of the United States is projected to be Hispanic—a little more than one-quarter of the total population. Among all Latinos, there were 14.1 million immigrants in 2000. By 2005, that number reached 16.8 million, and by 2013, there were 19 million Latino

1. The US Census has been using the label *Hispanic* since the 1970s, which has been a source of debate over the decades. Hispanic or Latino people are those who classify themselves in one of the specific Hispanic or Latino categories listed on the census questionnaire—"Mexican," "Mexican Am.," "Chicano," or "Puerto Rican," or "Cuban"—as well as those who indicate that they are of "another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin." *Origin* can be viewed as the heritage, nationality group, lineage, or country of birth of the person, or the person's ancestors before their arrival in the United States. People who identify their origin as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish may be of any race. See <https://www.census.gov/population/hispanic/>.

immigrants in the United States. A few of the largest groups include Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Salvadorans, Dominicans, Guatemalans, Colombians, Hondurans, Ecuadorians, and Nicaraguans (Lopez and Pattien 2015).

In the 2014 Census, approximately 17 million people (about 5.4 percent) identified their race as “Asian alone.” The number of Asian immigrants grew from 491,000 in 1960 to about 12.8 million in 2014. This group is projected to see its share of the total population nearly double, accounting for 38 million (9.3 percent) of the total by 2060. The top five originating countries of Asian immigrants have been India, China, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Korea (Zong and Batalova 2016). The smallest major race group is Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone, at 734,000 people, representing 0.2 percent of the total population. The projected population is 1.2 million (0.3 percent) by 2060.

The ten largest immigrant groups come from Mexico, India, the Philippines, China, Vietnam, El Salvador, Cuba, Korea, the Dominican Republic, and Guatemala. California is the principal state of settlement for eight of the ten largest immigrant groups, followed by New York, Texas, Florida, Illinois, and New Jersey (Portes and Rumbaut 2015). Significantly, the population of the United States increasingly identifies as multiracial. People who reported more than one race numbered 8 million and made up about 2.5 percent of the total population in the 2014 Census. The “two or more races” population is projected to be 26 million (6.2 percent) by 2060 (Ortman and Colby 2015).

The United States is the top resettlement country for refugees worldwide. Those qualifying for refugee status can be living in authoritarian, repressive, or conflict-enmeshed nations, experiencing war, or members of social groups who are vulnerable and/or persecuted (Zong and Batalova 2015a). In 2015, the United States resettled 69,933 refugees, and in fiscal year 2013 the country granted asylum status to 25,199 people (the most recent data available). According to estimates by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), by the end of 2014, the number of people displaced within their countries or fleeing international crises reached 59.5 million—the highest level ever recorded (UNHCR Global Trends 2014). By mid-2014, there were more than 1.2 million asylum seekers worldwide (Zong and Batalova 2015a). More than 4.1 million Syrians have sought refuge in other countries, and about 7.5 million have been displaced. The Obama administration responded to the humanitarian crisis by increasing the number of refugees the United States accepts each year, from 70,000 in 2015, to 85,000 in 2016, and 100,000 in 2017 (Zong and Batalova 2015a).

The seven countries (Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Syria, Libya, Somalia, and Yemen) that have been the target of the Trump administration’s recent executive order, Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States, account for about 2 percent of all foreign-born people living in the United States; most have become citizens, a rate higher than that of the foreign-born population in the country as a whole (Fessenden,

Lee, Pecanha, and Singhvi 2017). Southern California has been the destination for a larger number of people from these countries, followed by the Detroit area (both places have substantial Arab and Muslim communities), while Somalis, on the other hand, are widely dispersed (Fessenden et al., 2017). Thousands of Iraqis and Yemenis have settled in the Detroit area, while a large number of Syrians live in Brooklyn, but have also settled in Burbank and Glendale, California, along with the Detroit area. Somalis and Sudanese, on the other hand, tend to be more isolated. Minneapolis has the most Somali-born residents, and Columbus, Ohio, and Seattle also have significant communities. Des Moines, Iowa, has a large number of Sudanese residents, who are also numerous in Texas and Virginia (Fessenden et al. 2017). Residents from the seven predominantly Muslim countries, especially Iranians and the small group of Libyans, are more educated than the rest of the people in the United States (Fessenden et al. 2017). People from Syria and Sudan also tend to be better educated than the national average.

Immigrants and refugees are found throughout the United States; however, immigration to the United States is largely an urban phenomenon, with immigrants concentrated in big cities; nonetheless, undocumented immigrants continue to work in agricultural areas, from California's Central Valley to the dairy farms of upstate New York. These locational decisions reflect historical patterns of settlement (Portes and Rumbaut 2015). The diversification of immigrant settlement patterns has been called "new destination," wherein states that had relatively small immigrant populations prior to 1990 have experienced growing immigrant settlements. New destination states include North Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, Tennessee, Nevada, South Carolina, Kentucky, Nebraska, Alabama, and Utah (Massey and Capoferro 2008; Zuñiga and Hernandez-Leon 2005). The demographic changes, in terms of both native-born and foreign-born people, illustrate a continuous process of racial, ethnic, and cultural diversification in the United States.

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PART I

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**UNDERSTANDING WHY
RACE AND ETHNICITY
STILL MATTER**

PACIFIC (A HISTORIAN)

By Eduardo Velasquez

RACIST AMERICA: RACIST IDEOLOGY AS A SOCIAL FORCE

By Joe R. Feagin

**RACIAL FORMATION: UNDERSTANDING RACE AND
RACISM IN THE POST-CIVIL RIGHTS ERA**

By Michael Omi and Howard Winant

EMBRACING A CROSS-RACIAL DIALOGUE

By Beverly Daniel Tatum

READING 1.1

Pacific (A Historian)

.....

By Eduardo Velasquez

After spending years, devoid and thinking,
I am convinced that my history must be somewhere down in the Pacific.

So, I'm poring through books, fiction and non, to see
What authors have left of a time before me.

If schools truly taught the past,
Then why wasn't my grandfather's plight on the map?
A *Bracero* living his life crossing two borders,
Reading his share of Robert Frost,
Saying, "A similar philosophy we shoulder."

Multiply this equation, factor by three,
And you'll only get a fraction of all those who believed
In something as vague as an American Dream,
Who interpreted the dreams of Lady Liberty.

If the U.S. were split into the ethnicities it holds,
Where is my history? In what class is it told?
Revolutionaries might answer, say we must demand it by force,
Diplomats might counter, say we should request by vote.

And in the middle of confusion, boycotts, and class,
I must put all to the side to ask:
What of our History?

I'm looking for words like Corky Gonzales's,
I'm looking for actions of people who tried to fight for balance,
I'm searching for faith for those who believe we can manage,
For philosophers and physicists, who welcomed a challenge.

There are some who say we should live and let live,
But forgetting the past is dangerous,
The acts, justifications of why they did what they did,
Lest we'd be willing for a repeat,
We should teach, understand the reason for these happenings.

So, I'm plunging deep into past,
Of the deep waters that hold my History.