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ARTICLE: CLUSTER VII: RACE, GENDER, AND SEXUALITY: White Supremacy and Mexican Americans: Rethinking the "Black-White Paradigm"

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BIO:

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SUMMARY: ... " From a house on the United States-Mexico border, one man, using a high-powered rifle, shot and killed a twelve-year-old Mexican youngster attempting to cross the border. ... Racial oppression forces a lifelong struggle on Americans of color, as groups and individuals, to destroy the long-lived and ongoing racist ladder sorting groups apart and to attain social justice and inalienable human rights. ... Thus, in the case of Latino and Asian immigrants, whites particularly accent their being culturally "alien" and "foreign. ... Yet this state's employers and middle-class consumers depend on increasing numbers of Mexican and other Latino immigrant workers to do much of the low-wage work there. ... In addition to this differential code enforcement, at least two local housing audit studies, in San Antonio and Fresno, have found discrimination by landlords against Mexican American and other Latino renters. ... A mid-1990s survey of Mexican American and other Latino workers in Los Angeles found that thirty-one percent had faced racial discrimination in the workplace in the last year. ... From 1976 to 1996, Latino voter registration increased 164 percent nationally, a much faster rate increase than for non-Latinos, and Latino voter turnout grew by 135 percent, also a much higher increase than for non-Latinos. ...

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I. Introduction: Fear of "Aliens"

In May 1990, three white men in suburban San Diego were drinking beer. n1 After a while, one said he wanted to "shoot some aliens." n2 From a house on the

United States-Mexico border, one man, using a high-powered rifle, shot and killed a twelve-year-old Mexican youngster attempting to cross the border. n3 The man was sentenced only to two years in jail for involuntary manslaughter. n4 Clearly, this killer did not value the lives of undocumented immigrants. In recent years, white hostility toward immigrants has sometimes reached violent, even hysterical levels, as evidenced by numerous white supremacist publications. These publications attack Latinos, African Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans, who are often called "mud" peoples, racial "mongrels," and "aliens." n5 Yet it is not just ordinary Americans, but powerful whites as well, who create the negative image of "aliens" invading the country. For example, we see in the San Diego case that the United States judge did not place much value on a Mexican immigrant's life. n6

But who, actually, are the real aliens? One of the great ironies of this killing is that the Mexican youngster and other so-called "aliens" crossing the border are moving into what was once part of northern [*960] Mexico, an area taken by force by the United States government. n7 Indeed, a research study by Robert Alvarez found that for nearly two centuries, starting well before the United States took control from Mexico in an imperialistic war in the 1840's, many generations of Mexicans migrated back and forth from Mexico's Baja California to what is now the United States' political entity called California. n8 Thus, there is a long history of Mexicans moving over this land area, and it is only later in that movement's history that a border was imposed.

The fact that most white Americans do not know, or prefer to forget, their brutal and imperialistic history makes it easier to rationalize attacks on Mexican immigrants. In April 1846, President James Polk, seeking to gain "all Mexico," n9 sent United States troops into an area, Texas, recently taken by force from Mexico, and then, on into an area of the borderlands that he knew Mexicans had long viewed and treated as their sovereign territory. n10 President Polk intentionally provoked a border clash between the United States and Mexican troops, an incident that enabled him to falsely claim that Mexico had started a war against the United States. n11 Later historians have linked this trumped-up war to the imperialist and racist notion that the United States had a right to move into Mexican territory as part of its "manifest destiny" to rule over "backward" peoples. n12 This imperialist

notion rationalized the desire of many European American invaders for unjust enrichment in the form of land. Indeed, the border area where the first skirmish took place soon became the home for very large and profitable Anglo cattle ranches. n13

It was in 1845 that jingoistic journalist John O'Sullivan coined the phrase "manifest destiny" when he wrote that "our manifest destiny is to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions." n14 Together with many other European Americans, O'Sullivan argued that the United States government had a mandate to teach the North American way [*961] of life to "backward" peoples such as Mexicans and Native Americans.

However, during and after the Mexican-American war, as the debates over the incorporation of Mexican territory increased, some white southerners were concerned that too many of these mixed-race people might be brought into the United States. During congressional debates over annexing Mexican territory, prominent Senator John C. Calhoun argued that the United States had never "incorporated into the Union any but the Caucasian race... . Ours is a government of the white man... . in the whole history of man ... there is no instance whatever of any civilized colored race, of any shade, being found equal to the establishment and maintenance of free government." n15 In his view, as well as that of other whites, the "colored and mixed-breed" Mexicans were unacceptable in the "free" United States. n16 I note here that the irony of this argument, an argument still asserted today, involves how the mix in the Latin American population was created. As Mexican American analyst Ilan Stavans bluntly wrote, "In one way or another, we are all children of lascivious Iberians and raped Indian and African maidens, and yet, diversity is our flag: We are blacks, Spaniards, Indians, mulattos, and mestizos." n17

If it had not been for the imperialistic war-making on the part of the United States government, the Mexican youngster who was killed in 1990, as well as many other immigrants, might well have been traveling peacefully from one part of Mexico to another. In a real sense, the boy was not the "alien." It is the European Americans who today are "aliens." They are the descendants of invading "aliens" who took over northern Mexico by force. This era of United States imperialism is still rarely dealt with in the country's schools and textbooks.

Typically, the conception of a group of human beings as somehow "alien," as an inferior "race," is substantially generated and maintained by those with great power and authority. Throughout United States

history, ordinary white Americans have usually learned their stereotyped views of the racialized "other" from those in authority, including parents, politicians, teachers, clergy, business leaders, and media authorities. Note, for example, the influential book, *Alien Nation*, by Peter Brimelow, an editor for *Forbes* business magazine. n18 In his book, Brimelow develops a negative view of recent [*962] immigrants to the United States and emphasizes the notion that they are not European, but are indeed "alien." n19 Like many business, political, and religious leaders, he is particularly concerned about Latin American immigrants. He even suggests there is a "glaring possibility" that Mexican immigration to the Southwest may eventually lead to a restoration of the area to Mexico. n20 He worries that there are Mexican American organizations "openly working for Aztlan, a Hispanic-dominated "political" unit to be carved out of the Southwest and (presumably) reunited with Mexico." n21 As Brimelow sees it, "the American nation has always had a specific ethnic core. And that core has been white." n22 Before 1950, he argues, most Americans "looked like [him]. That is, they were of European stock. And in those days, they had another name for this thing dismissed so contemptuously as "the racial hegemony of white Americans.' They called it "America." n23 Clearly, Brimelow's concern is with protecting white dominance, which he views as threatened by non-white "alien" peoples. The leading Latino scholar, Rodolfo Acu<tild n>a, has noted, "Always defined as Euroamerican, the US self-image seems to white people to be seriously threatened for the first time since the birth of the nation [This is] another reason for the virulence of today's racist nativism." n24

The influential Harvard professor Samuel Huntington has argued that, if multiculturalism ever becomes central in the United States, the nation could "join the Soviet Union on the ash heap of history." n25 According to Huntington, in the past, nativist worries about immigrants' assimilating were unwarranted. Today, however, the situation is one where some immigrant

groups feel discriminated against if they are not allowed to remain apart from the mainstream. The ideologies of multiculturalism and diversity reinforce and legitimate these trends. They deny the existence of a common culture in the United States, denounce assimilation, and promote the primacy of racial, ethnic, and other subnational cultural identities and groupings. They also question a central element in the American Creed by substituting for the rights of individuals the [*963] rights of groups, defined largely in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual preference. n26

Huntington makes clear in his analysis that he is explicitly concerned that today the immigrants come "overwhelmingly from Latin America and Asia." n27 However, he does not deal with the substantial discrimination and segregation that these Latin American and Asian immigrants receive at the hands of white Americans - actions that doubtlessly reduce the possibility of integration and assimilation.

Influential commentators like business magazine editors and leading Ivy League professors play an important role in creating and circulating negative images of recent immigrants. The immigrants of greatest concern are usually those from Latin America. n28 Moreover, conservative members of the nation's elite are not alone in creating images of threatening aliens who cannot, or do not want to, assimilate to the Anglo-Protestant mainstream. Even a liberal academic like the prominent historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., has expressed fears that the United States cannot continue to permit substantial immigration if the new immigrants do not fully assimilate to "the language, the institutions, and the political ideals that hold the nation together." n29 He too has in mind non-European immigrants from Latin America and Asia - those he fears are less oriented to Anglo-American ideas and institutions than those from Europe. n30

Those non-Latinos who edit and report in major newspapers and magazines play a primary role in communicating negative images of immigrants. For example, one recent study examined many articles in a major West Coast newspaper and discovered numerous reports on Latin American immigrants that used racialized language and metaphors. n31 In these articles, reporters often used metaphors portraying Mexican and other Latin American immigrants as animals, invaders, and disreputable persons. n32 The articles describe the need to "ferret out illegal immigrants," of government programs being "a lure to immigrants," of the appetite for "the red meat of deportation," and of government agents catching "a third of their [*964] quarry." n33 Other terms and metaphors portrayed these immigrants as a danger, a burden, dirt, disease, invasion, or waves flooding the nation. n34

Significantly, the media figures who craft such images of an alien people flooding and threatening the nation are not members of the working class. They are for the most part middle-and upper middle-class white Americans. Working class and lower middle class whites often absorb, or extend, such negative metaphors of the immigrants coming into the country. Thus, on numerous Internet websites, as well as in videos and books, white supremacists describe

Mexican and other Latino immigrants as a "cultural cancer" or a "wildfire." n35 They too are sometimes concerned that Mexicans have a plan to reconquer the United States. n36

The role of middle-and upper middle-class whites in circulating negative images of Mexican immigrants, other Mexican Americans, and other Latinos can be seen in the commonplace mocking of Spanish and Latino cultures. One research study by leading anthropologist Jane Hill examined the common caricaturing and mocking of the Spanish language across the nation - including made-up terms such as "hasta la vista, baby" and "no problema," and phrases such as "numero uno" and "no way, Jose." n37 While this mocking may seem innocuous to some white observers, it reveals "a highly negative image of the Spanish language, its speakers, and the culture and institutions associated with them." n38 Complex caricaturing of Spanish and Spanish speakers is commonplace in board rooms, at country-club gatherings, in gift shops, and in the mass media, where once again, the purveyors are typically middle-and upper-class whites. Moreover, advertising signs and cards in gift shops and similar stores sometimes contain jokes about "cucarachas," the Spanish word for cockroaches and an epithet sometimes used by whites to describe Mexicans. n39

Degrading images are also found in places where they have more subtle effects. For example, in a recent movie, *Men in Black*, a United States government organization is trying to keep "aliens" from going [*965] to other planets. n40 In the movie, the most threatening aliens are cockroaches, who are successfully exterminated by the movie's heroes. Since the movie begins with images of Mexican immigrants, this scenario likely reinforces in moviegoers' minds the association of cockroaches with "alien immigrants." n41

With the large increase in Latin American immigrants and the Latino population in recent decades, an era where blatantly racist comments are considered impolite by most people in public settings, has come a more subtle way of stereotyping and deriding these new Americans. Such linguistic and cultural mocking often generates or perpetuates degrading stereotypes and images of Latinos.

II. The Racial Ladder Of Oppression: Four Centuries in the Making

Most white Americans, including the country's white leadership, as writers like Brimelow strongly indicate, believe the United States must stay principally white and European. Today, as in the past, the racial

hegemony of white Americans is indeed what they view as the "real America." While most white Americans no longer describe themselves as white supremacists, as many did in earlier decades, white dominance and superiority are often assumed in everyday thought and practice. n42

A. The So-Called "Black-White Paradigm"

In recent years, numerous scholarly analysts and popular commentators have criticized what they call the "black-white paradigm," which they view as dominating much of the analysis of United States racial matters. n43 However, it is odd that this discussion has been allowed to pass without examination of this phrase itself. It is problematical. First, there is no such "paradigm" if we use the standard dictionary definition of this word as a "theoretical framework of a scientific school within which theories and laws are [*966] formulated." n44 Rather striking, too, is the failure in most discussions of the so-called "black-white paradigm" to ask certain basic questions about racism in the United States: who is primarily responsible for creating and maintaining the hierarchical system of racism underlying United States racial relations; and who has the largest role in creating and maintaining the discourse and ideology undergirding that racist hierarchy? Whatever the phenomenon being described by the phrase "black-white paradigm" is, even a quick reading of United States history shows that this phenomenon should be more accurately described as "white-on-black" or "white-on-nonwhite," not "black-white." Moreover, whatever the terminology and phrasing, the underlying material and social reality is white-on-black, or white-on-nonwhite, oppression and exploitation. African Americans and other Americans of color did not create the system of white-on-nonwhite oppression that has been central to North American society for centuries. Nor have Americans of color created and fought hard to maintain the ideological system that rationalizes racial oppression. Certainly, neither African Americans nor other Americans of color control the public discourse on United States racial relations. Nonwhites control very few of the newspapers, magazines, television and radio networks, scholarly journals, and other outlets for intellectual expression.

What most analysts who criticize the so-called "black-white paradigm" seem to have in mind is that much discourse about United States racial relations centers on this white-on-black oppression, albeit a discourse usually coded in the euphemistic terms ("intolerance," "hate," and "prejudice," for example) that are more acceptable to whites who control most discussions. In this regard, the concern of the analysts who use the

phrase "black-white paradigm" is correct. Those whites who control most of this discourse seem to be more or less obsessed with black Americans or with the resistance that the latter mount in continuing discrimination and oppression. It is influential whites who are the most responsible for the character of the discussion of "race" in public discourse in the United States.

In my view, scholars who examine United States racial matters would do better to discard the language of the "black-white paradigm" and speak more directly about white-racist practices and the racist ideology that is used to rationalize white-on-nonwhite oppression. Many critics who accent the "black-white paradigm" are mistaken in suggesting that United States racism can be studied accurately by focusing mainly on disconnected racisms, such as a separate racism against African Americans, a separate racism against Latinos, a separate racism against Asian Americans, and so [*967] forth. There is only one underlying system of racism - white supremacy. Thus, when social scientists and legal scholars like the insightful Richard Delgado - in books like *The Coming Race War?* n45- discuss United States racial relations principally in terms of white-black oppression, they are not creating or proposing a "dominant paradigm" that excludes Latinos from analysis. Instead, they are usually emphasizing the archetypal nature of white-on-black oppression for understanding white racism in the United States.

B. What is Systemic Racism?

Systemic racism (white supremacy) is a material, social, and ideological reality in the United States. It is part of the society's foundation. The white-racist ideology is the real conceptual paradigm that is well developed and central to maintenance of the racial ladder of power and inequality in United States society. Systemic racism involves recurring and unequal relationships between groups and individuals, a racialized ladder of unjust enrichment and unjust impoverishment put into place over nearly four centuries by European Americans. All those within this system of racism are caught in alienating racist-relations. n46 What could theoretically be egalitarian social relationships are turned instead into dominating, alienating, and distancing relations. The system of white-created racism divides human beings and separates those defined as the "superior race" against those subordinated as the "inferior race." Racial oppression forces a lifelong struggle on Americans of color, as groups and individuals, to destroy the long-lived and ongoing racist ladder sorting groups apart

and to attain social justice and inalienable human rights.

Understanding the racial situations of non-black, non-European groups necessitates that we understand how systemic racism was built into the foundation of the new nation by European entrepreneurs and colonists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They used the labor of enslaved Africans and the land of Native Americans to build up white wealth. By the mid-1600s white-on-black oppression was well-institutionalized and increasingly rationalized. As Hernan Vera and I emphasized in *White Racism: The Basics*, and as I have developed further in *Racist America* (2000), white-on-black oppression is the archetypical case of white racism in United States history.ⁿ⁴⁷ For nearly four centuries, the racial ladder of [*968] oppression, running from whites at the top to blacks at the bottom, has incorporated each new non-European group brought into the sphere of white control and exploitation. This society has a central white-supremacist core initially developed in its central ideologies, practices, and institutions for destroying indigenous societies and exploiting African labor. Later on, this structure of racialized domination and rationalization was regularly extended for the oppression of other non-European groups, including Asian Americans and Latinos. Both white elites and the white public have dominated and otherwise reacted to later non-European immigrants from within the well-established structure of white-racial oppression and its highly imbedded white-racist ideology. Thus, systemic racism has two key components: a racial hierarchy of material wealth and sociopolitical power and an ideological rationalization of this oppressive framework.

Each new immigrant group is usually placed by dominant whites somewhere in the white-to-black hierarchy of wealth and power, as well as in the corresponding white-to-black status continuum.ⁿ⁴⁸ The socio-racial hierarchy and status continuum have long been imbedded in white minds and practices. As whites have viewed the social world, the racial hierarchy and status continuum run from "highly civilized" whites to "uncivilized" blacks, from high intelligence to low intelligence, from privilege and desirability to lack of privilege and undesirability.ⁿ⁴⁹ Moreover, the character of the racial oppression faced by an entering group varies depending on its timing of entry, its region of entry, its size, economic resources, cultural characteristics, and physical characteristics. Thus, in the case of Latino and Asian immigrants, whites particularly accent their being culturally "alien" and "foreign."

Viewing Americans of color as alien goes back to the white view of early enslaved Africans, who were early considered to be uncivilized, strange, and foreign.ⁿ⁵⁰ Groups entering later have also been viewed as uncivilized, foreign, and threatening to the dominant Anglo-American culture. This was true of groups like the Russian Jews who entered as "alien" and "not white" around the turn of the twentieth century, but who later would become accepted as "white." It has been especially true for immigrants from Asia and Latin America. Thus, Latino immigrants and their descendants have usually been positioned, and principally by whites, somewhere on the racialized ladder between whites and blacks - with a negative evaluation on both axes of alienated social relations, that of [*969] superior/inferior and that of insider/foreigner.ⁿ⁵¹ The white view of Latinos sometimes stresses their similarity to black Americans in terms of racial status and inferiority, but at other times accents their "alien" and "foreign" character. It is therefore not surprising that Latino immigrants and their descendants, unlike earlier white European immigrants, have not been allowed to assimilate structurally and fully to white society. All entering groups do not share the same fate, but in all cases it is the dominant white group that generally determines the terms of rate and character of the societal incorporation, as well as the prevailing interpretation of that incorporation.

III. The First U.S. Latinos: White Wealth and Mexican Labor

A. The Largest Immigrant Group Ever: Mexicans

Today, there are Latinos in the United States mainly because of United States government intervention and imperialism in places like Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Central America. In this way, Latin American and Caribbean immigrants are not similar to European immigrants, such as those large groups that came from southern and eastern Europe in the decades just before and after 1900. These early European immigrants, like other European immigrants today, are not usually linked to the United States by direct United States imperialism in their home countries, as are most Latin American immigrants. Juan Gonzalez calls this Latin American immigration the "Harvest of Empire":

The Latino migrant flows were directly connected to the growth of a U.S. empire, and they responded closely to that empire's needs, whether it was a political need to stabilize a neighboring country or to accept its refugees as a means of accomplishing a broader foreign policy objective (Cubans, Dominicans, Salvadorans, Nicaraguans), or whether it was an

economic need, such as satisfying the labor demands of particular U.S. industries (Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Panamanians). n52

Indeed, the central role of the United States employers in aggressively recruiting both legal and undocumented Mexican and other Latin American labor is not well known. Such ignorance allows much anti-immigrant stereotyping to take place unchallenged. From the early twentieth century, as Gutierrez notes, United States [*970] "employers and their allies in government have worked in close partnership to recruit foreign workers and to ensure that the flow of immigrant workers is regulated for the maximum benefit of American businesses and consumers." n53

The largest group of Latin Americans ever to be drawn directly into wealth creation within the United States consists of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Indeed, counting both legal and undocumented immigrants, Mexicans constitute the largest group of immigrants ever to come to the United States from any area of the world. n54 Like African Americans before them, millions of Mexican immigrants and their descendants have been central to wealth creation for United States employers and to cheap services for United States consumers. Because Americans of Mexican origin are by far the largest immigrant group ever drawn from the United States empire, I will examine their history and contemporary situation in some detail here.

As I noted previously, the first Mexican residents of the United States did not immigrate, but were brought into the new nation by violent conquest during the Texas rebellion and the Mexican-American War of the 1830's and 1840's. With the end of the Mexican-American war came the incorporation of a hundred thousand Mexicans. Mexicans were forcibly absorbed into the expanding United States empire, which now encompassed a large portion of what was northern Mexico. With great aggression, leading white politicians and economic entrepreneurs sought to dominate the entire continent. In this they were very successful. World history was shaped by their colonial aspirations and imperialistic actions.

B. A Long History of Intervention: Latin America and Mexico

For more than a century and a half now, United States imperialism has involved both direct colonialism, particularly in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Hawaii, and neo-colonialism (recurring economic or political intervention) to protect United States economic and political interests in many Latin American countries, such as Mexico. To accomplish United States

economic and political domination, military forces have intervened directly or covertly dozens of times in Latin American countries. In order to expand or protect United States interests, this intervention has included protecting dictators sympathetic to United States investors using military aid or tactical intervention. It has included putting down [*971] local rebellions seeking to overthrow the United States-supported dictatorships. United States intervention has included the creation of a new country, Panama, to facilitate the building of a canal and thus United States commerce across two oceans. n55

Accompanying the economic, military, and political intervention in Latin America is a periodic intrusion of labor recruiters seeking workers for the growing United States economy. Over time, those who immigrated spread the word as well, thereby extending the recruitment along informal family and friendship networks. Since at least the early 1900s, the United States economy has demanded low-wage immigrant workers in such areas as agriculture, food processing and meatpacking, other low-wage manufacturing, construction, and food and other consumer services. Millions of immigrants have come from Mexico and other countries in Latin America to fill these low-wage jobs. n56

Most Latin American immigrants are pushed to seek these jobs by serious economic and political problems in their home countries, and the United States is directly implicated in some of the more serious of these problems. For example, for decades United States corporations investing and operating in Mexico have helped to generate labor out-migration. Large United States agribusiness firms have built major farming operations in Mexico in order to grow food for export, thereby taking over substantial amounts of arable land. The small Mexican farmers have been forced off their land, which they have traditionally farmed to feed their families. This siphoning off of wealth from Mexico into the pockets of United States corporations has forced many Mexicans, particularly those driven off the land, to migrate to large cities in Mexico. There they often have difficulty finding jobs to support families, and like many before them, they undertake the frequently dangerous option of migrating to the United States for work.

Moreover, over recent decades United States corporations have built thousands of assembly operations (maquiladoras) on the Mexican side of the border region to take advantage of low-wage labor and weak environmental laws. Most who migrate to the border area for work soon learn about ways to access the usually higher wages across the border. Significantly, the Mexicans who perform low-wage

jobs in the United States not only create wealth and a better standard of living for many United States citizens, especially affluent Americans, but their wages are usually essential to the survival of their families in Mexico. Indeed, up to one third of [*972] Mexico's total revenues comes from the money sent home by these immigrant workers. n57

C. Super-Exploitation: Mexican Americans and "Racial Surplus Value"

Both Adam Smith and, later, Karl Marx saw the workers of a nation as the central source of its enduring creation of wealth. Indeed, Marx developed the idea of "surplus value," which can be seen as that amount of the worth of the productive labor of workers that is not returned to them. n58 As a rule, thus, workers get lower wages than they deserve given the value their work has created. Employers are able to perpetuate this inequity because they have the power to hire, fire, and otherwise control workers in a capitalist society. In addition to this exploitation of workers because of their subordinated class position, there is an added degree of exploitation that is possible for white employers who use the labor of workers of color. Because of their subordinated status, workers of color can be super-exploited, and "racial surplus value" can be extracted from them in addition to the surplus value that is typically taken from workers in a capitalist system. That is, they can be paid lower wages than white workers for the same or similar work. Like the enslaved African Americans on southern plantations, most Mexican and Mexican American workers have been super-exploited by white employers. For a century, many have indeed been "wage slaves."

In the United States many Mexican and Mexican American manufacturing, domestic, and restaurant workers labor long (for example, fourteen-hour) shifts at hourly wages effectively below the legal minimum. A large proportion of United States service work is now done by immigrants. The meatpacking and fast food industries, among others, would collapse without immigrant labor, especially from Latin America. Investigative reporters have found Mexican and Asian immigrants working under conditions, such as imprisonment in a fenced compound, that are reminiscent of old slave plantations. n59 These low-wage industries not only generate substantial profits for their (usually white) entrepreneurs but also good incomes for many white managers and other white workers. In addition, growing numbers of affluent households employ large numbers of gardeners and other lawn workers, domestics, and nannies drawn from Mexico [*973] and other parts of Latin America or from the Caribbean. n60 Without these low-wage

service workers, many two-earner, white-middle-class households could not function as they do.

Indeed, for more than two centuries, the occupation of "maid" or "servant" has often been racialized, with many such workers being drawn from groups categorized as biologically and culturally inferior by white Americans. For centuries as well, this occupational racialization has had a global dimension, for affluent white families use their wealth to purchase services by workers from poor countries who must work long hours for very low wages. In recent decades, many of these workers have been Latina domestic workers. n61 They pay heavily for servicing many white Americans. As one researcher has recently noted, these costs are "the loss of dignity, respect, and self-esteem; the inability to even live with their [own] children; and the daily hardships of raising families on poverty-level wages" n62

IV. Imaging Mexican Americans: Rationalizing Oppression

A. Early Images: The Age of Conquest

In the process of super-exploiting workers of color, most employers and their managerial associates have sought to justify this exploitation. Perhaps for religious reasons, it has not been considered adequate just to exploit a group - some reason for exploitation must be offered. For example, the taking of Mexican lands and later, the super-exploitation of Mexican American labor, have been rationalized in terms of the pre-existing white-racist ideology. n63 Whites added creative enhancements to that age-old ideology as Mexicans were incorporated into United States territory and the United States economy. The evidence is strong, as I noted previously, that most whites initially considered Mexicans and Mexican Americans to be much closer to the inferior (black) end of the dominant racial hierarchy than to the white end. n64 Most white colonizers who came into northern Mexico in the early nineteenth century brought the United States system of racist practices and ideas, and applied them to those they encountered in Mexico. The new whites called Mexicans racist epithets and treated them like Black Americans or Native Americans. One of the principal leaders of United States immigrants in northern Mexico in this early period, Stephen F. Austin, viewed [*974] Mexicans as a "mongrel Spanish-Indian and negro [sic] race." n65 Recall too Senator Calhoun's view, articulated in the 1840s, that the United States had never incorporated ""any but the Caucasian race"" and that there is ""no instance whatever of any civilized colored race ... being found equal to the establishment and maintenance of free government." n66

Around the turn of the century, especially during the World War I period, ever more Mexican workers were recruited by employers for U.S. enterprises in agricultural and urban areas.ⁿ⁶⁷ In this period, most whites still viewed Mexican Americans as existing in a social condition and status much inferior to that of native-born whites. This included those who were influential in the political and legal systems. For example, in 1897, a U.S. federal judge ruled that a Mexican American petitioner could become a naturalized citizen, but only because of the treaty agreements made with Mexico.ⁿ⁶⁸ Indeed, the white judge argued, scientifically the Mexican American petitioner "would probably not be classed as white."ⁿ⁶⁹ The white-racist ideology was clearly central to white thinking about Americans of color, not only African Americans, but also the new Mexican immigrants and their children.

B. Recent Rationalizations: The Cases of Powerful and Ordinary Whites

We can now turn to recent decades. As recently as the 1960s, blatantly racist stereotyping of Mexicans and Mexican Americans could be heard in the comments of powerful white Americans. Thus, George Murphy, a former California senator, once asserted that Mexican workers were "'ideal for 'stoop' labor after all, they are built close to the ground.'"ⁿ⁷⁰ About the same time, in 1965, a leading U.S. historian, Walter Prescott Webb, wrote that "there is a cruel streak in the Mexican nature It may and doubtless should be attributed partly to the Indian blood."ⁿ⁷¹ It has only been since the 1960s that most whites, including business and political leaders, [ⁿ⁹⁷⁵] have ceased publicly describing Mexicans and Mexican Americans as mixed-race "mongrels" or inferiors with dangerous Indian and African "blood," views still found in white supremacist groups.

Nonetheless, in the last few years, influential whites have still openly asserted other racist views of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Thus, at one 1990s community meeting dealing with Mexican immigration, a California state senator spoke against providing the children of undocumented immigrants with public education.ⁿ⁷² As he put it, "It seems rather strange that we go out of our way to take care of the rights of these individuals who are perhaps on the lower scale of our humanity" ⁿ⁷³ Also recently, another state legislator in California circulated to fellow legislators a racist poem, which he thought was humorous.ⁿ⁷⁴ This "Ode to the New California" derided Mexican immigrants with mocking lines such as, "I come for visit, get treated regal, So I stay, who care illegal... . We think America damn good place,

Too damn good for white man's race." ⁿ⁷⁵ Latino legislators took issue with the white legislator's action, but he would offer no apology.ⁿ⁷⁶ Once again, we see how racist views today are often coded in what appears to some whites as humorous language.

In addition, surveys of white Americans also show much stereotyping. Thus, one recent survey gave white college students a list of three dozen personal and social characteristics.ⁿ⁷⁷ Comparing whites and Hispanics, these students indicated that in their view, Hispanics were more likely than Anglo whites to be violent, dirty, and criminally inclined.ⁿ⁷⁸ Hispanics were also seen as placing less value on education, mature love, and economic prosperity than whites.ⁿ⁷⁹ Old Mexican stereotypes remain very much alive.

V. Racial Discrimination: The Continuing Oppression

From the end of the Mexican-American war in the 1840s to the present day, Mexican Americans and other Latinos have faced both legal discrimination and informal de facto discrimination. Until the [ⁿ⁹⁷⁶] 1960s, in U.S. towns and cities, especially in the Southwest, Mexican Americans faced blatant or informal discrimination in employment, housing, and schools. The segregation and informal discrimination were often patterned on that developed by whites for black Americans.ⁿ⁸⁰ Moreover, present-day reactions to Mexican immigrants and their descendants are substantially built on this past history of racial oppression.

As we have seen, from the beginning of large-scale immigration in the early twentieth century, white Americans have been divided in their orientations and actions directed at Mexican immigrants. On the one hand, from the early 1900s to the early 2000s, U.S. employers needing low-wage labor have aggressively sought Mexican workers, and have periodically lobbied Congress for special programs to allow in more such workers or to legalize the undocumented workers who are already here. In addition, as I noted earlier, many middle class Americans, especially white Americans, have eagerly sought out Mexican and other Latin American workers to do service work in their homes and also to provide them with other low-cost services. Even as they discriminate against these workers (for example, by providing sub-par wages), white employers and many in the middle class will defend this Mexican immigration and its importance to the nation.

Yet, on the other hand, leading white analysts such as Peter Brimelow and Samuel Huntington seek to keep these same workers out of the nation, contending that the "browning of America" will remove or de-center

white domination. They are not alone, for the number of restrictionists in influential positions, including in the mass media, seems to be growing. As historian David Gutierrez has put it:

In a litany that can be found daily in virtually every major newspaper in the country, a new, vocal group of restrictionists argues that immigrants-particularly undocumented immigrants-are stealing jobs from American citizens, undermining wage rates and working conditions, committing crimes, overwhelming the public education and health systems, and abusing welfare and other social programs. n81

As we have seen, these leaders are often joined by ordinary whites, such as those who vote for anti-immigrant ballot propositions n82 and those in white supremacist groups, who fear that the "mud" peoples are growing too much in political and social [*977] influence. n83 Sometimes, these are the same people who depend to a degree on the low-wage labor of immigrants for their standard of living. Clearly, there is a certain schizophrenia in white attitudes toward Mexican and other Latin American immigrants.

As stated, anti-immigrant sentiment has often taken the form of anti-immigrant actions. For example, guided by white middle class leaders and their organizations, political campaigns directed against Mexican and other Latin American immigrants have appeared in states (such as Texas, California, and Florida) with substantial numbers of Latin American immigrants. n84 In these states many citizens, both whites and others, have shown great antagonism toward Spanish language and bilingual programs. There have been numerous attempts to pass "English only" laws covering government agencies and services. In the mid-1990s, Proposition 187 was passed in California; it attempted to restrict medical, educational, and other government services for undocumented immigrants. n85 One white member of an organization pressing for Proposition 187 argued in a New York Times letter that this proposition would save "California from economic ruin." n86 In his view, if the legal and undocumented migrant flows continue, "a Mexico-controlled California could vote to establish Spanish as the sole language of California, 10 million more English-speaking Californians could flee, and there could be a statewide vote to leave the Union and annex California to Mexico." n87 Once again, we see the nativistic fear that somehow the U.S. takeover of northern Mexico may one day be reversed. The idea of having to flee is imbedded in such fearful language. Electoral propositions similar to Proposition 187 have been considered in other states.

Moreover, in 1996, Congress passed the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act ("IIRIRA"). n88 This law reflected white concerns about immigrants from Mexico and other countries becoming unemployed and dependent on government services in the United States. Regulations set an income well above the poverty line for families seeking to sponsor immigrant relatives, a requirement discriminating against many Latino families with modest family incomes. n89 Like Proposition 187, significant portions of [*978] this law reflected negative stereotypes about Mexican and other recent immigrants. n90 Thus, the racialized idea that Mexican immigrants enter the country just to get on welfare programs is contradicted by the very high proportion (69.7 percent) of Mexican-born Americans who are working, a proportion much higher than that for Canadian-born or British-born immigrants. n91

A. Language and Housing Discrimination

The English-only movement targets not only Spanish speakers but also bilingual education. Marco Portales, an administrator at a major southwestern university, recounts the story of how his wife and another bilingual educator went to local newspaper editors to see if the latter would publish some writing in Spanish that had been done by Spanish-speaking fourth-grade students. n92 The goal of the bilingual teachers was to encourage the students by having their writing publicly recognized. The newspaper had recently published stories on other local students and their schoolwork. Yet, Portales notes, the "response was that the newspaper had not printed Spanish before and, further, that their sponsors, the people and businesses who bought advertising space in the paper, "would not like that." n93 Even after a discussion of how the bilingual teachers were helping the children move from Spanish to English, the editor still refused to help in this educational process. n94 Discrimination takes many forms, and begins at an early age. Here it took the form of protecting what has long been normative for whites against the changes that will almost inevitably come.

In a recent study at a major midwestern university, Walter Allen and his associates delineated a number of barriers for the Latino and black students there. n95 For example, one Latino student reported a questioning of his abilities: "I have to show that I'm smart enough to be here ... I feel I have to justify... . People are impressed if I do extra work because of the fact that they don't expect that [amount [*979] and quality of work] from somebody who's Hispanic." n96 Latino/a students regularly report this type of challenge about their abilities from white students and faculty. Such questioning, in itself, can affect performance. Research

by Claude Steele demonstrates that when racial stereotypes of students of color are recalled before a test, this often affects their performance, when they are compared to comparable white students. n97 In such settings, stereotypes come to the front of the students' minds (Steele calls it "stereotype threat"), create anxiety, and thereby affect student performance. n98

Nowhere can the contradictions in white thinking about Mexican and other Latin American immigrants be seen more clearly than in some recent cases of housing discrimination in various cities across the United States. As we have seen in many areas, Mexican and other Latin American immigrant workers are eagerly sought after by employers because they provide low-cost services. n99 Yet, the same people who desire their labor often reject them as residents of their communities, towns, and cities. Thus, a recent North Carolina poll discovered that two thirds of the respondents thought that their neighbors would not accept Hispanics moving into the neighborhood, and over half said that they were not comfortable around Spanish-speaking people. n100 Yet this state's employers and middle-class consumers depend on increasing numbers of Mexican and other Latino immigrant workers to do much of the low-wage work there.

The attitude seems to be, "Give us your labor but don't live in our communities." Numerous communities across the United States have tried to discourage Mexican Americans and other Latinos from living there. For example, a recent lawsuit by landlords in the Babylon area on Long Island asserts that local officials are using apartment regulations to drive out Latinos and other residents of color. In Mount Kisco in Westchester County, local officials agreed under a consent decree to stop using building codes and park regulations to discriminate against Latino laborers. n101 The consent decree had to be extended because of continuing complaints that a housing ordinance was being used to target immigrants. n102

[*980] Housing code enforcement can also be discriminatory. In Riverside County, California, an organization representing Mexican American and other Latino farmworkers reached a settlement with county officials resolving complaints of discrimination in code enforcement. n103 According to newspaper reports, local officials used discriminatory code enforcement to force Latino residents out of mobile home parks. n104 These problems can also be found in the center of the country. Thus, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) also cited officials in Elgin, Illinois, for violating an agreement to end discrimination in code enforcement. n105 In 1999, the city settled complaints filed by several Latino

families and agreed to accept monitoring. n106 However, officials have failed to change the discriminatory code enforcement and HUD has again alleged discrimination. n107

In addition to this differential code enforcement, at least two local housing audit studies, in San Antonio and Fresno, have found discrimination by landlords against Mexican American and other Latino renters. n108 In these field studies, Latino testers faced discrimination more than half the time, compared to similar white testers seeking rental housing. n109 The levels of the housing discrimination found were not much less than that found in studies using African American testers. n110

B. Discrimination in Employment

Mexican American and other Latino workers often report discrimination in the workplace. A mid-1990s survey of Mexican American and other Latino workers in Los Angeles found that thirty-one percent had faced racial discrimination in the workplace in the last year. n111 The discrimination included not getting a job or [*981] promotion because of racial or ethnic background and facing racial slurs at work. n112 Surveys of urban employers in Atlanta, Los Angeles, Detroit, and Boston found that employers admitted to making hiring decisions that reflected stereotypes about Latinos and other workers of color. n113 Workers of color were seen, in the main, as fit for lower-paying jobs regardless of their skills. n114 Moreover, "soft skills," those involving interpersonal communication, are sought by many employers, yet Latino and Black applicants were stereotyped by these same employers as less likely than Whites to have such skills. n115

Well-educated Mexican American and other Latino workers also report discrimination. In Silicon Valley, some Latino employees have recently filed lawsuits to fight the discrimination they encounter in high tech firms. n116 Indeed, even in the humanities, social sciences, and professional schools in institutions of higher education, there are many cases of routine discrimination, in both hiring and promotion. n117 A distinguished professor at the University of Texas (Austin), Enrique Trueba, has recounted numerous cases of Latino/a faculty who has faced discrimination in higher education. n118 From long experience Trueba has concluded that there are many cases of subtle and blatant discrimination:

When the process of selection is focused on a candidate of color whose qualifications are comparable to those of White candidates, there is a red light calling

for "spontaneous" caucusing of the faculty in communication with the search committee; a period of deep anxiety and intense political action. New inquiries are made into the candidate's qualifications and background... . The closer the possibility of hiring a person of color gets, the more vicious the arguments against the candidate become. n119

There are many other settings where Mexican Americans and other Latinos regularly face discrimination, including public spaces. Recently, a member of the U.S. Congress, Representative Luis [*982] Gutierrez, was stopped by a Capitol police officer who asserted that the representative had false House credentials. n120 This was done in front of the representative's guests and his daughter. n121 Only after the intervention of another police officer who knew Representative Gutierrez was the congressman allowed to enter the Capital. n122 Apparently a Latino face, even of a person born in the United States, seemed out of place to one police officer. n123

VI. The Future: Is Multiracial Democracy Possible?

The wealth of the United States, indeed its very existence, is heavily indebted to the land, labor, and lives of many peoples of color. The hard work of all Americans, their press for democracy, and their intelligence and ingenuity have been central to the building of this nation.

Now, as they say, the United States empire is biting back. The people of color who built the country are finally coming into ever greater centrality and power. Over the next few decades the United States will become even more multiracial than today. Challenges to four centuries of white domination are arising as a result of demographic and political changes. n124 Whites are a decreasing proportion of the U.S. population. n125 They are already a minority in the five largest U.S. cities, and in New Mexico, Hawaii, and southern California. n126 Near the calendar year 2004, whites will be in the minority in Texas - the second most populated state. n127 Moreover, demographers estimate that between 2015 and 2040, numerous other large states will develop a majority that is not white. n128 Thus, if birth rates and immigration rates stay close to current rates, by 2055 whites will be a minority of the U.S. population. n129

How will white Americans react to these large-scale demographic and political changes? Certainly, there is much potential for overt conflict and Balkanization. At this point in United States history, I see two possibilities: 1) that many or most Whites will become ever [*983] more fearful of, resistant to, and discriminatory against the growing population of color;

or 2) that Americans of color will join with growing numbers of enlightened and anti-racist whites to break down racist barriers of the society once and for all.

First possibility: Whites will become ever more fearful. As one leading Latino scholar has noted, "racist nativism feeds on white fears of losing control over this society as a result of changing demographics. The reality of people of color soon forming the majority population of Los Angeles fuels a vicious antipathy." n130 Thus, many whites will react, and are now reacting, to the country becoming minority white by moving from the coasts and by creating more extensive territorial apartheid, as in the old South Africa. Some are choosing guarded communities, private schools, and armed militias. In recent decades millions of whites in California and other states have moved from large cities with growing populations of Latinos and other Americans of color to whiter suburbs, into rural areas away from the multiracial cities, or into guarded communities within those cities. n131 Recent research indicates that most U.S. counties with substantial growth from domestic migration had little growth in overseas immigrants, while most counties with high growth in immigrants had a low net number of domestic migrants. n132 This signals increasing segregation of those who are white from those who are not.

In addition to re-segregating, many whites may try to build white-oriented political coalitions with some in Latino and Asian groups who can be viewed as "near-whites" in certain respects. Some whites may even seek a Brazilianization or Latinization of the United States. Like other Latin American countries, Brazilian society differentiates between those who are mulatto (black and white) or mestizo (white and Indian) and Brazilians mostly of African ancestry or Brazilians mostly of European ancestry. n133 Mulatto and mestizo groups hold a middle position and are socially more acceptable to whites than those mostly of African or Indian ancestry. For some whites, a tripartite pattern with intermediate groups providing a social buffer may be seen as a welcome future for the United States.

However, being categorized as nearer the white than the black end of the racist ladder and status continuum does not mean that a Latino or Asian American gets the full privileges of whites or is viewed as white. Over an eight-year period, one study examined how [*984] mostly white groups of Canadian students assessed Latin Americans. n134 They consistently evaluated all Latin Americans in the list - Mexicans, Cubans, Chileans, and Argentineans - as not white. n135 These findings likely apply to U.S. whites. Those "near-white" persons who are courted by whites for such a white-dominated coalition are very likely to remain

second-class citizens. Again, their status is generally determined at the discretion of the more powerful white Americans.

A Second Possibility: Americans of color - Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, and Asian Americans - will build effective coalitions with anti-racist whites in order to break down, finally, the white-racist barriers and institutions of the society and thus move the country to the condition of a true multiracial democracy.

Given the fact that modern capitalism often pits new immigrants from Latin America and Asia against African Americans and other Americans of color for blue-collar and service jobs, there is much potential for conflict among Americans of color. Indeed, mass media reports tend to accent conflict between Latinos and African Americans in U.S. cities. n136 Tensions between Latino and black groups have been seen in struggles over the administration of schools in Dallas, over public housing in Chicago, and over school and hospital hiring in Los Angeles. n137 Yet, the white-controlled media tend to neglect or downplay the commonplace, and very important, cooperation and coalitions among Americans of color. For example, in Los Angeles, at the neighborhood level, Latinos and blacks are currently finding ways to coexist and cooperate, and black elected officials there have worked hard to serve their Latino constituents who have moved into formerly black areas. n138 Moreover, in the Spring of 1995 black leaders and union members marched with Latinos in San Antonio, Texas, to demonstrate against California's Proposition 187. n139 Similarly, in Los Angeles in 2000, a local of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union called for an international boycott of the luxury New Otani Hotel because of its poor treatment of Latino, Black, and other workers of color. n140 There [*985] was large-scale picketing and other protests by hundreds of workers working jointly to bring change, and Latina workers were leaders in the protests. n141 In Houston, black administrators of the Houston Independent School District have worked hard for programs for Latino children, and a black county official has questioned attempts to prevent undocumented immigrants from using the county hospital. n142

Indeed, the case of the city of Houston, once a bastion of blatant white racism and arch-conservatism, is a recent and important example for those seeking to build multiracial coalitions. In a November 1997 election, the local ballot had a proposition designed to eradicate the effective affirmative action program for city business there. n143 This attempt was voted down by over half of Houston's voters. The vote was a major

defeat for conservative white activists. One major reason for the defeat is that Houston's population no longer has a white majority. In the November 1997 election, about 90 percent of black voters, and about three quarters of Latino voters voted against the anti-affirmative-action proposition. n144 Even though a majority of whites voted for it, it lost. n145 Moreover, in the mayoral election Lee Brown, a black American, won the most votes, and later won a runoff. n146 With growing numbers of voters of color, especially Latino voters over the next decade or two, Houston and Texas generally may replace many of its white political leaders with Latinos and other people of color. (The late 2002 elections included the first Latino candidate for governor of the state, and the first major African American candidate for U.S. Senator. Both lost, but for idiosyncratic reasons that may not operate in future elections.) Significantly, an important sector of the conservative white elite in Houston has now become much more sensitive to the dramatic racial-ethnic changes going on in the nation. n147 For example, the business set-aside program had the support of the city's leading business organization, as well as the outgoing mayor, a wealthy white real estate developer. n148

[*986] The growing clout of voters of color in Houston and numerous other cities comes substantially from the growth in Mexican American and other Latino voters. From 1976 to 1996, Latino voter registration increased 164 percent nationally, a much faster rate increase than for non-Latinos, and Latino voter turnout grew by 135 percent, also a much higher increase than for non-Latinos. n149 The electoral clout of Latinos will likely continue to grow significantly. Today, Mexican Americans and other Latinos already constitute the largest voting bloc in Miami, San Antonio, Los Angeles, and New York City. n150 Most Latino voters are moderate to liberal, and about two-thirds vote for the Democratic party. n151

These demographic and political changes are likely to have significant social, economic, and political effects. For example, "no later than the 2040 the U.S. educational system will be predominantly composed of students of color[, with] major implications for the staffing, administrative structure, and curriculum" n152 By the 2040s or 2050s a majority of the labor force will likely be workers of color. n153 The older, retired population will have a white majority, while the younger working population will have a non-white majority. This may mean a political polarization over programs such as social security, which will disproportionately serve elderly whites.

In addition, there will likely be a further polarization in regard to such issues as bilingual education programs and English only proposals. White politicians strongly

opposed to immigration or affirmative action will not likely be elected where a majority or large minority of their voting constituencies are citizens of color. Soon, there will be great pressure from the new voters to focus on new issues, or to resurrect old issues with a new cast. There will likely be pressure to deal with Mexico and its immigrants much more intelligently and fairly, to enhance respect for bilingualism and the rights of language minorities, and to end political adventurism in all Latin American countries.

Changes in demographic composition bring new organizing opportunities in cities and states once thought to be the bastion of white conservatives. Building coalitions across racial and ethnic lines among Latinos, blacks, Asians, and Native Americans can mean greater political influence for progressive and democratic political agendas. Aggressive multiracial organization seems to be the price of [*987] liberty and democracy. Ilan Stavans has positioned Latinos this way:

Rather than wanting only a share of the American idea, we want to revolutionize the country's overall metabolism. Not that our goal is to dismantle democracy; we deeply cherish its sweetness and would like to join forces with Anglos to make this nation a true democracy in which everyone is included... . Freedom, with a capital F: freedom and equality, freedom and justice, freedom and happiness. n154

FOOTNOTE-1:

n1. Juan Gonzalez, *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America* xii (2000).

n2. *Id.*

n3. *Id.*

n4. *Id.*

n5. See, e.g., Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligence Report, Blood on the Border*, 8-11 (Spring 2001), available at <http://www.splcenter.org/intelligence/project/ip-index.html> [hereinafter *Blood on the Border*].

n6. See Gonzalez, *supra* note 1, at xii.

n7. John Mack Faragher, et al., *Out of Many: A History of the American People*, Volume I: To 1877 403 (3rd ed. 2000).

n8. Robert R. Alvarez, Jr., *Familia: Migration and Adaptation in Baja and Alta California, 1800-1975* 24 (1991).

n9. Faragher, *supra* note 7, at 405.

n10. *Id.* at 404.

n11. *Id.*

n12. See, e.g., *id.* at 404-06.

n13. *Id.* at 407-08.

n14. John Louis O'Sullivan, *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, July-Aug. 1845, quoted in *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations* 552 (Emily M. Beck et al. eds., Little, Brown and Co. 15th ed. 1980) (1855).

n15. George M. Frederickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* 136 (1987).

n16. Faragher, *supra* note 7, at 406.

n17. Ilan Stavans, *The Hispanic Condition: Reflections on Culture and Identity in America* 32 (1995).

n18. Peter Brimelow, *Alien Nation: Common Sense about America's Immigration Disaster* xvii (1995).

n19. *Id.* at xix.

n20. *Id.* at 193-94.

n21. *Id.*

n22. *Id.* at 10.

n23. *Id.* at 59.

n24. Rodolfo F. Acuña, *Anything But Mexican: Chicanos in Contemporary Los Angeles* x (1996).

n25. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Erosion of American National Interests*, *Foreign Affairs*, Sept./Oct. 1997, at 28, 35.

n26. *Id.* at 33-34.

n27. *Id.* at 32.

n28. See, e.g., *id.*; see also Brimelow, *supra* note 18, at 193-4.

n29. Arthur Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* 121 (1991); see also *id.* at 120-124.

n30. *Id.* at 121.

n31. Otto Santa Ana, *Like an Animal I was Treated: Anti-Immigrant Metaphor in U.S. Public Discourse*, 10 *Discourse & Soc.* 191, 197-220 (1999) (asserting that the

metaphors, in totality, tend to negatively characterize immigrants).

n32. Id.

n33. Id. at 200-01.

n34. Id. at 204-07.

n35. Blood on the Border, *supra* note 5, at 8-11.

n36. See *id.*

n37. Jane M. Hill, Mock Spanish: A Site for the Indexical Reproduction of Racism in American English (1995) (unpublished research paper, University of Arizona), <http://www.language-culture.org/colloquia/symposia/hill-jane> (last visited Dec. 27, 2002).

n38. Id.

n39. Id.

n40. Men in Black (Columbia Pictures 1997).

n41. I am indebted to Hernan Vera for this point, and for his useful comments on an earlier draft of this Article.

n42. This Article updates and extends arguments made in Joe R. Feagin, *Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations* (2000) [hereinafter Feagin, *Racist America*]. See generally Joe R. Feagin and Clairece Booker Feagin, *Racial and Ethnic Relations* (Prentice-Hall 6th ed. 1999) [hereinafter Feagin & Feagin, *Racial and Ethnic Relations*]. We are indebted to Prentice-Hall for permission to occasionally draw on this book here. It is now in a seventh edition.

n43. See, e.g., Yolanda Flores Niemann, Social Ecological Contexts of Prejudice between Hispanics and Blacks, in *Race, Ethnicity, and Nationality in the United States: Toward the Twenty-First Century* 170 (Paul Wong ed., Westview Press 1999); Juan F. Perea, The Black/White Binary Paradigm of Race: The "Normal Science" of American Racial Thought, [85 Cal. L. Rev. 1213, 1219-221](http://www.cal.law.edu/rev/1213/1219-221) (1997).

n44. Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary 842 (10th ed. 1998).

n45. Richard Delgado, *The Coming Race War? and Other Apocalyptic Tales of*

America After Affirmative Action and Welfare (1996).

n46. See generally Bertell Ollman, *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*, (Cambridge University Press, 2d ed. 1976).

n47. See Joe R. Feagin & Hernan Vera, *White Racism: The Basics* 1-18 (1995); see also Feagin, *Racist America*, *supra* note 42, at 3.

n48. See Feagin, *Racist America*, *supra* note 42, at 210.

n49. Id.

n50. See *id.* at 72-73.

n51. For an explanation and illustration of the axes of social relations, see Claire Jean Kim, *The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans, Politics and Society*, Mar. 1999, at 105, 105-08.

n52. Gonzalez, *supra* note 1, at xiv.

n53. David G. Gutierrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* 211 (1995).

n54. Mexican immigrants are the second largest group of legal immigrants since 1820. The largest legal group is from Germany. Gonzalez, *supra* note 1, at 97.

n55. See Faragher, *supra* note 7, at 645; Winthrop D. Jordan and Leon F. Litwak, *The United States: Brief Edition* 273-275 (Prentice Hall, 4th ed. 1994).

n56. See Feagin & Feagin, *Racial and Ethnic Relations*, *supra* note 42, at 296.

n57. Stavans, *supra* note 17, at 22.

n58. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol. 1 432-963 (Ben Fowkes trans., Random House 1977) (1867).

n59. See, e.g., "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: A History of American Sweatshops, 1820-Present," <http://americanhistory.si.edu/sweatshops/elmonte/elmonte.htm> (last visited Dec. 27, 2002).

n60. See Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Domestica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning*

and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence 29-60 (2001).

n61. *Id.* at 35-36.

n62. *Id.* at 210.

n63. *Id.*; see *supra* footnotes 48-51 and the accompanying text.

n64. See *supra* footnotes 48-51 and the accompanying text.

n65. James J. Scheurich & Michelle D. Young, *Coloring Epistemologies: Are Our Research Epistemologies Racially Biased?*, 26 *Educ. Researcher* 4, 7 (May 1997).

n66. Frederickson, *supra* note 15, at 136.

n67. Feagin & Feagin, *Racial and Ethnic Relations*, *supra* note 42, at 198-203.

n68. Ian F. Haney Lopez, *White By Law: The Legal Construction of Race* 61 (1996) (citing [In re Rodriguez](#), 81 F. 337, 349 (W.D. Tex. 1897)).

n69. *Id.*

n70. Guillermo V. Flores, *Race and Culture in the Internal Colony: Keeping the Chicano in His Place*, in *Structures of Dependency* 201 (Frank Bonilla and Robert Girling eds., 1973).

n71. George A. Martinez, *Mexican Americans and Whiteness*, in *The Latino/a Condition: A Critical Reader* 178 (Richard Delgado & Jean Stefancic eds. 1998).

n72. Santa Ana, *supra* note 31, at 220 n.10.

n73. *Id.* (emphasis added).

n74. Donald Macedo, *Forward to Enrique T. Trueba, Latinos Unidos: From Cultural Diversity to the Politics of Solidarity*, xviii-xix (1999).

n75. *Id.* at xviii-xix.

n76. *Id.*

n77. Linda A. Jackson, *Stereotypes, Emotions, Behavior, and Overall Attitudes Toward Hispanics by Anglos*, Research Report 10, Julian Samora Research Institute, Michigan State University (January 1995), at <http://www.jsri.msu/RandS/research/irr/rr10.htm> (last visited July 28, 2002).

n78. *Id.*

n79. *Id.*

n80. Feagin & Feagin, *Racial and Ethnic Relations*, *supra* note 42, at 203-14.

n81. Gutierrez, *supra* note 53, at 207.

n82. See *infra* footnotes 84-88 and accompanying text.

n83. See the articles in Part XI, in *The Latino/a Condition*, *supra* note 71, at 557-595.

n84. *Id.*

n85. *Id.*

n86. Kevin R. Johnson, *Citizens as "Foreigners"*, in *The Latino/a Condition*, *supra* note 71, at 199.

n87. *Id.* (emphasis omitted).

n88. Feagin & Feagin, *Racial and Ethnic Relations*, *supra* note 42, at 201-02.

n89. Lynda Gorov, *Poor Immigrants Face New Hurdles*, *Boston Globe*, Nov. 30, 1997, at A1.

n90. Feagin & Feagin, *Racial and Ethnic Relations*, *supra* note 42, at 201.

n91. Gonzalez, *supra* note 1, at 197. The survey found that 52.1 percent of Canadian-born Americans and 57.3 percent of British-born Americans were employed in the U.S. labor force. *Id.*

n92. Marco Portales, *Crowding Out Latinos: Mexican Americans in the Public Consciousness* 156 (2000).

n93. *Id.*

n94. *Id.*

n95. See Walter R. Allen & Daniel Solorzano, *Affirmative Action, Educational Equity and Campus Racial Climate: A Case Study of the University of Michigan Law School*, [12 La Raza L.J. 237, 239 \(2001\)](#).

n96. [Id. at 277](#).

n97. Claude M. Steele & Joshua Aronson, *Stereotype Threat and the Intellectual Test Performance of African Americans*, 69 *J. of Personality & Soc. Psych.* 797, 797 (1995).

n98. *Id.*

n99. See discussion *supra* Part III.C.

- n100. James H. Johnson et al., A Profile of Hispanic Newcomers to North Carolina, 65 *Popular Gov't.* 2, 10 (Fall 1999).
- n101. Randal C. Archibold, Mount Kisco Agrees to Extend Ban on Bias against Hispanics, *N.Y. Times*, Feb. 8, 2001, at B7.
- n102. *Id.*
- n103. Press Release, National Fair Housing Advocate Online, Farmworkers Represented by CRLA & the County of Riverside Settle Major Fair Housing Case, at [http://www.fairhousing.com/news<uscore>archive/releases/crla5-23-00.htm](http://www.fairhousing.com/news/uscore>archive/releases/crla5-23-00.htm) (last visited Aug. 26, 2002).
- n104. *Id.*
- n105. Dan Rozek, Elgin Denies Housing Bias against Hispanics, *Chi. Sun-Times*, Oct. 3, 2000, at 32.
- n106. *Id.*
- n107. *Id.*
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