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RACE

Historical Contexts and Contemporary Manifestations

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Identify examples of racial segregation today, and analyze the role of our historical context in creating and maintaining contemporary segregation.
- Define race, and utilize that definition to discuss its implications on personal identity and our social context.
- Explain the historical frameworks that established the foundations for today's racial inequality.
- Describe the racial history for American Indians, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinx populations.

Years ago, a White friend of mine told me the story of the day she began to see herself as White and realized that race was at work all around her. It was a surprising story, because my friend was famous for believing racism was a thing of the past, or would soon be, with people like her who treated others with fairness and respect and ignored race. Everything changed for her when her car broke down in what was considered the “bad part of town.” She had been driving through the Black neighborhood of our city, despite having been taught by her parents and friends to take the interstate (a longer route) to avoid it. The car was able to make it into the parking lot of a liquor store and then just died.

Though it was in the middle of day, she had never stopped in the Black neighborhood alone before, and she found herself surprised by her growing fear. A Black store employee came out and brought her a bottle of water and offered to call someone if she needed. While she waited for help, two young Black men approached her. Afraid, she turned away from them and did not speak. Much to her surprise, they came up and said they had seen her car in distress and wondered if they could help. As they were checking out the car, the police pulled into the lot. The officers got out of the car, put their hands on their guns and ordered the men to the ground. The gentlemen were handcuffed and pushed to the sidewalk to sit on the curb. At that point, the police turned to my friend and asked if she was okay. She explained the situation and then watched as the officers gathered identifications and information from the two men and called in on their car radio before letting them go.

In 2009, historian Bill Rankin released a project called “Radical Cartography,” central to which was a map of Chicago that used colored dots to represent the racial makeup of the city. Using the categories of: *White*, *Black*, *Asian*, *Hispanic*, and *Other*, Rankin’s dot mapping revealed not only the racial segregation of the city, but the clear and stark lines that divide us.

Soon, others developed similar maps of various cities in the United States, and in 2013, Dustin Cable, of the Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service, published a map of the entire United States with a dot for every individual counted in the previous census. That work became part of a renewed national discussion on racial segregation. Despite the fact that the segregation reflected in the maps is historically entrenched, and that we have long examined the policies and social **ideologies** that created it, and that countless present-day studies reveal the various manifestations of it (from an increasing **racial wealth gap** to continued, and in some cases even worsening, school segregation (Orfield, Ee, Frankenberg, & Siegel-Hawley, 2016)—for some it felt like the maps presented new or unrealized information. The strong concentration of colors, the clear segregation, and the stark separations had a visceral impact, for some sadness and anger, for others shock and surprise.

It was as if the expanded awareness and opportunities our contemporary technology and global marketplace provided (designer patterns purported to be “Indigenous,” the popularization of sushi, our love of guacamole, the commercialization of hip hop, etc.) had obscured the reality of the racial segregation that marks our social world and our day-to-day lives. It is a segregation not simply about space and place, but about how we see ourselves, others, and the world, and how and why we, individually and collectively, function as we do in society. The role of multicultural psychology is to assist in understanding those relationships between individuals and their personal, as well as social (culture, class, race, gender, etc.), structural (systems, institutions, ideologies, policies, etc.), and historical context.

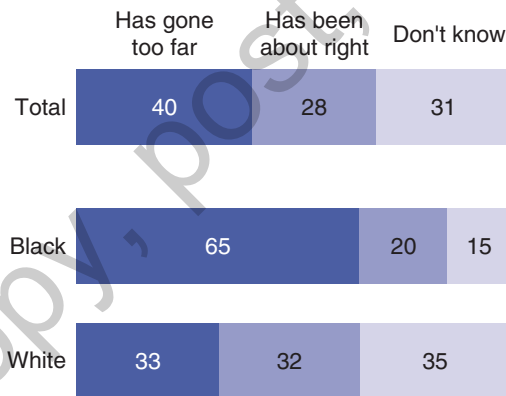
The reality and implications of that psychological, social, and spatial segregation were again on display with the national coverage of the killing of Trayvon Martin in 2012. Soon, we became aware of places like Standing Rock and Ferguson, names like Michael Brown, Sandra Bland, Tanisha Anderson, Philando Castille, Melissa Ventura,

Tamir Rice, and Jason Pero; and, most recently, George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and Ahmaud Arbery; and we became aware of movements like #ICan'tBreathe, Hands Up Don't Shoot, Say Her Name, and Black Lives Matter. Despite the expansive coverage of the deaths of people of color at the hands of police, our views on those cases often split along racial lines.

In 2014, The Pew Research Center surveyed residents of Ferguson, Missouri, following the death of Michael Brown and found that 80% of Blacks felt the grand jury made the wrong decision in the Brown case, where only 23% of Whites thought the same. Where 64% of Blacks felt that race was a major factor in that decision, only 16% of Whites saw race as a major force (Table 2.1).

TABLE 2.1 ■ Blacks and Whites Divided in Views of Police Response to Ferguson Shooting

% saying police response to shooting...



Survey conducted August 14–17, 2014. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Source: Pew Research Center [2014, August 18]. Stark Racial Divisions in Reactions to Ferguson Police Shootings. <https://www.people-press.org/2014/08/18/stark-racial-divisions-in-reactions-to-ferguson-police-shooting/>.

In analyzing these differences, Bouie (2014) argues that when you consider racial segregation, it makes sense that our views of the world around us would also break along racial lines. How and where we live impacts how we view the world. Most of us live near people of our same racial category.

Work notwithstanding, there's not much overlap between [those] worlds. "Overall," writes Robert P. Jones, of the Public Religion Research Institute, "the social networks of whites are a remarkable 93 percent white." In fact, he points out, "fully three-quarters of whites have entirely white social networks without any minority presence," a level of social homogeneity unmatched among other racial and ethnic groups. (Bouie, 2014, p. 1)

We imagine that most of us feel as if we live integrated lives, and that racial segregation is a thing of the past, but the reality is not only the pervasiveness of our residential and social segregation, but how much many of us do not even realize it is occurring.

DEFINING RACE

My brother went to a middle school that had recently begun bussing in students of color to desegregate the school's population. As an African American, he was keenly aware of the school's policy that did not allow Black and brown kids to gather in groups of more than three (a rule that was explained away as a prevention of gang activity). Nevertheless, my brother was also a big teaser, who thought he was funny. In class, one day, he took a White female classmate's Garfield pencil and was waving it around to tease her. Not amused, she told the teacher. My brother gave her back the pencil and was sent to the principal's office. My mother was called to the school that afternoon to talk about his conduct and hear the punishment. When she arrived, my brother was sitting handcuffed in the back of a police car near the school's entrance. Right before calling her, the school administrators had called the police and reported my brother for theft.

To fully understand our racial divide, our racialized social context, and their impacts on individual psyche and identity development, we must understand the term *race*, the historical context, and its contemporary manifestations. Race is, first and foremost, socially constructed. It is the meaning given to an arbitrary list of physical characteristics or phenotypes: hair texture, hair color, skin tone, bone structure, and facial features (Blumenbach in Bhopal, 2007). Creating hierarchical racial categories and projecting racial meaning onto the body worked to obscure the sociopolitical and

economic intentions of the constructions, and gave these ideas a seeming scientific weight. Race is the social, disguised as the biological; it is the produced made to seem “natural.” As Omi and Winant (2015) state, “Race has been understood as a sign of God’s pleasure or displeasure, as an indicator of evolutionary development, as a key to intelligence, and as a signifier in human geography” (p. 4).

Though race is often thought of as a set of attitudes, beliefs, and feelings, it has always operated in structures and systems. These produced racial meanings do affect how we feel and think as individuals and thus impact our behaviors and social interactions, but they were created to impact the institutions, structures, and ideologies that form the foundation of our society. How we feel about ourselves and each other, racially, is a product of just one part of the way racism and racial inequality are at work.

Some of your parents (and one of the authors of this text) grew up in the era of the “afterschool special.” It was a TV show where each episode featured a dramatization of different issues teens faced. (It was better than we’re making it sound.) It, and most every other children’s series we have seen, had a particular “special episode,” the one where someone new comes into an established social setting or group, and the new person is different from everyone else. You have likely seen enough similarly themed shows to know how the story ends. Whether it’s in a TV show or movie or book, once everyone realizes that they are more the same than different and that difference is nothing to be afraid of, social harmony is reached, the big game is won, or the play is a success or the group wins first place or everyone goes to the school dance (you get the point)—and everyone lives happily ever after. Sometimes, in TV and movies, this classic story is portrayed as a bit more complicated, and those who are different have been the victims of social inequality. In those cases, there is the cinematic hero, the lone teacher or popular kid or coach, who endures ridicule and sacrifices to make a difference, and the hero saves the day.

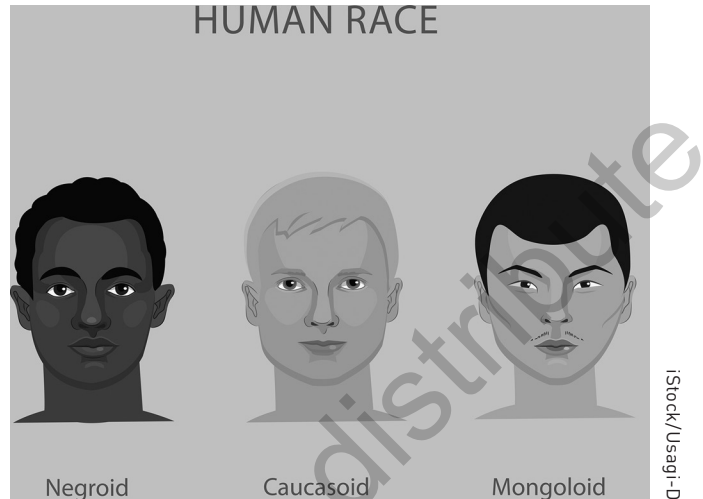
That story is a **social narrative**, a commonly shared belief or idea, but not necessarily a true one. In this case, it is a narrative where “difference” is a stand-in for race or another element of social inequality. The pervasiveness of that story has led many to see our problems around race as an attitude, as a natural, human response to difference. From

that **narrative frame**, the solution to racial inequality is simply the need to accept differences and love one another, or for a savior to step up and fight for what's right, opening the eyes of others along the way.

These stories can be inspirational, even life changing for some, but they also work to obscure the structural nature of race and racism, which can make something embedded in institutions (e.g., educational inequality)

into something we think we can fix on an individual level, armed only with “good intentions,” a good heart, and determination. A successful tutoring program in a low-income area can help a lot of individuals, but unless there is an understanding of, and an attempt to address or transform, the inequitable educational system that helped create the need for the tutoring, the program will never serve as an effective solution to the real problem. That purely individualized approach may also limit our ability to gain insight into the myriad impacts our inequitable system has on various groups or its broader social implications. To understand and successfully address the life and mind of an individual, we must understand the institutions, systems, and structures in and through which they were formed.

Part of the misconception of seeing race and racial inequality as natural and expected elements of the human experience is thinking they have always been around, but that story belies the actual history of the concepts of race and racial formation in the United States. The idea of race, as we know it today, is relatively new; most historians trace its emergence to the late 1600s or early 1700s. For centuries, socioeconomic class was the great social divide, but with the development of a racialized classification of humans (Caucasoid, Mongoloid, etc.), a new name and rationale for social inequality arose. Through European colonialization and the slave trade in Africa and the Americas, this notion of race would intertwine with class and gender and become woven into the fabric of our developing nation.



Racial classifications

SOCIOHISTORICAL CONTEXT OF OUR CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Native Peoples

In *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*, Takaki (2008) described the numerous tribes whose histories include prophecies and dreams that “had anticipated the coming of the strangers” (p. 27). He recounted a dream from an Ojibwa prophet years before the arrival of the Europeans:

Men of strange appearance have come across the great water. Their skins are white like snow, and on canoes which have great white wings like that of a giant bird. The men have long and sharp knives, and they have long black tubes which they point at birds and animals. The tubes make a smoke that rises into the air just like the smoke from our pipes. From them come fire and such terrific noise that I was frightened, even in my dream. (p. 27)

The dreams and prophecies all ended the same, with loss of native land and “death to the red man.”

Numerous European settlements in what would become the United States recorded early interactions with Native peoples, encounters that saved countless European lives and were key to colony survival. Soon, European desire for more land ultimately led to the genocide (physical and cultural) of Indigenous populations.



Burial of the dead at the battlefield of Wounded Knee

Throughout the Americas it is estimated Native American population size was reduced by more than 90%, from approximately 100 million to nearly 10 million, and land holdings by more than 97% (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2015). Specific numbers for the United States are disputed, but it is estimated that a population of somewhere between 5 million and 15 million Native Americans in 1492 was down to a mere 237,000 by the 1800s. Today, the

Indigenous population in the United States is at nearly 3 million, but they are still often seen as an “invisible” people. Their representation in popular culture, when we see their images at all, is either as romanticized (mystical, spiritual, and able to speak to nature) figures or as a tragic vestige of our past.

In a time of increasing public attention to police brutality, it has gone largely unnoticed that, according to the US Centers for Disease Control, Native Americans are killed in police encounters at a higher rate than any other racial group (Hansen, 2017).

The racializing of Native peoples became the justification for slaughter, poisonings, crop destruction, war, and massacres—all for the sake of land. The same people who brought food to starving English settlers and taught them about crop rotation, fertilization, and weed management had a new identity constructed for them—“the lazy savage.” Imagine the **cognitive dissonance** produced by a human being brutalizing another, especially if that person had helped or saved you. In order to justify our treatment of Native Americans, we had to dehumanize them, make them into something else, “**the other.**”

Takaki records,

As the English population increased and as their settlements expanded, the settlers needed even more land. To justify the taking of territory, the colonizers argued that the original inhabitants were not entitled to the land, for they lacked a work ethic. . . . Indian deaths were viewed as the destruction of devil worshippers . . . [and] what was forged in the violent dispossession of the original inhabitants was an ideology that demonized the “savages” (2008, pp. 41–42).

Figure 2.1 shows a timeline of Native American history.

FIGURE 2.1 Native American Timeline	
1142	The Great Peacemaker unites the Iroquois nations, forming first democracy.
Pre-1492	Estimates of the size of the Native American population range from 12 million to over 100 million.
1492	Columbus lands in what is now the Bahamas. Thinking it is India, he calls inhabitants “Indians.”

(Continued)

FIGURE 2.1 (Continued)

1600s	Native American knowledge is key to European settler survival.
	European settlers attack and destroy Native villages for food.
	Europeans increase in number and start exporting tobacco, need Indian land.
	Indians try to drive out settlers to preserve their land; violence escalates.
1610–1675	Indian population decreases sharply (due to violence and European diseases).
Mid-1700s	Iroquois democracy used as model for US Constitution and the uniting of the states.
1776	Jefferson declares Indians must be civilized or exterminated.
1830	Indian Removal Act passed.
1851	Indian reservations established.
1860–1978	Indian boarding school era.
Late 1800s	Indian religion/spirituality outlawed from this period until 1978.
1924	Indian Citizenship Act passed.
1968	Creation of AIM (American Indian Movement); Indian Civil Rights Act passed.
1969	Native Americans occupy Alcatraz.
2004	Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian opens.
2018	Sharice Davids (Ho-Chunk) and Deb Haaland (Laguna Pueblo) are the first Native women elected to Congress,

African Americans and the Construction of Whiteness: The Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender

The increased immigration of Europeans also signaled the need for increased labor sources. In those early years, a number of ways to meet the growing labor demands were explored—enslavement of Native Americans and Africans, the indentured service of Whites and Africans, and a wage labor force of landless Whites, Native Americans, and free and freed Africans. Before 1676, landless Whites and free or freed Africans married, had children, were friends and neighbors, and worked alongside each other as laborers. Part of the story of the “naturalness” of our racial divide is that it has always been with us, that it is an expected outcome of different people coming in contact with each other. Contrary to that narrative is the reality of our history. There were interracial communities of working-class folks, people who lived and loved and worked and rebelled together. Our nation’s history includes this time of racial integration. So what happened in 1676? Bacon’s Rebellion. It is

difficult to fully capture the impact this period in US history has had on our class, gender, and racial present and the intersecting nature of those constructs.

Increased European populations and the profitability of tobacco created a land rush, but the elite, in places like Virginia, wanted to solidify and maintain their growing wealth and political power. Among their efforts, the elite passed laws increasing the length of indentured servanthood, which limited competition for land and increased sources of labor. Landless Whites became frustrated by their economic and political limitations and, joined by free Africans, they rebelled against unfair labor practices and legislative controls. Bacon's Rebellion was born. Takaki writes, "A colonial official reported that Bacon had raised an army of soldiers 'whose fortunes and inclinations' were 'desperate.' Bacon had unleashed an armed interracial 'giddy multitude' that threatened the very foundations of social order in Virginia." Ultimately stopped, the rebellion became known as the largest to take place before the Revolution (Takaki, 2008, pp. 59–60).

Following the rebellion, the elites enacted a series of new laws designed to disempower the working class and break up the "multitude." They did so along racial lines, specifically through the deepening of the racial divide and the construction of **Whiteness**. If meaning and privilege could be given to the idea of Whiteness, then the laboring class would be divided, and thus pose less of a threat to the elite. The decision was made to concentrate on the African slave trade as the primary source of labor. "What the landed gentry systematically developed after the insurrection was a labor force based on caste" (Takaki, 2008, p. 61).

Slavery required a justification. We could not psychologically manage or ensure broader social buy-in for a system with the level of death, rape, and intentional destruction the *peculiar institution* of slavery held without making Africans *other*. Before the Constitution was written declaring that slaves would be considered three fifths human, we developed the ideas and enacted the policies that furthered the process of dehumanization. As we had seen with Native Americans before, Black maleness came to symbolize savagery and violence, and the construction of Black femaleness was formed around sexuality. Following Bacon's Rebellion, new policy helped solidify these ideas into the minds of the populace and create stereotypes and structural divides that extend into today.

Harsher slave laws were enacted, denying slaves freedom of assembly and movement. Slave militia patrols were established to monitor slave quarters and plantations to prevent runaways or unlawful assembly. It became illegal for Blacks to be educated and for Blacks to carry any kind of weapon. Expansion of the definition of who was Black led to the “one drop rule,” and by 1723, “free property-owning blacks, mulattos, and native Americans . . . were denied the right to vote” (Buck, 2016, p. 22).

Simultaneously, Whiteness had to be defined and taught to Whites. (There will be more on Whiteness in Chapter 6). A 1691 law worsened the punishment for White women who married African or Indian men, and Buck writes,

A changing panoply of specific laws molded European behavior into patterns that made slave revolt and cross-race unity more and more difficult. These laws limited, for instance, the European right to teach slaves to read. Europeans couldn't use slaves in skilled jobs, which were reserved for Europeans. Europeans had to administer prescribed punishment for slave “misbehavior” and were expected to participate in patrolling at night. They did not have the legal right to befriend Blacks. A White servant who ran away with a Black was subject to additional punishment beyond that for simply running away. European rights to free their slaves were also curtailed. (2016, p. 22)

Gender constructions and gender roles around class and race were also formed. Buck goes on to describe how, following Bacon's Rebellion, the elites developed and spread the idea of White masculinity. The underlying concept was that White superiority could be seen by how well White men were able to provide for their families. White men should work, and their wives stay home, unlike Blacks and people in Native communities, where both genders (inside and outside of the slave system) worked. The narrative of the successful White man was formed, describing men who worked and were the heads of households where women stayed home and cared for the home and children. Married White women (especially Whites who were not recent immigrants) were discouraged from wage labor with claims that “true women served only their families” (Buck, 2016, p. 24). Working-class White men became slave patrollers and plantation overseers, and were given or allowed to buy small parcels of land.

The economic benefits connected to being White helped strengthen the racial divide, but the real psychosocial work of the construction came with what W. E. B. Dubois (1935) called the “psychological wage of Whiteness,” the idea that one’s Whiteness had meaning and value, that it alone made one superior to other races. This “wage,” along with the social, political, and economic privileges given to Whites, finally and fully disrupted the earlier interracial communities.

In 1776, the nation declared that only White male landowners could vote. By 1790, only Whites could be citizens. In 1862, the Homestead Act provided free land to anyone who improved that land within five years; the only other criterion was that one had to be a citizen, which limited this benefit to only Whites. So, whether you were from a family of wealthy plantation owners in Virginia or were a newly arrived poor immigrant, if you were White, you could own land. These race-based policies around voting, citizenship, and land ownership worked in concert to further racialize class inequality. Researchers at The Economic Policy Institute argue that the biggest factor in our increasing racial wealth gap today is housing inequality. That inequality can, in large part, be traced back to The Homestead Act as well as to the housing policies of the 1920s and 1930s (e.g., redlining—more on this in Chapter 6), and the GI Bill of World War II.

The GI Bill helped returning veterans buy homes by providing funds for down payments as well as government-backed 30-year low-cost mortgages. Of the nearly \$120 billion in loans granted through the GI Bill, more than 98% went to Whites. That historically established racial wealth gap was expanded by the recent collapse of the housing market in the United States. *Harper’s Magazine* published a deposition from a Wells Fargo loan officer who described how the lender targeted members of the Black and Latino communities during the housing boom (Jacobson, 2009). As new customers to the housing market, these individuals’ lack of knowledge and experience with buying a home made them vulnerable. Instead of being given the 30-year flat-rate mortgages that most qualified for, they were often sold loan packages with adjustable rates and balloon payments. The selling of those loan packages meant a financial bonus for the loan officers, who knowingly increased the likelihood of foreclosure for their Black and brown clients.

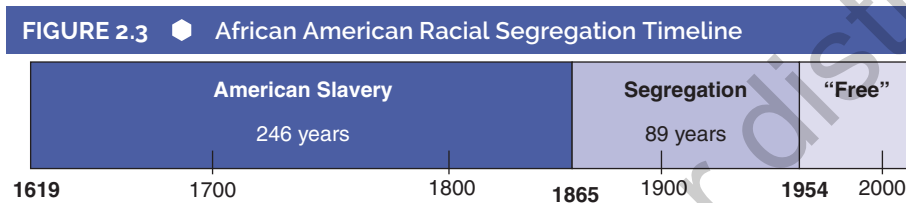
FIGURE 2.2 African American Timeline

1619	First African slaves arrive in what will become the United States.
1690	By 1690, there are slaves in every colony.
1691	Slaves are officially denied the rights to vote, hold office, and testify in court.
Mid-1800s	The Underground Railroad carries ~100,000 Africans to free states and Canada.
1863	Emancipation Proclamation ends legal slavery.
1865	Civil War ends. "40 acres and a mule" is offered and then rescinded.
1868	14th Amendment grants citizenship.
1870	15th Amendment grants the right to vote. The KKK forms.
1877	Reconstruction ends.
1881	First Jim Crow segregation laws are passed.
1896	<i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> makes "separate but equal" the law of the land.
1905	W. E. B. Dubois starts the Niagara Movement, which becomes the NAACP in 1909.
1920s	Harlem Renaissance—explosion of artistic, intellectual, and political efforts.
1954	<i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> ends legal segregation in schools.
1963	March on Washington; King delivers "I Have a Dream" speech.
1964	Civil Rights Act is passed.
1965	Voting Rights Act is passed.
1989	Oprah Winfrey becomes the first African American to own her own TV and film production company.
2008	Barack Obama is elected as first Black president of the United States.
2013	#BlackLivesMatter brings new awareness to police brutality associated with African American people.
2018	<i>Black Panther</i> becomes the highest-grossing solo superhero film, refocuses emergence of Afrofuturism.

Attitudes, policies, and inequalities established in our past are still seen within today's raced and gendered homeownership levels, home values, and wage inequity. A recent Institute for Policy Studies (2019) report found that between 1983 and 2013, the median wealth of a Black household declined 75% (from \$6,800 to \$1,700), and that the median Latino household wealth declined 50% (from \$4,000 to \$2,000). At the same time, wealth for the median White household *increased* 14% from \$102,000 to \$116,800.

The idea of race, what it means to be Black and what it means to be White, has been constructed, enacted, and entrenched. The concepts became part of our sense of self

and others; thus, our attitudes and behaviors are impacted, but more than that, race has been embedded in our laws, policies, and economic and political systems. Far from “natural,” the path to race, race relations, and racial inequality in the United States was designed with purpose and intent. Understanding that sociohistorical context and the structural nature of race is key to understanding the psyches and individuals that it produces. A racial segregation timeline is given in Figure 2.2, and a table showing major events in African American history is shown in Figure 2.3.



ASIAN AMERICANS

For Asian Americans, that very term raises a number of issues, from the way in which it obscures the extraordinary diversity contained within this group (more than 20 nations, cultures, histories, etc. in the United States alone) to the use of “American” for a population ironically seen as “the perpetual foreigner.” Neither of the authors of this text can count the number of times Asian American students have told us the story of being praised for their command of the English language and of being asked, “Where are you from?” followed by, “Where are you really from?” when the answer of Chicago or New Orleans or Fresno isn’t enough. Asian Americans are often seen as not really American; they are often betrayed in popular culture with heavy accents, but little ethnic or national specificity, they are “Asian,” and thus *other*.

Early encounters, and the beginning of Asian racial constructions in the United States, began in the 1800s with the Chinese and Japanese. In *Orientalism: Asian Americans in Popular Culture*, Lee (1999) argues that there are six “faces” or images that make up the racial construction of Asian Americans—the “pollutant,” the “coolie,” the deviant, the yellow peril, the model minority, and the “gook,” each one constructed at “a specific historical moment, marked by a shift in class relations accompanied by cultural crisis” (p. 8). He goes on to write that

some studies attribute hostilities towards Asian immigrants directly to economic competition and the creation of an ethnically defined segmented labor market. They provide us with an economic framework for understanding the dynamics of class and race and a map of the economic terrain on which anti-Asian hostility has been built (pp. 5–6).

In other words, the coolie representations of the Chinese were developed at a time when the Chinese laborer was seen as a threat to White labor. Politically, these representations formed the backdrop to the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which barred all Chinese immigration; it was the first federal law that targeted a specific ethnic group. Similarly, a report from the US government’s Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, “Personal Justice Denied” (Kashima, 1997), concluded that the economic threat that White West Coast farmers felt from Japanese agricultural success formed “part of the impetus for the incarceration of the Japanese” (p. 42) during World War II. Figure 2.4 shows a timeline of Asian American history.

FIGURE 2.4 ● Asian American Timeline

Late 1700s	First period of Asian Pacific immigration.
1820s	Cohort of Chinese men immigrate and work in railroads and mines.
1882	Chinese Exclusion Act (restricting immigration) is passed.
1908	Gentleman’s Agreement brings wave of Japanese immigrants.
Early 1900s	Numerous Asian groups are brought to Hawaii for labor.
World War II	Japanese Americans are interned.
1943	Chinese Exclusion Act is repealed.
1946	Immigration opportunities for Filipinos and Asian Indians increase.
1952	McCarran-Walter Act allows Asians to become US citizens.
1979–1980s	Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, and Hmong refugees come to the United States, fleeing war.
1970–1990s	500,000+ Koreans immigrate to the United States.
1982	Murder of Vincent Chin marks beginning of panethnic Asian American movement.
1989	President Bush approves reparations for Japanese American internment.
2001	Elaine Chao is first Asian American woman appointed to the president’s Cabinet.
2010	Asian immigration surpasses immigration from Latin America.
2018	<i>Crazy Rich Asians</i> is the first Hollywood film in 25 years with an Asian cast.

Asian Americans may soon become the fastest growing immigrant group in the United States. According to Pew research (Lopez, Ruiz, & Patten, 2017), the Asian immigrant population grew 72% from 2000 to 2015.

LATINX

Despite the statistics for Asians, the population most of us think of when the issue of immigration is raised is Mexicans. The irony is not lost on Californians like us, who are writing about Latinx immigration on land that was once part of Mexico. As the saying goes, the story of Mexicans in the United States didn't start with Mexicans crossing the borders, but with the border crossing Mexicans.

The term *Latinx* is a gender-neutral alternative to *Latino*. It is unusual to be discussing Latinx in a chapter on race, since it is not a race. **Chicanx/Latinx** are a mestizo people: mixed—various combinations of the Indigenous peoples of the Americas, the European colonizers of those lands (Spanish, Portuguese, etc.), and the Africans who came as free and slave labor. That racial complexity is just part of a diversity that includes a myriad of nations of origin, histories, and cultures. Today, that complexity is increased by the politicization of the issues surrounding immigration, deportation policies, and economic inequity in Latinx communities in the United States. Figure 2.5 shows a timeline of Latinx history.

FIGURE 2.5 ◆ Latinx Timeline

1598	New Mexico is settled by Spain.
1769	Spanish missions are established.
1821	Mexico takes over control of New Mexico and over 3,000 Mexicans in California.
1846	Mexican American War.
1848	Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo establishes land grants.
1851	Land grants are declared no longer valid.
1898	Spanish American War—United States colonizes Puerto Rico, mandates English as instructional language.
1902	Cuba gains independence from the United States.
1903	Mexican-Japanese farmer workers union is established.
1912	New Mexico enters the union as an official bilingual state.

(Continued)

FIGURE 2.5 (Continued)

1917	Jones Act grants citizenship to Puerto Ricans.
1942	Following mass deportations in the 1930s, the Bracero Program brings in needed Mexican laborers.
1943	Zoot suit riots are seen as the start of the Latinx civil rights movement.
1945	<i>Mendez v. Westminster</i> makes school segregation of Latinx children illegal.
1965	Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez start the United Farm Workers union.
2003	Latinx surpasses African Americans as largest US minority group.
2009	Sonia Sotomayor sworn in as the first Latina Supreme Court justice.
2012	President Barack Obama signs Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) into law.
2015	Puerto Rican American Lin-Manuel Miranda writes and stars in <i>Hamilton</i> , the winner of the 2016 Pulitzer Prize for drama and one of the all-time highest grossing productions.

CONCLUSION

Today's racial climate, our interactions within and between racial groups, and our racialized identities all emerge from our history. More than a set of attitudes and behaviors, race is embedded and operationalized in our institutions, systems, structures, and social practices. The psychologist Beverly Tatum describes race as an unavoidable smog: "Sometimes it is so thick it is visible, other times it is less apparent, but always, day in and day out, we are [all] breathing it in" (2017, p. 6). For some of us that "smog" reflects an oppressive system we must learn to navigate. For others, the smog is nearly invisible or unknown, whether from ignorance or "ignore(ance)" (not wanting to know or intentionally ignoring). Still others are finding themselves and clarity as they work through the dissonance created when reality/history reveal our internalized false social narratives.

Back to the police shootings from earlier in the chapter. To see them as a new phenomenon is to miss the long history of racial violence, from Indian wars to slave patrols to lynchings to today's racial climate. To see immigration as only a current political hot button is to miss the foundational role of economic policies and social ideologies of the past (and today), on which the current political moment is based. To see racial segregation as an issue of preference or a product of individual success is to miss the intentional policies designed to create and sustain the inequalities that are its foundation.

A few years ago, one of us (DI) team-taught a course called Global Origins of US Cultures with a colleague in the ethnic studies department who regularly utilizes community-based research as a pedagogical tool. She devised a final project for our classes that centered on that approach. From her own research, she knew that our largely White, affluent college town had a long, rich, and varied ethnic history. What we then required of students was to form groups and explore an ethnic population that used to live in the city of San Luis Obispo. They were tasked with finding out where and how the population lived, and most important, why they were no longer there.

At the end of the quarter, we put on a bike tour of San Luis Obispo's ethnic history. Campus and community members could follow our designated route through those historical neighborhoods and hear student presentations of their findings at each stop. The research alone had value, but the biggest lesson for our students, and the tour participants, was how much we could not trust our own stories, what we thought we knew, what we saw as the reality of our social world. Students, and many residents, thought of San Luis Obispo as happenstantially White and affluent. Most thought that the proximity to the ocean and the nature of the small, rural, college town simply drew a wealthier and Whiter population.

What they found among the histories was that there had been a large and vibrant Chinese community, one that was instrumental in building the roads in the area, but that was eventually seen as a threat to White labor and forced out of jobs and out of town. There was also a strong Japanese community, one of California's Japanese farming communities that were responsible for nearly 40% of the state's vegetable production before World War II. The members of this community lost their homes and farms when they were interned during the war. And the stories went on. The students found that the Whiteness they currently experience in San Luis Obispo is not "natural" and was not inevitable; it has its roots in the racialized economic, political, and social policies of the past.

Multicultural psychology draws attention to the need to understand the social context of an individual as central to understanding the individual. Insight into one's psyche does not begin and end with that person. We all come to self in a social network and milieu, and that environment is embedded within and emergent from a sociohistorical foundation. Constructions of race and gender were not simply ideas. Those concepts became shared narratives, they informed policy, institutions, and

social practice. We internalized them. These constructions informed our sense of ourselves and others. It is clear, in order to effectively build relationship, counsel, assess, advise, or analyze, we must start with an understanding of the workings and operational nature of race. That understanding is the foundation for effective use of **culturally responsive counseling**.

ACT: Assess Your Knowledge, Critical Thinking, Take Part

Assess Your Knowledge

- Watch the PBS video *Race: The Power of an Illusion* (parts 1 and 2) (www.pbs.org/race), and compare the information in it to what you've heard about race and what you've learned about US history.
- Visit the Radical Cartography website (www.radicalcartography.net), and use the interactive maps to explore the nature of the racial segregation in your hometown and your college town.

Critical Thinking

- Look up a “how segregated is your city” map for your hometown, and reflect on how the demographics/race and class segregation of your city had an impact on you: schooling, community resources, cultural capital acquisition, experiences with people of other races, et cetera.
- What impact might it have had on people of other racial categories?
- Construct your own racial journal exploring the role of our racial history (immigration policy, housing segregation, slavery, etc.) on your life.
- Watch Kimberley Crenshaw's (2016) TED Talk on intersectionality.

Take Part

Participation: Replicate the class assignment described above by investigating the racial history of the town you live in right now. Which racial/ethnic groups live there, and when and why did they come, or are they indigenous to that place? Who was there before, when, and why did they leave?

Initiation: Then expose that history, start a conversation, make your findings part of a class assignment or presentation.

Activism: Identify the ways that racial inequality is most evident in the town you live in and trace its historical foundations. Locate the individuals or organizations working to address those issues, and develop ways for college students or your college itself to support their efforts.