Chic/Lat 223/SOC 234:

ETHNIC AMERICA: THEORIES OF ETHNICITY (69780)

Instructor Information

Rubén G. Rumbaut

Email: rrumbaut@uci.edu

Phone: (949) 824-2495

Office Location: 2293 Social Sciences Plaza B

Meeting Information

• Room: SBSG 1321

• Day & time: Wednesdays 2:00 pm to 4:50 pm

Class Information

SOCIOL 234

ETHNIC AMERICA: THEORIES OF ETHNICITY

Course Code: 69780Term: Spring Qtr 2019

Disability Accommodations:

If you have a disability, or believe you may have a disability, please reach out to the Disability Services Center (https://dsc.uci.edu/) for information on how to seek accommodation.

UCI STUDENT CODE OF CONDUCT

There is detailed information on policies in regards to cheating, plagiarism, and academic integrity that is listed in The UCI Student Conduct Code document. The link is listed below. Please review and familiarize yourself with the policies. If you have any questions or any policy is unclear please reach out to your academic advisor for clarification.

https://aisc.uci.edu/policies/pacaos/uc_uci_policies.pdf.

Information

In addition to other course readings posted below (pdf files at links), we will read from the following books:

- (1) <u>The Scholar Denied: W.E.B. DuBois and the Birth of Modern Sociology</u>, by Aldon Morris (University of California Press,
- 2017): https://www.ucpress.edu/book.php?isbn=9780520286764 (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.
- (2) <u>The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America</u>, by Khalil Gibran Muhammad (Harvard University Press,
- 2011): https://www.amazon.com/Condemnation-Blackness-Making-Modern-America/dp/0674062116 (Links to an external site.) Links to an external site.
- (3) <u>The Politics of Losing: Trump, the Klan, and the Mainstreaming of Resentment</u>, by Rory McVeigh and Kevin Estep (Columbia University Press, 2019): <u>https://cup.columbia.edu/book/the-politics-of-losing/9780231190060 (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.</u> [30% discount with coupon = CUP30]
- (4) <u>Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism</u>, by Chris Zepeda-Millán (Cambridge University Press, 2017): https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/latino-mass-mobilization/4F6220F060D66240CCCEABB81B478A23 (Links to an external site.) Links to an external site.
- (5) <u>Returned: Going and Coming in an Age of Deportation</u>, by Deborah Roehm (University of California Press, 2016): <u>https://www.ucpress.edu/book.php?isbn=9780520287082 (Links to an external site.</u>)Links to an external site.

Class Files

- Soc 234: Seminar agenda, and discussants of weekly readings
- Pigments of Our Imagination: On the Racialization and Racial Identities of "Hispanics" and "Latinos"

Chapter 1 in "How the U.S. Racializes Latinos: White Hegemony and Its Consequences."

• Immigration and Crime and the Criminalization of Immigration

More than a century of evidence shows that fears that immigration leads to crime and delinquency are unfounded. But the criminalization of immigration operates on a different logic, is bred in conditions that precipitate moral panics, fueled by media coverage of singular events, and catalyzed by demagogues seeking political gain by scapegoating vulnerable foreign-born groups.

IMMIGRATION STORIES: Conceiving ourselves as a nation

The tales behind leading Supreme Court cases in their historical contexts: on the Chinese Exclusion Acts of the 1880s and 1890s, and on the litigation that affirmed birthright citizenship in Wong Kim Ark v. U.S.

• La Gran Marcha - Los Angeles, 3-25-2006

About a million people marched in Los Angeles for Immigrant Rights on March 25, 2006 -- the largest such march in California history, and one of the largest protest marches for any reason in U.S. history. (Photos by RGR.)

- On White Nationalism's Deep American Roots The Atlantic, 2019
- The Second Ku-Klux-Klan (Linda Gordon, 2017)
- The Paranoid Style in American Politics Harpers Magazine, 1964
- The Unwanted: Immigration and Nativism in the United States

It's hardly news that the complaints of our latter-day nativists and immigration restrictionists resonate with the nativist arguments of some three centuries of American history. Many of the immigrants who were demeaned by one generation, or their children and grandchildren, later joined those who attacked and disparaged the next arrivals with the same vehemence that had been leveled against them or their forebears. Similarly, the sweeps and detentions of immigrants during the early decades of the last century were not terribly different from the heavy-handed federal, state, and local raids of recent years to round up, detain and deport undocumented immigrants & sometimes legal residents and U.S. citizens along with them. But it's also well to remember that nativism, xenophobia, and racism are hardly uniquely American phenomena. What makes them significant in the U.S. is that they run counter to the nation's founding ideals.

• Opportunity and Exclusion: A Brief History of US Immigration Policy

The United States and the colonial society that preceded it were created by successive waves of immigration from all corners of the globe. But public and political attitudes towards immigrants have always been ambivalent, contradictory, sometimes hostile. The early immigrants to colonial America—from England, France, Germany, and other countries in northwest Europe—often relied upon the labor of African slaves working land taken from Native Americans. The descendants of these first European immigrants sometimes viewed as "racially" and religiously suspect the European immigrants who came to the United States in the late 1800s from Italy, Poland, Russia, and elsewhere in southeast Europe. The descendants of these immigrants, in turn, have often taken a dim view of the growing numbers of Latin American, Asian, and African immigrants who began to arrive in the second half of the 20th century. Not surprisingly, this collective ambivalence about immigrants is reflected in U.S. immigration policies as well.

• Inclusion/Exclusion: Key U.S. Immigration Laws in Historical Contexts

Review of: Naturalization Act of 1790; 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act (not repealed until 1943); Immigration Act of 1917 (Asiatic Barred Zone); Immigration Restriction Act of 1921 (Emergency Quota Act); National Origins Quota Act of 1924 (Johnson–Reed Act); 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) (McCarran–Walter Act); Immigration Act of 1965 (Hart–Celler Act); Refugee Act of 1980; Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) (Simpson-Mazzoli Act); Immigration Act of 1990; 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform & Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA).

• A Lesson in Equal Protection: Plyler v. Doe

On June 15, 1982, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled 5-4 that a Texas law effectively barred undocumented children from attending public schools -- a violation of the Equal Protection clause of the 14th Amendment. That quintessential Texas story has profoundly affected families and school districts throughout the U.S. for the past 35 years. Because of Plyler v. Doe, hundreds of thousands of children have gone to school who otherwise would not have. It stands as arguably the most important civil rights SCOTUS decision since Brown.

• Plyler v. Doe: Still Guaranteeing Undocumented Immigrant Children's Right to Attend US Public Schools

Since the mid-2000s, states and localities frustrated with the federal government's inaction on immigration have passed a range of laws, many targeting undocumented immigrants. Such laws have ignited numerous legal battles, most famously in Arizona. But when it comes to education, states and localities cannot override the right of every child, no
by matter his or her immigration status, to attend a US public school from kindergarten through 12th grade. In 1982, the US Supreme Court upheld this right in the landmark case Plyler v. Doe. The original Plyler case has proven quite resilient, fending off litigation and federal and state legislative efforts to overturn it, and nurturing efforts to extend its reach to college students. It has helped ensure the integration of children born outside the U.S. at a time when the country's immigrant population has increased from about 20 million in 1990 to 44 million today. This article examines the original Plyler case and the continuing direct and indirect challenges to it.

• On the Past and Future of American Immigration and Ethnic History (2006)

Much of American sociology gained its impetus and its disciplinary identity a century ago via the empirical study of mass immigration & the adaptations in U.S. cities of an unprecedented diversity of newcomers ("the fifty barbarian tribes of Europe," as Israel Zangwill would depict them in his 1908 Broadway hit "The Melting Pot"). But by mid-century immigration was already "a dimly remote memory, generations away, which had influenced the past but appeared unlikely to count for much in the present or future"; and "ethnicity," not a common word in 1950, seemed then "a fading phenomenon, a quaint part of the national heritage, but one likely to diminish steadily in practical importance." There was little scholarly work being done in the sociology of immigration and ethnicity until relatively recently. Indeed, it was precisely when immigration became "a thing of the past" that historians surged to study it, while sociologists turned to more contemporary concerns (what became glossed as "race and ethnic relations"). Doctoral students at leading universities were advised by their mentors as late as the 1980s to avoid writing their dissertations on such topics, since immigration was not a "field" or even a recognized section of the American Sociological Association. There was "no there there," then. But by every measure the field has seen explosive growth since; the ASA's

International Migration Section was established in 1994 and has grown and flourished to date... What is its future?

- Creating Crimmigration
- Immigration Enforcement in the United States: The Rise of a Formidable Machinery
- The Forgotten 'Repatriation' of Persons of Mexican Ancestry
- How Many Presidents Does It Take to Deport 11 Million People?
- The Burden of Deportation on Children in Mexican Immigrant Families (Dreby, 2012)
- Detention, Deportation, Devastation: Their Disproportionate Effects on the Latino Community (2014)
- Misreading America? Samuel Huntington and the Mexican Threat to the American Dream (2006)

Related Links

• W.E.B. Du Bois' Hand-Drawn Infographics of African-American Life (1900) (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.

W.E.B. Du Bois — sociologist, historian, Pan-Africanist, activist, prolific author — also had a fine eye for graphic design. Born in 1868 in Mass., Du Bois studied at Fisk University, Humboldt University in Berlin, and Harvard (where he was the first African American to earn a doctorate). In 1897 he became a professor of history, sociology and economics at Atlanta University. Two years later he published his first major academic work, The Philadelphia Negro (1899), a detailed and comprehensive sociological study of the African-American people of Philadelphia, based on his earlier field work. The following year, along with two collaborators, Du Bois traveled to Europe, to the First Pan-African Conference held in London, and then to the Paris Exposition to present a ground-breaking exhibition on the state of African-American life — "The Exhibit of American Negroes" — which, according to Du Bois, attempted to show "(a) The history of the American Negro, (b) his present condition, (c) education, and (d) literature." The exhibition featured 58 stunning hand-drawn charts created by Du Bois and his students at Atlanta, many of which are presented here.

Confessions of a Former Border Patrol Agent (Links to an external site.) Links to an external site.

The author, Francisco Cantú, was a US Border Patrol agent from 2008 to 2012, working in the deserts of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. (He is the recipient of a 2017 Whiting Award.) His essay is adapted from "The Line Becomes a River: Dispatches from the Border" (2018). A deeply humanizing, beautifully written, illuminating story of our present immigration predicament.

- <u>The Grave Threats of White Supremacy and Far-Right Extremism</u> (Links to an external site.) <u>Links to an external site</u>.
- Hate crimes are on the rise. Police and prosecutors need better tools to fight back.
- <u>Trump Is Fetishizing Death to Justify His Cruelty at the Border</u> (Links to an external site.Links to an external sitThe president is furthering a legacy of brutality that stretches back to the Mexican-American War
- United States Immigration Laws (Links to an external site.) Links to an external site.
- <u>Amicus Brief to the US Supreme Court on President Trump's "Travel Ban 3.0"</u> (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.

The US Supreme Court will hear arguments on President Trump's travel ban 3.0 on April 25, 2018. Like the first 2 versions, the current travel ban recalls an era of overt bias in immigration that Congress ended in 1965. This Amicus Curiae ("friend of the court") brief in Hawaii v. Trump frames the travel ban as an effort to resurrect the national origin quotas that the 1965 Congress discarded. The brief narrates the history of the Immigration and Nationality Act, a statute that has been compared second in complexity to the US tax code and contains Congress's vision of who should be admitted into the US, the reasons a person may be excludable or deportable from the US, and the terms under which a person may seek a waiver or reprieve from deportation.

• <u>How crossing the US-Mexico border became a crime</u> (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.

It was not always a crime to enter the US without authorization. In fact, for most of American history, immigrants could enter the US without official permission and not fear criminal prosecution by the federal government. That changed in 1929, when Congress outlawed border crossings with the specific intent of criminalizing, prosecuting and imprisoning Mexican immigrants.

• <u>How Criminalizing Communities of Color Has Driven the Anti-Immigrant Narrative</u> (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.

The precursors of the current anti-immigrant movement are found in the decades-long effort to politicize crime. During the 1960s and 1970s, civil rights protesters were labelled "criminals" and "thugs," serving to squelch political dissent. In the 1980s the "new Jim Crow" era of mass incarceration began in earnest. A trio of 1990s bills ushered in a severe crackdown on immigrants, exacerbated post-9/11 with an era of mass deportations without precedent.

• <u>"IMMIGRANTS ARE NOT CRIMINALS"</u>: Respectability, Immigration Reform, and Hyperincarceration (2016) (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.

Across all areas of law reform, policy makers and advocates have sought to generate empathy for groups of people by invoking a contrast with others. In drawing a contrast between a favored group and others who are degenerate, deviant or less deserving, the "politics of respectability" depends on a contrast with an "out-" or deviant group. Racial justice proponents, much more than immigration reformers, have made significant headway in moving beyond respectability politics, especially when critiquing hyperincarceration. This Article describes a different conceptualization of immigrants and crime as well as examples of how certain immigration reform groups have sought to implement aspects of this alternate frame.

- <u>The Criminalization of Immigration in the United States (2015)</u> (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.
- <u>Border Criminologies: Foreigners in a Carceral Age</u> (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.

(Highly recommended.) Based at the Centre for Criminology at the University of Oxford, Border Criminologies brings together academics, practitioners and those who have experienced border control from around the world. Showcasing original research from a range of perspectives, we hope to better understand the effect of border control and to explore alternatives. Through an emphasis on visual resources and first hand accounts we hope to flesh out our understanding of the lived

experience of law and policy and to develop the emerging field of inquiry into border control within criminology.

• Forgotten Citizens: Deportation, Children, and the Making of American Exiles and Orphans (Zayas, 2015) (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.

The United States Constitution insures that all persons born in the US are citizens with equal protection under the law. But in the US today, US-born children of undocumented immigrants--over four million of them--do not enjoy fully the benefits of citizenship or of feeling that they belong. Children in mixed-status families are forgotten in the loud and discordant immigration debate. They live under the constant threat that their parents will suddenly be deported. Their parents face impossible decisions: make their children exiles or make them orphans.

• [US]America's Forgotten History Of Mexican-American 'Repatriation' (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.

Mass deportations of Mexican immigrants from the U.S. date to the Great Depression, when the federal government began a wave of deportations rather than include Mexican-born workers in New Deal welfare programs. According to historian Francisco Balderrama, the U.S. deported over 1 million Mexican nationals, 60 percent of whom were U.S. citizens of Mexican descent, during the 1930s. Balderrama told Fresh Air's Terry Gross that the program was referred to as "repatriation" to give it the sense of being voluntary. In reality, though, it was anything but.

• "Operation Wetback:" The Largest Mass Deportation in American History? (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.

Hundreds of thousands were swept up in the Eisenhower-era campaign with a racist name, which was designed to root out undocumented Mexicans from American society. The short-lived 1954 operation used military-style tactics to remove Mexican immigrants—some of them American citizens—from the United States. Though millions of Mexicans had legally entered the country through joint immigration programs in the first half of the 20th century, Operation Wetback was designed to send them back to Mexico. With the help of the Mexican government, which sought the return of Mexican nationals to alleviate a labor shortage, Border Patrol agents and local officials used military techniques and engaged in a coordinated, tactical operation to remove the immigrants. Along the way, they used widespread racial stereotypes to justify their sometimes brutal treatment of immigrants. Inside the United States, anti-Mexican sentiment was pervasive, and harsh portrayals of Mexican immigrants as dirty, disease-bearing and irresponsible were the norm.

• The Bath Riots: Indignity along the Mexican Border (Links to an external site.) Links to an external site.

For decades, U.S. health authorities used noxious, often toxic chemicals to delouse Mexicans seeking to cross the border into the United States. A new book tells the story of what happened when a 17-year-old Mexican maid refused to take a gasoline bath and convinced 30 other trolley passengers in 1917 to do the same. Listen to the story on NPR's Weekend Edition.

• The Shame of America's Family Detention Camps (2015) (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.

The New York Times details the government's dangerous and expanding practice of detaining women and children who have recently crossed our southwest border in the magazine's cover story this weekend "The Shame of America's Family Detention Camps." The facility the Times describes in Artesia, New Mexico, has since been shuttered, but the newly opened Dilley facility along with the Karnes detention center, both in Texas, reflect the Obama administration's ongoing and flawed strategy of detaining and rapidly deporting women and children back to the world's most dangerous nations —with little regard to due process— in order to "send a message of deterrence."

• The Artesia Report (Links to an external site.) Links to an external site.

[Stephen Manning's must-read article, with amazing graphics and video, on a unique effort coordinated by AILA and the American Immigration Council at the family detention center in Artesia, New Mexico — the AILA-AIC Artesia Pro Bono Project:] "The summer of 2014 was extraordinary. The geopolitics of Central America created a humanitarian crisis that the domestic politics of the United States converted into an inhumane mass deportation policy. By May 2014, the crisis in Central America had fueled a notable migration of women and children who were seeking safety—literally fleeing for their very lives. [Yet] the very real humanitarian crisis in May 2014 was officially recognized as a national security threat in June 2014 — not because there was any change in the actual facts on the ground, but for political reasons. The frame that the humanitarian crisis constituted a national security threat—a threat comprised of children and women, by and large—became an optical filter that bent normal principles of justice and fairness into a tiny void where a cynical governmental response formed: the women and children, regardless of the particular facts in their particular lives, must be deported for political purposes. Indeed, the Administration's decision to deport them was made before any of the women sent to Artesia had been interviewed..."

• An Immigrant's Journey Atop "La Bestia" (2013) (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.

From the Mexico-Guatemala border -- where Central American immigrants cross the Suchiate River, beginning their long and perilous journey north through Mexico -- travel with some of the thousands of immigrants who ride atop freight trains, known as "la Bestia," toward the U.S. border. Riders on the Beast risk a great deal -- robbery and assault by gangs who control the train tops, or the loss of life or limb in a fall. Only a fraction of the immigrants who start the journey in Central America will traverse Mexico completely unscathed -- and all this before illegally entering the U.S. and facing the considerable U.S. border security apparatus designed to track, detain, and deport them. These images capture not only their difficult journey but the faces of these travelers, telling their stories through compelling portraits taken in shelters and jails along the way.

- <u>Riding 'The Beast': Interview with Salvadoran Journalist Oscar Martínez</u> (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.
- No Undocumented Child Left Behind (2012) (Links to an external site.) Links to an external site.
- Afro-Latin Americans. (Links to an external site.)Links to an external site.

Special issue of ReVista: Harvard Review of Latin America (Winter 2018).