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The Illusive Race Question & Class:

A Bacteria That Constantly Mutates

by Rodolfo F. Acuña, Ph.D.
California State University, Northridge

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Abstract

Racism resembles bacteria. It has an uncanny ability to resist cures. Like bacteria, racism includes variants with unusual traits which have the ability to withstand an antibiotic attack on a microbe. For the moment the drug or laws kill the defenseless bacteria, "leaving behind — or 'selecting,' in biological terms — those that can resist it. These renegade bacteria then multiply, increasing their numbers a millionfold in a day, becoming the predominant microorganism." My point is that we once believed that racism had been defined and that we were on our way to eradicate this ugly social disease only to find it active and well, but in another form.

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Rodolfo F. Acuña was the Founding Chair and a Professor of Chicano Studies at California State University, Northridge. His accolades include the California Faculty Associations Academic Freedom Award, the Southern California Social Science Library's Emil Freed Award, and the Dr. Ernesto Galarza Award for Distinguished Community Activist and Scholarship.

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The Illusive Race Question and Class:

A Bacteria that Constantly Mutates

"Bacteria consist of only a single cell, but don't let their small size and seeming simplicity fool you. They're an amazingly complex and fascinating group of creatures. Bacteria have been found that can live in temperatures above the boiling point and in cold that would freeze your blood. They "eat" everything from sugar and starch to sunlight, sulfur and iron. There's even a species of bacteria — Deinococcus radiodurans — that can withstand blasts of radiation 1,000 times greater than would kill a human being."

Source: Stalking the Mysterious Microbe!
http://www.microbe.org/microbes/bacterium1.asp

Racism resembles bacteria. It has an uncanny ability to resist cures. Like bacteria, racism includes variants with unusual traits which have the ability to withstand an antibiotic attack on a microbe. For the moment the remedy kills the bacteria, "leaving behind — or 'selecting,' in biological terms — those that can resist it. These renegade bacteria then multiply, increasing their numbers a millionfold in a day, becoming the predominant microorganism."[1]

Racism is similar to bacteria. We once believed that we had defined racism and that we were on our way to curing this ugly social disease only to find racism in another form.

Race in America

Thirty-five years ago, it was easy to tell the good guys from the bad. But, today even the good old boys invoke the name of Martin Luther King. According to their reasoning, Dr. King would have been against affirmative action because it was reverse racism. George W. Bush talks and acts like a cracker, yet one would have a hard time arguing that he was a racist when his main back-up on his cabinet is black. Or, for that matter, he can wheel out a "little brown" nephew on the campaign trail as proof that he loves Mexicans. It is hard to call the Bushes racist when their mistresses of choice are Mexican women. Still, his policies hurt the poorest the most -- who are in the majority people of color.

The illusiveness of race and the failure of the Latino community to recognize it shook me during the 2004 Election. Just 10 years before, California Latinos had overwhelmingly voted against Proposition 187, perceiving it as a racist attack. Pete Wilson became a symbol of this racism and Republicans could not get enough Latino votes to be elected statewide. In 2004, not only did more than 40% nationally vote for "W," but they also voted for Arnold Schwarzenegger, "the Terminator." The African-American community maintained their coalition intact, but cracks were appearing. Moreover, due to a declining population and dispersal, the Black community was losing political power, which meant that there would fewer Ron Dellums.

MALE	FEMALE	OFFSPRING
Spaniard	Amerindian	Mestizo
Spaniard	Negro	Mulatto
Spaniard	Mestiza	Castizo
Castizo	EspaNola	Castizo
Español	Castiza	Español
Spaniard	Mulatta	Morisco
Morisco	Española	Chino
Chino	Amerindian	Salto atras
Salto atras	Mulata	Lobo
Lobo	Negro	Gibaro
Gibaro	Mulata	Alborazado
Alborazado	Negro	Cambujo
Cambujo	Amerindian	Zambaigo
Zambaigo	Loba	Campamulatto
Calpo mulato	Cambuja	Tente en el aire
Tente en el aire	Mulata	No te entiendo
No te entiendo	India	Torna atras

Source: *Leslie B. Rout, Jr., The African Experience in Spanish America (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976): 130. http://grad.cgu.edu/~ruffinh/webpage/raceclassification.htm*

In order to explain and fight white privilege, we have to explain why the Latino community was unable to recognize or vote its race and class interests. As a group, Latinos are now 15% of the population and progressives can no longer afford to ignore them or write off the 2004 elections as aberrations. Aside from color, the Black experience has included more than 200 years of civil rights struggle. Among the Latino groups only the Mexicans and the Puerto Ricans have this kind of history. The lack of exposure to the U.S. bacteria leaves them without a language to define racism and it, therefore, goes unnoticed. Fortunately, there are many within that community that recognize the danger.

The truth be told, most nonwhite groups have fought for the right to be white or at least near white. Being white carries entitlements or privileges. African Americans realized that being lighter meant a relief from back breaking fieldwork. Indians in Colonial Mexico recognized if they were mestizos they no longer had to pay tribute in form of labor. Whether one was considered white or not always depended on the will of the dominant society. In the case of U.S. Mexicans this has been like a faucet, one minute it is on and the next minute it is off. Very early in the occupation of the Southwest, white merchants -- in the absence of white women -- labeled selected Mexican women "Castillian" and married them. This lasted for a brief time and was withdrawn when white women became available.

However, we cannot understand racism as it relates to Latinos solely be understanding the U.S. experience. Mexicans, for example, brought a legacy of 300 years of colonialism. Race classification differed from the U.S. where a drop of Indian or African blood made them nonwhite. Passing was much more intense in Mexico than it was in the United States largely because it was possible to move up in racial categories. In New Spain, there were at least 18 different classifications for males and females, with the most entitled being Spanish, and the least being African or Indian depending on whether one was a slave.

By late in the colonial period, these lines were blurred and the castas, as they were called, moved themselves up in categories to gain more privileges. Lighter skinned mestizos and mulatos sometimes became criollos, Spaniards born in the New World.[2]

Anthropologist Eric Wolf wrote in his *Sons of the Shaking Earth:*

> *The total number of Spaniards who migrated to Middle America has been estimated at 300,000. With the Spaniard came another element of population, the African slave. Roughly 250,000 were imported into Mexico during the three centuries of the slave trade… No part of Middle America is without Negro admixture, although the physical evidence of this admixture has probably been submerged.*[3]

Slavery made the colonial world turn and the Spaniards sold an estimated 100,000 Filipino slaves to mines and haciendas in New Spain. Most Filipino slaves were brought through Acapulco on Manila galleons. They called the Asians "African" because the Spaniards wanted more slaves, and the law limited slavery to Africans. Most of the Asian slaves were taken from their homes in Borneo, New Guinea, Malaysia, and the southern islands in the Philippines. According to a Filipino source, four million filipinos were taken off the islands.[4]

The castas in New Spain passed for white because they looked it. It became part of the culture of survival. Even today race is hidden by myths of being more white than Indian or, for that matter, African. For example, La Familia -- an ancestral group in the Los Angeles area -- focuses on Chihuahuan genealogy (Chihuahua is one of those northern Mexican states that claims to be less Indian than the rest of Mexico). Yet

when tracking ancestry, a significant number of the groups' ancestors were African and all had Indian blood. The truth be told, 10% of Chihuahuans were self identified mulatos in 1810 which meant that a much higher number had African blood. A significant number of those who called themselves white had ancestors who were slaves, which did not necessarily mean that they were Africans. In Colonial Mexico, there were more Indian slaves than African and Asian slaves.

After Independence, not all Mexicans felt Mexican. Indeed, the Indian was never collectively included regardless of popular Mexican lore. However, a pattern of denial continued which was played out in the United States where Mexican elites often considered themselves racially different from so-called lower class Mexican cholos. Class trumped race, or at least it made one look the other way. In California, the castas became rancheros and were assumed white, although -- as in the case of Pio Pico -- some were mulatos.

The Complexity of Race

Although I deal with Latinos in this paper, I focus on Mexicans because they compose at least two-thirds of the U.S. Latino population.[5] Moreover, there are differences between the disparate nationalities in their perception of race. For example, some Argentines have pretensions of being Italians or European, and many Cubans of being Gallegos. Lately along with poor Central American refugees, elites have also fled their countries of origin to avoid efforts to level society by ending white privilege. In their case, class defines race and hides their Indian and African heritage.

It is not the purpose of this paper to dwell on these differences, although the differences often make for interesting copy. Suffice to say that the racial admixtures in the countries of origin often determine the differences even so far as their taste in music. A practical common denominator is colonialism. For this purpose, the works of Frantz Fanon are still relevant in so far as race is concerned.[6]

In *Black Skin, White Masks,* Fanon writes that "there is nothing surprising, within a family, in hearing a mother remark that 'X is the blackest of my children' - it means that X is the least white."[7]

Similarly, Mexican culture was formed by a racial order that was based on race, and it persists in the attitudes of Mexican families to this day who still have sayings such as *Que bonita pero prietita* (how pretty but dark) that qualify beauty according to skin hues. Color is very important and little girls are encouraged to keep out of the sun. This concept of beauty is deeply embedded within many Latinos historical memories. This colonial mentality can be seen on Spanish language TV where there are more non-Indian looking Latinas than dark ones.

Still, the definition of race is not static and it has a different sense than it had 50 years ago. History suggests that the United States has an uncanny ability to mutate and reinvent categories, and eventually absorb segments of the targeted group. Take the word "immigrant." It has racial implications and it encourages people of the same race to distance themselves from immigrants. A Green card gives former immigrants privileges.

A Glimpse at Latin America Race Scholars

Brazil

Not surprising Brazil is the leader in the Latin American debate. It draws on the wealth of African studies' research. Sugar drove the heavy importation of slave labor and the demise of the indigenous population. By 1600 Brazil exported 30,000 tons per year, far ahead of the second largest world producer of sugar, the Madeira Islands, with 8,000 tons.[8]

According to Shamil Cruz:

> *From then until the abolition of the slave trade in 1870, at least 10 million Africans were forcibly brought to the Americas: about 47% of them to the Caribbean islands and the Guiana's; 38% to Brazil; and 6% to mainland Spanish America. About 4.5% went to North America, roughly the same proportion that went to Europe.*[9]

Today, Brazil has a population of about 184 million. Its white population includes Portuguese, German, Italian, Spanish, Polish is estimated at 55%, mixed white and black 38%, African 6% and the other that includes Japanese, Arab, Amerindian 1%.[10]

The mountain of reading material on race by American sociologists numbs me. The quantity and quality of this literature bury the comparative works available on race in Latin American. Moreover, many Mexican and Latin American scholars are U.S. educated and they study race using U.S. paradigms.[11] The work of Anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits (1895-1963) is worthy of note. He had a long involvement with Brazilian anthropologists and did fieldwork in Brazil in 1941-1942. While not formally involved with the UNESCO project on race in Brazil, Herskovits influenced it. He also worked with Colombian and Latin American scholars such as Jean Price-Mars in Haiti, Fernando Ortiz in Cuba, Arthur Ramos in Brazil, and Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán in Mexico with whom he exchanged students.[12]

After World War II, UNESCO -- at the urging of Brazilian anthropologist Arthur Ramos -- sponsored a pilot research project in Brazil to study racism in that country. Brazil was chosen because it was a developing country and it appeared to represent an alternative to segregation and other forms of racism.[13]

The selection of Brazil by UNESCO was probably influenced by Gilberto Freyre's *Masters and the Slaves.*[14] Published under the title of *Casa Grande e Senzala* (1933), *Masters and the Slaves* created a sensation in Brazil and later around the world. Freyre examined colonial Brazil as the Portuguese colonizers lived on huge sugar plantations with African slaves. According to Freyre, the coexistence of masters and slaves was accompanied by sexual promiscuity and the races mingled and intermarried freely. *Masters and the Slaves* was, at the time, perceptive and romantic. Freyre's exaggerated narrative concludes that this interaction produced a "racial democracy" unique to Brazil.

True in Brazil, black and white people generally get along better socially than they do in the United States. However, racism lives in Brazil. Widespread miscegenation has not erased class differences and discrimination is harshest on the darkest Brazilians who are also the poorest. The mixing has not erased the effects of the institution of slavery. For much of the 20th Century Freyre's *Masters and Slaves* was in purgatory, but has lately risen and is evoking heated debate in Brazil.[15]

Livio Sansone, in *Blackness Without Ethnicity*[16] posits that Brazilian scholars should move away from the bipolar U.S. and European paradigms of race and ethnicity and drift toward a subtler and more nuanced model of racialized interactions peculiar to social life in Brazil and much of Latin America.[17] He begins his book by stating, "We begin our exploration of race relations in Brazil by taking a close look at racial terminology, its internal logic, and how it has evolved through history.[18]

According to Sansone,

> *Brazil certainly is not a paradise for blacks, but neither is it a racial hell. Despite the relative absence of militant identity politics and racial conflict, it is a country with a system of race relations in*

motion. This system has introduced new racialized barriers as well as new possibilities for emancipation from racialization.[19]

Sansone's work opens space for rethinking the role of race, which cannot be reduced to economics but includes a discussion of location. He acknowledges that there has been change:

The last two decades have seen a series of new developments around black identity and the politics of inclusion in Brazil. The self-perception and expectations of society's marginalized have changed. Influenced by the global traffic of ideas and the broader reach of media, related language and concepts have evolved. Brazilians have become more actively concerned about racial inequality and have increased their support for policies to address it.

Sansone suggests that limited class mixing occurs at bailes and between the residents of the favela and those from better-off neighborhoods.[20] As with the United States, despite the obvious and pervasive discrimination, many Brazilians argue that there is no racism.

This overall picture of social inequality becomes even bleaker when one takes into account the declining quality of public education — the only schooling to which most Brazilians have access — and trends in the labor market and income distribution. Formal sector employment has decreased, and the salary gap between higher- and lower-paid work has increased. In terms of average individual income, the distance between the richest and the poorest sectors is still very great.

Sansone concludes:

Unlike the situation in the United States, these measures and policies have not divided blacks from whites. They enjoy widespread acceptance among lower classes, regardless of color, but meet strong opposition from the overwhelmingly white elite. The fracture seems much stronger in terms of class than color group. In fact, the popularity of these measures increases substantively when, in identifying the intended beneficiaries, color is coupled with income and social position more generally. It is as though most Brazilians know that their society is unjust, even in racial terms, but refuse an (overtly) race-based remedy as a means to redress social injustice.

The different views on race between U.S. scholars and Brazilians has caused tensions. Some Brazilian intellectuals have called the American involvement intellectual imperialism and criticize the influence of U.S. funding on Brazilian research. They single out the Ford and MacArthur Foundations and claim that they impose categories generated by the U.S. black experience. They say they are not applicable. Unlike Americans who see race in terms of black and white, Brazilians look at race as a continuum of "colors." While the criticism is valid, still U.S. Black activism has impacted the popular sector. As Peter Fry points out, "these ideas have found resonance among Brazilian black activists."

For example, the stature of Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela is greater in Brazil than the Brazilian Zumbi. This suggests that not all Brazilians see race as a continuum of "colors," but rather the construction depends on their ideological view. Although color is rationalized, such as in the case of most of Latin America, down deep there is a race consciousness expressed by terms such as *pessoa de cor* (person of color) and in the popular adage "*quern passa de branco preto e*" ("He/she who is not white is black"). The social and historical construction of race in Brazil suggests an underlying depending on class and location.[21]

It could be argued that Brazilian movies on race bolster Fry's perspective, or at least suggest alternative views. "Poverty in Brazil has a color." Some 26% of Afro-Brazilians are illiterate compared to 10% for whites. A black man earns 48% less than a comparable white worker. True racial discrimination is a crime, but help-wanted ads often require 'good appearance' -- a code for white. According to the Gazeta Mercantil, "From the racial viewpoint, Brazil and the U.S. are different - there, whites and blacks are equal, but live separately; here, they are together, but unequal." In Congress, only 12 of the 513 members of the Chamber of Deputies and two of the 81 senators are of African ancestry. Black pride, according to some sources, has not taken root in Brazil outside of Salvador. According to these sources, "a 1998 census found more than 300 descriptions for skin color."[22]

Mexico

The discourse on race in Mexico is limited. However, the readings suggest that race is seen much like in Brazil as a continuum of "colors" rather that "browns" and "whites." The literature on race is not as extensive as that of Brazil or the United States.[23] This is because there is no sizeable black population in Mexico, which has been cut off from race research unlike countries with heavy black populations such as the Caribbean, Brazil, and Colombia. Relations with the indigenous population differ from that of Africans. Another contributing factor is that Chicanos did not have the same weight in Mexico that black scholars have had on Latin American countries. The Black Civil Rights experiences has been more dramatic and better documented."

In the name of the nation state, Indian land was confiscated and their language was taken from them, and they were marginalized in the urban centers of the country. Despite attempts to Mexicanize the natives, some native societies have survived and consequently the question of land remains central to their demands, i.e., the case of the Zapatista Movement in Mexico that frames their grievances in racial terms and demand an autonomous region.[24] The Indian question differs from the Black question in that Africans seek equality whereas the core of the Indian demands resist assimilation.

Throughout Latin American history there have been strategies to integrate the indigenous peoples of Latin America. The Ideologies of indigenismo have deep roots in Mexico, Peru, Guatemala, and Bolivia and to some extent other Latin American countries with large Indian populations. But, indigenismo is controversial and said by some to be a construct of the dominant society and not Indians.

Indigenismo spoke of an "Indian problem," and looked for ways to incorporate Indigenous societies into the mainstream national culture. Many Indigenous peoples reacted strongly against the idea that it was only by suppressing their ethnic identity that they could rise above their impoverished and exploited status. They saw the indigenist movement as nothing more than an extension of the imperialism which the nation-state had imposed upon them.[25] In the case of native peoples, integration has never been an alternative, what they have wanted is a return of their land and culture.

The effects of colonialism were devastating. The population of Meso America fell from 38 million to just over a million in the first 80 years of the occupation. As mentioned, intellectual works on the Indian question lack the cohesiveness of African-American race theory. This is because the question of race has a different context. In both cases, the system of white privilege has produced inequalities based on race. According to a 1996 International Relations Center report,

If you superimpose the areas of the worst social indices — malnutrition, infant mortality, death rate, out-migration — on a map of Mexico, you will have drawn over and over the contours of Indian country. In these areas, 70% or more of the inhabitants speak an indigenous language, the average illiteracy rate is 46%, compared with 10% nationwide, and more than 75% of adults have not finished grade school (sixth grade). Fifty-one percent of the homes have no electricity, 68% no running water, and 90% no sewage system. These places have received few of the benefits of national development. The health system provides only 10.9 doctors per 100,000 inhabitants, compared with 96 in non-Indian zones.[26]

The Report continued,

More than half (51.6%) the women who speak an indigenous language are illiterate. This is five times the national average and much higher than that of male indigenous-language speakers. Nearly three-fourths do not finish grade school. In the plethora of Indian forums, in the National Congress, and within their own organizations, indigenous women are speaking out against arranged marriages, domestic violence, and ill-treatment by health authorities, including negligence and forced sterilization. In many communities and regions, they have formed ongoing committees to represent their specific interests.

Advocates for Indian rights essentially call for the integration of the Mexican natives into Mexican society. Marxists, for example, have placed them within the proletariat and advocated equality and a greater recognition of their culture.[27]

Despite these statistics, much of the country is either in denial or silent on the issue of racism toward indigenous people. Popular articles appear in the press on the topic. José Agustín Ortiz Pinchetti wrote in *La Jornada,* " During the last 100 years, the racism in Mexico has shown three characteristics: 1) it has slowed the process of modernization, 2) it has contributed to the dissolution of public consciousness, (and) 3) it has damaged the moral assets of the nation."[28] He continues, "Mexicans, however, not only live with discrepancies of incomes directly correlating with race, but also live with the rest of the inequalities that are linked to the caste system present here. The original criollo (direct Spanish descendants) structure still has a hegemonic position within Mexico." Ortiz Pinchetti underscores the social inequality that exists in Indian–mestizo relations which are played out in competition for urban space. Being an Indian results in negative identity forcing social marginality.[29]

There are more than 60 indigenous languages still spoken in Mexico. Many live apart from the nation-state formed by mestizo-creoles.

As with Brazil, racism is rooted in Mexico's colonial past. The majority of Mexicans are mestizos, something that should not be romanticized since it is at the heart of Mexico's racial problem. Contrary to popular lore, miscegenation was not encouraged by the Spanish Crown. It happened over time and laws existed prohibiting Spanish officials and Spaniards from marrying Indians or Africans.[30] Intermixing occurred mostly in mining camps or urban centers. As geographer Michael M. Swann has shown, Spaniards tended to intermarry with other Spaniards and occasionally with lighter skinned mestizos. They were aware of their privilege and protected their color. Indians mixed with Indians while Africans and other castas frequently produced admixtures.[31] More Africans entered New Spain than Spaniards to 1700.[32] More than 100,000 Filipino slaves were imported to New Spain.[33] These admixtures were

obliterated by miscegenation which resulted in racial segmentation.

The racial proportions would change during the 19th century as the criollo and mestizos tried by force to Mexicanize the Indian who resisted. In turn the castas were further absorbed.

The Colonial heritage continues to affect Mexicans on this side of the border. Therapist Jacqueline Fortes de Leff writes:

> *Today in Mexico there is still overt social racism against the indigenous people, which segregate them from economic development, political participation, and educational opportunities. Racial, cultural, and social discrimination add to an institutionalized system of privileges maintained by the lack of a true democratic system. Racism is often present in Mexican families, underlying numerous individual and relational conflicts. However, invisible cultural racism is the form of racism we see most often in our therapeutic work.*[34]

POPULATION OF MEXICO IN 1810

CATEGORY	APPROX. NUMBER	PERCENT
Indians	3,676,281	60
Europeans (peninsulares)	15,000	0.3
Criollos (Euromestizos)	1,092,397	18
Mestizos (Indiomestizos)	704,245	11
Mulattoes and zambos (Afromestizos)	624,461	10
Blacks	10,000	0.2

Sources: *Agustín Cue Cánovas, Historia social y económica de México (1521-1854) (Mexico, 1972).*

This racism is reinforced in the United States. Fortes de Left continues, "Spanish colonization started a process of domination that has since become a symbolic organizer that underlies feelings and attitudes of racism, discrimination, and segregation that have been internalized in the minds of Mexicans for generations." The racial categorization that occurred during the colonial period encouraged future Mexicans to constantly seek to climb in racial categories.[35]

In the United States, the Latin American model of a continuum of "colors" clashes with the U.S. model. At the same time, U.S. Latinos are confronted with broadened definitions such as "Latino" and "Hispanic" that lump in all Spanish-speaking nationalities into one category. This confuses further the identification of race and the class categories that the continuum produces. And, it blurs the racial and historical differences between the disparate Latino groups in the United States who have arrived at different points in history and under different circumstances. These groups share a similar colonial heritage, for sure, and, for the most part, speak Spanish.[36] They do not have the same understanding of race in the U.S. Only the Mexican and Puerto Rican have long civil rights histories.[37]

The Illusion of Being White

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo gave Mexicans the rights of full citizens, which many reasoned meant the right to be called white. According to Claire Sheridan, "In 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo set the framework for Mexicans who resided in the ceded territories to become U.S. citizens and established a precedent for allowing Mexicans to naturalize."[38]

However, there was a gap between what the treaty said and reality. Mexicans were for the most part regarded as nonwhite, and their right to citizenship was challenged.[39] This opposition was often violent. According to William D.

Carrigan, "between 1848 and 1928, mobs lynched at least 597 Mexicans."[40] More often Mexicans were excluded from constitutional protections.

American ambivalence toward the Mexican's race is mirrored in the U.S. Census. Before World War II many government agencies classified Mexicans as belonging to the "Red" race, or just simply the Mexican race. In the 1930 census the U.S. Bureau of the Census listed them as "Mexican."[41] In the 1940 census, the instructions were, "Mexicans are to be regarded as white unless definitely of Indian or other nonwhite race." Mexican American organizations knew that "white" carried privileges and pressured the federal government to label Mexicans Caucasian, which it did in 1948. Two years later, the 1950 Census Report required "'white' (W) for Mexicans unless they are definitely of Indian or other nonwhite race."[42] The U.S. Census Bureau continues to avoid listing U.S. Latinos as a race and the latest 2000 census classifies Latinos as an ethnic group.

Adding to this quagmire, words have different meaning to different folks. In the United States the term "mestizo" is synonymous with being Indian. The term "half-breed" has a different meaning than "mixed blood." The American standard was that having one drop of anything but white knocks you down a notch. Even dogs step up in class if they are pure bred. This has led to confusion among U.S. Mexicans.[43]

In the 2000 Census almost half of U.S. Latinos (48%) classified themselves as "white only" and 42% of Latinos considered themselves of "some other race." Only 4% identified themselves as black or African American alone; approximately 6% reported two or more races.[44] Some 17% called themselves Latino or Hispanic, which was neither a racial nor national category.[45] On the Island of Puerto Rico, 3.06 million or 80.5%, of island Puerto Ricans also listed themselves as white. The census lists only 302,933, or 8.0%, of island Puerto Ricans as African; 158,415, or 4.2%, as two or more races; and 3.76 million, or 98.8, as Latino.[46]

Indigenous-looking Mexicans in the United States vehemently insist that they are white when the reality is that they are not. This is surprising, since most sources say that 60% of Mexicans are mestizos, 30% are predominately Amerindian, 9% white, and 1% other.[47] Throughout Mexico, apart from their indigenous features, there are those with African features who insist they are mestizos or white.

Jamaican-born sociologist Orlando Patterson took issue in a May 2001 *New York Times* article that white people were becoming a minority in the U.S. According to Patterson, census makers failed to account for "the fact that nearly half the Hispanic population is white in every social sense of this term; 48% of so-called Hispanics classified themselves as solely white, giving only one race to the census taker." Patterson also pointed to high rates of intermarriage and assimilation of Hispanics.[48] But, even so, does that make them white? Do most Americans look at them as white? Will their inequality go away by labeling them white?[49]

The illusion of inclusion by white society has encouraged racial stereotypes. For example, in 1986, Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone remarked that the average American intellectual standard is lower than the average Japanese standard because of the African Americans and Latinos in the U.S. The Japanese Prime Minister said the source of Japan's strength was its "racial homogeneity."[50] University of Texas Law School Professor Lino Graglia in 1997 said that "Blacks and Mexican-Americans are not academically competitive with whites in selective institutions… It is the result primarily of cultural effects. They have a culture that seems not to encourage achievement. Failure is not looked upon with disgrace."[51]

What is the result? Is Race a Factor?

Today's Children

In January 2005, the University of California Los Angeles released the results of a survey among freshmen nationwide that showed a record high percentage of college freshmen believing discrimination was no longer a major problem in the United States. It quoted Karen Hernández, 18, a first-year UCLA student from Ontario planning to major in aerospace engineering as saying "For me, the racial boundaries are not there." Hernández was not especially concerned with the issue of race or ethnic relations. The survey showed 22.7% of freshmen saying that racism was no longer a major problem in the United States. Some 30% had grown up with students of other races and felt comfortable with students of other backgrounds. However, the survey found a gap between minorities and white freshmen as to whether it was essential or very important to promote racial understanding: 23.5% of whites said yes, it was essential or very important, and 54.8% and 43.6% of Latinos felt that way.[52]

At the same time, freshmen are more polarized politically. Some 26.1% of students said their political views were liberal, compared with 21.9% who self-identified as conservative. This is despite the fact that more have to work, their student loan debts are rising, and relatively fewer minorities are making it to college. Sylvia Hurtado, director of the institute at the University of California-Los Angeles that conducted the study says "the diversity in classes at a lot of the large public universities has decreased. Just in the University of California system alone, the number of African-American students attending has gone down incredibly." Hurtado adds "the election and the war were heating up when they took this survey, so issues related to those things took much more precedence in their minds." According to the *Chronicle of Higher Education,* "Booze, Food, and Gay Rights" remained important issue to students, but there was "Less Diversity, More Apathy" (Farrell, E.F., "More Students Plan to Work to Help Pay for College," *The Chronicle of Higher Education,* Feb. 4, 2005, Section: Students; Pg. 1).

The results should not come as a surprise since the definition of racism has changed. Right wing think tanks have reconstructed the definition of race.[53] Cable has entered the lives of students, and whatever news they hear dismisses the question of inequality. According to Robert Novak, bringing up inequality is the promoting of class warfare. At the same time, blacks and Latinos are making it on TV. A Latino is a star on "Desperate Housewives" and, hey, the number of Latinas on porn sites is multiplying. For example, "Naughty America" features "Latin Adultery." Simply the concept of community has disintegrated. Increasingly, the students making it to college are those who have been skimmed off the top. In the case of Latino college students, they often come from parochial, private, magnet schools, or the Advanced Placement sectors of their schools. Those making it to four year colleges are the better qualified, both academically and financially.

In California, this academic segregation is occurring along class lines. First, the selected students in the public schools are upward bound students who will receive some kind of aid and the Latino middle class students whose parents are able to afford a portion of the tuition and costs. They are then to be distributed through private colleges, the University of California, California State University, and Community College campuses generally along class lines.

It's Location, Location and Location

As suggested, Latinos take distinctive views of race. Labeling Latinos is difficult especially due to the group's ambivalence toward race. According to Sonya Tafoya of the Pew Center, "The fact that changeable characteristics such as income help determine racial identification among Latinos, versus permanent markers such as skin color, does not necessarily mean that the color lines in American society are fading. On the contrary, these findings show that color has a broader meaning."[54] Of some 20 million Latinos 57% in 2000 lived in neighborhoods where they composed less than half of the population. They lived in census tracts where only 7% of residents were Latinos; 43% resided in neighborhoods where Latinos were the majority. Contrast this with African Americans, 48% of whom lived in census tracts with a majority black population. On average, 71% of the residents in Latino-majority census tracts were Latinos. They composed 7%, on the average, of the neighborhoods where whites were in the majority.[55] The rule of thumb is that the more segregated Latinos are the more problematic the term "Latino/Hispanic" becomes with individuals identifying themselves more in terms of "Mexican" or "Cuban." Indeed, the Pew Study suggests that Latinos of different countries of origin believe they share no common culture.

Attitudes toward ethnic and national identity are very different between first- and second-generation Latinos. When asked which term they primarily use to describe themselves, first-generation Latinos are much more likely to select their country of origin in Latin America than are second-generation Latinos (68% vs. 38%). Only 6% of first-generation Latinos report using the term "American" to describe themselves compared to more than a third (35%) of second generation Latinos. However, an equal number (25%) of both first- and second-generation Latinos report using Latino/Hispanic as the primary term to express identity.[56]

A majority of foreign-born Mexicans in California feel discrimination in the schools and workplace; significantly fewer foreign-born Mexicans in Texas feel the same way. Only 31% felt discrimination in schools is a major problem; 38% felt discrimination in the workplace is a major problem. In Texas, U.S. born Mexicans are less likely than foreign-born Mexicans living in California to refer to themselves as Mexicans and much more likely to call themselves Latinos or Hispanics. Latinos overwhelmingly say that discrimination is the problem. And a majority of whites and African Americans agree; yet they are less likely to conclude that discrimination against Latinos is a problem.[57]

There are differences according to location in the attitudes of Latinos toward discrimination. U.S. Cubans differ from Mexicans as do those recently arrived from Honduras in what they call themselves. For example, Latinos living in predominantly white neighborhoods are more apt to call themselves Hispanic than those living in predominately Latino neighborhoods. Those on the periphery will be influenced by the cores closest to them. Predominately Mexican neighborhoods generally have other Latinos living within their borders so residents are specific about their ancestry.

Assimilation is also affected by location and contact with other Latinos. Location affects how groups look at themselves. Americanization, or the act of becoming Americanized in mannerisms and culture, is more pronounced. A cultural absorption takes place and Latinos begin to lose their identities as they move into predominantly white neighborhoods or go to college. Meanwhile, there has been a change in the attitudes of whites. In 1963, the Survey Research Service of the National Opinion Research Center reported that 59% of whites responded that there should be "laws against marriages between Negroes and whites." Seven years later, whites were split 48% to 48%. Since 1972, white support for such anti-miscegenation laws has lessened among whites.[58]

As mentioned, identification depends on location. Location dictates interracial dating or contact with other groups is limited to the middle class.[59] Urban areas such as Los Angeles are segregated. High schools such as Roosevelt and Garfield in the Los Angeles Unified Schools are upward of 96% Latinos.[60] A Mumford Institute study of Los Angeles schools suggests that school segregation has increased among Latinos. In 1989 the average Latino attended a school that was 53% Latino, whereas 10 years later the percentage was 57% Latino. Latinos overall appeared to live in isolation from whites with most urban areas registering an isolation of more than 50%.[61] In the Los Angeles-Long Beach area registers a residential isolation of Latinos of 63.16%. The average Latino child is apt to attend a school that is 69.3% Latino. The future promises more heavily segregated schools. A core of 10 inner city Los Angeles high schools in 1999 were more than 90% Latinos. In New York City and Chicago, the average Latino student attends a school that is 72.3% and 71.2% Latino.[62]

Half of the nation's U.S. Latino population lives in California or Texas. Three-quarters live in California, Texas, New York, Florida, Illinois, Arizona, and New Jersey. The largest Mexican populations were in California, Texas, Illinois, and Arizona, largely southwestern states. The largest Puerto Rican populations were in New York, Florida, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Some two-thirds of Cubans were in Florida.[63] However, it is important to note that one of the fastest growing regions in Latino population growth is the U.S. South, where racism is still alive. There good old American racism merges with good old American nativism.[64]

According to demographer Betsy Guzman, "While most Hispanics lived in the South or West, some counties in nontraditional Hispanic states such as Georgia and North Carolina had sizable proportions of Hispanic populations. Hispanics within some counties in North Carolina, Georgia, Iowa, Arkansas, Minnesota, and Nebraska represented between 6% and 24.9% of the county's total population. The percentage of Hispanics within these counties exceeded the percentage Hispanics (less than 6%) for these states."[65]

According to the 2000 census there was a 300% increase in Georgia's Latino population during the 1990s. It followed North Carolina with a 394% increase and Arkansas at 337%.[66] The "remaking of the symbols traditionally associated with the South as Spanish, Catholicism, and Latino music and cuisines are becoming part of public spaces and landscapes from Virginia to Arkansas."[67]

Entire Mexican families migrate to small, rural Arkansas towns to work in the poultry industry.[68] A survey showed "almost half of the Latino participants (48%) mentioned racial and ethnic discrimination as one of the things that they do not like or is a cause for concern to them. "*La gente es muy cerrada, y no les gustan los cambios*" (the people are not open-minded, and they don't want changes)."[69] The reaction has been similar in Georgia. Although there are few single males, according to Ellen Spears, this growth has not been without tensions. "In Dalton [Georgia], for example, civic and business leaders promoted highly acclaimed exchanges with Mexico to build strong inter-group relations in the context of public education, yet white flight has taken place from the now majority Latino public schools. Latino agricultural workers in south Georgia have been harassed by local law enforcement."[70] Tensions have spilled over between Latinos and African Americans[71] [and] are more likely to stay, de la Pava says. The Colombian immigrants, for the most part, are not migrant workers seeking labor-intensive or low-wage jobs. They're educated and upper-middle class, the ones who had the money and the connections to obtain a visa and a plane ticket to the United States." However, like the Chicano owes a debt of gratitude toward blacks, like it or not the most recently arrived Latin Americans -- whether they accept it or not -- have benefitted from the Chicano and Puerto Rican Movements in this country.[72]

There are class divisions within each group which are often blurred by nationalism. For example, in May 2002 I wrote an article opposing the nomination of Honduran Miguel Estrada to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. The article pointed out that Estrada was not qualified because he opposed civil rights. Estrada came from an upper middle class Honduran family and had immigrated to the United States in his late teens. I received a considerable number of e-mails accusing me of being anti-Honduran from ultra conservative Latinos, some of whom had ties with Contras.[73] I received similar responses for articles from the Cuba American community for articles on Elián González.[74] These were the same elements that supported Alberto González, a conservative Mexican American Republican, for attorney general.

This confusion and lack of clarity spells problems for the future. The truth be told, without race as a factor, it will be impossible to assess the needs of Latinos and implement programs to correct inequalities. Given the history of the United States, identity has to be constructed around more than "We are Number One." The fact that Latinos are the largest group in the nation does not give them moral authority and political power. The latter must be based on the need to correct inequalities.

Conclusion

The point of the article is, that like bacteria, the definition of race has changed much faster than the academicians have defined it. It is resistant to social antibiotics. Popular culture, media and right wing think tanks are redefining race.[75] The emergence of Salma Hayek, Jennifer López and "Desperate Housewives" has greatly impacted this equation.[76] Society has incorporated them as sex symbols, plus they have a lot of money. Much of the literature has concentrated on the black experience. While Latinos and blacks share in inequality, the experiences are different. The race question cannot be applied to Latinos solely by using the American paradigm. Latin American and Mexican history and the literature on race must be incorporated. Race often has different meanings among U.S. Latinos. The different admixtures have produced racially different people. The dynamics of race are still developing between Latinos and the arrival of large numbers of immigrants who compete for space has reinforced nationalism among the groups.

Whether one belongs to the Latino umbrella, depends greatly on location: which neighborhood you live in and what region of the country you reside. The definition of race has been further confused by the arrival of wealthy Latin Americans who have fled the political, social, and an economic leveling in many Latin American countries. Many of these better educated immigrants are a product of their societies where color and family position determine class. In the United States, many have joined "Latino" organizations. They have little awareness of the civil rights struggle in this country and define racial progress as access. The appointment of an Alberto Gonzales or a Miguel Estrada is often more important than government policies that level society.

Like Ben Franklin once said, "We must indeed all hang together, or most assuredly, we shall all hang separately." Like a bad virus racism continues to mutate. Inequality will worsen. A Harvard University Civil Rights Project study found that, among graduation rates in California's five largest school districts, nearly half of the Latino and African-American students who should have graduated from California high schools in 2002 failed to complete their education. In the Los Angeles Unified School District, just 39% of Latinos and 47% of African Americans graduated, compared with 67% of whites and 77% of Asians. Statewide, just 57% of African Americans and 60% of Latinos graduated in 2002, compared with 78% of whites and 84% of Asians. Performance can be predicted according to race and within the Latino

umbrella Mexicans would have an even higher dropout. Nationally, about 68% of students graduate on time. Researchers called the schools "dropout factories." Most students who drop out do so between ninth and tenth grades. "In several Los Angeles high schools, UCLA researcher Julie Mendoza found that less than one-third of ninth graders graduated on time."[77]

The Report goes on to state,

The nation's shockingly high dropout problem is squarely concentrated in heavily minority high schools in big cities. The high level of poverty among children, together with many housing policies and practices which exclude poor people from most communities, mean that students in inner city schools face isolation not only from the white community but also from middle class schools. Minority children are far more likely than whites to grow up in persistent poverty. Since few whites have direct experience with concentrated poverty schools, it is very important to examine research about its effects.[78]

The Report continues:

Our study of metro Boston shows a strong relationship between segregation by race and poverty and teacher quality, test scores and dropout rates. In the entire metro region, 97% of the schools with less than a tenth white students face concentrated poverty compared to 1% of the schools with less than a tenth minority students. These differences were strongly related to the results on the high stakes MCAS state examinations.[79]

It states that "the average white and Asian student attends schools with the lowest shares of poor students. The average black and Latino student attends schools in which close to half the students are poor, more than twice the exposure of whites to poor students. The average Native American student experienced the biggest increase in exposure to poor students, from 31% to 38% in 2002."[80]

This class segmentation by race is unacceptable in a so-called democratic society, especially one as rich as the United States. The denial that Latinos are dropping out of school or are at the bottom of the economic ladder because they are Latinos is denying history. The schools are part of the nation's infrastructure and schools in minority neighborhoods are inferior because of institutional racism, which is the collective failure of the state to provide equal services to people of color and the poor. It is just as systemic and pervasive today as it was in the 1950s. As demonstrated in the Brazilian experience, it is not limited to individual racist behavior. It is ingrained in the nation's institutions. Because Latinos come from a different historical experience, racism is not as defined as the African American definition. It produced results such as the UCLA study where some students race is no longer a factor. Or, Central American and other Latin American elites believing that bigotry can be solved by appointing a Miguel Estrada to the federal bench. The reality is that most Latino students live in segregated neighborhoods and attend segregation schools that are separate and unequal. They are dropping out at a rate twice as high as white students.

Endnotes

1. Ricki Lewis, "The Rise of Antibiotic-Resistant Infections," U.S. Food and Drug Administration, [Accessed March 29, 2005].
2. Ilona Katzew, "Casta Painting:Identity and Social Stratification in Colonial Mexico," [Accessed March 22, 2005]. See paintings of race categories [Accessed 22, 1005]. Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). For a comparison of Mexico and Peru see "Mestizaje and Racial Categories in the Colonial Latin American Caste System," http://history.smsu.edu/jchuchiak/HST%20350—Theme%2021—Castas—Mestizaje_and_racial_categories.htm [accessed March 22, 2005]. Robert A. Williams, Jr., "Columbus's Legacy: Law As An Instrument of Racial Discrimination Against Indigenous People's Rights of Self-Determination," *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law* 8, no. 2 (1991): 51–75.
3. Eric Wolf, *Sons of the Shaking Earth: The People of Mexico and Guatemala — Their Land, History, and Culture* (Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1959), p. 29.
4. Theodore G. Vincent, *The Legacy of Guerrero: Mexico's First Black Indian President* (Tallahassee, Florida 2001): 78-81. Jalil Sued-Badillo, "Christopher Columbus and the enslavement of the Amerindians in the Caribbean; Columbus and the New World Order 1492–1992," *Monthly Review* 44, no. 3 (July 1992): 71ff. Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972), pp. 48–58
5. The 2000 U.S. Census lists the Mexican origin population as 58%. However, 17% have listed themselves as Latino or Hispanic. Since the Mexican origin population has a longer history than most Latino groups it can be assumed that at least two-thirds of the 17% which would put the group at about 70%. John R. Logan, "How Race Counts for Hispanic Americans." Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research. University at Albany. July 14, 2003. http://mumford1.dyndns.org/cen2000/BlackLatinoReport/BlackLatino01.htm [Accessed July 24, 2003].
6. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove, 1967). *Studies in a Dying Colonialism, or A Dying Colonialism* (New York, Grove, 1965). *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, Grove, 1965). Frantz Fanon, From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, [Accessed March 30, 2005]
7. Quoted in Alvin Wyman Walker, "Remembering Fanon," ReadHistory.Com, June 24, 2000 [Accessed March 29, 2005]
8. Richard Graham, "Africa in the Americas: A Third World in the New: African Slaves in Portuguese America," www.humanities-interactive.org/newworld/africa/africa_americas_essay.htm [accessed March 21, 2005]. According to Peter Fry, "Politics, nationality, and the meanings of 'race' in Brazil," Daedalus (Spring 2000). www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3671/is_20000 4/ai_n8896017 [accessed April 1, 2005] "As the world took full stock of the horrors of Nazi racism in the years following World War II, UNESCO agreed, on the suggestion of Brazilian anthropologist Arthur Ramos, to sponsor a pilot research project in Brazil with the aim of studying 'the problems of different racial and ethnic groups living in a common social environment.' Brazil was chosen not only because it appeared to represent a viable alternative to racial segregation and conflict but also because UNESCO had at this time shown considerable sensitivity to the specific problems of the developing world... North American, French, and Brazilian anthropologists who worked on the project did indeed provide evidence of massive inequality and prejudice throughout the country. And yet, as Marcos Chor Maio has shown, the research results did not deny the importance of the myth of racial democracy. What they did was to reveal the tensions between the myth and Brazilian-style racism, a tension that had already been enunciated by black and white intellectuals and activists, in particular by Abdias do Nascimento and Guerreiro Ramos." Phillip Wagner, "History Sugar and Blood: The Story of the African Slave Trade in Brazil," *Brazzil Magazine* (April 2002): www.iei.net/~pwagner/ brazilhome.htm
9. Shamil Cruz, "African Americans in the Caribbean and Latin America," *IPOAA (Indigenous People of Africa and Latin America) Magazine.*
10. "Brazil," CIA - The World Fact Book, [Accessed March 24, 2005]" Brazil The Colonial Era, 1500-1815," Source: The Library of Congress Country Studies http://workmall.com/wfb2001/brazil/brazil_history_the_colonial_era_1500_1815.html [Accessed March 24, 2005]
11. Miguel Barnet, "La Revista Catauro por La ruta del esclavo," *Revistas,* [Accessed March 24, 2005]. There has been renewed interest in slavery spurred by UNESCO and by Cuban scholars. Bernet writes, "Han sido muchos los estudiosos que desde el siglo XIX y a lo largo del XX dedicaron una parte de su fructífera vida a la presencia africana en América, tales como Raimundo Nina Rodrigues en Brasil, Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán en México, Miguel Acosta Saignes en Venezuela, Melville J. Herskovitz en los Estados Unidos, Nina S. de Friedemann en Colombia, Fernando Ortiz y Lydia Cabrera en Cuba; todos con diversos enfoques a partir de sus métodos de trabajo, de las fuentes consultadas, de sus vivencias y de sus

propias capacidades interpretativas. Sin embargo, lo cierto es que ellos abrieron el camino, trazaron derroteros, plantearon nuevos problemas, auguraron perspectivas y dieron luz a la valoración de un gigantesco patrimonio que aún necesita ser conocido a plenitud como parte de la cultura general de las nuevas generaciones." Anthropologist Herskovits was very prominent in mentoring students from Latin America. Initially supported by the Colombian government the sponsorship waned. The Herskovits Library at Northwestern University is an important archival resource. Herskovits was mainly interested in the African and the Indigenous Question was not popularized. Kevin A. Yelvington, "Melville J. Herskovits and the Institutionalization of Afro-American Studies," O proyecto UNESCO no Brasil, www.ceao.ufba.br/unesco/11paper-Yelvington.htm [Accessed March 24, 2005]. "While he had a long involvement with Brazilian anthropologists and did fieldwork in Brazil in 1941-42, Herskovits was not directly involved as an investigator with the UNESCO project in Brazil [although he influenced it]." Olabiyi Babalola J.Gai, "The Path is Open: The Herskovits Legacy In African Narrative Analysis And Beyond," http://historia.fcs.ucr.ac.cr/articulis/benin.htm [Accessed March 24, 2005].

12. Jacques C. Antoine, *Jean Price-Mars and Haiti* (Three Continents Press, 1981). Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (Duke University Press, 1995). Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro: ethnographia, religiosa e psychanalyse* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilizacíon brasileira, 1934). Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil.* Trans. Richard Pattee (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, 1939). Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *El negro esclavo en Nueva España: La formación colonial, la medicina popular y otros ensayos* (Fondo de Cultura Económica,1994). Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *Cuijla : esbozo etnográfico de un pueblo negro* (México: FCE, SEP, 1985).
13. Peter Fry, "Politics, nationality, and the meanings of "race" in Brazil," Daedalus (Spring 2000). www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3671/is_20000 4/ai_n8896017 [accessed April 1, 2005].
14. Gilberto Freyre, *The masters and the slaves (Casa-grande & senzala); a study in the development of Brazilian civilization* (New York, Knopf, 1964).
15. Thomas E. Skidmore, "Raizes de Gilberto Freyre (social history and intellectual life in the works of Gilberto Freyre)(Critical Essay)," *Journal of Latin American Studies,* v34 i1 (Feb. 2002): 1-20. David Cleary, "Race, nationalism and social theory in Brazil: rethinking Gilberto Freyre," WPTC-99-09, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, 61 Kirkland Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.
16. Livio Sansone, *Blackness Without Ethnicity: Constructing Race in Brazil* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). I do not want to suggest that U.S. scholars are not heavily involved in researching every aspect of Brazilian culture. For instance, there are those studying the historical development of other ethnic nationalities in Brazil. As with the U.S., extensive statistical analyses have been produced on the various censuses. Important work has been done on AIDS, gender, race, and class. Several contemporary articles are found on the Web. Marcos CHOR MAIO, 'Uma Pol_mica Esquecida: Costa Pinto, Guerreiro Ramos e o Tema das Rela_ões Raciais," Dados. 1997, vol.40, no.1 [02 April 2005] http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0011-52581997000100006&lng=en&nrm=iso. ISSN 0011-5258. Peter Fry, "Politics, nationality, and the meanings of "race" in Brazil," *Daedalus* (Spring 2000). www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3671/is_200004/ai_n8896017 [accessed April 1, 2005]. Sansone is also quoted from "Anti-racism in Brazil (Report on Race, Part 1), *NACLA Report on the Americas,* v38 i2 (Sept-Oct 2004:26).
17. Brazilian and Latin American scholars are sensitive to what they call "cultural imperialism" which includes scholarship. Pierre Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant, "New Liberal Speak: Notes on the new planetary vulgate," *Radical Philosophy* (January/February, 2001). Peter Fry, "Politics, nationality, and the meanings of "race" in Brazil," Daedalus (Spring 2000). www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3671/is_200004/ai_n8896017 [accessed Apr. 1, 2005]
18. Sansone, *Blackness Without Ethnicity,* 1.
19. Livio Sansone, "Anti-racism in Brazil. (Report on Race, Part 1)," *NACLA Report on the Americas* v38 i2 (Sept-Oct 2004: 26).
20. Livio Sansone, *Blackness Without Ethnicity: Constructing Race in Brazil* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003): 118-122.
21. Peter Fry, "Politics, nationality, and the meanings of "race" in Brazil," Daedalus (Spring 2000). www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3671/is_20000 4/ai_n8896017 [accessed April 1, 2005].
22. Peter Muello, "Brazil Grappling With Racism," Sept. 1, 1996. In The Affirmative Action and Diversity Project: A Web Page for Research, http://aad.english.ucsb.edu/docs/muello1.html [accessed April 3, 2005].
23. Mexico has a population of 104,959,594 (July 2004 est.). The population of Mexico is mestizo (Amerindian-Spanish) 60%; Amerindian or predominantly Amerindian 30%; white 9%; and other 1%. "Mexico," CIA-World Factbook, www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/mx.html [Accessed March 24, 2005]. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, La población negra de México, 1519-1810: estudio etnohistórico (México: Ediciones

Fuente Cultural, 1946). Aguirre Beltrán, Cuijla: esbozo etnográfico de un pueblo negro, (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958). Patrick J. Carroll, *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz: Race, Ethnicity, and Regional Development,* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991). Bobby Vaughn, "Afro-Mexicans of the Costa Chica," The Black Mexico Homepage <www.afromexico.com>. Colin A. Palmer, "Africa's Legacy in Mexico: A Legacy of Slavery," *Migrations in History,* http://smithsonianeducation.org/migrations/legacy/almleg.html

24. In very real terms the Zapatista Revolt of 1994 can be cast in racial terms. Patrick J. Mc Donnell, "*Campesinos'* Struggle Over Land Rights Is Widespread," *Los Angeles Times,* Jan. 5, 1994; see George A. Collier, *Basta! Land and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas* (Oakland: The Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1994); Tom Barry, *Mexico: A Country Guide* (Albuquerque: The Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Center, 1992). Michael Lowy, "Sources and resources of Zapatism," *Monthly Review* 49 no. 10, (March, 1998): 1*ff*; John Gledhill, *Neoliberalism, Transnationalization and Rural Poverty: A Case Study of Michoacan, Mexico* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995).
25. Marc Becker, "Indigenismo and Indian Movements in Twentieth-Century Ecuador," http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/lasa95/becker.html [Accessed March 24, 2005].
26. Laura Carlsen, "Mexico's New Indian Movement," *International Relations Center Bulletin,* Bulletin 45 (January 1996) www.irc-online.org/content/bulletin/bull45/php.
27. Various Marxist Groups have explored "The Mexican Question" or "Chicano Question." The groups have ranged from the Communist Party USA, which have said that Mexican-origin people are part of the American working class, to those advocating a Chicano Nation. Emma Tenayuca and Homer Brooks, "The Mexican Question in the Southwest," *The Communist,* 18 (March 1939): 257-68, was one of the first treatise on the subject.
28. Josée Agustín Ortiz Pinchetti, "Our Racism: In Confronting It, We Will Surpass It," *La Jornada,* April 19, 1998 in *Global Exchange,* www.globalexchange.org/countries/mexico/raqcism2.html [Accessed March 22, 2005]. Mario López Vital Ortíz, "El racismo impide el despertar de México," www.caminoflorido.com/mini_directorio/mexicanidad/racismo_despertar.html
29. For readings on the genocide of the Native population in recent times one only has to look at the Mexicanization of the Yaqui of Sonora. Three hundred years of warfare was conducted against the Yaqui in a stubborn effort to make them Mexicans. The Indian Quest in Mexico has to be looked at in the context of nation-state building.
30. Rodolfo F. Acuña. "In Search of Chihuahuita: Blood on the Cotton. Roads to the 1933 San Joaquin Cotton Killings" Manuscript, 2005.
31. Michael M. Swann, "Population and settlement in late-colonial Nueva Vizcaya: the causes, patterns, and consequences of demographic change in a frontier region," PH.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1980. Michael M. Swann, *Migrants in the Mexican North: mobility, economy, and society in a colonial world* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989). Thomas M. Stephens, *Dictionary of Latin American Racial and Ethnic Terminology,* Second Edition (Gainsville: University Press of Florida, 1999).
32. Theodore G. Vincent, *The Legacy of Guerrero: Mexico's First Black Indian President* (Tallahassee, Florida 2001). Vicente Mayer, "The Black Slave On New Spain's Northern Frontier: San José De Parral, 1632-1676 (University of Utah, Ph.D., 1975). Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México, 1519-1810: estudio etnohistórico* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1946). Eric Wolf, *Sons of the Shaking Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959). Douglas Richmond, "The legacy of African slavery in Colonial Mexico, 1519-1810," *Journal of Popular Culture* v35 i2 (Fall 2001): 1-15.
33. Samir Amin, "1492; Columbus and the New World Order 1492–1992," *Monthly Review* Vol. 44; No. 3 (July, 1992): 10ff. Edward W Said, *Culture and imperialism* (New York : Knopf, 1993). Fr. Josemaria Salutan Luengo, *A History of the Manila-Acapulco Slave Trade (1565-1815)* (Tubigon, Bohol, Philippines, 1996). The book was by a Filipino priest; it gives the reader a feeling for the extent of the international slave trade. He claims millions of Filipinos were sold into slavery.
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