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Silencio: The Hispanic/Latino Reticent Approach to Racism

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SILENCIO: THE HISPANIC/LATINO RETICENT APPROACH TO RACISM

*Nicolle Londoño-Rosado*¹

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OPENING THOUGHTS

Information about Latinos and the racism they face is not widely known or readily accessible in the United States.² A poll conducted by

1. Nicolle Londoño-Rosado, J.D. Candidate, Florida A&M University College of Law, 2023. This article was written in Professor Reyes' Latino and the Law class. (Silencio is a Spanish term which translates to the English term "silence"); I use the terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" interchangeably as overall terms to describe all persons and genders who come to the U.S. from any Spanish-Speaking country, regardless of their country's status with the U.S., including Puerto Rico. However, instead of using Hispanic/Latinos/as or Latinx and as a personal preference, I will purposefully use "Latinos" or "Latino community" to signify all genders and to also highlight the use of this term as a term that it is not all-encompassing and further contributes to the whitewashing of the Latino community.

2. I have added emphasis on "not easily accessible" as the information surrounding Latino culture, history, discrimination, and other topics is available but not in abundance. The need for Latino scholarly writers to address Latino struggles in the United States is pertinent. I had the pleasure of taking a Latinos and the Law class with Professor Maritza I. Reyes, a Latina professor dedicated to her students and advancing the Latino voice through her scholarly writing. Professor Reyes stated that writing was a powerful tool and should be used as a method to speak out against injustices. I write this note to implore any Latino/a scholarly writers in the legal field to begin or continue to give Latinos a voice through their scholarly writing.

The Pew Research Center revealed that 61%³ of Latinos feel that racism in their community is a real problem.⁴ The central question posed in this article is: Why are Latinos not as outspoken about racial discrimination as other racial minority groups? The Latino community is the largest, fastest-growing minority group in the United States.⁵ Latino contribution to the political process, workforce, and media must be inclusive and provide Latinos with a platform for racial discussions. There are many reasons why Latinos may feel forced into being silent when faced with racial discrimination. For instance, Latinos who are foreign-born may fear deportation; meanwhile, the Latinos who are U.S.-born may have assimilated into American culture and have chosen a side in the “Black-White Paradigm.” Even the Latinos who do not choose a side in the Black-White Paradigm may still be perceived as Black or White. When Latinos are placed in a category where they are identified as a subgroup of the White community or the Black community, they are stripped of their self-identification as a Latino. Such subgrouping stimulates discrimination from both spectrums of the “Black-White Paradigm.” A study in 2022 by Pew Research Center found that Latinos born in Puerto Rico, or another country other than the United States, are more likely to experience discrimination from other Latinos than those born in the United States.⁶ This study is an example of how Latino people are more accepted when born in the United States of America and assimilated into the “Black-White Paradigm.”

The act of subgrouping Latinos under another race and forcing them to ignore the only customs and traditions they know further pushes the agenda of silence. Additionally, subgrouping Latinos places an untrue perception that privileges are afforded to them more than other racial minorities, exposing Latinos to being divided from other racial minorities. The Pew Research Center found that about 51% of Latinos stated they had achieved the American dream, while 74%

3. Due to the number of percentages, after this initial percentage, I will be stating percentages in numerical format.

4. MARK HUGO LOPEZ, ANA GONZALEZ-BARRERA & JENS MANUEL KROGSTAD, MORE LATINOS HAVE SERIOUS CONCERNS ABOUT THEIR PLACE IN AMERICA UNDER TRUMP 13 (Pew Rsch. Ctr., 2018).

5. Gretchen Livingston, Susan Minushkin and D'vera Cohn, *Hispanics and Health-care in the United States*, PEW RSCH. CTR. (Aug. 13, 2008), <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2008/08/13/hispanics-and-health-care-in-the-united-states-access-information-and-knowledge/>.

6. Luis Noe-Bustamante, *Latinos Experience Discrimination from Other Latinos About as Much as from Non-Latinos*, PEW RSCH. CTR. (May 2, 2022), <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/05/02/latinos-experience-discrimination-from-other-latinos-about-as-much-as-from-non-latinos/>.

stated that achieving this was hard for people like them.⁷ How could a subgroup that is categorized as White on a federally executed census ever speak up on racial discrimination? How can a group whose history has been whitewashed and ignored for its contributions to American history ever have a proper self-identity? Encouraging dialogue beyond the “Black-White paradigm” and incorporating discussions of the true nature and extent of discrimination Latinos face is the first step to giving them their voice back.

INTRODUCTION

Many Latinos dream of coming to America in search for a better way of life but instead are faced with discrimination based on where they come from, the language they speak, and the pigmentation of their skin. Racial discrimination is one of the most ever-present issues in the United States of America today. Some look at discrimination and believe that it has been “fixed” through our political and judicial processes. However, others know that discrimination is still alive and prominent today. Today, discrimination has manifested itself differently –it is discreet and indirect but still prominent in the daily lives of minoritized communities. The discussion of racism has always been between the Black and White communities –specifically, the oppression the Black community experiences as a result of racism. It has been stated that “the most pervasive and powerful paradigm of race in the United States is the ‘Black-White paradigm.’”⁸ Racism and oppression against the Latino community also exist in the United States of America; however, it has received less coverage and recognition than that of the Black community for several reasons.

A poll performed by the Associated Press, found that 57% of non-Hispanic Whites harbored anti-Hispanic sentiment.⁹ Another poll conducted by the Pew Research Center found that 61% of the Latino community believed that racial discrimination against the Hispanic community is a “major problem.”¹⁰ This article will begin with an examination of the background and historical context of Latino History

7. Mark Hugo Lopez, Ana Gonzalez-Barrera and Jens Manuel Krogstad, *Latinos are More Likely to Believe in the American Dream, but Most Say it is Hard to Achieve*, PEW RSCH. CTR. (Sept. 11, 2018), <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/09/11/latinos-are-more-likely-to-believe-in-the-american-dream-but-most-say-it-is-hard-to-achieve/>.

8. Juan F. Perea, *The Black/White Binary Paradigm of Race: The “Normal Science” of American Racial Thought*, 85 CALIF. 1213, 1219 (1997).

9. Laura M. Goodall, *The “Otherized” Latino: Edward Said’s Orientalism Theory and Reforming Suspect Class Analysis*, 16 U. PA. J. CONST. L. 835, 836 (2014).

10. HUGO LOPEZ ET AL., *supra* note 4.

in the United States and how it has impacted and forced the Latino community into an abyss of forgotten struggles. It will explore some of the history of discrimination against Latino people in the United States, such as the Mexican American war and Latino Lynching. The lack of recognition of the history of discrimination against Latino people significantly contributes to the invisibility of racial issues in the community.

Part 1 article will highlight discrimination against Latinos and the effect that it has on the community. It will expose the unspoken truth of transgressions faced by Latinos in the United States and discuss how silence in the Latino community on racial issues has contributed to the invisibility of the Latino community. Part II will explore a theoretical view of why the Latinos have stayed silent and not vocalized racial discrimination. It will discuss possible factors surrounding educational institutions, the American Political system, lack of media coverage Latino hate crimes, the underrepresentation of Latinos in media, forced assimilation, Latino culture, and the possibility of the unfamiliarity of race language.

Part III will include a qualitative study on Latinos who are presently living in the United States who have faced racial discrimination in the form of, including but not limited to, a direct verbal remark, physical action, and patronization. The Pew Research Center conducted a qualitative and empirical study on Latinos and discrimination, providing us with data and sample size on Latinos and their experiences with discrimination under the Trump administration.¹¹ This article will analyze a 2018 survey conducted by The Pew Research Center to understand the overall Latino assessment on discrimination,¹² and apply its findings to address why the Latino community, who has experienced discrimination, has not vocalized and has disregarded such hate and crimes against them. Part IV will discuss proposals for change that may be instilled at a state or federal level to provide to support toward the Latino community and to properly educate on the racial discrimination faced by the Latino community. These proposals for change include, but are not limited to, educating the masses on Latino history and how it intertwines with American history, improving accuracy of reports of hate crimes against Latinos, empowering the Spanish language in public educational institutions, and creating programs to empower Latinos to enter workforces where Latinos are underrepresented.

11. HUGO LOPEZ ET AL., *supra* note 4.

12. *Id.* at 48.

I. RACISM AGAINST LATINOS

Paradigms¹³ of race shape our understanding and views on racial issues.¹⁴ In the United States, the most prominent binary paradigm is the Black/White paradigm.¹⁵ According to the 2019 United States Census, there are 60.6 million Latinos in the United States.¹⁶ However, the availability of only two racial groups creates a disconnect with other racial minorities experiencing discrimination. The lack of recognition of the history and presence of other racial minority groups only furthers the “Black-White Paradigm” and leaves communities out of national discussions of racism in the United States.¹⁷

A. Mexican-American War

Before the Mexican-American war began, negative connotations associated with Mexicans were in existence and were widely discussed by powerful leaders. These negative connotations are demonstrated in *Latinos Nowhere in Sight: Erased by Racism, Nativism, the Black-White Binary*, which states:

They were different because of the color of their skin, the language they spoke, the religion they practiced, and the customs they shared. As James Buchanan, then Secretary of State under President James K. Polk put it, Mexicans were “the imbecile and indolent” race whose “bastard civilization” did not “possess the elements of an independent national existence”¹⁸

The United States declared war on Mexico on May 13, 1846.¹⁹ The conflict arose because the United States tried to buy Texas and what was called “Mexican California” for Mexico however, the annexation of Texas was considered an act of war.²⁰ Before the war, Mexico

13. “A paradigm is a shared set of understandings or premises which permits the definition, elaboration, and solution of a set of problems defined within the paradigm.” See Perea, *supra* note 8, at 1216.

14. *Id.* at 1219.

15. *Id.*

16. U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, *Table 1. Population by Sex, Age, Hispanic Origin, and Race: 2019* [*<1.0 MB*], in THE HISPANIC POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES: 2019 (2019).

17. Perea, *supra* note 8, at 1219.

18. Camilo M. Ortiz, *Latinos Nowhere in Sight: Erased by Racism, Nativism, the Black-White Binary, and Authoritarianism*, 13 RUTGERS RACE & L. REV. 29, 38, (2012) (quoting from JOSÉ LUIS MORÍN, *LATINO/A RIGHTS AND JUSTICE IN THE UNITED STATES* 26 (2d ed. 2009)).

19. NCC Staff, *The Mexican-American War in a Nutshell*, NAT’L. CONST. CTR., (May 13, 2021), <https://constitutioncenter.org/blog/the-mexican-american-war-in-a-nutshell>.

20. *Id.*

owned the southwestern states of California, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, most of Utah, southern Colorado, and Texas.²¹ General Zachary Taylor led the American invasion of Mexico.²² It was documented that some of General Taylor's men went into Catholic churches, roping crucifixes on the altar, dragging them to public plazas, and beating clergymen simultaneously.²³ Many volunteers who went to war brutally murdered, raped, and lynched Mexicans during the war.²⁴ The war was fought on a volunteer basis, and some of the volunteers were Irishmen who initially agreed to help the United States; however, the Irishmen were repelled by the actions of the Americans and had a change of heart.²⁵ The Irishmen and other volunteers deserted the American force and joined the Mexican side making up what was called the "San Patricios."²⁶ Out of the 500 Irishmen and other volunteers, 50 of them were caught and hanged, making this the largest execution in military history.²⁷ Mexico suffered great injustices during the Mexican-American war that left an overwhelming impact on the Mexican people.

B. Latino Lynchings

The story of Rafael Benavides' ("Benavides") abduction and execution elicited approval from locals that were relieved that a "dangerous menace" was removed from their community.²⁸ The unlawful behavior of Benavides' murderers and the gruesome description of the events and ultimate death of Benavides was depicted in, *A Dangerous Experiment: The Lynching of Rafael Benavides*. This article described these events as:

Four masked men marched into the San Juan County Hospital in the remote northern New Mexican town of Farmington at 11:15 on

21. Theresa A. Martinez, *Our Most Neglected Story: American History*, 13 UTAH B.J. 12, 14, (2000).

22. *Id.* at 15.

23. *Id.*

24. Ronald E. Hall, *They Lynched Mexican-Americans Too: A Question of Anglo Colorism*, 42 HISP. J. BEHAV. SCI. 62-76 (2020), <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0739986319899737>.

25. Martinez *supra*, note 21.

26. *Id.* The word "San Patricios" is not expressly defined in this article, *Our Most Neglected Story: American History*, however, based on the article, it is inferred to mean St. Patrick's Battalion.

27. *Id.*

28. William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb, *The Lynching of Persons of Mexican Origin or Descent in the United States, 1848 to 1928*, 37 J. OF SOC. HIST. 411, 411 (2003) (discussing lynching of people of Mexican Origin that took place in the United States).

the morning of Friday, 16 November 1928. The men seized one of the patients, a Mexican sheepherder named Rafael Benavides, and bundled him into the back of a pickup truck. A second truck carrying six other men sped along with the kidnappers' vehicle to an abandoned farm two miles north of town. There, they forced their victim to stand on the back of one of the trucks as they tied a rope around his neck and fastened it to a locust tree. When the driver accelerated the vehicle forward, Benavides's dangling body snapped his neck.²⁹

A noose is simply the circle at the end of a rope when a tie is knotted and tightens as it is pulled.³⁰ However, a noose symbolically means so much more and has the power to cause fear and feelings of terror.³¹ The history of lynching and the sign of a noose has been readily known for who the intended use and threat of violence was for. In America, it has been known by most and taught, that the noose symbolizes an act of hatred and racial violence against the Black community. "The NAACP estimates that more than 4,700 people were lynched in the US between 1882 and 1968, although Shuler believes the number is probably much higher. Almost 73% of them were Black."³²

When you think of the history of lynching, you usually do not associate it with the Latino community. However, a 2009 casebook summarized much about the history of Latino lynching.³³ The motivation for Latino lynchings were partly motivated by similar circumstances of those as the Black community.³⁴ Such circumstances were making advances towards White women, taking jobs away, practicing "witchcraft," refusing to leave the land occupied by the White Americans, however, Mexicans were lynched for acting "too Mexican."³⁵ "Too Mexican" was a saying used that when Mexicans spoke Spanish too loudly or reminded the White Americans of their "Mexi-

29. William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb, *A Dangerous Experiment: The Lynching of Rafael Benavides*, 80 N.M. HIST. REV., 265, 265 (July 1, 2005), <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol80/iss3/2>.

30. Alaa Elassar, *Why the noose is such a potent symbol of hate*, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/06/23/us/noose-hate-symbol-racism-trnd/index.html> (June 23, 2020, 6:22 PM).

31. *Id.*

32. *Id.*

33. RICHARD DELGADO ET AL., *LATINOS AND THE LAW: CASES AND MATERIALS* 207-09 (Richard Delgado, Juan F. Perea & Jean Stefanic eds., 2nd ed. 2021).

34. Richard Delgado, *The Law of the Noose: A History of Latino Lynching*, 44 Harv. C.R.-C.L. L. Rev. 297, 299 (2009).

35. *Id.*

canness.”³⁶ Additionally, Mexican women were often lynched for denying White American men and their forceful sexual advances.³⁷

“The numbers of African Americans lynched during the period in question were, of course, higher—around 3,400 to 5,000.”³⁸ However, the Latino presence in the United States at the time was much lower, especially the Mexican American population, which overall was smaller.³⁹ It is reported that between 1848 and 1928, mobs lynched at least 597 Mexicans; however, the meaning of the term lynching has drastically changed over time and hinders the correct collection of data on mob violence.⁴⁰ Overall, the rates of lynching were at a similar rate to lynching in the Black community.⁴¹ Latino lynching was recognized and used by White law enforcement authorities, especially the Texas Rangers, who were known to harbor feeling of resentment towards Mexican Americans.⁴² Most lynchings of Latinos took place in the Southwest, especially the states or territories of Texas, California, Arizona, and New Mexico, which had a significant amount of the Mexican population.⁴³ The lynching events were so uncontrolled and unchecked that the Mexican government and the Mexican Consulate made formal complaints and Latino Civil Rights groups began fighting back.⁴⁴ Latino lynchings were relatively not better known and not shed light on because they were printed in Spanish newspapers.⁴⁵ The lynching’s that the Mexican population endured was largely absent from “America’s collective record and memory.”⁴⁶

36. *Id.* The word “Mexicanness” is not expressly defined in this article; however, based on the article, it is inferred to mean the embracing of the Mexican culture.

37. *Id.* at 299-300.

38. *Id.*

39. *Id.*

40. William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb, *The Lynching of Persons of Mexican Origin or Descent in the United States, 1848-1928*, 37 *J. OF SOC. HIST.*, 411, 413 (2003) (discussing changes in the definition of lynching and its effect on the collection of data on mob violence).

41. See Delgado, *supra* note 34, at 300.

42. *Id.*

43. *Id.* at 301. Before the Mexican American war, Mexico owned the southwestern states of California, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, most of Utah, southern Colorado, and all of Texas. Texas, California, Arizona, and New Mexico, which were the states mentioned in this article to contain a high population of Mexican people, were once a part of Mexico and were ripped from their culture and roots due to the immoral massacre on Mexico during the war. I wanted to emphasize why the population and prominent Mexican culture was heavy in the Southwestern states.

44. *Id.* at 302-03.

45. *Id.* at 304.

46. *Id.*

II. THEORETICAL VIEW ON LATINO SILENCE

In the previous section of this article, the historical context was provided to show the Latino community's history with racial discrimination—racism against the Latino community is not something new. Rather, racism against Latinos has occurred for centuries and is similar to racism experienced by other groups of racial minorities. Despite these similarities, the Latino community has not been as outspoken about the racism they face as other racial minorities, such as the Black community, who have been more open and direct about their fight against the oppression and racism they face. This section will explore possible theories⁴⁷ to address why the Latino community chooses to stay silent when faced with racism.

A. Educational Institutions

Attributing the status of a racial minority to someone automatically imputes a profile of lower academic achievement, lower occupational attainment, and criminality.⁴⁸ Elissa, nineteen years old, and Carina, two twenty-two-year-old Latina students, share their stories of racism in the education sector.⁴⁹ Elissa tells of being invisible at school, while Carina tells of being perceived as not college-bound and advised to attend a trade school instead.⁵⁰ Latino male students also struggle with being singled out as low academic achievers, and they are also marginalized and placed in a group, othering them as gang members.⁵¹ The othering as “gangster” leads to hypervisibility, which leads to increased surveillance and punishments at school for these young men, who may not even be involved with gangs.⁵²

Second, language-based subservience has also affected Latinos in the educational system by pushing them to integrate into an English-speaking dominant society and be placed in special language learning classes if they do not speak English.⁵³ Traditionally, the cul-

47. Here, this article discusses possible theories because there is insufficient research available to conclusively answer why the Latino community has, for the most part, remained silent when faced with racism.

48. NILDA FLORES-GONZALEZ, *CITIZENS BUT NOT AMERICANS RACE & BELONGING AMONG LATINO MILLENNIALS* 43 (Pierrette Hondagneu et al. eds., 2017).

49. *Id.*

50. *Id.*

51. *Id.*

52. *Id.* at 44.

53. Symposium, *Brown at Fifty: Buscando América: Why Integration and Equal Protection fight to protect Latinos*, *Search for America*, 117 HARV. L. REV. 1420 (2004). An

tural feature that makes Latinos visible is speaking Spanish, and the preference for the English language could lead to censorship and invisibility.⁵⁴ Ignoring Spanish speakers is also another form of racial-linguistic aggression that is often faced by youths.⁵⁵ Silencing Spanish speakers is also another form of racial-linguistic aggression –this often happens when others stop Latinos from speaking Spanish in White places or spaces.⁵⁶

Statistics paints us with an alarming picture with numbers when it comes to Latino educational attainment.⁵⁷ In comparison to the Black community, Latinos also received an inferior education and are segregated not only by race but also by poverty and language, more than any other ethnic group.⁵⁸

In 2000, the status dropout rate for Latino students was 27.8%, more than twice the rate for Blacks and four times the rate for Whites. Put another way, only 56% of Hispanics graduated from high school in 2000, while 88% of Whites earned high school diplomas. Latinos rank last among major U.S. racial groups in their average level of educational attainment.⁵⁹

Effective education for Latino students demands that they learn how they best understand, including the language they speak.⁶⁰ As this is true for some Latino students, not all, Spanish is their primary language and lies “at the heart of the Latino experience in the United States.”⁶¹ “Recent census figures show that 46.9 million, or 17.9%, of U.S. residents speak languages other than English at home, and of these, 28.1 million, or 10.7% of U.S. residents, speak Spanish.”⁶² Some schools punish students for speaking Spanish, as seen in Rubio

example, from personal experience, is the isolation and fear of missing out that most Latino students have when they are placed in English to Speakers of Other Languages (“ESOL”). All students are to fill out school paperwork to be admitted, one simple box that states if another language is spoken at home can change the course of a student’s life. By simply stating that Spanish (or any other language other than English) is spoken at home places that student in ESOL to teach them English and once the English language is mastered then the process of integration occurs. This is usually when the Latino student can go back to where the “normal” English speaking American students are. However, English can be mastered and already known but some students never make it back to the “regular” classes furthering the isolation and othered feeling.

54. Flores-Gonzalez, *supra* note 48, at 38.

55. *Id.*

56. *Id.*

57. Perea, *supra* note 8, at 1423.

58. *Id.*

59. *Id.*

60. *Id.* at 1424.

61. *Id.* at 1425.

62. *Id.*

v. Turner. In this case, Mr. Lorenzo Rubio filed a lawsuit in Federal court on behalf of his son, Zach Rubio, a sixteen-year-old high school student who was suspended for speaking to another student in Spanish to ask for a dollar.⁶³ In addition to punishing students for speaking Spanish, Latino History⁶⁴ has been ignored in the public education system despite the significant contributions of the Latino community in American History. Many writers assert that one of the main causes of the low school achievement completion rates of the Latino students is due to the narrow school curriculum.⁶⁵

In 2010, a group of Republican lawmakers argued that teaching American Mexican history in public schools located in Arizona created resentment towards other races and promoted the overthrow of the United States government.⁶⁶ Ignoring Latino studies in American history is not the only way the public sector has handled teaching Latino studies, but there has also been allegations of whitewashing⁶⁷ Latino history. In 2014, many rallied to protest an American history textbook about Mexican American that relied on stereotypes and described Mexican people as lazy and not as hardworking as the American industrialist.⁶⁸

A sense of not belonging and constant rejection can be a prominent reason why the Latinos may have chosen to not speak on racial discussions. A proposal for change for the deficits in the public education sector can be as easy as teaching Latino history in schools. This

63. Rubio v. Turner Unified Sch. Dist. No. 202, 453 F. Supp. 2d 1295, 1297 (D. Kan. 2006).

64. The term “Latino History” will be used to describe history of the Hispanic and Latino community as it relates to American history. This term is all encompassing for all history events that have occurred as it relates to the United States, this includes but is not limited to Spanish and Mexican American history.

65. Kathy Escamilla, *Incorporating Mexican American History and Culture into the Social Studies Classroom*, in CHILDREN OF LA FRONTERA: BINATIONAL EFFORTS TO SERVE MEXICAN MIGRANT AND IMMIGRANT STUDENTS 269, 270 (Judith Leblanc Flores ed., 1996).

66. Interview by Norma Martinez with Marco Cervantes, Dir. of the Mex. Am. Stud. Program at the Univ. of Tex. at San Antonio, and Assoc. Professor in Bicultural-Bilingual Stud. at the UTSA Coll. of Educ. and Hum. Dev. (Aug. 11, 2017).

67. Jeremy Hallinger, *What Whitewashing Really Means and Why it's a Problem*, READER'S DIGEST (Oct. 7, 2022), <https://www.rd.com/article/what-whitewashing-means-and-why-its-a-problem/> (“According to one Merriam-Webster definition, to whitewash is to ‘gloss over or cover up,’ which, in a sense, is what the racial form of whitewashing does. It creates a White world where sins against people of color, including Blacks, Native Americans, Asians, Latinos, and other minority groups cease to matter because, in revisionist history and reality, those minority groups barely exist. Race is a divisive concept . . .”).

68. Doyin Oyeniya, *Proposed Mexican-American Heritage Textbooks is a Continuation of the Problem with U.S. History Classes*, TEXAS MONTHLY (Oct. 6, 2016), <https://www.texasmonthly.com/the-daily-post/proposed-mexican-american-heritage-textbook-continuation-problem-u-s-history-classes/>.

would empower Latino students at a young age and spark the conversations surrounding race and discrimination. Additionally, Latinos are shunned in public education for speaking their language at home, and forces the student into isolation. I propose that instead of isolating someone based on speaking another language at home, the public education sector should not isolate the student and send them off to another classroom, instead supply the student with additional support.

B. Political Processes

Being a self-identifying Latino and seeing no one who looks like you or carries your culture as you do can be fearing when the lack of representation means there is someone less in your corner. The Latino population reached 62.1 million in 2020, which was an increase of 23% from the previous decades in the United States.⁶⁹ However, Latinos still only makeup 1% of all local and federal officials in political office, and even though the Latino community has grown exponentially, Latinos running for political office, is still too often an anomaly.⁷⁰ “The invisibility . . . Latina/o . . . for political presence and representation is both frustrating and telling.”⁷¹ To understand the minority experience in the United States, for any racial minority group, it needs to be seen and experienced.⁷² It is also important to highlight that many scholars attribute the lack of Latino candidates to low minority voter turnout, resulting from years of discriminatory political practices and actions.⁷³

Additionally, under the Trump administration, threats of deportation and terror-based tactics against immigrants based on their identity was arguably the cornerstone of the Trump administration.⁷⁴ Fear and rejection of someone’s identity and culture could also be a

69. Jeffery S. Passel, Mark Hugo Lopez, and D’Vera Cohn, *U.S. Hispanic Population Continued its Geographic Spread in the 2010s*, PEW RSCH. CTR. (Feb. 3, 2022), <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/02/03/u-s-hispanic-population-continued-its-geographic-spread-in-the-2010s/>.

70. Dianna M. Nández, *Latinos Make Up Only 1% of All Local and Federal Elected Officials, and That’s a Big Problem*, USA TODAY (Jan. 6, 2020), <https://www.usatoday.com/in-depth/news/nation/2020/01/06/aoc-julian-castro-underrepresented-hispanics-aim-change-politics/4253316002/>.

71. Kathay Feng, Keith Aoki, and Bryan Lkegami, *Voting Matters: Apias, Latinas/os and Post-2000 Redistricting in California*, 81 OR. L. REV. 849, 852 (2002).

72. This is the author’s opinion. I do agree that through scholarship you learn and are able to sympathize with other racial minorities but to see, understand, and experience gives perspective that only through those circumstances can be obtained.

73. Sydnee Fielkow, *Shelby County and Local Governments: A Case Study of Local Texas Governments Diluting Minority Votes*, 14 NW. J. L. & SOC. POL’Y 348, 363 (2019).

74. Stella Burch Elias, *Law as a Tool of Terror*, 107 IOWA L. REV. 1, 17 (2021).

prominent reason as to why many Latinos feel as they are forced to stay silent. During his time as President of the United States, President Donald Trump (Hereinafter “President Trump”) referred to Mexicans as criminals and used hateful and degrading rhetoric’s to demonize Mexicans by categorizing them as “drug smugglers” and rapists.⁷⁵ President Trump went as far as tossing paper towels to hurricane survivors in at a relief center in Puerto Rico. However, President Trump did not only use derogatory terms towards Latinos, but actions were taken towards mass deportation as well. The Trump administration made over 400 changes to the United States immigration law targeting specific groups based on their gender, race, religion, and/or national origin with specific bans to travel and bars to asylum seekers.⁷⁶ “[M]any instances of mass deportation have stemmed from a refusal by Anglo-Saxon Americans to view Latinos as equals and a desire to maintain a status quo of inequality.”⁷⁷

Fear, rejection, and lack of representation or self-identification in the United States government can be a possibility why many Latinos fear talking about or reporting any racial transgressions. I propose that federal regulations be cemented regarding non-Citizens Latinos and their rights equal treatment and to privacy⁷⁸ when reporting a crime. This would encourage Latinos, especially those in fear of deportation, to adequately report crimes committed to them. This would also give Latinos a sense of security and not rejection by highlighting that the United States government does in fact, protect their people regardless of citizenship status. In February 2022, a study was conducted where in nearly four-out-of-ten Latinos (39%) feared form themselves or a family member that they would be deported.⁷⁹ Stories of immigrants who qualify and are participating in social support groups to feed their families or provide health insurance to their children who qualify withdrew from the programs out of fear that they would be de-

75. *Id.*

76. *Id.*

77. Yolanda Vázquez, *Perpetuating the Marginalization of Latinos: A Collateral Consequence of the Incorporation of Immigration Law into the Criminal Justice System*, 54 *How. L.J.* 639, 650 (2011).

78. Rights to privacy is used here to indicate that when crime reporting a non-U.S. Citizen does not need to disclose their citizenship status or any determinative factors, they do not feel comfortable disclosing for fear of I.C.E and must be treated equally under the law as a citizen of the United States would be.

79. Mohamad Mosilimani, *Around Four-in-Ten Latinos in U.S. Worry That They or Someone Close to Them Could be Deported*, PEW RSCH. CTR. (Feb. 14, 2022), <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/02/14/around-four-in-ten-latinos-in-u-s-worry-that-they-or-someone-close-to-them-could-be-deported/>.

ported or in fear of possibly hurting their chances of citizenship.⁸⁰ Police departments in the United States reported a substantial decrease in crime reporting, specifically in Latino neighborhoods, which was stated to be related to the fear of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agents (hereinafter “I.C.E.”) and possible deportation.⁸¹

Houston, for instance, reported a 33% decrease in violent crime reporting by Latinos during the first three months of 2017, and some parents even abandon driving their children to school, and encourage use of the school bus, all to avoid any police intervention.⁸² The Houston Police Department also stated that only 6,273 domestic violence reports were recorded from Latinos, a decrease compared to the 7,640 reports from the previous year.⁸³ Police departments with large Latino communities also reported a decline in report of domestic dispute.⁸⁴ These areas included Los Angeles, Denver, and San Diego.⁸⁵ Additionally, in Houston, Latino reports on domestic disputes went down even though the Latino community had grown significantly, which at the time this article was written was around 44%.⁸⁶

C. Media Coverage

Media coverage is an important outlet that should be used to encourage positive inclusion and to properly inform the public. However, hate crimes against Latinos are unusual to see in major American news outlets leading to an uninformed public. If these hate crimes are not being displayed to the public, then it is assumed that they are not happening. Additionally, mainstream perceptions of Latinos and their stereotypical portrayals of Latinos in modern-day television enforce the thought that Latinos are criminals.

More than 250,000 hate crimes that took place between 2004 and 2015 went unreported, and according to a report on hate crimes from the Bureau of Justice Statistics, Latinos were victimized at the

80. Bill Ong Hing, *Entering the Trump Ice Age: Contextualizing the New Immigration Enforcement Regime*, 5 TEX. A&M L. REV. 253, 293 (2018).

81. *Id.* at 294.

82. *Id.*

83. Cora Engelbrecht, *Fewer Immigrants are Reporting Domestic Abuse. Police Blame Fear of Deportation*, N.Y. TIMES (June 4, 2018), <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/03/us/immigrants-houston-domestic-violence.html>.

84. *Id.*

85. *Id.*

86. *Id.*

highest rate, followed by Black people.⁸⁷ The Southern Poverty Law Center tracked 733 hate groups across the United States, and out of those 733 groups, 18 of them were directed toward anti-immigrant ideologies.⁸⁸ The latest information provided in 2019 shows that there were 4,930 victims of a crime motivated by race, ethnicity, or ancestry, and of those victims, 14.1% were victims of Anti-Latino bias.⁸⁹

In 2008, a thirty-eight-year-old man named Marcelo Lucero, an Ecuadorian immigrant, was killed by a gang of seven teenagers in New York.⁹⁰ One of the defendants arrested informed police that he had gone to Patchogue to “beat up beaners.”⁹¹ A report published by the Southern Poverty Law Center found that Latinos living in Suffolk County lived in what was described as a “climate of fear.”⁹² The climate of fear that was described towards Latinos was said to be created, in part, by the anti-immigrant groups in addition to some county elected officials who blamed Suffolk County’s economic problems on the people who were undocumented.⁹³ However, news about this murder was not nationally covered. Though it was reported, it was not widely known or spoken about in the Latino community or in the United States of America as a whole. When hate crimes are not adequately reported, it may discourage other victims of such crimes to come forward. This lack of awareness may contribute to the community’s ability to combat this issue.

In addition to the unreported and under-televised hate crimes, Latinos in mainstream media are often portrayed as undocumented criminals, maids with hidden agendas, gang members, or crazy Latina women. Latinos account for only about 5% to 6% of prominent cast members in TV and film, despite being roughly 18% of the U.S. popula-

87. Sadie Gurman and Russell Contreras, *Report: More Than Half of Hate Crimes in US Go Unreported*, ASSOCIATED PRESS (June 29, 2017), <https://apnews.com/article/north-america-ap-top-news-ca-state-wire-crime-politics-5738fbadb9804b55b3f721c092bfc81>.

88. S. POVERTY L. CTR., (last visited on April 18, 2022), <https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map?ideology=Anti-immigrant>.

89. U.S. DEPT. JUST. UNIF. CRIME REP. HATE CRIME STAT. at 2 (2019).

90. María Pabón López, *An Article Examining the Murder of Luis Ramirez and the Emergence of Hate Crimes Against Latino Immigrants in the United States*, 44 ARIZ. ST. L.J. 155, 167 (2012).

91. *Id.*

92. *Long Island Teens Sentenced for Hate Crime of Marcelo Lucero*, ERASE RACISM (Nov. 8, 2010), <https://www.eraseracismny.org/our-work/changing-the-narrative-community-forums/652-long-island-teens-sentenced-for-hate-crime-of-marcelo-lucero-#:~:text=In%202010%2C%20four%20Patchogue%20teens,beat%20him%20and%20killed%20him.>

93. *Id.*

tion.⁹⁴ Another common stereotype about Latinos is that they are uneducated, and according to the 2000 U.S. census, only about eleven percent of Latinos had college degrees.⁹⁵ These stereotypical perspectives of Latinos have “institutionalized and rationalized a racial hierarchy that defines ‘superior’ groups as ‘justifiably’ dominant and ‘inferior’ groups as deserving their status in society.”⁹⁶ In a study dedicated to the media industry’s commitment to workforce diversity, it was found that the Latino community is underrepresented in media compared to the rest of the workforce.⁹⁷ It was found that the Latino community made up an estimated 12% of workers in the media industry versus 18% of workers in the rest of the workforce.⁹⁸

U.S. Representative Joaquin Castro stated that “the lack of accurate representation, especially in Hollywood, means at the very best that Americans don’t get a full understanding of Latinos and their contributions. At worst — especially when Latinos are solely portrayed as drug dealers or criminals — it invites politicians to exploit negative stereotypes for political gain.”⁹⁹ How could it be expected that someone with an instilled inferiority complex has the courage to speak up or stand in the face of racial discrimination? As change, more Latinos needs to be presented with roles away from those stereotypes, and media should further highlight hate crimes of all kinds.

D. Assimilation

Through research, I have come to understand that assimilation is seen as traits that need to be inherited to fit the dominant race’s mold while the inferior race dissipates. Assimilation encourages that the minority race relinquishes their identity, language, and customs for acceptance into the dominant, more deserving society. The American Dream that is sold to Latinos is that so long as they work hard and assimilate to life in the United States, the wealth of opportunities is endless. Many foreign-born Latinos come to the United States to seek safety, opportunities, and the promised “American Dream.” However,

94. Astrid Galvan, *Latinos vastly underrepresented in media, new report finds*, PBS: NEWS HOUR (Sept. 22, 2021) <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/arts/latinos-vastly-underrepresented-in-media-new-report-finds>.

95. TATCHO MINDIOLA JR. ET AL., *BLACK-BROWN RELATIONS AND STEREOTYPES* 19 (2002).

96. *Id.* at 20-21.

97. *Workforce Diversity: Analysis of Federal Data Shows Hispanics Are Underrepresented in the Media Industry*, U.S. GOV’T ACCOUNTABILITY OFF. (Sept. 22, 2021), <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-21-105322.pdf>.

98. *Id.*

99. Galvan, *supra* note 94.

the “American Dream” comes with a price of assimilation and a loss of self-identification in this process. The process of assimilation and loss of tradition and culture creates a disparity between the inferior race and their identity.

Assimilation is defined as a “one-way adaptation by persons of color to the norms of Whiteness and English monolingualism” and was the primary goal of American education for people who had been conquered.¹⁰⁰ For the past four decades, scholars debated race among the Latino community while largely arguing that the Latino community is merely a White subgroup.¹⁰¹ Based on Latinos’ self-identification and classification as white on the U.S. Census and surveys, however, Latinos are regarded as a pan-ethnic group composed of different national origins and cannot fit into a single race.¹⁰² The European model of assimilation is limiting and furthers the perception of the “dominant black/white binary that has historically hindered the understanding of multi-racial pan-ethnic groups.”¹⁰³

The problem with assimilation and Latinos as a racial middle is that it creates a sense of marginalization from their inferior status to racial hierarchy.¹⁰⁴ As Latinos do not fit in a conventional racial category directed by a racial order categorizing Whites on top and Black people on the bottom, this leads to the assumption that Latinos must fit on one or the other side of the color line.¹⁰⁵ As previously mentioned, many scholars argue that Latinos fall under a White subgroup, however, most Latino millennials reported a general feeling and a sense of solidarity with the Black and Middle Eastern, particularly Arab and Muslim background, communities rather than with the White community.¹⁰⁶

The main cultural feature that makes a Latino visible is the speaking of Spanish.¹⁰⁷ Latinos experience linguistic stigmatization, whether it be due to a lack of English speaking or heavy accent, it is known that Spanish in a public place is discouraged.¹⁰⁸ For instance, in the case of Ana Suda and Martha Hernandez, two American citizens born in Texas and California were asked to show their ID cards be-

100. Perea, *supra* note 8, at 1439.

101. Flores-Gonzalez, *supra* note 48, at 53.

102. *Id.*

103. ARLENE DÁVILA, *LATINO SPIN: PUBLIC IMAGE AND WHITEWASHING OF RACE* 16 (2008).

104. Flores-Gonzalez, *supra* note 48, at 4.

105. *Id.* at 4-5.

106. *Id.*

107. Flores-Gonzalez, *supra* note 48, at 38.

108. *Id.*

cause they were speaking Spanish in a convivence store in Montana; they were unlawfully detained for about forty minutes.¹⁰⁹ Undermining, punishing, or questioning someone's English proficiency based on the language they speak is another form of racial discrimination and forced assimilation. It is known that "American"¹¹⁰ culture only speaks English –thus, when someone speaks another language, such as Spanish, it is regarded as rude to speak in front of those who do not understand or considered unwelcomed. Spanish speakers are aggressively told to "learn English, you're in America!" NBC Journalist, Tom Brokaw, stated that "Hispanics should work harder at assimilation" and to instill the English language in their children.¹¹¹

Generally, Latinos have fewer interactions with Asians and Whites but feel most estranged from the Black community as some Black people perceive that Latinos occupy a more privileged white adjacent position.¹¹² This label takes away from their self-identification and starts to distance Latinos from their culture. Additionally, labeling Latinos as White, ignoring the lack of opportunities, and minimizing their racial discrimination experiences creates a disparity between Latinos and other racial minorities. Latinos experience racial discrimination, are underrepresented in the workforce, and are persecuted for their background. Labeling Latinos as White and neglecting the struggles of being Latino further encourages silence within the community. Someone who is considered to have privilege is portrayed as not experiencing what other racial minorities do, which simply is not true for Latinos. This is not just a war on the Latino identity and culture but also on the Latino experience in the United States.

109. Bill Chappell, *Americans Who Were Detained After Speaking Spanish In Montana Sue U.S. Border Agency*, NAT'L PUB. RADIO (Feb. 15, 2019), <https://www.npr.org/2019/02/15/695184555/americans-who-were-detained-after-speaking-spanish-in-montana-sue-u-s-border-pat>.

110. I place quotes around "American" because, personally, I question what it is to be American Does it mean someone of European descent? Someone who was born here and is considered "White"? America is a melting pot of people and cultures; I believe it to be unfair to state someone is "American" based on a race or physical appearance.

111. Suzanne Gamboa, *Racism, not a lack of assimilation, is the real problem facing Latinos in America*, NBC NEWS (Feb. 26, 2019), <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/racism-not-lack-assimilation-real-problem-facing-latinos-america-n974021>.

112. *Id.*

E. Cultural Aspect

Two of the most known forms of social constructs in the Latin American society are machismo and marianismo.¹¹³ Machismo has no set definition and varies from county to country, however, an examination of those who live within the confines of machismo would help to facilitate a better understanding of this concept.¹¹⁴ Machismo is a set of cultural expectations for men that bring both positive and negative traits; positive traits include pride, honor, bravery, a duty of responsibility and obligation to be the caretaker of the family.¹¹⁵ However, the negative traits include aggression, dominant behavior and ideals that imply sexual expertise and physical and moral superiority over women.¹¹⁶ Marianismo, is the set of moral beliefs used to define the “perfect” Latina woman.¹¹⁷ The concepts surrounding Latina women frame them as “submissive sexual objects who willingly and completely subject themselves to masculine control” and assumes that the “perfect” Latina woman is one who self-sacrifices for the success of her familial unit, furthering the submissive Latina woman concept.

Women are not just silenced at home or through physical attacks, most women in the United States are often silenced in the workplace as well.¹¹⁸ Due to machismo, “women must deal with discrimination in all aspects of life (e.g. discrimination in the workplace, lack of reproductive rights, political disadvantage, etc.)”¹¹⁹ Regardless of women’s professional degrees, intellectual abilities, or credentials, when attacked in the place where they work, women usually feel helpless.¹²⁰ Degrading women at home or in the workplace is not an unknown concept. The world sat and watched how President Trump attacked and ridiculed a United States presidential candidate, Hilary Clinton (Hereinafter “Mrs. Clinton”), going as far as calling Mrs. Clin-

113. Meredith Kimelblatt, *Reducing Harmful Effects of Machismo Culture on Latin American Domestic Violence Laws: Amending the Convention of Belém Do Pará to Resemble the Istanbul Convention*, 49 GEO. WASH. INT’L L. REV. 405, 412 (2016).

114. Patricia M. Hernandez, *The Myth of Machismo: An Everyday Reality For Latin Women*, 15 ST. THOMAS L. REV. 859, 862 (2003).

115. *Id.*

116. *Id.*

117. Kimelblatt, *supra* note 113, at 412.

118. Maritza I. Reyes, *Professional Women Silenced by Men-Made Norms*, 47 AKRON L. REV. 897, 903 (2015).

119. Hernandez, *supra* note 114, at 866.

120. Maritza I. Reyes, *Professional Women Subjugated by Name-Calling and Character Attacks*, 23 J. GENDER RACE & JUST. 397, 399 (2020).

ton a “nasty woman,” to then be elected as the forty-fifth President of the United States.¹²¹

Culturally, Latina women are seen as the inferior gender and are raised to believe that the man is more capable than a woman. This inferiority furthers the intricate concepts of the “perfect” Latina, and the ways to achieve such honor is by minimizing one’s self-worth. Women are socialized to see themselves as the “caregivers and nurturers, learning to take care of everyone else before themselves.”¹²² On the contrary, a Latino man is taught and socialized early on to be the dominant and authoritative figure.¹²³ This type of socialization may lead to the belief that the Latino man is an all-powerful being.

Relating such concepts back to racial discrimination, these examples of a prideful, strong, dominant Latino man is more likely not to speak about a racial transgression against him due to the portrayal of the egocentrically dominant, strong, macho man who fears nothing. Additionally, Latino men may be less inclined to speak out about discrimination in fear of losing their superiority in the marital construct. In contrast to the Latino men, Latina women may not be partaking in racial discussions, possibly due to the culturally-developed concept of the “perfect” Latina woman and how they are often categorized as submissive, self-sacrificing, and stoic.¹²⁴ The “perfect” Latina is a nurturer by cultural norms and a “take it all” woman.¹²⁵ So, in events that transpire in effect to racial discrimination, Latina women may be more inclined to “take the beating” and act as if it never happened.

III. THE STUDY

This study was conducted to understand the role of Latinos and their absence in racial discussions. This study also measures the attitudes of Latinos regarding their personal experiences with discrimination. Additionally, the study explores three ways to measure the subject’s racial identity. The survey asked the subject to choose a race from the list provided that best identified them, the subject’s citizenship status, and their place of birth.

121. *Id.* at 400.

122. Hernandez, *supra* note 114, at 863.

123. *Id.*

124. *Id.* at 864.

125. I use a “take it all woman” to describe a woman, specifically a Latina woman, who has been taught by birth and through socialization that a Latina woman must take everything thrown at her. Whether it be abuse from her husband, abuse in the workplace etc.

For this analysis, sixty adult Latinos, living in the United States were surveyed in April 2022. Most of the subjects surveyed were born in the United States and currently live in the United States. Respondents were recruited through the Hispanic American Law Student Association chapter in Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University College of Law located in Orlando, Florida. Eleven of the sixty participants were law school students. The other forty-nine subjects were recruited family members and friends of the law school participants.

The sample size represents a small amount of the Latino population, specifically Latinos who were born in the United States. About five of the sixty subjects were born somewhere other than the United States or Puerto Rico. To further ensure that the survey reflected a balance of Latino adults, the data weighed age, gender, and education level.

A. Findings

The total number of participants in this study was sixty subjects. The maximum number of responses for each question was 1,199 responses because not all respondents answered each question asked. As for the demographics portion of this study, the ages were asked in ranges and were placed into five categories. The categories ranged from eighteen to sixty-four years of age. The data found that the largest age range that participated were those between the ages of 25 and 34, specifically 57% (34) of the respondents. Female respondents accounted for 67% (40) of the survey as 33% (20) accounted for male representation. No participant identified as non-binary. Of the sixty participants, fifty-three of them identified as Hispanic/Latino. The participants accounted for 95% (57) of United States Citizens, 3% (2) of residents, and 2% (1) of non-United States Citizen. Out of the sixty participants, twenty-three reported that they had a bachelor's degree. The high reporting of education level regarding bachelor's degrees is mostly attributed to the number of law school students responding to this survey.

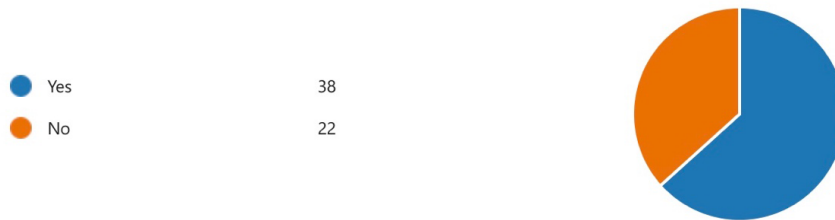
After demographics had been established, the study moved on to the personal experience questions posed for respondents. These questions contained both open-ended and closed-ended questions to collect a qualitative analysis and understand the patterns of Latino discrimination experiences and the silence associated with it. The study began with asking about politicians and medical providers, specifically if the respondents shared the same race with any of the two. An overwhelming 88% of the respondents stated that their medical

provider was a different race, and 87% responded that their local politicians were different. These two questions were asked because as Latino youth aspire to practice medicine or one day publicly serve their constituents, a loss of confidence may occur when there are less people you can identify with in those well-educated, professional positions.

The study further questioned the participants personal experiences with racism and situations where it may occur. Most participants, specifically 63% (38) of the respondents, reported being called a racial name.¹²⁶

16. Have you ever been called a racial name? (I.E., go back on the boat, speak English you're in America, you are all animals etc.)

[More Details](#)



The study concluded with questioning participants about racial discrimination and if they had ever fallen victim to it. It then proceeded to ask if they would have discussed the incident with family. 78% stated yes, and the consensus on reasons why the participants would discuss it with family was to see express frustrations surrounding the incident.

CONCLUSION

Latinos are discriminated against based on the language they speak and education level. Pigmentation of their skin and stereotypes in American culture. Despite experiencing significant discrimination in the United States, Latinos are still reticent about sharing their personal experiences with racism and advocating for racial justice. Although the law can be used to improve race relations, Latinos would

126. To highlight the discrimination against Latinos further, an emphasis must be placed on the 38 of the 60 who reported such findings. This study specifically addressed and made first contact with students attending law school. The sample size majorly consists of United States born citizens and their families. If an overwhelming 63% of United State born citizens, who for some are pursuing a professional degree, and are still exposed to such discrimination there needs to be thought placed on the Latinos who were not born in the United States and are not able to pursue an education.

best benefit from the formulations of coalitions for change –following those of the Black community. These coalitions would focus on divulging and exposing racial discrimination faced by Latinos and working toward progressions of those issues. They can also encourage other racially minoritized communities, who experience discrimination in the United States of America, to find support and advocacy within their coalitions. To develop diverse coalitions for racial justice, there must be a willingness of all communities to learn from each other’s experiences. This requires a commitment to recognizing each minoritized community’s contributions, embracing their differences and similarities, and keeping an eagerness “to bake a [new] American pie to be shared equitably by the people in this nation.”¹²⁷

127. Maritza I. Reyes, *Opening Borders: African Americans and Latinos through the Lens of Immigration*, 17 HARV. LATINO L. REV. 1, 63 (2014).