



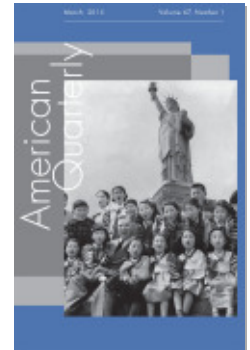
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Learning and Unlearning from Ethnic Studies

Catherine S. Ramírez

It is education that has altered my life. Carried me far. I write this autobiography as the history of my schooling. To admit the change in my life I must speak of years as a student, of losses, of gains.

—Richard Rodriguez, *Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez*

The ethnic group carries a divergent set of cultural traits which are evaluated by the host society as inferior. We have seen . . . how these cultural groups are identified with being different and given an inferior rating and how they form their own social world to nurse their members through a period of transition until these members “unlearn” what they have been taught and successfully learn the new way of life necessary for full acceptance in the host society.

—W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*

Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez brings into relief the dual role that school has long played in the United States as a coercive mechanism of assimilation and catalyst of personal and social transformation. While US educational institutions have demanded social conformity—that minority students “unlearn” their “inferior” cultures and “learn” the ways of the majority—they have also served as a vital platform for social reform and, in some instances, radical change. Desegregation efforts, the implementation of affirmative action and bilingual education, the establishment of ethnic studies in high schools and postsecondary institutions, the protection of undocumented K–12 pupils, and increased access to higher education for DREAMers, beneficiaries of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act, testify to some of the ways in which the American school has shaped and been shaped by social change.¹

I first read *Hunger of Memory* shortly after I arrived at Berkeley as an English major in the late 1980s, “a moment when,” in the words of Abdul R. JanMohamed and David Lloyd, “the liberation and celebration of differences and polyvocality” had become “central features of critical endeavors” like ethnic

and feminist studies.² Curiously, I encountered Rodriguez's autobiography, a rant against bilingual education, affirmative action, and the identity politics of "middle-class ethnics," on more than one syllabus as a paragon of Chicano literature and expression of multicultural education.³ *Hunger of Memory* was unquestionably a plea for assimilation, yet its author had entered the mainstream as "the representative 'Hispanic' subject."⁴ "This was my story," Rodriguez writes. "An American story."⁵

The present essay probes some of the contradictions and complexities of the American story of assimilation. While assimilation is an important subject in the social sciences, particularly sociology, it is often overlooked—even shunned—in ethnic studies, the field in which I studied and continue to work. Yet as an organizing rubric in narratives about the United States and how its people become (or do not become) Americans, assimilation, as a norm, ideal, ideology, policy, and practice, warrants scrutiny. I maintain that it has much to teach us about social and political inclusion, exclusion, marginalization, and subordination—all key concerns of ethnic studies.

There are many definitions of assimilation. Drawing from work in sociology, critical race theory, and critical whiteness studies, I define it as a process whereby the boundary between mainstream and margin blurs, disappears, or paradoxically, is reinforced. The term generally refers to an individual's or group's relationship to particular institutions and social and cultural practices. These institutions and practices are often associated with the state—for example, citizenship and voting—but may also be linked to other social arenas, namely, civil society and the market. At times, integration at one level of society is predicated on exclusion at another. Think, for example, of the market's reliance on undocumented labor and the state's simultaneous exclusion of undocumented workers. In many instances of assimilation, formerly distinguishable groups, practices, or products eradicate, blend into, or transform one another, becoming more similar in the process. In others, however, the majority incorporates a minority as its distinct, constitutive, and/or subordinate other. In short, one can be assimilated as an outsider—for example, as an undocumented worker or, in Rodriguez's case, a minority writer.

To shed light on assimilation's paradox and the school's dual role as guardian of stasis and agent of change, this essay juxtaposes desegregation efforts, the DREAM Act, and ethnic studies. In recent years, ethnic studies has undergone a renovation. The launch of new doctoral programs, for example, at the University of California, Riverside, in 2009 and the University of Colorado, Boulder, in 2014, as well as the establishment of the Critical Ethnic Studies Association (CESA) in 2011, speak to the field's growth and evolution. At the

same time, ethnic studies has come under attack. For example, Arizona's House Bill 2281 (2010) prohibits ethnic studies, particularly Chicano studies, in K–12 public education in that state. Why the resurgence and ban? Decades after the establishment of the first programs and departments, why does ethnic studies continue to resonate and threaten? And what can it tell us about the relationship between education and assimilation, between learning and unlearning?

Focusing on *Alvarez v. Lemon Grove School District* (1931) and *Mendez v. Westminster School District* (1946), two important precursors to *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), I argue that ethnic studies differs greatly from desegregation efforts and the struggle to pass the DREAM Act because it aims to produce a very different kind of subject. While *Alvarez*, *Mendez*, and the DREAM Act have called for the transformation of Mexicans into Americans and the incorporation of Mexican Americans and undocumented immigrants in the American polity, ethnic studies prompts students to trace the mutable boundaries of that polity and to look beyond it. Often this field challenges official histories that uphold the United States as a peaceful and egalitarian meritocracy. And where the public school has endeavored to produce loyal and compliant citizens, however subordinated, ethnic studies strives to produce subjects with a keen knowledge of American legacies of expansion, exploitation, exclusion, and struggle. For its proponents, ethnic studies represents the promise of education to transform individuals and society alike. For its opponents, it is a bad subject that produces bad subjects.

Ethnic Studies

After completing my bachelor's degree in English, I decided to pursue a PhD in ethnic studies. I had enjoyed studying Chaucer, Shakespeare, Blake, and Mary Shelley as an undergraduate. After spending twelve years in Catholic schools, reading the King James Bible as literature was both pleasurable and instructive. Like Rodriguez, I felt a bit like Caliban as I stole "their books" and made them my own.⁶ Yet I wanted something else. I wanted to explore approaches to the study of literature that did not necessarily revolve around canons, periods, or nations and national languages. In short, I wanted to unlearn what I had learned as an undergraduate. Ethnic studies gave me the freedom and tools to do so.

Ethnic studies is a vast and heterogeneous field. It is not limited to a particular discipline, method, source, question, or institutional space, so it is difficult to pin down. Nonetheless, at the risk of oversimplifying, I offer the following definition: ethnic studies is, among other things, the study of race—a broad and

mutable category in and of itself—and power. It is an intellectual project with roots in and connections to social movements and the quest for social justice.

According to its detractors, ethnic studies is divisive and un-American. HB 2281's language and history point to some ways in which the field has been linked to hostility against the United States. That law mandates “that public school pupils . . . be taught to treat and value each other as individuals and not be taught to resent or hate other races or classes of people” and forbids “courses or classes that . . . promote the overthrow of the United States government.”⁷ Its failed precedent in the Arizona State Senate, SB 1108 (2008), sought to prohibit public schools, including colleges and universities, from offering classes that “denigrate, disparage or overtly encourage dissent from the values of American democracy and Western civilization.”⁸

In fact, ethnic studies scrutinizes “the United States nation-building project” and “very intentionally include[s] historically marginalized communities” in narratives about the United States and its place in the world.⁹ That said, it is not simply a celebration of people of color and our contributions to American history, culture, and society. It is not sensitivity training and does not set out to make anyone feel good or bad. Although some students, particularly students of color, gravitate toward ethnic studies because they feel alienated in and dissatisfied with traditional disciplines and fields, it is not a family, nor is it, in the words of Gary Y. Okihiro, founding director of the Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race at Columbia University, “an intellectual form of . . . affirmative action for people of color.”¹⁰

As an intellectual project that strives to create new knowledge, inform, and empower, ethnic studies teaches critical thinking, an “understanding [of] how . . . we acquire and test our knowledge in order to move beyond the limits of current knowledge,” via a systematic analysis of power.¹¹ Studies show that it often improves both white and minority students' academic performance and educational outcomes.¹² As Christine E. Sleeter, former president of the National Association for Multicultural Education, has pointed out, “Students of color experience racism; ethnic studies does not introduce them to that concept. Rather, by taking racism and culture seriously, ethnic studies attempt[s] to give students the tools to navigate racially hostile systems,” tools that serve many of them well both within and beyond educational institutions.¹³

Ethnic studies arose as a rejoinder to Eurocentric curricula, their oversights, and inaccuracies, and the lack of students, faculty, and administrators of color in American educational institutions. Most narrations of this field's origins and evolution begin with the 1968–69 Third World Liberation Front strike at San

Francisco State University and the establishment of the Department of Ethnic Studies at Berkeley in 1969.¹⁴ (By the 1990s there were over seven hundred programs and departments.)¹⁵ Yet, as Sleeter observes, “Ethnic studies has a much longer history . . . building on pioneering works such as the writings of Carter G. Woodson (1933) and W. E. B. Du Bois (1903), freedom schools of the 1960s, Black independent schools and Afrocentric public schools . . . tribal schools . . . and language immersion schools.”¹⁶

Today, much of the best work in ethnic studies foregrounds and interrogates intersectionality, the articulation of multiple social categories and relationships.¹⁷ And where much earlier scholarship emphasized relations between whites and people of color, “for a new generation of ethnic-studies scholars,” Okiihiro points out, “the focus is not just—or even foremost—on the relations between white and nonwhite people but on relations among,” and here I would add, within communities of color.¹⁸ This is not to say that whites and whiteness are not part of ethnic studies. Indeed, the field of critical whiteness studies exposes whiteness as a racial formation and traces the deliberate and all too often violent construction and policing of categories such as America, American, citizen, individual, and human.

Finally, ethnic studies has long been concerned with decolonial and anti-racist movements worldwide, from the Third World Liberation Front strike to CESA’s July 2014 endorsement of the boycott, divestment, and sanctions movement against Israel.¹⁹ According to Evelyn Hu-DeHart, scholars “working within diasporic, transnational, and postcolonial frameworks [have been] steadily globalizing ethnic studies, in ways that distinguish it from international affairs or area studies.”²⁰ In fact, the department in which I work, Latin American and Latino studies at UC Santa Cruz, bridges area and ethnic studies by underscoring “new forms of cultural and political identifications that are shaping and transforming the territorial boundaries of the nation-state” throughout the Americas.²¹ Some scholars, such as Okiihiro, warn that an emphasis on the trans- or postnational threatens ethnic studies’ “political edge,” as well as its “specificity and responsibility.”²² Still others welcome challenges to “the U.S.-centric character of . . . knowledge production” and laud the field’s capaciousness and responsiveness to the exigencies of modernity and globalization.²³ Concepts like the “‘Black Atlantic’ and ‘diaspora’ extended the horizon of intellectual work and political imagination,” Vijay Prashad observes. “All this came relatively easily to Ethnic Studies.”²⁴

Alvarez, Mendez, and the DREAM Act

In response to charges that ethnic studies is un-, anti-, or not adequately American, some of its defenders have aligned it with Americanness, particularly American multiculturalism. For example, in a May 15, 2011, op-ed piece in the *Arizona Daily Star*, Arizona congressman Raúl Grijalva praised the beleaguered Tucson Unified School District's (TUSD's) Mexican American studies program for doing

a very American thing: It's taught students to value themselves, to value their families, to value who they are, to know who they are, and to be proud of that heritage. This country celebrates and acknowledges its diversity—in this respect, Mexican Americans are no different than Italian Americans or Polish Americans. We're all Americans, and our families all came from somewhere.²⁵

Grijalva's defense of Mexican American studies resembles W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole's 1945 characterization of assimilation as a process whereby minorities "form their own social world to nurse their members through a period of transition."²⁶ According to the congressman, TUSD's Mexican American studies program nurtures its Mexican American pupils; it teaches them who they are and instills in them a sense of pride. In doing so, it does what the school has long done (and should do, according to critics of ethnic studies): Mexican American studies transforms Mexican Americans into "Americans."

Grijalva's assimilationist strategy is also reminiscent of that of *Alvarez v. Lemon Grove School District* and *Mendez v. Westminster School District*, both of which emphasized Mexican Americans' Americanness. In the former case, Mexican-origin parents in Lemon Grove, a town near San Diego, California, underscored that 95 percent of students denied admission to the Lemon Grove Grammar School and redirected to the newly established, yet patently inferior "Mexican" school were US citizens "entitled to all the rights and privileges common to all citizens of the United States."²⁷ On March 30, 1931, the court ruled that Mexican pupils could not be segregated under the laws of the state of California because they were "Caucasian" and not "Oriental," "Negro," or "Indian."²⁸ Hindsight (or what historians call presentism) reveals a painful irony: while *Alvarez* challenged the practice of segregating Mexican Americans and has even been celebrated as the first successful desegregation case in the United States, it fell short of defying the institution of segregation and, ultimately, maintained white supremacy.

Fifteen years later, the segregation of Mexican American children in California's public schools would be challenged again in the courtroom. Like their

predecessors in *Alvarez*, the plaintiffs in *Mendez* highlighted their children's Americanness as they demanded a place for them at so-called white schools in Orange County. Gonzalo Méndez, a naturalized US citizen from Mexico, and his wife, Felícita "La Prieta" Méndez, a Puerto Rican (and, therefore, a US citizen), initiated the lawsuit after their children were denied admission to their neighborhood school and redirected to the more distant "Mexican" school in the fall of 1944.²⁹ As Felícita testified, "We always tell our children they are Americans."³⁰ In 1946 the court ruled that the segregation of Mexican American pupils amounted to a denial of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The following year, Governor Earl Warren repealed all school codes mandating segregation in California. Like *Alvarez*, *Mendez* "hinged on the viability of race-based statutes," on the belief that whites and nonwhites should and could be kept apart.³¹ However, in 1954, it would "assume . . . national significance" as a precursor to *Brown*.³²

In the twenty-first century, the struggle for equal opportunity in education continues via the DREAM Act. Where many of the plaintiffs in *Alvarez* and *Mendez* were US citizens, a fact underpinning the rationale to desegregate California's public schools, federal and state DREAM Acts address the needs and hopes of the undocumented, particularly "students [who] were brought to the United States as young children by their parents, speak English, consider themselves American, and will spend the rest of their lives in this country."³³ Beneficiaries call themselves and are called DREAMers, an evocation of the American dream and a reminder of the vital role that immigrants have played and continue to play in this country.

First introduced in the US Senate on August 1, 2001, the DREAM Act seeks to repeal a 1996 federal statute that denies undocumented students in-state tuition rates at public colleges and universities.³⁴ It would also offer a path to legal permanent residency and, in some cases, citizenship to undocumented immigrants of "good moral character" who have graduated from high school or completed two years of military service or college in good standing.³⁵ While the federal DREAM Act has stalled in Congress, fifteen states have enacted their own versions of the bill.³⁶ Like the federal iteration, these "mini" DREAM Acts allow certain undocumented students to pay in-state tuition at public colleges and universities and/or make them eligible for scholarships and state financial aid. In short, they endeavor to pull some of the most marginalized, vulnerable, and promising members of society into the proverbial fold, thereby expanding the boundaries of the American polity.

Assimilation, Alien Citizens, and Anticitizens

By legalizing those who are “illegal” and transforming aliens into citizens, the DREAM Act shares more than a bit in common with *Alvarez* and *Mendez*. If we define assimilation as the opposite of segregation or as integration, incorporation, or acculturation, terms that are sometimes used synonymously with it, then all three efforts share assimilation as a goal. By rejecting Mexican Americans’ status as alien citizens—US citizens “presumed to be foreign by the mainstream of American culture and, at times, by the state”—*Alvarez* and *Mendez* sought to assimilate Mexican Americans as full citizens, individuals with access to the state’s resources, including its protection.³⁷ And while DREAMers are not normative (i.e., legal, official) citizens, two justifications for their formal incorporation are their participation in the mainstream and their Americanness. Many of these youths have few, if any, ties to their countries of origin and are well integrated into US society as soldiers, students, and workers. What is more, many see themselves as American. The title alone of William Perez’s *We Are Americans*, a collection of interviews with DREAMers, makes this clear.³⁸ Often, DREAMers pass as Americans: they speak English without a foreign accent and generally do not wear putative signs of foreignness, like turbans, veils, or *huipiles*. In other words, they have acculturated.

Likewise, Grijalva’s rousing defense of TUSD’s Mexican American studies program invokes assimilation in its emphasis on mimesis, the blurring or disappearance of a boundary distinguishing us from them. In the congressman’s own words: “Mexican Americans are no different than Italian Americans or Polish Americans.”³⁹ Ethnic studies shows us that, yes, Mexican Americans do have quite a bit in common with Italian Americans and Polish Americans. And we do not and that should be acceptable in a diverse and tolerant society.

Grijalva’s plea for Mexican American studies also invokes assimilation by bringing into play ethnicity and whiteness. His comparison of Mexican Americans with Italian Americans and Polish Americans, two ethnic, as opposed to racial, groups, is, in all likelihood, strategic and warrants scrutiny. Since the 1940s, the ideologies of pluralism and multiculturalism have allowed some Americans—namely, white ones—to assimilate into the mainstream; first, as so-called ethnic Americans and then simply as “Americans.” David Roediger locates the rise of ethnicity as the dominant articulation of Americanness in the context of “antifascism[,] . . . increasing inclusion of new immigrants by the New Deal state[,] . . . a left that fervently wished to embrace Americanism, . . . renewed demands for black freedom, and a Cold War liberalism that answered those demands by emphasizing that the main elements in U.S. history

predicted an end to racism.”⁴⁰ As he and other scholars have shown, erstwhile “temporary Negroes” and “provisional” whites, such as Italian Americans and Polish Americans, became bona fide (i.e., white) Americans by actively distancing themselves from and defining themselves against people of color, particularly blacks, Mexicans, and Chinese.⁴¹ Tracing the movement of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century “white ethnic immigrants” and their descendants “from race to ethnicity to nationality”—for example, from “Mediterranean” (a widely acknowledged racial category a century ago) to “Italian-American” to “American”—Jennifer Hochschild concludes that this “move arguably required the existence of a race that could *not* traverse the same path” (a constitutive other, in other words), “since becoming American was in many ways intricately tied up with becoming white.”⁴²

What if Grijalva had likened Mexican Americans to a nonwhite group, not to Italian Americans and Polish Americans but to, say, Japanese Americans and Haitian Americans? Would his words have had the same meaning, intention, or effect? If his goal was to claim Americanness for Mexican Americans, then the answer to this question is probably no, given the long-standing link between whiteness and Americanness, a connection going back to the Naturalization Act of 1790, which limited naturalization to free white persons. Until the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868, blacks were noncitizens, while Japanese were ineligible for US citizenship until passage of the McCarran-Walter Act in 1952. Although Section 2169 of the Naturalization Act of July 14, 1870, would make “aliens of African nativity” and “persons of African descent” eligible for naturalization,⁴³ blacks were still seen as what Roediger calls “anticitizens, as enemies rather than . . . members of the social compact.”⁴⁴ Jim Crow, followed by high rates of incarceration and disenfranchisement—what Michelle Alexander aptly calls “the new Jim Crow”—have continued to exclude them from the polity and rendered them alien citizens.⁴⁵

Because of the link between whiteness and Americanness, and between Americanness and rights, it should come as little surprise that so many groups in the United States, from the Irish in the nineteenth century to Mexicans in the twentieth and twenty-first, have grappled for whiteness.⁴⁶ To claim their rights as Americans, the plaintiffs in *Alvarez* and *Mendez* had to convince the state that they, too, were white. That Grijalva would revisit this strategy in 2011 in his defense of ethnic studies underscores the enduring bond between whiteness and Americanness and the exigencies and paradoxes of assimilation.

Like *Alvarez*, *Mendez*, and the DREAM Act, Grijalva’s problematic defense of TUSD’s Mexican American studies program exposes assimilation as a complex and contradictory process. In their own ways, these cases debunk

the theory of straight-line (i.e., unimpeded and inexorable) assimilation as they point to processes of segmented assimilation and racial naturalization.⁴⁷ Segmented assimilation, as theorized by Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, posits that individuals and groups assimilate into a particular segment of society.⁴⁸ While some individuals and groups have assimilated and continue to assimilate into the white mainstream in the United States, others are barred from it because of perceived racial differences and, thus, may be incorporated into other segments of the population. For example, black immigrants from Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America and their descendants may assimilate and be assimilated as African Americans, a process Devon Carbado terms “racial naturalization.”⁴⁹ Racial naturalization highlights how some groups are violently included in the United States via racial subordination and exclusion from the white mainstream. Like Portes and Zhou’s theory of segmented assimilation, Carbado’s concept points to social stratification and the paradox of inclusion via marginalization or exclusion.

Ethnic studies reckons with this paradox. Indeed, one could say it was founded on and because of it. It shows that marginalization and exclusion did not end with the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or Barack Obama’s election as president of the United States in 2008. Instead of burying “the history of American racism within a larger narrative of inevitable American progress” and treating “race relations as a linear trajectory of improvement,” ethnic studies approaches race and racial struggles as “a messy and continual struggle over power” and resources, an ebb and flow of progress and retreat.⁵⁰ Think, for example, of Reconstruction and Jim Crow, school desegregation and white flight, and affirmative action and Proposition 209.

Moreover, *Alvarez, Mendez*, and the DREAM Act concern themselves with a legitimate (i.e., state-sanctioned) community and the citizens and legal residents who form it. To be sure, lawyers, lawmakers, and activists, like Grijalva, those who took part in school desegregation efforts, and those pushing for the DREAM Act, must set practical goals and compromise at times with those who do not necessarily share their viewpoints or values.⁵¹ Scholars, in contrast, tend to enjoy more freedom, flexibility, and independence. We can and should imagine alternate ways of being, knowing, and acting.

By foregrounding the contributions of communities of color in and to the United States, ethnic studies detaches whiteness from Americanness. That is, it expands definitions of Americanness, rendering it more pliable and inclusive. In this regard, ethnic studies shares quite a bit in common with *Alvarez, Mendez*, and the DREAM Act, all of which set their sights on changing the United

States and the category “American”—a courageous, admirable, and necessary pursuit. Yet ethnic studies differs from these other struggles by envisioning new subjects and communities. Many scholars in this field study nations without states and dare to explore a multiplicity of citizenships, many of them nonnormative (e.g., alien citizenship and anticitizenship). Some of the most exciting scholarship calls for, in the words of Alicia Schmidt Camacho, “rights beyond citizenship” and acknowledges “our bonds of community beyond the limited borders of the nation.”⁵² This unlearning of norms and assumptions is one of the most valuable lessons ethnic studies offers.

Notes

1. See, e.g., *Oliver Brown, et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka, et al.* (1954); *Regents of the University of California v. Allan Bakke* (1978); *Lau, et al. v. Nichols, et al.* (1974); *James Plyler, Superintendent, Tyler Independent School District, et al. v. John Doe, et al.* (1982); and the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act (S.1291), <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d107:S1291>: (accessed May 11, 2014).
2. Abdul R. JanMohamed and David Lloyd, “Introduction: Toward a Theory of Minority Discourse: What Is to Be Done?,” in *The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse*, ed. Abdul R. JanMohamed and David Lloyd (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1.
3. Richard Rodriguez, *Hunger for Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez* (New York: Bantam, 1983), 26.
4. Alicia Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries: Latino Cultural Politics in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 206.
5. Rodriguez, *Hunger for Memory*, 5.
6. *Ibid.*, 3.
7. See www.azleg.gov/legtext/49leg/2r/bills/hb2281s.pdf (accessed May 11, 2014).
8. Quoted in Nicholas B. Lundholm, “Cutting Class: Why Arizona’s Ethnic Studies Ban Won’t Ban Ethnic Studies,” *Arizona Law Review* 53.3 (2011): 1053.
9. www.ethnicstudies.ucr.edu/about/whatisethnicstudies.html (accessed May 11, 2014); Christine E. Sleeter, *The Academic and Social Value of Ethnic Studies: A Research Review* (Washington, DC: National Education Association, 2011), 5.
10. Gary Y. Okihiro, “The Future of Ethnic Studies,” *Chronicle Review*, July 4, 2010, <http://chronicle.com/article/The-Future-of-Ethnic-Studies/66092>.
11. This pithy definition of critical thinking is from the amici curiae brief of the National Association of Chicana and Chicano Studies, *Acosta et al. v. John Huppenthal*, 37.
12. Sleeter, *Academic and Social Value of Ethnic Studies*, viii.
13. *Ibid.*, 9.
14. See, e.g., Evelyn Hu-DeHart, “Ethnic Studies in U.S. Higher Education: History, Development, and Goals,” in *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, 2nd ed., ed. James A. Banks and Cherry A. McGee Banks (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2004), 869–81.
15. *Ibid.*, 870.
16. Sleeter, *Academic and Social Value of Ethnic Studies*, 5.
17. The term *intersectionality* originated in critical race theory, a cross-pollination of critical theory, ethnic studies, and legal studies. See Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color,” *Stanford Law Review* 43.6 (1991): 1241–99. For an interrogation of intersectionality, see Jasbir K. Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

18. Okihiro, "Future of Ethnic Studies."
19. See <https://criticalethnicstudies.org/content/cesa-passes-resolution-bds> (accessed August 14, 2014).
20. Hu-DeHart, "Ethnic Studies in U.S. Higher Education," 879.
21. See <http://lals.ucsc.edu/about/index.html> (accessed May 15, 2014).
22. Okihiro, "Future of Ethnic Studies."
23. Sonia E. Alvarez, Arturo Arias, and Charles R. Hale, "Re-Visioning Latin American Studies," *Cultural Anthropology* 26.2 (2011): 227.
24. Vijay Prashad, "Ethnic Studies Inside Out," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 9.2 (2006): 171.
25. Raúl Grijalva, "Political Fight over Ethnic Studies Should Never Have Been Ignited at All," *Arizona Daily Star*, May 15, 2011.
26. W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1945), 285.
27. *Superior Court of the State of California, San Diego County, Writ of Mandate*, February 13, 1931, quoted in Robert R. Alvarez Jr., "The Lemon Grove Incident: The Nation's First Successful Desegregation Court Case," *Journal of San Diego History* 32.2 (1986): 116–35.
28. Leonel Sanchez, "'Lemon Grove Incident' Remembered Eighty Years Later," *Lemon Grove Patch*, March 21, 2011, <http://lemongrove.patch.com/articles/lemon-grove-incident-remembered-80-years-later>.
29. Jennifer McCormick and César J. Ayala, "Felícita 'La Prieta' Méndez (1916–1998) and the End of Latino School Segregation in California," *Centro Journal* 19.2 (2007): 13–35.
30. Quoted in Vicki L. Ruiz, "'We Always Tell Our Children They Are Americans': *Mendez v. Westminster* and the California Road to *Brown v. Board of Education*," *College Board Review* 200 (2003): 26. Regarding *Mendez* and the segregation of Mexican American students in California, see also Martha Menchaca, *The Mexican Outsiders: A Community History of Marginalization and Discrimination in California* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995); Ruiz, "South by Southwest: Mexican Americans and Segregated Schooling, 1900–1950," *OAH Magazine of History* 15.2 (2001): 23–27; Philippa Strum, *Mendez v. Westminster: School Desegregation and Mexican-American Rights* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010); and Charles Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools: 1855–1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).
31. Dara Orenstein, "Void for Vagueness: Mexicans and the Collapse of Miscegenation Law in California," *Pacific Historical Review* 74.3 (2005): 398.
32. Ruiz, "'We Always Tell Our Children They Are Americans,'" 26.
33. Jennifer Galassi, "Dare to Dream? A Review of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act," *Chicano Latino Law Review* 79 (2003): 81.
34. *Ibid.*, 79. See also *Bill Summary & Status, 107th Congress (2001–2002), S.1291*, <http://rs9.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d107%3ASN01291%3A%40%40%40L&sum2=m> (accessed May 11, 2014).
35. "Good moral character" is from H.R. 1751, 111th Congress, 1st sess., www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-111hr1751ih/pdf/BILLS-111hr1751ih.pdf (accessed May 11, 2014).
36. These states are Texas, California, Illinois, Utah, Nebraska, Kansas, New Mexico, New Jersey, New York, Washington, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Maryland, Minnesota, and Oregon. See Richard Pérez-Peña, "Immigrants to Pay Tuition at Rates Set for Residents," *New York Times*, November 19, 2012.
37. Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 2.
38. William Pérez, *We Are Americans: Undocumented Students Pursuing the American Dream* (Sterling, VA: Stylus, 2009). While not a DREAMer per se, José Antonio Vargas, a visible and vocal proponent of immigration reform, calls himself an "undocumented American." See "We Are Americans . . . Just Not Legally," his June 25, 2012 cover story for *Time*, and his 2013 documentary film *Documented: A Film by an Undocumented American*.
39. Grijalva, "Political Fight over Ethnic Studies Should Never Have Been Ignited at All."
40. David Roediger, *Working toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 33.
41. "Temporary negroes" is from Roediger, *Working toward Whiteness*, 13. "Provisional" whites is from Matthew Frye Jacobson's *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 8.
42. Jennifer Hochschild, *Facing Up to the American Dream: Race, Class, and the Soul of the Nation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 243.

43. Quoted in Natalia Molina, "In a Race All Their Own': The Quest to Make Mexicans Ineligible for U.S. Citizenship," *Pacific Historical Review* 79.2 (2010): 174. Regarding Section 2169, also see Lucy E. Salyer, "Baptism by Fire: Race, Military Service, and U.S. Citizenship Policy, 1918–1935," *Journal of American History* 91.3 (2004): 847–76. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 abolished all racial qualifications for naturalization.
44. David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1991), 57.
45. Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow* (New York: New Press, 2012).
46. The literature on Mexicans' and Mexican Americans' efforts to claim whiteness in the United States is vast. For a sampling, see Neil Foley, "Becoming Hispanic: Mexican Americans and the Faustian Pact with Whiteness," in *Reflexiones 1997: New Directions in Mexican American Studies*, ed. Neil Foley (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 53–70; Thomas A. Guglielmo, "Fighting for Caucasian Rights: Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and the Transnational Struggle for Civil Rights in World War II Texas," *Journal of American History* 92.4 (2006): 1212–37; Ian Haney López, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2006); Patrick Lukens, *A Quiet Victory for Latino Rights: FDR and the Controversy over "Whiteness"* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012); Molina, "In a Race All Their Own"; and Orenstein, "Void for Vagueness."
47. For a succinct overview of straight-line or classic assimilation theory, see Susan K. Brown and Frank D. Bean, "Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process," *Migration Information Source* (2006), www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=442.
48. Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530 (1993): 74–96.
49. Devon Carbado, "Racial Naturalization," *American Quarterly* 57.3 (2005): 633–58.
50. R. L. Hughes, "A Hint of Whiteness: History Textbooks and Social Construction of Race in the Wake of the Sixties," *Social Studies* 98.5 (2007): 203.
51. Senate Bill 744 (S. 744), the Border Security, Economic Opportunity and Immigration Modernization Act (also known as comprehensive immigration reform), illustrates compromise in politics. In addition to regularizing the status of approximately 11 million undocumented immigrants, S. 744 would increase the number of US Customs and Border Protection agents and officers and construct a double-layer fence along parts of the US–Mexico border. See <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c113:S.744>: and the Immigration Policy Center's *Guide to S.744: Understanding the Senate Immigration Bill*, www.immigrationpolicy.org/special-reports/guide-s744-understanding-2013-senate-immigration-bill (both accessed May 15, 2014).
52. Alicia Schmidt Camacho, "Hailing the Twelve Million: U.S. Immigration Policy, Deportation, and the Imaginary of Lawful Violence," *Social Text*, no. 105 (2010): 18–19.