

Perpetual Inferiority: Whites' Racial Ideology toward Latinos

Sociology of Race and Ethnicity
2017, Vol. 3(4) 566–579
© American Sociological Association 2017
DOI: 10.1177/2332649217698165
sre.sagepub.com


Celia Olivia Lacayo¹

Abstract

The author examines contemporary Latino racialization by focusing on whites' attitudes toward Latinos. Drawing on 40 in-depth interviews with whites from Orange County, California, the findings show that this group of white Americans believes that Latino culture is deficient and inferior. Moreover, the respondents explicitly ascribe these problems to the group as a whole, regardless of national origin, citizenship status, or generation. The interviews reveal how whites construct Latinos as a racial group by explaining that Latinos pass down their "deficient" culture to the subsequent generation and thus are unable to change, adapt, and progress. In essence, whites perceive Latino cultural traits as fixed. By doing so, whites use cultural racism to function as biological racism. This reveals a racial ideology toward Latinos the author terms *perpetual inferiority*, which accounts for how whites construct Latinos as a nonwhite racial group that is unable to assimilate. This study demonstrates specifically how external ascription affects the racial formation process of Latinos and their position within the racial hierarchy.

Keywords

race and ethnicity, Latinos, white attitudes, racial ideology

Race and racism are central to the historical and contemporary conditions of the United States. Racism can be defined as

(1) the *ideology* that races are populations of people whose physical differences are linked to significant cultural and social differences and that these innate hierarchical differences can be measured and judged and (2) the micro- and macro level *practices* that subordinate those races believed to be inferior. (Golash-Boza 2016:3)

Notions of race in the United States are based on deeming whites¹ superior and African Americans inferior. Racial perceptions of Latinos² in the United States have been more complex and more widely debated.

Latinos continue to garner attention, in part because of their rapid demographic changes. Latinos now make up more than 17 percent of the

U.S. population (Fiske 2016); in many areas and in some states, they are a majority. Consequently, both the media and academics are interested in whether Latinos are "becoming white." The current literature posits differing positions. Some scholars argue that Latinos are similar to previous generations of immigrants who assimilated (Alba and Nee 2003; Yancey 2003). Others argue that Latinos should be understood as a multiracial group with significant stratification by phenotype and country of origin (Bonilla-Silva 2006). A third group argues that Latinos are not assimilating and are poised to further divide the United States racially (Huntington 2004). Last, certain scholars argue that although

¹University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA, USA

Corresponding Author:

Celia Olivia Lacayo, University of California, Los Angeles, 193 Haines Hall, Los Angeles, CA 90095, USA.
Email: celialacayo@gmail.com

Latinos are acculturating, they nevertheless face racialization (Golash-Boza 2006; Ortiz and Telles 2012; Vasquez 2011).³

How and if Latinos are constructed as a non-white racial group has many implications (Lacayo 2016).⁴ Importantly, scholars who characterize Latinos as an ethnic immigrant group suggest they are en route to full assimilation (Alba and Nee 2003). Yet some scholars argue that characterizing Latinos according to a prototypical European immigrant experience negates the possibility that some immigrant groups are racialized and others are not (Sáenz and Douglas 2015), implying that the “assimilationist scholarship provides little or no attention to the durable nature of racial structures” (Treitler 2015:162).

Recent literature that accounts for contemporary Latino racialization does so by analyzing self-identity reports or media-discourse analysis (Aranda and Rebollo-Gil 2004; Dowling 2014; McConnell 2011; Santa Ana 2002; Vargas 2015). The few studies that have addressed whites’ attitudes toward Latinos are quantitative (Ayers et al. 2009; Timberlake and Williams 2012). Unlike qualitative research, survey questions are frequently unable to get at the nuances of racial attitudes such as racial ideology (Bonilla-Silva 2006). Specifically, for Latinos, survey research provides data on overall perceptions about Latinos but does not offer insight into why whites arrive at those sentiments. Only very recently has research qualitatively examined whites’ attitudes toward Latinos (Lippard 2016; Meyerhoffer 2015).

In this study I examine a key component of Latino racialization: the external ascription process. Drawing on 40 in-depth interviews with whites from Orange County, California, I find that whites make no distinctions among Latinos by national origin, status, or generation. Respondents use racialized stereotypes to express that Latino culture is inferior, and they frequently describe Latinos as similar to African Americans. More important, whites believe that Latinos retain deficient traits that are passed to later generations. I argue that whites’ belief in the broadly degenerate nature of Latinos indicates that Latinos are indeed being constructed as a racial group—one that is failing to “become white.”

This article contributes to integrating the race and immigration fields by empirically capturing the rationale behind whites’ perceptions of Latinos as inferior and challenges the notion that Latinos can assimilate in a way similar to that of European immigrants before them. Furthermore, the findings

show how whites’ perceptions of Latinos are not only anti-immigrant but also anti-Latino. Last, the theoretical intervention accounts for the construction of a racial ideology of Latinos that proves that Latinos’ experience with racialization may be more permanent, potentially affecting Latino mobility and race relations in an increasingly diverse society.

LITERATURE REVIEW

External Racial Assignment

In their study of ethnicity and race, Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann (1998) noted that “race has been first and foremost a way of describing ‘others,’ of making clear that ‘they’ are not ‘us’” (p. 27). Scholars such as Sears, Sidanius, and Bobo (2000) and Bonilla-Silva (2006) provide a critical body of work that illustrates the importance of understanding whites’ perceptions of other groups. However, most of this literature accounts solely for whites’ perceptions of African Americans. More studies of whites’ attitudes toward Latinos are needed because “white racial power . . . generate[s] a distinct structure of opportunities, constraints, and possibilities—parameters of resistance—with which groups of color must contend” (Kim 1999:129). Specifically, it is vital to understand how whites come to categorize Latinos and where whites place Latinos in the racial hierarchy.

The scholars who have contributed to the debate about whether Latinos constitute a distinct racial group have primarily examined Latinos’ self-identification. Because a large proportion of Latinos identify as white in the U.S. census and other surveys, some have concluded that Latinos are in fact becoming white (Yancey 2003). Although it is critical to consider how Latinos self-identify to understand their experience, qualitative research has shown that those who check the “white” box also have stories about racial discrimination and believe that whites do not think of them as white (Dowling 2014).⁵ Thus, the question remains: how do others, specifically the dominant white group, classify Latinos?

Enduring Latino Racialization

Latinos face a racialization process in which they can experience both racism and nativism (Flores-González 2010). Although they have not been subjected to slavery and Jim Crow laws as African Americans have, Latinos in the United States have experienced prejudice, discrimination, and historical exclusion (Almaguer 1994; Barrera 1979;

Gómez 2007; Haney-López 2003; Menchaca 1995; Ngai 2004). Both Latinos and Asian Americans are often seen as foreigners and outsiders. But unlike Asians, Latinos are not afforded the benefits of being perceived as a “model minority” (Fiske et al. 2002; Molina 2014; Ochoa 2013). Today, Latinos continue to face discrimination and racial inequality (Chávez 2011; Cobas et al. 2009; Feagin and Cobas 2014).

Nonetheless, many scholars continue to characterize the Latino experience through an immigrant ethnic lens and argue that the nativism Latinos experience is the primary roadblock to their mobility (Galindo and Vigil 2006). This roadblock has been compounded by the recent rise in undocumented immigrants and, as Ngai (2004) argued, the making of the “illegal alien.” The Latino population includes a significant number of undocumented immigrants; thus, the illegality frame captures a critical part of the Latino experience (De Genova 2005; Ngai 2004). Although the undocumented population is not restricted to immigrants from Latin America, Latinos experience the most surveillance, detentions, and deportations (Golash-Boza 2015). Furthermore, although undocumented immigrants suffer the most from immigration policies—policies that disproportionately detain and deport Latinos—they also affect documented Latinos (Aranda and Vaquera 2015). In other words, the discourse and policies surrounding “illegal aliens” are racialized in a way that targets Latinos no matter their citizenship status.

The media also repeatedly characterizes “illegal aliens” as a Latino problem (Chavez 2008; DeFrancesco Soto 2012) and has used mostly negative stereotypes about Latinos, characterizing them as criminals and breeders who are unmotivated and unintelligent (McConnell 2011; Ramírez Berg 2002; Santa Ana 2002). This critical Latino media scholarship has documented and examined the production and dissemination of different media (e.g., television shows, newspaper, film, news) as well as how Latinos are racialized, but it does not capture the sentiments of individual whites about Latinos.

Research involving interviews with whites about Latinos has mostly centered on their views on immigration. Whites have expressed opposition to immigration when Latinos are cued, which suggests that attitudes about immigration are motivated by racial resentment (Ayers et al. 2009; Brader, Valentino, and Suhay 2008). In studies in which whites were asked to rank specific immigrant groups, Latin American immigrants were ranked lowest in desirability (Timberlake and Williams 2012); however, there is scant data on

how whites think about later generation Latinos or Latinos in general.

More recent studies that have begun to look at groups comparatively have found that although whites hold negative stereotypes about Latinos and African Americans, they subscribed to the “model minority” trope regarding Asian Americans (Fiske et al. 2002; Park et al. 2015). This is a key finding because much of the sociological literature on post-1965 immigration suggests that immigrants from both Asia and Latin America have similar experiences, ones that correspond with the assimilation model (Torres and Ngai 1997; Waters and Jiménez 2005). Recent studies have disaggregated data by different immigrant and ethnic groups, revealing a racial hierarchy within which whites place Latinos with African Americans rather than Asians. But as noted, because this research is overwhelmingly quantitative, we do not know why whites are making these distinctions.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Although there are many theories of race, the vast majority account solely for the African American experience. Race and ethnicity are concepts many scholars continue to grapple with, and many theories have been put forth to better explain race and racialization. One key debate is whether a single race theory can account for all racialized experiences (Goldberg 1993). Some, like Gilroy (1987), argue that because racism varies by group, time, place, history, and context, there cannot be only one race theory. Like many ethnic studies scholars, Gilroy argued that there is differential racialization on the basis of the racial histories and experiences of varying racial and ethnic groups. Others, like Appiah (1989), argue that there are fundamental similarities among different racial experiences and that, for example, when cultural racism is deployed, it serves a similar purpose to biological racism. In bridging these two key positions, I agree with Goldberg (1993) that both are true. Racisms are varied, and history and context matter. But racism always means domination of one group over another on the basis of the perception that the other is inferior (Goldberg 1993). Thus, the racial ideology I put forth with regard to how whites perceive Latinos is one that is unique to this specific time, place, and group dynamic. It also incorporates the basic premise of all racism: power and domination of one group over another.

The present study builds on Hattam’s (2007) historical comparison of the racialization of Jews and Mexicans, an analysis that led to her

demarcation of race and ethnicity. Jews were once classified as a separate race and discriminated against on that basis, but they were eventually perceived as white. Hattam argues that Jews were seen as capable of changing, adapting, and progressing, whereas Mexicans were perceived as being incapable of these adaptive behaviors. Hattam and other scholars have documented how Latinos historically have been perceived as having an inferior culture. But there are fewer data on the contemporary Latino racialization as it relates to external racial assigning. I use Hattam's measurement for racial assignment, by which she defines ethnicity as a set of malleable cultural traits and race as a set of fixed cultural traits.

Another key factor in racialization can be illustrated with the case of Jews and other groups, such as Irish and Italians, who experienced racism but endured it only temporarily. As I have noted, Latinos' history with racism is a long one; for Latinos, racism is not temporary. Although it may be the case that Latinos in the future could be free of racism, significant historical evidence shows that Latinos, unlike other mainly European ethnic immigrants, have a more permanent racialized experience. In this article, I provide empirical evidence of how whites rationalize and construct Latinos to be perpetually inferior.

Perpetual Inferiority

Asking whites about Latinos led to insights into why they arrive at their racialized perceptions. Specifically, it revealed the formation of a racial ideology, a term defined by Bonilla-Silva (2015:9, 79) as "racially based frameworks used by actors to explain and justify or challenge racial status quo" and that "prejudice is the ideological expression of whites' dominance (prejudice is thus a collective rather than an individual attribute)." Thus, the findings are categorized by the different rationales whites use to explain the specific way they view Latinos that culminates in a complex and comprehensive racial ideology.

I use the term *perpetual inferiority* to describe whites' racial ideology toward Latinos because the interviews revealed that whites believe that Latinos pass down a set of inferior cultural practices, which they are incapable of changing and adapting, from one generation to the next. Thus, the mechanism by which whites attribute fixed negative characteristics to Latinos is through heritability. This mechanism is similar to nineteenth-century notions of race and how it operates as described by Jean-Baptiste Lamarck

and predates contemporary forms of cultural racism such as culture of poverty, the Bell Curve, and the Moynihan report (Hattam 2007). Essentially, whites have adopted a Lamarckian way of thinking about Latinos in that they subscribe to "the notion of the heritability of acquired characteristics, which claimed that all human behavior could, over long periods of time, become habitual and ultimately heritable" (Hattam 2007:24). And as Stocking (1994) summarized Lamarck,

What was cultural at any point in time could become physical, what was physical might well have been cultural. . . . Culturally conditioned behavior patterns would thus tend to become part of the genetic makeup of *subsequent generations* [italics added] in the form of tendencies or proclivities. (p. 10)

More recently, Samuel Huntington (2004) argued that Latino culture is problematic specifically because of its heritability:

Unlike past immigrants, Mexicans and other Latinos have not assimilated into mainstream US culture. . . . Particularly striking in contrast to previous immigrants is the failure of *third and fourth-generation* [italics added] people of Mexican origin to approximate US norms in education, economic status, and intermarriage rates. (p. 36)

Although many scholars dismissed or challenged Huntington, little research has been done to determine how many other whites subscribe to this characterization of Latinos. I contend that whites do subscribe to the racial ideology of *perpetual inferiority* because they believe that Latinos are unable to change and progress (i.e., "become white") because they pass down a "deficient" culture to the next generation. I argue that this ideology relegates Latinos to the status of racial group.

Although "deficient" traits can be passed down culturally by cultural racism and genetically by biological racism, a cultural racism bias implies a possibility for change and "improvement." Yet when it comes to Latinos, whites use cultural racism to mean biological racism. They do this by adhering to negative stereotypes of Latinos, and they explain how they perceive "third world" culture to be inferior. They then explain that because these traits are passed down from parents to their children, the traits become fixed; thus, a pseudobiological racial ideology emerges, one in which

culture becomes equivalent to biology because whites perceive Latino traits as permanent.

METHODS

Sample

This study draws on in-depth interviews conducted in 2010 with 40 self-identified white residents of Orange County. I employed a public relations agency with a large database of whites to acquire a random sample from Orange County. The recruiter from the agency was asked to recruit whites to answer general questions about their views on local issues they believed were important. The interviews took place in a private office in Orange County. This recruitment strategy resulted in a sample of 26 men and 14 women who ranged in age from 25 to 61. Most interviewees (36 of 40) were middle to upper class, college educated, and professionally employed. Typical respondents' professions included law, real estate, self-employment, and sales and marketing. This sample is consistent with most whites in a county known for white flight and white establishment of segregated, gated communities that reflect their economic status (McGirr 2001; Young and Muller 1992).

Interviews

The questionnaire was semistructured, and each of the interviews were audio-recorded and lasted on average one to two hours. Respondents were asked a series of questions addressing personal background, employment, local issues, policies, and immigration. After all the interviews were transcribed, I formally analyzed the data. I used theme analysis to determine the most common attitudes of respondents toward Latinos. I listened intently to the respondents' language and characterizations of Latinos, and although they were not asked about any other group, I also noted how whites spoke about African Americans and Asians in comparison with Latinos. This enabled me to get a sense of the respondents' shared narratives. I read through each of the interviews several times and then began coding and tabulating for themes. This article focuses on the specific rationalizations whites gave to explain why they believed Latinos had deficient and inferior cultural traits and practices. Many of the responses came from questions that included "Do you think that most whites believe that Latinos are culturally different?" and "In the future it is likely California will become majority Latino; what are your thoughts on that?"

I hired and trained two white graduate students to administer the interviews. The self-identified white respondents routinely said, "For us white people like you and me" and "You know what I mean?" Such statements indicated that the respondents felt comfortable expressing their beliefs and feelings about Latinos with others they presumed were of the same mind-set given that they were also white. This assumption allowed the respondents to be candid and explicit about their views on Latinos. This supports the literature on interviewer effects that demonstrates that respondents tend to be more candid, especially when discussing race, if they are interviewed by members of their own racial or ethnic groups (McDermott 2010). I was in continuous contact with the interviewers about their observations regarding the respondents and took notes after each of our conversations. At the end of the data collection, I debriefed both interviewers, once separately and then a second time with both of them together.

Case Study: Orange County, California

Understanding the contrasting historical trajectories of whites and Latinos in Orange County helps explain the group dynamics today. Historically, Mexicans in Orange County, as in much of the southwestern United States, have endured segregation and exploitative labor. Mexicans, who came between 1900 and 1930 to work in the citrus fields, lived in Mexican villages that later turned into urban barrios. Gonzalez (1994) explained that although Mexicans were an indispensable workforce, they lived in segregated *colonias* and received substandard wages and substandard housing. By contrast, many whites left increasingly diverse cities to settle and establish the Orange County that has come to be known as a conservative suburb filled with gated communities and wealthy beach areas (McGirr 2001). This has led to the current demography in which most white residents are middle to upper class, whereas most Latino residents are working class. Median incomes are starkly different. A 2000 Rockefeller Foundation report⁶ attests to this economic inequality, deeming Santa Ana (where a large portion of the Latino population resides) as the city with the highest misery index in the United States (Montiel, Nathan, and Wright 2004). Orange County has a distinctive profile, but it also "has become another place where 'yuppies and poor migrant workers depend upon each other,' living in proximity and yet separately" (Maher 2004:784). Yet not all Latinos are working

class; a significant number are middle-class homeowners, many of whom own small business as well (Vallejo 2012).

Racial inequalities between whites and Latinos are not unique to Orange County. Whites in Orange County certainly do not represent all whites in the United States, but areas such as Orange County—with changing demographics,⁷ conservative or reactionary politics, and influential white opinion leaders—certainly represent many of the white/Latino interactions across the nation. These areas include both traditional gateways, such as parts of the Southwest, and new destinations, such as the South and the Northeast (Flores 2014; Jones 2012). In other words, Orange County can help us understand current and, perhaps, future race relations in an increasingly diverse nation.

FINDINGS

Most (37 of 40) respondents' characterizations of Latinos were overwhelmingly negative. The stereotypes respondents attributed most often to Latinos were that they are inherently lawless, do not value education, and have too many children. That whites continue to evoke stereotypes of Latinos that have been held for more than 100 years suggests that they perceive the traits of Latinos as fixed rather than malleable (Massey 2009). The findings map to the components of *perpetual inferiority*, a racial ideology whites use in relation to Latinos that reflects contemporary Latino racialization. The two major components of this ideology are (1) Latino *inferiority* that is due to what whites deem a "third world" deficient culture and behavior similar to African Americans and (2) Latino *fixed traits* that account for Latinos' failure to assimilate to the Anglo-American culture and for their passing down of the deficient cultural practices to the subsequent generation.

Latino Inferiority

"Third World" Rationale. Most respondents used language about deficient culture to address why they found Latinos problematic, subscribing to a "benign" cultural racism in which deficiencies are not necessarily genetic but rather the result of "poor" cultural attributes. Yet some respondents, such as Gary, a 40-year-old driller, were explicit about a biological argument:

I think that all the southern races, as it's been proven through history—Mark Twain wrote

about it, Laura Ingalls Wilder wrote about it—all the southern people are stupider, but all the southern races, they're not driven to survive. . . . So therefore the Mexicans, from what I've been shown by the Mexicans, are of lesser intelligence I believe.

Gary subscribes to the notion that different races have inherent characteristics that are static. He specifically posits that Mexicans and "all southern races" are inferior because they are not smart. Gary also lumps all Mexicans with "southern people." Gary and other respondents were explicit that they did not see a difference among Latinos; they ascribe characteristics to this group on the basis of the general region, not the specific country of origin. For many like Gary, that includes everyone south of the border—essentially all of Latin America. These attitudes about race can be traced to the colonial era (Mills 1997).

Similarly, respondents indicated that Latinos' deficient culture originated in third world countries and was then brought to the United States. Along with an inability to self-govern and progress, one of the most common traits of such a "third world" mentality was crime. For example, when asked about the root cause of crime in the United States, Matt, a 49-year-old civil engineer, said, "Mexico itself, there is a lot of crime. It's just the way it is down there, just a lot of crime. It's sort of a way of life. Third world country." Matt and other respondents did not believe that poverty was the cause of crime but that Latinos' willingness to break the law was an inherent part of their culture and "way of life." Thus, the respondents' characterization of Latinos draws heavily on how they think of their area of origin, which helps explain why Latinos are the least desired immigrants (Timberlake and Williams 2012).

Respondents also mentioned seemingly positive stereotypes, such as hardworking and family oriented, that were also acquired from "third world" culture. Yet respondents would go on to problematize these values by explaining that those cultural practices were a hindrance to progress in America's "modern" culture. For example, Tom, a 55-year-old who was self-employed, said that "Mexicans tend to be simpler; happy with less; less demanding; more accepting of poverty. . . . Americans in general have a huge higher expectation of things in life. . . . And Mexicans like to naturally party." Respondents further explained that because Latinos are not motivated and do not aspire to be managers or entrepreneurs, they choose not to improve their situation. They said that their

closeness to their families impeded progress because it made them insular and unable to expand their networks in order to gain economic opportunities. For example, Mel, a 36-year-old owner of a marketing company, said,

I think it might be a lack of motivation from their upbringing. . . . I think that the values of living in the Mexican culture, living in Mexico, being Hispanic or Latino or whatever, I think that a lot has to do with their upbringing.

Respondents believed that Latinos reproduced this set of values and practices in the United States. Although respondents agreed that Latinos are hard workers, they said that their menial, low-paying jobs are attributable to their “lack of motivation” to better themselves and their children. Respondents frequently indicated that Latinos lacked “American values” such as motivation, entrepreneurial spirit, and the desire to improve their socioeconomic standing. In this sense, when respondents measured Latinos against their own understanding of American values, they determined that Latinos came up short because of their inferior, “third world” values. Ultimately respondents’ comments culminated in characterizing “Latino culture as unsophisticated and parochial and unlike the modern “Anglo-American culture.” This was another way that respondents conveyed that Latinos are not becoming white.

Group Comparisons. As they rationalized Latinos’ inferiority, respondents would routinely compare them with other groups. Respondents generally (1) lumped together Latinos and African Americans, (2) classified Latinos as inferior to whites, and (3) negatively compared them with Asians. For example, Chrissy, a 43-year-old hairstylist, stated, “The neighborhoods they’ve grown up in [are] the same as blacks’. It does seem like there’s more blacks and Hispanics that do steal and do the crime.” Respondents routinely noted culturally deficient traits among Latinos and would then state that Latinos shared many of these traits with African Americans, particularly those traits related to the perceived proliferation of crime, devaluation of education, and abuse of public services. This supports recent studies that demonstrate how whites situate Latinos and Blacks in a similar position on the racial hierarchy (Park et al. 2015).

In addition to lumping Latinos together with African Americans, respondents were explicit that

both groups were not like whites. Howard, a 36-year-old lawyer, explained,

Look at the statistics. The Mexican mafia runs California; all the gangs. It’s not Jeffrey Dahmer. There’s not Charles Manson. I mean, there’s a few guys like that, the bulk of it is your gangbangers; that’s your blacks and Mexicans. You got some white guys usually drunk, an occasional killing, but it’s blacks and Mexicans.

Like Howard, when discussing crime, respondents treated whites as individuals but Latinos as a group inherently prone to crime. Although the questionnaire asked only about Latinos, respondents frequently used both whites and Blacks as reference groups. Similarly, respondents stressed perceived commonalities between Latinos and Blacks with regard to education and upward mobility. For example, Wilbur, a 50-year-old real estate agent, stated,

The biggest problem is education—there’s no emphasis on education. And they don’t want to learn; that’s the biggest problem. I think no matter how much money and schools and everything thrown at them, they really don’t want to learn. Hispanics, the Blacks, they don’t really want—I think that there’s some sort of—they don’t want to be like a white person.

The respondents overwhelmingly expressed the belief that Latinos do not value education; they believed that Latinos lack the desire for upward mobility because they “don’t want to learn” or improve themselves. Again, Wilbur, like most respondents, drew distinctions among Latinos, Blacks, and whites. They situated African Americans similarly to Latinos, perceiving both groups to be nonwhite and inferior.

Respondents also drew clear distinctions between Latinos and Asians. Most respondents spoke positively about Asians only and never described their origin countries as “third world.” Isabel, a 59-year-old disabled craftsperson, stated, “We’ve got people here from Vietnam, from all over Southeast Asia. I have some friends who are Vietnamese. They both went to college. He’s a chemist.” Respondents believed that Asians value education and professional expectations that enabled them to assimilate and be successful in the United States. That respondents had Asian friends and spoke highly of them indicates that they found Asians to be more similar to whites than Latinos

and African Americans. As Dave, a 43-year-old stunt driver, said, "Asians come in and they're freaking motivated. Hispanics aren't. . . . Very culturally for sure." Like Dave, many respondents viewed Asians as smart and motivated, whereas they perceived Latinos as incompetent and lazy (Fiske et al. 2002). These views shed light on why large surveys reveal that whites have much more positive views of Asians than Latinos (Park et al. 2015). Specifically, whites see Latino culture as inferior in ways they do not ascribe to Asian culture. In this sense, although Latinos and Asians may both be seen as perpetual foreigners, these respondents view Asians as a model minority. They frequently used Asians to contrast Latinos and concluded that Latinos were problematic. Thus, overall, respondents placed Latinos closer to African Americans than to Asians on the racial hierarchy. This also leads to a crystallization of the uniqueness of contemporary Latino racialization, one in which Latinos are not afforded insider or equal status.

Fixed Traits

Heritability. The respondents constructed Latinos' fixed traits through the mechanism of heritability. Respondents exhibited a Lamarckian way of thinking about culture in a seemingly never-ending cycle in which traits are directly passed down from parents to children. In that sense, respondents did not need to have a biological notion of race because culture served a similar purpose. Thus, whites perceived that Latinos could not and did not assimilate. Respondents, like Huntington (2004), made the case that this was unique to Latinos and not other ethnic or racial groups. Respondents further expressed fear, anger, and anxiety because Latinos have the potential to change America in very negative ways.

Respondents repeated long-standing stereotypes of Latinos. Although some of these purported traits were specific to subgroups of Latinos, respondents always concluded that the group as a whole was problematic. For example, respondents spoke at length about "illegal aliens" as one of the main sources of the problem, but their testimonies ultimately revealed that they did not differentiate Latinos by generation, citizenship status, or national origin. Jerry, a 52-year-old commercial real estate agent, explained his view of "illegal aliens" and how it is transmitted to subsequent generations:

I think it, again, stems from family values for the most part. You can get into the illegal immigration family makeup, and if you can't

break out of that, that mentality and that poverty and you have a broken family where you don't have a father or a mother, it's the, I call it K-12. Those children become a product of their environment, and without a father, or maybe an addictive dad or mother, broken family, there's problems. And now those problems breed other problems, and the kids turn into that culture, and if they're not in a gang, guess what, they're going to get beaten. So that's what's happened.

Respondents frequently used nativist language, but they solely blamed Latinos, without mentioning any other immigrant groups. Thus, for whites, "undocumented" and "Latino" are interchangeable. This finding supports scholars who argue that the public discourse and policies centered on punishing undocumented immigrants are racialized (Aranda and Vaquera 2015; DeFrancesco Soto 2012). Jerry also added that the problem is that most Latino families are made up of families with only one parent who may be drug addicted. Therefore, not only do Latinos come to the United States "illegally," but their children cannot "break out" because the inferior culture has been passed down. This perception is not captured by the nativism or illegality constructions, in which most of the rhetoric is targeted solely toward undocumented or first-generation immigrants.

Furthermore, Jerry's response, like many others', assumes the "illegal immigrant family makeup" inevitably leads to poverty and crime. Jerry, like many others, frequently assumes that most Latinos are illegal and that this mentality and behavior are passed down to the children with no possibility of change. In essence, the inheritance of deficient cultural traits prevents generational progress. Respondents' racialization of Latino immigrants—and Latinos in general—challenges certain scholars' use of the prototypical European immigrant to measure assimilation among Latinos.

Respondents were precise in their views that subsequent generations of Latinos do not acculturate. According to Wilbur, for instance, "Second and third generations is when you started becoming gang infested, drug ridden, and when the gangs take over. That really jeopardizes the American way of life." Unlike the assimilation model, according to which subsequent generations are expected to fare better than the first, respondents were clear that they believed that subsequent generations of Latinos were equally problematic. Again, respondents considered Latino culture to be incapable of malleability, assuming that culture becomes habit

forming as it is passed down and that Latino inferiority is therefore permanent.

Respondents such as Holly, a 44-year-old office manager, were explicit in not differentiating between Latinos by generation or citizenship status:

Yeah we should've done something about it 10 years ago, 20 years ago. The ones that are sitting on welfare doing nothing, make them go to work, or send them where they're from [Mexico]. I don't care if they've been here for three generations. Time America cleans itself up. From the rest of us that have worked and worked and not got welfare.

Holly subscribes to many stereotypes about Latinos, such as that they are lazy and on welfare, and that this has been a problem for a long time. Holly does not stop with recent immigrants from Latin America. She explicitly states that the country should get rid of even those who have "been here for three generations," which would include U.S. citizens. Thus, although the respondents took issue with "illegal" immigrants, they ultimately revealed their perception that the problem was with the whole group, including those who are documented. The fact that many respondents like Holly have no regard for citizenship rights provides further evidence of how Latinos are racialized.

Unassimilable. Many respondents were explicit about their perception that Latinos have no desire or ability to assimilate. This view places the responsibility to assimilate on Latinos themselves and ignores the roles of structural factors that impede assimilation. Much like Huntington (2004), respondents found Latinos problematic because they believed that they either stubbornly held onto their language and culture or simply were not capable of acculturation and were therefore unassimilable. They also made it clear that Latinos were the only group that did not assimilate. For example, Albert, a 48-year-old owner of a medical group, stated,

You have a lot of people that come from China and their kids don't have anything . . . they barely speak English; but you can bet they're studying every night and they are getting good grades. It's because their parents are making them; it's all your culture.

Although respondents were only asked about Latinos, they used other groups as comparisons to

further make their case. Respondents attributed the "model minority" narrative to Asians as a way of differentiating them from Latinos. They perceived Asians as being smart and capable of acquiring white American values while perceiving Latinos as incapable of doing so. Respondents thus used Asians to support their case that Latinos are inferior.

Whites' racial ideology toward Latinos is complex and comprehensive. Carl, a 64-year-old city planner, who at one point served as a high-ranking political official, best articulated why respondents viewed Latinos as problematic:

And by the way, they don't assimilate. Obviously there's no desire to assimilate. There's no particular reason to have on cable television, something like 10 or 12 Hispanic TV stations so that people can continue to listen to Hispanic soap operas and all kinds of other things, and expose their kids to it, and not expose their kids to English. And then the kids grow up and they can't speak English. And they end up with English as a second language, drop out of school, and that kind of thing. And then they say, "Oh, woe is me. I'm being discriminated against." Bullshit. Learn English. He [my father] was told point blank by his father, "You're going to go to school next year, and you need to learn English." . . . So they come in and illegals come in and they sneak across the border, have their kids. They're going to take over California a birth at a time.

Carl reveals that the assimilation model is not just an academic theory but a narrative entrenched in American culture, used to measure groups' potential to integrate. Like many respondents, Carl makes a case, similar to Huntington's (2004), that Hispanics have no desire to assimilate and that "the kids grow up and can't speak English." Carl's fear that Latinos are "going to take over California one birth at a time" posits Latinos as a threat to American values. Like many respondents, he compares previous white ethnic immigrants with Latinos. He specifically does this when he contrasts the experience of his immigrant grandparents, who "did everything right" by learning the language and assimilating. He essentially blames Latinos for not acculturating and failing to repeat the trajectory of prototypical white European immigrants. In doing so, Carl does not consider Latinos to be Americans. The respondents maintain the inferiority of Latinos on the basis of their

perception that subsequent generations are not assimilating, thereby relegating Latinos to a non-white racial category.

DISCUSSION

This study illustrates the importance of whites' external racial ascription regarding Latinos. Obtaining and understanding whites' perceptions of Latinos, particularly how they explain and justify those beliefs, reveals many critical points. A close examination of the logic underlying whites' perceptions of Latinos reveals that (1) they perceive Latino culture as inferior and (2) they use a Lamarckian way of thinking in that they identify heredity as the mechanism by which whites construct Latinos' inferiority as permanent. Respondents articulated five justifications to support their racialization. First, respondents frequently invoked long-standing stereotypes about Latinos that are overwhelmingly negative. Second, they created a logic for ascribing negative characteristics to Latinos; these centered mainly on connecting Latino behavior to the inferior "third world" culture. Third, respondents spoke about Latinos in relationship to African Americans, whites, and Asians, which supports the notion that racial group assignment relies heavily on reference groups (Omi and Winant 1994). Fourth, respondents expressed that Latinos were not assimilating into the American culture. Finally, respondents assigned characteristics to Latinos that they believe are passed down to subsequent generations. Taken together, these five perceptual biases form the comprehensive racial ideology of *perpetual inferiority* that whites have toward Latinos, in which whites perceive Latino traits as fixed and incapable of change because Latinos continue to pass down their culture from one generation to the next.

Respondents' invocation of long-standing stereotypes of Latinos is consistent with the media's negative narratives about Latinos (Ramírez Berg 2002). Furthermore, the persistence of these stereotypes reveals their durability and the continued racialization of Latinos (Golash-Boza 2006; Ortiz and Telles 2012; Vasquez 2011). But the data also show that these attitudes are not solely held by media elites; they are held by average white citizens as well. The contemporary public discourse has focused mostly on immigration, characterizing Latino immigrants as "illegals," "invaders," and therefore a threat to the American way of life (Chavez 2008; Santa Ana 2002). The media and academic scholarship frequently frame the Latino

experience according to a narrative of ethnic immigration (Galindo and Vigil 2006; Waters and Jiménez 2005). Yet because they perceived no cultural changes or acculturation in subsequent generations, the respondents in this study did not differentiate between Latino immigrants and Latino citizens. They also did not differentiate among countries of origin, couching all Latino cultures as "third world" and "backward." Respondents characterized Latinos as perpetual foreigners and, more significantly, rendered them perpetually inferior.

The respondents' perception of Latinos as inherently inferior contributes to the debate about whether Latinos are "becoming white." The fact that respondents believe that Latinos are not assimilating, and that they continue to practice "third world" values, challenges those scholars (Alba and Nee 2003; Yancey 2003) who argue that Latinos are "becoming white." Respondents did not see Latinos as similar to them in any way and rejected suggestions otherwise. They were explicit in their belief that Latinos were not American but rather constituted their own separate group that does not share white Americans' values and expectations. Respondents thought of Latinos as a cohesive group and never substantively distinguished between its members. Furthermore, these findings support the criticisms of the assimilation model (Sáenz and Douglas 2015; Treitler 2015) that have challenged those scholars who have compared the Latino experience with prototypical European immigration. The continued racialization of Latinos indicates that they are not on a path to becoming white.

The findings of this study reveal how the respondents echoed Huntington's (2004) Lamarckian views about Latinos: they saw no possibility for subsequent generations of Latinos to become white, because of their failure to acculturate. Like Huntington (2004), the respondents felt that this failure is a problem because Latinos are passing their culturally deficient traits down to their children; they do not have a "chance for redemption," as previous immigrant groups did. Respondents do not see subsequent generations of Latinos as changing and improving.

Because respondents compared Latinos with other groups, we can see where they place Latinos on the racial hierarchy. Recent quantitative research indicates that whites contrast Asians and Latinos and perceive Latinos to be similar to African Americans (Fiske et al. 2002; Park et al. 2015). Similarly, recent qualitative research also shows that whites think about Latinos and African Americans similarly (Lippard 2016; Meyerhoffer

2015). The findings in this study help explain why whites believe similarly negative racialized stereotypes about Latinos and African Americans: they perceive these two groups as permanently inferior.

Furthermore, this study confirms previous scholarship (Fiske et al. 2002; Park et al. 2015) in that whites maintain positive stereotype about Asians. Whites spoke highly of Asian culture and viewed it as having relatively similar values to those of whites with regard to education and motivation for social mobility. By contrast, because they traced Latino culture to “third world” countries with deficient cultures, respondents believed that Latinos were less competent. Although other scholarship has accounted for how Asians are racialized and perceived as perpetual foreigners (Kim 1999), respondents in this study emphasized the purported positive attributes of Asian culture, attributing Asians’ success to their willingness and ability to acculturate, as opposed to Latinos. Unlike scholarship that has lumped together all post-1965 immigration (specifically that of Asians and Latinos), this study found that respondents held divergent views of these groups. Respondents thought of Latinos and African Americans very similarly, specifically when it came to cultural deficiency and the sentiment that they had little potential for improvement. For these respondents, the racial hierarchy would place whites at the top, followed by Asians, with Latinos and African Americans closely situated at the bottom.

Latino racialization is unique because it includes an immigrant group that has also become a racial minority. Although this group is forced to cope with being perceived as a perpetually foreign “invader,” it also must deal with the labels and perceptions that come with being a racial minority, including being perceived as uneducated, criminal, and welfare dependent. This dual racialization is described by whites as unique to Latinos (Flores-González 2010). But more important, whites characterize both Latino immigrants and Latinos in general as inferior, rendering them a racial group regardless of immigrant status and generation. Although whites clearly espouse sentiments in line with the constructs of nativism and illegality, they are more concerned about the implications of a group they not only believe to be inferior but whose children will continue to practice a deficient culture and reject the American norms they deem superior. This is particularly important because Latino population growth is now due more to U.S. births than to immigration (Krogstad and Lopez 2014). Thus, I agree with Hattam (2007) that we

should use race to analyze the Latino experience, because an ethnicity model misses racial inequalities. More significant, this study reveals that whites’ racialization of Latinos has implications for Latino mobility and future race relations in the United States.

CONCLUSION

This interrogation of whites’ attitudes toward Latinos reveals a racial ideology with precise language, a clear logic, and rationalization that is often quite explicit. Overall, the sentiments of whites in this sample toward Latinos were not only nativist and negative but also racist. They revealed that whites categorize Latinos as a racial group and clearly render them as nonwhite. Although Latinos are a heterogeneous group with significant differences in class, generation, status, and national origin, whites exhibit racialized attitudes toward Latinos that have a homogenizing effect. This is important to document given the rapid national demographic changes, particularly the growing Latino population and aging white population. Whites’ negative sentiments toward Latinos can shape policy. Furthermore, it suggests that these views can account for the structural reasons for many Latinos’ lack of upward mobility.

This work has limitations. The sample is not generalizable to all whites. Although the type of interaction between whites and Latinos in Orange County is similar to such interactions in other regions, it does not necessarily hold true for all whites. The specific location and history of Orange County affords this particular dynamic. Thus, future research should address possible differences among regions. For example, whites in other regions could have sentiments toward Asians that may be different from those expressed by the Orange County sample. Furthermore, research should also examine differences among whites and how those differences will affect Latinos’ levels of incorporation, public discourse, media representation, and policies. Research should also seek to link white views about Latinos to political behavior, particularly with the advent of a U.S. president who has repeatedly used racial slurs against Latinos.

My interviews reveal key findings that shed light on contemporary Latino racialization and contribute to the theoretical understanding of race and ethnicity. The empirical data demonstrate how whites place Latinos close to African Americans at the bottom of the racial hierarchy. By uncovering the logical mechanisms by which whites justify

Latino inferiority, the racial ideology of *perpetual inferiority* helps explain racism toward Latinos and theoretically advances methods to better operationalize race and ethnicity that define the Latino experience.

NOTES

1. Because the U.S. census officially considers Latinos/Hispanics to be a discrete ethnic group, in this article, when I discuss whites, I am referring to non-Hispanic whites.
2. In this article, I use *Latino* and *Mexican* interchangeably because whites in this sample do not distinguish Latinos by national origin. Although Latinos are in fact a very heterogeneous group, this is not how they are perceived by the white respondents in this study. Furthermore, scholars have also shown how Mexicans and Latinos are similarly racialized in the U.S. context (Cobas, Duany, and Feagin 2009; Massey 2009).
3. Racialization can be defined as the societal assigning of undesirable characteristics to people of a particular ancestry or phenotype, as well as the institutional consequences of this exclusion (Feagin 2006). Specifically, the treatment of Latinos has been based on a process of racial differentiation established through the history of colonization and conquest (Telles 2006).
4. Implications of whether Latinos are constructed as a racial or ethnic group include political, economic, and social integration as well as racialized rhetoric, as reflected in the many comments President Trump has made about Latinos.
5. Even using survey research, Vargas (2015) found that only a small percentage of Latinos who identified as white believed that whites perceived them as white.
6. The index included six factors: unemployment, dependency, education, income level, crowded housing, and poverty.
7. This county has recently become majority minority. The demographics of Orange County are currently as follows: 42 percent white, 34.4 percent Latino, 19.6 percent Asian, and 2.1 percent Black.

REFERENCES

- Alba, Richard, and Victor Nee. 2003. *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Almaguer, Tomás. 1994. *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 1989. "The Conservation of 'Race.'" *Black American Literature Forum* 23(1).
- Aranda, Elizabeth M., and Elizabeth Vaquera. 2015. "Racism, the Immigration Enforcement Regime, and the Implications for Racial Inequality in the Lives of Undocumented Young Adults." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1(1):88–104.
- Aranda, Elizabeth M., and Guillermo Rebollo-Gil. 2004. "Ethnoracism and the 'Sandwiched' Minorities." *American Behavioral Scientist* 47:910–27.
- Ayers, John W., C. Richard Hofstetter, Keith Schnakenberg, and Bohdan Kolody. 2009. "Is Immigration a Racial Issue? Anglo Attitudes on Immigration Policies in a Border County." *Social Science Quarterly* 90(3):593–610.
- Barrera, Mario. 1979. *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2006. *Racism without Racists. Color-blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2015. "More Than Prejudice: Restatement, Reflections, and New Directions in Critical Race Theory." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1(1):75–89.
- Brader, Ted, Nicholas A. Valentino, and Elizabeth Suhay. 2008. "What Triggers Opposition to Immigration? Anxiety, Group Cues, and Immigration Threat." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4):959–78.
- Chavez, Leo R. 2008. *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Chávez, Maria. 2011. *Everyday Injustice: Latino Professionals and Racism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Cobas, José A., Jorge Duany, and Joe R. Feagin, eds. 2009. *How the United States Racializes Latinos: White Hegemony & Its Consequences*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.
- Cornell, Stephen, and Douglas Hartmann. 1998. *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge.
- DeFrancesco Soto, Victoria M. 2012. "Anti-immigrant Rhetoric is Anti-Latino." *The Nation*. Retrieved March 1, 2017 (<https://www.thenation.com/article/anti-immigrant-rhetoric-anti-latino/>).
- De Genova, Nicholas. 2005. *Working the Boundaries: Race, Space, and "Illegality" in Mexican Chicago*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Dowling, Julie A. 2014. *Mexican-Americans and the Question of Race*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Feagin, Joe R. 2006. *Systemic Racism: A Theory of Oppression*. New York: Routledge.
- Feagin, Joe R., and Cobas, José A. 2014. *Latinos Facing Racism: Discrimination, Resistance, and Endurance*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.
- Fiske, J. 2016. *Media Matters: Race and Gender in US Politics*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Fiske, Susan T., Amy J. C. Cuddy, Peter Glick, and Jun Xu. 2002. "A Model of (Often Mixed) Stereotype Content: Competence and Warmth Respectively Follow from Perceived Status and Competition." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 82(6):878–902.

- Flores, René D. 2014. "Living in the Eye of the Storm: How Did Hazelton's Restrictive Immigration Ordinance Affect Local Interethnic Relations?" *American Behavioral Scientist* 58(13):1743–63.
- Flores-González, Nilda. 2010. "Immigrants, Citizens, or Both? The Second Generation in the Immigrant Rights Marches." Pp. 198–214 in *¡Marcha! Latino Chicago and the Immigrant Rights Movement*, edited by Amalia Pallares and Nilda Flores-González. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Foner, N., and Fredrickson, G. M., eds. 2004. *Not Just Black and White: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage.
- Galindo, René, and Jami Vigil. 2006. "Are Anti-immigrant Statements Racist or Nativist? What Difference Does It Make?" *Latino Studies* 4(4):419–47.
- Gilroy, P. 2013. *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*. New York: Routledge.
- Golash-Boza, Tanya. 2006. "Dropping the Hyphen? Becoming Latino(a)-American through Racialized Assimilation." *Social Forces* 85(1):27–55.
- Golash-Boza, Tanya. 2015. *Deported: Immigrant Policing, Disposable Labor and Global Capitalism*. New York: New York University Press.
- Golash-Boza, Tanya. 2016. "A Critical and Comprehensive Sociological Theory of Race and Racism." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 2(2):129–41.
- Goldberg, D. T. 1993. *Racist Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Gómez, Laura. 2007. *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race*. New York: New York University Press.
- Gonzalez, Gilbert G. 1994. *Labor and Community: Mexican Citrus Worker Villages in a Southern California County, 1900–1950*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Haney-López, Ian F. 2003. *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hattam, Victoria. 2007. *In the Shadows of Race: Jews, Latinos, and Immigration Politics in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 2004. "The Hispanic Challenge." *Foreign Policy* March/April:30–45.
- Jones, Jennifer A. 2012. "Blacks May Be Second Class, but They Can't Make Them Leave: Mexican Racial Formation and Immigrant Status in Winston-Salem." *Latino Studies* 10(1–2):60–80.
- Kim, Claire Jean. 1999. "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans." *Politics and Society* 27(1):105–38.
- Krogstad, Jens Manuel, and Mark Hugo Lopez. 2014. "Hispanic Nativity Shift." Pew Research Center. Retrieved March 1, 2017 (<http://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/04/29/hispanic-nativity-shift/>).
- Lacayo, Celia. 2016. "Latinos Need to Stay in Their Place: Differential Segregation in a Multi-ethnic Suburb." *Societies* 6:25.
- Lippard, C. D. 2016. "Playing the 'Immigrant Card': Reflections of Color-blind Rhetoric within Southern Attitudes on Immigration." *Social Currents* 3(1):24–42.
- Maher, Kristen Hill. 2004. "Borders and Social Distinction in the Global Suburb." *American Quarterly* 56(3):781–806.
- Massey, D. S. 2009. "Racial Formation in Theory and Practice: The Case of Mexicans in the United States." *Race and Social Problems* 1(1), 12–26.
- McConnell, Eileen Diaz. 2011. "An 'Incredible Number of Latinos and Asians': Media Representations of Racial and Ethnic Population Change in Atlanta, Georgia." *Latino Studies* 9(2–3):177–97.
- McDermott, Monica. 2010. "Ways of Being White: Privilege, Perceived Stigma, and Transcendence." Pp. 415–38 in *Doing Race: 21 Essays for the 21st Century*, edited by Hazel Rose Markus and Paula M. L. Moya. New York: W. W. Norton.
- McGirr, Lisa. 2001. *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Menchaca, Martha. 1995. *The Mexican Outsiders: A Community History of Marginalization and Discrimination in California*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Mills, Charles W. 1997. *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Molina, Natalia. 2014. *How Race Is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts*. Berkeley: University California Press.
- Montiel, Lisa M., Richard P. Nathan, and David J. Wright. 2004. *An Update on Urban Hardship*. Albany, NY: Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government.
- Ngai, Mae. 2004. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ochoa, Gilda. 2013. *Academic Profiling: Latinos, Asian Americans, and the Achievement Gap*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Formations in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge.
- Ortiz, Vilma, and Edward Telles. 2012. "Racial Identity and Racial Treatment of Mexican Americans." *Race and Social Problems* 4(1):41–56.
- Park, Jerry Z., Brandon C. Martinez, Ryon Cobb, Julie J. Park, and Erica Ryu Wong. 2015. "Exceptional Out-group Stereotypes and White Racial Inequality Attitudes toward Asian Americans." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 78(4):399–411.
- Ramírez Berg, Charles. 2002. *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, and Resistance*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Sáenz, Rogelio, and Karen Manges Douglas. 2015. "A Call for the Racialization of Immigration Studies: On the Transition of Ethnic Immigrants to Racialized Immigrants." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1(1):166–80.

- Santa Ana, Otto. 2002. *Brown Tide Rising: Metaphors of Latinos in Contemporary American Public Discourse*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Sears, David, Jim Sidanius, and Lawrence Bobo, eds. 2000. *Racialized Politics: The Debate about Racism in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Stocking, George W. 1994. "The Turn-of-the-Century Concept of Race." *Modernism/Modernity* 1:4–16.
- Telles, Edward. 2006. "Mexican Americans and the American Nation: A Response to Professor Huntington." *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 31(2):7–23.
- Timberlake, Jeffrey, and Rhys H. Williams. 2012. "Stereotypes of U.S. Immigrants from Four Global Regions." *Social Science Quarterly* 93(4):867–90.
- Torres, Rudy, and ChorSwang Ngin. 1997. "Racialized Boundaries, Class Relations, and Cultural Politics: The Asian-American and Latino Experience." In *New American Destinies: A Reader in Contemporary Asian and Latino Immigration*, edited by Rudy Torres and Darrell Hamamoto. New York: Routledge.
- Treitler, Vilna Bashi. 2015. "Social Agency and White Supremacy in Immigration Studies." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1(1):153–65.
- Vargas, N. 2015. "Latina/o Whitening?" *Du Bois Review* 12(1):119–36.
- Vasquez, Jessica M. 2011. *Mexican Americans across Generations: Immigrant Families, Racial Realities*. New York: New York University Press.
- Waters, Mary C., and Tomás R. Jiménez. 2005. "Assessing Immigrant Assimilation: New Empirical and Theoretical Challenges." *Annual Review of Sociology* 31:105–25.
- Yancey, George. 2003. *Who Is White? Latinos, Asians, and the New Black/Nonblack Divide*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Young, R. A., and Muller, P. O. 1992. "Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County since World War II. Rob Kling, Spencer Olin, and Mark Poster, editors; *Japan: A Postindustrial Power*. Ardath W. Burks." *Urban Geography* 13(2):203–204.