Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era: The Continuing Struggle

SECTION ONE

How Campus Racism Could Affect Black Students' College Enrollment

With racial discrimination on the rise, students and parents are watching universities' responses closely, and some say that these concerns could influence decisions of where to attend.

Melinda D. Anderson Oct 19, 2017

SOURCE: https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2017/10/how-racism-could-affect-black-students-college-enrollment/543360/

At American University, a private university in Washington, D.C., the commitment to cultural diversity is an integral part of its marketing and outreach to prospective students. And for Janelle Gray, a black freshman from Northern Virginia, such advertising worked. Information sessions and campus visits emphasized that AU valued racial and ethnic diversity, a feature that Gray said drew her to the school.

In the spring of 2017, two days after accepting AU's admission offer, Gray learned that bananas hung on rope fashioned into nooses—a symbol of racial terror and intimidation against black Americans—were found in several spots on AU's campus. The incident coincided with the university's first black woman student-

government president taking office. Gray never reconsidered her decision to attend AU because she was equally drawn to its international-relations program. But she admits she arrived on campus last summer with a lot of uncertainty and fear. Then last month, it happened again: Ten confederate-flag posters with cotton stalks were pinned to AU's campus bulletin boards. This time Gray was devastated. "I went to sleep that night, feeling like this situation is just so surreal," she said. "We come here to learn, and we shouldn't have to deal with things like this."

Gray's experience, and the racist acts on her campus, is neither rare nor random. The episodes correspond with what the Anti-Defamation League identifies as an unprecedented increase in white supremacist activity on college grounds that began in fall 2016. Since the start of this academic year, black college students have been targeted in a rash of attacks—at an Ivy League university in New York, at a public college in Illinois, at a Catholic college in Pennsylvania, and at a flagship state university in Michigan. With another college-application season starting and a new crop of black students finalizing their selections, an overarching question persists: To what degree will racist incidents on college campuses—and colleges' response to those incidents—affect black-student enrollment? At risk are colleges' and universities' reputations as champions of diversity, as well as black students' academic success.

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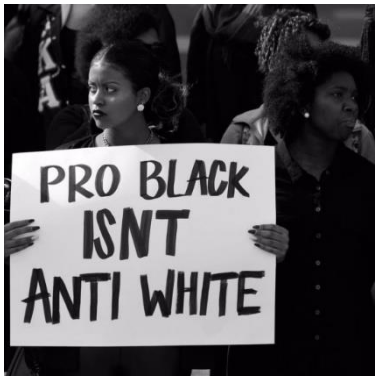
Sarah Pascarella, a Boston-based writer and editor who graduated from AU in 2000, points to racism at AU dating back two decades. During the 1996-97 school year, the school's student newspaper was accused of racism against a black student-government candidate after it cited a "fear" that she would only cater to certain students in its endorsement of her opponent. When the young woman protested, her letter-to-the-editor was published above a comic containing monkeys. Pascarella, like Gray, was a freshman at the time. "As an alumna, I'm appalled at what black students are experiencing at American University," said Pascarella, who's white. "Same as in the late '90s, the university has much work to do to ensure these incidents are not tolerated, and that all students feel safe and welcome."



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It's unclear, though, how targeted acts directed at a small, underrepresented group—rather than random, unpredictable violence—translates to college choices. The University of Virginia in Charlottesville is the state's premier institution of higher education—and a campus where black students demonstrated in 2015 to call attention to racism and the challenges of black student life. Most recently, the school's president and other administrators were harshly criticized for letting torch-wielding neo-Nazis and white supremacists march onto its campus the night of August 11, 2017. The next day a white nationalist rally in the city of Charlottesville turned violent as the governor issued a state of emergency and UVA students sheltered in place.

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Yet Lecia Brooks, the outreach director for the Southern Poverty Law Center, a civil-rights nonprofit based in Montgomery, Alabama, predicted that black-student enrollment will begin to take a hit if college administrators allow racist threats and attacks to go unchecked. While some universities have continued to see incremental growth in their black-student populations, Brooks said the outlook could change as parents and students weigh their options, and the racial climate on campuses begins to factor into their decision-making.

The Clery Act, 1990

This is a U.S. federal law that was passed in 1990 following the sustained lobbying efforts of the parents of Jeanne Clery—a student who was brutally tortured, raped, and murdered in her dorm room at Lehigh University on April 5, 1986 by a fellow student—hence the full title of the act, named in her honor, is *Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Crime Statistics Act*. The law requires higher educational institutions that receive federal funding to undertake three main activities: collect and publish crime data annually for their campuses; provide support for victims; and publicize relevant policies and procedures they have implemented in support of campus safety. The types of data that institutions must collect and disseminate cover four categories:

Criminal Offenses
- Criminal homicide: murder and non-negligent manslaughter, manslaughter by negligence
- Sexual assault: rape, fondling, incest, statutory rape
- Robbery
- Aggravated assault
- Burglary
- Motor vehicle theft
- Arson

Hate Crimes (any of the above mentioned offenses, and any incidents of)
- Larceny-theft
- Simple assault
- *Intimidation*
- Destruction/damage/vandalism of property

Offenses covered by the *Violence Against Women Act*, 1994
- Domestic violence
- Dating violence
- Stalking

Arrests and Referrals for Disciplinary Action
- Weapons law violations
- Drug abuse violations
- Liquor law violations

NOTE: For more on the Clery Act visit https://clerycenter.org

"Students are paying attention to how administrators are responding to these incidents, and kind of watching to see [if] they really stand for these lofty initiatives around diversity and inclusion like they say they do," she explained. Additionally, the Clery Act—a federal law that requires colleges and universities to collect and publish information about crimes on and around their campuses—mandates that crimes motivated by hate or bias be included in annual reports. Brooks said parents armed with these statistics will have "a real eye-opener … schools would be hard-pressed to act like [racism on campus] never touched them."

Clery Act data show that the number of reported incidents of intimidation—the most common type of hate crime in 2014, the most recent year for which figures are available—increased from 260 in 2010 to 343 in 2014. The hate crimes were most frequently associated with racism and anti-LGBT bias. (The number of reported incidents of destruction, damage, and vandalism, however, decreased between 2010 and 2014.)

To address doubts that arise for black students and families, Brooks advised that universities require constant professional development with faculty and staff, and make combatting racial injustice on their campuses a genuine part of their programming and recruitment efforts. "But more than that," she said, administrators have "a moral obligation to take a strong stand against the incursion of white supremacy on college campuses and ensure that every individual in that campus community feels safe."

A tougher stance is vitally important for new students—and for black students who choose to stay and matriculate at schools with well-publicized racist incidents. Lauren Mims, of Fairfax, Virginia, earned her bachelor's at UVA in 2012 and is currently pursuing a doctorate in educational psychology. Mims credits UVA for incredible relationships and opportunities—"I feel like I grew up at the University of Virginia"—but has always felt like race relations at UVA could be better. "I would hear a lot of microaggressions in the classroom. There was an incident with Yik Yak where there were racial slurs calling black students monkeys. There have been racist posters put up [on campus]," she said.

Still, Mims has never considered leaving UVA, nor has she heard black classmates talk of transferring. Following the white supremacist rally, she and other black alumni gathered with current UVA students to address fears and offer support. Many students cited the prestige of the university and being first-generation college-goers for their pride in being at UVA. They also spoke of making painful compromises for a quality education—factors that can't be measured on enrollment and retention graphs.

"Many students talked about how it is really hard being here as a black student," Mims said. "It's a university where I can get my degree, where I'm working towards my future career. All of that is just as important to me now as it was before August 11 and 12, even if it makes being a student here harder."

SECTION TWO

Neo-Racism toward International Students: A Critical Need for Change

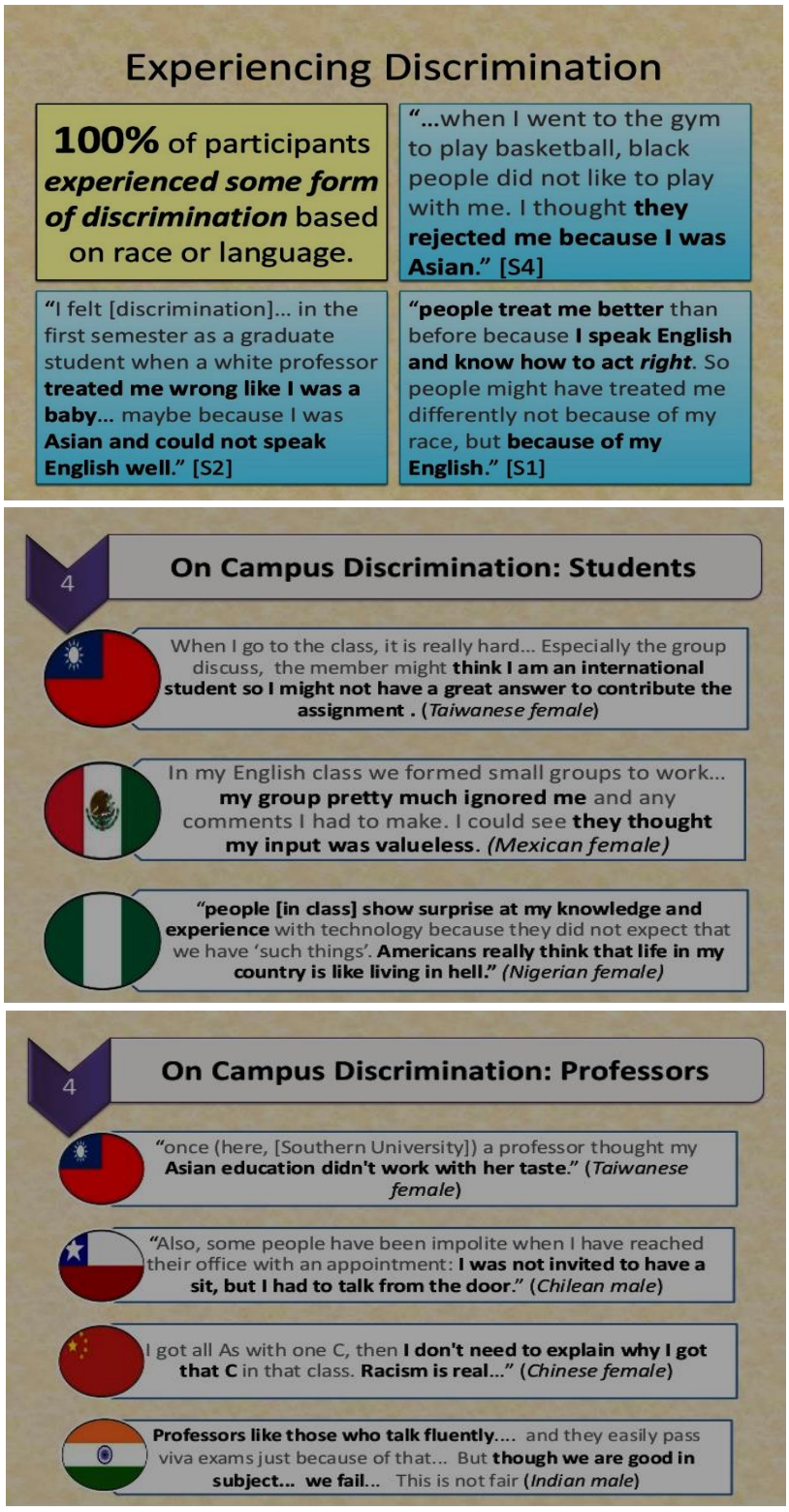
Jenny J. Lee

SOURCE: *About Campus* January/February 2007

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS and their dependents contribute more than $12 billion a year to the U.S. economy, yet for institutions of higher education, the greatest gains lie not in dollar amounts but in new insights and perspectives. As international students enter U.S. colleges and universities, they bring with them a wealth of curricular and cocurricular benefits that, if accessed, can substantially contribute to achieving an institution's educational goals. International students who stay in the United States add to the country's intellectual capital, while those who return to their home country tend to take with them a positive regard toward the United States. The United States educates many who take leadership positions in other nations, which can also build goodwill between countries. Perhaps most important, international students can broaden the perspectives of U.S. students as well as increase their appreciation for cultures around the world. International students, in turn, gain a greater understanding of U.S. culture. Positive exchanges are essential to improving diplomatic relations, increasing international awareness, and furthering multiculturalism, all critical components of a thriving global society.

DESPITE the obvious value of the presence of international students, how they are treated once they are admitted has received limited attention. Much more effort has traditionally been expended on recruiting and getting these students in the door than on keeping them satisfied. In fact, in my interviews with international students, many report that once they were enrolled, their expectations were often left unmet. One international graduate student explained, "I was extremely disappointed with my program when I came here because it was not what I was supposed to be doing. What I had applied for and put in my application is very different from what the program was, and I felt trapped." In more extreme cases, overt discrimination occurs.

In a case study that Charles Rice and I recently conducted, we uncovered tremendous discrimination against international students. Our study revealed that students from the Middle East, Africa, East Asia, Latin America, and



SOURCE: https://www.slideshare.net/ElisabethChan/cultural-and-linguistic-discrimination-of-international-students-3-1713

India endured far greater difficulties in U.S. institutions than students from Canada and Europe. We call this discrimination **neo-racism**, which we suggest is attributable to skin color as well as culture, national origin, and relationships between countries. As students of color in the United States and as foreigners, international students, we discovered, are subject not only to racism, based solely on race, but also to neo-racism. We contend that neo-racism occurs in contexts ranging from political regulations to educational settings. *The Patriot Act,* for example, allows detention without limit, denial of due process, and violations of personal freedoms of some individuals; cumbersome foreign student tracking procedures; new hurdles for obtaining visas to enter the United States; and fingerprinting and profiling procedures in the name of maintaining national security. Similar policies, which we also see as neo-racist, are present in higher education. Our study revealed neo-racism in the form of less-than-objective academic evaluations; loss of employment or an inability to obtain a job; difficulty in forming interpersonal relationships with instructors, advisors, and peers; negative stereotypes and inaccurate portrayals of one's culture; negative comments about foreign accents; and so on. One of our respondents recounted one such situation: "A close friend of mine . . . is Indian. She told me about [some] trouble with her first advisor. [He made some] racial comments, also some sexist comments. . . . She had to change advisors, and it was very difficult for her. He had made a comment about 'wiping out the whole Middle East.'"

Learning can be negatively affected when international students perceive their environment as unwelcoming. International students may feel insecure about their language abilities, struggle to effectively communicate with instructors or advisors, and be isolated during class discussions or excluded from study groups. Despite these and other hardships, many international students feel pressured to stay enrolled because of familial or cultural expectations or as a way of saving face. They endure difficulties for the American degree, which they anticipate will provide greater rewards and opportunities than obtaining a degree in their home country. Many cases of discrimination are left unreported because international students are often fearful that if they make an issue of their situation, they will be deported. In sharing their experiences, the international students with whom we

spoke appeared more calloused than angered. One informant said, "Yeah, we generally walk back home from campus, and it was not a big deal, but people threw bottles at us. Being international students, you get used to it." Such instances may be especially underreported because, as one of our informants explained, "International students don't feel very empowered or feel that they are in a position to say anything." When asked whether they regretted their decision to attend their institution, the majority of international students involved in our study, surprisingly, reported that they did not. They indicated that despite the difficulties, they would not have chosen to attend a different institution and would still recommend study in the United States to friends and family back home.

I BELIEVE that international students' tolerance of difficulties indicates that these students believe they must accept discrimination as the cost of earning an American degree. This sentiment limits all students' learning to the extent that it silences the diverse perspectives of international students and allows the stereotypes held by U.S. students to remain unchallenged. Two primary questions need to be addressed: How can we help students—both international and domestic— understand the effects of discrimination and, more important, work to stop discrimination? And how can we reap the full educational benefits that international students bring to the United States?

Faculty, staff, and administrators must first be made aware of issues pertaining to international students. Language and cultural barriers are a common concern. Too many wrongly assume that a foreign accent and limited English-speaking ability indicate a lack of intelligence. Negative reactions to international students' accents and related communication barriers have resulted in many international students feeling intimidated or fearful of asking for assistance. As a consequence, many rely on partial or incorrect information from their international peers. Detailed written information is especially helpful to international students, who can spend additional time reviewing these materials. Expectations should be clearly articulated, and written evaluation guidelines should be provided to all students. Campus administrators and student affairs professionals hold a particular responsibility for creating as welcoming an atmosphere for international students as they do for domestic students.

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To create a welcoming environment for international students, institutions should also move beyond cultural sensitivity training and institute, clearly communicate, and enforce strict codes of conduct regarding discrimination. In our study, no students, faculty, or administrators were disciplined for discriminatory statements or behaviors, and although a few cases of discrimination were reported, they did not result in sanctions. International students should also be informed of their rights. Many students involved in our study believed that because they were not U.S. citizens, they did not have the same rights as domestic students. One noted, "As an international student, your rights in the United States are so few." As a consequence, many felt they were being taken advantage of and treated unfairly. International students who have been made aware of laws concerning discrimination and harassment and procedures for reporting violations are likely to feel respected and empowered.

Institutions must also be held accountable for their actions. In 2003, Alexander Astin and I published an article about rethinking institutional rankings, suggesting that they could be based on the quality of the student experience rather than on selectivity, resources, revenue, and public media standings. Like many U.S. students, international students often choose a particular institution for its prestige or location, making assumptions about the quality of education they will receive. In reality, we could find no relationship between the prestige of an institution and the quality of education. Information about how well an institution hosts and prepares international students is not

made available, except in recruitment advertisements and anecdotal testimonials. I suggest that development of rankings based on the quality of international students' experience should join development of those based on resources and programs specifically designed for international students. Such information would be well used and highly regarded by prospective international students.

[…]

IN SUM, truly internationalizing U.S. campuses will require educators to move beyond merely recruiting international students and counting international student enrollments. We must combat neo-racism and consider our important responsibility for improving foreign relations and for providing a quality experience for international students. The onus is on educators, administrators, and domestic students to encourage genuine and positive international exchange within the classroom and abroad. The benefits will accrue to all of higher education and to individuals across the globe.

NOTES

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SECTION THREE

A Belated Thank You to African Americans [By a South Asian American]

Anirban Basu April 2, 2017

SOURCE: http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/opinion/oped/bs-ed-american-experience-20170402-story.html

People throughout America are angry for many reasons. Around here, folks are frustrated by the loss of manufacturing jobs, slow wage growth, real and perceived discrimination, denials of global warming, attempts to separate Mexico from North America or mothers from their children, surging health

Thank You!

I want to thank the African-American community for tirelessly leading the fight for equality. Unforgivably, I never thanked you for producing leaders and scholars like Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers and Thurgood Marshall. I never thanked you for fighting for the right to vote, the right to send children to decent schools, or the right to impartial jurisprudence. I didn't realize it, but you've had my back all along.

insurance premiums, aggressive drivers, failing schools, tax breaks for corporations, crime and, of course, the Ravens (still).

Oklahoma City Bombing

Two EuroAmerican terrorists, Timothy McVeigh (a native of Lockport, New York) and Terry Nichols (a native of Lapeer, Michigan) set off a powerful truck bomb just outside the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995 at around 9:00 in the morning. Their objective was to demolish the building in order to kill its occupants. 168 people died, including children, and many more were injured. Their terrorism was motivated by their hatred of the Federal Government who they saw as violating the constitutional rights of the citizenry (classic examples, *in their view*, were the deadly confrontations at Ruby Ridge, Idaho in 1992 and Waco, Texas, the following year—provoked they felt by the heavy hand of Federal agents). Typically, the media initially thought that the bombing was the work of terrorists from the Middle East.

For my part, nothing has left me feeling more aggrieved than the sudden realization that in much of America, I will never be more than a second class citizen. All of a sudden, being of Indian [South Asian] descent and brown-skinned feels like a disadvantage. It never felt quite like this before in any of the places I've lived.

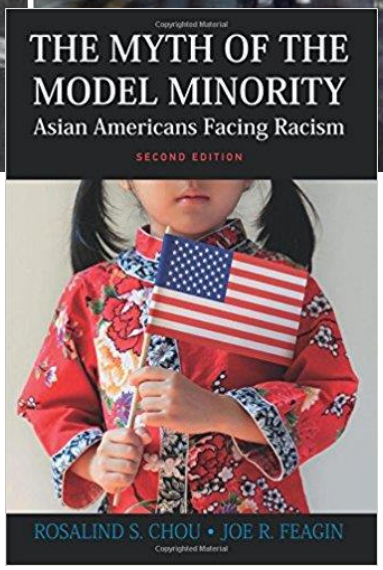
I was born in New York City and grew up in the all-American community of Bourbonnais, Ill., in Kankakee County. After graduating from high school in Bloomfield Hills, Mich., I attended college and graduate school exclusively on the East Coast and eventually started my own business, now with a team of 11. For many years, I have judged this body of work to be purely American — dare I say dreamlike.

Growing up, I was not immune to the fact that I was different from most of the other kids. It didn't seem to make a difference though. I went to the same classes, was graded on assignments and tests like everyone else, and played for Little League teams sponsored by local businesses like Bradley Bank and Massey Ferguson Tractors. My father, a physician, was routinely recognized on the streets of Kankakee, a source of personal pride and a reminder that I belonged.

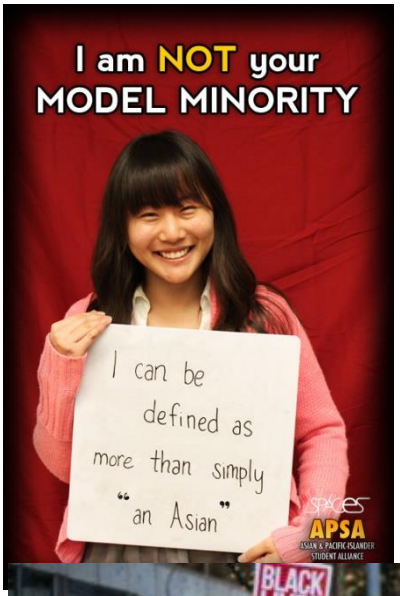
But something has changed in America, and though it feels sudden, it's been building for years. I remember walking around Baltimore and people looking at me peculiarly during the hours after the Oklahoma City bombing on April 19, 1995. The bombing destroyed one-third of the Alfred P. Murrah Building, killed 168 people and injured another 680. For a time, it wasn't clear that the primary perpetrators had been Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols. I may have been experiencing a bout of paranoia, but I sensed that people were staring at me, presuming that the tragedy

in Oklahoma City was caused by someone darker-skinned, something true of the World Trade Center Bombing two years earlier.

Six years later, things really began to change: 9/11. I had moved my wife and then 2-year-old daughter from Fells Point to Homeland earlier that year. Just a few days after 9/11, we were shunned by our own neighbors at a neighborhood gathering, my daughter denied entry to a rented moon bounce. One could not claim this as bigotry toward Muslims since we are Hindus, but that distinction was and is of no real consequence. The point is that apparently we looked too much like the perpetrators of the assaults on New York and Washington, D.C., to be welcome among our neighbors.



The recent shootings of Indian-Americans in Kansas and Washington State have reinforced the feeling of not belonging. Too many of our fellow Americans believe that we do not belong here and should go back to our country. I would in fact be quite open to returning to our ancestral home of India if all other immigrants and their descendants were to follow suit, leaving only Native Americans to enjoy the nation.



There have been other factors at work. Attacks in Boston, Orlando and San Bernadino have widened societal divisions as have the actions of ISIS, al-Qaida, Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab, among others. Kids harassing other kids with chants of "build the wall" haven't helped, nor have attempts at an emergency Muslim ban.

My feelings of unease are relatively new. African-Americans have been made to feel unwelcome for generations. Like many other Indian-Americans, I have tended to hide within the notional cocoon of being part of a "model minority," but whether we are models or not, I have been made to feel that I may never be fully American.

Accordingly, I want to thank the African-American community for tirelessly leading the fight for equality. Unforgivably, I never thanked you for producing leaders and scholars like Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers and Thurgood

Marshall. I never thanked you for fighting for the right to vote, the right to send children to decent schools,or the right to impartial jurisprudence. I didn't realize it, but you've had my back all along.

Anirban Basu, an economist, Anirban Basu is CEO of Sage Policy Group Inc.

SECTION FOUR

"All the Black and Brown People Have to Leave": Trump's Scary Impact on How Kids Think

The campaign alone was damaging. What now?

Updated by Jenée Desmond-Harrisjenee. Nov 9, 2016

SOURCE: https://www.vox.com/identities/2016/10/20/13319366/donald-trump-racism-bigotry-children-bullying-muslim-mexican-black-immigrant

Melissia Hill was eating crepes with her 5-year-old son, Phoenix, at a Brooklyn cafe this summer when he asked her, "Is Donald Trump a bad person? Because I heard that if he becomes president, all the black and brown people have to leave and we're going to become slaves."

Next he wanted to know, "What is a slave?" and, "Where are we gonna go?"

Hill was taken aback, and well aware of the wide-eyed interest Phoenix's questions attracted from neighboring tables. She asked him where he'd heard these things. His answer: from another child at his local YMCA day camp.

"I was very interested in talking to the parents of this child. I was wondering whether they were supporting Trump or were they against him. ... I would literally stake the mother out at drop-off in the morning, but I kept missing her," Hill, who is black, told Vox.

Camp staffers dismissed Hill's concerns. Meanwhile, Phoenix cried every day when he was dropped off. So Hill pulled him out of the program and continued to reassure him of his safety.

[…]

Phoenix is no longer scared, she said, but the episode "just stole a piece of his innocence."

He isn't alone.

As first lady Michelle Obama said in a now-famous speech a Trump win would mean "We're telling all our kids that bigotry and bullying are perfectly acceptable in the leader of their country." And now, he's the president-elect.

But even before his election, many children have already received that message loud and clear. They haven't been protected from Trump's attacks on racial and religious groups in the same way parents have shielded them from his X-rated "hot mic" remarks.

Trump's most infamous assertions about race, religion, and identity were all made publicly: that many Mexican immigrants are rapists and "bad people," that a judge was incapable of doing his job because of his ethnicity, that Muslims are a danger to America, that "the blacks" (a phrasing that linguists say serves to identify African-Americans as "other") live in a virtual hellscape with nothing to lose and no standing to critique his platform.

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Marginalized kids are terrified and saddened

This spring, *Teaching Tolerance,* the Southern Poverty Law Center's education arm, took an informal poll of educators to gauge how the presidential campaign had affected schools so far.

Maureen Costello, the director of Teaching Tolerance, said the organization's interest in the election's effect on school-age kids was piqued by news reports about high school sporting events where chants of "Trump, Trump, Trump" and "Build a wall" were used against predominantly Latino teams.

"We wondered, is this the tip of an iceberg? Is there something beneath this?" she said.

The organization sent queries to the teachers who subscribed to its weekly newsletter. "We weren't trying to be scientific. We were trying to find out, 'Is there anything going on?' I compare it to the [Centers for Disease Control and Prevention] asking doctors to report if there are measles outbreaks," Costello said.

The organization's conclusion from the thousands of comments it received: Yes, something is going on. More than two-thirds of teachers reported that students — mainly immigrants, children of immigrants, and Muslims — had expressed concerns or fears about what might happen to them or their families after the election:

Teachers used words like "hurt" and "dejected" to describe the impact on their charges. The ideas and language coming from the presidential candidates are bad enough, but many students — Muslim, Hispanic and African-American — are far more upset by the number of people, including classmates and even teachers, who seem to agree with Trump. They are struggling with the belief that "everyone hates them."

There were reports of tears shed in classrooms from second grade to high school. Concerns about being "sent back" transcended immigration status, as in Phoenix's case, to affect African-American kids:

African-American students aren't exempt from the fears. Many teachers reported an increase in use of the n-word as a slur, even among very young children. And black children are burdened with a particularly awful fear that has been reported from teachers in many states — that they will "be deported to Africa" or that slavery will be reinstated. As an Oklahoma elementary teacher explains, "My kids are terrified of Trump becoming [p]resident. They believe he can/will deport them — and NONE of them are Hispanic. They are all African American.

According to the report, even children who did not face, or did not believe they faced, direct threats as a result of Trump's policies, perceived the same pattern as the white supremacists who support Trump: that the candidate's vision for a return to a "great' version of America was dismissive of people of color. A teacher at a predominantly

black school in Ferguson, Missouri, told Teaching Tolerance, "We do not have the language and hate of any candidates repeated at the high school where I teach. … However, I do hear students wonder if they are being let in on what all white people truly think and feel."

[…]

According to the Teaching Tolerance report, while some kids are afraid, others feel empowered to bully each other, in particular with the anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant sentiments that had so much airtime during the presidential campaign.

"Students seem emboldened to make bigoted and inflammatory statements about minorities, immigrants, the poor, etc.," a high school teacher in Michigan wrote in response to the survey.

There are reports of students repeating and exaggerating Trump's positions, to the point of advocating for violence:

Teachers in New Hampshire — where the first primary was held — reported some of the greatest increases in disturbing behavior. One high school teacher from Westmoreland wrote, "A lot of students think we should kill any and all people we do not agree with. They also think that all Muslims are the same and are a threat to our country and way of life. They believe all Muslims want to kill us.

Bullies have targeted Muslim students and those who they confuse with Muslims with particular aggressions:

Muslim students — along with the Sikh and Hindu students who are mistaken for Muslims — have endured heightened levels of abuse. According to reports from around the nation, Muslim students regularly endure being called ISIS, terrorist or bomber. These opinions are expressed boldly and often.

Students target classmates of Mexican descent for taunts and threats about immigration. And, as in the case of Phoenix's day camp friend, kids aren't particularly detail-oriented about this bullying, and expand it to cover children of many different backgrounds:

Teachers in every state reported hostile language aimed at immigrants, mainly Mexicans. A Wisconsin middle school teacher told us, "Openly racist statements towards Mexican students have increased. Mexican students are worried." A middle school teacher in Anaheim, California, reported, "Kids tell other kids that soon they will be deported." Regardless of their ethnic background or even their immigration or citizenship status, targeted students are taunted with talk of a wall or threats of forcible removal.

Neither are the slurs limited to schools with immigrant populations. "At the all-white school where I teach, 'dirty Mexican' has become a common insult," a Wisconsin middle school educator said. "Before election season it was never heard."

Costello points out that this climate can impact kids of all ethnicities — even those who aren't directly attacked. "Teachers have said it's not just the marginalized kids who are being hurt," she said. "Their white or Christian friends and allies feel for them and want to stand up for them. "

Kids haven't ever been naive as adults like to think they are when it comes to racism

Joe Feagin, a professor of sociology at Texas A&M University who focuses on racial and ethnic studies and the co-author of *The First R: How Children Learn Race and Racism*, told Vox that the Teaching Tolerance survey's findings are a reminder that school-age kids are much more aware of race and racism than adults often like to believe.

In fact, he says his research demonstrates that children as young as 2 to 5 years old understand and reinforce racial hierarchy. It's actually quite common for kids to be each other's first teachers when it comes to bigotry and stereotypes.

"Much of the literature suggests that children learn racism from parents, relatives, and media," Feagin said. "The other big source of learning is that children learn from other children. One child comes to school, has discovered the n-word and what it means; by the end of the day, that knowledges has spread across the school. It's quite possible for [kids in] child care to learn racial thinking from other children."

His conclusions come in part from a study of a multiracial daycare center in the 1990s, — notably, before the advent of social media and the accompanying additional access to information.

Thanks to kids' increased exposure to news and information today, he says it's truer than ever that "It's impossible for even anti-racist parents to hide this from their children."

[…]

"Decades of research have noted the impact of discrimination and racism on the psychological health of communities of color," Erlanger A. Turner, a clinical psychologist and an assistant professor of psychology at the University of Houston-Downtown wrote in a 2016 article published by the American Psychological Association. Turner cited research by Walter Smith, a private practice psychologist and director of the nonprofit Family Resources of Pennsylvania, on the potential affects of "racial trauma":

- Increased vigilance and suspicion
- Increased sensitivity to threat
- Increased psychological and physiological symptoms (including risks for depression and anxiety disorders, and disruption to child development and quality of emotional attachment in family and social relationship)
- Increased alcohol and drug usage
- Increased aggression
- Narrowing sense of time

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SECTION FIVE

'Model Minority' Myth again Used as a Racial Wedge Between Asians and Blacks

By Kat Chow April 19, 2017

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The perception of universal success among Asian-Americans is being wielded to downplay racism's role in the persistent struggles of other minority groups, especially black Americans.

A piece from New York Magazine's Andrew Sullivan over the weekend ended with an old, well-worn trope: Asian-Americans, with their "solid two-parent family structures," are a shining example of how to overcome discrimination. An essay that began by imagining why Democrats feel sorry for Hillary Clinton — and then detoured to President Trump's policies — drifted to this troubling ending:

> "Today, Asian-Americans are among the most prosperous, well-educated, and successful ethnic groups in America. What gives? It couldn't possibly be that they maintained solid two-parent family

structures, had social networks that looked after one another, placed enormous emphasis on education and hard work, and thereby turned false, negative stereotypes into true, positive ones, could it? It couldn't be that all whites are not racists or that the American dream still lives?"

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"Sullivan's comments showcase a classic and tenacious conservative strategy," Janelle Wong, the director of Asian American Studies at the University of Maryland, College Park, said in an email. This strategy, she said, involves "1) ignoring the role that selective recruitment of highly educated Asian immigrants has played in Asian American success followed by 2) making a flawed comparison between Asian Americans and other groups, particularly Black Americans, to argue that racism, including more than two centuries of black enslavement, can be overcome by hard work and strong family values."

"It's like the Energizer Bunny," said Ellen D. Wu, an Asian-American studies professor at Indiana University and the author of The Color of Success. Much of Wu's work focuses on dispelling the "model minority" myth, and she's been tasked repeatedly with publicly refuting arguments like Sullivan's, which, she said, are incessant. "The thing about the Sullivan piece is that it's such an old-fashioned rendering. It's very retro in the kinds of points he made."

Since the end of World War II, many white people have used Asian-Americans and their perceived collective success as a racial wedge. The effect? Minimizing the role racism plays in the persistent struggles of other racial/ethnic minority groups — especially black Americans.

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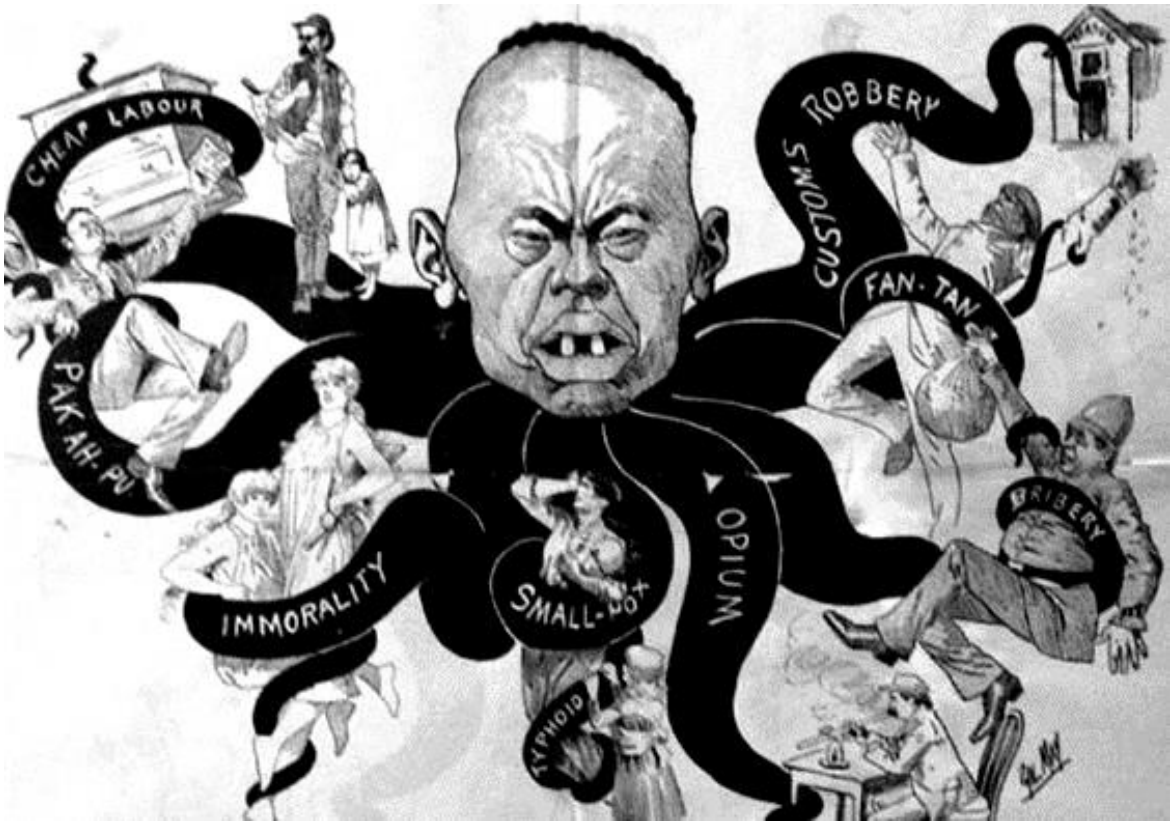
"During World War II, the media created the idea that the Japanese were rising up out of the ashes [after being held in incarceration camps] and proving that they had the right cultural stuff," said Claire Jean Kim, a professor at the University of California, Irvine. "And it was immediately a reflection on black people: Now why weren't black people making it, but Asians were?"

These arguments falsely conflate anti-Asian racism with anti-black racism, according to Kim. "Racism that Asian-Americans have experienced is not what black people have experienced," Kim said. "Sullivan is right that Asians have faced various forms of discrimination, but never the systematic dehumanization that black people have faced during slavery and continue to face today." Asians have been barred from entering the U.S. and gaining citizenship

and have been sent to incarceration camps, Kim pointed out, but all that is different than the segregation, police brutality and discrimination that African-Americans have endured.

Many scholars have argued that some Asians only started to "make it" when the discrimination against them lessened — and only when it was politically convenient. Amid worries that the Chinese exclusion laws from the late 1800s would hurt an allyship with China in the war against imperial Japan, the Magnuson Act was signed in 1943, allowing 105 Chinese immigrants into the U.S. each year. As Wu wrote in 2014 in the Los Angeles Times, the Citizens Committee to Repeal Chinese Exclusion "strategically recast Chinese in its promotional materials as 'law-abiding, peace-loving, courteous people living quietly among us'" instead of the "'yellow peril' coolie hordes." In 1965, the National Immigration Act replaced the national-origins quota system with one that gave preference to immigrants with U.S. family relationships and certain skills.



In 1966, William Petersen, a sociologist at the University of California, Berkeley, helped popularize comparisons between Japanese-Americans and African-Americans. His *New York Times* story, headlined, "Success Story, Japanese-American Style," is regarded as one of the most influential pieces written about Asian-Americans. It solidified a prevailing stereotype of Asians as industrious and rule-abiding that would stand in direct contrast to African-Americans, who were still struggling against bigotry, poverty and a history rooted in slavery. In the opening paragraphs, Petersen quickly puts African-Americans and Japanese-Americans at odds:

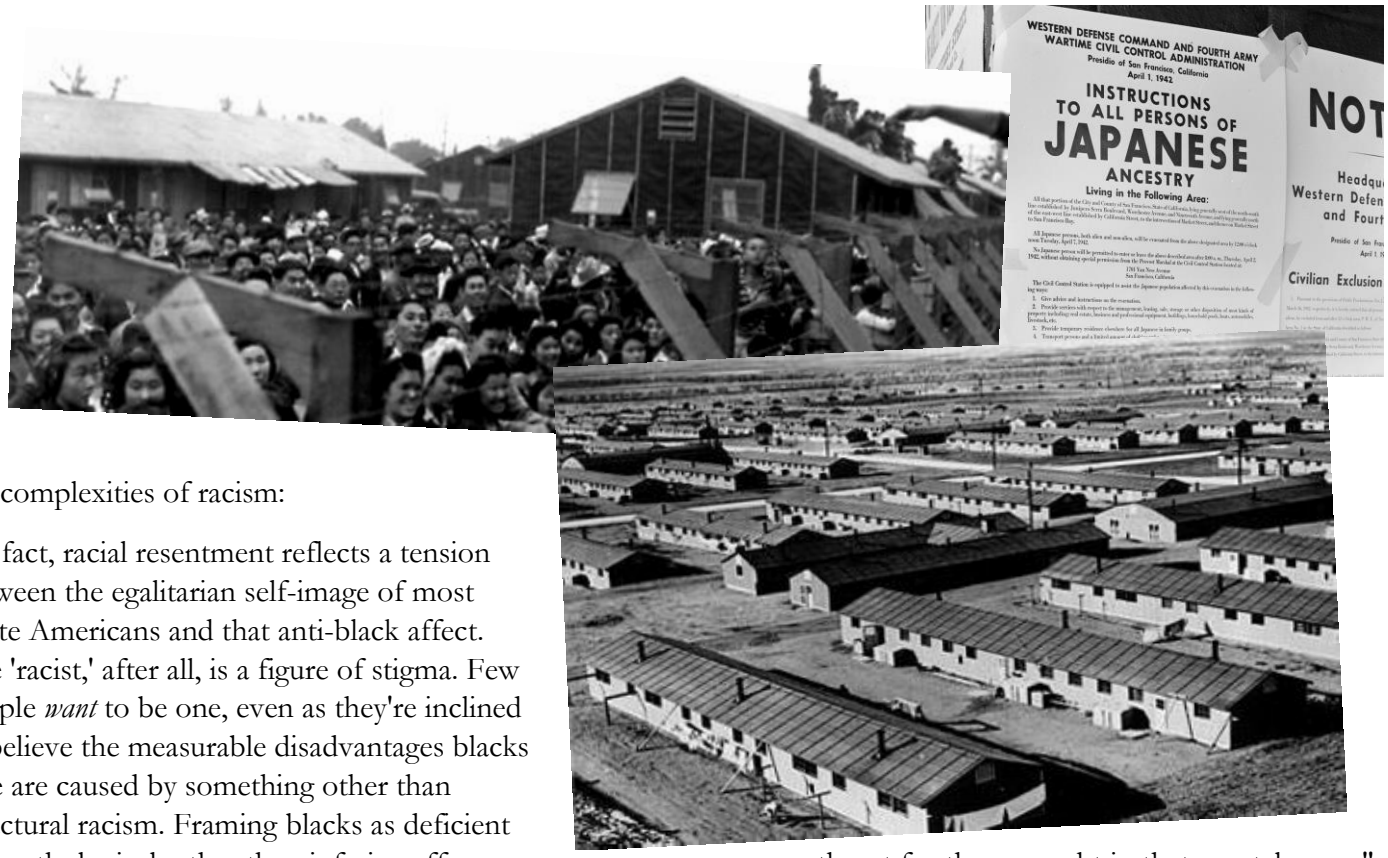
> "Asked which of the country's ethnic minorities has been subjected to the most discrimination and the worst injustices, very few persons would even think of answering: 'The Japanese Americans,' ... Yet, if the question refers to persons alive today, that may well be the correct reply. Like the Negroes, the Japanese have been the object of color prejudice .... When new opportunities, even equal opportunities, are opened up, the minority's reaction to them is likely to be negative — either self-defeating apathy or a hatred so all-consuming as to be self-destructive. For the well-meaning programs and countless scholarly studies now focused on the Negro, we barely know how to repair the damage that the slave traders started. The history of Japanese Americans, however, challenges every such generalization about ethnic minorities."

But as history shows, Asian-Americans were afforded better jobs not simply because of educational attainment, but in part because they were treated better.

"More education will help close racial wage gaps somewhat, but it will not resolve problems of denied opportunity," reporter Jeff Guo wrote last fall in the *Washington Post*. "Asian Americans — some of them at least — have made tremendous progress in the United States. But the greatest thing that ever happened to them wasn't that they studied hard, or that they benefited from tiger moms or Confucian values. It's that other Americans started treating them with a little more respect."

At the heart of arguments of racial advancement is the concept of "racial resentment," which is different than "racism," Slate's Jamelle Bouie recently wrote in his analysis of the Sullivan article. "Racial resentment" refers to a "moral feeling that blacks violate such traditional American values as individualism and self reliance," as defined by political scientists Donald Kinder and David Sears.

And, Bouie points out, "racial resentment" is simply a tool that people use to absolve themselves from dealing with



the complexities of racism:

"In fact, racial resentment reflects a tension between the egalitarian self-image of most white Americans and that anti-black affect. The 'racist,' after all, is a figure of stigma. Few people *want* to be one, even as they're inclined to believe the measurable disadvantages blacks face are caused by something other than structural racism. Framing blacks as deficient and pathological rather than inferior offers a path out for those caught in that mental maze."

Petersen's, and now Sullivan's, arguments have resurfaced regularly throughout the last century. And they'll likely keep resurfacing, as long as people keep seeking ways to forgo responsibility for racism — and to escape that "mental maze." As the writer Frank Chin said of Asian-Americans in 1974: "Whites love us because we're not black."

Sometimes it's instructive to look at past rebuttals to tired arguments — after all, they hold up much better in the light of history.

Some Examples of U.S. Racist Law Targeting Asians

1854: California Supreme Court decides *The People of the State of California v. George W. Hall,* an appealed murder case, ruling that Chinese Americans and Immigrants could not testify against Euro-Americans. (This case involved the murder of a Chinese American by a Euro-American—the decision would effectively legitimate Euro-American race riots targeting Asian Americans.)

1870: The *Naturalization Act* of 1870 updates the exclusionary provisions of previous legislation to now also include African Americans, besides Euro-Americans, but all others are excluded.

1882: The *Chinese Exclusion Act* is adopted by Congress prohibiting Chinese immigration and retained Chinese exclusion from U.S. citizenship for those who were already living in United States.

1923: In *United States v. Thind* the Supreme Court defines who a "white" person is and proceeds to overturn the lower court's ruling that Bhagat Singh Thind, an East Asian from India, could be classified as "white" for naturalization purposes.

1924: The *Immigration Act of 1924* is legislated that specifically added Arabs and other Asians (East Indians, Japanese, Vietnamese, etc.) to the exclusionary provisions of earlier legislation, such as the *Immigration Act of 1917*, regarding immigration and citizenship—that is they were barred from immigrating to the United States or being eligible for citizenship. (Note: the *1965 Immigration and Nationality Act*, adopted in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement, swept away all *race-based* restrictions of earlier legislation on immigration and citizenship.)

1927: In *Gong Lum v. Rice,* the Supreme Court moved to undermine the intent of the 14th Amendment by stating that children of racial minorities (in this case a Chinese American, Martha Lum) could be excluded on racial grounds from schools designated by their localities for Euro-Americans.

1944: The Supreme Court issues its decision in *Korematsu v. United States* siding with the government in its blatantly racist and unconstitutional strategy of rounding up thousands of Japanese American citizens and immigrants and imprisoning them in concentration camps—popularly supported by the Euro-American citizenry, especially on the West Coast—during the Second World War; note, however, that this fate did not befall Italian Americans or German Americans whose ancestral countries were also at war with United States. (Question to ponder: who among the masses would have opposed a decision, if it had been made, to simply murder the Japanese Americans after they had been rounded up?)