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History of a Social Construction: How Racism Created Race in America

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Context

The ninth grade Humanities class that I teach, entitled ALIVE, was created as a mandatory course for all incoming high schoolers at Metropolitan Business Academy. Its focus is not explicitly an academic one, though it builds upon English and Social Studies skills and standards, as well as 21st Century Competencies.

More importantly, though, the course seeks to support ninth graders in building community, analyzing topics perhaps unaddressed in students' prior schooling experiences, and finally, gaining a critical understanding of themselves and their peers in the context of the greater society. More specifically, the curriculum aims to support students in understanding and examining various aspects of identity, social (in)justice issues, and the ways in which movements, particularly those in the US, have effected change both historically and in the present. While much of the course centers on students' lived experiences, my role as their teacher is to provide a framework that connects their embodied realities to larger social and historical contexts on community, citywide, and national scales.

The course's yearlong curriculum is anchored in a unit on identity during which we analyze the ways that the following factors inform who we are, what we do, and how society treats us: lived experience, age, family, neighborhood, ability and disability, class, religion, race and ethnicity, sex and gender, and sexuality. While each of these identity factors exists within a historical framework, this curriculum focuses on the history of race in the United States. The rationale behind this choice is that race is a subject about which students are constantly engaging, yet often in ways that are misinformed and devoid of historical grounding. Offering the concrete facts and complex histories that created the social construction of race is meant to support students in understanding this abstract concept and its inextricable connection to racism.

Overview of the Unit

This unit on the social construction of race in the US will be built upon the foundational concepts of power and hegemony, which have relevance for the entire course, but which are particularly suited for understanding racial politics in the United States. Power dynamics and hegemonic discourse play a central role in both the history of racism and race, as well as in conversations about the subject. Therefore, activities exploring power and hegemony will serve as the basis for this unit on race, while also providing a theoretical scaffolding for our broader study of identity and justice.

The unit on race will span several weeks and at least five distinct lessons, covering a variety of topics and themes. We will begin this unit by asking the complex questions of what is race, and what determines race in the eyes of individuals and states? Students will access their prior knowledge and draw on their own experiences to collaboratively brainstorm and discuss their ideas on this complex opening question. From here we will move into acknowledging the myth that race has a biological basis, debunking this theory and introducing students to the concept of race as a social construction. Next we will continue with an inquiry-based approach, questioning the origins, history, and purposes of the construction of race. This will lead us to a critical history of colonial America, a historical era perhaps familiar to students, though previously taught and learned quite differently than it will be in this unit.

We will examine ideas of citizenship and concepts of whiteness through laws and legal documents, US Census categories, and excerpts of literature. These diverse sources aim to demonstrate to students how racial discourses are malleable, and how their changes are dependent upon the social, economic, and political conditions of a society at a given period of time. Furthermore, we will look at the ways in which these constructions and histories of race have—since their origin—had racist implications. We will consider the ways in which race continues to both divide and unite people, and we will conclude the unit by asking: How can race and ethnicity—concepts whose biological bases are myths, and whose social realities point to stark inequities—still exist as a source of identity and for many even a source of pride?

Content Objectives

Enduring Understandings

- Students will understand the role that power plays in race relations.
- Students will understand that although many have previously claimed race is a biological concept, this myth has been disproven, and that race has no biological basis, but rather is a social construction.
- Students will understand how the concepts of race and racism are inextricably linked, and how their history is traced to Colonial America.
- Students will understand how (conflicting survival-based, freedom-seeking, and profit-motivated) relations among Native American, Enslaved Blacks, Indentured Whites, and Owing Class Europeans played a major role in defining race in America.
- Students will understand how federal government projects, such as the US Census, have played a significant role in defining race, and that the definition has consistently changed throughout history.

- Students will understand how laws, codes, and acts were put in place to define citizenship and rights, and to institutionalize racism.
- Students will understand the contemporary realities of racism and the different arenas in which they exist.
- Students will understand the differences and similarities between race and ethnicity.
- Students will understand how race, though a social concept that is inextricably linked to racism, can still be a source of unity and pride for some people.

Skills

- Students will be able to work in groups collaboratively, communicating effectively with their peers.
- Students will be able to create and use concept maps to organize information.
- Students will be able to analyze, compare and contrast, and draw conclusions from primary source documents, such as US Census documents and early America Laws.
- Students will use timelines to interpret and synthesize historical events.
- Students will analyze population demographics and shifts over time, and draw conclusions from these figures.
- Students will be able to read original quotes from a variety of different sources, time periods, and perspectives, and interpret and analyze them within their given context.

Lessons

Foundational Lesson

Power and Hegemony - What is power? Who has it and who doesn't? How does one get it?

Lessons on Race

1. What is race? How do we know someone's race? How does the government know our race?
2. Is race biological? - "The Power of an Illusion"
3. What's the (brief) history of race and racism in the US? - Colonial America
4. Legalizing Racism, Creating Race in Legal Writing
5. Who's a citizen? Who is White? - US Census Then and Now, Here and There

Foundational Lesson

Power - What is power? Who has it and who doesn't? How does one get it?

Constructing Power in Sculptures - Using tables, chairs, and other objects, students create sculptures to represent power. For example, one student might place two chair on a table and a water bottle on top of one of the chairs, and the class examines and discusses the sculpture, projecting their own ideas of a power onto it. After sufficient discussion, the sculptor would explain the meaning behind their work, answering the questions: "Where is the power in this model? Who has it and who doesn't? Where do such models of power exist in the real world?" As different students create their sculptures for the class to analyze, discussion will quickly turn from abstract notions of power to examples of power dynamics in the real world, and no doubt race and racism will be introduced. We conclude this activity by raising the question, "Is power a good thing

or a bad thing? Can it be both?”

Follow My Hand: Playing with Hegemony - In this activity students are in pairs and take turns leading their partner, and being led, by following their partner’s hand with their own face. While the activity itself is entertaining and fun for students, it is in the debrief that the real learning occurs. The question is posed: “Which role—the leader or the follower—has more power?” While students are at first likely to respond that the leader has more power, with prodding, students realize that the follower actually has quite a bit of latent power in their ability to refuse, to not follow the hand, to not play the game. While in reality, we may not be able to refuse the hegemonic game of racist (or for that matter, sexist, ableist, classist, etc.) domination and subordination, it is in our learning of these paradigms as not natural, but rather constructed for the purpose of privileging some at the expense of oppressing others, that we begin to refuse the game. Furthermore, by studying the historic and ongoing movements to resist racism by people of color and some whites, we find examples of people refusing the game, serving as our own guide for resistance. This activity is done prior to the study -isms/-phobias, namely racism, as a basis for viewing all of these histories and their implications as constructions rather than innate conditions, and to remember—and seek—the resistance that is a response to oppression.

Lessons on Race

1. What is race? How do we know someone’s race? How does the government determine and regulate our race?

Enduring understandings: Race is a complicated and multifaceted concept that takes shape through a number of different factors, including physical traits, ancestry, culture, and lived experience, all of which play a role in our own racial identity, our assumptions/understandings of others’ races, and finally, the governments’ classification of their citizens’ races.

Activity: Students will work in groups of 2 - 4 to create a concept map that answers the question: what are all the ways you know your own race and another person’s race. Students will share out to create a class concept map on race. Examples of people who defy certain racial definitions (whether physical, ancestral, cultural, or experiential) will be shown to emphasize the importance of these various factors functioning together to contribute to one’s racial identity. Concluding this activity, the question of how the government defines its citizens’ races will be raised, and while no clear answer will be offered, the discussion should conclude with the fact that the government’s definition has changed significantly throughout history and across borders, and its attempt to regulate race is done so through codes, laws, acts, and the US census.

Physical Traits:

- Skin color
- Eye color
- Hair texture
- Different facial features
- Different body features

Ancestry

- Family (parents, grandparents, siblings, etc.)
- History of enslavement
- History of displacement

- History of profit from others' enslavement or displacement

Culture

- How languages and vernaculars in which one speaks
- How one dresses
- Who one is friends with/in relationship with
- The interests one has
- The foods one eats
- Where someone was raised and who they were raised by

Lived Experience

- Discrimination (lack of opportunities/access)
- Micro-aggressions
- Privileges
- Narratives about people (history, media, culture)

How does the government/state determine and regulate people's race?

- US Census
- US Constitution
- Court Decisions
- Codes/Laws/Acts

2. Is race biological? - "The Power of an Illusion"

Enduring understandings : Though it was once claimed to be, race actually has no biological basis, but rather is a social idea that uses skin color to assign meaning, divide people, and to legitimate enslaving blacks.

In the 1700s, scientists and anthropologists began working on a project to classify humans into different species, and some began to pose pseudo-scientific theories of biological differences among races, and with it a theory of racial inferiority and superiority. Many scientists considered these theories strictly speculative, attributing differences in skin color and other phenotypical traits to climate alone, and concluding there was otherwise racial equality. American scientist Samuel Stanhope Smith stated that: "It is impossible to draw the line precisely between the various races of men,' he says, 'or even to enumerate them with certainty,' and it would be 'a useless labor to attempt it.'" ¹ Despite the overall scientific skepticism around innate racial differences, in 1786 in his *Notes on Virginia*, Thomas Jefferson made a different claim: "I advance it, therefore, as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstance, are inferior to the whites in the endowment both of body and of mind" ²

While the nineteenth century saw the rejection of the polygenist theory, the notion of a single human species accomplished little in debunking the myth of racial superiority. In fact, this era saw the rise of various evolutionary theories and pseudo-scientific studies that served to solidify claims of racial difference and hierarchy, which deemed nonwhites as inferior. Racialized studies of crania, brains, hair, and even body lice—though admittedly, even by the scientists themselves, deemed inconclusive and fallacious—took hold, fueling the racism and legitimation of domination, which had spawned the pseudo-scientific studies in the first place. In particular, in this highly politicized antebellum period when slave revolts and abolition was on the

rise, these scientists were central to the protection of white supremacy. That is, these scientists saved this new nation founded upon “all men are created equal” from the hypocrisy of admitting that those they had enslaved were actually human, and thus they legitimated the dehumanization and enslavement of black people. These theories of the racial superiority of whites, though again entirely false, still took hold throughout and beyond the era of slavery in the US. That is, while Reconstruction and the Progressive Era are remembered as times for advancement in thought about race, they occurred amidst the American eugenics movement, which sought to perpetuate ideas of biological racial inferiority.

However, the movement against this thinking was also gaining influence, lead by anthropologists and historians like Franz Boas and W.E.B. Du Bois. Of the former, Lee D. Baker writes:

He effectively directed the anthropology of race away from theories of evolution and guided it to a consensus that African Americans, Native Americans, and other people of color were not racially inferior and possessed unique and historically specific cultures. These cultures, he argued, were particular to geographic areas, local histories, and traditions. Furthermore, one could not project a value of higher or lower on these cultures—cultures were relative. ³

Similarly, in 1896, Du Bois conducted significant research and produced a 400-page report in which he “utilized innovative sociological and anthropological methods to demonstrate that poverty, segregation, and lack of health care, not racial inferiority, disposition toward criminal activity, and bad morals were the root causes of Negro degradation.” ⁴ While it took some time for the ideas of these prescient thinkers to take root, their leadership in this movement was critical, and the victory over Nazi Germany was the nail in the coffin of the eugenics movement and notions of biological racial hierarchies.

Despite this history, many continue to believe that race is a biological phenomenon. Thus, the next activity is meant to anchor our studies in not only debunking this myth, but also in the essential act of naming our own assumptions and misconceptions. Perhaps even more importantly, though, is the study of a history and a society in which pseudo-science can be developed and deployed to serve the purposes of white supremacy.

Activity : Students are asked to stand next to the person or people with whom they believe they have most in common, biologically or genetically. Students are likely to stand next to people whose skin color or race they share, and when asked why they chose to stand where they did, they answer simply and clearly: “Because we are the same race.” This is the essential starting point: that many people believe this pseudo-scientific myth, and that indeed there is a reason—a history—that convinces people of it. The following quotes will be read and posted for students to hear and read, and after each quote they will be given time to write or draw as a personal reflection, and then to discuss with partners.

1. “Humans are 99.9% identical genetically.”
2. “We can’t find any genetic markers that are in everybody of a particular race and in nobody of some other race. We can’t find any genetic markers that define race.
3. “There’s as much or more diversity and genetic difference within any racial group as there is between people of different racial groups.”
4. “Human populations have not been isolated from each other long enough to evolve into separate sub-species. There just hasn’t been time for the development of much genetic variation except that which regulates some very superficial features like skin color and hair form.”
5. “Race was never just a matter of how you look. It’s about how people assign meaning to how you look.”
6. “We don’t realize that race is an idea that evolves over time, that it has a history, that it is constructed

by a society to further certain political and economic goals.”⁵

3. What is the history of race and racism in the US? - European Colonization of the Americas

Enduring understandings: The idea of race and racism as we know it has not always existed, and is not natural. It came into existence in a particular context—namely Colonial America—and toward a specific purpose that would serve the interests of owning class Europeans.

“Three separate histories collided in the Western Hemisphere half a millennium ago, and American history began.”⁶ These three separate histories of Native Americans, Africans, and Europeans are a necessary foundation to the story of the establishment of the United States. However, to reduce the histories and cultures to only three is limiting, as they were actually far more vast and nuanced than three distinct cultures or histories. This section is intended to illustrate to students, who were the many different people that formed the foundation of what is now America, how did their treatment of one another vary and change over time and across space, how did those enslaved and indentured resist, and how did those in power create laws to divide and conquer. Finally, how did this process and motives of profit all function together to create the concepts of racism and race?

Only a short while prior to the English invasion of North America, in the mid-sixteenth century, the English began to colonize Ireland. In *A Different Mirror*, the English views of the Irish are depicted:

The Irish were described as lazy, “naturally” given to “idleness” and unwilling to work for “their own bread.” Dominated by “innate sloth,” “loose, barbarous and most wicked,” and living “like beasts,” they were also thought to be criminals, an underclass inclined to steal from the English. The colonists complained that the Irish savages were not satisfied with the “fruit of the natural unlaboured earth” and therefore continually “invaded the fertile possessions” of the “English Pale”⁷

To maintain this power over the Irish and also to maintain the separation between the Irish English, the colonizers imposed laws preventing Irish from owning land, participating in government, carrying weapons, or marrying outside of the “Irish race.” In this case, “race” is used to define the Irish as a separate people, and bears no reference to skin color. Though it was not skin color—or what would be later understood as race—that divided them. Rather, it was linguistic, religious, and other cultural differences that the English used to legitimate their conquer of the Irish. Given this history, it is perhaps not surprising that it was Irish who were indentured servants in the New World, and also that they (among other European groups) were not immediately considered white as the color-based concept of race emerged in America.

Native Americans

Soon after, in a land far more distant and against a people more “foreign,” the English took on a similar task whose goal again was power and profit—and again using the linguistic, religious, cultural, and this time, also skin color differences to legitimate their conquer. As a backdrop to this narrative of European conquest over Native Americans and Africans, it is essential to note that at this time in history the idea of race had not yet developed into a cohesive or even clear concept. Quite the opposite, it was this very history that would lead to a construction of the idea of race. As Gossett explains:

Race theory, then, had up until fairly modern times no firm hold on European thought. On the other hand, race theory and race prejudice were by no means unknown at the time when the English colonists came to North America. Undoubtedly, the age of exploration led many to speculate on race differences at a period when

neither Europeans nor Englishmen were prepared to make allowances for vast cultural diversities.⁸

As Alan Taylor writes of the Spanish conquest of Hispaniola (or what is now the Dominican Republic and Haiti), as a result of European disease, destruction, and deadly raids: “From a population of at least 300,000 in 1492, the Taino declined to about 33,000 by 1510 and to a mere 500 by 1548.”⁹ Regardless of intent, it was genocide, and it was not isolated to Hispaniola or the Caribbean. To give a sense of the scope, Howard Zinn summarizes, “When Columbus came to the Americas, 10 million Indians lived north of what is now Mexico. After the Europeans began taking that land, the number of Indians was reduced until, in time, fewer than a million remained.”¹⁰

However, to complicate this image of European conquer and genocide of Indians across the Americas:

What happened in America in the actual encounters between the Indians and the English strangers was not uniform. In Virginia, Indian savagery was viewed largely as cultural: Indians were ignorant heathens. In New England, on the other hand, Indian savagery was racialized: Indians had come to be condemned as a demonic race, and their dark complexions signifying indelible and inherent evil. Why was there such a difference between the two regions? Possibly the competition between the English and the Indians over resources was more intense in New England than in Virginia, where there was more arable land. More important, the colonists in New England had brought with them a greater sense of religious mission than the Virginia settlers.

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This demonstrates that the English views of the Native Americans were not monolithic. Furthermore, this is to say nothing of the varied treatment of different Native American tribes across North America by other European conquerors, namely the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and French. The significance of this is not to elevate one European group over another—the French, for example, for their more tolerant interactions with Natives, where even inter-marriage was not uncommon—but rather to demonstrate that European views of Native Americans were not rooted in singular notions of race, as they are today: “Though Virginia was anything but egalitarian in its treatment of the Indians and its labor policies, it nevertheless connected the concepts of slavery and race only gradually.”¹²

Africans and White Indentured Servants

In the early years of the American colonies, namely in Virginia, poor Europeans and Africans alike were purchased for labor. Furthermore, in this time period, Africans were a small fraction of the population. “In the early days of the Virginia colony, most workers were white indentured servants. In fact, 75 percent of the colonists came as servants during the seventeenth century.”¹³ This history, perhaps because relatively short-lived—soon the importation of Africans would rise drastically, as white indentured servitude would decrease—is misremembered. Also forgotten is the critical history of African and white indentured servants’ unity: “Its [Virginia’s] early African laborers sometimes worked for a term of service alongside similarly indentured Europeans. Black and white indentured servants shared alcohol, sex, marriage, death, and escapes across what would only later, after slavery, be called the ‘color line’.”¹⁴ They not only shared these aspects of their lives, but also their dissatisfaction with their living conditions and their plots of rebellion. As Roediger summarizes:

[. . .] in the two decades from the 1661 Servants’ Plot, when indentured servants rose up in rebellion over inadequate food rations, to the tobacco riots of 1682, when “cutters and pluckers” destroyed their crops and those neighbors to protest overproduction, at least ten popular revolts shook Virginia. Like everyday life

among the poor, insurrections brought together Africans and Europeans. ¹⁵

With the rise of post-1660's rebellions, the distinction between African and European indentured laborers changed quickly through the implementation of various codes and laws created to divide the two groups and reduce their power against owning class whites. It is in this era, that the numbers of Africans brought to the colony increased rapidly, from 405 in 1650, to 9,345 in 1690, and 16,390 just ten years later in 1700, and 220,582 in 1780, more than twice as much as any other colonies' African population. ¹⁶ Meanwhile, whites were given a set of newfound privileges in exchange for their loyalty to their wealthier white counterparts and their betrayal of their fellow African laborers.

Activity: This section on the history of Colonial America will be taught using a timeline, which captures the changes in population across space and time. This is meant expose students to the various groups of people who were fundamental to the founding of America and the race/racism that was instrumental to it. Timelines can be created simply by printing out the information and creating a large timeline in the classroom, or by creating a technological version of it, for example using Prezi. Video resources (see appendix) are recommended as a teaching tool that can bring to life these dates and figures. One recommended timeline and video resource is The Story of Race from: http://www.understandingrace.org/history/timeline_movie.html

4. How did racist legal documents create race? - Slave Codes, Naturalization Acts, and Court Decisions

Enduring understandings : Within the context of Colonial America, and in particular the rebellions of the white and black indentured servants, owning class Europeans began creating codes, laws, and acts that would protect their interests by dividing European and African indentured servants, offering privileges to the former and punishments to the latter, thereby solidifying the concept of race through legal documents and lived realities.

Activity: Given what students learned in the previous lesson, the context of the uprisings of the late 1600's, students will work in groups to predict the types of codes and laws that owning class Europeans created to protect their interests. The real laws and codes will then be revealed, and students will discuss how these functioned to create race and institutionalize racism.

a) Virginia Slaves Codes/Laws/Declarations

1640 — 1660: The Critical Period: Custom to Law when Status Changed to "Servant for Life"

- 1639/40 - The General Assembly of Virginia specifically excludes blacks from the requirement of possessing arms
- 1642 - Black women are deemed tithables (taxable), creating a distinction between African and English women.
- 1662 - Blacks face the possibility of life servitude. The General Assembly of Virginia decides that any child born to an enslaved woman will also be a slave.

1660 — 1680: Slave Laws Further Restrict Freedom of Blacks and Legalize Different Treatment for Blacks and Whites

- 1667 - Virginia lawmakers say baptism does not bring freedom to blacks. The statute is passed because some slaves used their status as a Christian in the 1640s and 1650s to argue for their freedom or for freedom for a child. Legislators also encourage slave owners to Christianize their enslaved men, women

and children.

- 1668 - Free black women, like enslaved females over the age of 16, are deemed tithable. The Virginia General Assembly says freedom does not exempt black women from taxation.
- 1669 - An act about the "casual killing of slaves" says that if a slave dies while resisting his master, the act will not be presumed to have occurred with "premeditated malice."
- 1670 - Free blacks and Native Americans who had been baptized are forbidden to buy Christian servants.
- 1672 - It becomes legal to wound or kill an enslaved person who resists arrest. Legislators also deem that the owner of any slave killed as he resisted arrest will receive financial compensation for the loss of an enslaved laborer. Legislators also offer a reward to Indians who capture escaped slaves and return them to a justice of the peace.

1680 — 1705: Slave Laws Reflect Racism and the Deliberate Separation of Blacks and Whites. Color becomes the Determining Factor. Conscious Efforts to Rigidly Police Slave Conduct.

- 1680 - Virginia's General Assembly restricts the ability of slaves to meet at gatherings, including funerals. It becomes legal for a white person or person to kill an escaped slave who resists capture. Slaves also are forbidden to:
 - arm themselves for either offensive or defensive purposes. Punishment: 20 lashes on one's bare back.
 - leave the plantation without the written permission of one's master, mistress or overseer. Punishment: 20 lashes on one's bare back.
 - "...lift up his hand against any Christian." Punishment: 30 lashes on one's bare back.
- 1691 - Any white person married to a black or mulatto is banished and a systematic plan is established to capture "outlying slaves."
 - If an outlying slave is killed while resisting capture, the owner receives financial compensation for the laborer.
 - Partners in an interracial marriage cannot stay in the colony for more than three months after they married.
 - A fine of 15 pounds sterling is levied on an English woman who gives birth to a mulatto child. The fine is to be paid within a month of the child's birth. If a woman cannot pay the fine, she is to serve five years as an indentured servant. If the mother is an indentured servant, she faces an additional five years of servitude after the completion of her indenture.
 - A mulatto child born to a white indentured servant will serve a 30-year indenture.
 - A master must transport an emancipated slave out of Virginia within six months of receiving his or her freedom.
- 1692 - Slaves are denied the right to a jury trial for capital offenses. A minimum of four justices of the peace hear evidence and determine the fate of the accused. Legislators also decide that enslaved individuals are not permitted to own horses, cattle and hogs after December 31 of that year.
- 1705 - Free men of color lose the right to hold public office.
- 1705 - Blacks — free and enslaved — are denied the right to testify as witnesses in court cases.
- 1705 - All black, mulatto, and Indian slaves are considered real property.
- 1705 - Enslaved men are not allowed to serve in the militia.
- 1705 - In An act concerning Servants and Slaves, Virginia's lawmakers:
 - Increase the indenture of a mulatto child born to a white woman to 31 years.
 - Determine that if a white man or white woman marries a black partner, the white individual will be sent to jail for six months and fined 10 pounds current money of Virginia.

- Determine that any minister who marries an interracial couple will be assessed a fine of 10,000 pounds of tobacco.
- Determine that any escaped slave who is unwilling or unable to name his or her owner will be sent to the public jail. ¹⁷

b) Naturalization Act of 1790

After the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, claiming “all men are created equal,” the United States was born and it soon sought to name its identity. The Naturalization Act of 1790 was written to determine who would actually be considered a US citizen and be given the privileges that accompany that position. Roediger writes:

The naturalization act, as courts later emphasized, spoke even more powerfully about who was unfit for citizenship, implicitly placing not only slaves and Indians, but also people of color generally, in that category. The young were also excluded from naturalization, underlining that to be dependent was a bar of citizenship. For those male youths who would someday be “free, white, and 21,” that bar would be temporary; for slaves it would be permanent and inherited from generation to generation. ¹⁸

The act states: “That any Alien being a free white person” is a citizen. ¹⁹ It is noteworthy that the US citizen had to be both “free” and “white,” demonstrating that these two words were not (yet) necessarily interchangeable. This meant that white indentured servants could not be considered citizens until they were free. However, blacks and other non-whites, under this law, would never be citizens, evidence of the seeds of race and racism beginning to root in America.

c) 1921 Definition of White

While the definition of “white” in a 1790 context was not made clear, as waves of immigration to the US increased, toward the goal of exclusion, a definition for “White” became more necessary. A 1921 definition of white, written in the “Emergency Quota and Immigration Acts” states:

A White person has been held to include an Armenian born in Asiatic Turkey, a person of but one-sixteenth Indian blood, and a Syrian, but not to include Afghans, American Indians, Chinese, Filipinos, Hawaiians, Hindus, Japanese, Koreans, negroes; nor does white person include a person having one fourth of African blood, a person in whom Malay blood predominates, a person whose father was a German and whose mother was a Japanese, a person whose father was a white Canadian and whose mother was an Indian woman, or a person whose mother was a Chinese and whose father was the son of a Portuguese father and a Chinese mother. ²⁰

This definition demonstrates how mutable and arbitrary definitions of race—in particular whiteness—are in the United States, and the ways in which their determination are highly socially and politically driven.

5. Who’s a citizen? Who is White? - US Census Then and Now

Enduring understandings: the US census, a federal government project, since its inception in 1790, has played a major role in documenting race, and through its documentation, it has also defined race in the US. As primary source analysis will demonstrate, the census’ consistently changing categories of race reveal the concept’s malleability. This is of critical importance because these categories, their definitions, and the meaning assigned to them determined people’s societal treatments, and access to opportunities and

resources.

a) The US Census

The US Census has existed since 1790 and has been conducted every ten years since its inception. “U.S. censuses have always asked a race question, have always required Americans to be so categorized (either by enumerator or by self-selection), and have always offered a list of categories from which only one race was to be chosen.” ²¹ This changed in the 2000 census when people were able to select more than one box for their race.

Activity 1: Before students examine the actual census categories, it is important to discuss the purposes for which the census was collected and how the data has been used in ways that both discriminate and serve communities of color. Next, I plan to continue this lesson with an activity that demonstrates the limits of the census categories, by choosing three different census years (from the early, middle, and more recent censuses) and asking students to stand underneath the category that defines them. This activity is meant to illustrate the ways in which the census categories have not and do not include all racial identities, and furthermore, even if they do name us accurately, they do not tell our full racial identities.

Activity 2: Students will analyze US Census categories and notice changes from 1790 through the present. The most significant observations I hope they will make include:

1. The list of races—one that in 1790 begins with only Free White, All Other Free Persons, and Slaves—continues to change and grow, especially in the late 1800s.
2. The treatment of Native Americans—termed Indians in the language of the Census—changes many times throughout the years of the Census. To begin, the first mention of “Indians,” begins in 1800, in their exclusion: “All Other Free Persons, except Indians Not Taxed.” This category continues for the next two censuses, and then disappears by 1830. In 1870 the category returns, but now only as Indian, which is how it remains.
3. By the 1850 census, the categories of “Free” and “Slave” disappear.
4. With the exception of the 1850 and 1860 censuses, White has always existed as a category, and it seems that all other racial groups exist only in relation to White. In fact, for the 1850 and 1860 censuses, “White” does not appear on the census, but the instructions indicate: “in all cases where the person is white leave the space blank,” illustrating the extent to which whiteness became a default—a normalized—race in the US.
5. Beginning in 1890, rather than selecting a race (checking a box), citizens are asked to write in their “Color or Race.”
6. In large part the categories growth in the 1800s and 1900s is a result of the delineation of various Asian groups, including Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, etc.
7. Much of the growth of this list in the second half of the 20th century is a result of delineating Asian Pacific Islander groups.
8. The terminology referring to black people changes from Slaves and Colored Persons, to Black and Mulatto, Quadroon and Octoroon only during the 1890 census, beginning in 1930 Negro, and beginning in 1970 Negro or Black. It seems the language to attempt to categorize black people in the US has always been a contentious one.
9. The category of Other, allowing people to write in their race if it were not listed, began in 1910.
10. Mexican is listed as a race for the first and only time in 1930.
11. The word “color” was removed from the question of race in 1950, but returned in 1960 as “race or

color,” and then “color or race” in 1970, and then again returned to just “race” in 1980 and beyond.

12. In the 1970 US Census, Hispanic is introduced as a category, combining nationalities/groups including: Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, Other Spanish, None of These.
13. In 2000, two or more races becomes an option.
14. Arab-Americans are considered white on the Census.

The essential questions to conclude with include:

1. Is the census an accurate measure of race?
2. Why do the census categories change from one census to the next?
3. How do these changes make the census more or less accurate?
4. How do you think the Census Bureau officials think about race?
5. How does this impact how citizens think of race?
6. Why even measure race?
7. What impact does this data have on our society?

b) One drop rule

The focus of F. James Davis’ book, *Who Is Black?*, is the one-drop rule, which served to define race in America. Although the meaning and implementation of the one-drop rule changed from state to state and from year to year it was more or less ubiquitous in the US, whether de jure or de facto, for a significant number of years. Davis defines the rule: “that a single drop of ‘black blood’ makes a person a black. It is also known as the ‘one black ancestor rule,’ some courts have called it the ‘traceable amount rule,’ and anthropologists call it the ‘hypo-descent rule,’ meaning that racially mixed persons are assigned the status of the subordinate group.”²² This definition itself demonstrates the lack of clarity and the inconsistency of definitions of race, drawing upon and vacillating between genetics, ancestry, and social status. Furthermore, as explored in the earlier section on biology, given there is no genetic basis to race, the notion of “one-drop of black blood” is artificial, revealing the fallacy of the laws used to determine race. Despite its lack of scientific basis, these laws had very real implications for people of color, in particular those who were defined as black. The one drop rule illustrates how race is a socially constructed idea, and in Barbara Fields’ words, the “absurdity” of the: “American racial convention that considers a white woman capable of giving birth to a black child but denies that a black woman can give birth to a white child.”²³

c) Comparing US to other countries

“Not only does the one-drop rule apply to no other group than American blacks, but apparently the rule is unique in that it is found only in the United States and not in any other nation in the world.”²⁴ That is, not only does the “one-drop rule” not exist in name in countries other than the US, but also the ways of defining race vary significantly from country to country. In his recent *Jacobin* article, “The Social Construction of Race,” Brian Jones writes about an interview in which the former Haitian leader, Francois Duvalier, referred to the “white majority population” of his country. This was very surprising and confusing to the American journalist who was quite certain the Haitian population was majority black. “The American journalist interviewing him didn’t understand, so they had to define to each other what makes somebody white or black. The American journalist explained that in the US, one metaphorical drop of black blood designates someone as black. And Duvalier replied, ‘Well, that’s our definition of white.’”²⁵

Activity 3 : There are two online activities, which help illustrate the ways in which race varies significantly

from country to country. The first is a survey in which students can give their opinions on which countries' citizens are white. While there are no definitive answers to the questions—therein lies the point of the activity—students can compare their results to others, and see the variation in perceptions. The second activity involves students self-defining their race using recent censuses from ten different countries. The variation across these countries points to the differences in concepts of race across the world, illustrating that race is not a definitive concept, but rather a highly malleable and socially based one. Both activities can be found here: <http://www.understandingrace.org/lived/index.html>

Implementing District Standards

21st Century Competencies

In the New Haven Public Schools district the core standards are the 21st Century Competencies. These six skills are the basis of the high school graduation requirements. In particular, at Metropolitan Business Academy along with several other high schools who are part of the Great Schools Partnership and who are shifting toward a mastery-based grading system, these are the skills on which we base our summative and formative assessments. For this unit on the history of the social construction of race, I will be focusing on three of these skills:

1. *Problem Solving and Critical Thinking:*
 1. *Reason effectively*
 2. *Make insightful judgments and decisions*
 3. *Solve problems*
2. *Accessing and Analyzing Information:*
 1. *Use research tools to access and evaluate information from multiple sources*
 2. *Organize and synthesize information using multiple methods*
3. *Communication and Collaboration:*
 1. *Articulate ideas clearly to a variety of different audiences using multiple modes*
 2. *Communicate effectively and work productively with others*
4. *Citizenship and Responsibility*
 1. *Exercise empathy and respect for diverse cultures and perspectives*
 2. *Contribute to and take responsibility for the larger community*

Annotated Bibliography

Non-Fiction

Baker, Lee D. *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896-1954*. Berkeley: University of California, 1998.

Focusing primarily on the first half of the 20th century, Baker explores the shifting discourse of race during this era. Baker examines

how, with leadership from W.E.B. Du Bois and Franz Boas, “ideas of racial inferiority were supplanted by notions of racial equality in law, science, and public opinion.”

*Baldwin, James. *The Fire Next Time*. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1963.

In the midst of the civil rights movement, Baldwin’s *The Fire Next Time* , offers profound insight into his experience--and through it a lens into the Black American experience--through two letters. The first letter, addressed to his nephew, is particularly accessible and relevant to high school youth, and especially for black boys can serve as an entry point to politicization.

Barkan, Elazar. *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1992.

The idea of race as a natural and biological concept was replaced with the notion of race as cultural and political in the late 1930s, in large part, as a reaction to the racism of Nazi Germany. *The Retreat of Scientific Racism* tells the story of the British and American anthropologists and biologists who were instrumental in making this shift, as well as the ways in which this change in discourse affected the politics of racism.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* . Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield, 2006.

Weaving in history, this sociological text uses anecdotes and analysis to dissect contemporary ideas of color-blindness and other rhetoric that attempts to protect white privilege and white supremacy. In his own words, Bonilla-Silva “acknowledges that race, as other social categories such as class and gender, is constructed but insists that it has a *social* reality.” While these three arenas influenced one another, the argument of this book lies in the influential role anthropology played in changing concepts of race in America.

The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, “Slavery and the Law in Virginia,” <http://www.history.org/history/teaching/slavelaw.cfm>

This website gives population figures and laws passed in Virginia during the colonial era.

Countryman, Edward. *Americans: A Collision of Histories* . New York: Hill and Wang, 1996.

As his subtitle suggests, Countryman writes of the collision of different cultures and their disparate treatments that have created what we now know as America and Americans. The book opens with: “Three separate histories collided in the Western Hemisphere half a millennium ago, and the American history began.” This reference is to the Native American, African, and European histories, all three of which, of course, contain a variety of cultures and histories within them, many of which are explored in this text.

Davis, F. James. *Who is Black?: One Nation’s Definition* . University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 1991.

This book examines the rules, which varied across the US, but which came to define ideas of race, in particular blackness. Focusing on the one-drop rule and laws around miscegenation, Davis explores the indistinct and oftentimes conflicting social and legal definitions surrounding race--across states in the US and among different countries--as defined by ancestry and lineage, blood and other biological myths, census data, as well as courts and legal documents.

DuBois, W.E.B.. *Black Reconstruction*. Milwood, NY: Kraus-Thomson, [1935] 1976.

Black Reconstruction provides a black-centered history of the critical twenty-year period, 1860-1880 after Emancipation, called Reconstruction. Much of the book focuses on work and labor, as well as on democracy, property, and education. While writing this historical text, no doubt to offer a counter-narrative to the prevailing history about this era, DuBois also offers a critique and caution

of what he calls: "The Propaganda of History."

DuBois, W.E.B.. *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward the Autobiography of a Race Concept* . Oxford: Oxford University, [1940] 2007.

In *Dusk of Dawn* DuBois uses his own lived experience as the basis of an exploration of what he calls "a race concept." Using themes of place, education, science and empire, and war, DuBois delineates the experiences and ideas that form the idea of race in the United States. As he states in his introduction: "I have written then what is meant to be not so much my autobiography as the autobiography of a concept of race, elucidated, magnified and doubtless distorted in the thoughts and deed which were mine."

DuBois, W.E.B.. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1903.

In his defining work, DuBois' *The Souls of Black Folk* he describes the "spiritual world" and experience of black identity in America, beginning with the role emancipation has played in their lives. From there, DuBois moves into black leadership and resistance to racism, followed by concept of a Veil that divides the worlds of blacks and whites in the US. He concludes, as he describes in his Forethought by stepping "within the Veil, raising it that you may view faintly its deeper recesses,--the meaning of its religion, the passion of its human sorrow, and the struggle of its greater souls."

*Gates Jr., Henry Louis, editor. *The Classic Slave Narratives* . New York: Penguin Books, 1987.

This book contains slave narratives by four different authors, including Mary Prince, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Jacobs, and Olaudah Equiano. In the last of these named narratives, Equiano, of the Igbo people in what is now known as Nigeria, tells the story of being captured and kidnapped at the age of 11, and brought to Virginia where he was enslaved. Separated from his sister who was also kidnapped, surviving the middle passage, living for several years under enslavement, and eventually buying his freedom, living to write about it, and devoting his life to abolition, his life and narrative is incredibly compelling.

Gordon-Reed, Annette. *Race on Trial: Law and Justice in American History* . New York: Oxford, 2002.

This book includes a series of essays that look at the history of race in the US through legal cases beginning with the Amistad through the O.J. Simpson trial. Among the topics examined include slavery, citizenship, marriage, segregation, education, employment, residence, and crime. These cases support a developing understanding of the ways in which race and racism is created and perpetuated, as well as challenged, within US law.

Gossett, Thomas F.. *Race: The History of an Idea in America* . New York: Schocken Books, 1965.

Gossett begins his book with a chapter on "Early Race Theories," beginning with colonists views of the Native Americans they encountered in the land the English settled and claimed as their own, as well as the black slaves they "imported," to fuel their economy. From this origin of the US--and origin of race and racism as we know it today--Gossett traces a history, examining the developments and changes in studies of anthropology, language and literature, immigration laws, war, and science to create, and eventually begin to revolt against ideas of race and racism in the US.

Harris, Cheryl. "Whiteness as Property." In Kimberle Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller, and K. Thomas (eds.), *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement* , pp. 276-291. New York: The New Press, 1995.

As its subtitle suggests, the essays in this collection form the basis of Critical Race Theory, a critical foundation for this curriculum on the social construction of race and its ongoing impacts on people of color. The essay, "Whiteness as Property," by legal scholar Cheryl Harris, examines ways in which property is inextricably linked to the construction of race and racial domination in the US.

*Hern, Matt and the Purple Thistle Centre. *Stay Solid! A Radical Handbook for Youth*. Edinburgh: AK Press, 2013.

This book, which includes chapters on race, indigenous struggles, immigration and migration, and many more topics, is told through the a variety of essays representing the unique perspectives of its many contributors. The writings in this book are very accessible to young people, and in fact written with them in mind. This book serves as an important example of young (and older) predominantly people of color constructing meaning of their own racial identity in the context of society.

Higginbotham, A. Leon. *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process, The Colonial Period*. Oxford: Oxford University, 1978.

In the Matter of Color draws upon the US Legal process and the American Colonial era to to examine both black and English experiences and perspectives. Comparing and contrasting six different colonies, Higginbotham explores the laws and codes that upheld racism and white supremacy, as well as opposition to slavery. He concludes his book with the Revolution, entitling his final chapter: "The Declaration of Independence: A Self-Evident Truth or A Self-Evident Lie?"

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrant and the Alchemy of Race* . Cambridge: Harvard, 1998.

Examining race through an often overlooked lens, Jacobson uses the concept of whiteness to trace an ever changing history of who is granted and denied this label. This history of racial formation draws on a variety of sources, ranging from literary to legal, and explores themes of assimilation, national identity, and inconsistent racialization to reveal the fabrication and fluidity of race in the US.

*Jones, Brian . "The Social Construction of Race." *Jacobin* . 2015, accessed June 26, 2015.
<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/06/racecraft-racism-social-origins-reparations/>

This article offers a concise history behind the social construction of race. The language is very accessible.

McKusker, John J. (editor). *Historical Statistics of the United States* , <http://hsus.cambridge.org/HSUSWeb/search/advanceSearch.do>

This site offers colonial population demographics by colony, race, and year.

Nobles, Melissa. *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics*. Stanford: Stanford University, 2000.

Nobles book focuses on the construction of race through the lens of the US Census and concepts of citizenship. She not only examines, the changing categories of the US Census since its inception in 1790 through the book's year of publication in 2000, but also analyzes the rhetoric surrounding and the uses of this data. The text also devotes a chapter to comparing US census data to that of Brazil, noticing the contrast and how it relates to national identity.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

This text examines the various changing paradigms of race in the US. The authors provide a theory of the racial formation process, as well as an intersectional overview of race through the lenses of ethnicity, class, and nationality. Finally, they do the important work of examining race both through its impact in US social structure, as well as in everyday representations.

Ringer, Benjamin. *We the People and Others: Duality and America's Treatment of Its Racial Minorities*. New York: Tavistock, 1983.

Written in three books, the first of them examines the historical and structural framework of racism upon which the United States is founded. The second extends this history with a focus on black encounters with what he calls "America's Duality," from slavery to civil rights. Finally, the third book examines the United States' treatment of other racialized groups, including Asians and Latinos.

*Roediger, David, editor. *Black on White: Black Writer on What it Means to Be White*. New York: Schocken Books, 1998.

This book offers the perspectives of dozens of black writers and intellectuals on the identity, experience, and concept of whiteness. Entries range in date from as early as the 1830s to as recent as the 1990s, and vary in style and perspective, but all offer critical perspectives that are too often absent from the conversation on whiteness. As Roediger states in his introduction: "African Americans have been among the nation's keenest students of white consciousness and white behavior."

Roediger, David. *How Race Survived US History: From Settlement and Slavery to the Obama Phenomenon*. New York: Verso, 2008.

This book follows the creation and recreation of the concept of race in the US from the 1600s through today. Roediger examines the ways in which race is inextricably linked to key aspects of US history, democracy, economy, and more.

Singleton, Glenn, and Curtis Linton. *Courageous Conversations about Race*. Thousand Oaks: Corwin Press, 2006.

This book is written with the audience of educators in mind. It not only offers a brief and accessible history of the social construction of race in America, as well as an examination of race and racism's ongoing impacts on people, but it also provides helpful instruction and opportunities for reflection for teachers and administrators working in the field of education.

Takaki, Ronald. "Republicanism." In *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Knopf, 1979.

Iron Cages looks at the history of racism experienced by a variety of non-white groups in America within the context of the development of capitalism in the nineteenth-century. In "Republicanism", Takaki examines the rhetoric of exceptionalism and alterity in the founding of a national identity and ideology, one contingent upon the exclusion and exploitation of Native Americans and Blacks.

*Takaki, Ronald. *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*. New York: Back Bay Books, 1993.

Similar to Howard Zinn's more popular *A People's History* and *A Young People's History*, Takaki's *A Different Mirror* retells a history of the US, uplifting often untold stories and non-Anglo voices. Beginning with the colonization of the New World, the book brings us to the present with an examination of both immigration debates and islamophobic rhetoric.

Taylor, Alan. *American Colonies: The Settling of North America*. New York: Penguin, 2001.

This text is separated into three parts covering Europeans' first encounters with the many Natives in what is now North America, the various colonies established, and the empires that were these European colonies' offspring. This book complicates the typical Anglo-centric narrative, not only offering a variety of perspectives from different Native tribes, but also documenting their encounters with various European colonizers, not only on the Atlantic coast of what is now the US, but throughout the entire country.

United State Congress. "Rule of Naturalization". 1790.

<http://www.indiana.edu/~kdhist/H105-documents-web/week08/naturalization1790.html>

This primary source document, written by the United States Congress in 1790, outlines the definition of citizenship, for the first time in federal legal documents, defining a citizen as among other things, "white."

*Zinn, Howard. *A Young People's History of the United States*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2007.

Adapted from Zinn's longer and more complex text, *A People's History*, this version modified by Rebecca Stefoff is accessible to youth. Like the original text, it offers an alternative to hegemonic historical accounts of early US history, with perspectives of Native American, black Americans, women, and more.

* Indicates texts that are suggested for students, as well as teachers.

Appendix I - Quotes about Social Construction of Race

“White people have not always been ‘white,’ nor will they always be ‘white.’ It is a political alliance. Things will change.” -Amoja Three Rivers

“I remember the very day that I became colored.” - Zora Neale Hurston

“Now you must understand that this is just a name we have. I am not black and you are not black either, if you go by the evidence of your eyes. . . . Anyway, black people are all colors. White people don’t look all the same way, but there are more different kinds of us than there are of them. Then too, there is a certain stage [at] which you cannot tell who is white and who is black. Many of the people I see who are thought of as black could just as well be white in their appearance. Many of the white people I see are black as far as I can tell by the way they look. Now, that’s it for looks. Looks don’t mean much. The things that makes us different is how we think. What we believe is important, the ways we look at life.”

- A nearly 90-year-old black man, in an interview conducted by a blind, black anthropologist ²⁶

“He *is* a Negro, of course, from the remarkable legal point of view which obtains in the United States, but more importantly, as he tried to make clear to his interlocutor [the person with whom he was speaking, the one who questioning why he considered himself black], he was a Negro by choice and by depth of involvement--by experience, in fact.”

- James Baldwin, writing about John Davis, a multi-racial man who was the head of the delegation of writers and artists, at the 1956 Conference of Negro-African Writers and Artists

CROSS

My old man’s a white old man

And my old mother’s black.

If ever I cursed my white old man,

I take my curses back.

If ever I cursed my old black mother

And wishes she were in hell,

I’m sorry for that evil wish

And now I wish her well.

My old man died in a fine big house.

My ma died in a shack.

I wonder where I’m gonna die,

Being neither white nor black”

-Langston Hughes, 1970

“The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line,—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea.” -W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*

“The discovery of personal whiteness among the world’s people is a very modern thing. The ancient world would have laughed at such a distinction.” - W.E.B. Du Bois

“The white race cannot tell when they began to be known as such.” - Rev. Harvey Johnson

“. . . you could take two white guys from the same place—one would carry his whiteness like a loaded stick, ready to bop everybody else on the head with it; and the other would just simply be white . . . and let it go at that. I liked those two white kids; they were white, but as my Aunt Fanny used to say, they couldn’t help that.” - Chester B. Himes.

“When the first Africans arrived in Virginia in 1619, there were no ‘white’ people there; nor, according to the colonial records, would there be for another sixty years.” —Theodore W. Allen

“Perhaps it is wrong to speak of it [race] at all as a concept rather than as a group of contradictory forces, facts and tendencies.” - W.E.B. Du Bois

“Americans of European descent invented race during the era of the American Revolution as a way of resolving the contradiction between a natural right to freedom and the fact of slavery.” - Historian Barbara J. Fields

“I’d like to say that when I say “white” I’m not talking about the color of anybody’s skin. I’m not talking about race. It’s a curious country, a curious civilization, that thinks of it as race. I don’t believe any of that. White people are imagined. White people are white only because they want to be white. . .” - James Baldwin

Appendix II - Poetry, Literature, Music, and Visual Art on Race

Poetry

Alexander, Elizabeth

Giovanni, Nikki

Hughes, Langston

Mirikitani, Janice

Rankine, Claudia

Literature

Baldwin, James

Ellison, Ralph

Hurston, Zora Neale. *Mules and Men*. Bloomington: Indiana University, 1935.

Hurston, Zora Neale. *How It Feels To Be Colored Me*.

Music

Billie Holiday

Bessie Smith

Nina Simone

KRS One

Saul Williams

D'Angelo

Kendrick Lamar

Das Racist (Heems)

Frank Walkn

Supaman

Rebel Diaz

Visual Art

Kehinde Wiley

Kara Walker

Glenn Ligon

Appendix III - Databases/Websites

United State Bureau of the Census - https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/overview/

Social Explorer - <http://www.socialexplorer.com/>

Understanding Race - <http://understandingrace.org/home.html>

PBS' "The Power of an Illusion" - http://www.pbs.org/race/000_General/000_00-Home.htm

Vox - <http://www.vox.com/2014/10/10/6943461/race-social-construct-origins-census>

MENA Community Writes Letter to Census Bureau -

<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/03/24/census-bureau-explores-new-middle-eastnorth-africa-ethnic-category/>

<http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2013/12/17/arabs-hispanics-seekingbetteruscensusrecognition.html>

Appalachian Community on Race - <http://stateofthereunion.com/pike-county-oh-as-black-as-we-wish-to-be/>

How White People Got Made - <https://medium.com/message/how-white-people-got-made-6eeb076ade42>

Latino USA, "The Invention of Hispanics" - <http://latinousa.org/2014/05/02/invention-hispanics/>

Notes

1. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* , 40.
2. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* , 44.
3. Baker, *From Savage to Negro* , 100.
4. Baker, *From Savage to Negro* , 114.
5. PBS, *The Power of an Illusion* , http://www.pbs.org/race/000_General/000_00-Home.htm
6. Countryman, *Americans* , 3.
7. Takaki, *A Different Mirror* , 27-8.
8. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* , 16.
9. Taylor, *American Colonies* , 38.
10. Zinn, *A Young People's History of the United States* , 20.
11. Takaki, *A Different Mirror* , 44.
12. Roediger, *How Race Survived US History* , 4.
13. Takaki, *A Different Mirror* , 54
14. Roediger, *How Race Survived US History* , 4.
15. Roediger, *How Race Survived US History* , 4-5.
16. McCusker (editor), *Historical Statistics of the United States* , <http://hsus.cambridge.org/HSUSWeb/search/advanceSearch.do>
17. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, "Slavery and the Law in Virginia," <http://www.history.org/history/teaching/slavelaw.cfm>
18. Roediger, *How Race Survived US History* , 56.
19. United State Congress, "Rule of Naturalization," 1790, <http://www.indiana.edu/~kdhist/H105-documents-web/week08/naturalization1790.html>
20. Jones, "The Social Construction of Race"
21. Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship* , x.
22. Davis, *Who Is Black?* , 5.
23. Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History".

24. Davis, *Who Is Black?* , 13.
25. Jones, "The Social Construction of Race."
26. Davis, *Who Is Black?*, 1.

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