<u>Flattening</u> the Difference between Hispanic Origin and Race? The Cost of *Erasing* the <u>Color Line</u> Among Latin@s in the 2020 Census/OMB & Civil Rights Policy Implications

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An Invitation to <u>Self-Reflexivity</u> … How can we take account of the <u>SIMULTANEITY of our</u> <u>intersecting social locations</u> within power relations and <u>systems of power, privilege and disadvantage</u>? What's your <u>STREET RACE</u>? What's <u>your cumlative and lifelong</u> race-gender-class <u>lived experience</u>?



Artist: Augustine Romero www.aztlancontemporary.com

IMAGINE IF WE USED ONE QUESTION FOR INTERROGATING INEQUALITIES ALONG ALL OF THESE DIMENSIONS OF

DIFFERENCE? PRIVILEGE?

- * Tribal Stati
 - * Race
 - **DISCRIMINATION?**
- * Nationality
- *Ancestry
- * Legal Status
 - * Religion

*Gender *Sexual Orientation *Sex Assigned at Birth

*Age *Disability Status * Body / Embodiment

* Socioeconomic Status

(Parents Educational Attainment; Parents Occupation; Parents Income; Parents Wealth; Individual Educational Attainment; Individual Occupation; Individual Income; Individual Wealth; Partner Educational Attainment; Partner Occupation; Partner Income; Par Wealth; Household Net Worth; Social Networks; Social Honor/ Esteem, etc.)

*** Cultivating Your Intersectionality Lens & Social Justice Praxis***

LONGSTANDING SEPARATE CENSUS QUESTIONS: 1.) HISPANIC ORIGIN; 2.) RACE

→	NOTE: Please answer BOTH Question 8 about Hispanic origin and Question 9 about race. For this census, Hispanic origins are not races.								ces.											
8.	Is Person 1 of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?																			
	No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin																			
	Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano																			
	Yes, Puerto Rican																			
	Yes, Cuban																			
	Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin — Print origin, for example, Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on. <i></i>									ampie,										
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	_																			1
9.	What is Person 1's race? Mark 🔀 one or more boxes. White Black, African Am., or Negro																			
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	Other Asian — Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.																			
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PROPOSED COMBINED QUESTION FORMAT NEVER EXAMINED COLOR LINE & INEQUALITIES

		nat Is Person 1's race or origin? Mark X one or more boxes AND ite in the specific race(s) or origin(s).
		White — Print origin(s), for example, German, Irish, Lebanese, Egyptian, and so on. 룾
н		
		Black, African Am., or Negro — Print origin(s), for example, African American, Haitian, Nigerian, and so on. \vec{r}
н		
		Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin — Print origin(s), for example, Mexican, Mexican Am., Puerto Rican, Cuban, Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.
н		
		American Indian or Alaska Native — Print name of enrolled or principal tribe(s), for example, Navajo, Mayan, Tlingit, and so on. \overrightarrow{r}
н		
l		Asian — Print origin(s), for example, Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on. Z
н		
		Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander — Print origin(s), for example, Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan, Fijian, Tongan, and so on. \overrightarrow{F}
н		
		Some other race or origin — Print race(s) or origin(s). 룾
	→ If n	nore people were counted in Question 1, continue with Person 2.

What is the political context? Book: *Racism Without Racists:* Colorblind Racism in Post Civil Rights Era

(Bonilla-Silva 2009)

- Dismantling of Voting Rights Act; Attacks on Data for Housing Discrimination; ACA; Supreme Court cases against K-12 desegregation and race sensitive programs in Higher Education
- Census Conducted two studies re: question format:
 - Alternative Questionnaire Experiment (2010 AQE)
 - National Content Test (2015 NCT)

The Census Bureau recommended that the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) allow one question on Hispanic origin and race; this would flatten the difference between origin and race and trigger a revision of the OMB Guidelines that apply to all federal data collection

- Why did none of the testing included a single **Civil Rights Outcome!!!**
 - Are we post racial? Has racial discrimination withered away?
 - Why wasn't this analysis done? Is the research protocol scientifically and ethically sound?
 - Where's the accountability for discounting/ignoring existing rigorous social scientific evidence on social inequalities and the color line among Latin@s?

CRT RESEARCH DESIGN & DATA: OMB / CENSUS DOCUMENTS (1980-2020) WRITTEN MATERIALS

Official Census Memos \bullet

- technical Reports/Briefings
- National Advisory **Committee Memos**
- InterAgency Working Group Memos
- 2010 Census Alternative • Questionnaire Experiment
- Publications: Blogs

VISUAL, AUDIO TEXT

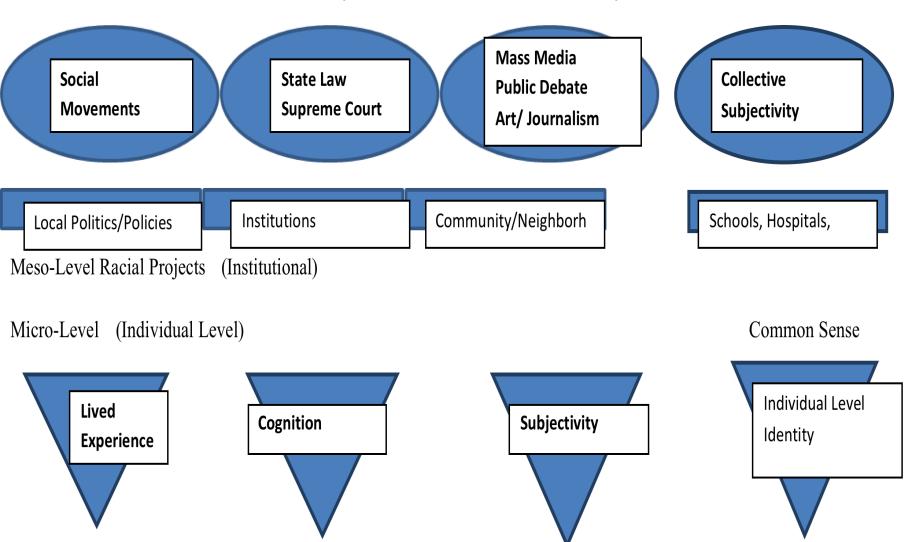
- Videos
- Webinars
- **Community Outreach Public** Forum
- Press Conferences
- Participant Observation

GUIDING THEORIES/ONTOLOGIES: Racial Formation (Omi & Winant), Colorblind Racism (Bonilla-Silva), Critical Race Theory (Bell, Haney-Lopez), IMatrix of Domination and **Intersectionality (Collins, Crenshaw)**

BOTH RACE AND ETHNIC ORIGIN ARE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS, BUT RACE LIKE GENDER OPERATES AS * MASTER SOCIAL STATUS * OVERPOWERS OTHER SOCIAL POSITIONS ...

- <u>Racial Formation Theory</u>: "... it should be apparent that there is a crucial and non-reducible <u>visual</u> dimension to the definition and understanding of racial categories (Omi & Winant, 2015:111)."
- "Corporeal distinctions are common; they become essentialized. Perceived differences in skin color, physical build, hair texture, the structure of checkbones, the shape of nose ... are understood as the manifestations of more profound differences that are situated within racially identified persons (Omi & Winant, 2015: 111)
- "<u>Racialization</u> depends on the meanings and associations that permit [ocular] phenotypic associations (Omi & Winant, 2015:112)."

Racial Formation Theory: Racial Projects, Racialization, Rearticulation, (Omi & Winant, 2015)



"The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line (Du Bois 1900: 5)."

Why didn't the Census Bureau examine the merits of one question over another in terms of their utility for civil rights use (voting/redistricting, housing, employment)?

SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH EVIDENCE FOCUSED ON INEQUALITY IS CLEAR

 Whether in Latin America/Caribbean/Spain or in the U.S. there is a COLOR LINE within Latin@ communities/families; ignoring that reality will not help advance equity in voting, housing, employment, criminal justice, etc.

Proposed Changes to 2020 Census Undermine our Ability to address social inequities for vulnerable Latin@ communities

- social scientific research on inequality must be included
 - REQUEST A <u>MORATORIUM</u> ON ANY CHANGES TO HISPANIC ORIGIN AND RACE QUESTION FORMAT

ARGUMENT: WE HAVE A ETHICAL & MORAL IMPERATIVE

- Colorblindness/Ignoring the fact that indeed Hispanics in the same national origin, ethnic group, and even biological families can be of any race and that this reality may translate into <u>distinct experiences with</u> <u>inequality at the voting booth, applying for a</u> <u>mortgage, seeking employment or interacting with</u> <u>immigration official and other law enforcement</u>, will not help us advance civil rights for the most <u>vulnerable</u> <u>communities.</u> It will set us backwards...
- *Need Moratorium on Changes to 2020 Census* *Ethical Accuracy for Civil Rights and Social Jusice NOT Aesthetic Accuracy for Compliance Only

Unintended Consequences of "GOOD INTENTIONS": Are we postracial?

"Census Bureau studies have demonstrated over the recent decades that when presented with separate race and Hispanic origin questions, Hispanics have great difficulty responding to the race question. This is one of the main reasons a combined question approach was tested, in order to better understand how Hispanics would self-identify given the option to report "Hispanic" along with a race or races in response to a combined question AQE, 2010)."

"Accuracy"? For Whom & for What?

"The primary research objective was to design and test questionnaires that would increase reporting in the OMB race and ethnicity categories, <u>lower item non-response</u>, increase <u>validity and reliability</u> of the results, and elicit reporting of detailed race and ethnic groups (AQE, 2010)."

> WHAT HAPPENED TO HOUSING DISCRIMINATION, EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION, VOTING RIGHTS VIOLATIONS????

To Flatten or Not Flatten?

PROPONENTS

- accurately represents how Hispanic communities in particular self-identify, as they don't distinguish the difference between origin and race.
- Reduces number that mark "Some other race"
- "Equity" = treat everyone same; granularity
- Race or origin = same thing
- Everyone is an Expert! in 2012 specific committees for all special populations/minorities; now all combined into one "advisory"

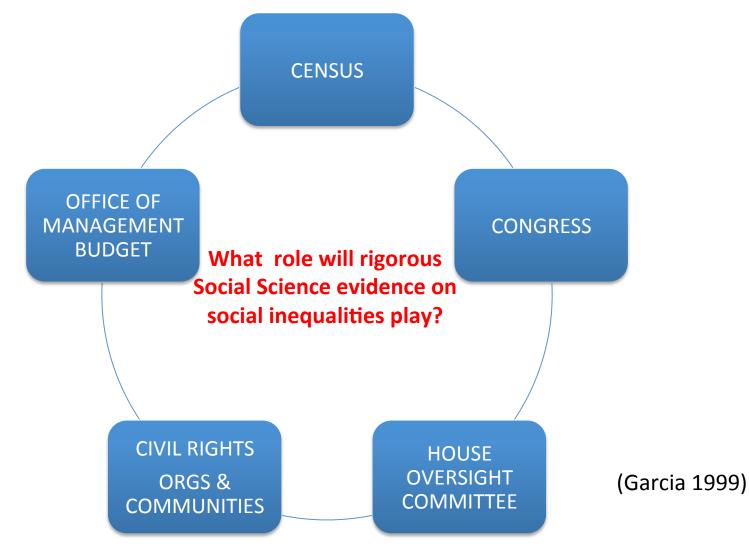
AESTHETIC ACCURACY FOR COMPLIANCE ONLY

OPPONENTS

- difference between origin and race is real; making Hispanic a race=color blindness
- American Community Survey already has a SEPARATE ancestry question
- Equity =/= sameness; must be contextualized; different questions may be necessary
- Introduce bills/Legislation protecting the data infrastructure for Civil Rights Use
- Request accountability from the Census for rigorous use of existing studies examining question format in terms of social inequalities
- Research evidence on social inequality must guide decisions

ETHICAL ACCURACY FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

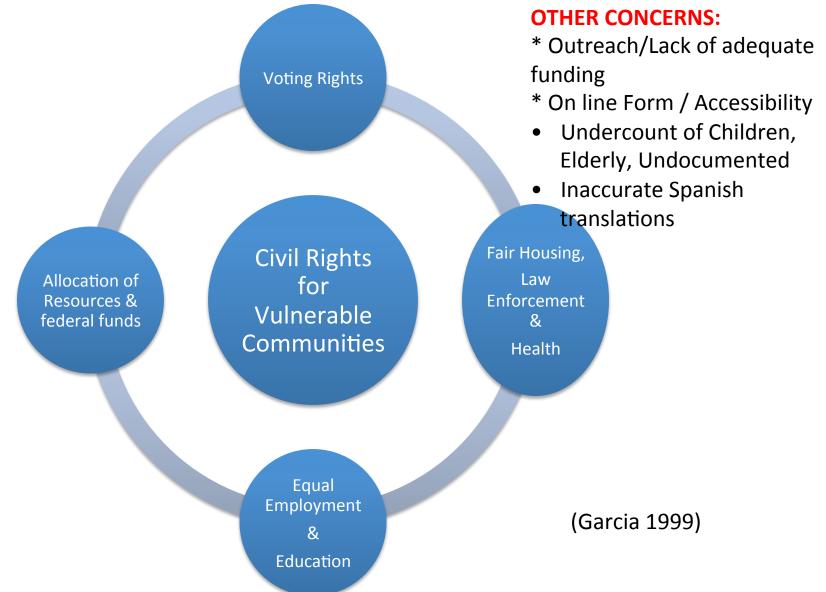
WHO FRAMES THE NARRATIVE? STAKEHOLDERS, DECISION MAKERS...



Narrative Matters: Neoliberal Racial Projects, Colorblind Frames & Fetishes/Distractions...

- Fetish #1: "Good Intentions" Cognitive Testing makes Lay Definitions=Scientific Definitions (Imagine if we did this for class==everyone is middle class!)
- Fetish #2: "Accuracy" & "Reliability"
- Fetish #3: "Expensive Real Estate" & "Streamlining"
- Fetish #4: Abstract Liberal Frames of "Equity" (Bonilla Silva 2009);
- Fetish #5: Decontextualized "Identities": None of the testing tied to use for social outcomes such as residential segregation, redistricting, civil rights enforcement (See Fine 1991, on fetishes)

WHAT ARE THE STAKES?



GENEALOGY OF COLOR BLIND, ABSTRACT NEOLIBERAL LOGICS: "STREAMLINING" THE EXPERTS

- mid-1970s, National Advisory Committees (NAC) established
- During the 2010 Census, <u>five</u> separate committees advised the bureau on decennial issues: the African American, American Indian and Alaska Native (AIAN), Asian, Hispanic, and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI) Advisory Committees.
- In 2012, the Secretary of Commerce re-chartered the NAC as the Census Bureau National Advisory Committee on Racial, Ethnic, and Other Populations. The committee, known as NAC, consists of up to 32 members appointed by the Director of the Census Bureau. NAC is an important channel of communication between the Census Bureau and race, ethnic, and other communities, focusing "on the identification of new strategies for improved census operations, survey and data collection methods, including identifying cost-efficient ways to increase census participation" and reduce the undercount.
- Charge doesn't include any responsibility related to consulting the existing scientific evidence on social inequalities for vulnerable communities and protecting the integrity of the civil rights data infrastructure!!!!
 - What About Civil Rights Use???!!!???
 - Is this ethical accountability? Ethical accuracy for civil rights?

PARADOXES ...

- 1. Concerns about "Real Estate" even as we move toward more web-based resources
- 2. Census is testing questionnaire formats that include other multiple measures: gender & sexual orientation as distinct
- 3. Claim that combining is equitable for all nationalities and for more granularity, yet "American" conspicuously absent; yet other nationalities given under each "race"
- 4. National Advisory Committee and Interagency Race and Ethnicity Working Group Technical Report not yet available (hopefully by the end of the year)

Cross-Disciplinary Empirical Studies are Clear: "Street Race Matters" (López et al. 2017)

- The Urban Institute sent 8,000 testers to apply for housing around the country and found that applicants who were a "visible minority" were dramatically more likely to be told there were no apartments available or were shown significantly fewer apartments than white applicants.
- Thomas LaVeist-Ramos and his colleagues found that people who share ethnic backgrounds have similar health outcomes, but in access to services "Black Hispanics' visual similarity with non-Hispanic blacks may... subject them to similar levels of discrimination."
- Rogelio Sáenz and Maria Cristina Morales found that Latin national origin groups such as Cubans and South Americans that most often identified as white in the 2010 census experienced less wage disadvantage than national origin groups such as Dominicans and Guatemalans with lower percentages identifying as white (See also Hogan 2017 on racialized poverty; Massey and Denton 1993 on segregation).

IF COMBINED QUESTION GOES FORWARD THESE STUDIES COULD NOT BE CONDUCTED ... DATA WILL <u>NOT</u> BE COMPARABLE Killing Two Birds With One Stone? (López, 2013) Hispanic/Latin@s Within the Same National Origin/Ethnic Group/Biological Families May Occupy VERY Different Racial Master Statuses/"Street Race" (López et al. 2017);



Do all of these subgroups/social locations have similar health physical & mental statues, obesity, life expectancy, experience with law enforcement, when looking for an apartment/ mortgage, interacting with health professionals in ER, in schools vis-à-vis tracking/discipline, airport, immigration officials, etc.? See Hogan 2017; Saenz & Morales 2015; Lopez et al. 2017

Hispanic Origin in U.S. (* National Average 2010 Census; Source Ennis et al 2011)	White (53%*)	Some Other Race (37%*)	Black (3%*)
Mexican, Mex. Am., Chicano	53%	40%	1%
Puerto Rican	53%	28%	9%
Cuban	85%	6%	5%
Dominican	30%	46%	13%
South American	66%	25%	1% 22

WHO IS THE "AUTHENTIC RAZA"? HISPANIC/LATIN@ RACE??? What is their "STREET RACE" at the.... Voting Booth? Catching a cab? Looking for apartment/applying for a mortgage? Seeking Employment/Education/Health Care? Interacting with Police/ICE?

Civil Rights Case?



RACE=/=NATIONAL ORIGIN=/=ETHNICITY=/ =ANCESTRY=/=DNA MARKERS/GENETIC BACKGROUND



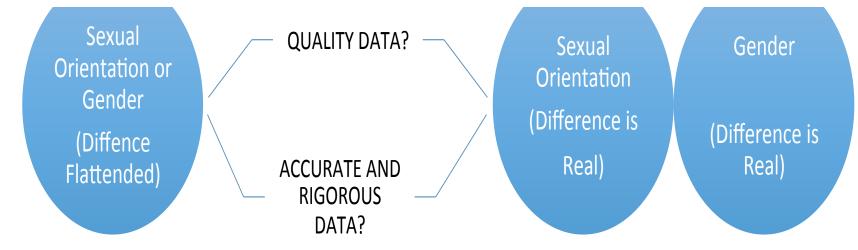
Who has the power to frame the narrative and praxis? Who will win the "ontological contests"? What about vulnerable communities?



Will the existing and vast interdisciplinary social science evidence base documenting the color line and social inequalities prevail? Where is the Latinx leadership?

"Latinx fragility"? Visible discomfort about facing the reality of the color line and racialized social inequality within our communities?
(See DiAngelo 2011 on white fragility; Vidal-Ortiz, 2005; Bonilla-Silva & Glover 2005; Telles 2014; Sue 2013 on "everyday wounds of color" and internalized racism within Latinx families and communities).

Appears that Interagency Committee on Sexual Orientation and Gender (SOGI) took a position AGAINST Flattening



WILL LATINX ORGANIZATIONS, SCHOLARS AND COMMUNITIES ORGANIZE TO CHANGE THE NARRATIVE? ACTION: REQUEST MORATORIUM ON ANY CHANGES MAY BE NECESSARY UNTIL SOCIAL OUTCOMES FOR VULNERABLE COMMUNITIES ARE CENTERED CIVIL RIGHTS USE THROUGHY EXAMINED; MAKE THE INVISIBLE VISIBLE: COLLECT DATA ON THE COLOR LINE IN LATINX COMMUNITIES

LITMUS TEST ON ETHICAL ACCURACY: IS THIS RIGOROUS DATA FOR CIVIL RIGHTS USE?

- Why isn't the question format testing conducted by the Census Bureau examining the merits of the separate question format versus the combined question format in terms of their value-added for interrogating inequalities in any civil rights outcomes, such as race-gender profiling in voting rights, law enforcement, employment discrimination, housing discrimination or any other policy of relevance for Civil Rights enforcement?
- Why was the existing interdisciplinary social science evidence base on the color line ignored in the Census reports and review of the relevant literature?
- What was the research protocol?

* PREPONDERANCE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH EVIDENCE *

COLOR LINE EXISTS!!! NEED SEPARATE QUESTIONS Housing Discrimination & Poverty Voting Rights Discrimination

- **Tucker 2006**
- Estrada 2000
- Gordon and Rosenberg 2015

Employment & Education

- Saenz & Morales (2015)
- Rodriguez et al., (2011)
- Telles & Murguia (1996)
- López (2003)
- Telles (2014) ٠
- Irizarry (2015)

Health

ACA & Civil Rights

- LaVeist-Ramos et al., (2012) Gravlee & Dressler (2005)
- **Jones et al., (2008)** McIntosh (2013)
- Sue (2014)
- Williams and Mohammed (2013)
- López (2013); López et al. (2017) Zambrana et al. (2017)

- Logan (2003)
- Turner et al., (2013)
- Massey & Denton (1994)
- Hogan (2017)

Criminal Justice

- Steffensmeier & Demuth (2000)
- Sampson & Lauritsen (1997)
- Walker et al., (2011
- For more bibliography on research evidence pertaining to valueadded by two separate questions Email: nlopez@unm.edu

ARE WE POSTRACIAL? THE PROBLEM WITH COMBINED QUESTION

What if they each took a DNA test and checked the same boxes for the combined "origin" and "race" question? How would this help us detect a color line in **voting rights abuse, addressing racialized poverty** of children & families?





RACE=/=NATIONAL ORIGIN=/ =ETHNICITY=/=ANCESTRY=/=DNA MARKERS/GENETIC BACKGROUND



Comparable data? Compromised Data for Serving Vulnerable Communities?

- How would multiple responses be tallied for civil rights?
- Would a combined question form be comparable data under a combined format?
- How would data that flattens the real differences between Hispanic origin and race impede our ability to document inequalities in the voting booth, housing, employment, education, health and other relevant civil rights policy-making arenas?

Street Race, Color & Power -Evasiveness will <u>not</u> eradicate racial discrimination...

- France does not collect racial data
- Many Latin American countries are just beginning to collect this type of data because they recognize that colorblind data collection may impede our ability to address inequalities (Telles 2014; Bonilla-Silva 2004).

- PRIVILEGE BLINDS ...

- You don't have to be color-evasive; No Matter what Census / OMB decide on combining or keeping Hispanic origin and race separate, states, local municipalities and institutions <u>don't have to be street race-evasive</u>; You can still collect the data in separate question formats...
- One caveat is that federal reports will just need be reported back in their "combined race or origin" standard categories, or whatever is designated by Census/OMB standards ...
- Working the cracks: You can be anti-racist and still comply

If we have two <u>long-standing separate questions</u> on Hispanic origin and race today, why are we giving one up? **Color-Evasive Data? Why now? Political Context** ...

- Why didn't a single Census Bureau test examine the merits of one format over another in terms of the value-added for examining social inequalities?
 - S. Bill 106 and H.R. 482 proposed in Congress to PROHIBIT race data collection for housing (2017).
 - Census is testing questionnaire formats that omit the word "race."
 - 1997 AAA OMB Memo noted that the combined question is necessary for the eventual elimination of the term race in the Census and federal data
 - What's happening to Climate Data that informs social justice policy??? See No Evil-Hear No Evil…

ARGUMENT: SOCIAL SCIENCE EVIDENCE IS CLEAR...

• Treating country of birth, national origin, geographic origins, genetic ancestry, language, ethnic and or cultural background as equivalent to race (i.e., the social meanings assigned to a conglomeration of individual's physical appearance, such as skin color, hair texture, and facial feature, etc.) by asking about "origins" and race-- two concepts in one question is a false equivalency – a conceptual/ontological flattening of two analytically distinct concepts -- that regardless of "good intentions" will compromise civil rights monitoring and enforcement and the allocation of resources to the most vulnerable communities.

COLOR BLINDNESS =/= ANTI-RACISM (*Bonilla-Silva, 2013:15)

Antiracism begins with understanding the institutional nature of racial matters and accepting that <u>all actors in a racialized</u> <u>society are affected materially</u> and <u>ideologically</u> by the <u>racial structure</u>.

*President,

2018 American Sociological Association

OPPORTUNITIES FOR LATINX & CIVIL RIGHT LEADERSHIP...PROTECTING THE FUTURE

OF CIVIL RIGHTS DATA FOR VULNERABLE COMM. ...

- 1. seek a <u>moratorium</u> on any changes to the current two-part question on Hispanic origin and race as separate questions for the 2020 Census until analysis of existing social science research on social inequalities & civil rights outcomes are included.
- 2. <u>Strategize and Introduce a new legislation/bill to</u> <u>protect integrity federal civil rights data</u> <u>infrastructure:</u>
 - ROBUST RIGOROUS ETHICALLY ACCURATE CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT MUST ENSURE THAT FEDERAL, STATE, MUNICIPAL DATA INFRASTRUCTURE IS BASED ON EXISTING SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC STUDIES DETECTING WHETHER THERE IS A COLOR LINE THAT MAPS ON TO INEQUALITIES AMONG LATINOS

CENSUS 2030? IMPROVING QUESTION FORMATS THAT

CENTER THE COLOR LINE AND CIVIL RIGHTS USE

- 1. Hispanic Origin: Are you of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin? (check all that apply)
 - No, not of Hispanic or Latino origin
 - Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano
 - Yes, Puerto Rican
 - Yes, Cuban
 - Yes, another Hispanic, Latino or Spanish Group (e.g. Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, etc.) SPECIFY GROUP (S): _____
- 2. Race: What is your race? (Please check only one; Note: this question is used to detect if there is discrimination and civil rights violations in voting rights, housing, employment, education, etc. along the color line)
 - White (Non Hispanic/Latina/o/x)
 - Black, African American, or Negro (Non Hispanic/Latino/a/x) ____
- American Indian or Alaska Native (Non Hispanic/Latino/a/x): Write NAME OF ENROLLED TRIBE:
- _____ Asian or Asian American (Non Hispanic/Latino/a/x) Write NAME OF NATIONAL ORIGIN: Hispanic/Latina(o) White
- ____ Hispanic/Latina(o) Afro-Latina(o)/Black
- Hispanic/Latina(o) Mestiza(o)/Brown
- Hispanic/Latina(o) Indígena / Indigenous Pueblo of Latin America/Brown
- _____ Middle Eastern / Arab/Brown (Non Hispanic/Latino/a/x) Write NAME OF NATIONAL ORIGIN: Some other Race: (Please write in:)

3. Ancestry: What is your ethnicity, national origin (s) or distant ancestry? (Write in: For example: German, Haitian, Italian, Arab, Chinese, Somali, Italian, etc.) **ALREADY ON Am. Comm. Survey 4. Generational Status: Would capture place of birth of parents (e.g., place of birth =/=race) (Last time 1980 Census)

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2013

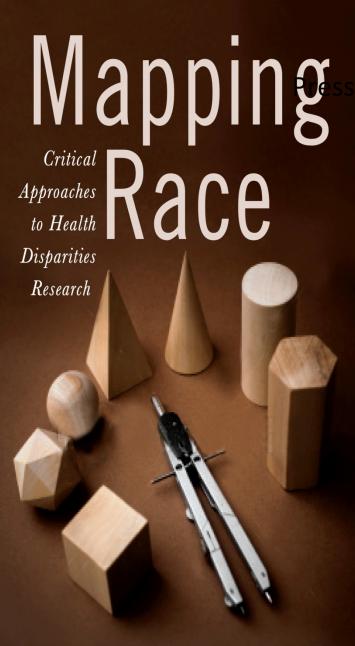
Reviewed in American Journal of Sociology Jan. 2015

Described as: "fantastic"

"masterful"

"necessary reading"

"beautiful ambition"

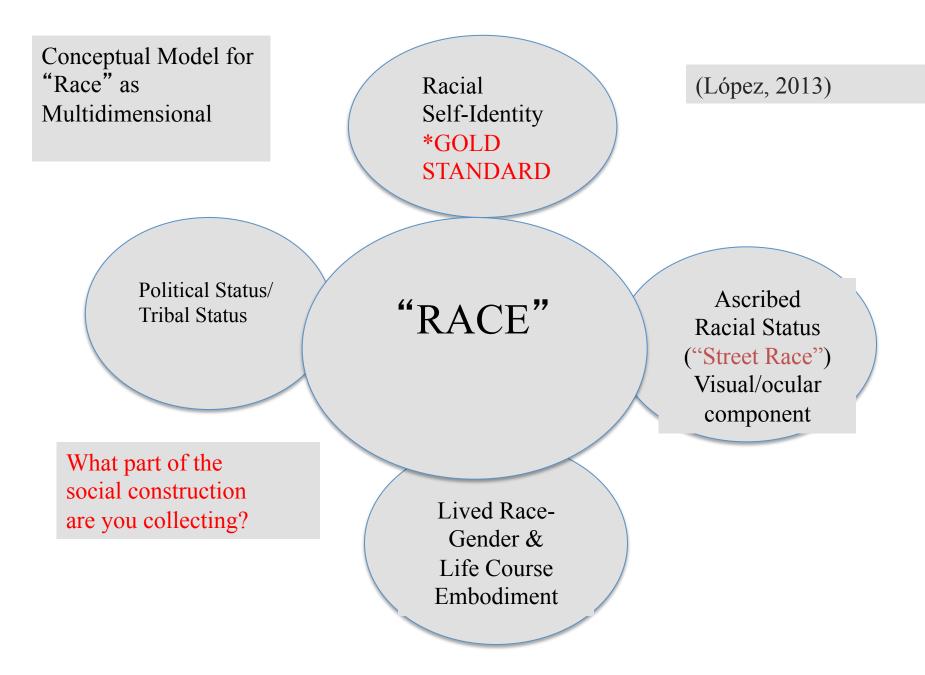


Edited by LAURA E. GOMEZ and NANCY LOPEZ

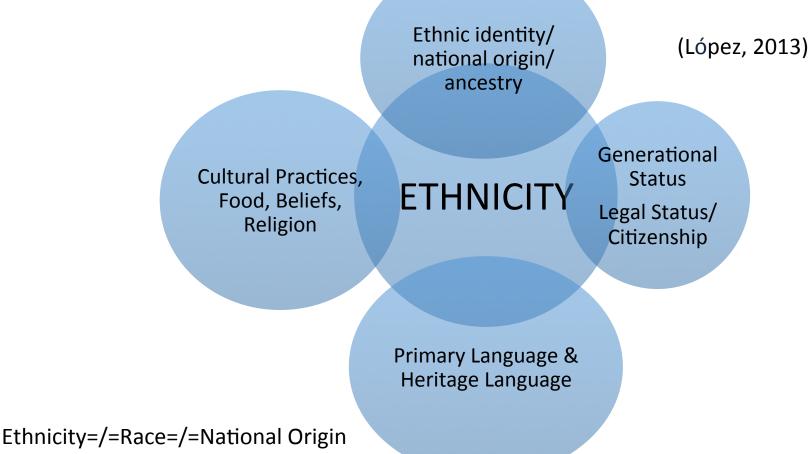
Rutgers University

Provides an arsenal of multidisciplinary, conceptual, and methodological tools for studying "race" specifically within the context of health inequalities and beyond.

Ch 12: Contextualizing Lived Race-Gender and the Racialized Gendered Social Determinants of Health (López, 2013)



Multidimensional Ethnicity



=/=Ancestry=/=Language Background

GRACIAS!!!! THANK YOU!!!

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INVITATION

<u>Census mini-Symposium @University of Maryland-College Park</u> <u>Thurs. Nov. 9, 2017, 8am-1:30pm</u>

<u>Critical Race Studies in Education Association, May 30-Jun. 1, 2018</u> <u>Location: University of New Mexico</u> <u>Theme: Land & Knowledge: Indigeneity, Survivance & Healing</u> <u>Info: crsea.org</u>

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