

Hispanics and Extremism: A Double-Edged Sword

A Guide for Fighting Extremism (Part 4)

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Introduction: Curriculum Objectives

- This presentation will increase participants awareness and understanding of:
 - Historical anti-Latino REMVE (Racially/Ethnically Motivated Violent Extremism) in the U.S.
 - The extent of current anti-Latino REMVE in the U.S.
 - The emotional impact of REMVE on the Latinidad
 - How the negative impact of REMVE is exacerbated by tensions between the Latino community and police
 - Misogyny and homophobia amongst Hispanics
 - Hispanic anti-Semitism
 - Latino anti-Black sentiment
 - Latino White supremacy

Introduction: Definitions of Terms

Term	Sociological Meaning	
Stereotypes	Ideas/thoughts/ beliefs*	about individuals because of their membership in a (racial/ethnic/religious/sex /sexual orientation) group
Prejudice	Feelings*	
Discrimination	Behaviors*	

*Usually negative or unfavorable

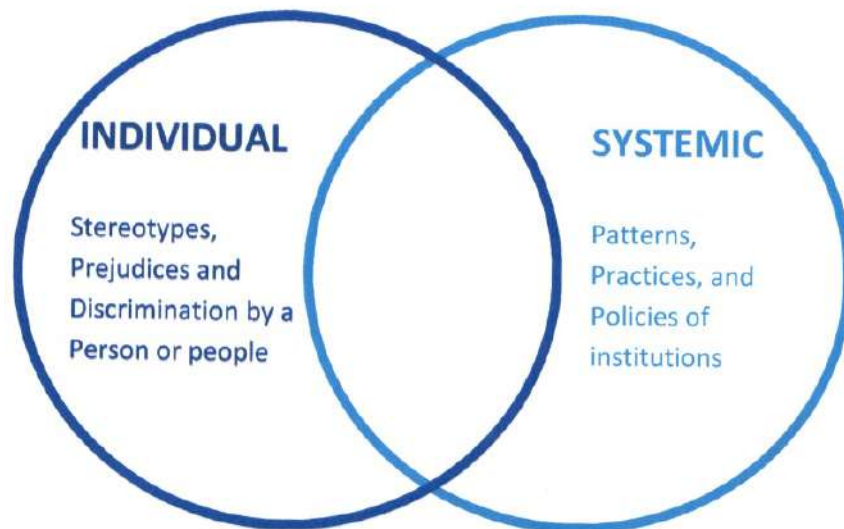
Introduction: Definitions of Terms

- **Racism:** Any combination of stereotypes, prejudices, or discrimination against individuals because of their membership in a racial or ethnic group
- **Systemic/institutional racism:** Current or historical patterns, policies, or practices that result in disadvantaging people who are members of certain racial or ethnic groups
 - (independently from any stereotypes, prejudices or discrimination by a particular actor)

Introduction: Definitions of Terms

- Racism vs Systemic Racism
 - ANYONE can hold stereotypes, prejudices, or discriminate
 - ONLY those with the majority of power can create policies, patterns, and/or institutions of systemic racism

Types of Racism



Introduction: Definitions of Terms

- Latinos/as face both individual racism and institutional racism



<https://www.flickr.com/photos/johnlamb/503171480>

Introduction: Definitions of Terms

- **REMVE: Racially/Ethnically Motivated Violent Extremism:** Acts of violence that are primarily motivated by the perpetrator's animosity towards certain racial or ethnic groups
- **Targeted violence:** broader term; could include attacks on women, members of the LGBTQ+ community, people who practice certain religions, or other groups

Historic Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- Historical anti-Black violence is getting more attention
 - Red Summer of 1919
 - Tulsa Race Massacre, 1921
- This is a step forward



•Tulsa Race Massacre, 1921

Historic Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- The history of anti-Latino violence in the U.S. also needs to be acknowledged
 - La Matanza
 - Hora de Sangre
- 100s - 1000s of Hispanics were murdered

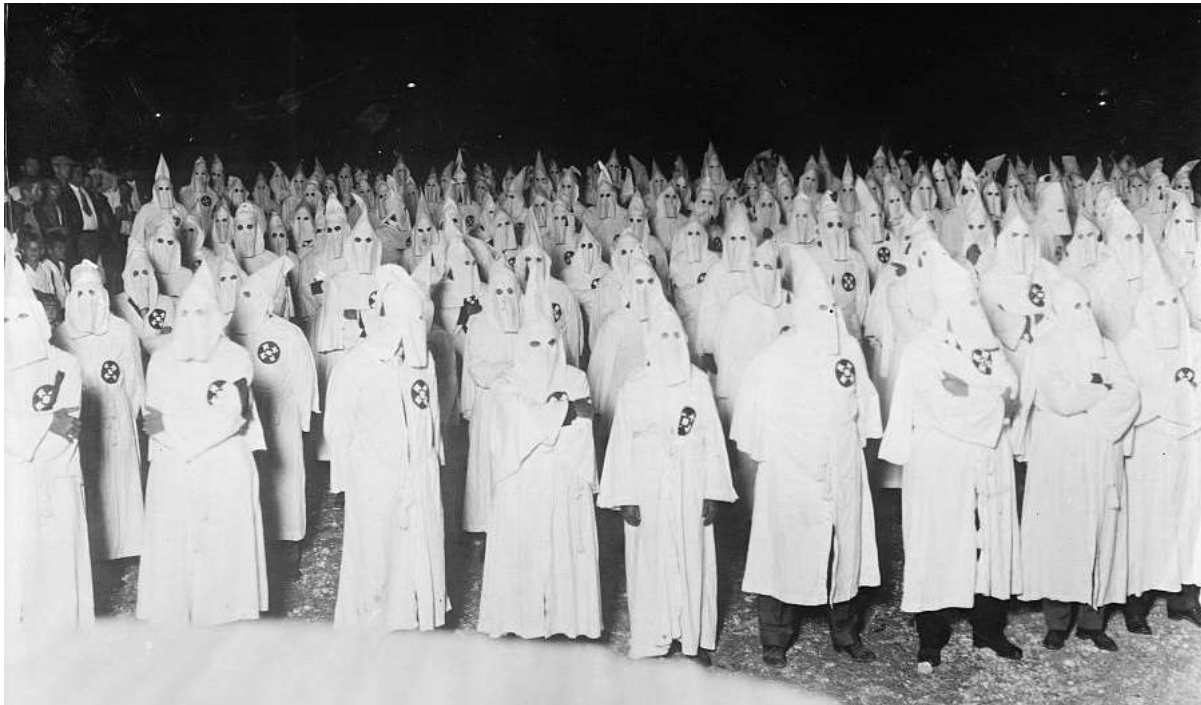
Historic Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- Porvenir, TX, 1918
 - Group of rangers, ranchers, and soldiers raided homes and executed 16 men and boys
 - Remaining residents fled to Mexico for safety
 - Mob burned down the town



Historic Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- 1915-1925 KKK (Ku Klux Klan) resurgence
 - Anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic focus
 - 4+ million members



Historic Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- 1930: “Mexican” racial category added to the U.S. Census
 - Mexican government and Mexican Americans oppose this
 - Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848): All residents of the lands ceded from Mexico to U.S. will have full citizenship
- Pressure from Mexican government and LULAC gets category removed from future Censuses

Historic Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- 1970+ Censuses: Hispanic/Latino “origin” or “ancestry,” or “ethnicity”
 - Separate from “race” because of 1930
 - Whiteness is associated with full citizenship

Place of birth: _____
(Insert proper name and also name of class, as city, village, town, or borough. See instructions.)

FIFTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1930

POPULATION SCHEDULE

Block No. _____

Place: Encinal Institution: _____ Enumerated by me: _____
(Insert name of institution, if any, and indicate the lines on which the entries are made. See instructions.)

DATA		PERSONAL DESCRIPTION					EDUCATION		PLACE OF BIRTH			MOTHER TONGUE (OR NATIVE LANGUAGE) OF FOREIGN BORN			CITIZENSHIP, ETC.			
Radio set	Does this family live on a farm?	Sex	Color or race	Age at last birthday	Marital condition	Age at first marriage	Attended school within year	Whether able to read and write	Place of birth of each person enumerated and of his or her parents. If born in the United States, give State or Territory. If of foreign birth, give country in which birthplace is now situated. (See instructions.) Distinguish Canada-French from Canada-English, and Irish Free State from Northern Ireland			Language spoken in home before coming to the United States	CODE			Year of immigration to the United States	Naturalized	Whether able to speak English
									PERSON	FATHER	MOTHER		Spoken in U. S.	Country	No. born			
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	A	B	C	22	23	24
	✓	F	Mex	61	W	No	No		Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	Spanish	30	45	✓	1875	all	No
	✓	F	Mex	19	S	No	Yes		Texas	Texas	Mexico		37	45	2			No
	✓	M	Mex	22	S	No	No		Texas	Texas	Texas		37					No
	✓	M	Mex	20	S	No	Yes		Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	Spanish	30	45	✓	1912	all	No
	✓	M	Mex	39	M	24	No	No	Texas	Mexico	Mexico		37	45	0			No
	✓	F	Mex	36	M	21	No	No	Texas	Mexico	Texas		37	45	1			No

Historic Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- 1970: Frank Alexander, San Juan resident, planned and executed an attack on the Catholic church there
 - 60 Priests & ~100 schoolchildren and nuns were in the church
 - Only Alexander was killed

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Power_1123134053.gif



- 1960s US Civil Rights Movement

Historic Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- Alexander had ties to Mexico (marriage, work)
- Told people he would solve the world's problems with hate and love
- Minutes before the crash, he warned authorities a “serious plot was in place”



•Basilica of Our Lady of San Juan

Contemporary Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- The Latino community has been the target in several of the deadliest mass shootings in recent years
- Texas continues to be a hot spot for anti-Latino violence

Year	City	Venue	# Killed	# Injured
1918	Porvenir, TX	Porvenir, TX	15	
1970	San Juan, TX	Catholic Church	0 (1)*	
1984	San Ysidro, CA	McDonalds	21	19
2016	Orlando, FL	Pulse Nightclub	49	53
2019	El Paso, TX	Wal-Mart	23	23
2022	Uvalde, TX	School	19	17
2023	Allen, TX	Shopping Mall	8	7

*Only the perpetrator was killed in this attack

Contemporary Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- Hate crimes & incidents against Latinos have increased in recent years
 - 2015-2019: Hate crimes double (FBI)
 - Hispanic victimization rate (hate crimes & legal racism)

2019	2020
30.8%	51.4%
 - Increase was mostly due to non-criminal incidents, but reflects the increases of FBI's criminal incidents

Contemporary Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

Many Latinos say they have received words of support, though experiences with discrimination are just as common

% who say in the past 12 months they have personally ___ because of their Hispanic/Latino background

	All Hispanics	Foreign born	Second generation	Third or higher generation
Experienced at least one of four incidents:	38	41	47	27
Experienced discrimination or unfair treatment	24	26	31	16
Been criticized for speaking Spanish in public	22	22	28	15
Been told to go back to your home country	20	22	25	10
Been called offensive names	16	16	19	12
Heard expression of support	37	42	36	27

Note: Voluntary responses of Don't know/Refused not shown.

Source: National Survey of Latinos, conducted July 26-Sept. 9, 2018.

"More Latinos Have Serious Concerns About Their Place in America Under Trump"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

- Lifetime victimization:
 - 52% reported discrimination
 - 28% reported hate crime

2018 Pew research poll on Hispanic experiences with racism in the past 12 months

Contemporary Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- 2018: 47% of Hispanics said that the situation of U.S. Latinos had declined in the last year (vs 15% in 2013)
- 49% were worried about their place in America
- 54% said it has become more difficult to live in the U.S. as a Latino in recent years
- Study was prior to El Paso shooting



Contemporary Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- 2021: 60 million Hispanics in the U.S.
- If 53% have been ethnically victimized → 31,800,000 ethnically motivated incidents!
- This is exhausting and terrifying for the Latino community

Many Latinos say they have received words of support, though experiences with discrimination are just as common

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"More Latinos Have Serious Concerns About Their Place in America Under Trump"

Contemporary Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- Hate incidents have significant effects on various forms of mental distress including anxiety, depression, anger, and disassociation
- The outcomes are worse when crime is motivated by hate



Contemporary Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- REMVE harms the entire targeted community
- After El Paso, Hispanics expressed
 - Desires that they or their kids could pass as White
 - Extreme shame about their ability to pass as White
 - Fear of speaking Spanish in public
 - That their Hispanic identity was a bullseye



Contemporary Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

Shortly after the 2019 shooting in El Paso:

- 79% of Americans felt stress about potential mass shootings
 - 32% of Hispanic v 15% of non-Hispanic Whites felt fear often or constantly
 - 2022: 71% of Hispanics were still worried about mass shootings
 - 33% of Americans avoid certain places
 - 24% have changed the way they live
- 50% of Hispanics (41% of non-Hispanic Whites) believe they/someone they know will be a victim of a mass shooting

Contemporary Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

Causes of Increased Fear Among Latinos

- More likely to be victims of REMVE
- Many have been victims of racism → ↑ anxiety
- Less likely to seek institutional support when victimized
 - <20% seek medical or social services
 - 8% report hate crimes to police



Contemporary Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

Tensions between the Hispanic community and law enforcement

- Four days after the Hispanic community was attacked in El Paso, ICE raided chicken plants and detained 680 people most of whom were Hispanic
- 39% of Hispanics (and the majority of those who are immigrants) worry about deportation



Contemporary Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the U.S.

- Like Blacks, Hispanics are over-represented as victims of police violence
- 1980-2019: Police violence resulted in 30,000 deaths in the U.S.
 - Non-Hispanic Blacks were the most frequent victims followed by Hispanics of any race



Latinos as Extremists

- Extremism is a double-edged sword for Latinos - they can be both victims and perpetrators



George Zimmerman

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nick_Fuentes_during_a_YouTube_debate_in_July_2022.png
Modern Day Debate



Nick Fuentes, White Supremacist



Enrique Tarrio, Proud Boys Leader

Latinos as Extremists: Machismo, Misogyny, and Homophobia

- **Machismo**: Social expectations for Latino masculinity; dominant, virile, aggressive; superior to women
- **Marianismo**: Ideal femininity; dependent, submissive, chaste
- **Caballerismo**: Positive aspects of Hispanic masculinity such as responsibility and family-centeredness
- Of the 25 nations with the world's highest femicide rates, 14 are Latin American

Latinos as Extremists: Machismo, Misogyny, and Homophobia

	Comfortable With LGBTQI+	Uncomfortable With LGBTQI+
Overall	62%	38%
First Generation	50%	50%
Second Generation	71%	29%
Third Generation	76%	24%

- Adherence to machismo is associated with higher levels of heterosexism
- Misogyny is at the heart of homophobia



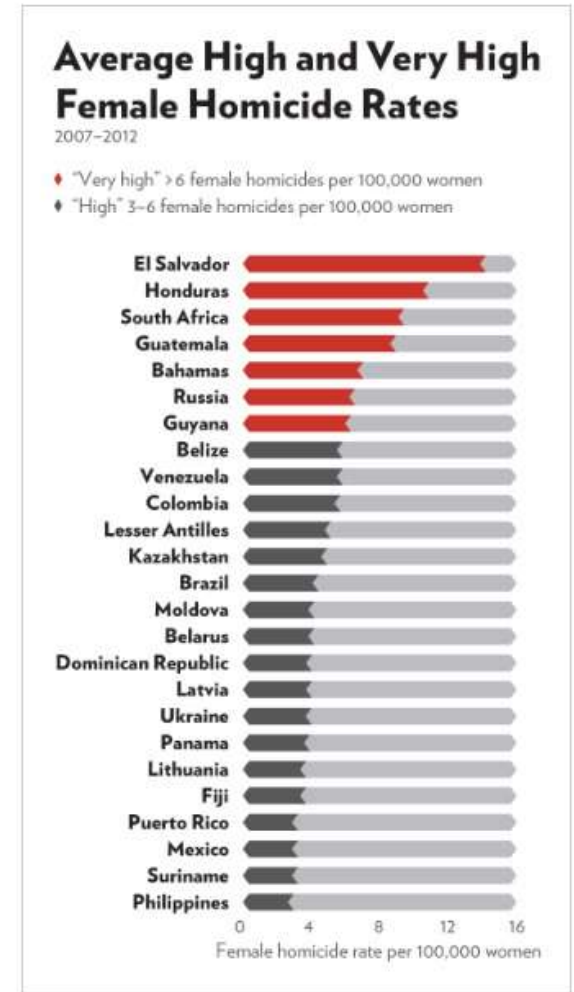
Latinos as Extremists: Machismo, Misogyny, and Homophobia

- **Sexism:** Valuing one sex more than another sex
- **Misogyny:** Hatred of women; sexism against girls, women, & femininity
- **Patriarchy:** A society in which men hold the majority of power in social institutions
- Sexism, misogyny and patriarchy are common in the U.S. and Latin American countries



Latinos as Extremists: Machismo, Misogyny, and Homophobia

- In the U.S. and Latin American countries, 1 out of 3 women will experience intimate partner violence (IPV)
- Small step from mild to extreme misogyny

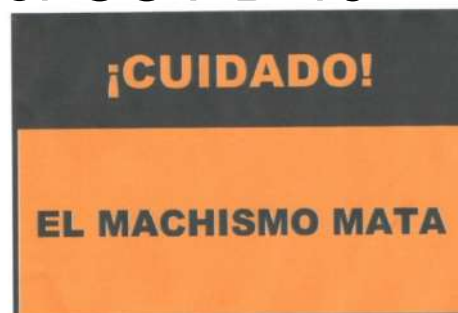


<https://theglobalamericans.org/reports/femicide-international-womens-rights/>

Latinos as Extremists: Machismo, Misogyny, and Homophobia

Country	Amount calls to IPV hotlines increased during pandemic
Argentina	40%
Mexico	60%
Colombia	90%

Secretary General of the United Nations, Antonio Guterres urged the countries of the world to “make prevention and redress of violence against women a key part of nation’s response plans for COVID-19”



Latinos as Extremists: Machismo, Misogyny, and Homophobia

- 2017: 69% of Latin American women felt that they were not safe and 75% said that women in their country were not treated with dignity and respect



Latinos as Extremists: Machismo, Misogyny, and Homophobia

- “Manosphere”/“Incelosphere”: amalgam of extremely misogynistic online communities
- The number of people visiting these websites has increased
- The number social media posts with dehumanizing (“foid,” “landwhales”) and violent (“kill,” “shoot”) language has increased



Latinos as Extremists: Anti-Semitism



- Anti-Semitism is higher among Hispanics than non-Hispanic Whites
- ↑ among foreign than American-born Hispanics
- ADL (Anti-Defamation League): Latino anti-Semitism is a remnant of European/Latin American Catholicism
 - As Catholicism ↓ → ↓ anti-Semitism amongst Latinos



Latinos as Extremists: Anti-Semitism

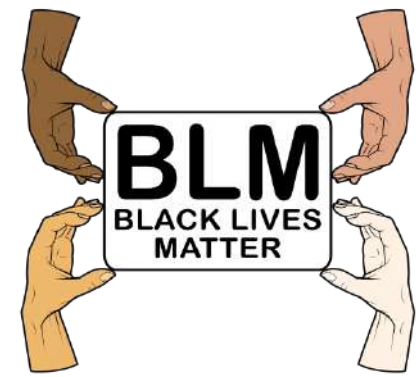
- The majority of young adult Hispanics believe Jews face the least amount of discrimination of minorities
- 9 of 10 young Latinos said that discrimination against minorities is a problem in the U.S.
 - 54% said that Jews were least impacted by discrimination
 - 50% said that Jews were more similar to Whites than to other minorities



Latinos as Extremists: Anti-Semitism

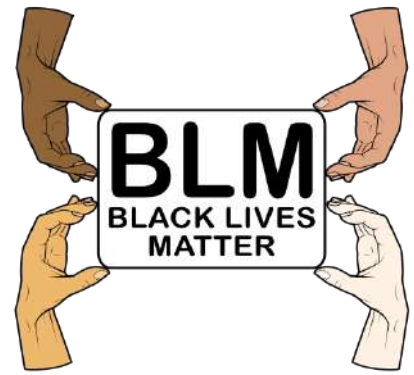
- Young Hispanic adults (aged 18-30) were more likely to hold anti-Semitic views than either Whites or older Hispanics
- The anti-Semitic sentiment of young Hispanic adults stayed constant across:
 - Education level, church attendance, and geographic location
 - Those with positive or negative views of the nation of Israel
 - Political orientations
 - Young Hispanic anti-Semitism at the same level as Non-Hispanic White, young adults who identify as alt-right
- Findings suggested that anti-Semitism amongst young Hispanic adults was wide-spread and not limited to subpopulations within this group

Latinos as Extremists: Anti-Black Sentiment



- The U.S. was built on racist foundations:
 - Slavery and limiting citizenship to free, White men
 - 1845: Treaty of Guadalupe-Hildago → Hispanics are de-facto Whites
 - Civil War → Citizenship given to free Whites/Blacks
 - State must determine who is White (or Black)

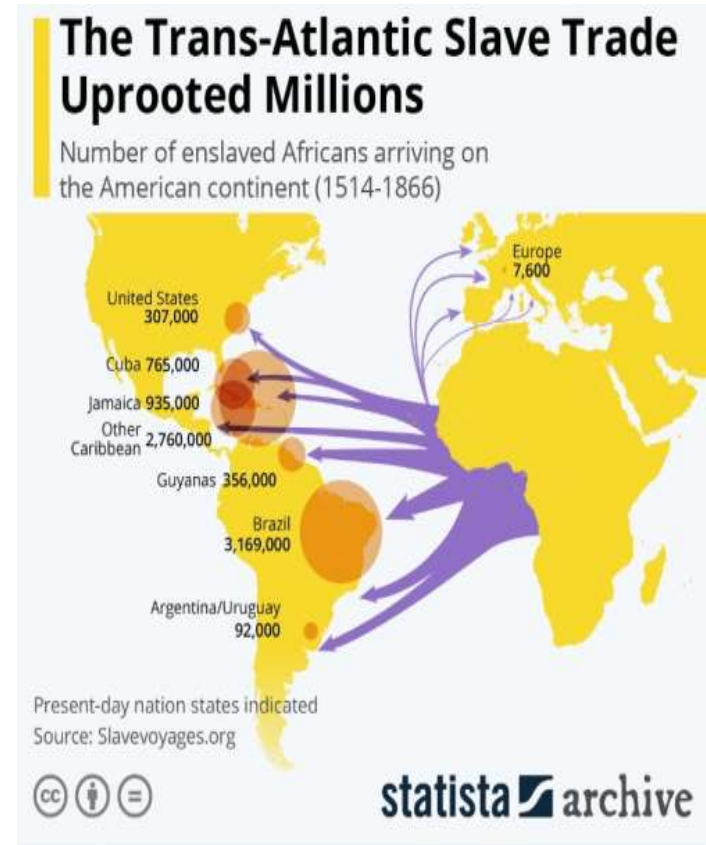
Latinos as Extremists: Anti-Black Sentiment



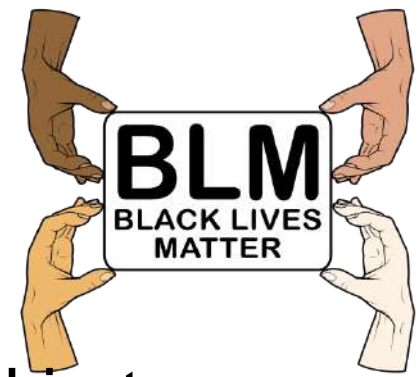
- 1922: Takao Ozawa is denied citizenship as a member of the Asian race
- 1923: Bhagat Thindh used the racial pseudo-science of the time to argue that he was Caucasian
 - SCOTUS disagreed: He was not what the “common person” considered White
- 1924: Citizenship granted to American Indians
- 1954: The McCarran-Walters Act removed all racial barriers to citizenship

Latinos as Extremists: Anti-Black Sentiment

- Hispanic Americans inherit U.S. racist legacy and Spanish/Portuguese racist legacy
 - Columbus enslaved Hispaniola natives in 1492
 - 1526: The first African slaves to arrive in the continental U.S. were brought by Spanish colonizers
 - Most Africans kidnapped from their native lands went to Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Central and South America
 - African slavery in these colonies began earlier and lasted longer than it did in the U.S.
 - 1888: Brazil abolished slavery

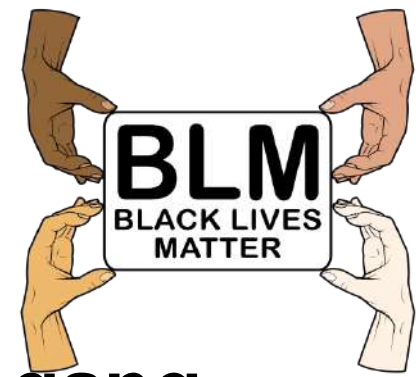


Latinos as Extremists: Anti-Black Sentiment



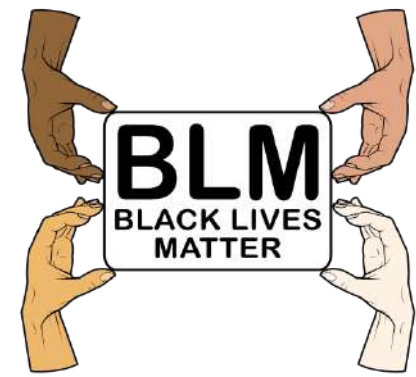
- **Colorism** is discrimination based on skin tone
 - Related to racism, but is distinct from it
 - Based on the phenotypic darkness or lightness of skin, usually with a preference for lighter tones
- Colorism amongst Latinos may be as prevalent as colorism by non-Hispanics
 - Most Latinos reported that darker skin tones effect one's ability to advance in life and shaped their own daily life experiences

Latinos as Extremists: Anti-Black Sentiment



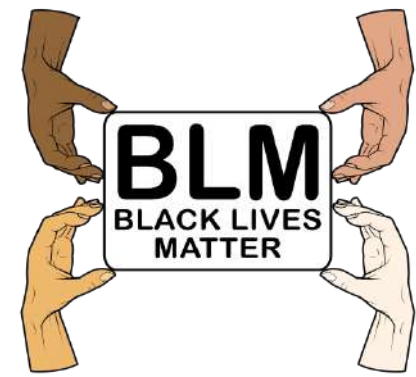
- **Latino Anti-Black sentiment and gang membership**
- 1950s, California: The Mexican Mafia, or la Eme, prison gang emerges
 - Rival gangs, such as the Black Guerillas, emerged in CA prisons
 - 1990s: La Eme approves attacks on any Black person, gang member or not, in prison or not
 - La Eme is affiliated with most of the 22,000 Hispanic gang members in Los Angeles
 - 1999-2019: Latinos perpetrated the majority of anti-Black hate crimes in LA
 - 2019: The # of anti-Black hate crimes by Latinos fell, while those by non-Hispanic Whites increased

Latinos as Extremists: Anti-Black Sentiment



- **Anti-Black Sentiment among Latino immigrants living in the southern U.S.**
 - 87.4% perceived conflicts between Hispanic and Black communities
 - 65.8% believed that African Americans are given economic benefits to the detriment of Latinos
 - 47.7% of this sample viewed Blacks as unintelligent
 - Only 4.4% labeled Whites and 10.6% labeled Hispanics thusly

Latinos as Extremists: Anti-Black Sentiment



Hispanic Americans nationwide:

- ↑ the status of the Latin American community → slight ↑ anti-Black prejudice
 - ↓ the status → substantial ↑ anti-Black feelings and drastically ↓ support for pro-Black policies
- Hispanics with a stronger sense of American identity were more anti-Black than their counterparts whose American identities were less well established
- Compared to more politically centrist Hispanics, both conservatives and liberals expressed more anti-Blackism
 - For liberal Latinos, this may be because they are more sensitive to their identities as Americans

Latinos as Extremists: Latino White Supremacy



- Race/ethnicity is complex in the Latino community
- Scientists abandoned notions of race as biological categories long ago in favor social categories
 - “Ethnicity,” “geography,” “population,” or “ancestry”
- Questions about both racial and ethnic identification remain on the U.S. Census for socio-political reasons

Latinos as Extremists: Latino White Supremacy



- “Racial innocence:” The claim by Latinos that as people of color, they cannot be racist
- Discrimination → Latinos use anti-Black racism to perform Whiteness and ↑ their status in society

Latinos as Extremists: Latino White Supremacy



- 2000 Census: Hispanic racial identification:
 - 48% of Hispanics chose White
 - 42% chose “Some Other Race” (SOR)
 - 10% chose Black, Asian, American Indian, or Pacific Islander
- Pew Hispanic Research Center argues that:
 - White-identified Hispanics have ↑ education, ↑ income, ↑ civic enfranchisement than those who chose “SOR”
 - Race is a measure of belonging, inclusion, Whiteness

Latinos as Extremists: Latino White Supremacy



- 2010 Census: Race + Ethnicity combined and “choose all that apply”
 - Nationally, 9-16% chose White (vs half in 2000); 80% chose Hispanic only
 - However, 80-90% of Latinos in Mexican border towns in Texas chose White
 - For these Latinos, choosing Whiteness is a strategy for battling discrimination

Latinos as Extremists: Latino White Supremacy



- Unlike the KKK which only allowed WASPs (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants), today's White supremacy groups are more diverse
 - Latinos are joining and leading some of these groups
 - Motivation may be strategic or performative
- This phenomenon needs more attention

Latinos as Extremists:

Latino White Supremacy

- Protective factors against extremism amongst Latinos
- Right wing extremism is far more violent than left wing extremism
 - Most Latinos are Democrats/liberal
 - Liberal leanings of both individuals and the community can act to temper right-wing radicalization

Latinos and Extremism: Conclusion

- Extremism has increased in the U.S. and poses a significant threat to U.S. security & the safety of its population
- Unique intersection of race, ethnicity, and other identities of Latinos →
 - ↑ Risk of being victimized
 - ↑ Risk of being radicalized

Special attention and care should be given to this diverse community to protect them from both of these possibilities



Extremism, Hate Crimes, and the Latinx Community: A Guide for Fighting Extremism (Part 4) Outline and Materials

In Part 1 of this Guide to Fighting Extremism (*Making the Invisible Visible*), we examine how violent extremism is difficult to combat due particularly to the coded messages used by adherents in online communication and recruitment. In order to counter radicalization, we must first recognize it. Once recognized, an upstander must understand factors that lead to radicalization in order to effectively encourage de-radicalization, and this is the focus of Part 2. Part 3 of a Guide for Fighting Extremism discusses strategies of friends, family members, and other community members (“upstanders”) for informally assisting in the de-radicalization process. In the current curriculum, Part 4, we explore the vulnerabilities of the Latinx community in regard to extremism.

I. Introduction

- A. Curriculum Objectives
- B. Definition of Terms
 - 1. Stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination
 - 2. Racism and systemic racism
 - 3. Targeted violence and REMVE

II. REMVE Victimization

- A. The History of Anti-Latino Violence in the U.S.
- B. Contemporary Anti-Hispanic Violence
- C. Emotional Impact of Bias Victimization on the Latino Community
- D. Hispanic Victimization by Law Enforcement
 - 1. Tensions with police → low reporting
 - 2. Suspicion of authorities → lower access to resources for support and coping

III. The Double-edged Sword: Latinx Extremism

- A. Misogyny and Anti-LGBTQA+ Extremism among Latinos
- B. Latino Anti-Semitism
- C. Anti-Black Sentiment
- D. Latino White Supremacy

Materials:

- Teacher’s notes and references
- PowerPoint Presentation
- Participant handout



Extremism and the Latinx Community: A Guide for Fighting Extremism (Part 4) Teacher’s Notes

Introduction

Curriculum Objectives (Slide 2)

- This presentation will increase participants awareness and understanding of:
- Historical anti-Latino REMVE in the U.S.
 - The extent of current anti-Latino REMVE in the U.S.
 - The emotional impact of REMVE on the Latinidad
 - How the negative impact of REMVE is exacerbated by tensions between the Latino community and police
 - Misogyny and homophobia amongst Hispanics
 - Hispanic anti-Semitism
 - Latino anti-Black sentiment
 - Latino White supremacy

Terms and Definitions (Slides 3-7)

<i>Term</i>	<i>Sociological Meaning</i>	
Stereotypes	Ideas/thoughts/beliefs	About individuals because of their membership in a (racial/ethnic/religious/sex/sexual orientation/age/ability) disadvantaged group
Prejudice	Feelings	
Discrimination	Behaviors	

While in daily life we sometimes refer to “stereotypes,” “prejudice,” or “discrimination” interchangeably, sociologically, they have somewhat different meanings. All three refer to seeing individuals primarily in terms of their membership in some group, stereotypes refer to ideas, thoughts, or beliefs, while prejudice refers to feelings, and discrimination refers to behaviors. Sociologically, “Racism” can refer to any combination of stereotypes, prejudices, or discrimination against individuals because of their membership in a racial or ethnic group. Or it can refer to “systemic racism” or “institutional racism” which refers to current or historical patterns, policies, or practices that result in disadvantaging people who are members of certain racial or ethnic groups (independently from any stereotypes, prejudices, or discrimination by a particular actor).

You may have heard some people claim that people of color cannot be racist because they are people of color. Anyone of course, can have specific and/or negative ideas or feelings about people or treat them differently because of their race; in that sense, any person can be racist. However, members of disadvantaged racial or ethnic groups cannot practice systemic or institutional racism; *because* of their disadvantage, they lack the power to engage in systemic or



institutional racism. Any person can have biased thoughts or feelings, or behave differently towards people because of their race or ethnicity, but systemic racism occurs due to historic and contemporary advantaging of members of specific racial groups.

Members of the Latino community face stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination from racist individuals, as well as being disadvantaged by institutional racism. Because of various anti-Hispanic and anti-immigrant government policies and practices, when Latinos experience racially or ethnically motivated violence, they have unequal access to institutional resources (such as law enforcement) for addressing these injustices.

In this presentation, we will use the terms “targeted violence” and REMVE—Racially/Ethnically Motivated Violent Extremism. Both refer to acts of violence that are primarily motivated by the perpetrator’s animosity toward a group. REMVE refers specifically to hostility towards certain racial or ethnic groups, while targeted violence is generally a broader term and could include attacks on women, members of the LGBTQ+ community, people who practice certain religions, or other disadvantaged groups.

Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the US

Violence Historically (Slides 8-15)

There is a long history in the U.S. of people engaging in targeted violence against Hispanics (Beckett, 2019; Sanchez, 2018; Southern Poverty Law Center [SPLC], 2011). In recent years, the history of White on Black violence, such as the Red Summer of 1919 and the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921, has gotten increased attention. The history of racist American violence has been suppressed and whitewashed for far too long and acknowledging these events is important. However, the history of violence against the Latino community was just as real, just as devastating, and acknowledging it is equally important. The period of 1910-1920 in the U.S. has been called “La Matanza” (the massacre) or “hora de sangre” (hour of blood) (Carrigan & Webb, 2013) for the amount of White on Latino violence that occurred during this period, much of it in Texas (Carrigan & Webb, 2013; Refusing to forget, 2023). Hundreds, if not thousands of Hispanics were lynched, assassinated, and massacred during this time. One example occurred in the town of Porvenir, Texas. Before dawn on January 28, 1918, a mob made up of White Texas Rangers, soldiers, and farmers raided the homes of residents in the small town. They rounded up 15 boys and men, ranging in age from 16 to 72, and shot them. The remaining residents fled to Mexico for safety and on January 29, the mob burned what was left of Porvenir to the ground. It was also during the period of 1915-1925 that the U.S. saw the re-emergence of the Ku Klux Klan which peaked in membership during this period with a count of four million members (Onion et al., 2023). While the previous KKK had been focused on dismantling the rights of African-Americans gained through the Civil War and Reconstruction, in this incarnation of the Klan, a heavy focus was anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant sentiment (SPLC, 2011).



In the wake of this type of violence, “Mexican” was added as a racial category to the 1930 Census. This displeased both the Mexican government and Americans with Latino ancestry. Article VIII of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo promised that those residing in the territories ceded from Mexico to the U.S. would have full U.S. citizenship rights; tracking Hispanics through the Census looked to many like an attempt to deny them these rights (Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, 1848; Demby, 2014). In reaction to this, the League of Latin American Citizens (LULAC), a Mexican-American group, formed to apply pressure for this category to be removed. The pressure from the Mexican government and LULAC were successful and the racial category of Mexican only appeared on the 1930 Census. The tensions caused by the 1930 Census question also explain why, when Hispanics began being counted on long form of the 1970 Census and the short forms in later decades, it was phrased in terms of origin, ancestry, or ethnicity, instead of race (Demby, 2014; Cohn, 2010). Because claiming Whiteness in the U.S. has long been associated with being a full citizen, having both the racial categories and the Hispanic origin question allows Latinos to claim both heritages.

It was on the heels of the passage of several acts of civil rights legislation in the 1960s that former math teacher and aviation instructor, Frank L. Alexander used a plane to attack a Catholic Church in San Juan, Texas. Alexander, a resident of San Juan, was a father of two children and the husband of a former Aeronaves de Mexico stewardess. He had once worked at the Mexico City airport tower. In April 1970, he resigned from his position with the San Juan school, saying he was going to go to Guadalajara, Mexico. He did not go to Guadalajara. On October 23, 1970, he rented a plane and then flew it onto the roof of the Shrine of San Juan, where 60 priests—half of the priests of the diocese—were having mass. The plane then bounced from the sanctuary to the roof of the cafeteria of a Catholic school where approximately a hundred students and nuns were eating lunch. Miraculously, no one—except Alexander— was killed (New York Times, 1970).

It is impossible to know Alexander’s true motive for the attack. At the time, San Juan was a small border town with around 5,000 residents. As a resident himself, he likely would have known who would be in the church and the school. He had ties with the Mexican community. According to a 1970 *New York Times* article on the incident, for a couple of weeks prior, Alexander had been visiting the local police station, claiming to have developed a solution to all the world’s problems using love and hate. Minutes before the attack, he used an emergency frequency to urge fire departments to evacuate all of the Catholic and Methodist Churches in the Rio Grande Valley due to a “serious plot.” Given all of these factors, it is quite possible that he was motivated by ethnic and/or religious hatred.

Contemporary Violence (Slides 16-20)

Since then, the Hispanic community has been the victim of several of the deadliest mass killings in the U.S. (Beckett, 2019). And just as Texas was a hotspot of anti-Latino violence during La Matanza, it remains so today.

Year	City	Venue	# Killed	# Injured
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1918	Porvenir, TX	Porvenir, TX	15	
1970	San Juan, TX	Catholic Church	0 (1)	
1984	San Ysidro, CA	McDonalds	21	19
2016	Orlando, FL	Pulse Nightclub	49	53
2019	El Paso, TX	Wal-Mart	23	23
2022	Uvalde, TX	School	19	17
2023	Allen, TX	Shopping Mall	8	7

While mass killings receive a great deal of media attention, there are thousands of incidents of ethnic hostility and aggression in the U.S. every day (National Institute of Justice [NIJ], 2022b), and these appear to be on the increase in recent years. According to the FBI Crime Data Explorer (2023), between 2015 and 2019, hate crimes against Hispanics nearly doubled from 382 to 761. This is particularly alarming as those numbers include only those that are reported to police and Latinos are less likely than non-Latinos to report such crimes to police (NIJ, 2022b; Contreras, 2023). In a longitudinal study performed by the NIJ (2022b), it was found that Hispanic victimization increased dramatically from 2019 to 2020, with 30.8% of respondents experiencing a hate incident in 2019, and 51.4% reporting one in 2020. While most of the increase in this study was due to non-criminal hate incidents, it mirrors the increase in anti-Hispanic hate crimes noted by the FBI.

In 2018, the Pew Research Center asked members of the Hispanic community about their experience with specific hateful incidents. They found that in the past year, 38% of Hispanics said they had experienced at least one of the following: discrimination, being called offensive names, being told to go back to their country, or being criticized for speaking Spanish (Lopez et al., 2018). In regards to lifetime victimization, 52.9% reported discrimination, and 28% reported being the victim of a hate crime (NIJ, 2022b). Surveys are necessarily performed with small subsets of the population, but researchers are capable of drawing samples that represent the population. When one considers that there were 60 million Hispanics in the U.S. in 2021, the number of victimizations is staggering. In examining news outlets, it is extremely easy to find multiple stories of Latinos being bitten, beaten, stabbed, shot, run over by cars, or even set on fire (Beckett, 2019; Chavez, 2022; Campbell et al., 2018; Verano, 2023, Shanahan & Correal, 2021). But these are the REMVE crimes that attract the attention of reporters or police. The non-criminal racism—epithets, harassment, insults, microaggressions—go unrecorded, but are nevertheless exhausting and terrifying for the victims. In examining the emotional impact of bias victimization, Cuevas et al. (2019) found that this kind of victimization had significant effects on all of the negative mental health outcomes they measured, including anxiety, depression, anger, and dissociation. Further, these negative effects maintained their significance when other forms of victimization were controlled, which is unique in studies of polyvictimizations. Thus, while experiencing any type of threats, harassment, or violence often causes mental distress, when these incidents are motivated by hate, it is particularly problematic for the victim.

Impact of REMVE on the Latino Community (Slides 20-23)



Individual and institutional racism takes a significant toll on the mental health of the Latino community. In 2018, 47% of Hispanics said that the situation of U.S. Hispanics was worse than it was a year earlier; this is more than triple the number (15%) who felt that way in 2013. Similarly, 49% were worried about their place in the U.S. under the Trump presidency, and 54% said it has become more difficult to live in the U.S. as a Latino in recent years (Lopez et al., 2018). This research (Lopez et al., 2018) occurred before the mass shooting in El Paso in 2018, and for many in the Latino community, that incident was a turning point.

One of the more insidious aspects of hate crimes is that their intent is not only to harm the specific victim, but the entire targeted community, and unfortunately, perpetrators often succeed in this. When a journalist interviewed members of the Latino community after the El Paso shooting, many expressed wishes that they or their children could pass as White. Others felt intense shame about passing as White. They spoke of their fear of speaking Spanish in public and of warning friends and family against doing so. They described their fears of being in public in general. One Latina discussed a recent promotion at work that included her name being put on her office door. But instead of pride, she felt terror as her Hispanic name felt like a huge bullseye (Carrasquillo, 2019).

In a poll performed shortly after the El Paso shooting, the American Psychological Association found that 79% of Americans reported stress about a potential mass shooting, and 33% have avoided certain places or events because of that fear, while 24% said they have changed the way they live because of it (Bethune & Lewan, 2019). For members of the Hispanic community, the fears are usually intensified. For instance, 32% of Hispanics and 15% of non-Hispanic Whites said that stress about mass shootings is often or constant, while 50% of Hispanics and 41% of non-Hispanic Whites believe that they or someone they know will be a victim in a mass shooting (Bethune & Lewan, 2019). Three years after the shooting in El Paso, Hispanic fear remained high. In 2022, a survey found that 71% of the Hispanics who are registered to vote worried about mass shootings (VotoLatino, 2022).

This increased fear amongst Latinos is the result of several factors. Compared to Whites, Hispanics are more likely to be targeted for REMVE. Additionally, as mentioned previously, 52% of Hispanics have experienced racism and 28% have been victims of hate crimes, and previous victimization increases anxiety (Cuevas et al., 2019). Finally, members of the Latino community are less likely to seek institutional support when they are victimized; less than one in five hate crime victims sought medical or social services support and only 8% reported the crime to the police (NIJ, 2022b).

The Latino Community and Law Enforcement (Slides 24-26)

Relationships between the Latino community and law enforcement are fraught with tension. Four days after the El Paso shooting, ICE raided chicken plants in Mississippi and detained 680 people. Overall, 39% of Hispanics (and the majority of those who are immigrants) worry that they or someone they know will be deported. Thus, many Hispanics avoid drawing law enforcement attention to themselves or their communities (Moslimani, 2022). Additionally, while police brutality against African Americans tends to get more media coverage, Latinos are also over-represented as victims of police



violence (Koran, 2020). In California, 46% of police shootings have Hispanic victims. In a study published in *The Lancet*, researchers combined national government databases with public open source databases on police violence and found that police violence resulted in over 30,000 deaths between 1980 and 2019 (GBD 2019 Police Violence US Subnational Collaborators, 2019). The study also found that while non-Hispanic Blacks experienced the most fatal violence from police, Hispanics of any race were second. They argued that the racial and ethnic systemic bias that is rife in U.S. policing is a public health crisis. Hispanics may be more hesitant to report hate crimes to government authorities because they fear that such reports may result in attention from immigration officials or additional violence from police.

Latinos as Extremists (Slide 27)

There is a long history of violence against Latinos in the U.S. and as a society, we must acknowledge this if we wish to eliminate future REMVE. Hispanics are in a somewhat unique position, however, because not only are they regularly victims of targeted violence, but they also can become radicalized themselves to engage in violence against out-groups. While the demographics of the incel community are not well known, research indicates that machismo can encourage misogyny and homophobia (Franco, 2022; Hirai et al., 2018; Estrada et al., 2011). Institutionalized anti-Semitism in the Roman Catholic church may contribute to religious bigotry among Latinos (Krogstadt et al., 2023). Performative Whiteness can act as a catalyst for anti-Black feelings or actions (Demby, 2014; Hernandez, 2022). Under certain circumstances, any of these prejudices have the potential to become extreme and violent.

Machismo, Misogyny and Homophobia (Slides 28-24)

Machismo refers to the social expectations surrounding the masculinity of the Hispanic man. Hegemonic machismo depicts men as dominant, aggressive, and virile. Men are seen as superior to women, who are dependent on men as providers and protectors. The concept of machismo has spawned related notions, such as marianismo and caballerismo. Marianismo is the ideal Latina femininity, which is chaste, demure, and submissive. Criticisms of machismo as problematic and leading to various anti-social behaviors drew scholarly attention to caballerismo or the positive aspects of Latino masculinity, such as responsibility and family-centeredness (Estrada et al., 2011). While there are positive aspects of machismo, it is associated with both violence against women and homophobic attitudes. Of the approximately 18 countries that make up Latin America, 14 of them are amongst the 25 nations with the highest rates of femicide (Global Americans, 2023).

In 2021, 62% of Latino adults in the U.S. said that they were comfortable around members of the LGBTQ+ community (Franco, 2022). Those who had been in the U.S. longer expressed greater support, with 50% of the first-generation, 71% of the second-generation, and 76% of the third-generation respondents reporting acceptance (Franco, 2022). While this is good news, it also indicates that 38% of Latino adults, and as many as 50% of first-generation Hispanics are not comfortable with LGBTQ+ people. In addition to generational variance in LGBTQ+ support, machismo has been found to play a



significant role in the amount of support both Latinos and Latinas show for the gay community (Hirai et al., 2018; Estrada et al., 2011). That there is a correlation between adherence to traditional gender roles and homophobia is somewhat expected, as other researchers have suggested that misogyny is at the heart of heterosexism (Dierckx, 2017; Rosky, 2014; Stevenson & Medler, 1995).

Percent of Latinos in the US who are _____ with members of the LGBTQI+ community

	Comfortable	Uncomfortable
Overall	62%	38%
First Generation	50%	50%
Second Generation	71%	29%
Third Generation	76%	24%

Sexism involves valuing people of one sex more than people of another sex; it can include stereotypes, prejudice, and/or discrimination. The literal meaning of misogyny is the hatred of women; it involves sexism against women, girls, and femininity. Misogyny may be expressed in “jokes,” gender roles, sexual harassment, sexual violence, partner violence, or mass attacks. It can also be expressed in policies and legislation. Patriarchal societies are those in which men hold the majority of power in social institutions, including, but not limited to political, economic, military, education, family, health, and mass media institutions. Patriarchy is alive and well in both the U.S. and Latin America. In both, 1 out of 3 women will experience intimate partner violence during their lifetime (National Coalition Against Domestic Violence [NCADV], 2020; Pispiraet al. 2022). Indeed, misogyny is far more likely to be carried out through actions such as domestic violence rather than in mass attacks on people less familiar to the perpetrator. In societies that are already somewhat hostile to women, the move from minor notions of masculine superiority to extremely dehumanizing misogynistic notions may not be that great.

During the global lockdowns due to the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, many countries saw a spike in intimate partner violence as women were trapped in their homes with their abusers. Calls to domestic violence hotlines increased by 40% in Argentina, 60% in Mexico, and 90% in Colombia (Fumega, 2020). The increase was so extreme that the Secretary General of the United Nations, Antonio Guterres (2020) urged the countries of the world to “make prevention and redress of violence against women a key part of nation’s response plans for COVID-19.” While violence against women spiked with the pandemic, it had been steadily increasing before that. In 2017, 31% of Latin American women reported feeling safe, and less than 25% agreed that women in their country are treated with dignity and respect (Godoy, 2018).

Country	Percent increase of calls to IPV hotlines during pandemic
Argentina	40%
Mexico	60%
Colombia	90%



Misogynistic violence is also exacerbated by the growth of the manosphere and incel culture. The research team of Bael, Brace, and Ging (2023) have been monitoring activities on the “incelosphere”—social media forums dedicated to incel commentary—for the last decade, and found not only increased growth in these communities, but also an increase in violent language within them. Mining data from 33 different online spaces from 2013-2022 yielded nearly 12 million posts for analysis. The researchers found increases in both dehumanizing language, such as referring to women as femoids/foids (female human organisms) or landwhales (fat or unattractive women), and violent verbs, such as shoot, attack, stab, kill. Their research and others (Anti-Defamation League [ADL], 2018; Fugardi, 2021; Saresma, 2021) have also found an overlap between extreme misogyny and extreme racist ideologies.

Anti-Semitism and the Hispanic Community (Slides 35-37)

Levels of anti-Semitism are higher amongst American Latinos than amongst non-Hispanic Whites (Hersch & Roden, 2023; Bernstein, 2014). According to the former President of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), these Latino prejudices are a remnant of European and Latin American Catholicism. As fewer American Hispanics identify as Roman Catholic (Krogstad et al., 2023), anti-Semitism may also decline in the Latino community. Studies also found that anti-Semitism is higher amongst foreign-born than American-born Hispanics (Hersch & Roden, 2023, American Jewish Committee [AJC], 2023). However, the persistence of anti-Semitic attitudes amongst young adult Hispanics is concerning. In a study performed by the American Jewish Committee (AJC), they found that Hispanics often do not see anti-Semitism as problematic as discrimination against other ethnic or religious minorities (AJC, 2023). This study found that the majority of young adult Hispanics believe that compared to other minorities, Jews face the least amount of discrimination (AJC, 2023). While nearly 9 of 10 young Latinos said that discrimination against minorities is a problem in the US, 54% also said that Jews were least impacted by discrimination, and 50% said that Jews were more similar to Whites than to other minorities (AJC, 2023).

Hersch and Roden (2023) performed a survey on a large, nationally representative sample of Americans that oversampled ethnic minorities and young adults to understand anti-Jewish sentiment amongst young people and people from different racial and ethnic groups. They found that young Hispanic adults (aged 18-30) were more likely to hold anti-Semitic views than either Whites or older Hispanics. This relationship held even when controlling for demographic factors such as education, church attendance, and geographic location. Anti-Jewish sentiment was present even amongst young Hispanics who held positive views of the nation of Israel. It persisted across political orientations and indeed was at similar level as non-Hispanic White, young adults who identify as alt-right. Their findings suggest that anti-Semitism amongst young Hispanic adults is widespread and not limited to subpopulations within this group.

Anti-Black Sentiment and Hispanics (Slide 38-44)



Since Europeans first came to the shores of this land, they began to build a nation on racist foundations. While still in the colonial stage, slavery was allowed and became a pillar of the construction of race. After the Revolutionary War, citizenship was limited to free, White men and there were repeated attempts until 1954 to maintain a racial basis for citizenship. In the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo of 1845, the residents of the lands ceded from Mexico to the U.S. were promised full rights as citizens, thus defaulting them to the White racial category. After the Civil War, only men classified as White or Black were allowed citizenship forcing the state to then define what constituted Whiteness. In 1922, Takao Ozawa, an immigrant from Japan was denied citizenship as a member of the Asian race. In his Supreme Court case the following year, Bhagat Thindh used the racial pseudo-science of the time to argue that being from the continent of India, he was indeed Caucasian (Kanwar, 2023). The court disagreed, however, asserting he was not what the “common person” considered White. Citizenship was not granted to American Indians until 1924, and it was not until 1954 that the McCarran-Walters Act removed all racial barriers to citizenship. This is the racist legacy that all Americans have inherited.

In addition to the racist legacy of the U.S., Latinos also inherited the racism imported by the Spanish and Portuguese colonization of Latin America. While contemporary historians often mark 1619 as the beginning of the African slave trade in the colony of Virginia in North America, there were in fact, slaves in the Americas prior to that. Columbus enslaved local Arawak natives in Hispaniola during his 1492 voyage. Other European colonizers also enslaved indigenous populations in the U.S. Virgin Islands in the 1500s. The first African slaves to arrive in the continental U.S. were brought by Spanish colonizers in 1526 (Hall, 2019). The overwhelming majority of Africans who were kidnapped from their native lands went to Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the Central and South America (Eltis, 2008). African slavery in these colonies began earlier and lasted longer than it did in the US, with Brazil being the final country to abolish the abhorrent institution in 1888.

Given these histories, it is perhaps unsurprising that most Latinos reported that darker skin tones affect one’s ability to advance in life and shape their own daily life experiences (Noe-Bustamante et al., 2021). Colorism is discrimination based on skin tone. It can be related to racism but is distinct from it. While racism is based on ancestry, colorism is based on the phenotypic darkness or lightness of skin, usually with a preference for lighter tones. While non-Hispanic Whites may engage in both forms of discrimination, colorism amongst Latinos may be as prevalent as colorism by non-Hispanics (Noe-Bustamante et al., 2021).

Anti-Black racism does exist in Latinidad. In some instances, these prejudices are driven to an extreme form through gang membership. The Mexican Mafia, or La Eme, is a prison gang that has existed since the 1950s in California. As it grew in power, rival gangs, such as the Black Guerillas emerged in California prisons, and the groups became rivals. By the 1990s, animosity between the groups was extreme and the Mexican Mafia apparently gave the green light for attacks on any Black person, gang member or not, in prison or not (Mock, 2007). Most of the 22,000 Hispanic gang members in Los Angeles are in some way affiliated with La Eme, and from 1999- 2019, Latinos perpetrated the majority of anti-Black hate crimes in LA; in 2019, the number of anti-Black hate crimes by Latinos fell,



while those by non-Hispanic Whites increased (Workforce Development, Aging and Community Services Commission, 2019).

Ocampo and Flippen (2021) found that amongst Latino immigrants living in the southern U.S., 87.4% perceived conflicts between Hispanic and Black communities and 65.8% believed that African Americans are given economic benefits to the detriment of Latinos. Additionally, 47.7% of this sample viewed Blacks as unintelligent; only 4.4% labeled Whites and 10.6% labeled Hispanics thus.

In their study, Perez, Robert, and Vicuna (2022) examined how the relationship between Hispanics' status as Americans affected their support for pro-Black policies and anti-Black sentiment. They used experiments to increase or decrease the perceived status of the Latino community among study subjects. While increased status slightly increased anti-Black prejudice, decreasing the status of the Latino community substantially increased anti-Black feelings and drastically decreased support for pro-Black policies. In a nationwide survey, they also found that Hispanics with a stronger sense of American identity were more anti-Black than their counterparts whose American identities were more tenuous. For example, Hispanics who do not speak English, live in predominantly-Hispanic communities, are not American citizens, and/or are first generation immigrants were less anti-Black than those who did not speak Spanish, live in predominantly White communities, are U.S. citizens and/or are second generation or later immigrants. They also found that compared to more politically centrist Hispanics, both conservatives and liberals expressed more anti-Blackism. The finding that liberal Latinos expressed more anti-Black sentiment than conservatives seemed anomalous to the researchers as those with liberal political leanings generally express more support for disadvantaged groups. To explain the anomaly, they argued that more liberal Latinos are more likely to have more established American identities which leads them to express more anti-Blackism as a way of performing Whiteness (Perez et al., 2022; Hernandez, 2022).

Hispanic White Supremacy (Slides 45-51)

Issues of race and ethnicity in the Latino community are extraordinarily complex. Most academics abandoned notions of race as biological categories decades ago in favor of fluid, cultural social constructions. Some scientists have suggested eliminating the term race completely, in favor of terms like ethnicity, geography, population, or ancestry, to better capture the lack of biological basis for race (Gannon, 2016). Despite the fact that there is no biological basis to race and that ethnic differences are cultural constructions, questions about both racial and ethnic identification remain on the U.S. Census, and many other documents, for socio-political reasons.

The claim by Latinos that as people of color, they cannot be racist, Tanya Hernandez (2022) calls "racial innocence." In her book by the same title, she uses both legal cases and interviews to document and understand anti-Black racism in the Latino community. She argues that because Hispanics themselves are discriminated against in American culture, Latinos use anti-Black racism to perform Whiteness and increase their status in society. Other research supports this hypothesis (Latoya, 2004; Demby, 2014). In the 2000 Census, 48% of Hispanics selected White as their race, while 42% chose



“Some Other Race” (SOR) as their racial identification. The remaining 10% chose either Black, Asian, American Indian, or Pacific Islander. In examining micro-data from the Census, combined with additional surveys and focus groups, the Pew Hispanic Research Center found that (Latoya, 2004, p.1):

“Consistently across a broad range of variables, Hispanics who identified themselves as white have higher levels of education and income and greater degrees of civic enfranchisement than those who pick some other race category. The findings of this report suggest that Hispanics see race as a measure of belonging, and whiteness as a measure of inclusion, or of perceived inclusion.”

In some variations of the 2010 Census, the race and origin questions were combined, and respondents were allowed to “check all that apply,” enabling them to choose Hispanic and some other racial identity or to identify only as Hispanic. With this question, the number of Latinos identifying as White fell from nearly half to 9-16%, with 80% selecting only Hispanic (Demby, 2014). However, amongst Latinos in towns along the Mexican border in Texas, 80-90% select White. These border towns tend to be impoverished areas where Spanish is the dominant language, and the poorest respondents were more likely to select White. Julia Dowling, sociologist and author of the book *Mexican Americans and the Question of Race*, argues that these respondents are using White identification to battle the discrimination they face as Latinos (Demby, 2014). As with Hernandez’s research, Dowling focuses on the performative nature of racial identity.

Historically, in the U.S., the Ku Klux Klan was the pinnacle of racist organizations in the U.S., and its membership was limited to White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs). This is no longer the situation; there are a multitude of White supremacist organizations and they are far more diverse than the Klan was. Latinos are emerging as leaders in some of these organizations, while others are members or merely adherents to White supremacist ideologies. Some have promoted violence against immigrants, Blacks, Jews, or women, and others have engaged in it (Contreras & Glavan, 2022; Cadava, 2023). It is possible that these people may be drawn to White extremist groups as a strategy, to perform Whiteness, or as proof of their assimilation. Whatever their motivations, this phenomenon needs greater attention from researchers and the public.

While radicalization of Latinidad is possible and has indeed occurred in some instances, there are also some protective factors for Latino Americans. Currently, the threat of violence is far greater from right-wing than left-wing extremists (Jones et al., 2020) and while non-Hispanic adults are somewhat equally divided amongst conservatives and liberals, amongst Latinos, 60% said that the Democratic party represents people like them well (Krogstad et al., 2022). Additionally, 63% of Hispanics agree that the Democratic party cares about Hispanics; among Latino Republicans, only 41% said the same thing about the GOP (Krogstad et al., 2022). The political leanings and orientations of both individuals and the larger community can act to temper right-wing radicalization for American Hispanics.



Violent extremism has increased in recent years and poses a significant threat to the security of the U.S. and the people who live here (Jones et al., 2020). Because of the unique intersection of racial, ethnic, and other identities held by Latinas and Latinos, they are not only at greater risk of being victimized but also face the possibility of members of their community being radicalized. Special attention and care should be given to this diverse community to protect them from both of these possibilities.



Hispanics and Extremism: A Double Edged Sword
A Guide to Fighting Extremism (Part 4)
Participant Handout 1: Objectives, Terms, and Definitions

Introduction

Curriculum Objectives: This presentation will increase participants’ awareness and understanding of:

- Historical anti-Latino REMVE in the US
- The extent of current anti-Latino REMVE in the US
- The emotional impact of REMVE on the Latinidad
- How the negative impact of REMVE is exacerbated by tensions between the Latino community and police
- Misogyny and homophobia amongst Hispanics
- Hispanic anti-Semitism, anti-Black sentiment, and White supremacy

Definitions of Terms

Stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination

<i>Term</i>	<i>Sociological Meaning</i>	
Stereotypes	Ideas/thoughts/ beliefs	about individuals because of their membership in a disadvantaged group
Prejudice	Feelings	
Discrimination	Behaviors	

“*Racism:*” any combination of stereotypes, prejudices, or discrimination against individuals because of their membership in a racial or ethnic group

“*Systemic /institutional racism*” which refers to current or historical patterns, policies, or practices that result in disadvantaging people who are members of certain racial or ethnic groups (independently from any stereotypes, prejudices or discrimination by a particular actor).

Racism vs Systemic Racism

- ANYONE can hold stereotypes, prejudices, or discriminate
- ONLY those with the majority of power can create policies, patterns, institutions of systemic racism

REMVE—Racially /Ethnically Motivated Violent Extremism—acts of violence that are primarily motivated by the perpetrator’s animosity towards certain racial or ethnic groups, while

Targeted violence: broader term; could include attacks on women, members of the LGBTQ+ community, people who practice certain religions etc.

Other Terms and Definitions

Machismo: Social expectations for Latino masculinity; dominant, virile, aggressive; superior to women

Marianismo: ideal Latina femininity; dependent, submissive, chaste

Caballerismo: positive aspects of Hispanic masculinity such as responsibility and family-centeredness

Sexism: valuing one sex more than another sex

Misogyny: hatred of women; sexism against girls, women & femininity

Patriarchy: a society in which men hold the majority of power in social institutions

“Manosphere”/ “Incelosphere”: amalgam of extremely misogynistic on-line communities

Colorism: discrimination based on skin tone; related to racism, but is distinct from it

Presentation Tables

Year	City	Venue	# Killed	# Injured
1918	Porvenir, TX	Porvenir, TX	15	
1970	San Juan, TX	Catholic Church	0 (1)	
1984	San Ysidro, CA	McDonalds	21	19
2016	Orlando, FL	Pulse Nightclub	49	53
2019	El Paso, TX	Wal-Mart	23	23
2022	Uvalde, TX	School	19	17
2023	Allen, TX	Shopping Mall	8	7

	Comfortable with LGBTQI+	Uncomfortable with LGBTQI+
Overall	62%	38%
First Generation	50%	50%
Second Generation	71%	29%
Third Generation	76%	24%

Country	Percent Increase in Calls to IPV hotlines during pandemic
Argentina	40%
Mexico	60%
Colombia	90%



Hispanics and Extremism: A Double Edged Sword

A Guide to Fighting Extremism (Part 4)

Participant Handout 2: Curriculum Outline

Historic Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the US

Historical anti-Black violence is getting more attention

The history of anti-Latino violence in the US also needs to be acknowledged

La Matanza, Hora de Sangre: 100s - 1000s of Hispanics were murdered

Porvenir, TX, 1918: Group of Rangers, ranchers and soldiers raided homes and executed 16 men and boys and burned down the town

1915-1925 KKK resurgence with anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic focus

1930: "Mexican" racial category added to US Census

Mexican govt and Mexican Americans oppose this & their pressure removes it from future Censuses

1970+ Censuses: Hispanic/Latino "*origin*" / "*ancestry*," or "*ethnicity*"

Separate from "race" because of 1930

Whiteness is associated with full citizenship

1960s US Civil Rights Movement

1970: Frank Alexander, San Juan resident, plans and executes an attack on the Catholic Church there while 60 Priests & ~100 schoolchildren and nuns were in the church

Contemporary Anti-Hispanic REMVE in the US

Hate crimes & incidents against Latinos have increased in recent years

2015-2019: Hate crimes double (FBI) and hate incidents also increase

Hispanic lifetime victimization:

52% report discrimination; 28% report hate crime

2018: Around half of Hispanics reported concerns about their place in the USA, a substantial increase since 2013

Study was prior to El Paso shooting

The number of anti-Hispanic incidents in the US is staggering

Hate incidents have significant effects on various forms of mental distress including anxiety, depression, anger and disassociation

After El Paso, Hispanics expressed

Desires that they are their kids could pass as White

Extreme shame about their ability to pass as White

Fear of speaking Spanish in public

That their Hispanic identity was a bullseye



Shortly after the El Paso, Americans in general, but particularly Hispanics, felt anxiety or changed their behaviors due to fears about mass shootings

Hispanic worries about mass shootings remained elevated in 2022

Causes of Increased Fear Among Latinos

More likely to be victims of REMVE

Many have been victims of racism → ↑ anxiety

Less likely to seek institutional support when victimized

<20% seek medical or social services

8% report hate crimes to police

Tensions between the Hispanic Community and Law Enforcement

Days after El Paso, ICE raided chicken plants and detained 680 people

39% of Hispanics (and the majority of those who are immigrants) worry about deportation

1980-2019: police violence resulted in 30,000 deaths in the US

Non-Hispanic Blacks were the most frequent victims followed by Hispanics of any race

Latinos as Extremists

Latinos as Extremists: Machismo, Misogyny and Homophobia

In the US and Latin American countries, 1 out of 3 women will experience intimate partner violence (IPV)

2017: 69% of Latin American women felt unsafe & 75% say that women in their country are not treated with dignity and respect

“Manosphere”/ “Incelosphere”: amalgam of extremely misogynistic on-line communities

Number of people visiting these websites is increasing

The number of posts with dehumanizing (“foid,” “landwhales”) and violent (“kill,” “shoot”) language is increasing

Latinos/as Extremists: Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism is higher among Hispanics than non-Hispanic Whites and among foreign than American born Hispanics

ADL: Latino anti-Semitism is a remnant of European/ Latin American Catholicism

As Catholicism ↓ → ↓ in anti-Semitism amongst Latinos

Most (50-90%) young adult Latinos indicated that Jews do not face the same problems as other ethnic minorities

Hispanic adults aged 18-30 were more likely to hold anti-Semitic views than either Whites or older Hispanics, and among this group, anti-Semitic sentiment stayed constant across:

Education level, church attendance, and geographic location

Positive and negative views of the nation of Israel

Political orientations



Findings suggest that anti-Semitism amongst young Hispanic adults is wide-spread and not limited to subpopulations within this group

Latinos as Extremists: Anti-Black Sentiment

The US was built on racist foundations, including slavery and racial qualifications for citizenship

1954: The McCarran-Walters Act removed all racial barriers to citizenship

Hispanic Americans inherit US racist legacy and Spanish / Portuguese racist legacy

Enslaving Africans was more common, began earlier and lasted longer in Spanish and Portuguese colonies than it did in the U.S.

Colorism is one legacy of this

Colorism amongst Latinos may be as prevalent as colorism by non-Hispanics

Most Latinos report experiencing colorism

Latino Anti-Black sentiment and gang membership

Some anti-Black sentiment emerged from prison gangs, like la Eme

1990s: La Eme approves attacks on any Black person, gang member or not, in prison or not

1999- 2019: Latinos perpetrated the majority of anti-Black hate crimes in LA

Anti-Black Sentiment among Latino immigrants living in the southern USA

87.4% perceive conflicts between Hispanic and Black communities

65.8% believed that African Americans are given unfair economic benefits

47.7% of this sample viewed Blacks as unintelligent

Only 4.4% labeled Whites and 10.6% labeled Hispanics thusly

Hispanic Americans nationwide

The status of the Latin American community → slight ↑ anti-Black prejudice

↓ the status → substantial ↑ anti-Black feelings and drastically ↓ support for pro-Black policies

Latinos as Extremists: Latino White Supremacy

Race/ethnicity is complex in the Latino community

Scientists prefer terms like “Ethnicity,” “geography,” “population,” or “ancestry”

Questions about both racial and ethnic identification remain on the US Census (etc.), for socio-political reasons.

“Racial innocence:” The claim by Latinos that as people of color, they cannot be racist

Discrimination → Latinos use anti-Black racism to perform Whiteness and ↑ their status in society

2000 Census: Hispanic racial identification:

48% of Hispanics chose White and 42% chose “Some Other Race” (SOR)

Pew Hispanic research center argues that:

“White” Hispanics have ↑ education, ↑ income, ↑ civic enfranchisement than those who chose “SOR”

Race is a measure of belonging, inclusion, Whiteness



2010 Census: Race + Ethnicity combined and “choose all that apply”

9-16% choose “White” (vs half); 80% choose Hispanic only

80-90% of Latinos in Mexican border towns in Texas chose “White”

Choosing Whiteness is a strategy for battling discrimination

Unlike the KKK which only allowed WASPs, today’s White supremacy groups are more diverse

Latinos are joining and leading some of these groups

Motivation may be strategic, or performative

This phenomenon needs more attention

Protective Factors Against Extremism amongst Latinos

Right wing extremism is far more violent than left wing extremism

Most Latinos are Democrats/liberal/left wing

Special attention and care should be given to the diverse Hispanic community to protect them from becoming both victims and perpetrators of extremism



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