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Title

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Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3rz8h7bb>

Journal

American Behavioral Scientist, 63(13)

ISSN

0002-7642

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Publication Date

2019-11-01

DOI

10.1177/0002764219842624

Peer reviewed

White Supremacy, Patriarchy, and Global Capitalism in Migration Studies

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Ten years after sociologist Mary Romero (2008: 26) lamented the “ideological and theoretical gulf between immigration research and the sociology of race,” researchers have begun to bridge this theoretical gulf by centering critical race theory in studies of migration. Building on these analyses, this article argues that migration flows and immigrant incorporation are shaped not only by white supremacy, but also by patriarchy and global capitalism. Insofar as migrants are predominantly from the Global South, are usually racialized as non-white, and come to work in a labor market shaped by exploitation, oppression, and patriarchy, it is critical to think of migrant flows and settlement within the context of what bell hooks (2000: 109) describes as a *white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy*. We draw from examples from our research with a broad spectrum of migrants and their children to elucidate how these three systems of oppression shape the experiences of migrants.

Introduction

In her 2008 article in *Contemporary Justice Review*, Mary Romero wrote, “There is an enormous ideological and theoretical gulf between immigration research and the sociology of race” (p. 26). Ten years later, several publications have bridged this gulf, incorporating a race analysis and moving away from assimilationist frameworks. Sanchez and Romero (2010) for example, center race to illuminate illegality and racialized citizenship. Sáenz and Douglas (2015) show the influence of racial hostility towards immigrants that assimilationist frameworks obscure. Treitler (2015) explains how assimilationist perspectives support white supremacy by placing the onus of incorporation on racialized immigrants and ignoring racial barriers.

Building on recent scholarship's use of a critical race framework to study immigrants and their children, this article argues for including analyses of patriarchy and global capitalism in addition to white supremacy in migration studies. We explore how these systems of oppression affect immigrant incorporation, migration flows, refugees, immigration status, and deportation.

Critical Race Theory and Intersectionality

Critical race theory (CRT) was first developed by legal scholars who insisted race is central to the development of law (Bell, 1992) and the construction of citizenship (Lopez, 1997). A central tenet of CRT is that institutions and everyday practices normalize racism and render it invisible (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Yosso & Solorzano, 2005). CRT centers race yet also addresses how white supremacy intersects with other systems of inequality like patriarchy and capitalism. The intersectionality framework underscores how systems of oppression simultaneously shape our lives (Crenshaw 1991, hooks 2000, McCall 2005, Weber, 1998, Romero 2017).

Patriarchy, white supremacy, and global capitalism are all systems of oppression that shape migration flows and immigrant incorporation.

Patriarchy means that "men hold power and are the central figures in the family, community, government, and larger society" (Saraswati, Shaw, & Rellihan, 2017, p. 3). White supremacy means that white people hold the power (Mills, 2004). Global capitalism maximizes profit for capitalists through

the exploitation of workers, which is a necessary condition of capitalism (Marx & Engels, 1907).

We draw from bell hooks and use the concept of *white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy*. Hooks (2000) explains “interlocking systems of classism, racism, and sexism work to keep women exploited and oppressed” (p. 109). She points out that Western women’s economic gains rely on the enslavement or subordination of Third World women (hooks, 2000, p. 109). She (2000) alternates between calling out classism and pointing to capitalism as a system of oppression. This distinction between focusing on discrimination and the underlying system of oppression is key. CRT scholars generally call for an end to racism, sexism, and classism and the dismantling of white supremacy and patriarchy. Most CRT scholars agree people of color are underpaid, but do not call for an end to capitalism, even though class exploitation is a necessary part of capitalism. As critical scholars, it is important for us to reflect on this hesitancy to critique capitalism, and to ask if it reflects our position of relative privilege within the system of global capitalism.

CRT and Migration Scholarship

In addition to calling for CRT engagement in 2008, Mary Romero (2017) has more recently pointed out that capitalism, patriarchy and white supremacy shape the experiences of migrants and their children because citizenship status has always been raced, classed, and gendered insofar as citizenship was initially the right of only white, propertied men. We extend this insight

through an explicit discussion of how these systems of oppression have shaped the lives of migrants and their children. We focus our study on three aspects of international migration: deportation, second-generation incorporation, and refugee studies.

Scholarship on deportation has expanded in recent years, yet relatively few works on deportation pay close attention to larger systems of inequality. Studies focusing on racialized and gendered discourses are more common. For example, Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo (2013, p. 271) explores deportation as “gendered racial removal” due to the disparate consequences of deportation laws and practices and the role of raced and gendered rhetoric in shaping them. It stops short of explaining the role of global capitalism, patriarchy, and white supremacy. We include a discussion of deportation as it provides an opportunity to consider migration flows as well as incorporation from an alternative perspective.

Scholarship on the second generation currently dominates migration scholarship, much of it drawing on the assimilation paradigm. Assimilation theories focus on ethnic capital, ethnic enclaves, or ethnic economies (see Light & Gold, 2000; Portes & Zhou, 1992; Zhou & Bankston III, 1998). These studies may include a consideration of gender or class, but rarely focus on race. Exceptions (e.g. Telles & Ortiz 2008) do not account for how the racialization of Latinxs is situated within the intersecting systems of oppression of white supremacy, patriarchy, and global capitalism. CRT scholars have heavily critiqued assimilationist scholarship for its lack of

inclusion of a critique of white supremacy (Treiter, 2015; Sáenz & Douglas, 2015) but scholars have not adequately addressed their critiques.

Similarly, the sociological literature on refugees in the United States has also taken an assimilation/integration approach, which centralizes ethnicity, and pays little attention to the system of white supremacy. Portes and Zhou's (1992) study of Cubans, Dominicans, and Chinese concludes that Cuban refugees who stayed within their ethnic economies fared better than those who left. Zhou and Bankston (1998) also underscore the importance of ethnic community in the lives of Vietnamese refugees, arguing that ethnic and familial networks made upward mobility possible. A singular focus on ethnic enclaves obscures the impact of race, racism, and racialization on refugees, and does not give due attention to patriarchy or capitalism.

In keeping with a CRT tradition of valuing experiential knowledge of people of color as a tool for understanding racial subordination (Yosso & Solorzano, 2005), we present the narratives of three people of color whose lives have been shaped by migration, white supremacy, capitalism, and patriarchy. These forces, we contend, shape migrants' lives.

The first case study concerns deportation. Betty¹ is a Guatemalan woman deported from the United States. While less than ten percent of people deported from the United States are women (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013), Betty is typical in that she has a history of racialized oppression, domestic violence, and poverty. Centering the

¹ The names of participants in this article are pseudonyms.

experiences of a woman of color likewise supports our broader aim in this article.

The second case study concerns the second generation. Ana was born in the United States with family origins in the Dominican Republic. She and her mother, Rose, were interviewed as part of the second author's research on racial and ethnic socialization among low-income and middle-class second generation Latinxs in Florida and California. Ana and Rose's experiences represent typical cases within the middle-class subsample regarding racial and ethnic socialization practices.

The third case is of a Hmong refugee woman who came to the United States as a child, Mao. Interviews revealed her experiences to be typical among the broader study of Hmong refugees in which she participated. Like most others, she is a naturalized citizen. She is slightly older and better educated than the median age in that study, but the fact that, unlike most she can recall her experiences in Laos and Thailand gives her experiences relevance to a broader range of refugees.

Deportation and Immigration Law Enforcement from an Intersectional CRT Perspective

When Betty was 18 months old, she and her mother left her father in Guatemala and migrated to California without documentation. Betty's mother initially worked as a fieldworker, but soon became a sex worker. Betty's mother married a Mexican man, with whom she had two children. When Betty was 10 years old, her stepfather began to sexually abuse her.

Betty's mother ignored her pleas for help, insisting that Betty respect, love, and obey her stepfather. Her stepfather threatened Betty's mother with immigration action if she defied him. He raped Betty regularly until she was 18 and moved out of the house and into her boyfriend's house.

As a young woman, Betty had several intimate relationships, all with men who also used drugs, and all with men who abused her. She also had five children, each of which she lost to Child Protective Services, due to her poverty, homelessness, and drug addiction. When Betty was pregnant with her fifth child, she enrolled in a rehabilitation program, had her baby, and then moved into an apartment with her boyfriend and her baby. She was resolved that things would work out this time. She believed it until one day Betty and her boyfriend got into a fight. He beat her extremely badly, leaving her covered in bruises. He made the same threat she had heard many times before, that he would call immigration authorities if she called the police.

Betty called them anyway. When the police came to arrest her boyfriend, he was alone with their child, and they called Child Protective Services to come take the baby. Learning of this, Betty panicked. She had been clean for months, but she turned to alcohol and drugs to cope with her feelings. When she went to claim her baby, she was high. The police officer arrested her for public intoxication and her baby went to foster care.

When the officer arrested her, he said, "You're illegal, right?" Betty imagines her boyfriend must have told them about her status. They turned her over to immigration authorities. Betty was transferred from the local jail

to immigration detention, where she spent several months. During this time, her case could have come to the attention of immigration lawyers. She qualified for legalization under laws designed to protect victims of domestic abuse. Although she had been on and off drugs for years, she did not have any serious criminal charges. She had one charge for paraphernalia and one for public intoxication. Without information or resources to pursue her case, Betty was deported to Guatemala. She never expects to see her children again.

White Supremacy

How did the system of white supremacy affect Betty's trajectory? The United States has deported over 5 million people since 1996, 97% of them to Latin America (Office of Immigration Statistics 2017). Immigration law enforcement in the United States is at an all-time high and is primarily directed at Latin American men. Scholarship on immigration law enforcement has drawn from critical race theory to explain these racial disparities. Getrich (2013, p. 463) contends that border enforcement practices "reinforce a racialized form of belonging" not only for immigrants but also for their children. Other scholars have theorized the racialization of citizenship as "racist nativism" (Huber et al., 2008, p. 43) – practices that justify the superiority and domination of the native born, who is imagined as white, over the foreign born, who is imagined as non-white. These scholars describe immigration enforcement practices as supporting "white supremacy ... a system of racial domination and exploitation whereby power and

resources are unequally distributed to privilege whites and oppress People of Color” (Huber et al. 2008, p. 41). Racist nativism shapes the experiences of immigrants through their encounters with racial profiling (Schueths, 2014); interpersonal discrimination (García, 2017b); local law enforcement agents (Armenta, 2016); and immigration law enforcement (Aranda & Vaquera, 2015; Getrich, 2013).

Betty and her mother’s immigration status put them in a precarious position that men used to keep them from seeking help. The vast majority of undocumented people in the United States are non-white, and the marginalization of undocumented migrants is directly related to white supremacy. The racialized rhetoric of politicians who characterize undocumented migrants as non-white, law-breakers, criminals, and terrorists supports a continued refusal to reform immigration law or legalize long-term residents.

Betty’s mother’s position in the labor market was also related to white supremacy. She followed the well-worn path of Mexican and Central American migrants to the Central Valley of California to work in the fields. Farmers in this area have relied on migrant laborers to perform agricultural labor for 100 years, yet the United States refuses to offer them legal residency. Keeping these workers undocumented is a deliberate strategy to keep them in the fields where their labor is needed. The underfunding of education and social programs in the Central Valley limits both agricultural workers’ options for upward mobility and those of their children. The

extreme vulnerability of farmworkers, who are nearly all non-white, is a direct consequence of racialized laws that have denied basic labor protections to farmworkers. For example, the Fair Labor Standards Act's provisions for minimum wage do not apply to people who work on small farms, and overtime pay is not mandatory for farm workers.

Betty's mother could have qualified for legal permanent residency under the Immigration Reform and Control Act as an agricultural worker in 1986. When her husband abused Betty and used her legal status to threaten her, Betty's mother also could have applied for legalization under the Violence against Women Act (VAWA), which has provisions to protect women under these circumstances. Betty could have done the same thing, either in response to her stepfather's abuse or those of any of her boyfriends. But neither of them knew about VAWA.

The paucity of legal aid available in the Central Valley may explain the lack of information about VAWA. Whereas San Francisco and Oakland together have 500 members of the American Immigration Lawyers Association, the entire Central Valley of California has only 40,² for an estimated almost 300,000 undocumented migrants.³ A plurality of Central Valley residents are Latinx, and the lack of services is a consequence of structural racism – a system where people of color do not have the same access to opportunities and resources as whites.

Patriarchy

² <https://ww2.kqed.org/news/2017/05/30/in-central-valley-many-immigrants-but-few-immigration-lawyers/>

³ <http://www.ppica.org/publication/undocumented-immigrants-in-california/>

The vast majority of deportees are men and the law enforcement officers who are carrying out deportations – from police officers to Immigration and Customs Enforcement officers to Customs and Border Patrol agents – are predominately male. Nevertheless, immigration-related research that focuses on gender tends to consider the experiences of women, instead of focusing on a broader gendered experience. For example, one piece that highlights gender (Doering-White et al., 2016: 326) considers how undocumented women navigate a “gendered deportation regime.” Boehm (2016) discusses how gender relations shift when women are deported.

A gendered lens can help us to understand both the gender disparities in deportations and the gendered effects of these disparities. When men are deported, they may leave women behind to support their household on a single income smaller than the deportee’s, reflecting gendered divisions of labor and unequal pay. When women are deported, many lose their children to foster care.

An analysis of Betty’s story allows us to see how patriarchy shaped her life and ultimately led to her deportation. Betty encountered many male abusers in her life. The prevalence of intimate partner violence in our society is directly related to patriarchal culture where men seek power through domination over women (Saraswati et al., 2017; Adames & Campbell, 2005). The normalization of violence against women is common both in Guatemala and the United States (Menjívar, 2011). We don’t know why Betty’s mother ignored her husband’s abuse of Betty. However, it is likely that it reflects her

dependence on her husband's income, and possibly her own experiences of abuse. Her own experiences of abuse may have played a role as well as a sense that girls are not important. In short, patriarchy has everything to do with the trauma Betty experienced.

Global Capitalism

As capitalism has engulfed the world, the world has become more unequal (Robinson 2004). There is massive inequality within as well as between nations. Countries have varying degrees of development and access to modern comforts. Richer countries fortify their borders out of fear not only that blacker and browner bodies will cross those borders, but out of a desire to protect their material interests. Deportation is the physical manifestation of border controls. Without the possibility and reality of deportation, countries would be incapable of preventing migration across their borders.

An understanding of deportation thus requires a consideration of global capitalism. Global capitalism drives migrants to the United States in the first place. Guatemalans like Betty's mother began to migrate to the United States during their long and violent civil war, which began in 1954 with a CIA-sponsored military coup. The United States became involved in Guatemala's civil war because of U.S. interests in capitalist expansion and the concomitant fight against the spread of communism. Communist countries would not be part of the global capitalist economy and thus would not be exploitable by U.S. interests. Thus, the United States provided military aid to the government of Guatemala and trained Guatemalan military

officers to defeat the communists in the civil war. Migration to the United States continued after the war because the Guatemalan government implemented a series of neoliberal reforms—trade liberalization, the promotion of foreign direct investment and exports, and tax cuts for investors—intended to integrate the country into the global economy. These reforms generated some jobs in Guatemala but mostly in temporary, low-skill, low-wage occupations such as maquiladoras (factories) and tourism.

Global capitalism drives the United States to rely on immigrants of color for its labor needs. Neoliberal economic reforms in the United States have facilitated the restructuring of the U.S. economy towards the service sector. Immigrants perform many low-paid service jobs, such as gardeners and nannies (Boehme, 2011; Louie, 2001; Massey et al., 2002). These workers and their families subsist on extremely little.

While migrants who entered the United States prior to the era of deindustrialization could obtain well-paying, unionized factory jobs, their children do not have access to those jobs. These struggles are further exacerbated by institutional racism that targets men and women of color differently. This results in the low-income, racialized immigrants and their children struggling financially due to their position within the white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy.

Few scholars who focus on immigration law enforcement take a broader political economy perspective. In an exception, Robinson and Santos (2014) analyze the vulnerability of immigrants from the perspective of global

capitalism. They contend that the criminalization of undocumented migrants renders them vulnerable to super-exploitation, and that the availability of a large global class of exploitable workers puts downward pressure on wages around the world. The persistent denial of rights to non-citizen workers allows capitalists to control the labor power of migrants on which they depend. Robinson and Santos (2014) as well as Golash-Boza (2016) make it clear that the possibility and reality of deportation render undocumented migrants vulnerable and exploitable in the current permutation of global capitalism.

Betty's position in the white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy put the odds against her from the beginning. The persistent poverty Betty and her mother experienced after leaving war-torn Guatemala is a consequence of class oppression, which is characteristic of capitalism. In California, Betty's mother found she had limited options as a modestly-educated undocumented Latina. These limited options made it difficult for her to escape an abusive marriage, which in turn led Betty to run away from home at age 18, and into a life of drug abuse and homelessness. **Immigrant**

Incorporation from an Intersectional CRT Perspective

Ana is a 20-year-old college student from Orlando, FL. She grew up in a single-parent household with her 45-year-old mother, Rose, and two brothers. Her father, an immigrant from the Dominican Republic, also lived with them but left for New York and later the Dominican Republic to financially support the family when Ana was in 7th grade. Despite her

father's absence, Ana describes her childhood as happy. She is "ridiculously close" to her two brothers, and highly values family. She learned Spanish as a child but lost much of the language once she began school. She is currently enrolled in a Spanish class in college and proudly remarks that and is getting an A in the class. She hopes it will help her converse more easily with her extended family, with whom she struggles to communicate due to language barriers.

Although Ana can be classified as second generation because she has one immigrant parent, she nonetheless had few transnational, physical, or emotional attachments to the Dominican Republic because her single mother, Rose, did not expose her to Dominican culture because she did not know much about Dominican Republic herself. Rose's parents were born there but they made little effort to transmit Dominican cultural practices to her. Her father's absence and her mother's lack of cultural knowledge led to Ana growing up with little access to Dominican culture.

Ana is perceived as Black by others but identifies as non-Black Hispanic and perceives herself as having white skin. When asked if she had ever experienced racism, Ana expressed great uncertainty:

I don't know, I don't think I've ever, knock on wood, experienced something where I'm like okay they're being racist, you know, like towards me. I mean I hope to not ever, I hope my kids never, you know? But to be honest, I really don't know, 'cause my friends always make fun of me 'cause they're like "you think everyone's nice and you think everyone is a good person" and I'm just like... so really someone could have been racist to me and I was just "oh they're having a bad day" and I just, you know. Honestly, I have no idea, I don't know, maybe, maybe not.

Ana engaged in a rhetorical strategy of colorblind racism named rhetorical incoherence, which she signaled by her repetitive use of “I don’t know” many times in responding to this question (Bonilla-Silva 2013). Her incoherence makes sense because she is uncertain about her ability to identify a social situation as racially oppressive. She also desires to believe that “everyone is a good person,” and racism is not in line with what kind people do. Research shows that Latinxs often use colorblind rhetoric, as Ana did, to distance herself from any possible experiences with racial discrimination (Dowling 2014).

White Supremacy

Despite having little access to Dominican culture growing up, Ana’s parents actively engaged in racial discourses that caused her to internalize both a nationality and a Hispanicized U.S. racial schema (Roth 2012). For example, her parents both self-identified as “Dominican” or “Hispanic” rather than Black and would assert these identities when other people assumed they were Black. Ana thus developed a racial and ethnic identity that has two sources: the historical denial of African ancestries in the Dominican Republic, which is a legacy of dictator Rafael Trujillo’s racial project (Candelario 2007; Comas-Diaz 1996; Duany 1998), and an Indo-Hispanic Dominican national identity discourse that emphasizes identification with Indio heritage because it symbolizes Dominican resistance to Haiti, Spain, and the United States (Candelario 2007).

Comas-Diaz (1996) posits that when Latinxs who have phenotypically African features are not taught about or are taught to deny their African ancestry, they experience numerous drawbacks. Some of the drawbacks include identity conflicts between how they are perceived and how they self-identify, enduring racism without being taught how to cope with it, and internalizing racism. Twine (2010) introduces the idea of racial literacy - a form of cultural capital that teaches children how to identify, navigate, cope with, and safely challenge racism in everyday interactions. In earlier work, Twine (1998) shows that children who lack this skill do not challenge racist comments, but drastically change their own behavior to avoid hearing the comments again. Hordge-Freeman (2015) likewise found that when Afro-Latin American families reproduced rather than challenged anti-Blackness in antiracist ways, it impacted children's sense of self-worth, sense of belonging, and the overall quality of familial relationships. Ana's belief that she has never experienced racism may reflect a lack of racial literacy. A lack of racial literacy maintains white supremacy by hindering people of colors' ability to advocate for themselves and challenge racial domination.

The assimilation paradigm does not account for the racism that people of color experience, how the system of white supremacy shapes assimilation processes, or the racist, nativist, and other oppressive structures in the United States (Valdez & Golash-Boza 2017; García 2017a). White supremacy devalues the cultures, languages, and knowledge of racial/ethnic minorities. People of color who are socialized into Anglo-American culture lose valuable

skills, networks, and knowledge. Ana's story points to how easily a child in the second generation can lose a minoritized culture and how losing a minoritized culture may mean a loss of valuable forms of capital for immigrants and their descendants. Existing research suggests this may be a disadvantage. For example, Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, and Holdaway (2008) found that there is a second-generation advantage for those who learn about a minoritized culture where they fare better than their parents and whites on traditional measures such as English proficiency, obtaining jobs in the mainstream labor market, political engagement, and more. The children of immigrants who have access to ethnic culture through close family and community ties have higher self-esteem and better educational outcomes (Portes & Zhou 1993; Portes & Rumbaut 2001).

Patriarchy

The assimilation paradigm does not account for the ways that patriarchy structures patterns of settlement (Donato, Enriquez, & Llewellyn 2017; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Parrado & Flippen 2005; Viruell-Fuentes 2006), consequently shaping the lives of the second generation. Similar to deportation studies, the few studies that integrate gender have focused on women (Donato, Enriquez, & Llewellyn 2017; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994). These studies have found that migration to the United States can make households more gender-egalitarian (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Boehm 2012) and that immigrant women sometimes decide to stay in the United States longer than they had anticipated because of this (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994).

Parrado and Flippen (2005) caution that changes in gendered dynamics vary according to race, class, ethnicity, and legal status.

Patriarchy creates gendered dynamics and gendered norms, and these dynamics and norms shape the incorporation processes of the children of immigrants. Patriarchy places rigid, heteronormative gender roles and division of labor on both mothers and fathers. Mothers are expected to do most of the caregiving work in the family. Thus, mothers tend to stay with their children and not migrate. Men, on the other hand, are expected to financially provide for their family and to be detached from their emotions, which assumes that they will not suffer due to their physical separation from their loved ones after migrating.

Patriarchy structured who was present in Ana's home growing up. Due to gendered dynamics in the family, Ana's mother was the parent who became the primary caregiver of the children while Ana's father lived away from his children to financially support the family. Within a system of white supremacy where whites dominate every institution, children of color are unlikely to learn about their minoritized culture outside of their homes. Patriarchy and white supremacy have created the circumstances whereby Ana is outwardly identified as a woman of color yet has few tools at her disposal to help her navigate racial dynamics in the United States, such as the difficulty she faces in identifying racism.

Global capitalism

Migration is not simply a decision of individuals, but a consequence of global flows of capital (Wallerstein 1998). Large multinational corporations enter poor countries to exploit their lands, raw materials, labor, and markets. They build factories and produce goods that compete with those made locally. The deindustrialized U.S. economy created a bifurcated labor market that offers both highly skilled and unskilled jobs, but few well-paying, working-class jobs in the middle (Kivisto & Faist 2010).

Like Guatemala, the Dominican Republic has experienced migration outflow due to global capitalism. U.S. involvement in the Dominican Republic to maintain control over the country's sugar industry and prevent the implementation of communism peaked in 1961–68. At that time Dominicans had the second highest level of migration to the United States following Mexico (Golash-Boza 2012). Most migrated to seek economic opportunity, something lacking in the Dominican Republic because of U.S. exploitation of the land and workers. This exploitation created a large flow of Dominican migration, which included Ana's grandmother who migrated to the United States around 1965.

Although global capitalism is a macro-level social structure, the positioning of Ana's parents within the global economy reflects this structure. Rose has an Associate's degree from a community college and now works as a medical coder for a hospital. The availability of such jobs reflects the current version of capitalism, which is characterized by deindustrialization and the growth of the service sector. Rose is considered low-skilled, but she

relies on this job and her husband's income as her main sources of household income to support her three children, two of whom are in college.

Ana has overcome many barriers as a first-generation college student, a woman of color, and a child of an immigrant. While her story is a far happier one than Betty's, it nonetheless reflects the role of patriarchy, white supremacy, and global capitalism in shaping access to cultural, familial, and community resources. Global capitalism led to the migration of the members of her family. The historical practices of white supremacy in the Dominican Republic, specifically the erasure of black ancestry from Dominican history, have led to Ana's lack of connection to a Black identity. White supremacy and patriarchy jointly structured Ana's limited exposure to Dominican culture because patriarchy prevented her father from transmitting culture and white supremacy ensured she could not get it elsewhere. In a white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy, power and material and psychological resources are unequally distributed. The intergenerational legacies of white supremacy in the Dominican Republic and the intergenerational loss of culture due to gender roles and gendered divisions of labor resulted in Ana's lack of cultural capital that she could use to challenge these systems. Extending the analysis of the second generation from an assimilation-focused approach to an intersectional critical race approach can offer innovative insights into understanding how the white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy structures the settlement of immigrants and their descendants.

Refugee Studies from an Intersectional CRT Perspective

Mao is a Hmong woman who came to the United States as a child with her widowed mother and eight siblings. Her father died three days after returning from fighting in the Secret War. The United States made extensive use of chemical weapons during the Vietnam War, including Agent Orange and napalm, and it is likely that her father died due to exposure to chemical weapons (Meding & T.M., 2017; Hamilton-Merritt, 1999).

Mao's family fled Laos in 1979, along with 100,000 refugees, many of whom crossed the Mekong River into Thailand (Long, 1993). Like many Hmong refugees, families strategically split up based on gender because they knew that when men were caught they risked being captured and/or killed whereas women and children would be returned to Laos. Mao's brothers thus left first, leaving Mao behind. When Mao, her mother, and her two younger sisters made their first attempt to escape, communist soldiers caught them and returned them to Laos. In their next attempt to seek refuge in Thailand, Mao, her mother and sisters made it half way across the Mekong River onto a river island. As they were waiting for the next group of smugglers to take them across the other half of the river to safety in Thailand, they were attacked by communist soldiers. Fearing for their lives, they returned to Laos, once again to live amongst the communist soldiers. In their third attempt, they made it safely to Thailand in December of 1979. The Thai government refused permanent asylum to the Hmong because they feared the toll of waves of asylum seekers on their fragile economy (Long, 1993). Mao has vivid recollections of eating everything from grasshoppers to

roots. She recalls witnessing sexual violence against young women, and the lifeless bodies of many fellow Hmong refugees during her family's escape when she was 6 years old. She mentioned several times that she had survived against the odds and that this gave her a determination to succeed academically and professionally.

The international community stepped in, and Mao's family was among those resettled in the United States. This likely reflects the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 and the Refugee Act of 1980 (Long, 1993). Mao's family landed by plane in Portland, Oregon in the spring of 1980.

Mao and her mother and eight siblings spent a month living with an American family that sponsored them in a converted porch, picking fruits and helping their sponsors on the farm. Two years later, they moved to the Central Valley of California, where they heard from other refugees that they could cultivate their own land. Mao's mother operated a small farm and Mao was able to finish high school, college, and a master's degree in social work. She earns almost six figures. Her combined household income with her husband is well over \$100,000.

White Supremacy

Although Mao is educationally, economically, and professionally successful, an analysis of her story is incomplete without a discussion of racialization. Mao is racialized as an Asian American, although she primarily identifies as Hmong. Although she has become a U.S. citizen, she does not consider herself American. She explains:

I would not consider myself as American because there is no way I can be an American.... I identify myself as Hmong, that's why it doesn't matter, my hair, my color's not going to change. Even if I dye my [hair] color, they going to look at me and they say she is Asian or Hmong. And so yes, that's why I'm always going to identify as Hmong.

Although Mao acknowledged others may see her as Asian, she emphasizes that she will always identify with her ethnic identity, Hmong.

One could use an ethnicity framework to understand Mao's experiences, as she has benefited from ethnic networks (Zhou & Bankston III, 1998) and takes pride in her ethnicity (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Nevertheless, her experiences as a racialized immigrant also form a key part of her socialization in the United States. Mao was twice passed over for promotion and white colleagues were promoted above her, even in one case when her boss told her she had performed exceptionally well in her interview and could not improve her performance in any way. She has taken on training new workers and interns as an additional responsibility without receiving an increase in pay. She told her boss she would file a formal grievance if the extra work she was doing was not accommodated with special pay. Her boss took away the responsibility of training, but began to assign her more complex cases that had been designated for someone else.

Mao has left the organization where she experienced discrimination and found a company that values her work more highly. Nonetheless she lost income and experienced the stagnation in which minoritized groups are often given fewer economic and psychological rewards for the same work in a white supremacist society (Bonilla-Silva, 1996). A singular focus on

ethnicity would not have accounted for how white supremacy has shaped Mao's life.

Patriarchy

The traumatic nature of Mao and her family's escape from Laos illustrates the impact of patriarchy on girls' and women's lives. Men are more likely to be selected for massacre, and to serve in the army compared to women (Carpenter, 2006). These circumstances created a situation in which traveling with her male relatives would not have afforded Mao, her sisters, and her mother any protection on a highly dangerous escape from Laos.

Mao also works in a gendered profession that is dominated by women (Abrams & Curran, 2004; Salsberg et al., 2017). Mao's cases require her to be patient, sympathetic, sensitive about clients' situations, and willing to educate them about the system – all of which are gendered expectations. Rather than being appreciated for her patience and sensitivity, she was exploited and overworked, to the point where she considered filing for stress leave.

Mao's racialized experiences and her maneuvering within racism in the U.S. context cannot be understood in isolation from gender. Mao's gender helped Mao survive the war, and survive racial and gender injustices in the U.S. context, particularly in her gendered profession. Mao is aware of institutional racism and carefully selects which battles she will fight. She has learned to maneuver white supremacy. Her experiences as a girl delayed her

migration to refuge in Thailand, but that experience provides the conditions and mindset for her resilience in the face of racism.

Global Capitalism

Studies of refugees point to their economic status. Espiritu's (2014) study of Vietnamese refugees shows that resettlement has left many formerly well-to-do families poor. For example, Lien Ngo noted how her dad was wealthy in Vietnam, but in the U.S. context, he is a janitor. This indicates that for Ngo's family, war changed their socioeconomic status from upper to working class. While Hmong refugees rarely hail from the upper classes in their country of origin (Ngo & Lee, 2007), war and migration further impoverish them. Mao's family borrowed money from relatives to get to Thailand and the debt took 17 years to repay in full.

Some scholars note that economic and political interests lead to refugee flows (Massey et al., 1999) without looking at the role of global capitalism specifically. A refugee is someone fleeing his or her country (Bohmer & Shuman, 2008) who has a "well-founded fear of violence" (Zolberg, Suhrke, and Aguayo 1989, p. 33) if he or she returns to home (Nibbs, 2014). Any discussion of refugees must therefore begin with the violence that transformed people into refugees. In the case of Hmong refugees, U.S. intervention in Laos, as in Guatemala and the Dominican Republic, reflects interests driven by global capitalism - principally, to prevent the spread of communism.

The Secret War began when the CIA recruited Hmong people living in Laos to help them in the Vietnam War (Hamilton-Merritt, 1999). The Hmong saw in the North Vietnamese a shared enemy as the Communist regime threatened their way of life, which involved self-government through clans. The end of the Vietnam War thus put the Hmong collaborators in a precarious situation (Vang & Flores, 1999) as soldiers in Laos and Vietnam persecuted them for having aided the United States (Vang, 2012; Hamilton-Merritt, 1999).

U.S. refugee resettlement policies, which provided Mao's family assistance with housing and access to the Aid for Families with Dependent Children and Medicaid programs, access to healthcare, technically apply to all refugee in the United States. However, refugee policies have primarily benefited political refugees from communist regimes (Zhao, 2016). In fact, in 1957, refugees were defined as those fleeing communist nations or the Middle East and refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia made up more than half of the refugees the United States accepted in the 1980s (Zhao, 2016).

Mao's migration was initiated by the Vietnam War, and the United States' intervention into Laos. This war was motivated by global capitalist intentions of preventing the expansion of communism. Patriarchy delayed Mao's refuge to Thailand, while her brothers arrived first. This experience exposed her to more trauma as a young child. Patriarchy also shapes her profession. At the same time, white supremacy continues to shape her

experience as a naturalized citizen as she does not define herself as American and has experienced discrimination in the workplace.

Conclusion

The United States is a white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy and its systems of oppression shape the trajectories of immigrants, their children, refugees, and deportees. They determine the conditions that uproot them from their countries, the labor market and educational opportunities they encounter in the United States, and their interactions with the coercive arm of the state. Any analysis of their lives that does not consider white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy would be incomplete.

This paper has compared and contrasted the experiences of three different women with distinct backgrounds. U.S interventions abroad played a role in the migration patterns of all three women's families. U.S. interest in spreading capitalism and defeating communism drove these interventions as the United States sought to expand its market for goods as well as the global market for cheap labor. These women's families' structural positions as nationals of countries in the Global South that became targets of U.S. imperialism shaped their trajectories. Mao and Ana ultimately reaped some of those benefits of the U.S.'s structural position in the global economy - and even Betty avoided civil war in Guatemala, although it is difficult to be confident she lived a better life in the United States than she would have had if she stayed, given how difficult her life has been. Race, class, and gender have shaped her suffering, just as it has at times thwarted Mao's ability to

reap the benefits of success in the United States, and will likely constrain Ana's opportunities as well.

Integrating an understanding of the white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy into our understanding of the stories of Betty, Ana, and Mao illuminates the conditions they have faced. It is an important new direction for immigration research, revealing how various intersecting forms of oppression condition movement, settlement, and removal of immigrants and their descendants. It is incumbent upon scholars to name the systems of oppression which shape our lives and to include in our analyses a discussion of how these systems shape our lives. Previous research on migrants' trajectories has addressed pieces of this system, yet as we have shown, it is crucial to consider how all three systems shape the possibilities for everyone, and, especially for migrants.

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