

# Migration and Citizenship

Theory, History, Literature

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# AGENDA Week 2 -

## The Migrant Crises in the US before 1950

### 1) The Long 19th Century

- Colonization, Genocide
- Cultural Hegemony; or, the Doctrine of Manifest Destiny
- "Yellow Peril" becomes Chinese Exclusion
- Escape from Pogroms: Eastern European Migration



### 2) Turn of the Twentieth Century

- Colonial dominance in the region
- Anti-Mexican Sentiment



### 3) Migrations and "America"

- The "nation of nations" vs. "melting pot"



## *American Progress (1872), John Gast*

"an allegorical representation of the  
modernization of the new west."

- Settler colonial occupation, as the distinct form of colonization used to establish countries like the United States, Canada, and modern-day Israel, is based on the assumption of white Western European supremacy
- Whereas other forms of colonization (in places like India, Africa, South America) may have employed genocidal methods to extract resources for financial gain, the extraction of resources was the priority, not the establishment of a new homeland via genocide. With settler colonialism, a new culture develops in the colony that is seen as preferable to return.
- In 1823, the Monroe Doctrine makes official what had previously been a widely held cultural belief that European settlers and their descendants in the U.S. were fated to uproot the native population and expand the geographic borders of the newly independent United States of America. The term for this belief was later named ***manifest destiny***.
- As the U.S. expands into the West, they are met with resistance from Native American tribes. After making a series of treaties and violating these, the U.S. government decides to remove Native tribes to the west, beginning an on-going process of genocide.



- **settler colonialism** – colonization that uses forms of genocide, including forced displacement, starvation, chemical or biological warfare, and traditional warfare, in order to create a new homeland for the colonizing community (e.g. United States, Canada, Israel)
- **extraction colonization** – the process of setting up a satellite governing location by way of formal or informal warfare in order to extract resources and other means of capital gains from the colony (e.g. South America, Africa, India)
- **manifest destiny** – the widely held cultural belief in Nineteenth Century United States that racially white, ethnically Anglo-Europeans were destined to expand the country from east to west coast
- **The Trail of Tears** – the forced displacement of various Native American tribes, including Cherokee, Seminole, Creek, Chickasaw, and Choctaw, by U.S. military forces and informal militias that lasted from 1830 with the Indian Removal Act through the 1850s

## ***Native American Treaty (1903), Roman Fekonja***

# World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction, Immanuel Wallerstein (2004)



**Horse Racing of the Sioux Indians (1836),  
Karl Bodmer**

- "The liberals wished to shed the albatross of association with the reign of terror and yet salvage what they thought was the underlying spirit that emerged from the French Revolution. They insisted that change was not only normal but inevitable, because we live in a world of eternal progress toward the good society...Liberals made a distinction between different kinds of hierarchies. They were not against what they thought of as *natural* hierarchies; they were against *inherited* hierarchies. Natural hierarchies, they argued, were not only natural but acceptable to the mass of the population and therefore a legitimate and legitimated basis of authority, whereas inherited hierarchies made social mobility impossible. Against conservatives who were the 'Party of Order,' liberals presented themselves as the 'Party of Movement.'"
- "Since every educated person was a specialist in something, it followed that those who would be allowed to exercise the role of citizen were those who were educated and were therefore specialists...but what kind of education? The liberals argued that education had now to shift from the 'traditional' forms of knowledge, what we today call the humanities, toward the only theoretical basis of practical knowledge, science. Science (replacing not only theology but philosophy as well) offered the path for material and technological progress, and hence for moral progress...Only political leaders who based their immediate programs on scientific knowledge were reliable guides to future welfare."

# "What is a nation?" by Ernest Renan (1882)

A people shares a glorious heritage as well, regrets, and a common program to realize. Having suffered, rejoiced, and hoped together is worth more than common taxes or frontiers that conform to strategic ideas and is independent of racial or linguistic considerations. "Suffered together", I said, for shared suffering unites more than does joy. In fact, periods of mourning are worth more to national memory than triumphs because they impose duties and require a common effort. A nation is therefore a great solidarity constituted by the feeling of sacrifices made and those that one is still disposed to make. It presupposes a past but is reiterated in the present by a tangible fact: consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life. A nation's existence is (please excuse the metaphor) a daily plebiscite, just as an individual's existence is a perpetual affirmation of life. Yes, I know, that is less metaphysical than divine right and less brutal than so-called law of history. In the scheme of ideas with which I present you, a nation has no more right than a king to say to a province: "You belong to me, I am taking you." For us, a province is its inhabitants and, if anyone in this affair has the right to be consulted, it is the inhabitant. A nation never has a true interest in annexing or holding territory that does not wish to be annexed or held. The vow of nations is the sole legitimate criterion and that to which it is necessary to constantly return.

Nations are not eternal. They have a beginning and they will have an end. A European confederation will probably replace them. But, if so, such is not the law of the century in which we live. At the present moment, the existence of nations is a good and even necessary thing. Their existence is the guarantee of liberty, a liberty that would be lost if the world had only one law and one master.

Man is a slave neither of his race, his language, his religion, the course of his rivers, nor the direction of his mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, in sane mind and warm heart, created a moral conscience that calls itself a nation. As long as this moral conscience proofs its strength by sacrifices that require the subordination of the individual to the communal good, it is legitimate and has the right to exist.

# World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction, Immanuel Wallerstein (2004)

- "Nationalism is secured by hostility to enemies. Most states in the core sought to instill this hostility toward some neighbor, on some ground or other. But there was another, ultimately more important, form of this hostility, that of the pan-European world facing the rest of the world, a hostility institutionalized as racism. This was located in the diffusion of the concept of 'civilization'—in the singular, as opposed to the plural. The pan-European world, dominating the world-system economically and politically, defined itself as the heart, the culmination, of a civilizational process which it traced back to Europe's presumed roots in Antiquity. Given the state of its civilization and its technology in the nineteenth century, the pan-European world claimed the duty to impose itself, culturally as well as politically, on everyone else—Kipling's 'White man's burden,' the 'manifest destiny' of the United States, France's *mission civilisatrice*.
- "The nineteenth century became the century of renewed direct imperialism, with this added nuance. Imperial conquest was no longer merely the action of the state, or even of the state encouraged by the churches. It had become the passion of the nation, the duty of the citizens. And this last part of the liberal program was taken up with vengeance by the conservatives, who saw in it a sure way of muting class divisions and thereby guaranteeing internal order."
- cultural hegemony – the dominance of a particular cultural belief, order, or phenomenon (e.g. manifest destiny, white supremacy); "There was also a sociopsychological argument—that the system held ordinary people captive by organizing their psyches, and that undoing the socialization of these psyches was an indispensable prerequisite for social change" (p. 69)
- nationalism/patriotism – the support, belief, or investment in the notion of superiority based on common nationhood (as opposed to religion, class, gender, sexuality, or other identitarian labels)
- racism – the notion that one 'race' of humans is superior to another, categorized based largely on phenotypic qualities and social situations
- eugenics – the pseudoscience that develops in the nineteenth century as a self-proclaimed 'science' of race, which applied the concept of survival of the fittest to society and which assumed that there were levels of civilization; to perform eugenics was to attempt to speed-up evolution from a primitive stage of civilization to the modern stages

# the 'Yellow Peril' and Chinese Exclusion

- As the *American Experience* ep. points out, Chinese immigrants were the first 'undocumented' immigrants in U.S. history. Moreover, the exclusion of any persons from the country was not a political goal or outcome until racism against Asian people ratcheted up in the mid-nineteenth century.
  - No law was made defining native-born citizenship or naturalization until the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 is notably just the second law (after the Constitution) in 100+ years of U.S. law to restrict access to citizenship based on race.
- A series of events led to the embrace of the jingoistic racism embodied by 'the Yellow Peril' and later codified into law by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882
  - Jan 1848: Gold is discovered in California
    - Between 1848-1850, Native Americans and ethnic Latinos are driven out of the state (or are starved to death, massacred)
  - 1850: California statehood
    - state legislature establishes foreign miner taxes
    - once gold is secured from topsoil layer, corporations begin using dynamite and hydraulic extraction techniques – this form of industrialization of gold extraction leads to a labor surplus, fomenting anti-immigrant sentiment (as immigrants often worked tougher jobs for lower wages to survive)
  - 1863-1869: the First Transcontinental Railroad is being built, largely by Irish and Chinese immigrants. Prior to and during this time, U.S. diplomats go to China to recruit laborers (Burlingame Treaty). The Chinese are given the toughest stretch of the railroad (through the Sierra-Nevada Mountains)



*The Last Spike at promontory summit in Utah (1869)*

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  - 1861-1865: American Civil War
  - 1873-1879: The Great Depression
  - 1875: Page Act of 1875 is the first law in the US restricting immigration, defining 'undesirables' as East Asian women
  - 1877: Denis Kearney establishes Workingman's Party with the explicit slogan "The Chinese Must Go!" The party wins seats in the California state legislature
  - 1879: New constitution in California dictates that the state has the right to decide who is allowed to live within its jurisdiction. Chinese are banned from holding employment by corporations and state, county or municipal governments
  - 1880: Chinese Exclusion Act (20 yrs) passes both houses, vetoed by President
  - 1882: Chinese Exclusion Act (10 yrs) passes and is signed into law
  - 1885: Rock Springs Massacre in Wyoming, where white mobs burned down Chinatown, stabbed and beat Asian people, or else drove them into the wilderness where they would starve to death or be eaten by carnivorous predators
  - 1892: Geary Act of 1892 requires all ethnically Chinese people to have internal passport papers, bans Chinese from being able to bear witness in court and does not allow Chinese to pay bail. This law is maintained until 1943, when, as the U.S. is at war with Japan, they sought to ally with Chiang-Kai Shek in Republic of China.
    - The law is challenged by *Fong Yue Ting v. United States* (1893) but the SCOTUS upholds the law, commenting that govts has the right to deport and set conditions of residence for whomever resides in its jurisdiction
  - 1906 Earthquake and fire in San Francisco



**The Yellow Terror in All His Glory (1899)**



# Political Assassinations: Taking the Consequences (1879)

## Harper's

# Belonging, Citizenship, and Migration in the Modern (post 1776) Age

Recovering and revising (literary) histories of mobility, these essays explore the “patterns, conditions, and experience of migration at a moment that we might characterize as the beginnings of modernity” (1). *Migration and Modernities* argues as a whole that the mass migrations and dislocations of the eighteenth century indelibly transformed our modern subjectivity; it addresses the sense of rootlessness and estrangement that came to classify these decades. Tracking the effects of war, imperialism, technological advancements, and uneven development across cultures and emphasizing the experience of the “arrival and departure of migrants,” including that experienced by “itinerant laborers, vagrants, sailors, and soldiers” (5, 6), the volume focuses on the ruptures and removals from the comforts of place and the logic of the local, that is, one’s culture, community, and nation. The essays also explore the ironic relationship between the consolidation of political, ethnic borders and the politics and aesthetics of occlusion and exile. And for these scholars, such analysis is crucial to both individual and collective identity formations, including the construction and consolidation of the modern nation-state.

(Omar F. Miranda)

# Anti-Immigration Sentiment in the East:



**1924 Immigration Bill**  
permanently bans Asian immigration,  
establishes quotas for European nations,  
establishes Border Patrol

threat of 'mafia' 'anarchists' and 'socialists'

# Belonging, Citizenship, and Migration in the Modern (post 1776) Age

- This approach has its roots in Werbner and Yuval- Davis's distinction between political science definitions of citizenship that derive from "the relationship between the individual and the state" and those that "define citizenship as a more total relationship, inflected by identity, social positioning, cultural assumptions, institutional practices and a sense of belonging." Important in this context is the concept of cultural citizenship which in anthropology has acquired two somewhat different meanings, one emphasizing immigrant agency and the other processes of governmentality and subject-making.
- cultural citizenship is defined as "the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) with respect to the norms of the dominant national community, without compromising one's right to belong, in the sense of participating in the nation- state's democratic processes." Cultural citizenship accommodates "multicultural conceptions of political belonging" and draws attention to how people practice citizenship in their daily lives. These participatory forms of citizenship are often the "strategic actions" of immigrants who may or may not be legal citizens. The politics of inclusion and exclusion figure more strongly in Aihwa Ong's formulation of cultural citizenship to describe a "process of subjectification in the Foucauldian sense of self-making and being-made by power relations that produce consent through schemes of surveillance, discipline, control, and administration."
- Research on the reception of immigrants reveals much about issues of national identity as well as about who is deemed to be "deserving of the privileges of citizenship"

(Caroline B. Brettell)

# Several 'Great' Migrations

- After 1900, Mexican immigration sharply increased the Hispanic population of the Southwest and vastly expanded its geographic range of settlement: it was Mexican immigrants who created a Southwest broadly identified with persons of Mexican origin. The Porfirio Díaz dictatorship (1876–1911) in Mexico had promoted rapid economic modernization and industrial, agricultural, and transportation enterprises that, once developed, made “emigration... a part of Mexican life”. Population growth in Mexico abetted the migratory impulse. Life expectancy rose modestly in the late nineteenth century while birth rates remained at very high levels. Mexican workers first moved to northern states of that country, where wages were substantially higher than in central Mexico, and many then crossed the border into the United States.
- Intense demand for Mexican workers in the United States emerged at the same moment, concordant with economic expansion in the Southwest and with the decline in immigration from Europe, a decline that began with World War I and was hastened by restrictionist legislation in the 1920s. As Secretary of Labor James J. Davis argued in 1924: “The greater the restriction against Europe the greater will be the number of Mexican and Canadian admissions.... If a demand exists for common labor and that labor is not permitted to come in from Europe, the employers of labor are going to look toward Mexico and Canada as a source of supply”

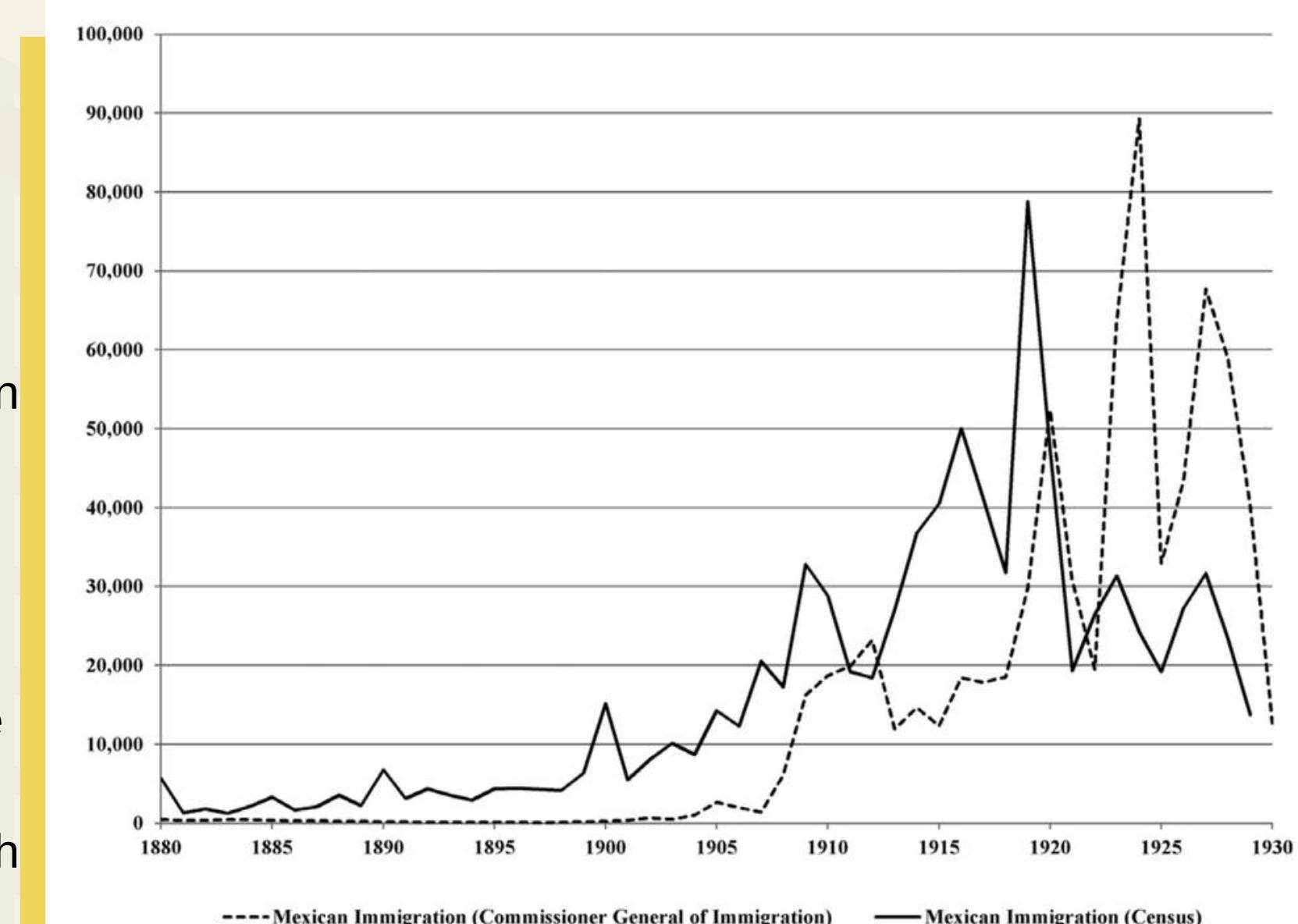
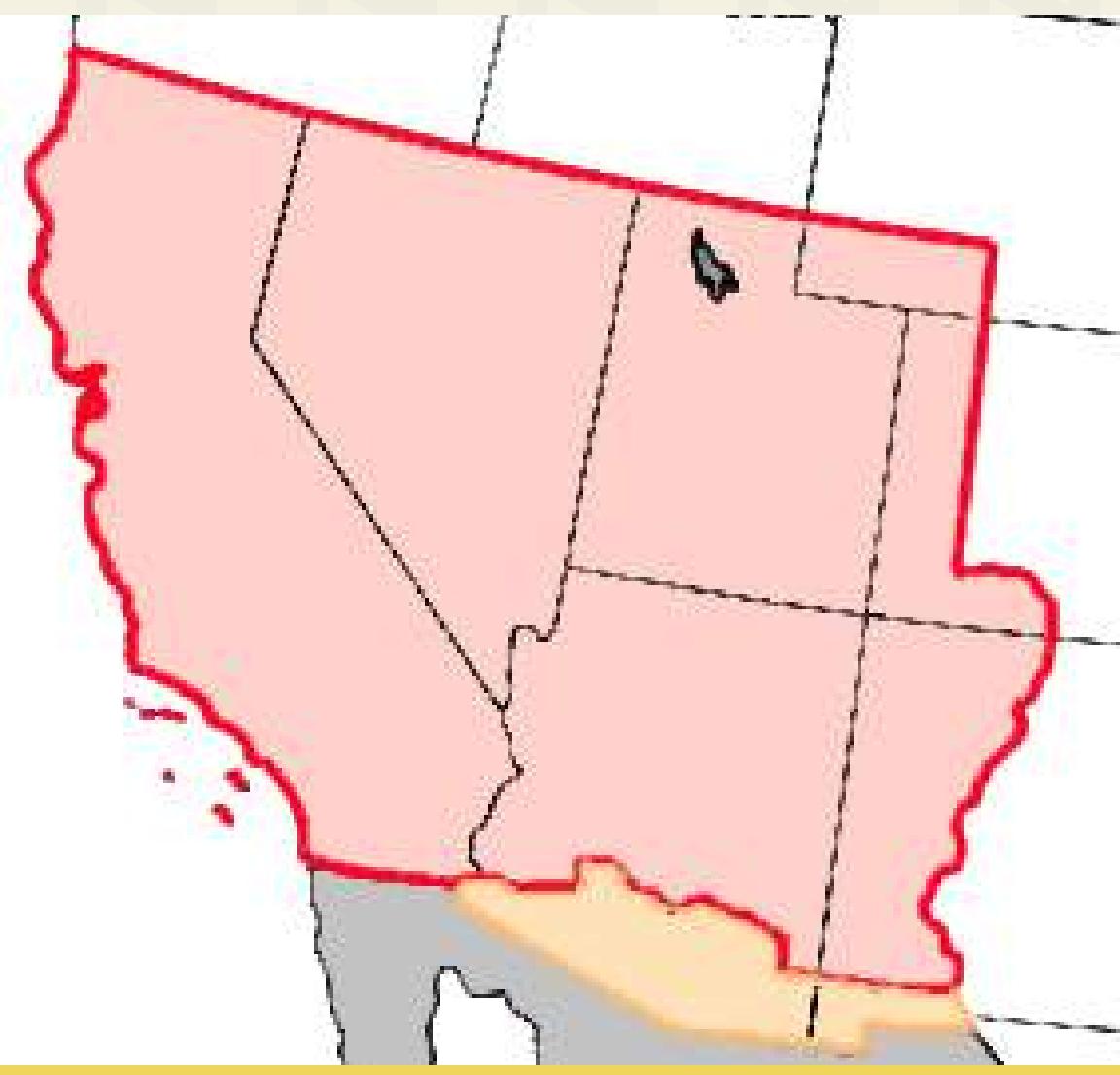


FIGURE 2 Trends in Mexican Immigration, 1880–1930

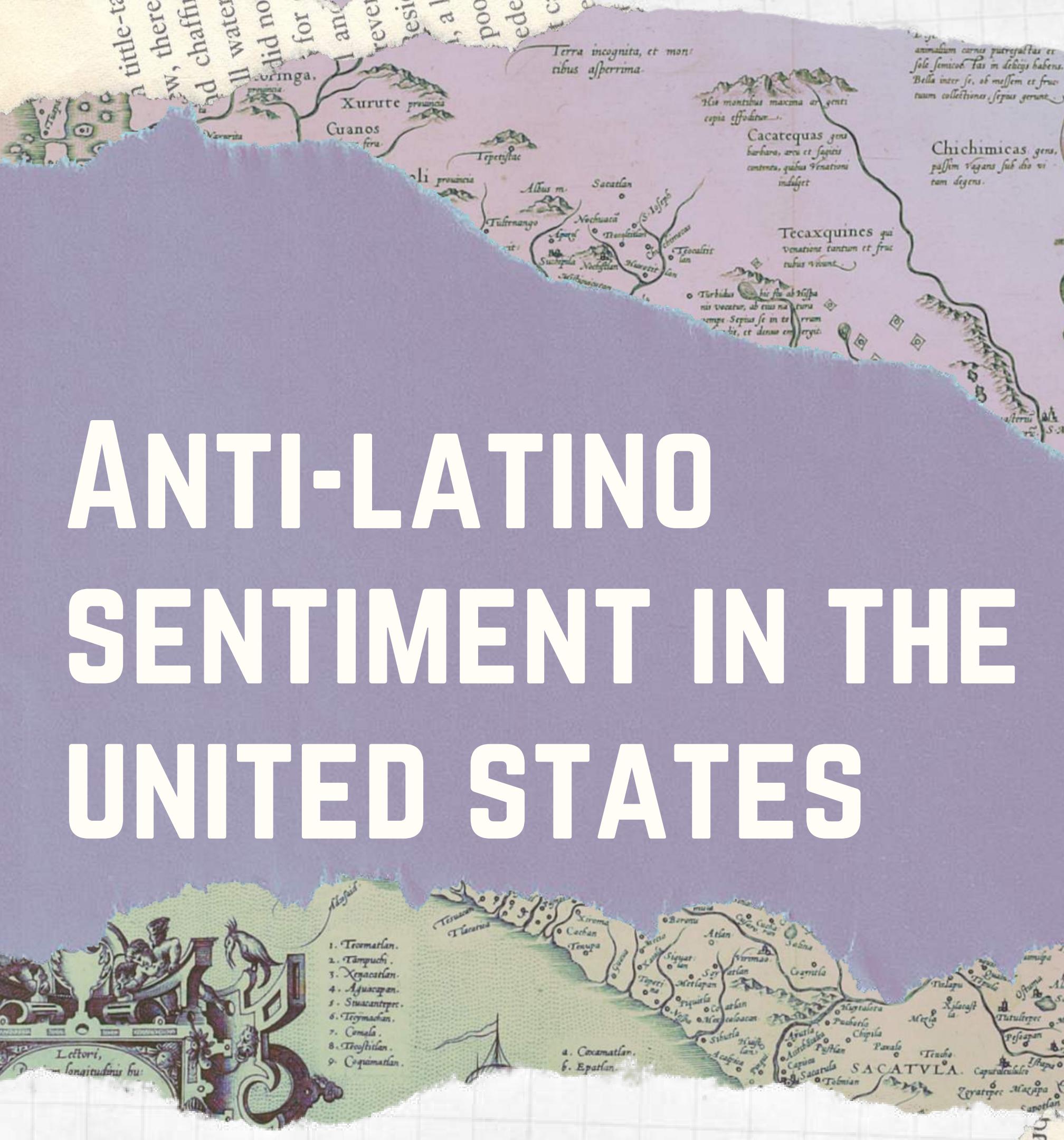
# Belonging, Citizenship, and Migration in the Modern (post 1776) Age



## LAND CEDED FROM MEXICO AFTER TREATY OF GUADALUPE-HIDALGO

- While immigration from Mexico was limited neither by the stringent quotas applied to European immigration after 1921 nor by the outright exclusion faced by would-be Asian immigrants, border crossing became more tightly regulated in the first decades of the twentieth century. Requirements for entry rose, in the form of visas, fees, literacy tests, and medical inspections. Some scholars think these regulations marked immigrants from Mexico as aliens whose entry was to be restricted and who, if they did cross the border, were not to be allowed to remain.
- "This literature links the immigration history we recount to a process of racialization. Because many states base claims to authority on the ability to speak for a national or "ethnic" group, arguments for admission or exclusion of immigrants are often made in terms of ethnicity. Movements to bar Asian and Eastern and Southern European immigrants from the United States, while originating in labor market competition, also had a powerful ethnic and racial component. Mexicans became the focus of similar nativism, particularly in the 1920s."
- "Ngai argues that **the racialization of European immigrants faded after their restriction, with all national groups subsumed into a racial category of white. Asians, and, increasingly Mexicans, however, continued to be constructed as racially distinct** in immigration debates and policy. The racial view of Mexicans was tightly bound up with their rising immigration—thus, in 1930, at the peak of the early-twentieth-century flow, the Census Bureau added the Mexican racial category"

# ANTI-LATINO SENTIMENT IN THE UNITED STATES



# MAKING OF 'AMERICA' IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- The Nineteenth Century is when the 'American' as an ideological and social construct is formed. American becomes an identity, America becomes a global/imperial power, a military and naval power, a colonization power
- 'Rugged individualism' and 'cowboy' as ideological/social/aesthetic identities are fashioned in and throughout the Nineteenth Century. The rugged individual is rooted in the exoticization of the 'non-conquered' western lands while the 'cowboy' is the hero against the 'savage Indian.'
- **Trail of Tears (1813-1850)** is not only the removal of the Native American population (via genocide or relocation) and therefore a colonization of native lands; the Trail of Tears is done in service of and to protect the 'American' (white Anglo) as the dominant identity of the U.S.
- **Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo** ends the **Mexican-American War (1844-1848)**, gives a natural border between the countries (Rio Grande). US pays Mexico (\$15M) for the land that will become NM, CA, AZ, TX, UT, CO, which was at the time *half* the total land of Mexico
- **Spanish-American War (1898)** leads to the U.S. annexation of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines. The U.S. now had its own colonies. (Also in 1898, US annexes Kingdom of Hawai'i).

# WHEN AMERICANS LYNCHED MEXICANS

- **July 5, 1851:** mob of 2,000 in CA watch lynching of Juana Loaiza
- **Panic of 1873** (called 'Great Depression' before 1930s) leads to economic protectionism
- **Nov. 3, 1910:** Antonio Rodríguez, 20, abducted from a jail in TX, bound him to a mesquite tree, doused him with kerosene and burned him alive.
- **Nov. 20, 1910:** Mexican Revolution begins
- **1911:** Antonio Gómez, 14, lynched by over 100 people in TX
- **Immigration Act of 1917** imposes literacy tests on immigrants entering U.S.
- **Zimmerman Telegram** intercepted by British during WWI, creates animosity to Latinos throughout U.S.
- Establishment of **de-lousing and fumigation baths** in chemicals for Mexicans entering at the Southern U.S. border (this continues through the 1950s)
- **Bisbee Deportation** of 1300 striking miners, supporters, and citizen bystanders (driven to Hermanas, Mexico in cattle cars without food or water for 16 hours and left in the desert without money, provisions, or means of transportation)



# MID-CENTURY ANTI-MEXICAN SENTIMENT

- 1918: **Porvenir Massacre** of fifteen ethnic Mexicans (who were unarmed and some of whom were young boys) by Texas Rangers in Presidio, TX for alleged participation in recent thefts and murders in the area
- 1918: **Battle of Ambos Nogales** creates permanent border wall between Mexico and U.S.
- **1930s:** Between 500,000 and 2 million individuals (60% of whom were birthright American citizens) deported to Mexico during the **Mexican Repatriation Program**
- 1942: José Gallardo Díaz murdered and 15 Mexican-American defendants arrested and convicted without evidence, leading to protests by Latin youth in SoCal
- 1943: **Zoot Suit Riots** in LA break out after servicemen awaiting WWII assignments in the Pacific Theater (sometimes aided by police) raid civilian households looking for the Latin youth who had protested the handling of the Díaz case





THE HIGH TIDE OF IMMIGRATION—A NATIONAL MENACE.

Immigration statistics for the past year show that the tide of immigrants was the greatest in our history, and also that the hard-working peasants are now being supplanted by the criminals and scoundrels of all Europe.

The High Tide of Immigration  
—A National Menace (1903)  
Judge magazine

# Next class...

## The Migrant Crises in America since 1950

### READING

- "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse" by Kim D. Butler
- "Human Rights and Forced Migration" by Jane McAdam (*Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*)
- "Forced Migrants as 'Illegal' Migrants" by Stephan Scheel and Vicki Squire (*Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*)
- "Capturing Capitalism's Work: Competing Photo-Narratives of the Bracero Program" by Erica Toffoli
- "Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man" by Hannah Arendt

