

US-WORLD 26 Notes

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1 January 31st

Double-sided history - humans decide what takes shape as history

1.1 Unpacking Citizenship

The nightmares of equal citizenship Linda Kerber - “braided citizenship”

How does one become a citizen?

- Birth
- Parents citizens
- Naturalization

The promise of citizenship: rights/privileges

Concepts/Terms:

- Jus Soli
- Jus Sanguinis
- Civil/Political/Social Citizenship
- Coverture

Aristotle’s Politics (350 BCE) Human beings are by nature social, so they will form states. A good state maximizes health/safety/success of its citizens. Citizenship is about active participation.

The Body Politic State analogous to human. Hierarchy of interdependent parts

Aristotle, “The Generation of Animals” Early understanding of human reproduction. Science and politics tied together. Residue of these ideals in contemporary world. Men active/women passive.

Social citizenship Understanding how we belong to a society/collective

T.H. Marshall - 3 pillars of citizenship Civil citizenship (legal rights). Political citizenship (voting, holding office, *active* participation). Social citizenship (basic liberties). The disenfranchisements of felons circumvents political citizenship. Labeling people of color “criminals.”

Conflict between civil/political and social citizenship. Protection from workplace dangers (social citizenship). *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), women were disallowed from working as many hours (violation of civil citizenship). Why not protect men as well as women? Men thought to be sovereign, not dependent, not propagating citizenry.

Who was under this protection? White women (did not intervene in the case of African American women).

Castle doctrines People can protect themselves with lethal force on property. At odds with states’ desire to stop domestic violence.

Couverture Women’s citizenship rights derive from father or husband. Many overturned in 19th c. but effects late into 20th c. (laws preventing women from signing for credit cards).

Vagrancy laws If non-white, not working for white man, labeled a “vagrant.” Immigrants could be discharged (criminalization of poverty)

2 February 4th – Imagining Community

From last time: Only two states allow felons to vote, even from prison. All other states inhibit civil citizenship rights of felons. Thirteen states allow felons to vote after prison release.

Two women’s stories similar, but with very different tones. Thinking about Truillot’s silenced history – what role does sexual shame play?

2.1 Matoaka

Also known as Pocahontas. c. 1595-1617. Married John Rolfe.

Folklore: falls madly in love with Captain John Smith. Loves him so much that she rescues him when he is about to be killed by her father. He returns to England because of an injury. Then she marries John Rolfe, gives birth to son, dies at 22.

Story told by John Smith, published in 1819 (long after his death). He started telling the story 15 years after it supposedly happened. Really, likely forced to married John Rolfe. Smith likely fabricated the aggression of the tribe to justify later actions.

Many of first families of Virginia trace their lineage to Pocohontas (people who identify as unequivocally white).

The Pocohontas Exception of the Racial Integrity Act of Virginia. In 1924, everyone put into a registry in which everyone was white or colored. White person cannot marry any non-white person unless they have $\frac{1}{16}$ or less American Indian blood.

2.2 Malinche

Mother of *La Raza*, Treacherous Chingada. Just after Spanish invaded modern Mexico, declared it new Spain. Knew Aztec language, a type of Mayan, and learned Spanish quickly. Spanish became dependant upon her for translation.

Pocohontas became 'Rebecca' when she married John Rolfe.

Repartmento A colonial labor regime. Indigenous women given to spanish men as concubines. Sexual slavery runs through narratives told about her, but not Matoaka.

Had a son with Cortez, so in some ways she is held up as the mother of *La Raza*, the "Mexican race." Both the stories of these women come from other people's stories about them.

How to mythologies of so-called interracial sex influence shared histories? How are the narratives politicized? How do they reflect different people's access to power?

Malinche's nickname: *La Chingada*: "the screwed one."

Imagined Communities Differentiates between actual community and imagined community. The difference between an entryway and a nation. In entryway, we identify with people because we actually interact. Limits efficacy of interaction to shape shared interest. Why would people risk their lives for "the nation?"

A certain familiarity to stories like Pocohontas that gets rooted in the minds of the nation.

Hernan Cortes 1485-1547. Diaz wrote a story as a soldier under Cortes. Written when Diaz when was 80. Malinche was baptized, took name Dona Marina. Malinchista means traitor, someone who sleeps with the enemy. This word has been encoded as a feminine word because of its association of a woman who supposedly betrayed her race/nation.

Thinking about how this story has become part of a nation's common sense (the protests when a statue of her and Cortes was put up). The opinion of her was more negative when Mexico was fighting for independence from Spain (until 1821). They

became independent, only to find the the colossus of the north imposing upon Mexican sovereignty.

Celebratory image as the mother of the first “Mestizo” in 1925. The ambivalence and shame of her legacy live on – 1950 “The Labyrinth of Solitude” discusses Mexican culture caught between indigenous peoples and European occupiers. Portrays Melinche as a victim. Chicana feminists in the 1970s tried to reclaim the maligned figure, emphasized her as a powerful, intelligent woman who navigates a complex path to survival at a time of violence.

On Wednesday, we continue looking at stories of so-called interracial sex. Note that there are many different definitions of interracial sex – up until 1967, states had different definitions of this term. Also, note that these laws are only to prevent anyone white from marrying someone non-white. Think about why.

Historian Gary Nash asks why the United States didn’t become a “mestizo nation.”

3 February 6th – Melting Pots, Metissage, and Mestizo Origin Stories

Thinking about braided citizenship – a braid is a set of ropes intertwined in a non-linear way. Also, brings different elements together in unexpected ways.

Colonial legacies of the braided citizenship. Effects of race, gender, sex, class.

Truillot - “every history is a particular bundle of silences.” Silences at four moments of historical production. “Power begins at the source.” Fact creation (sources), fact assembly (archive), fact retrieval (narrative), retrospective significance (history).

Fact Creation Thinking about Matoaka/Malinche, what narratives do we have? Third party stories, their lineage. Why do we lack narratives directly from them? At least in the case of Malinche, we know she was very literate. Thinking about the balance of power at this time – thought that Matoaka was enslaved at some point. Also some thought that they resisted the system, tried to navigate the system to take power for themselves.

Fact Assembly Human intentionality – the choices that go into deciding what to save

Fact Retrieval The stories that were told by others after the fact. Not only subject to the silences of the historical generation already happened, but also the fallibility of human memory, as well as the perceived importance of the person telling the story.

Retrospective significance Significant stories speak volumes about the aspirations and thoughts of the nation.

Captivity Narratives First ‘best-seller’ of the colonies. Ambivalent portrayal of Native Americans – she befriended them. Also described them as savages because of their religious differences. Material consequences from a book like this – idea that Native American men sought to capture/rape women (even though rape never mentioned), justifying later violence against Native Americans.

Racial formation “The sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed.” Race is a power-infused process, not a natural or biological fact.

Castas paintings Spanish, 17th/18th c. new Spain (Mexico). Emerged as a way of depicting class differentials between people. Today, we view it as a formative part of our modern idea of race.

Harvard had an Indian College est. 1655

Castas paintings depict various marital pairings and offspring. Idea of ‘one drop rule’ already present in the blackness of some offspring.

4 February 11th – Histories Hidden in Plain Sight

See how certain assumptions taken for granted by large groups change over time. In readings this week. What do these histories of evolutions of assumptions mean for citizenship and belonging?

Today: thinking about how some of these hidden histories are closer than we might think.

Historical amnesias: sometimes intentional, sometimes unintentional forgetting of unpleasant facts

Paul Revere Famous poem from 1860 by Longfellow. Midnight ride marking beginning of military engagement of Revolutionary War. Has been held up as example of patriotism that freed US.

Mark and Philis, servants of John Codman. Killed and hung in Gibbet (iron chains), as an example to other enslaved people, for 20 years. Paul Revere rode past ‘Mark in chains’ – a landmark.

Connecticut didn’t completely outlaw slavery until 1848. Not all northern states were on the same page.

Thomas Jefferson Eugene Foster, pathologist who searched for genetic link between descendants of Thomas Jefferson and his slave Sally Hemings. Found link in 1998.

No documentation of Sally Hemings. No actual words, only their descendants. A pathologist comes out with these findings, a film comes out 2 years later to make sense of this relationship.

Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence. Excelled in many different fields. Freed seven of his slaves, all members of Hemings family. Not mentioned in official biography, Sally and her children listed amongst his possessions.

Member of Anti-federalist party, but acquired Louisiana in 1803. Did some major things to expand the size and power of the US.

Republican Motherhood Thinking about the emergence of ‘civil citizenship.’ People declaring their citizenship/belonging through the courts. What about ‘political citizenship?’ Could everyone vote? Free women were citizens, but demonstrated their citizenship in the home. Remained to provide care, educate the next generation.

In Virginia, laws in 1660s say that all children born to enslaved women are enslaved. Age of consent laws protect only white girls. Missouri – any woman can use lethal force to protect herself from sexual violation. In 1840s, enslaved woman kills her master defending herself, but is found guilty of murder and executed. Even if race wasn’t written into laws, the way in which they were applied reinforced the second class citizenship.

Rumors started in 1802 about Jefferson, taken hold of by opposition party (in effort to prevent his reelection). He was reelected anyway, but discontent spread. Scandal not about being unmarried to Hemings, or allowing his children to be enslaved, but rather that he would be critical of slavery and still own slaves.

Clotel: invention based on Sally Hemings’ story.

5 February 13th – Monticello’s Body

Monticello ‘virtual tour.’ Monticello now has small acknowledgements to the slaves. A slave burial ground was discovered in 2001, and Jefferson’s descendants voted to deny Sally Hemings’ descendants being buried there. 5000 acres.

Monticello not what it appears to be – hidden tunnels etc. Jefferson died 4 million 2013 dollars in debt. Property structured like a big farm, not a plantation.

Jefferson was 2nd largest land/slave owner in Virginia. No slave cabins remain, just as no slave ships have survived. Alcove in Jefferson’s bedroom large enough for a person, boarded up when news about Sally Hemings arose.

Jefferson burned all correspondances between himself and his wife when she died. Managed to erase Martha Jefferson’s voice entirely.

6 February 20th – National Museum of African American History and Culture

Praxis The process by which a theory or skill is practiced, becomes applied.

- American narrative

All four of Truillot's silences present. Bears the burden of being the "official," or the government's version, of black history. Should the narrative be a story of pain, or highlight the uplifting part of the story. How should narrative end? With country overcoming racial history, or highlighting how racism is still a major problem?

Only talking about one aspect silences the others. Answer from director: African-American culture used on lens to define what it means to be America.

- Politics of racial healing

Located near the National Museum of American History: how to ensure that they are seen as complementary, rather than notably separate.

- Process of remembering

- Scarcity of sources

Very few slave possessions surviving, can't have whole wall full of documents too.

Draw attention to the fact that pieces are missing – ask what this means about the period. Have to be creative about the collection.

- Audience

7 February 25th – Propagating the Citizenry Inside and Out

Slept through it.

8 February 27th – The Politics of Exclusion

U.S. Census excluded Native people until 1860.

- 1862 Homestead act: denied to those who had raised arms against the country (Civil War)

“An Amalgamation Waltz” – 1839 propaganda based on notions of interracial mixing. “Practical Amalgamation (The Dinner Party)” – also 1839.

How do these ‘texts’ help us understand racial formation? What kind of affect would these images have generated among their audience (white citizens).

Sense of who stands to gain from racial equality, who will lose. Sense of hostility from white audience. Even among abolitionists, fear to take it as far as racial equality, because of implications of interracial sex (especially black men/white women, as depicted here).

Crowley text from 1860s ‘If you eliminate slavery, this will happen’ – attempt to ‘embarrass’ Republican party.

Marriage is a way that people are treated as part of the ‘family’ of the state. Laws decided who you cannot marry define citizenship/belonging.

Different states had a different ideas about interracial marriage. Laws calling something ‘interracial’ actively constructs racial boundaries. Changes way citizens view each other. Did not outlaw marriage between racially minoritized people.

Power of Science Science is influencing the kind of laws the state develops. In 19th c., science becomes supreme mode of categorizing/understanding human body. Belief in the heritability of certain characteristics (blood, interracial sex produces impure blood). Even though Darwin proposes that all humans are descended from a single ancestor, thought that the existence of races represent different species. Production of science is inextricable from human subjectivity – the biases of the day. Late 19th c. growth of cities, industrialization – science becomes a ‘solution’ that will solve the problems of overpopulation (‘Liberatory Biologism’).

Physiognomy – the belief that deviant/pathologized body has visible evidence of immorality contained within. Immigration officials charged with allowing citizens/excluding. LPC category – likely to become a public charge. Belief that trained officials could determine that an immigrant would become a vagrant. Women and children traveling alone without a male protector are singled out.

The Page Law 1875, First U.S. immigration law excluding undesirable categories of human beings. Sound like it is protecting people from forced labor jobs, also protecting women from prostitution? But what it actually does is criminalize/exclude certain types of people – targeted at Chinese. Precursor to 1882 law explicitly forbidding non-wealthy Chinese. Far more men coming in from China.

‘Yellow Peril’ – notion that Chinese immigrants were unassimilable. Similar gesture to the Amalgamation Waltz pictures – disenfranchisement of whites.’

14th Amendment – equal protection clause. Shift from jus sanguinis (blood right) to jus soli (born in U.S.). Expands definition of citizenship. Designed to guarantee former slaves citizenship.

15th Amendment – debate about whether to include sex. Extension of ‘political’ citizenship to all *men*.

9 March 4th – The Queer Career of Jim Crow: Scientific Racism, Sexology, and the Politics of Pathology

Prof. Somerville’s essay provides examples: 1875 Page age prohibits the immigration of Chinese women “for purposes of prostitution.” Racialized and sexualized assumptions. Ratio of Chinese men to women was 20:1 at the time it was passed.

State is trying to prohibit Asian family from taking root. Asian citizenship is being curtailed.

Photo of completion of trans-continental railroad depicts all white workers. Visual silence – Chinese workers made invisible by their absence.

Civil Rights amendments 13th/14th/15th amendments. 14th amendment: emergence of *jus soli*, conferring of voting rights (political citizenship) to African American men. Do these laws create racial equality?

Rutherford B. Hayes withdraws forces from Confederacy, states begin to pass laws that inhibit the political/civil citizenship rights. Poll taxes, grandfather clauses – effect, even if not mentioning race, is to exclude African Americans from citizenship.

Jim Crow Jim Crow laws create separate spaces, where they are not supposed to mix. Happens in north as well as south (predominant in south).

Plessy v. Ferguson 1896 – Supreme Court rules that separate but equal (system of Jim Crow segregation) laws are legal.

Growth of extreme racist violence. Blackface performance teaches the population about the ideas underlying Jim Crow laws.

Birth of a Nation Highest grossing film of its time. First film screened in the white house. Truillot’s retrospective significance – African American rule and chaos in the south after the Civil War. Depiction of the Civil War/outlawing of slavery creating chaos. Inaccurate history steeped in the politics of the 20th century. Reaffirms notion that violence is necessary to contain African Americans since slavery is no longer able to do so.

Emergence in 19th c. of science as way of categorizing/organizing/learning about human body, replacing church. The idea that science is objective/neutral. Liberty biology – belief that science is going to rescue humankind from what ails it.

Scientific racism Belief that maintaining the purity of whiteness is essential to the safety and quality of society.

Invoking scientific though that African Americans need to be excluded from citizenship.

Eugenics Not enough white people propagating citizenry, too much immigration. Theodore Roosevelt coined term “race suicide.” Duty of white middle class to produce more offspring – patriotic. Dillingham commission report is example of state’s effort to gather data on reproduction rate of immigrants.

Popular literature emerges steeped in the idea that reproduction of certain parts of the population need to be curtailed. Calling it “scientific racism” today distances us from this. Many prominent feminists bought into Eugenics movement – argued that more women need access to information about how their bodies work, safe and reliable birth control. Built into this was idea that birth control would limit reproduction of “inferior stock.”

Detection of difference on the pathologized body – e.g. immigration officials detecting undesirable immigrant and excluding admission. **LPC**: Likely to become a Public Charge. Deciding who will/will not become independent, self-sustaining citizen.

Sexology detectable difference etched on human body. Similarly pathologizing. Church and courts mandated against criminal sex acts. Spreading idea that non-procreative sex should be punished.

Categories of sexual anomaly emerge. The “invert” doesn’t perform their gender correctly. A whole proliferation of particularly pathologized human behavior.

Havelock Ellis (1859-1939) most prominent in discussing homosexuality. Refers initially to behavior, rather than a category of a person. Ellis categorized this as biologically inherited. Expand rights for minoritized by saying it isn’t chosen, but true by nature. Using science to argue that it shouldn’t be criminalized.

Reasoning may seem liberatory, but may create pity rather than accepting. Other sexologists depict inversion as a sign of hereditary weakness/disintegration.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton. 15th amendment fails to mention sex as factor exclusion. In 14th amendment, women are definitely considered citizens (born on U.S. soil). 1872, Virginia Minor tries to register to vote in Missouri. 1874 decision – women may be citizens, but suffrage is not universal right of citizenship. Federal govt leaves it up to individual states to decide the matter. Working in conjunction with Jim Crow laws to dictate access to the vote.

“The Women Question” Much concern about what will happen if women start to vote. Idea that they will become less feminine if they step outside their space (inversion). Strict bifurcation in terms of gender. Quote in Gardner: a woman is not just an individual.

Derivative Citizenship Women's citizenship derived from relationship to a man. Couverture: notion that women's civil/political citizenship derives from father, then husband when married.

10 March 11th –

Gender Socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women

Sex Biological and physiological characteristics that define men and women (definitions from WHO)

19th c. – shift in the organization of families. Previously site of production. All family members would make clothing, help farm (internally producing), shift to consumer-based model. Major repercussions for gender norms (husband becomes breadwinner working outside home). Feeds in to notion of “separate spheres,” with husband in public sphere, domestic realm considered feminine realm.

Cult of True Womanhood 19th c. ideals of femininity. Shift in organization drives apart space occupied by men/women. Idea that women have superior piety – women provide and anchoring point between church and home, help keep husbands in check. Purity/passionlessness – no sex before marriage, and then only for procreation. Ideal woman thought to be passive, never argued, submits self to will of husband. Domesticity: private home provides protection for women/family from outside world.

Wealthy educated African American women were excluded from the Cult of True Womanhood. Belief that oriental women are predisposed to prostitution, excluded as well.

Charles McCord – *The American Negro...* Argument: all African Americans should be denied political citizenship rights. Based his argument on African Americans' deviant sexual behavior. Pulled on the “scientific” understanding of race, saying sexual purity rare among women, not seen among men.

Ida B. Wells – witnessed several of her friends for being successful African Americans, in the name of “protecting white womanhood.” Bold response specifically targets mythology of sexuality in 1892. Circulates this pamphlet in Europe, calls into question the civilization of white America, telling the world about an uncivilized vigilante justice that dominates.

White Slavery The idea that immigrant men were responsible for trafficking white women. Based on idea that white women who were prostitutes were forced into it, since they do not seek sex. Certain groups of European immigrants thought to be racially suspect (race getting fragmented).

Anxiety about white women's natural delicacy. Hysteria – ancient that women's wombs can wander their bodies. Melancholia/weakness/anxiety treated by stimulation to orgasm by male doctors. Not thought to be sexual – a medical procedure. Extreme measures to inhibit reproduction of “perverts”/“inverts”, culminating in forced sterilization in early 20th century.

Couverture still alive, belief that women could not have independent political beliefs, relied on men for protection. This idea shows up in naturalization policy. 1855: any woman can gain citizenship by marrying a US citizen (marriage trumps existing law). Notably not up to the woman – no application needed. Only way Chinese descended people to become citizens is to be born in US. 1907: female U.S. citizens lose citizenship if married alien man. Disincentive for any citizen to marry alien (notably: Chinese) men.

The Invert Invented in 1860s, more in keeping with our current understanding of homosexuality. National scandal: Alice Mitchell murdered her lover Freda Ward. Spotlight on inversion. Alice became jealous when Freda said she would marry a man. Havelock Ellis uses Alice Mitchell as a case for understanding the female invert. He finds history of insanity in her family – sees something congenital about her violence and inversion. Also, her asymmetrical face gave her away (physiognomy), and that she “affected a certain degree of masculinity.” Unclear: did she wear men's clothes? Did she assume male gender roles?

Anxiety producing/enigmatic in late 19th/20th century. Women and men very sex-segregated, women expected to exhibit certain amount of affection toward other women. Female inverts only visible when they dressed up and “acted the part” of the invert.

Florida Enchantment 1914 silent film. Magic seeds invert gender. The woman (Lillian) does fine in her transformation, while Fred looks awkward and is chased by angry mob into a lake. Fear of female inversion pervades culture at the time, racialized concern. Neurasthenia has a male counterpart. Theodore Roosevelt is concerned about this, encourages men to take part in masculine activity. Represents more than a challenge to male supremacy, also idea that modernity has affected men.

Theodore Roosevelt Starts as a sickly young man, took pride in wrestling/hunting, transformed image. Gets deeply engaged in efforts to recover failed white masculinity. Also coins term “race suicide.”

Broken Blossoms – American soldiers fighting, playful, undisciplined. Provide explanation for protagonist to go to Europe. Seemingly celebratory image of Chinese undermines their image

11 March 13th –

Midterm next class...not really paying attention.

Theodore Roosevelt recovering masculinity from the feminine influence of modern culture.

Cartoon: benevolent superhero of Western culture rescuing colonized territories from fading/violent empire of Spain, as well as unmanly chaos/incapacity for self governance.

July 4, 1910 – Jack Johnson (African American) defeats heavyweight champion James Jeffries (“Great White Hope”) before a crowd of 20,000. Sparked race riots. Was indicted by law forbidding transporting women across state lines for “immoral purposes” – selectively applied to minorities.

How does image of “yellow peril” coexist with “yellow man.”

12 March 25th – Loving and Precursors: “Un-natural” Sex in the Early 1900s

Harvard “Secret Court” – secret interviews conducted by tribunal of administrators. 8 students disciplined for “unnatural acts.”

Hegemony Looking at how the ruling classes retain power without using force. Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) looked at how ruling classes were able to project their ideas of “natural” and “common sense.” Emphasized that hegemony is a process, never stagnant.

What silences are missing if we look at court cases? They are a good example of people standing up to hegemony. People who were afraid of/lacked access to courts.

Exclusion and Sterilization State efforts to regulate citizenry. Laws based on common sense understanding (hegemonic?) of how to protect population.

Why did so few people fight back against the idea of “whiteness” upon which miscegenation/immigration laws were based?

Even European immigrants considered “suspect” were considered to be assimilable, and were counted in immigration quotas. The courts decided the white, legitimate, from the non-white, non-legitimate.

Race vs. Ethnicity Ethnicity was not used in early 20th c. – emerged in mid. In early 20th c., people talked about race, but used term in different ways. Race – immutable versus ethnicity – transformable. Ethnicity: traditional and cultural origins. Race: rooted in biological origins.

Mae Ngai – least desirable forms of immigrants (as determined by Dillingham commission) thought to be capable of assimilation to U.S. norms. Even those from

southern/eastern Europe would assimilate ethnically and also acquire white racial identity.

“Mongolians” – thought to be racially unassimilable.

1875 Page Act – targets Asian women (first instance of racial excludability), Asian workers. 1878 – notion of Caucasian becomes a legal category. People of “Mongolian race” would not count as “white” because they were not Caucasian.

Ngai – Lawmakers invoked anthropology, scientific racism. Race and nationality in 19th c. were conflated. By early 1900s, they are dissociated.

A quota that reflects the way policy-makers want the nation to look. 1924 National Origins Law.

13 April 1st – War Brides and Prostitutes: Sex and Wartime Citizenship

State’s obsession with the nation’s sexual hygiene escalates during wartime.

Comstock Laws Police Inspector Anthony Comstock – crusader against “obscenity”. Margaret Sanger were jailed for distributing information about reproductive health. Devices marketed as hygiene products. Comstock laws overturned in 1960s for married couples, completely revoked in 1972. Contributes to shame about sexual health.

Intense fear of STDs, especially during wartime. Controlling STDs of men in service. United States advocated abstinence. Condoms were legalized afterwards in US (1918).

Ideas of controlling population through selective breeding was considered progressive. Widespread fear of unfit breeders.

Buck v Bell State’s investment in compulsory sterilization. Started with Indiana in 1907. Carrie Buck was determined to be “feeble-minded”, as well as her mother and daughter. Upholds sterilization, disproportionately harms minorities and lower classes.

Tuskegee Experiment Between 1932 and 1972, recruited 399 African American sharecroppers who already had syphilis, promised them meals, transportation, burial service. Watched how the body responded, but they did not treat them (penicillin actively withheld). 1972 was key year in exposing the state’s complicity in such things. Reason for informed consent now. 250 of these men registered for the draft in WWII. Normally, STDs exclude one from service, but an exception was made.

Going back to T.H. Marshall’s three “branches” of citizenship (1950). Civil, political, and social. Civil is most basic – the way citizens obtain rights through the

courts. Political – how to participate in representative government. Social – based on idea that federal government needs to protect public welfare.

Welfare State Creation of welfare state and expansion of social citizenship in 20th century. Great Depression starting in 1929, continues through 1930s. Depression was international, ended by WWII.

FDR introduces New Deal in 1933. Relieve the depression through Relief, Recovery, and Reform. Designed to restore citizen's faith in the seemingly failed state apparatus. Protect unions, regulate hours that all can work, make workplace safe. Expansion of state apparatuses of power.

The Bracero Program 4 million people from Mexico immigrated from 1942-1964 for agricultural work in Southwest. Collusion between US and Mexican government to fill labor gap created by WWII. Originally run by individual US farmers during WWI, no real government oversight.

14 April 8th – The Politics of Passing (& Covering): Being and Becoming *American*

Thinking about how people transition into “ideal” citizens. Continuing the story of the transition of Asian Americans into “model minority.”

Slide: various steps in relaxation of racial exclusion laws. The state's investment in treating people differently according to race is starting to erode. State's number one priority: familialism. Celebration of the heterosexual family.

McCarran-Walter Actually heightens state's ability to deport people at the start of the Red Scare. 1930s – effort to stop KKK by House on American Activities, turns to anti-communist agency. There was an idea that communist affiliation of any kind was fundamentally treasonous. McCarthy – campaign to weed out the enemy within. At one point, 69% believed he was doing a good job of protecting the nation – widespread fear.

State homophobia State effort to expunge homosexuals from the military and government. Why did this arise? Emphasis to American family as basic unit of society, and homosexuality is seen as a challenge to that. Thought that state's engagement in patrolling behaviour in private settings is justified in the name of protecting the nation. Homosexuals in government seen as a security threat, as they could be blackmailed and expose secrets to protect themselves.

Post WWII Red Scare Julius and Ethel Rosenberg executed in 1953 for selling secrets to the Russians. Later determines that Ethel was uninvolved. Familialism celebrated in Baby Boom – fashions, TV shows, advertising copy celebrate the feminine woman, masculine man. Suspicion of people who don't perform their gender correctly.

How do Asian Americans become model minority by 1960s – why doesn't similar thing happen to Hispanics/Blacks?

Passing and Covering Sally Hemings/Clotel are light skinned, are able to “pass” as white (Clotel pretends to be a man as well). Causing others to believe that you're something that you're not. Usually becoming the majority to enjoy privileges/acceptance. Eddie Murphy passing as white in a parody of book “Black Like Me” – Mulan passing as a man. Requires more effort for differences etched on the body.

Differentiating passing from what Yoshino (sp?) describes as “covering.” Passing denotes a calculated effort to deceive one's audience (the people around you). Covering is more subtle – involves downplaying minoritized differences. Doesn't necessary deny affiliation, but downplays characteristics that differentiate themselves from the norm.

Monolithic category of “Asian-ness”, different categories brought back together in 1960s, collectively stereotyped. Covering is harder to trace – have to determine authentic self of an individual. What kinds of compulsions prevail in our cultural surround?

Cultural Citizenship One downside of seemingly positive stereotypes – expectations based on a visual assessment. What happens when someone characterized as a certain kind of model minority acts outside of the associated stereotypes?

Blackface becomes more shameful in the 1950s, as a shift from hard racialism. 1920s - Al Jolson was a Jewish man, most famous blackface performer.

15 April 10th – Hybrid Histories & Colorblind Commemorations: Legacies of Blackface

Three different narratives coming through blackface minstrelsy.

- Narrative of assimilation. Seeing how groups that possess “provisional whiteness” were able to whiten themselves as they performed physical blackness of others. Emphasizes physical difference, racial “othering” at its most powerful/persuasive.
- Based on mythology of harmonious race relations. African Americans portrayed as happy-go-lucky, unaware of violence, childlike.

- Minstrelsy based on belief in two things that sound difficult to reconcile: belief in intrinsic race difference, that holds blacks to be physically different, unassimilable; appreciation of black culture.

Resistance in 1950s of explicit blackface performance. State's erosion of biological racial exclusions seen in culture as well. However, minstrelsy does not go away – it just changes form. In 1940s/50s, race minstrelsy takes on different forms that undermines cultural citizenship of African Americans or others.

Thinking about covering – what happens when historical moments are downplayed or hidden? Jolson's blackface performance made him truly American. The statue on his shrine is a small example of how historical memory can shift/how it can be silenced.

Even romantic racialism has an impact on how people are perceived as citizens. Uncle Remus from Disney's "Song of the South" in 1946. Tells happy stories of the good old days, kindly old black man.

Colorblindness Defined by Ian Haney Lopez. The definition is on a slide. Related to: Passing – hiding the visibility of a certain trait. Covering – downplaying a trait, minimizing its obtrusiveness (downplaying vs. hiding). Cotes' article is about covering – President Obama's attempt to downplay his own blackness, by not talking about racial issues. Attempting to solve racial problems by not talking about them, which has consequences.

Strong strain of psychiatry that suggested that homosexuals needed to "convert." Electroshock therapy/lobotomy performed. Considered a mental disorder until 1973(?).

"Mongolian" category divided in WWII when Japanese Americans were detained. Given \$25 and a train ticket to go home. 1980s, Jimmy Carter launched investigation, reparations given to families. In 1950s onward, incredible popular resistance to various forms of state expulsion and exclusion on racial fronts.

16 April 15th – title

Richard Rodriguez: Nixon created "Hispanic" in directive #15 (1972). Categorizes ethnicities, adds "Hispanic" as way of uniting people of nations formerly colonized by Spain who otherwise have nothing important.

How the private sphere frames public policies about how people belong.

Covering: survival strategy to downplay their unacceptable traits to be more acceptable in dominant society.

Three tools from Foucault:

- Periodization – the periodization of sexuality. The emergence of sexological sciences in 19th century, transition from set of outlawed acts to set of ideas about intrinsic sexual identity. (e.g. the Invert)

- Power – power is diffused. Not concentrated in one location, spread throughout the nation through citizens, who have form of self-policing more effective than state domination. Wherever there is domination, there is resistance.
- Biopower – where the government becomes focused on how to produce the best possible citizenry. Inventing new categories of race, keeping tabs on self-identification, protecting certain populations.

Legacies of eugenics of the state. How does the state shape family structures in the face of certain ideals of national belonging? Sterilization primary affected non-white women.

Fannie Lou Hamer African American woman, leader of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. 1917-1977, in 1961 became one of approximately 65k people sterilized without consent.

Stratified reproduction The idea that some women are a reproductive threat to the nation, whose reproduction has to be curtailed or disincentivized.

Family at the top gets tax deduction for each child. State incentivizes this type of reproduction. Also tax credit for childcare expenses. Modern eugenics: emphasis on reproducing wealth.

Child Citizenship Act of 2000 Streamlines adopting process for U.S. citizens. Makes it easier for people with resources to pay for transnational adoption.

At Harvard, ads at fertility clinic seeking eggs. Assumption of certain racial/ethnic categories being prioritized.

In 2007, overseas Filipinos sent home 14 billion (?) dollars. Not encouraged to bring their children.

CA Proposition 187, AZ Senate Bill 1070 Deny public benefits to unauthorized migrants in California. Arizona – attrition through enforcement. Create hostile environment to make problem go away.

17 April 17th – Policing the Boundaries of the Home

Guest lecture by Claire Houston.

The public/private distinction, through the lens of policing the boundaries of the home. Definition of these terms is constantly shifting due to politics.

Public/private distinction Many interpretations. State/civil society. Market/family. Two meanings can work together. The idea that there could be a private space is a relatively new idea. Influenced by period of nation states. Parliaments have unconstrained power to make law, people made effort to stake out private spheres outside influence of state. Family/market did not come about until 19th c. when market became a major force.

Focus will be on private sphere – will draw on both meanings of private. Home as locus of “effective lives.” Where the family lives.

State regulation of market can combat rampant capitalism, regulation of family is seen as totalitarian. One sphere (market) becomes more public, other (family) becomes more private.

McGuire v. McGuire Heard by Supreme Court of Nebraska. Married couple. Lydia suing Charles for not providing enough financial support for the home.

- Issue: Is Lydia entitled to support even though they are living together?
- Ratio (rule): Support can be awarded to a wife who continues to be married. (Cited cases are of women/men not living together).
- Analysis: Majority does not believe they should extend the rule. State should not be intervening, as long as parties are together, should assume that support is adequate.
- Conclusion: Assumes there is a sphere which the state is not permitted to enter. Can be interpreted as affirming inequality between husbands and wives.

Griswold v. Connecticut This case often read alongside Griswold v. Connecticut (1965). Invalidated CT law that prohibited use of birth control. Notion that there is a space in which government should not interfere, trying to extend this to the media. Not arguing for a constitutional right to privacy – constitution only protects people against state acts.

Language used reaffirms both meanings of public/private. Emphasizes sacred/intimate nature of the home, distinct from other spheres that could be subject to government intervention (such as market).

Loving v. Virginia challenged law, determined to be violation of equal protection clause. Procedural due process clause protects you from state deprivation without due process of law. Substantive due process – certain rights that have always existed, not enumerated in constitution, that state can’t take away. This is where privacy comes from.

Next case after Griswold to recognize right to privacy Roe v. Wade, provides right to make a decision whether or not to terminate a pregnancy. Had to be balanced against state’s interest to protect fetal life and women’s health. Implicit that women’s

decision is not privately her own (doctors involved). Simultaneously, homosexuality removed from mental disorders.

Lawrence v. Texas Return to the private home. Conduct that can occur in some sphere without state intervention affirms state/civil society. Distinction between private sex, of no interest to state, and private sex (prostitution) which occurs in the context of the market.

Domestic Violence Marriage: Ceding of body/property to husband. Wife's legal identity merged into that of her husband, had to access legal system through him. Right of chastisement: anything short of personal injury allowed by husbands against wife, children, servants. By 1920s, states had repudiated chastisement doctrine. Before, legally state was restricted from intervening in home, afterwards, state kept out by public/private distinction.

DeShaney (1989) Suit against Department of Social Services for failure to provide protection from abusive father. Ruling says DSS was smart to err on side of parents.

18 April 22nd –

Straified reproduction Some forms of reproduction are despised and held suspect. Chavez reading. Belief that Latina women have higher reproduction rate, use of social services, when really the rates are no different.

Sterilization serving the interest of stratified reproduction, especially against women of color.

The pill – approved in 1960s. Developed in 1950s amongst heightened anxiety about perceived threat of overpopulation. First large clinical trials on United States citizens in Puerto Rico. Many horrific life-threatening side-effects. Five participants died, no effort made to determine cause of deaths (did pill cause them?). By 1963, 2.3 million using pill. Wasn't actually legalized until 1965 for married women. *Griswold v. Conn.* protected *marital* privacy.

1964 report by Senator Moynihan about cycle of dependency in black families upon welfare. Disintegration in second half of 20th century to social citizenship. Withdrawing support for citizens, increasing support abroad in military action.

19 April 24th –