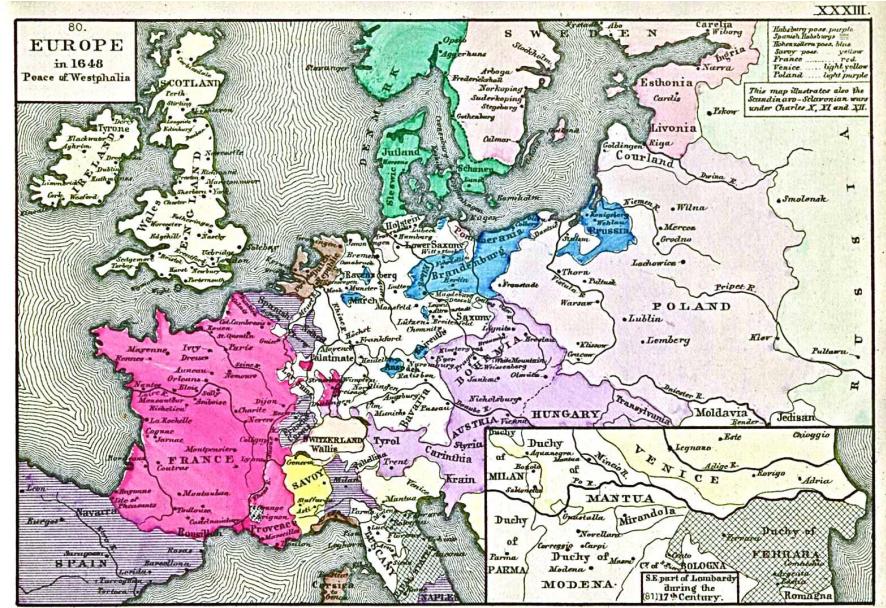


# The State, Borders, & Migration

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  - 4 attributes
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# The State

A centralized set of institutions facilitating coercive power and governing capabilities over a defined territory

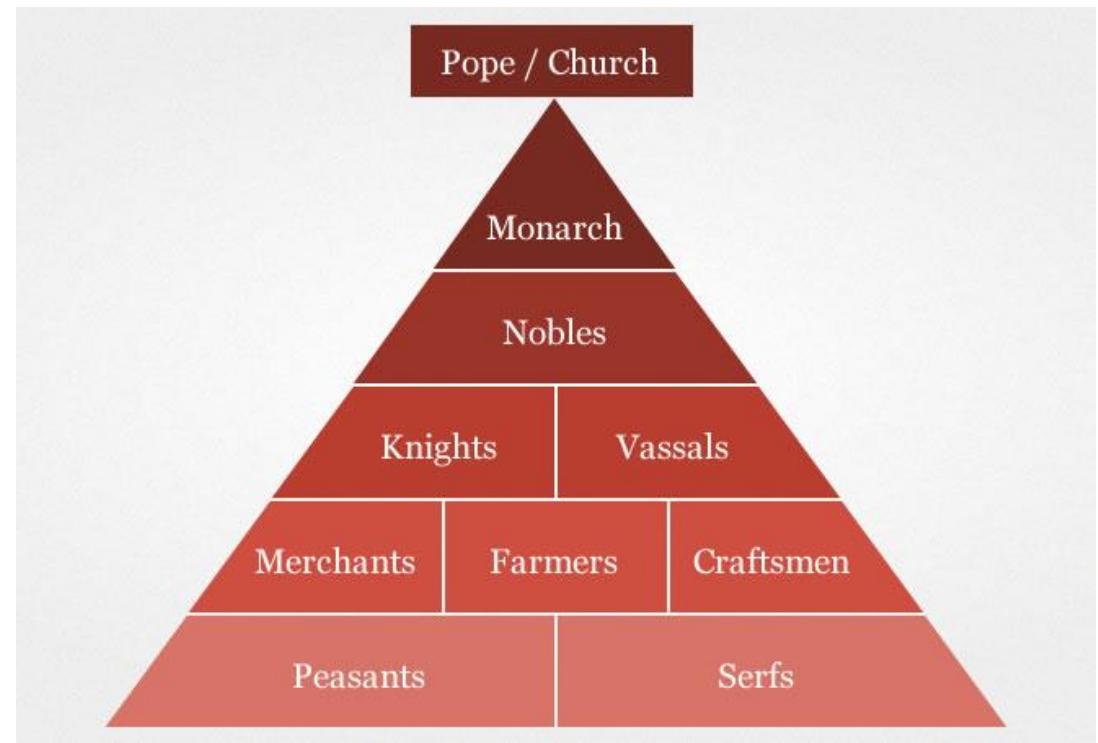
# Four Attributes of the State

1. Institutions (structures) & personnel
2. Centralized power emanates outward
3. A defined boundary of state power (borders)
4. A monopoly of laws, coercive power, & violence

# Feudal States

No clear separation between

- the state
- the economy



# Capitalist States

Separation between

- the state (governing)
- the economy (production & distribution of goods & services)

Political struggle over

- To what extend & in what form do these two “realms” intersect



[www.CoxAndForkum.com](http://www.CoxAndForkum.com)



COMMENTARY Government Regulation

## Rolling Back Climate Regulations Will Boost U.S. Economy

Mar 31st, 2017 3 min read



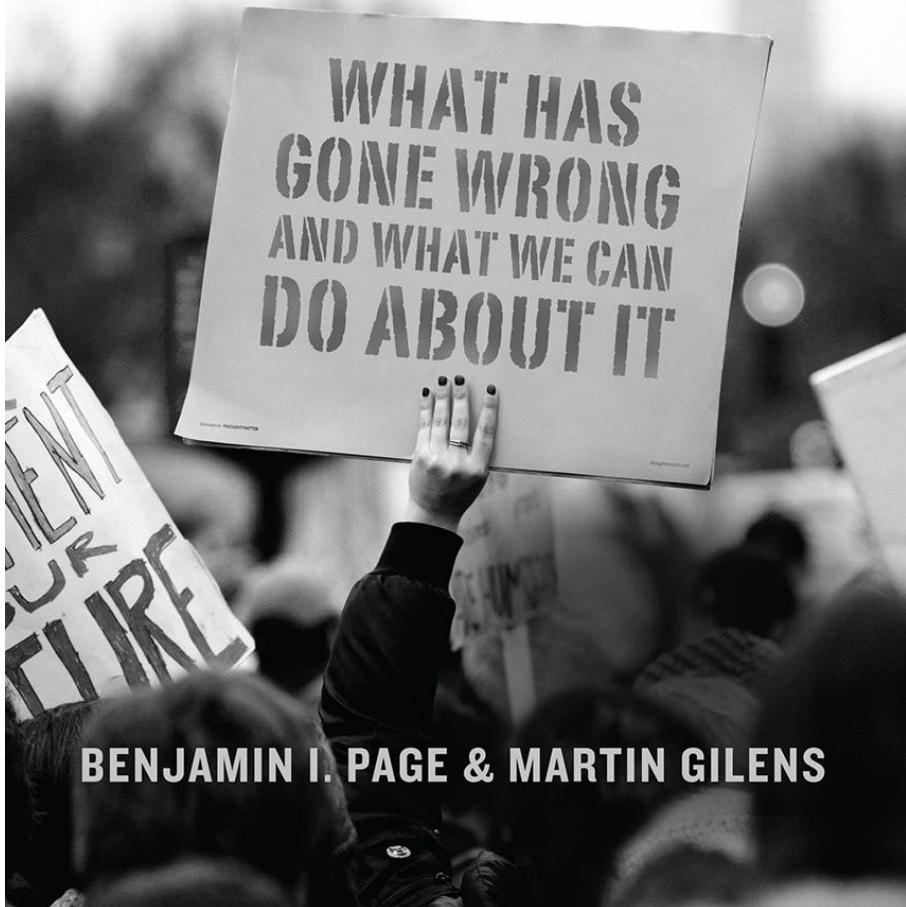
COMMENTARY BY

Nicolas Loris  
@NconomistLoris

Deputy Director, Thomas A. Roe Institute



# DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA?



BENJAMIN I. PAGE & MARTIN GILENS

“The best evidence indicates that the wishes of ordinary Americans actually have had little or no impact on the making of federal government policy. Wealthy individuals and organized interest groups—especially business corporations—have had much more political clout. When they are taken into account, it becomes apparent that the general public has been virtually powerless . . .”

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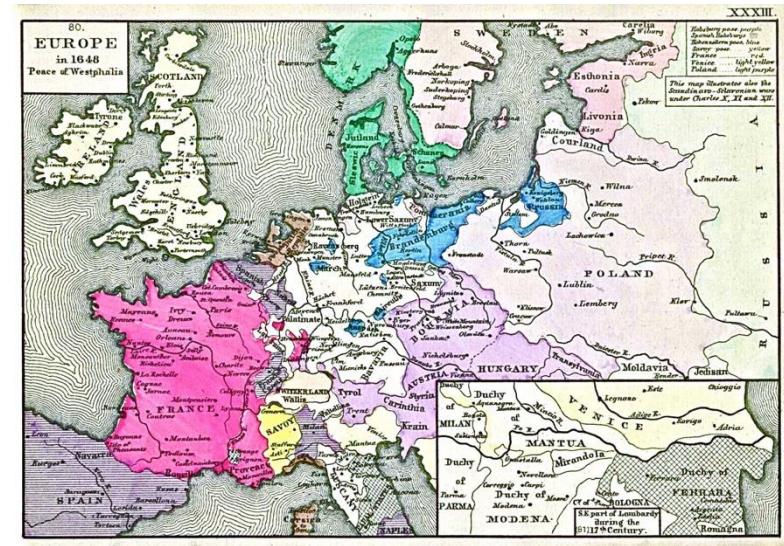
## Articles

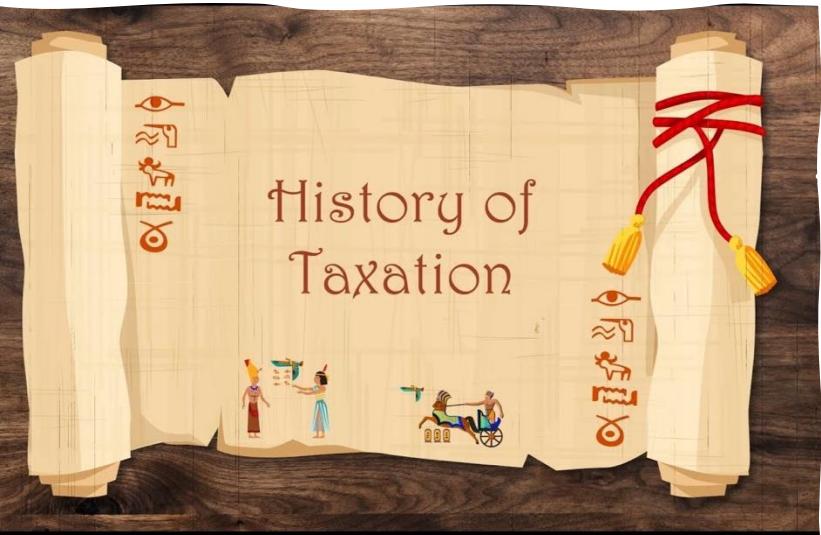
### Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens

*Martin Gilens and Benjamin I. Page*

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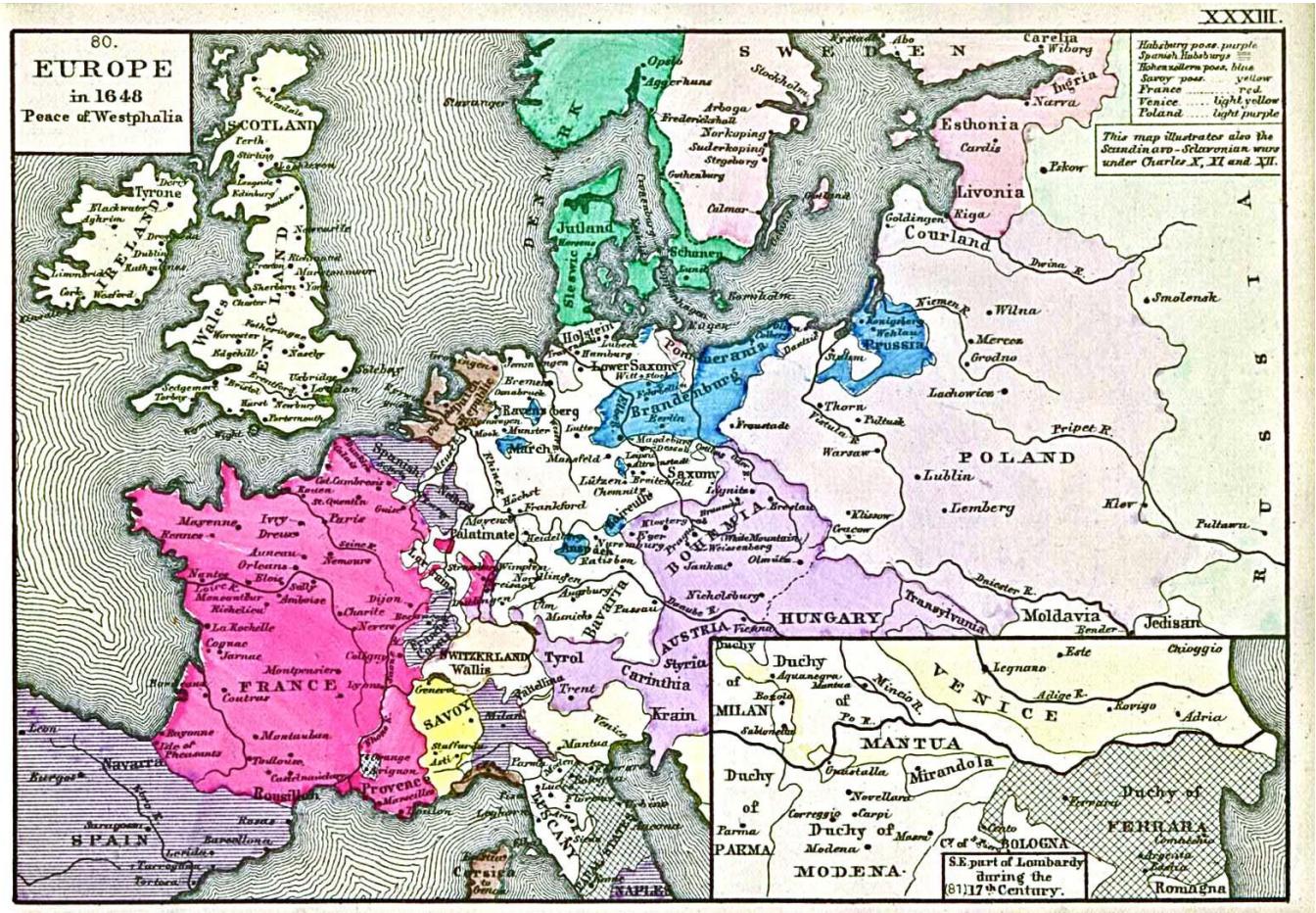
# What a capitalist state must do

- Raise revenue
- Raise an army
- Maintain legitimacy
- Maintain accumulation

# 1648 – Treaty of Westphalia

- Codification of state “sovereignty”

**Sovereignty:** The rights of a people to enjoy absolute rule over a territory



# 1848 – Springtime of Nations

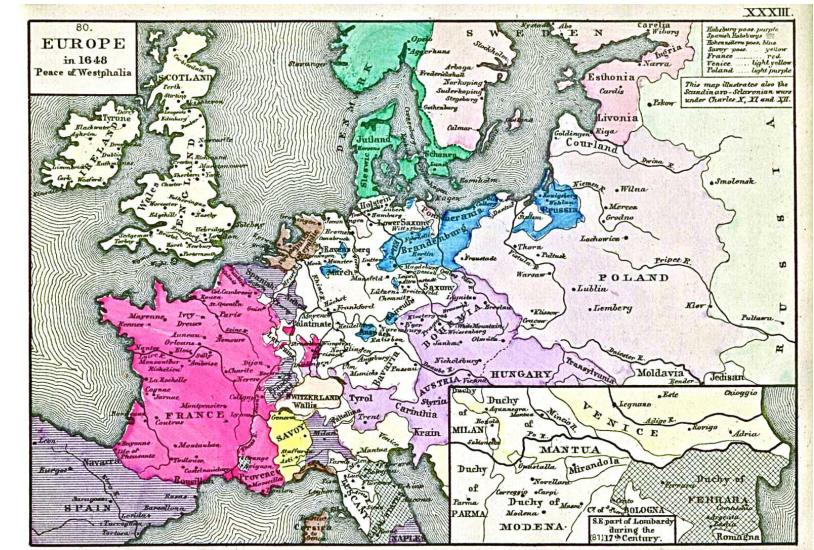
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Series of republican revolts against European monarchies



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# Nation & Nation-State

**Nation:** A people presumed to share certain cultural characteristics & political perspectives

- Location, language, religion, history, customs, traditions, etc.
- How social groups should relate to one another

“Nation-State” an ideal

- Nations without a state
- Nations within a single state

# Nation-State is an ideal & process

Centripetal forces: Promote unity & coherence

- Nation-State ideal



**Centrifugal Forces Divide a State**

- Ethnic Conflict
- Social Injustice
- Poverty
- Dictatorial Leadership
- Religious Intolerance
- Nationalism
- Loss of Rights
- Any Other Divisive Force

Centrifugal forces: Promote disunity and division

- Separatism



**Centripetal Forces Hold a State Together**

- Ethnic Unity and Tolerance
- Social/Economic Equity
- Just and Fair Legal System
- Charismatic Leadership
- Religious Acceptance
- Nationalism
- Common Heritage
- Common Language
- Any Other Unifying Force



Nations as “imagined communities”



# Nation vs. state vs. nation-state

- **Nation...**

- Belonging to community with sense of common history
- Much older concept
- Cultural and spatial dimensions

- **State...**

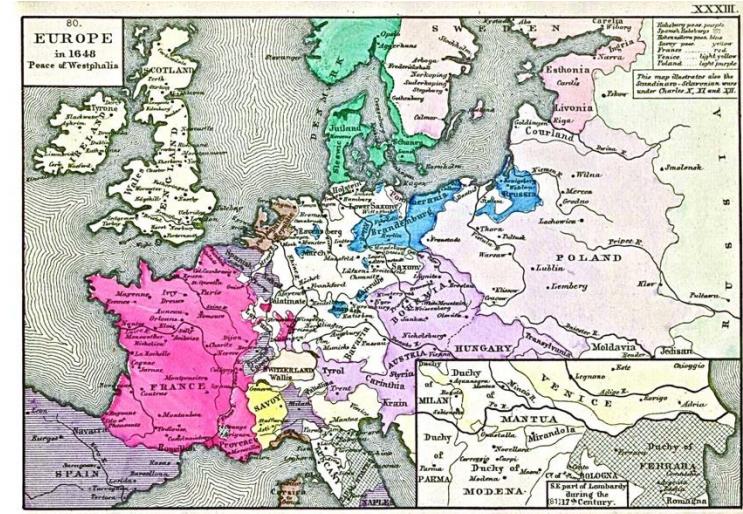
- Independent political unit with recognizable boundaries
- Late-17<sup>th</sup>-century creation

- **Nation-state...**

- “Ideal” form not always realized in practice
  - Crucial site for ideas about race & ethnicity

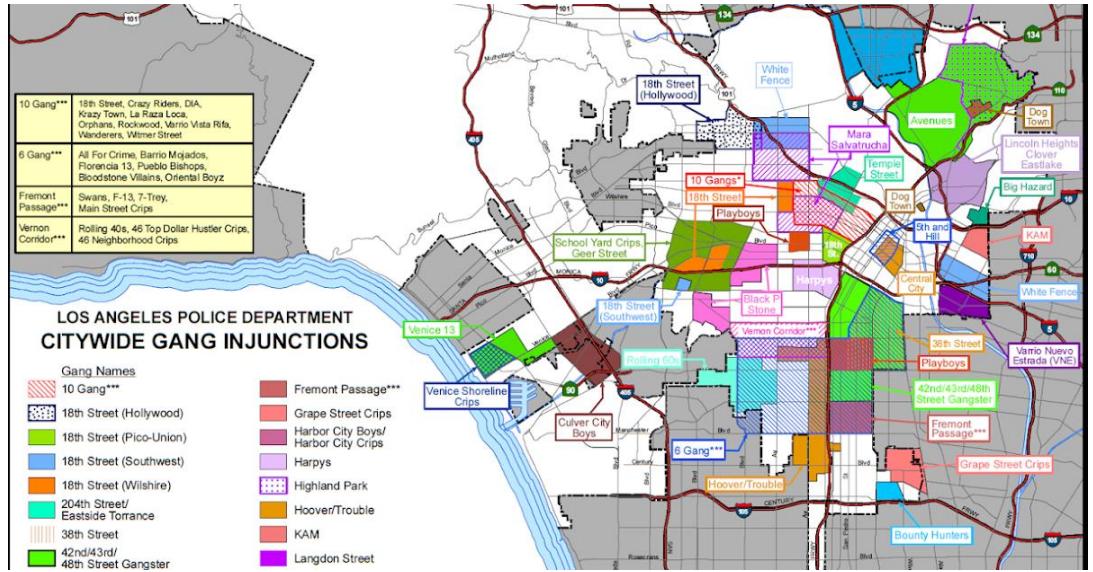
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# Borders

- Borders & geographical scale
  - Neighborhood, city, state, nation-state
- Physical & social
- Formal & informal
  - Police & vigilantes
- Borders change



# Borders

- Lines which both reflect and enhance differences
- Inclusionary, exclusionary, or both

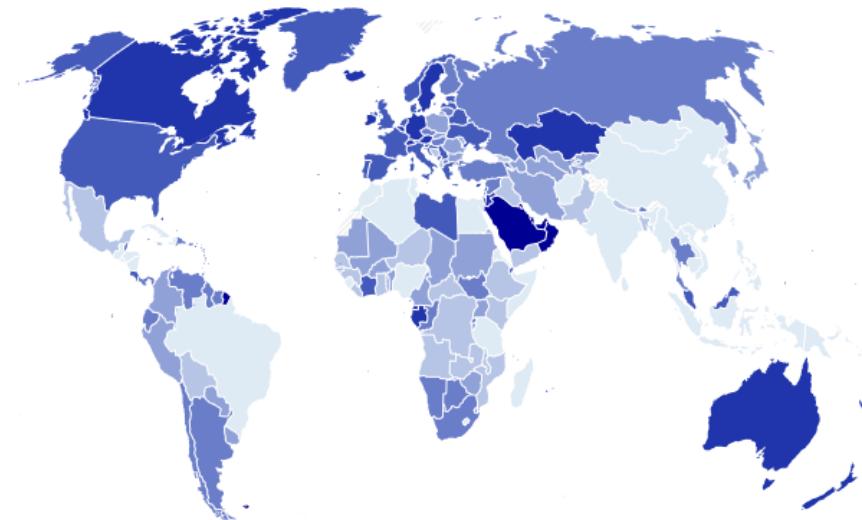
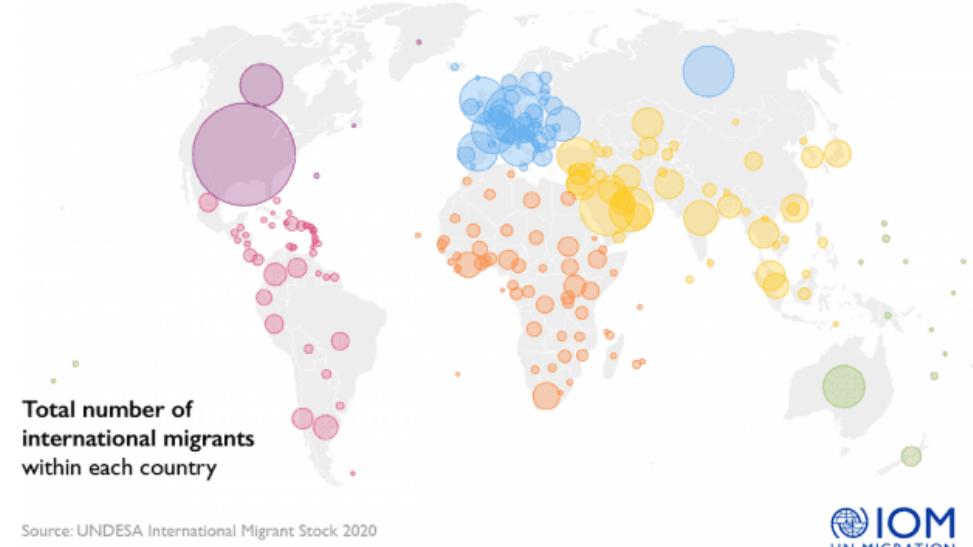
## **State/international borders shape & regulate**

1. Movement of people (immigration)
2. Movement of goods (trade, imports and exports)
3. In some cases, movement of ideas and information

# Migration

**Migrant:** Any person who moves across an international border (international migrant) or within a state (domestic migrant) away from her or his habitual place of residence regardless of legal status or reason (outside of business or vacation)

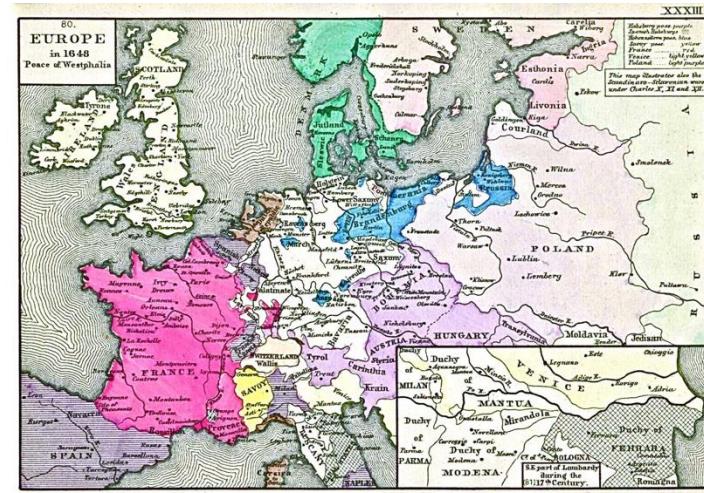
- 2020: 272 million international migrants
  - 3.5% of the world's population
- 1970: 84 million or 2.3%
- Fairly concentrated
  - 2019: 66% of all international migrants lived in only 20 countries -- the US has the most



International migrants within each country expressed as a % of country's total population

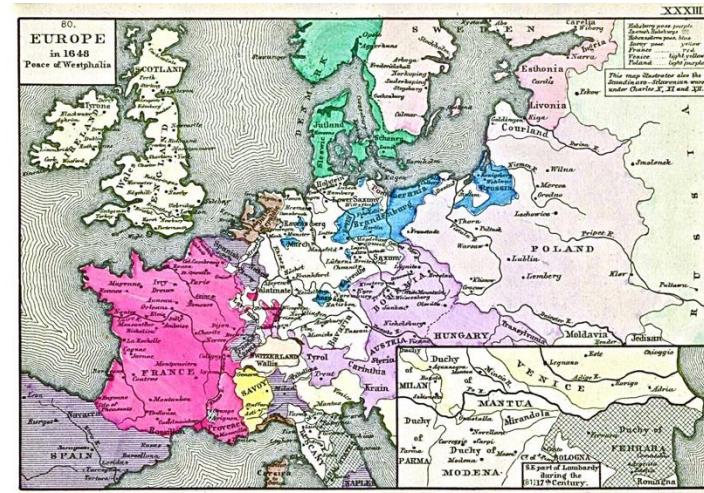
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# Identity

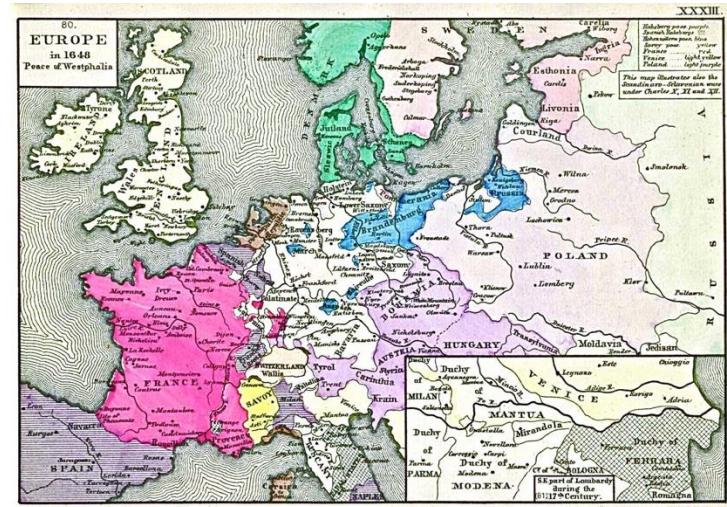
- As recognition of sameness and difference between and among individuals and groups
1. Multiple components: internal (agency) vs. external (structure)
  2. Spatially contingent
  3. Temporally contingent
  4. Scale contingent

# Reifying Identity

- Identity categories aren't "things in the world, but perspectives on the world" (Brubaker et al. 2004, 45).
  - Yet, we act as *if* those categories are real
  - They become reified
- Problem of groupism – tendency to treat groups (racial, ethnic, gender, etc.) as set entities to which characteristics can be attributed

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# Vancouver's Chinatown: Race and place in the city

1. Where did Chinatown come from?
2. How did Chinatown come to be seen as the appropriate place in the city for “the Chinese”?

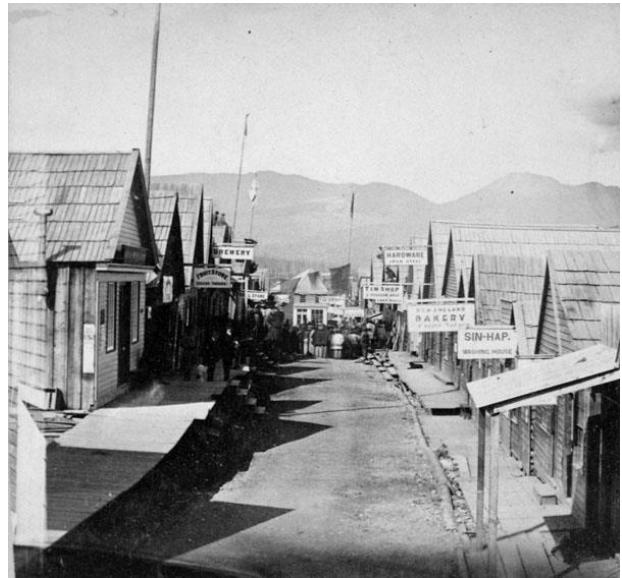
Processes by which racial/ethnic categories like “Chinese” were constructed and transmitted over time & through place



# Chinatown, Vancouver

**Process** by which ethnic identities and categories were constructed and transmitted over time

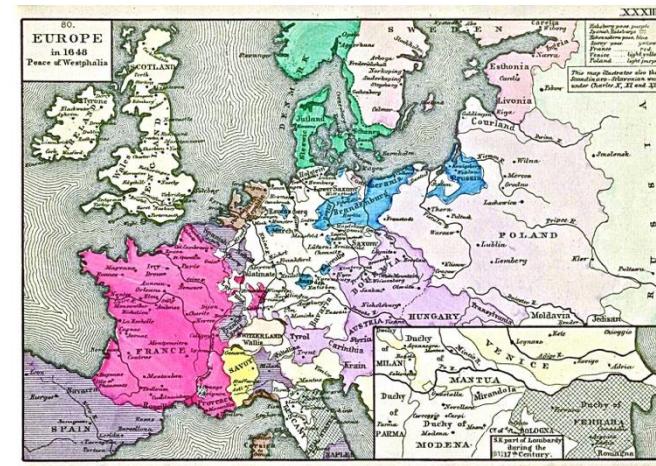
How collective understanding of Chinese was fashioned and reproduced in Vancouver society *and space* (Anderson 1988)  
(Identity as relational)



# Barkerville, BC, 1868

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# Race in the 19<sup>th</sup> century

Based on “phenotypes,” especially skin color

By mid-19<sup>th</sup> century

- western scientists argued for naturally rooted relationship between phenotype, culture, and civilizing capacity

By late-19<sup>th</sup> century

- Accepted fact that every human belonged to one racial group that predicted their intellectual and cultural capacity

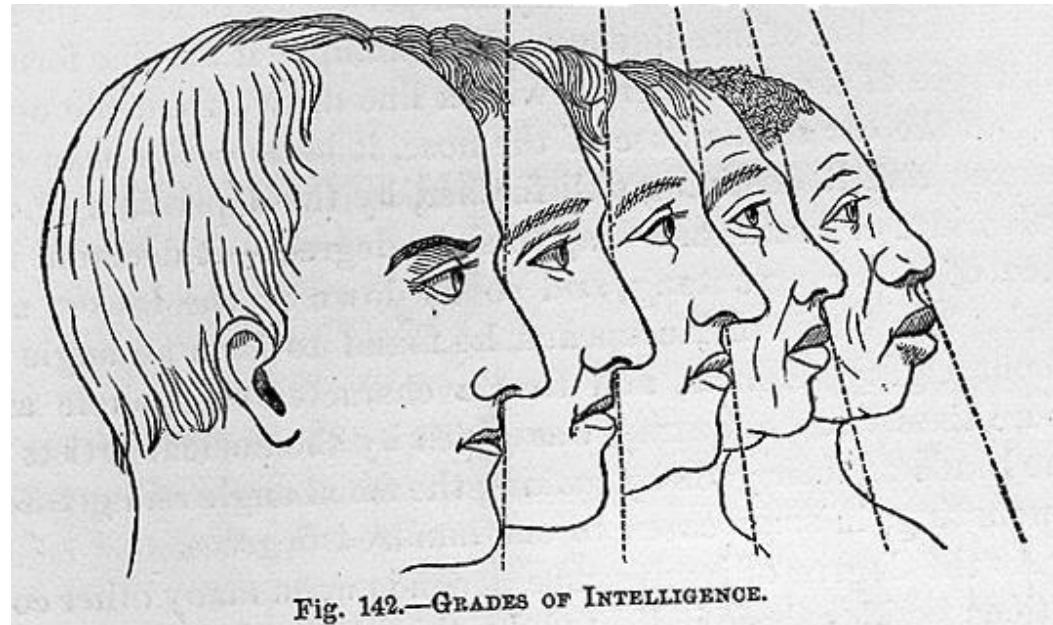
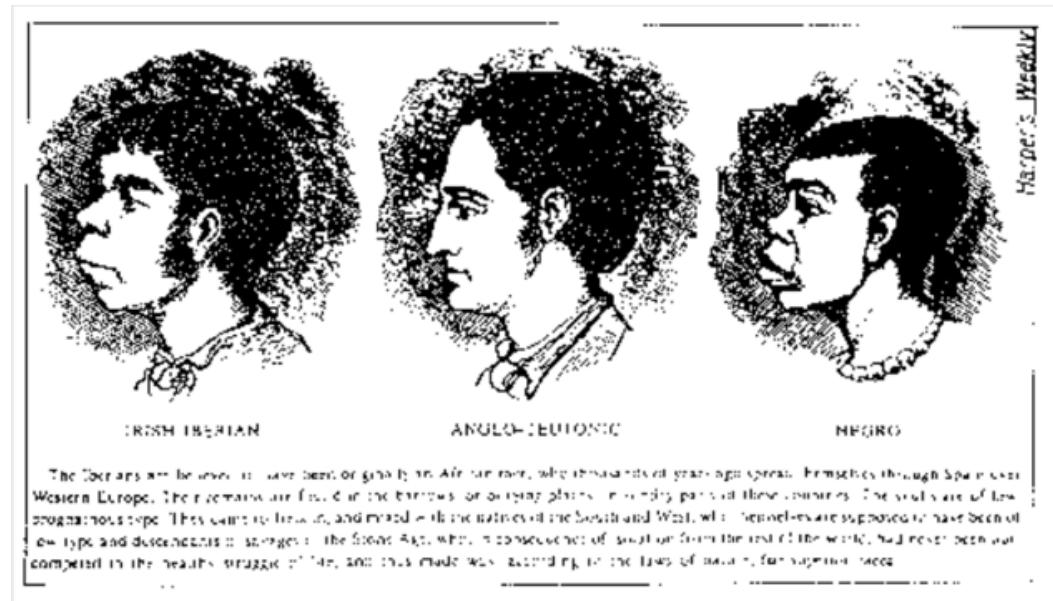
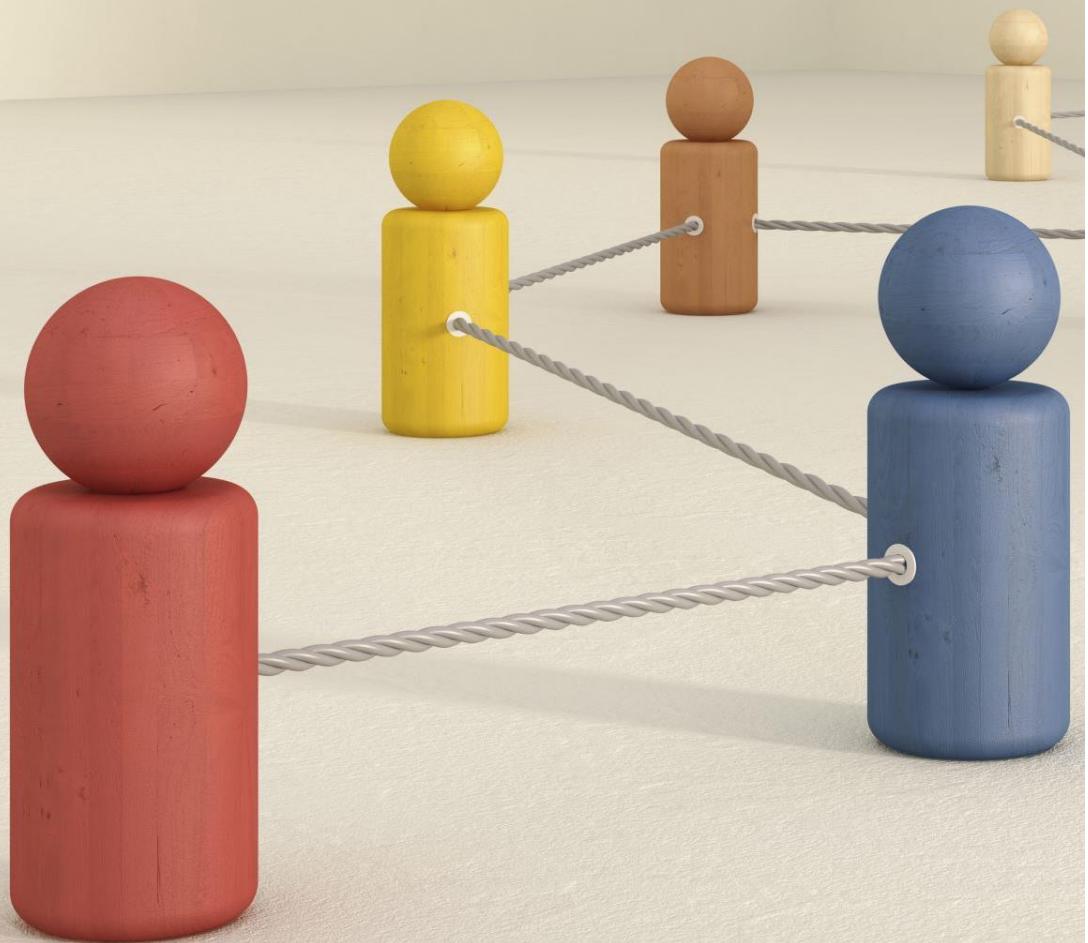


Fig. 142.—GRADES OF INTELLIGENCE.



# Theory of ethnic/racial antagonism



**Competition for employment & resources  
→ group antagonism**

- Wage differential b/w groups of workers
- Employers exploit pre-existing inequalities
- Does not have to fall along ethnic/racial lines
  - “Okies,” “unskilled,” etc.

## Employers

- “Race management”
- Exacerbate & fuel antagonism to depress wages, solidarity

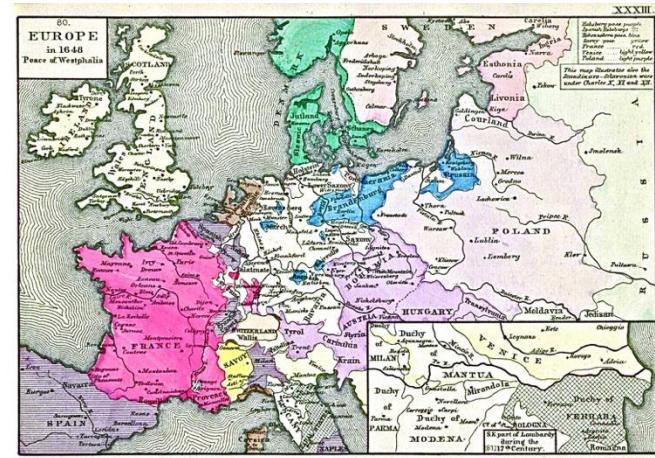
## Better off workers

- Enjoy superior status over lesser-paid coworkers



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# Creating Chinatown, 1886-1920

Chinatown as “spatial manifestation”

Reinforced through

- Images of Chinese in public discourse
- State records



Figure 2. “The Unanswerable Argument” 1907.

# Consolidating race and place in Chinatown, 1920-35

- Following the racialized classification of ‘other’, period of new anti-Chinese agitation
- Chinese businesses expand to suburbs
- Labeling Chinatown as “vice” district
- 1923 federal law restricts immigration from China



Figure 3. “Vancouver Must Keep This Team” 1908.

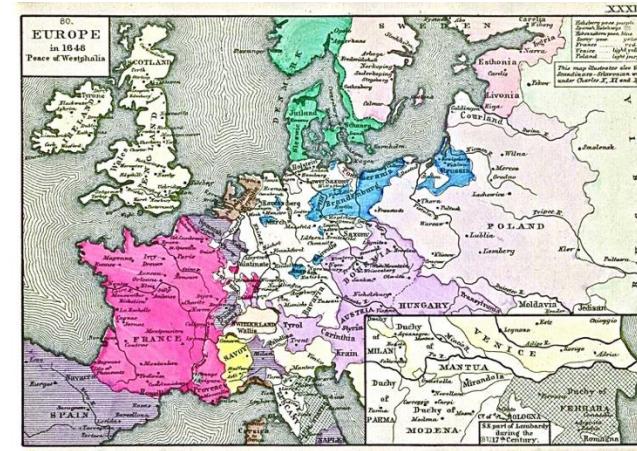
# Romanticizing China, 1935-1949

- China as ancient civilization
- Chinatown as place where Chinese live → place where Chinese “culture” is celebrated
- 1947 repeal of Chinese Exclusion Act



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# The farm labor problem

- Uniquely seasonal industry; demands a highly flexible labor market
- Limited pool of agricultural workers, especially in southwestern United States
- High costs of transporting agricultural products northeast to the Europe (location of largest markets), greater pressure to reduce costs elsewhere

# Solutions to the labor problem

- Role of borders & citizenship status
  - The United States government have recruited labor from the most vulnerable populations within and outside of national borders
  - Immigration and border policy used to ensure cheap and disempowered agricultural workforce
- Role of national identity
  - Control of agricultural workers facilitated through appeals to white supremacy (i.e., upholding the United States as a white, protestant nation)
  - Scapegoating poor immigrants & nonwhites; stoking ethnic antagonism
- Other actors:
  - Agricultural capitalists & trade associations
  - Rightwing vigilantes (KKK, Asian Exclusion Leagues, etc.)
  - Conservative labor unions
  - Newspapers

# Late 19<sup>th</sup> & Early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries: Mexican workers to the rescue

## Why Mexicans?

- Shared history & economic interrelations
- Seen as malleable, highly exploitable
- Deportation is a cheap & feasible way to control workers, break strikes

“Not for a number of years has there been such a demand for cotton pickers in southwest Texas. Almost every neighborhood is calling for help to take care of the crop. To meet the demands agents have been sent across the border into Mexico to secure help...” – Texas newspaper

"Personally, I believe that Mexican laborers are the solution to our common labor problem, this was once part of their country, they can and they will do the work"

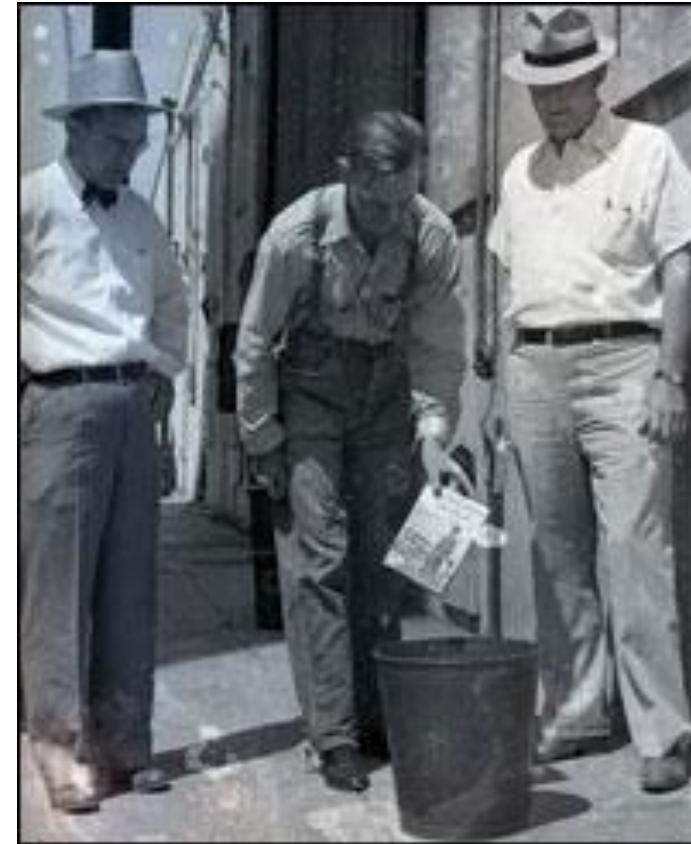
– President Woodrow Wilson (1916)



# Tactic #1: Overrecruit migrant workers

"We [the growers] have so degraded a certain class of labor, that there is not a man that lives in any agricultural locality who wants to get in and do this work" (1902, Fruit & Veg Growers Association)

Greater supply of workers →  
regular unemployment →  
downward pressure on wages



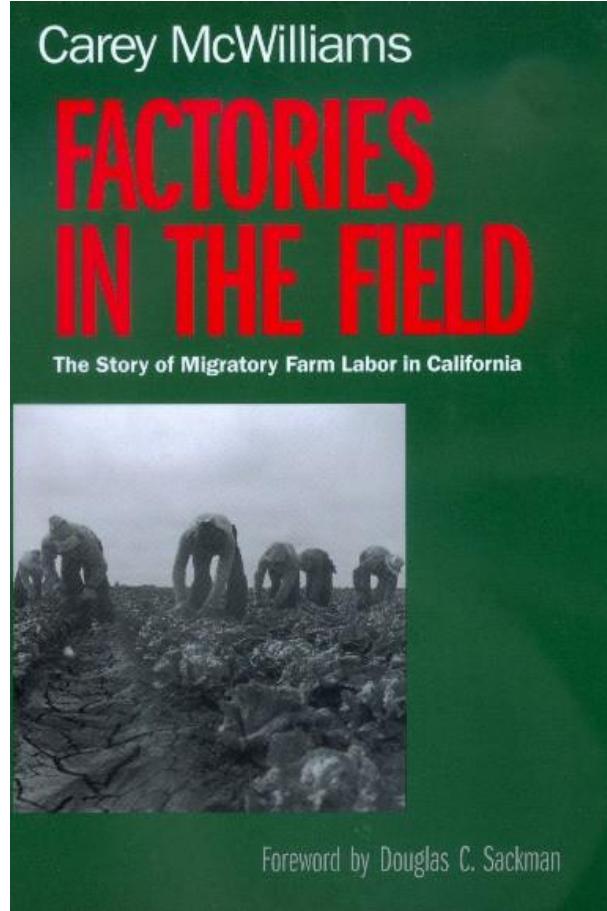
# Tactic #2: Race management & ethnic antagonism

"Keep a variety of laborers, that is different nationalities, and thus prevent any concerted action in the case of strikes, for there are few, if any, cases of Japs, Chinese, and Portuguese entering into a strike as a unit."

- Hawaiian farm owner

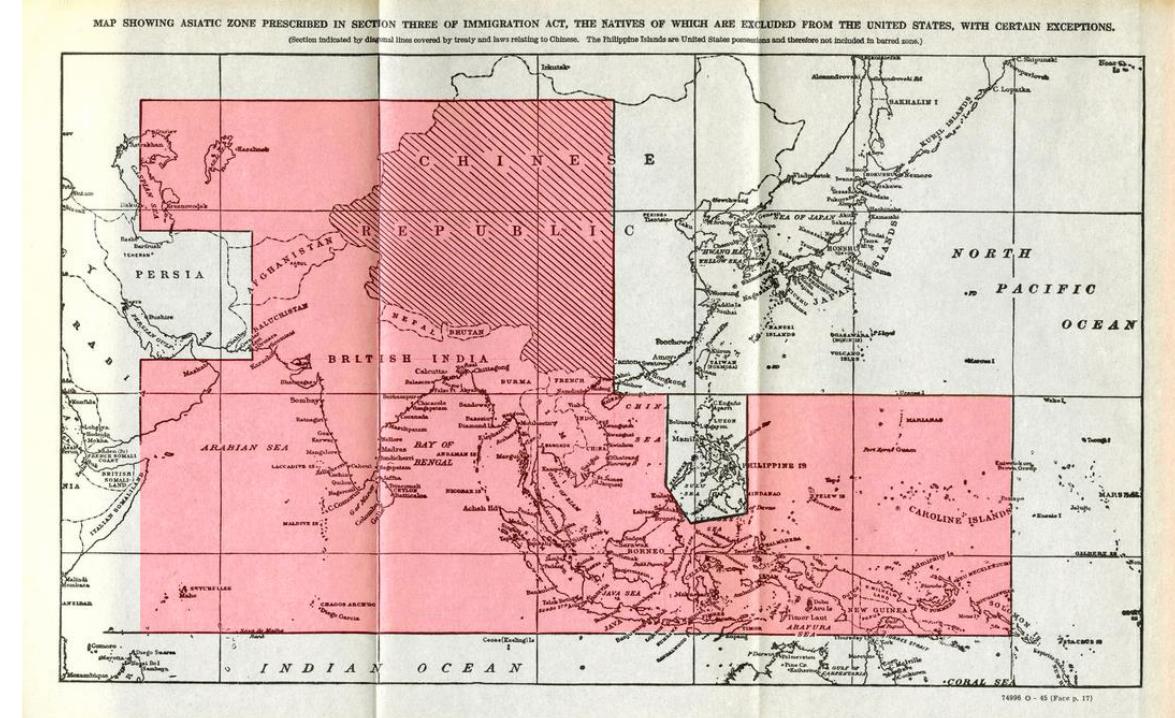
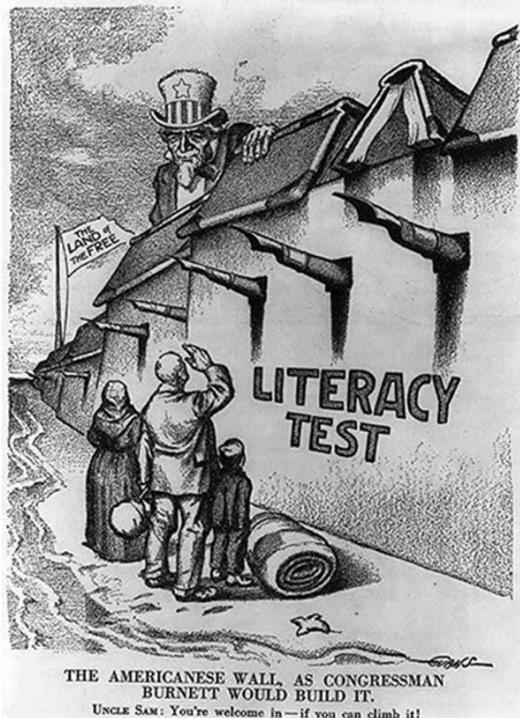
"A notable fact about farm labor in California is the practice of employers to pay wage scales on the basis of race, i.e. to establish different wage rates for each racial group, thus fostering racial antagonism and, incidentally, keeping wages at the lowest possible point."

- Carey McWilliams

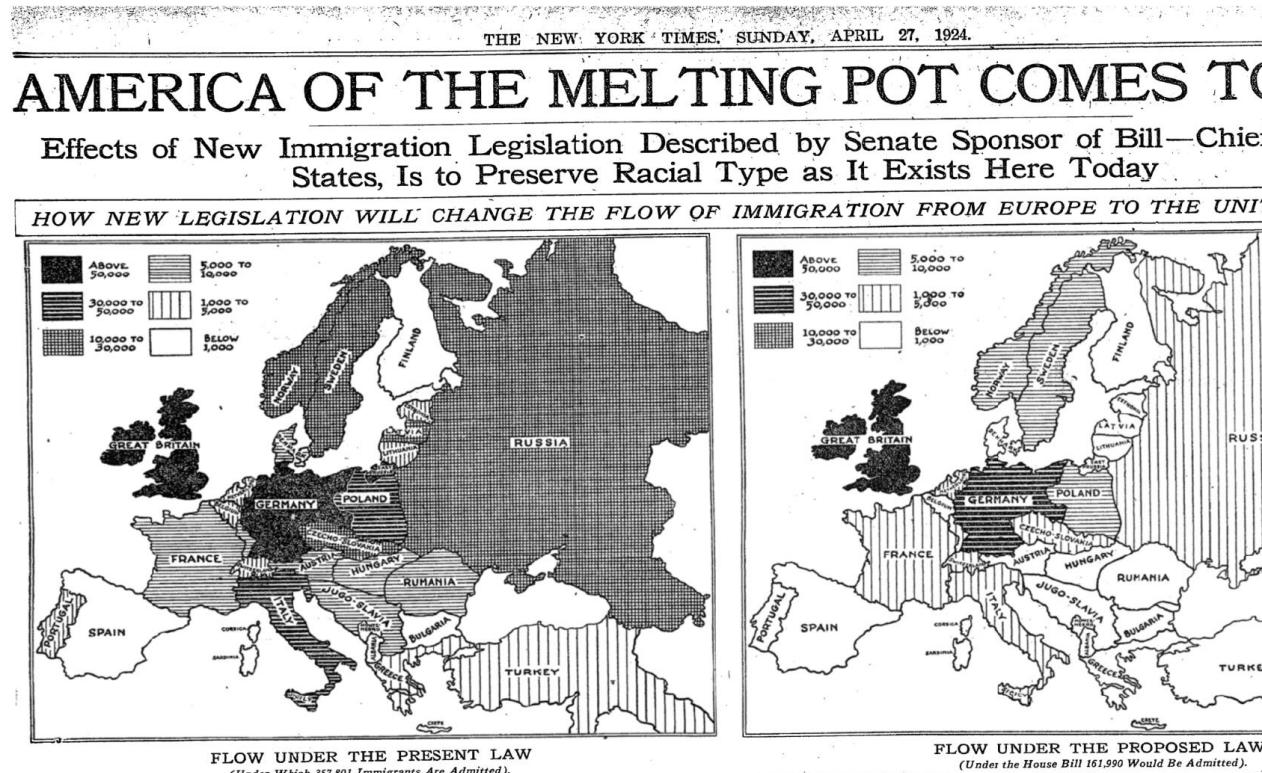


# Immigration Act of 1917

- First comprehensive immigration policy
- Explicitly excluded "political radicals" (labor organizers)
- Created the first "guest-worker" programs in which workers were denied citizenship and the right to form unions



# Immigration (Quota) Act of 1924



- Further restricted immigration from Asia and parts of Europe but did not include countries of the Western Hemisphere
- Created Border Patrol
- Effects on labor
  - Potential citizenship for Mexicans
  - Fortify border & deportation
  - Institutionalize legal vs. illegal migration
  - Issue of cost

# Newspapers

*Saturday Evening Post*

“...see endless streets crowded with the shacks of illiterate, diseased, pauperized Mexicans, taking no interest whatever in the community, living constantly on the ragged edge of starvation, bringing countless numbers of American citizens into the world with the reckless prodigality of rabbits.”

*New York Times*

“It is folly to pretend that the more recently arrived Mexicans, who are largely of Indian blood, can be absorbed and incorporated into the American race.”

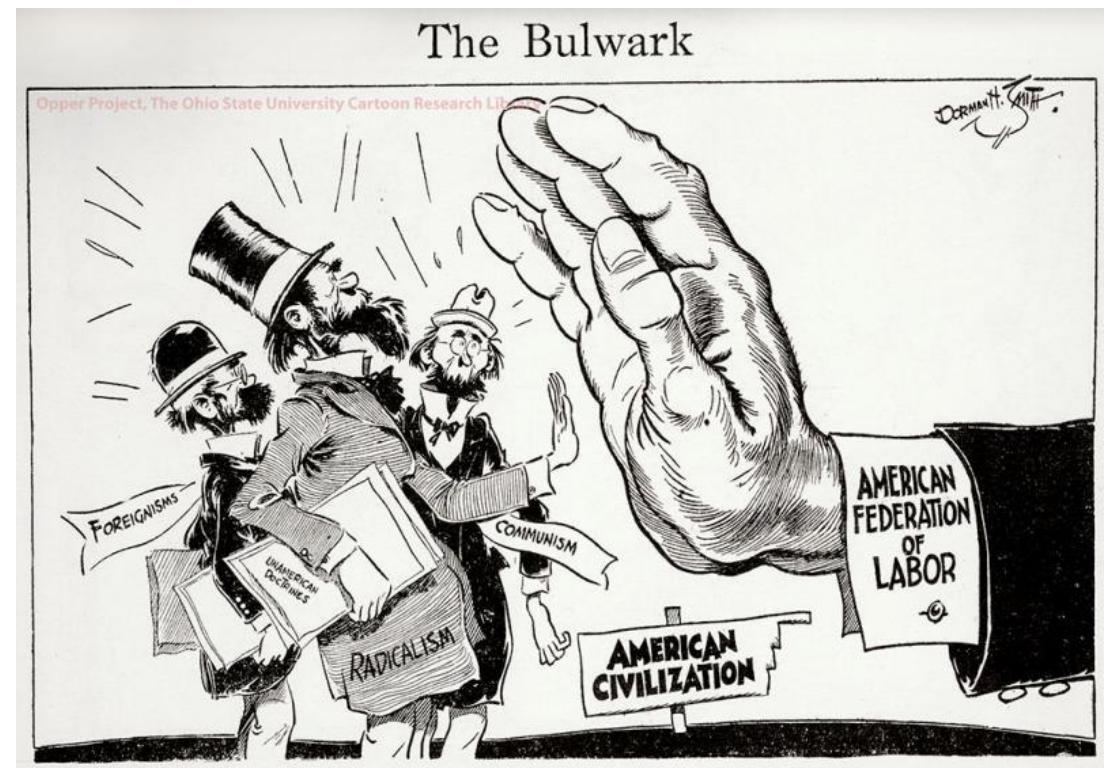
# Conservative labor unions

"There are too many Mexicans coming into the United States...and restrictions must be placed upon them to protect American workers from competition."

- William Green, President, American Federation of Labor (1928)

"Is it a pretty sight to see men, brawny American men with callouses on their hands and empty stomachs — sitting idly on benches in the plaza, while slim-legged peons with tortillas in their stomachs work in the tall building across the way? Do you prefer the name Fernandez, alien, to the name, James, citizen, on your payroll?"

- *The Advocate* (AFL publication)



# Case of Japanese-Mexican Labor Association

- American Beet Sugar Company reduced wages from \$5 to \$3.75/acre
- 700 workers (500 Japanese, 200 Mexican)
- Sought affiliation with AFL
- “Your union must guarantee that it will under no circumstances accept membership of any Chinese or Japanese.”



ASIANAMERICANEDU.ORG

PHOTO/DENSHO

**TODAY IN HISTORY:**

**Japanese-Mexican Labor Association**

11 FEB 1903

“We will refuse any other kind of charter, except one which will wipe out race prejudices and recognize our fellow workers as being as good as ourselves.”

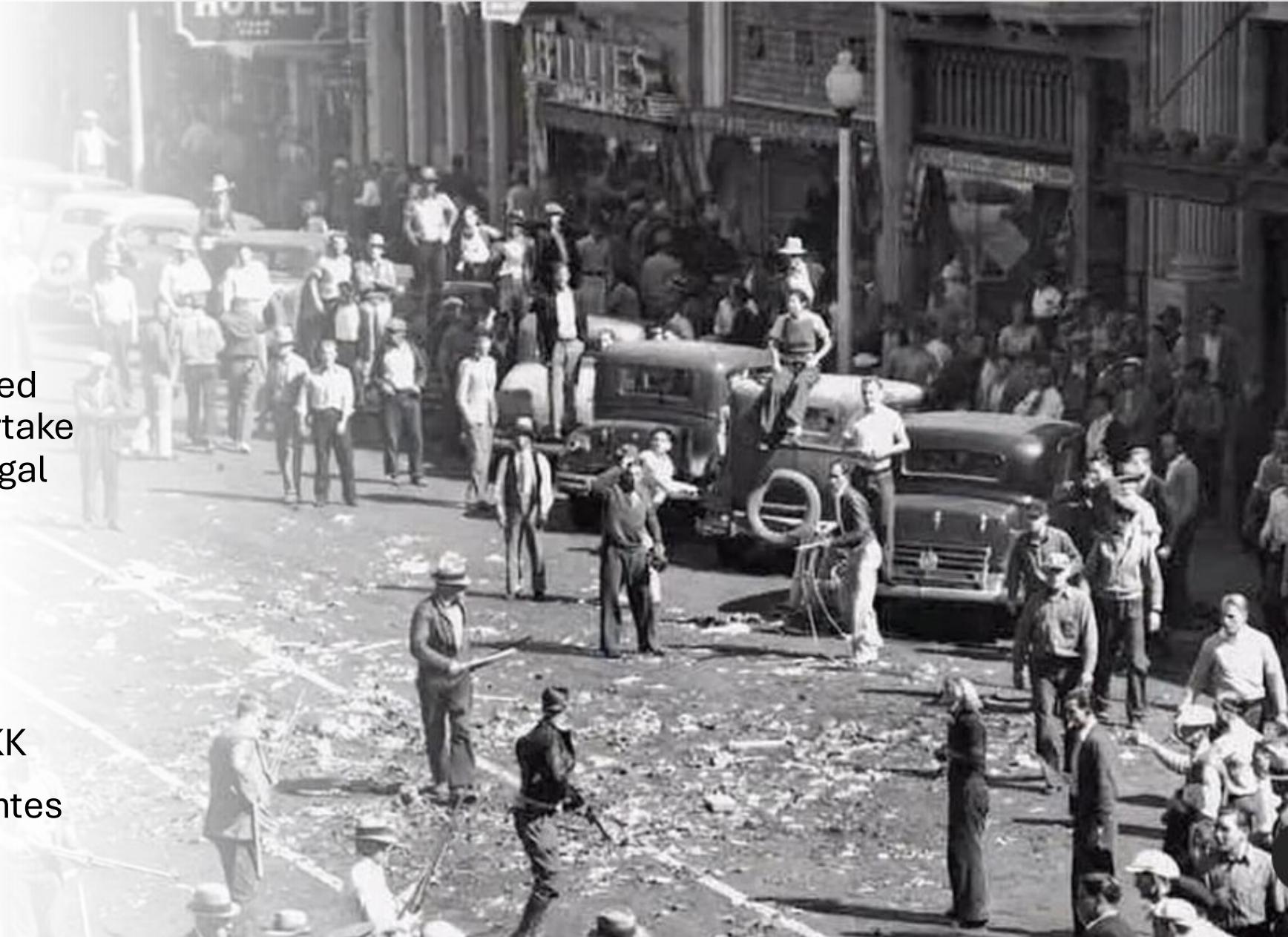
— J.M. Lizarraras

The Asian American Education Project

# Vigilantes

A member of a self-appointed group of citizens who undertake law enforcement without legal authority

- Northeast: Private police forces
- Southeast: Jim Crow & KKK
- West & southwest: Vigilantes



# Case of 1936 Salinas Lettuce Strike



“I can remember the biggest impression I had of those days was watching those white people coming in from Oklahoma and Arkansas and Texas...learning in the course of the strike that they had more in common with that worker with the brown skin and the black skin than they had with the vigilantes with the white skin who were beating everybody up.”

- Organizer

# Deportations

1928 – 1939: Immigrant and U.S.- born, citizen and noncitizen, longtime residents and temporary workers, all became targets of a campaign of forced relocation

“Every reason which calls for the exclusion for the most wretched, ignorant, dirty, diseased, and degraded people of Europe or Asia demands that the illiterate, unclean, peonized masses moving this way from Mexico must be stopped at the border”

- Texas Congressman John Box



CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	CABLE LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	X WEEK END LETTER

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

# WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

January 6, 1931.

Col. Arthur M. Woods  
United States Government Coordinator  
Unemployment Relief  
Washington, D.C.

We note press notices this morning. Figure four hundred thousand deportable aliens United States. Stop. Estimate ~~fifty~~ five per cent in this district. Stop. We can pick them all up through police and sheriff channels. Stop. United States Department of Emigration incapacitated to handle. Stop. You advise please as to method of getting rid. Stop. We need their jobs for needy citizens.

Doc. #11  
to C of C  
return file w/ stories  
C.P. Visel  
K

LOS ANGELES CITIZENS COMMITTEE  
COORDINATION UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF  
C P VISEL  
COORDINATOR  
CITY HALL

NO.	
CHECK	
TIME FILED	



(P)	Casaday Sees 1,500 Mexicans Loaded On Trains	College Men Myron E. Wil... ball teams at t... 1920 thru 1931 president of th... ton Club in Co... The Concordia here today, ca... story concernin... sociation with
e of the id today Hughes ole story dnapping in Hope nd boot- rtis with n in a sum of	Shipped From Denver to Their Old Homes in Mexico Due to The Lack of Work in Sugar Beet Fields.	
ger was ctive em- by Col. o. Lind- ey. e of the lived in land.	Harry Casaday was in the Den- ver Union depot yesterday when 1,700 Mexicans were being loaded on trains for deportation to their native land. It was an interesting and at the same time an affecting sight, according to Mr. Casaday. Families including numerous chil- dren were being loaded on the trains, many of them not under- standing what it was all about.	
ntial Sum ording to ember he sum of rstanding purchase uthor- he said,  he search King	Practically all of the 1,700 came from Weld and Larimer counties. They had come to Colorado to work in the beet field, ignorant of the fact that the state has more laborers than it needs. The de- portation was being supervised by state authorities and is being con- ducted in a humane manner.	

# Deportations

Between 1-2 million workers of Mexican ancestry rounded up and deported

- 60% US citizens

“Up at the customs house, there is a large corral, where early in January more than two thousand *repatriados* camped and starved, huddled together, waiting for a kind government to provide them with transportation so that they could move on... Women swarmed about the warehouses picking up one by one the beans spilled through the holes in the [gunny] sacks.”

- Robert N. McLean, Juarez 1931

# The State, Borders, & Migration

- I. The State
  - 4 attributes
- II. Capitalist state
  - What a (capitalist) state must do
- III. Nation, States, Nation-States
  - Imagined Communities
- IV. Borders & Migration
- V. From nation to “identity”
  - Identity & Groupism
- VI. Race in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century
- VII. Ethnic/racial antagonism
  - Competition for employment & resources → group antagonism
- VIII. Case 1: Chinatown – Race & Place
- IX. Case 2: US Agricultural Labor – Borders & Guaranteeing Accumulation

