

Old fashion racial concepts of Mexicans continue . . .

Prof. Samuel Huntington – “The Hispanic Challenge” (*Foreign Policy*, Oct 28, 2009)

- Mexican culture challenges the survival of the United States

Jason Richwine, Harvard dissertation, 2009

- Average immigrant IQ is lower than US whites, and low IQ's likely persist across generations
- Low IQ hinders assimilation and promotes “underclass behavior”
- Mexicans tend to have low IQs
- Not good policy to allow Mexican immigration to continue

Immigration Policy as Racial Control

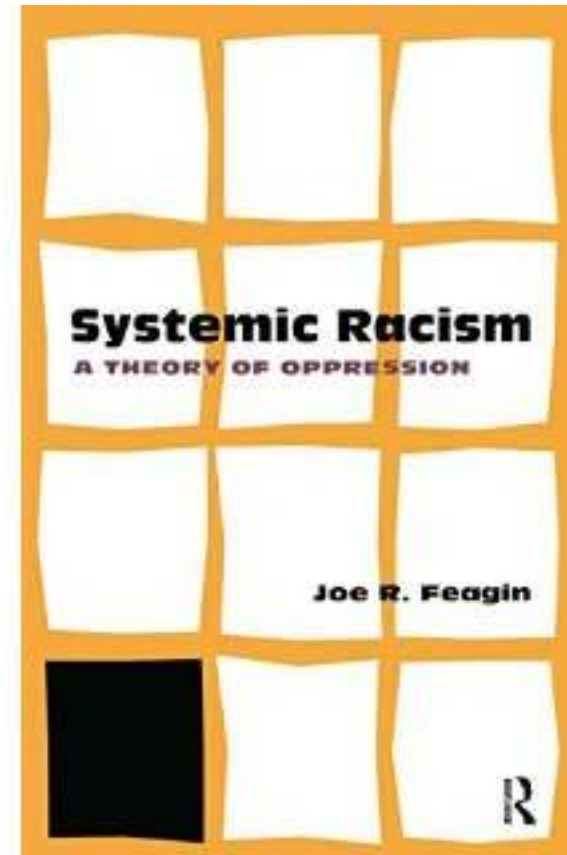
Nestor Rodriguez

The University of Texas at Austin

April 8, 2016

Racialized foundations of US society

- In pre-civil rights era, many US institutions acted openly to maintain racial/ethnic separation, subordination, and racial inequality
- Imposed racial/ethnic division was the rule
- *Contradictions exist between racist desire for restriction and demand for labor*
- In post-civil rights era, immigration policy becomes race neutral, but enforcement measures create negative group images



Background Review: Pre-1960s

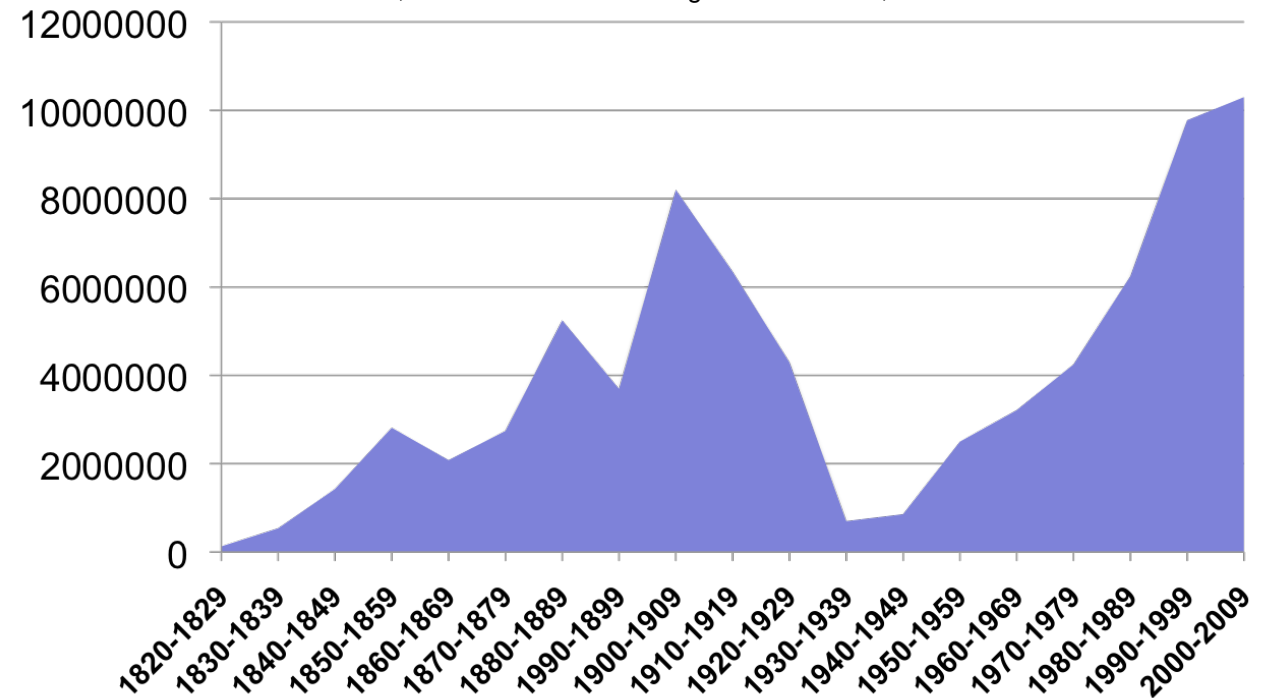
- Many immigration policies before the 1960s contained racial or ethnic restrictions
- Racialized immigration restrictions spun restrictions for US persons

Three-stage model of immigration policy

- Immigration of new racial/ethnic group increases
- Social contagion rises (agitation, social movements, etc.) to restrict the immigration
- New congressional or bureaucratic policy of immigration control is enacted

Immigrants Admitted by Decade, 1820-2009

Source: DHS, 2009 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, table 1



Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882

- All Chinese, including US-born Chinese, risked being excluded (de-naturalization is rare)
- Sets up bureaucratic control and surveillance of exclusion
- Separation of families (hardship)
- Racial exclusion: 1) racial inferiority, 2) non-white immigrants cannot become citizens
- Stereotypes increase during conflict between China and Western powers (Opium Wars)
- *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1842, vol. 6): “A Chinaman is cold, cunning and distrustful. . . Extremely covetous and deceitful; quarrelsome, vindictive . . . [has] a total disregard for truth.”
- Chinese resistance to exclusion
- Mounted Chinese patrols, 1904/1915

Expatriation of March 2, 1907

- “SEC. 3. That any American woman who marries a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband. “
- Partial remedy in Cable Act of 1922 for women marrying white immigrants
- In 1934 Congress separates women’s citizenship from husband’s
- In 1950s thousands of American women petition for “repatriation”
- By late 1990s dozens of women annually petition for repatriation
- As recent as 2001 four requests are made for repatriation
- In 2014 Congress expresses regret for the Expatriation Act

Restrictive immigration policies in early 1900s

1917—Asiatic Barred Zone (Asia-Pacific Triangle)

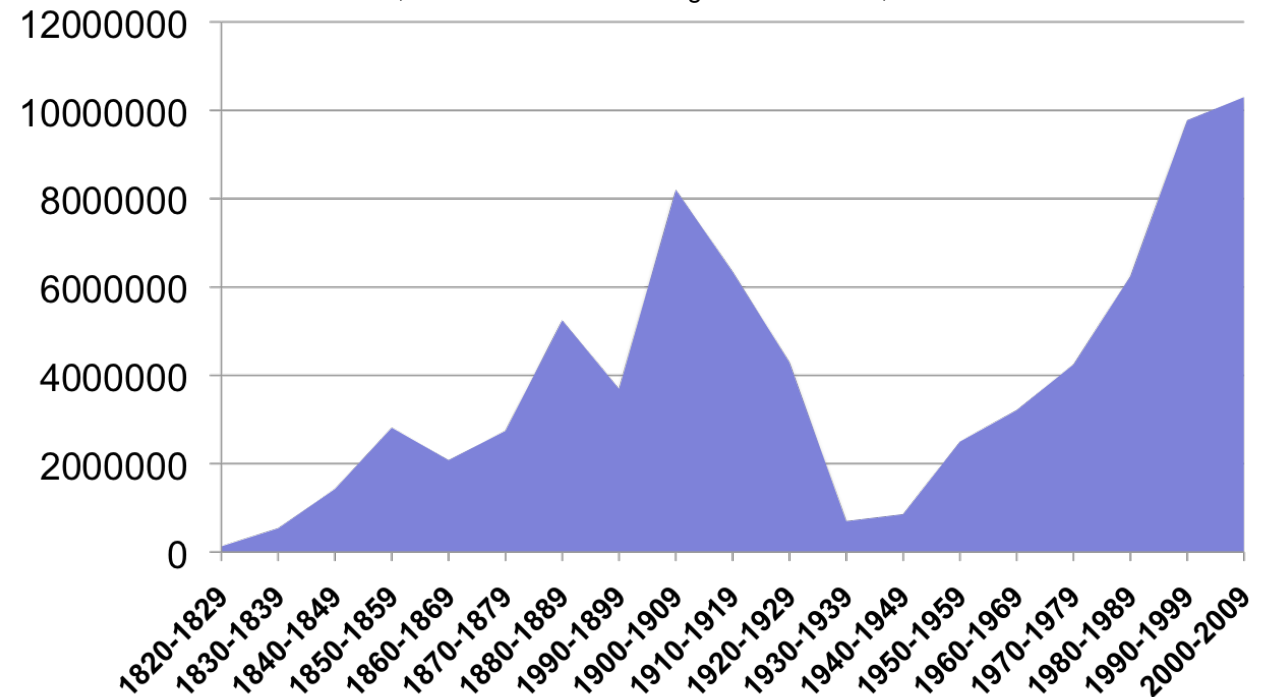
1921—Emergency Quota Act (3% of 1910 immigrant populations)

1924—National Origins Quota Act

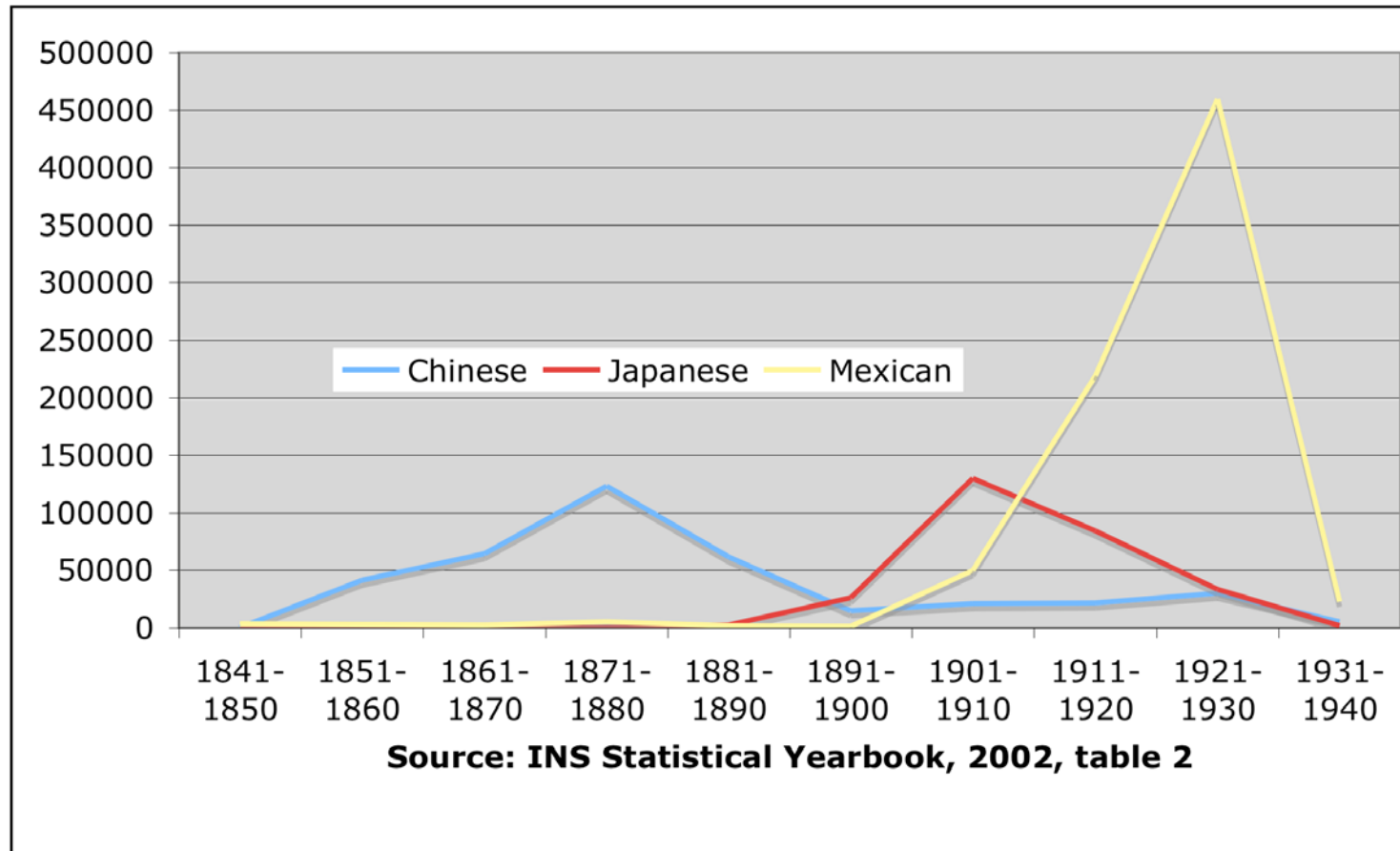
- Percentages of total population
- Made white race an absolute standard for immigration
- Debate over Mexicans

Immigrants Admitted by Decade, 1820-2009

Source: DHS, 2009 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, table 1



Rotation of restricted Asian/Latino immigration: Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican, 1841-1940

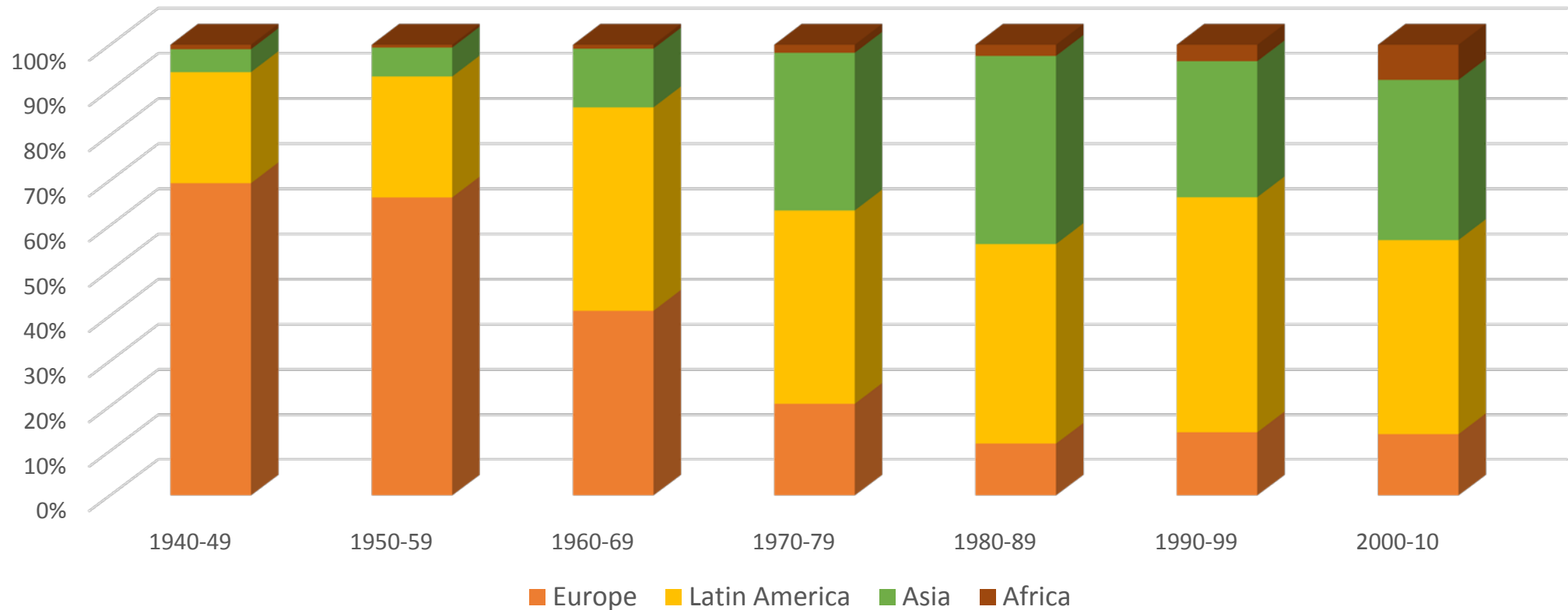


Immigration policies after Civil Rights legislation in the 1960s

- Immigrant friendly policies (race neutral)
- New restrictions, 1990s-2000s

US immigration: Immigrants admitted by percentage, by selected region, by decade, 1940-2010

Source: DHS, 2013 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, table 2



Immigrant friendly congressional policies

INA Amendments – 1965

- Ended national origin quotas

Immigration Reform and Control Act – 1986

- Amnesty for almost 3.0 million

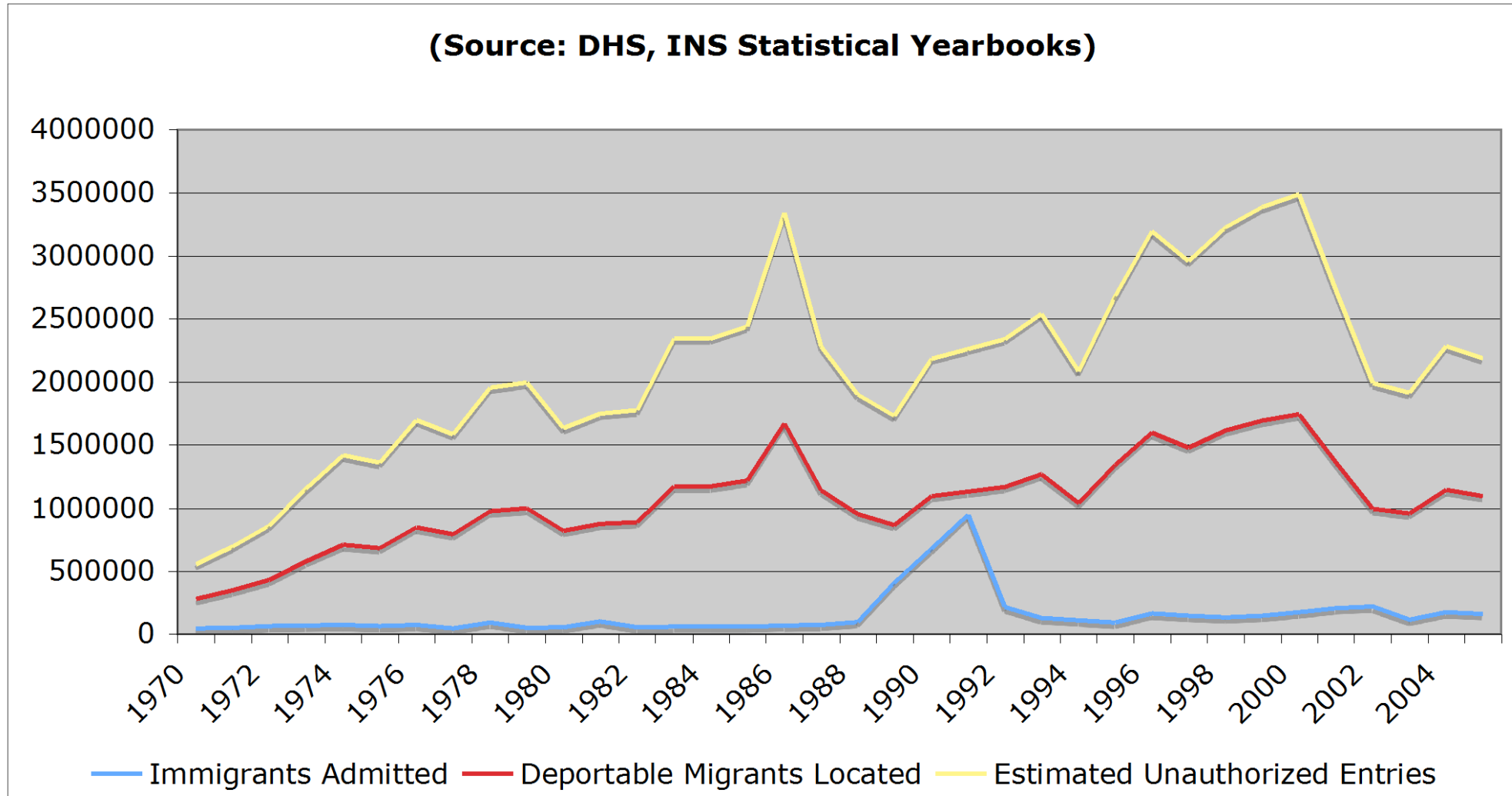
Immigration Act of 1990

- Immigration level raised to 675,000
- Non-immigrant H visas
- Temporary Protective Status (TPS)
- Diversity Visa Program



Unauthorized Mexican Migration Surges

(Source: DHS, INS Statistical Yearbooks)

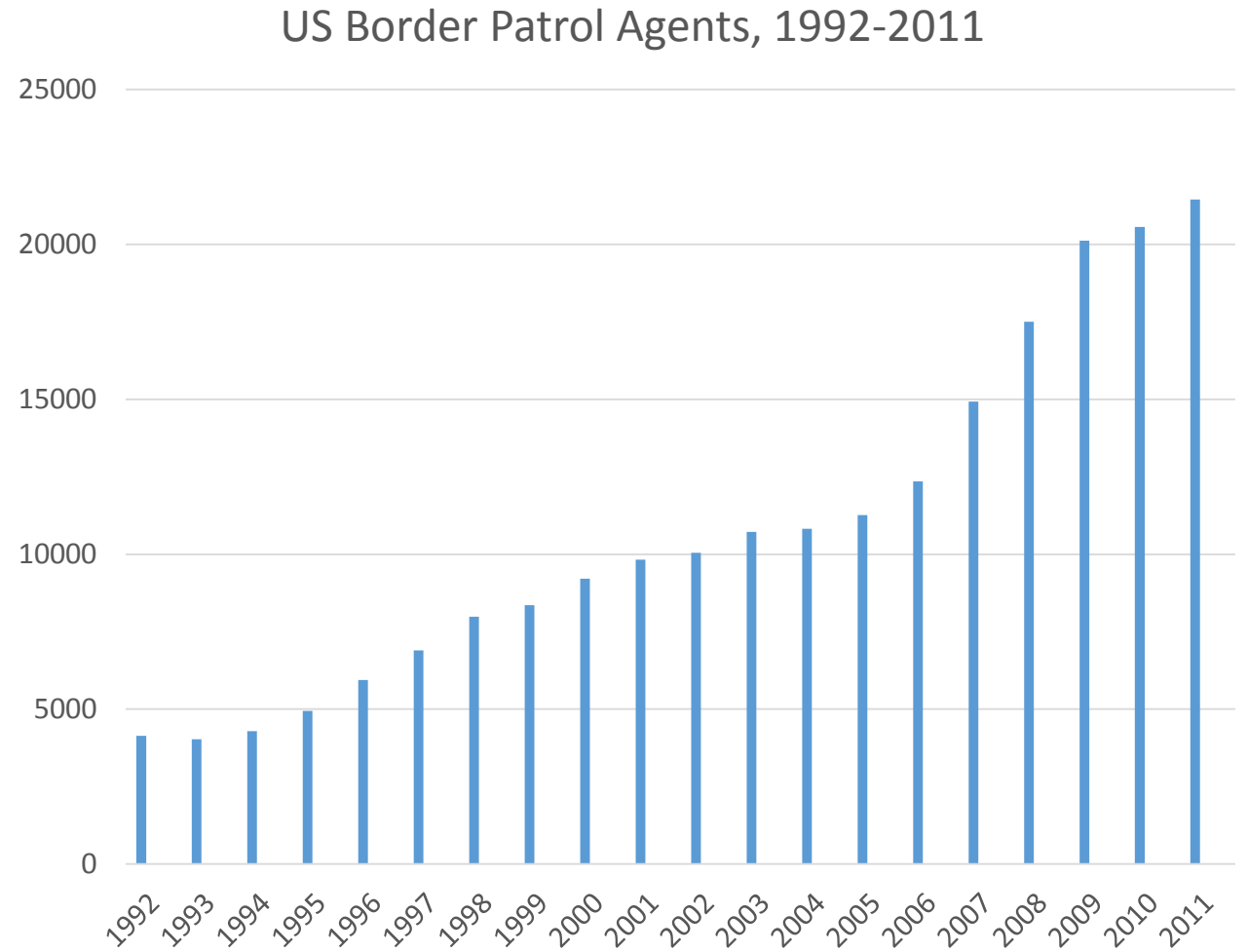


Mid-1990s turning point to restriction and negative portrayals of Mexicans/Latinos

- Pre- and post-mid 1990s views of undocumented migrants
 - Undocumented migrants as regular people
 - Undocumented migrants as "the enemy"
- Re-election of Gov. Pete Wilson and Proposition 187 in California, in 1994 ("They keep coming!")
- Border Patrol campaigns during 1990s to deter unauthorized migration at the US-Mexico border
- Illegal Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996

Border Patrol campaigns at US- Mexico border

- Operation Hold the Line, El Paso, 1993
- Operation Gatekeeper, San Diego, 1994
- Operation Rio Grande, McAllen, Tx, 1997
- Operation Safeguard, Nogales, Az, 1995
- Arizona Border Control Initiative, 2004



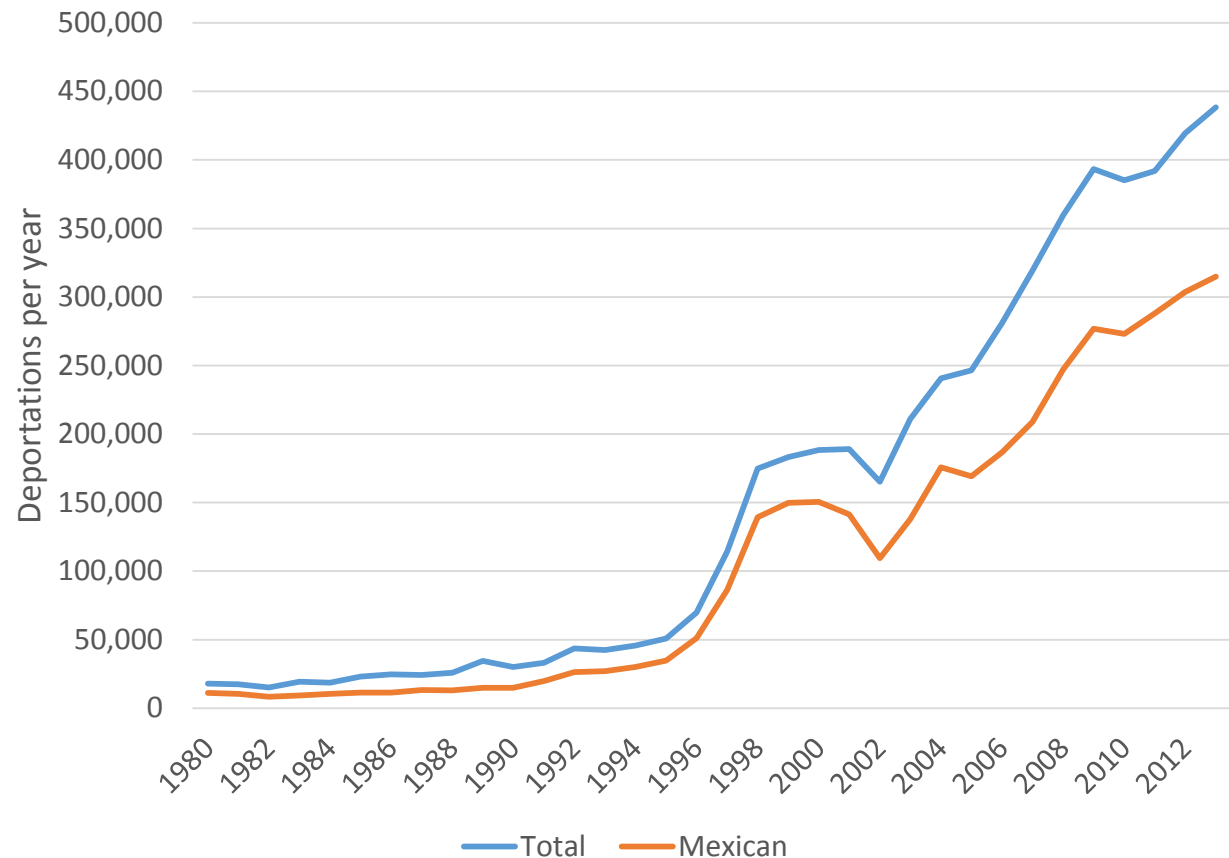
IIRIRA of 1996

(“The Mexican Exclusion Act”)

- Increased enforcement infrastructure (more Border Patrol agents, money for border fence/wall, etc.)
- Increased number of offenses for deportation from murder, drugs, weapons trafficking, etc., to 28 separate offenses
- Streamlined deportations and made deportable offenses **retroactive without limit**
- Section 287(g) **promoted state and local participation in immigration enforcement**
- Criterion to cancel a deportation is increased from “exceptional hardship” to “exceptional and extremely unusual hardship”

Formal deportations, 1980-2013

Source: INS & DHS Statistical Yearbooks



Bureaucratic effects of large-scale coercive enforcement

- Bureaucracy as unit of analysis (Rodriguez & Paredes 2014; Wheatley & Rodriguez 2014)
 - Border Patrol (Dunn 1996, 2010)
 - Immigration and Customs Enforcement (Rodriguez & Hagan 2004; Hagan et al. 2011)
- Coercive processing of massive numbers of people produces—
 - Negative/deviant labels and images of targeted populations
 - Negative social constructions of targeted populations
 - Harm, fear, and stress among affected populations

Racialized markers in enforcement practices

Congressional immigration measures no longer specify race, but bureaucratic enforcement practices use race/ethnicity as markers (Mexican, Latina/o)

DWB

The New York Times

Some Texans Say Border Patrol Singles Out Too Many Blameless Hispanics

By JIM YARDLEY

Published: January 26, 2000

BROWNSVILLE, Tex.— Filemon B. Vela is a federal judge, but a Border Patrol agent recently mistook him for an illegal immigrant or a drug smuggler. Mr. Vela and three aides were driving on an isolated road when the agent pulled them over. Why? Because, the agent explained, there were too many people in the car.

The agent apologized and moved on, but the mistake did not surprise the area's highest elected official, the Cameron County judge, Gilberto Hinojosa. An agent once followed him closely for 10 miles as his wife and baby sat in back, Judge Hinojosa said. Another agent refused to let him board a plane to Houston until he stated his citizenship, he said. "It feels like occupied territory," Judge Hinojosa said. "It does not feel like we're in the United States of America."

Social Construction of Latinos as “Aliens”

“Alien” is not a neutral term, such as “person” or “people”

Alien—(def.) “unlike ones own,” “strange,” “hostile,” “unsuitable,” etc.

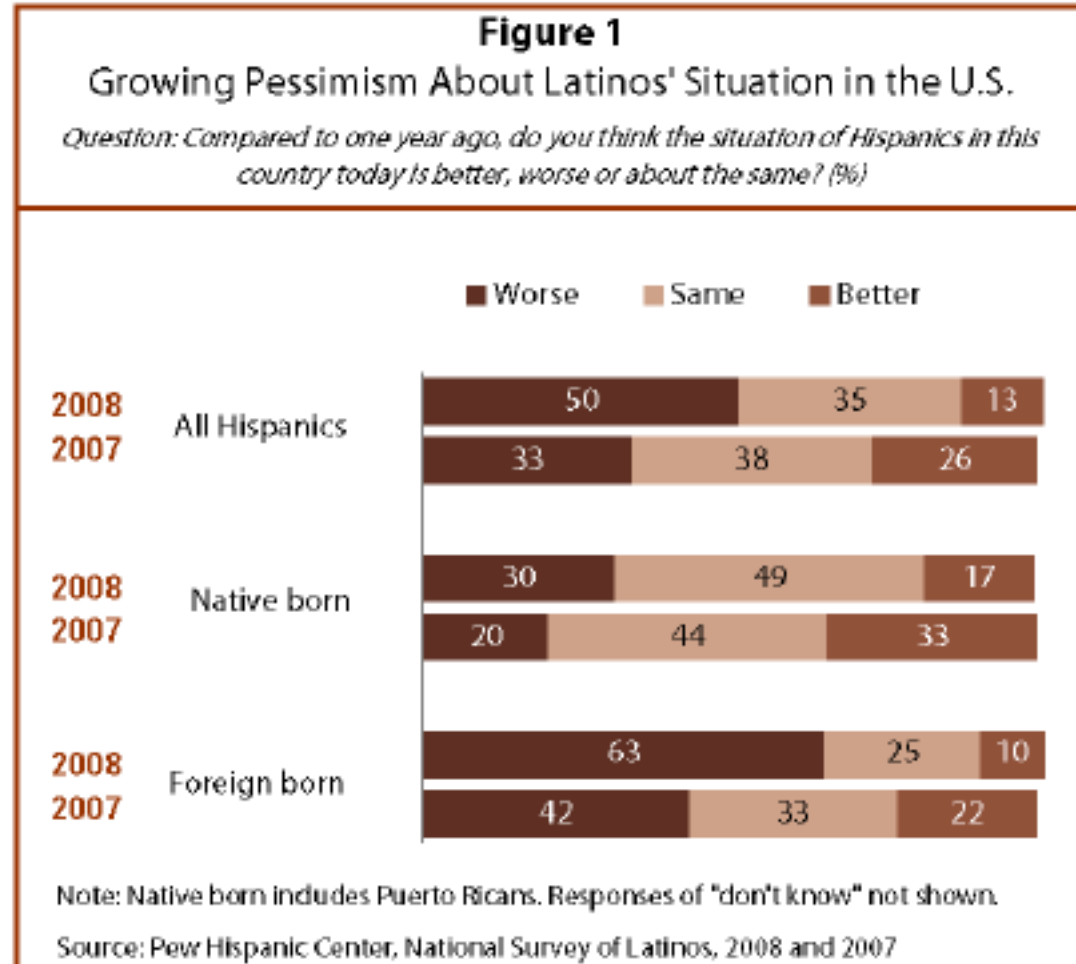
Negative portrayal of “alien”

- Alien and Sedition Acts
- “Illegal aliens”
- *Alien Nation* (book)

“Alien”—villainous characterization of foreign-born persons (irony)

Signs of fear and stress among Latinas/os

- Pew survey—increased fear of deportation among all Latinos
- Less contact with schools and clinics by parents
- Changing identity from Latina/o to “Hispanic”
- Changing family travel arrangements
- Signs of trauma among women (nightmares)
- Anger



ICE strategic plan

- Build capacity to “remove all removable aliens” by 2012
- Former Attorney General Alberto Gonzalez—a meeting was held to considering removing all unauthorized migrants

U.S. Department of Homeland Security
Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement

ENDGAME Office of Detention and Removal Strategic Plan, 2003 - 2012

Detention and Removal Strategy
for a Secure Homeland



Massive coercive bureaucratic processing of migrants

- Delegitimizes migrants as regular people
- Removes human qualities worthy of respect and dignity
- Makes migrants appear as suspect, dangerous, illegitimate beings
- Dehumanized migrants become bodies to be processed, moved around in detention centers; commodities to be processed and removed by the thousands

Internal division among Latinos

- *Racism without Racists*
- Racism without race
 - Intra-group prejudice and discrimination
 - US Latino negative views of Latino immigrants
 - Mexican immigrant criticisms of Mexican Americans
 - Strong Mexican American support for Operation Wetback in 1954