Out of Many, One People:

Race, Naturalization, and the Manufacturing of American Citizens

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THESIS

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This is dedicated to my mother and my grandmother whose sacrifices have given me the privilege of becoming who I am today.

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Abbreviations

BIN	The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization
CBP	U.S. Customs and Border Protection
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DoC	Department of Commerce
DoJ	Department of Justice
DoCL	Department of Commerce and Labor
DoL	Department of Labor
FTC	Federal Trade Commission
GMC	good moral character
ICE	U.S. Immigrations and Customs Enforcement
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
INR	Immigration and Naturalization Reporter
MR	Immigration and Naturalization Monthly Review
SOBI	State of Black Immigrants
USCIS	United States Citizenship and Immigration Service

SUMMARY

Ongoing debates about America's immigration future often ask a crucial question: who belongs to the nation? This dissertation provides a nuanced answer to this question by exploring *belonging* as an oft-forgotten dimension of citizenship that interrogates the State's priorities in creating and integrating new citizens. Since the 20th century, the United States has emboldened an immigration regime preoccupied with culling the masses of potential citizens. Weeding out the undesired and unassimilable is essential to this process. In this context perceptions of national belonging, especially from those who achieve naturalization, are a measure of the vitality of American citizenship; its reach and its boundaries.

This dissertation sheds light on the balancing act of citizenship as a concomitant boundary and bridging mechanism. I do so in three distinct but interrelated paths of inquiry focusing on how naturalized citizens are "made." First, I examine perceptions of belonging through interviews with naturalized black West Indians from St. Vincent, Guyana, Trinidad and Jamaica. Second, I chart the bureaucratic changes and institutional logics that undergird the management of naturalization as a formal process. Third, I consider my sample of naturalized citizens as successful products of the State's manufacturing goals. Together these paths of inquiry illuminate how race matters in the making of citizens who will ultimately be considered, Black.

My findings indicate that there are two processes of naturalization at work; a formal naturalization and an informal racial one. Neither process begin when an immigrant decides to seek naturalization. However, both processes are often at work simultaneously such that black immigrants demonstrate ambivalence in how they view and experience American

citizenship. In other words, an attachment gap. Furthermore, as products of the State they exemplify to immigrants from their backgrounds what successful Americans citizens should look like. Despite narrow options for inclusion, those I interviewed employed their own alternative forms of capital not only in the pursuit of citizenship, but in articulating terms of belonging as Americans that suited them. In doing so, they allow themselves to be used by the State as exemplars that counter claims of racism by their African American counterparts. Nevertheless, as racialized docile citizens they occupy a second class citizenship branch in the national family tree. Beyond scrutinizing who belongs, this dissertation reinvigorates an age-old migration question with a new lens. In the United States, how do we create one people, out of the many? Furthermore, is this what we truly desire?

1.1   The Value of American Citizenship

Well, I am one who doesn't believe in deluding myself. I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an American. Being born here in America doesn't make you an American. Why, if birth made you American, you wouldn't need any legislation; you wouldn't need any amendments to the Constitution; you wouldn't be faced with civil-rights filibustering in Washington, D.C., right now. They don't have to pass civil-rights legislation to make a Polack an American.

No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver -- no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare.

(~Malcom X, Ballet or the Bullet)

"Born in the U.S.A., I was born in the U.S.A".

(~Bruce Springsteen, Born in the U.S.A.)

The date is January 19th, 2018 and it has been almost five years since I traveled outside of the United States. As the end of my 9 days in Jamaica loomed nearer and nearer, a sinking feeling began to develop in the pit of my stomach. Though I'd had no worries about traveling before, my 2013 trip had taught me that flying out of the United States was easy; it was getting back in that was the hard part. The experience I'd had returning to the United States 5 years ago was so meaningful (*read: scary*) that it became the cornerstone of my dissertation proposal. Perhaps it is fitting then that I wrote this introduction to my completed dissertation while sitting in an immigration holding room under similar conditions..

Along with 30 or so other individuals of varying racial backgrounds, I wait so I can be cleared to continue my journey to New York City. Like the last time, I am kicking myself for being in this position yet again. However, unlike last time I am a scholar with a heightened awareness of what this room and the waiting period represents; how it reminds me of who I am to the U.S. As a permanent resident of the United States, I am given many benefits and protections that others who lack this status envy. I am allowed to work, get a social security card and for many, most importantly, I am eligible for most forms of financial aid and scholarships when pursuing higher education. There is but one status higher than that of the permanent resident in this country and it is citizen. Within U.S. borders the differences between these two legal statuses are minimal but when traveling outside U.S. territory they are pronounced. Thus, while I, a permanent resident, waits in this room and tries to make the best of this time, my mother, a U.S. citizen, has already proceeded with ease to baggage claim.

The paradox of writing a dissertation about citizenship as a non-citizen is not lost on me. It has been both a gift and a curse. However, it is precisely because of this vantage point that I contend that one does not really "become" an American but is "made" one. In researching for this dissertation, I noted the phrase "becoming American" as indicative of a specific interpretation of immigrant integration. This view relies on the prominence of assimilation, underplaying the importance of contexts of reception while emphasizing immigrant choices and behavior—often uncritically. In this way, the focus on "becoming American" can function as a kind of conceptual blinder to all the ways that structures "make" Americans as well. When immigrants make choices and exercise free will they do so while navigating webs of institutions and hierarchies that obscure the widest set of options. Immigrants' choices matter and so do the structures that shape them. More than just a linguistic shift, concentrating on the manufacturing of citizens highlights the fact that immigrant integration requires some synergy between agency and structure, between immigrant's choices and the State's.

In this dissertation, I focus on the tenuous balance in the lived experience of citizenship. After all, "citizenship is omnirelevant" (Glenn 2011:2). Its influence extends beyond the realm of the public to the private lives of both citizens and non-citizens alike. In the last year and half the value of citizenship in the United States and the consequences of the lack thereof have been reaffirmed in highly visible debates on the national stage. The decision by the current presidential administration not to renew Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) affected the futures of approximately 700,000 Dreamers (Lopez & Krogstad 2017). Likewise, over 60,000 Haitians were saved from deportation back to their homeland with the extension of their Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for another year.

The zero tolerance policy for those caught trying to enter the United States without documents led to heartbreaking images of parents and children separated at the border in the spring of 2018. These examples demonstrate that for foreign born individuals of varying immigrant statuses who reside in the United States—and those who dream of coming—citizenship is the ultimate protective status. In the United States especially, there is no way around its importance in structuring opportunities and life chances.

Nonetheless, acquiring citizenship only ameliorates issues with entering, exiting and legally residing in the United States. Unfortunately, a citizenship status does not protect against the weight of one's American national identity. This point is also underscored by the signs of the times. Increasing attacks and hate crimes against naturalized citizens from the Middle East, regardless of Muslim affiliation. A spate of incidents where whites have called the police on people of color—mostly Blacks—at Starbucks, pools, parks, outside their homes, while doing their jobs as firefighters or sleeping in the common room of the dorm. Current social movements like Black Lives Matter, Me Too and the mobilizing of both democrats and republicans after the polarizing 2016 election further demonstrate that this contemporary time is fraught with contention and division. Each of these examples reveals new cracks and deepening fissures in a unifying American national identity, casting new doubts on whether the unofficial motto E Pluribus Unum, or Out of Many One, will ever be officially achieved. In this contemporary context, the boundaries of citizenship that outline the bodies that belong and strike through the ones that don't are increasingly important.

1.2   <u>The Problem: Citizens That Don't Belong</u>

My dissertation argues in part that the capacity to create one out of many is threatened when citizenship remains an axis of inequality, not just in acquisition, but in its meaning after the status is achieved. Through my examination of the lived experience of citizenship for naturalized black West Indians—most who have been citizens for over 20 years—I find an emotional attachment gap that distances them from the State, most notably in who they see as Americans, the way they view the American identity, and how they perform their role as citizen. They do not seek citizenship because they feel or want to become American. This is the first key finding of this study. Opponents of defensive naturalization, or immigrants seeking citizenship for instrumental reasons like maintaining residency would decry this finding, desiring instead that those who naturalize show stronger allegiance to their new home. This is at the very least a reasonable request. However, of greater consequence is that the coveted rights, legal status and participatory benefits of citizenship my respondents acquired did not hold the power to make them Americans—in their own eyes, and in the nation's as well. How's that for an answer to the meaning of American citizenship?

Theoretical and empirical interrogations of the meaning for citizenship are extensive in the existing literature. Of note is T.H. Marshall's (1950) classic conception of citizenship and its accompanying dimensions. To this strand of research, others have added substantive citizenship (Somers 2008; Somers and Roberts 2008), cultural citizenship (Flores 1997, Ong 1996) and second class citizenship (Glenn 2002, 2000; Bloemeraad 2006, Reiter 2013) and

the list goes on. As expansive as this literature is there are still spaces with holes to be filled, namely with the citizenship dimension of belonging. There are four dimensions of citizenship—rights, legal status, participation, and belonging—and not all receive equal or sufficient attention (Bloemeraad et. al 2008). More importantly, how these dimensions work together in mutually constitutive and destructive ways conferring the privileges of citizenship is another lacuna in citizenship research.

> The four dimensions of citizenship cut across each other, reinforcing or undermining the boundaries and content of citizenship. For example, exclusionary notions of citizenship as belonging might restrict the allocation of status and rights to immigrants and affect their participation in a society. (Bloemeraad et. al 2008:156)

Often entangled with citizenship and identity, belonging merits its own attention when looking at citizenship as a lived experience. An overlooked affective dimension of citizenship, belonging is the conceptual tool that shows how legal borders become social and cultural. Citizenship in abstract and the formal naturalization process in practice, effectively determine who is included and excluded. Importantly, feelings that affirm belonging cement the nation-building that the formal naturalization process accomplishes by accepting new citizens.

I add to this very necessary literature by focusing on this nation-building potential of belonging and the responsibility of nation states to transfer the appropriate cultural and social meanings to immigrants (Bloemraad et. al. 2008). The abundance of academic literature on citizenship is one indication that citizenship is lived and experienced in a myriad of ways. My dissertation adds to these conversations the position of the naturalized

citizen or American by choice, as one ripe with analytic potential. Through the naturalization process, foreign born individuals who meet a set of requirements can submit an application, pay a fee, pass a test and become Americans. As straightforward as that process sounds, the harsh reality is that completing it and becoming a formal citizen doesn't necessarily translate to belonging as a member of the nation (Yuval-Davis 2011, Flores-Gonzalez 2017). For Americans by choice, citizenship confers rights, participation, and a beneficial legal status, but it does not ensure full inclusion or belonging. This fact points to the symbolic boundaries of citizenship that determine who belongs, often embedded in the language of "us" and "them." Christensen (2009) argues that,

> …the cultural borders—the notion of us/them and the idea that after all "we" know that "they" are different from us—do not come out of the blue. They exist as underlying notions that influence social relations in everyday life based on the intersection of several categories (Christensen 2009:37).

To some extent, it matters not what attributes are linked to "us," making us different from "them." Gloria Steinem's "If Men Could Menstruate" is a timeless reminder that "the characteristics of the powerful, whatever they may be, are thought to be better than the characteristics of the powerless—and logic has nothing to do with it" (Steinem 1978).

Symbolic boundaries represent "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices and even time and space" such as race, language, religion, and culture (Lamont and Molnar 2002:168). For example, language is a symbolic boundary that communicates the message that being American means speaking English. Former President Bush's claim that the national anthem must be sung in English after a 2006 performance of the song by undocumented Spanish immigrants effectively reinforces that

message (quoted in Christensen 2009:29). American speak English and if you want to belong here, you should too. In the same way, race operates as a symbolic boundary, naming many groups like Asian Americans as "forever foreigners" because of phenotypical distinctions, not legal status (Kim 1999). In this way, symbolic boundaries accomplish work that is either advantageous or disastrous to perceptions of belonging relying on dividing lines not limited to race, class, gender and sexuality. Regardless of the values, characteristics or ideals used to conceptualize who belongs, inevitably symbolic boundaries become stringent criteria that sow inequality in a wide range of institutional environments and interactions at all levels of American life.

Tracing the institutional and everyday practices that influenced naturalized citizens' view of American citizenship led to the second key finding in this study. The sense of belonging that any naturalized citizen has is influenced by two naturalization processes—formal and informal. In theory, the formal naturalization process should at some point inculcate desired allegiance and patriotism. In practice, each management organization has failed to permanently address this reasonable task. Likewise, in theory the informal naturalization process should affirm the democratic ideals upon which this nation was founded. In practice, the historical and contemporary hypocrisy of inequality in American life stains all claims that it needs to be made great again. Instead, it needs to be made accountable. In this study, I focus on racial naturalization experiences, but all mechanisms of othering according to difference could negatively influence the meaning of American citizenship. Rather than blame the emotional attachment gap on immigrants, the State remains culpable for what bonds exist.

Ultimately, belonging refers to "a set of social and political relationships, practice[s] and identities" that link individual experiences to state projects that distinguish amongst and exclude some over others (Lister et al. 2007:9). The *sense of belonging* is "a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place," derived from individual perceptions of value, worth, and importance with regards to their external environment (Antonsich 2010:645; Baumeister & Leary; Hagerty et. al. 1992). *The politics of belonging* concerns political projects that construct belonging for specific groups of people. These two facets of belonging converge in both the informal and formal naturalization processes that fulfill nation building needs by molding new citizens into their American identity. With the lens on racial naturalization, I addresses the essential social fact of race in conferring citizenship rights to the foreign born. Making Americans is not now and never has been a race neutral process. Instead, the process of naturalization is a racial structure with "social, political, and ideological practices that produce differential status between racialized social groups *(races)*" (Bonilla Silva 1997:900). Race alters the naturalization process so that different kinds of Americans are made with different emotional attachments to match.

1.3.   The Case, Questions, and Data

In their "State of Black Immigrants" (SOBI) report, The Black Alliance for Justice in Immigration (BAJI) affirms that black immigrants are in danger partly because of their "invisibility within the public consciousness" (SOBI 2015). This danger leaves them susceptible as blacks and black foreigners to suffering a "double invisibility" (LaPorte 1972: 31). Though a smaller share of the immigrant population, like Latinos, black immigrants face

many of the same challenges as Latinos. However, without visibility and distinction on the

particularities of the black experience, black immigrants are problematically left out of the

immigration and race discourses.

> Until recently, the general reaction of the larger society to most things black was as
> bad and most things African as dark-meaning by such terms that they were backward,
> barbarous, brutish, evil, and ugly. It is not surprising therefore that the views and
> experiences of more recent black immigrants have yet to be regarded as valuable
> historical or sociological data in their own right. In fact, the behavior and conditions
> of the black immigrant seem neither to have captured the interest of academicians
> interested in the exotic as an end in itself any more than they have those who
> generally pursue studies with clearer policy implication…. There are at least two
> other forms of inequality suffered by black foreigners on this level. First, America has
> yet to request a view of itself presented from the black immigrant's perspective along
> lines of de Tocqueville, Bryce, Olmsted, or Myrdal. Second, America has yet to
> encourage a study of black immigrants from within its ranks compared to the works
> being produced on other minorities, including the mostly American black community
> (LaPorte 1972: 31-32).

In fact, much of Bryce LaPorte's (1972) criticism of the treatment of black immigrants as

academic subjects still rings true in part today. As one of the most well-known black

immigrant groups, West Indians or Afro[1] Caribbean's are a fitting contemporary case to

explore the black immigrant perspective because of their high level of groupness and strong

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[1] For this study, West Indian refers to English speaking individuals hailing from the following countries: The Bahamas, Barbados, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Trinidad and Tobago. I also use Black Caribbean and Afro-Caribbean interchangeably to refer to subset of black immigrants regardless of language.

identity and their presumed model-minority status in comparison to native born blacks (Waters 1999; Vickerman 1998; Kasinitz 1992).

By the numbers alone, black immigrants warrant greater attention. Representing 10% of the black population in the United States, foreign born blacks continue to grow in number, with black Africans driving the increase. Still, Afro-Caribbean immigrants outnumber African immigrants and black immigrants from other regions of the world. In 2009, the black Caribbean population numbered 1.7 million and represented half of all black immigrants in the U.S. (Thomas 2012). In 2014, black immigrants are almost 4 million in number, and black Caribbean immigrants still represent half of this group, with Jamaica and Haiti contributing the most (SOBI 2015). Figure 1 shows top countries of origin for all black immigrants. Of the four nationalities represented in this study, only St. Vincent misses this list.

Figure 1: Top Birth Countries for Black Immigrants in 2014 (Source: SOBI, 2015)

Top Birth Countries for Black Immigrants in 2014

Country	Count
Jamaica	665628
Haiti	597969
Nigeria	258368
Ethiopia	207230
Trinidad & Tobago	157983
Ghana	148008
Guyana	122841
Kenya	111145
Dominican Republic	105068
Somalia	93134
Liberia	79066
Cameroon	48025
Barbados	44391
Mexico	43318
Eritrea	36041
Panama	35767
Grenada	33353
Cuba	31129
Bahamas	30126
Sierra Leone	29771

Regions of Birth for Black Immigrants

Region	Percent
Caribbean	49%
Africa	39%
Central America	4%
South America	4%
Europe	2%
Asia	1%
Other or US	1%

While black African immigrants continue to grow their numbers in the country exponentially, Afro-Caribbean immigrants have a longer history in the United States that benefits them. The 1965 Hart Cellar Act created a simpler pathway to entry into the U.S. that black immigrants from countries like Jamaica readily capitalized on due to more restrictive immigration laws in Great Britain (Foner 1998, 2001; Bashi 2004). In 2014, Afro Caribbean immigrants primarily gained entry as immediate relatives of U.S. citizens or through other family sponsorships continuing a precedent set post 1965 (SOBI, 2015, Thomas 2012). Due to their length of time in the United States, the black Caribbean population boasts a higher number of naturalized citizens—32%--than the immigrant population in general. Legal permanent residents make up about 28 percent of this population, a number commensurate with the immigrant population. Of all black immigrants, the black Caribbean population has the second highest rate of citizenship at 61% (SOBI 2015). Though black Caribbean immigrants are less likely to enter the country illegally some become undocumented because

of overstaying visas (Thomas 2012). Even as the undocumented black immigrant population rose from almost 400,000 to 602,000, Afro- Caribbean immigrants made up only 1% of the 162% increase (SOBI 2015).

Unfortunately, there are more dismal numbers to consider when painting an integration picture for black West Indians. Despite their small size they are overrepresented in immigration enforcement proceedings and disproportionately deported and detained at a rate five times the largest undocumented immigrant group, Latinos (SOB 2015, Nopper 2008). Moreover, the terms of deportation and opportunities for re-entry are more stringent for black immigrants (Nopper 2008). Based on income, home ownership, and education, black immigrants at large live in worse neighborhoods than non-Hispanic whites. Moreover, one in five black immigrants lives below the poverty level (SOBI 2015). Despite this lacking neighborhood quality and high segregation from whites, the large numbers of black Caribbean immigrants in New York City has led to the development of a vibrant economically and politically active community. Crowder (2000) contends that though largely concentrated in poor African American neighborhoods, West Indians in New York City create ethnic enclaves based on a shared group identity that helps them to achieve a higher socioeconomic status than African American enclaves. On the other hand, Logan and Deane (2003) show that education and where one settles is significant in determining neighborhood quality. Lower educated Afro-Caribbean's in New York and Boston typically live in neighborhoods where home ownership is low, and the neighborhood is less affluent. Higher educated Afro Caribbean's lived in affluent neighborhoods with high levels of homeownership in Long Island, New York, and the District of Columbia.

The decline in the educational attainment of black Caribbean immigrants can be attributed to deteriorating socio-economic conditions in their sending countries. Figure 1.1 compares the educational attainment of African and Caribbean immigrants to African Americans in the United States.

Figure 1.1: Educational Attainment for black immigrants by Race and Origin (source: Waters 2014)

Table 1 Educational attainment for adults (aged 25 and over), by race and origin (%), 2005–2009

	Less than high school	High school or GED	Some college	Four-year college degree	Postgraduate degree
Black African immigrants	13	21	28	23	15
Black Caribbean immigrants	22	32	26	13	7
Native-born black Americans	21	33	31	10	5
Total US foreign-born	32	23	18	16	11
Total US native-born	12	30	30	18	10
Total US	16	29	28	17	10

Sources: Thomas's (2012) use of the Migration Policy Institute analysis of 2005–2009 American Community Survey (ACS) pooled data, as well as authors' analysis of 2005–2009 ACS pooled data.

Post 1965, English speaking black Caribbean immigrants were highly educated and successfully employed in white collar jobs once in the U.S. (Thomas 2012). Now, black Caribbean's lag behind African Americans and black Africans in terms of attaining undergraduate and graduate degrees (Thomas 2012). With only 6.2 % of those 25 or older earning an advanced degree, black Caribbean's are overshadowed not only by black Africans, but by immigrants from Asia and Europe in this area (SOBI 2015). With a 71% labor force participation rate, black immigrants exceed the general immigrant population (SOBI 2015, Thomas 2012). However, black Caribbean men and women earn lower wages than whites

and African immigrants. At $43,800 black immigrants earn more than Latinos but less than the median income of all Americans, $52,000 and far less than the $70,600 Asian immigrants take home. These statistics show what is at stake for black immigrant incorporation and provides no justification for ignoring the experience of the 'black foreigner' in America.

On the part of academics, limited lines of inquiry into black immigrants are the result of a canon that has developed around this group in two areas: integration via assimilation measures and racial and ethnic identity. Research on integration has gone towards explaining West Indians slightly better labor market outcomes and presumed model minority status vis-à-vis their African American counterparts (Butcher 1994; Kalmijn 1996; Kasinitz and Vickerman 2001; Crowder 2000; Model 1991, 2008, Ifatunji 2016). Though the model minority myth has been debunked, studies still show that Afro-Caribbean's are located in higher-paying occupational niches (Hamilton et. al 2018).

Studies on racial and ethnic identity development for this group has primarily used ethnographic studies theorizing that West Indians develop a fluid racial identity that depends in part on distancing themselves from African Americans (Kasinitz 1992; Vickerman 1998; Waters 1994, 2001; Rogers 2006; Benson 2006; Greer 2013). In particular, studies by Vickerman (1998) and Waters (2001) advance a similar argument illustrating that while race operates differently in their homeland, once in the United States West Indians reconcile their previous understanding of race and their new realities by relying on ethnicity and a collective West Indian identity. This ethnic identity also serves the purpose of distancing them from their stigmatized racial counterparts, African Americans, though they may align themselves when advantageous later (Greer 2013). These studies indicate that

West Indian immigrants actively use their 'ethnic options' to negotiate the racial hierarchy they encounter. Through this identity work, Afro-Caribbean immigrants are inspiring a larger renegotiation of Blackness in the United States in general (Kasinitz 1992; Foner 2001;Butterfield 2004).

However important these works have been in advancing knowledge of black immigrants, they are not able to speak to critics who view the lauding of black immigrant distinctiveness as a form of cultural racism (Pierre 2004). Neither do these works interrogate the black immigrant position with enough nuance paid to the context of reception they face upon arrival to the United States.

> Upon entering the United States, Black/African immigrants have to negotiate different identities in a context where the social and political constructs of race significantly inform the meanings of culture, national allegiance, gender, and other forms of identification (Pierre 2004).

Therefore, the mechanisms by which black immigrants are incorporated as citizens are significant for understanding their actions and practices when legally recognized as such.

As a subset of black immigrants, West Indians are a fitting contemporary case because of their high level of groupness and strong identity, especially in New York City and their presumed model-minority status in comparison to native born Blacks (Waters 1999; Vickerman 1998; Kasinitz 1992). In addition, in order to arrive at a rich exploration of belonging and citizenship as a lived experience, the following three aims guide this study:

1. To understand the ways West Indian immigrants construct and perceive of national belonging, including the influence of race, class and culture;

2. To explore the cultural tools--practices, beliefs, objects, sites--used to make claims of belonging, with a focus on religion as one particular acceptable tool;

3. To investigate the relationship between perceptions of belonging and the participatory dimension of citizenship

Together these aims provide the basis for interpreting black West Indians experiences as citizens, in isolation from their African American counterparts and in light of the social categories that influence their integration. In doing so, this project reinvigorates an age old migration question with a new lens. In the United States, out of many, how do we create one people?

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This qualitative inquiry into belonging and naturalization was facilitated by two datasets: 51 interviews with naturalized immigrants, and a content analysis of newsletters from the organizations tasked with administrating immigration and naturalization. Together these datasets enabled me to make sense of my respondents' perceptions of belonging and their experiences of citizenship in light of government actions and practices. This dissertation is organized around three empirical chapters that highlight different findings from the associated data. Consequently, each chapter has its own literature review and methodology sections so as to elucidate the specific but interrelated questions that unveil the complexity of my respondent's perceptions of belonging to this nation.

1.4 Summaries of Chapters

The remainder of this chapter sets up the conceptual framework—the idea of naturalized citizens as manufactured—that supported this project focusing on a number of

different theoretical ideas. These include organizational theory, assimilation, race and belonging, and select concepts from Weber (1946) and Foucault (1979, 1980) that I later apply to an organizational and institutional analysis of the naturalization process. In Chapter 2, I rely on my interviews with 51 naturalized citizens, considering them as products, but this time as new members of the national family tree. In short, I found what I had anticipated. My participants did not demonstrate unwavering allegiance, staunch patriotism, or nationalistic desires even after undergoing the formal naturalization process which assumes these feelings already exist. Though they recognized a legal and political belonging, were grateful and respectful of the nation—this did not translate to strong emotional bonds. In her interviews with a diverse set of naturalizing immigrants, Aptekar (2015) finds that to them, "applying for citizenship was simply the next natural step in the immigrant trajectory, and one that came after they already felt American, and because they had settled down, worked and raised families in the United States" (Aptekar 2015:133-134). In contrast, my respondents did not seek naturalization because they feel American but more importantly even years after achieving this feat, they still don't. The attachment gap that exists is one that I argue does not originate in the formal process of naturalization but is rather indicative of belonging as an ongoing dialogue with various external environments.

In Chapter 3, I change the lens by examining how the administration of naturalization and immigration laws influences the attachment gap that my respondents exemplify. I explore how the State balances the inclusionary and exclusionary functions of these laws and manifests them in organizational arrangements and practice. By identifying the relevant institutional logics of facilitation and gatekeeping that encourage organizational actions, I show how naturalization practices have waned in importance and remained stagnant on

how best to inculcate a strong emotional attachment to the nation. In Chapter 4, I focus on both the informal and formal naturalization processes primarily using interview data. Through an application of Foucault's ideas, I show that my interviewees' reflections on the process mark it as a means of training to create the desired end product of the docile citizen. I also illustrate the shaping of these citizen products by informal naturalization experiences of racism, arguing that their responses to these racial realities further enables them to be used by the State as 'model minorities'. In the conclusion, I summarize the project while attending to unaddressed findings, limitation and future implications of this work amidst calls for the racialization of immigration studies. Most importantly, I offer up a framework for thinking about the attachment gap as a result of dissonant naturalization between the informal and formal naturalization processes that together shape the meaning and lived experience of American national identity. Through these chapters, I provide answers that help to understand naturalized citizens as products, or bodies that belong, according to the State. To do so I use a conceptual framework—based on the idea of naturalized citizens as manufactured—that supported this project focusing on a number of different theoretical ideas. These include organizational theory, assimilation, race and belonging, and select concepts from Weber and Foucault that I later apply to organizational and institutional analysis of the naturalization process.

1.5   Made in America: An Immigrant Success Story

The 'made in America' label is often used to signify American made products for consumption in a capitalist marketplace. Choose any product from cars to clothing and it is

very likely it was manufactured, at least in part, elsewhere. The diminishing number of wholly American made products means that much of what we consume really is made in the world (Friedman 2012). In that climate, acquiring the made in the USA label can yield profitable benefits for those seeking to lure customers by using any combination of nationalism and patriotism. Yet, thinking about the made in America label solely in terms of products to be consumed by humans is a misdirection at the least. After all, there is a product of great national significance that is made in America: its citizens.

Considering the 'American' as a product is not an idea for which I can take full credit. It is instead a path of inquiry encouraged by sociologist John Graham Brooks' pondering of the same at the start of the 20th century. Brooks (1908) wrote,

Sometimes the question is. What kind of human being are they making in the United States? Again it is. What institutions are here being shaped by the American character? In both, it is the sort of man and woman in the making that is of fundamental interest to the inquirer. What, then, is the human product called the American? (Brooks 1908:39).

One answer that Brooks provides to this provocative question was summed up by an amusing retelling of a German writer's perception of the American people in 1899 after four visits.

He said he brought back from his first journey a clearly conceived image of the American. He was sharp-visaged, nervous, lank and restless. After the second trip this group of adjectives was abandoned. He saw so many people who were not lank or nervous; so many were rotund and leisurely, that he rearranged his classification, but

still with confidence. After a third trip he insisted that he could still describe our countrymen, but not by external signs. He was driven to express them in terms of character. The American was resourceful, inventive, and supreme in the pursuit of material ends. "My fourth trip", he said, "has knocked out the final attempt with the others. I have thrown them all over like a lot of rubbish. I don't know what the American is, and I don't believe anyone else knows (Brooks 1908:45).

In 2018, I too continue to be puzzled by the American in substance and in national origin. I suspect I am not alone. In this dissertation, I ask my own versions of Brooks' question, with an eye towards the black immigrant experience. What, then, is the human product called the naturalized American? What is the product when that human is black?

In this project, I provide answers to the aforementioned questions by considering the 51 naturalized West Indians in this study as successful citizens of the State's making. As products, they are made by something else into naturalized citizens. In this way, they are a series. To clarify my point, consider scholar Iris Marion young's extension of Sartre's ideas on the series.

Sartre describes people waiting for a bus as such a series. They are a collective insofar as they minimally relate to one another and follow the rules of waiting. As a collective they are brought together by their relation to a material object, the bus, and the social practices or public transportation. Their actions and goals may be different, and they have nothing necessarily in common in their histories, experiences, or identity. They are united only by their desire to ride on that route (Young 1994:724).

Swap out the bus for the naturalization process and the picture emerges more clearly. Even though the Jamaicans, Guyanese, Trinidadians and Vincentians in this study have different histories and trajectories to citizenship, no matter when they became citizens, they share an experience with the rights-granting and disciplinary institution of naturalization. It is quite possible that those I interviewed have never thought of themselves as connected to other naturalized citizens. Still, "individuals in the series are interchangeable; while not identical, from the point of view of the social practices and objects that generate the series, the individuals could be in one another's place" (Young 1994:725).

This view of naturalized citizens as products or as a collectivity brought together by the naturalization process is the substance of this dissertation. However, the process of making new Americans that will be categorized at black has more complexity. Accordingly, I assert that black immigrants are made as naturalized American citizens through: (1) the formal naturalization process; (2) the lived experience of citizenship; and (3) the continuing significance of what it means to be black in America. These three pathways of meaning making are not discrete so each of the empirical chapters more-or-less focus on how black immigrants are made through these abstract and tangible ways.

1.5.1   On Bodies and Belonging: Conceptual Framework

Some important assertions before launching into the deep. Halfway throughout this project and informed by Iris Marion Young's version of the series, I began to focus on the body as a unit of analysis. First, bodies as conceptualized here, are constructed sites that originate and evolve both in practice and in analysis. Viewing naturalized citizens as a

manufactured product translates to viewing the body as a site or an object that can be acted upon. It is this task—acting upon the body—that *projects of belonging* accomplish by institutionalizing boundary criteria and completing the "dirty work of boundary maintenance" (Yuval-Davis 2007:563). Through these projects, States inscribe bodies with meanings that lead to transformations of self, identity, social locations and emotional attachments. Karida Brown's dissertation is an excellent example of how projects of belonging such as the watershed Brown v. Board of Education case inspired deep transformations of self for Black Kentuckians. Brown's focus was the "character and quality of the black social mind" and the transformations in sense of belonging that occurred as the projects of belonging that accompanied the fight for civil rights ushered in social changes in identity especially (Brown 2016:286).

Here, I do not focus solely on either projects of belonging or sense of belonging. I am most interested in what happens when they converge. Naturalization is a unique nexus in that both actors, immigrants and the State have interests that at times are in opposition or alignment. The challenge is in applying adequate attention and analysis to both parties, because though the State select bodies as acceptable subjects, those chosen must still negotiate their 'real' options of belonging in every day social relations that extend beyond that selection process. Orgad(2017) argues that naturalization is a way of positioning immigrants to the State through boundaries of belonging. More so, the process also sheds light on what kind of State exists at that moment in time.

Naturalization provides a unique platform to reflect on three fundamental issues: [1] defining the 'We'— who 'we' are, and what kind of nation 'we' want to be; [2] setting

criteria for identifying the desired 'They'— who is, in the state's view, a 'good citizen,' and the current understanding of what it means to become a citizen; and [3] finding the substance and form to which 'they' should subscribe in order to join the 'We.' Hence, to a large extent, the substance of the requirements 'we' demand of 'them' is about 'us' (Orgad 2017:337).

While the State positions immigrants, it reveals itself perhaps unknowingly in ways that could disillusion potential citizens. National belonging functions as a derivative of the relationship between the individual and the nation state. It is the product of mechanisms that inform both the sense of belonging, which is subjective and experiential, and the politics of belonging, which reflects the political projects of the state. This approach to examining national belonging operates on macro and micro levels. At the micro level, it isolates identity, showing how social locations, identifications/emotional attachments, and ethical and political values are central to how individuals construct a sense of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2007). At the macro level, projects of belonging capture the role of the racial state in determining boundary criteria.

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Second, there are predetermined criteria for belonging as an American citizen that allow the State to highlight the bodies that belong and to cross through the ones that don't. The State is not race neutral. The assignment of an American racial identity is an essential feature of living in a racial state. Omi and Winant (1994) take the perspective that the United States has always had "an identifiable racial order [that] has linked the system of political rule to the racial classification of individuals and groups" (Omi & Winant 1994:79). The state

is implicitly racial and as such its institutions, policies, conditions and rules all revolve around an established racial hierarchy. Race is accorded varying levels of import according to the purpose of the institution and the resulting policies are the means by which state institutions "enforce the racial politics of everyday life" (Omi & Winant 1994:83).

This treatment of the racial state highlights the implicit embedding of race in state activity at all levels, including policy and state institutions. Moreover, the state's orientation to race at the particular socio-historical moment influences the projects of belonging that define and re-enforce the boundaries between us and them. In this way, the state influences the shape of minority groups building many 'nations within a nation' by externally encouraging a level of groupness amongst individuals that would not have necessarily considered themselves as a group. As a concept, the racial state helps to investigate how the criteria the government uses in defining boundaries influences the perceived national belonging of groups. These criteria are of course not race neutral. Allow me this example from legal scholar Devon Carbado (2005).

> A few years ago, I pledged allegiance to the United States of America - that is to say, I became an American citizen. Before that, I was a permanent resident of America and a citizen of the United Kingdom. Yet I became a black American long before I acquired American citizenship. Unlike citizenship, black racial naturalization was always available to me, notwithstanding the fact that I tried to make myself unavailable for that particular Americanization process. But I became a black American anyway. Resistance to this naturalization was futile. It is part of a broader social practice wherein all of us are Americanized and made socially intelligible via racial

categorization. My intelligibility was skin deep. Epidermal. Visually inscribed on my body. I could not cross (pass) the phenotypic borders of blackness. And I could not escape black racial social meaning (Carbado 2005:633).

American national identity hinges upon a mythological story of the United States as a place where all races can strive for and achieve the American dream. Carbado reminds us of the following visceral truth about *Americanness*: the 'ideal' American citizen is white. One needs only revisit President Trump's 2018 declaration that we need more immigrants from Sweden and not Haiti as proof of that point. Visibly inscribed upon on the bodily performance of citizenship is a white standard impassable by the "phenotypic borders of blackness" (Carbado 2005). This tension between *blackness* and *Americanness* emphasizes the black body as a problematic construction site precisely because it is "totally imprinted by history" and "manifests the stigmata of past experiences" (Foucault 1980:148). The past and the present always converge as blackness and Americanness stand on opposing sides of history and future progress.

A critical race theory view of the State provides somber support for the fact that whiteness is the legitimate American national identity. Within this conception, "the State is a tool, not a social actor unto itself" (Bracey 2015: 563).

Because racism is a fundamental part of American society, every aspect of the state is inescapably racialized. This racialization is due to the dialectic relationship between race and state, in which racial conflict structures the state and vice versa. Whites designed the state to be white institutional space, rendering it inherently racist and permanently under whites' instrumental control. Consequently, they can ensure that

the state operates in their collective racial interests, effecting racial change only when and to the extent that it advances some other white concern......Indeed, the state is a vital instrument of racism because, through it, whites: define, unify, and organize themselves; arbitrate intra-racial disputes; mobilize and legitimize force; coerce people of color; and relieve their emotional costs by laundering racial oppression through a formal, 'impersonal' apparatus (Bracey 2014:564)

In spaces where American national identity is propped up by fabricated tales of unrealized values, the black body stands as a stark reminder of the disillusionment wrought by the continuing significance of the color line in a State that claims race neutrality. This remains the case despite remedies aimed at removing racial restrictions to citizenship. Somehow, the past is still ever present. Here's why, according to Ong(1996).

Hegemonic ideas about belonging and not belonging in racial and cultural terms often converge in state and non-state institutional practices through which subjects are shaped in ways that are at once specific and diffused. These are the ideological fields within which different criteria of belonging on the basis of civilized conduct by categorically distinguishable [dominant] others become entangled with culture, race and class (Ong 1996:738).

In this way citizens are involved in ongoing and simultaneous subject formation by the State, civil institutions, and social groups. Through political projects of belonging, immigrants are externally assessed as citizen-subjects in terms of race, class, and culture—and other categories of difference. Consequently,

The different institutional contexts in which subjects learn about citizenship often assess newcomers from different parts of the world given schemes of racial difference, civilization, and economic worth. Because human-capital, self-discipline

and consumer power are associated with whiteness, these attributes are important criteria of nonwhite citizenship in Western democracies (Ong 1996:738).

The various mechanisms that assess citizens and encourage assimilation communicate to immigrants the following: successful integration is predicated upon the adoption of mainstream—White—cultural practices and behavior. The resulting ideological whitening or blackening after this assessment dictates the worth of immigrants as potential citizen-subjects of the State but for what ends? Discipline. Control. Power. The organizational level is central to this analysis because again, intent is hard to prove and more importantly not the point.

I find Tressie McMillan Cottom's take on the need for inquiries of organizational practice to be a succinct delivery of the very necessary point.

> Organizational practices make intent relatively meaningless. At best, it better captures the complex social reality of agency, structure and shifting social roles. If citizenship paper work is printed in English only that is likely not because some white man somewhere hates immigrants. It's a bureaucratic decision, however, that can have the same net effect: minimizing access to marginalized groups. Racist intent, or this perversion of race as an individual failing as Omi and Winant and Bonilla Silva would argue, obscures the reality of our bureaucratic iron cage wherein organizational process can formalize inequality, obscuring their saliency via ostensibly neutral bureaucratic acts without all the messiness of intending to be racist, sexist, etc. (Cottom 2014).

If immigrants must ideological embody some ideal for inclusion, how is this evident in bureaucratic actions and practices? Yes, immigrants themselves must participate in their own making but they do not have the widest set of choices in that process. Especially in pursuit of citizenship, immigrants must acquire the skills required to negotiate the institutional environment. Through primary documents in the form of newsletters, lectures

and memos, I am able to examine organizational practices in the administration of immigration and naturalization laws. These documents are examples of how government in organizational form interprets laws that have power over individuals and in turn shape the very individuals they are empowered to influence.

A few central concepts of organizational theory aid this exploration of what happens in government. New institutional theory "emphasizes the taken-for-granted aspects of organizational life and the ways in which organizations' environments (including cultural environments) shape their structures and processes" (Demerath et.al, 1998:12). Within this tradition, organizational environments play a key role in the forms and structures that individual organizations develop in adapting to their particular environment. Institutions in this case can be thought of "as regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life"(Scott 2008:48). In essence, institutions are ways of structuring organizational action that achieve legitimacy by exerting pressure on organizations to comply with taken for granted rules and norms in order to persist and survive. As a result, new intuitionalists privilege the idea of legitimacy as an integral part of an organization's survival and success.

Defined as "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, and definitions," legitimacy is sought by organizations for various reasons and from various audiences (Suchman 1995:574). Subsequently, the need to gain and maintain legitimacy often influences an organization's decision to incorporate certain institutional practices within its organizational structure. Criticism of new institutional theory point out that it has "a view of action that deprives people of creativity in their responses to their environments"

(Binder 2007:550). In response, the concept of institutional logics considers how organizational actions and practices come from normative beliefs and ideas. Institutional logics "are supra-organizational and abstract but become observable in the concrete social relations of actors who utilize, manipulate, and reinterpret them" (Skelcher & Smith 2015:437). Likewise, keeping in mind the fact that institutions are 'inhabited' by actors who often create a bricolage of practices to meet the organizations ends (Binder 2007). Maintaining focus on the organizational level within this exploration of naturalization is necessary to combat the claims of rationality that supposedly make social formations like this and others race neutral.

Instead, to make sure that I did not overlook the rational, Weber's ideas of bureaucracy and rationality and Ritzer's modern day application of them were key conceptual aids (Bonilla Silva 1997). Governments gravitate towards bureaucratic forms of management because it maximizes their power and control over bodies. Principles of rationality cloak deeper intent, making it hard to unseat even the most problematic bureaucracies and bureaucrats. Weber (1946) warned us that "once it is fully established, bureaucracy is among those social structures which are the hardest to destroy" (Gerth & Mills, 1948:228). Ritzer's exploration of rationality's evolution in modern day society shows the continued relevance and threat of bureaucracies. Principles of efficiency—optimal means to realizing goals; predictability; calculability; and the replacing humans with technology—help to hide exclusionary outcomes that are based on race. In a race neutral system, why this outcome:

> More than one out of every five noncitizens facing deportation on criminal grounds before the Executive Office for Immigration Review is Black. Black immigrants are

more likely to be detained for criminal convictions than the immigrant population overall. Black immigrants in removal proceedings for a criminal conviction often have lived in the U.S. for a long time and established strong community ties; many are apprehended and placed in deportation proceedings long after the triggering criminal conviction occurred. (SOBI, 2015)

Race, embedded in organizational and institutional forms, can have disastrous consequences for immigrants of color and their potential to be citizens.

There is still a final point to make here. Way before black immigrants, West Indians especially, were practicing social distancing as a mobility strategy; they must have come to view this approach to integration as necessary. Clearly, black racial social meaning is powerful in constituting the black immigrant's unique American racial identity. But that identity is not only constituted vis-à-vis the lived black experience which may share similarities with their African American counterparts. It is also created through the institutions that being black and immigrant dictates inescapable engagement. Immigration and naturalization is number one on that list. The black immigrant position within the racial hierarchy of the United States continues to be overlooked, but in this arena there is still untapped analytical value.

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Third. States must turn alien bodies into 'objects of knowledge' in order to manufacture the ideal citizen. I argue that this influences the institution of naturalization because States must have the ability to observe, study and manipulate bodies on route to citizenship. Naturalization is by nature a disciplinary institution with normalized social relationships and routinized ways of making new Americans; of constituting bodies as belonging. The State desires bodies that can be disciplined, controlled, and submissive to

power (Foucault 1980). Bodies that could cause trouble in the future do not fit these criteria. This fact is a reminder that not all bodies have the potential. After all, not all bodies belong. This point is not as apparent as it should be because naturalization's inherently disciplinary nature is often buried out of sight in various ways. Most easily, through attractive projects of belonging and accompanying organizational practices.

By official standards, naturalization only deals with those immigrants undertaking formal citizenship so that even by definition it seems unrelated to statistics on immigration enforcement or entry. Each legal status and descriptive category on immigrants is celebrated for its own claim to significance, while the relations to each other go unnoticed or are diminished. The picture of immigration at large and naturalization in particular fully emerges when the artificial categories of analysis are merged to think about immigrants as bodies undergoing similar transformations on the road to citizenship. Appropriate tools are needed to chip away at the realities buried deep within this structure that discriminately decides which bodies can be made in America. For that reason, I buttress these chapters upon theoretical ideas that address simultaneity in the shaping of citizens and the evolution of the State.

To situate my ideas about this manufacturing process from the side of the State, I rely on many of Foucault's ideas, especially discipline and docile bodies. I want to better understand the role and formation of black bodies in this institutional instance. These concepts are instrumental for thinking critical about how the government desires aliens to transform into immigrants in the process of naturalization. This therefore makes the process of naturalization a disciplinary institution but perhaps with competing institutional logics. The ideal desired citizen is one that is docile, representing a body that "may be subjected,

used, transformed, and improved" (Foucault 1980:136). Not all immigrants fit this category. The power the State employs in creating docile citizens out of foreign born immigrant bodies is obvious in the inclusions and exclusions of formal laws. In a historical and contemporary legal context, not all bodies are created equally. The nexus of administrative and bureaucratic practices that exerts power over immigrant bodies and ranks them, however, is often less visible. Within these bureaucratic practices and organizational arrangements is another vantage point to see the power the State employs "to discipline the body, optimize it capabilities, extort its forces, increase its usefulness and docility, integrate it into systems of efficient and economic controls" from behind the scenes (Foucault 1980:139). Discipline and control is a central part of the State's role protector. This is by nature an offensive and adversarial stance. On the contrary, it must take on the role of diplomat and facilitator at the same time. These two dueling institutional logics—gatekeeping v. facilitating—are at work in many federal government practices that deal with the foreign born. While the public and official stance on the issue is about welcoming immigrants, organizational actions end up weeding out those not malleable enough to be docile bodies, irredeemable from their status as an alien positioned outside of the nation but also outside of humanity.

As a result, I also tentatively grapple with other ideas like Patterson's social death, Agamben's bare life, Weheliye's *habeus viscus* and the work of Afro Pessimists like Spillers, Wynter, Haartman and Wilderson. These ideas—especially the variants of Afro-Pessimism and the case of race in bare life and biopolitics—are not without criticism. For example. Though I view the body as a constructed site, I recognize that some contend this "invariably suggests that there is a body that is in some sense there, pregiven, existentially available to become the site of its own ostensible construction" (Butler 1989:601). Despite the relevance

of this criticism and others like it, I am not equipped in this dissertation to address all the shortcomings of these theories. Likewise, I cannot make claims about the ontological, epistemological, essential or existential origins of the body. Where possible, I respond and talk back to these criticisms, not to silence or marginalize their significance but to highlight places where this project is unable to go—but perhaps where other scholars can in the future.

<div align="center">***</div>

Fourth and final. Recent calls for immigration studies to re-center race have pushed back against the continued dominance of assimilation and the European experience as a standard comparison. In the United States, theories of assimilation remain the dominant approach to understanding the immigrant experience (Waters et. al. 2010; Alba & Nee 1997; Portes & Zhou 1993; Gans 1992; Gordon 1964). Defined, *assimilation* refers to the process through which immigrants shed their differences and adopt the characteristics of their new homeland. This often amounts to the erasure and/or exchange of culture. While assimilation may have worked to describe the integration trajectories of white immigrants in the 18th and 19th centuries, it has not worked as well in explaining the case of non-white immigrants in the 20th and 21st centuries. While these measures are able to paint a picture of the integration trajectories of Caribbean migrants, it is a blurry one. The reliance on quantitative data to support assimilation means that we can speak to an estimate of how many or how much but we lack equivalent knowledge about how. How are immigrant navigating educational, economic, political institutions? What decisions and practices are facilitating assimilation? What decisions and practices are delaying assimilation? How does the context of the host society influence assimilation? The inability to speak to the details of the actual process of

assimilation relates to another criticism: inadequately addressing the continuing significance of race. In that light, all assimilation theories (straight-line/classical, neo-classical, bumpy line, segmented) miss the mark as it concerns race. Rather than view non-whites as different racially, Jung (2009) argues for viewing racial differences as justification for positioning as dominant or subordinate. Unfortunately, the fact of race means that non-white groups may never achieve full belonging. In the area of citizenship, however it could mean that nonwhites become citizens who are not Americans. In that way, all those who are not white could possibly feel outside of belonging to the nation. In her work on Latino youth and belonging, Flores-Gonzalez (2017) finds support for this. She makes the key point that "identifying as citizens but not Americans belies their status as full members of U.S. society and points to the entrenchment of race in notions of belonging to the American imagined community" (Flores-Gonzalez 2017:7). The same goes for the black West Indians that I interviewed for this project as well.

Supporters of alternatives to assimilation encourage the use of racialization frameworks that can better address the complicated dynamics of immigrants' social agency (Bashi Treitler 2015). I situate this work within those criticisms by bringing in critical perspectives on race and racialization, but also by marrying that to discourses around the body for a central reason—the black body remains invisible despite visibility. Their disproportionate presence in immigration enforcement despite low numbers in the larger immigrant population and among the undocumented has not yet caused real alarm or warranted more national discussion. This does however suggest a more elusive and uncomfortable social fact of blackness: that inequality, debasement, exclusion and all forms of oppression against black bodies can be knowable and unacknowledged at the same time.

The invisibility of Black immigrants as blacks and foreigners is not a new phenomenon. The continued demographic growth of the black immigrant population, however, has simply not transformed them as 'objects of knowledge' useful outside of comparison to their African American counterparts. To some extent, even today academic spaces 'dishonor' blackness and, by devaluing work about its possessors, immigrant or African American (LaPorte 1972). To truly remedy the lack of critical race perspectives in immigration studies, special attention needs to be paid to the injurious anchoring of blackness at the bottom of global race hierarchies (Bashi 2004). Out of the desire to keep both the body and race at the center, through the course of this project I have begun to embrace views on race and racialization like that of Weheliye (2014).

> I construe race, racialization, and racial identities as ongoing sets of political relations that require, through constant perpetuation via institutions, discourses, practices, desires, infrastructures, languages, technologies, sciences, economies, dreams, and cultural artifacts, the barring of nonwhite subjects from the category of the human as it is performed in the modern west (Weheliye 2014).

I find this conception to be equal parts provocative and insightful because race is not merely an embodied performance of whiteness or blackness, but of humanity and in that vein of worth and desire. On the concept of racialization, Weheliye (2014) contends that,

> If racialization is understood not as a biological or cultural descriptor but as a conglomerate of sociopolitical relations that discipline humanity into full humans, not-quite-humans, and nonhumans, then blackness designates a changing system of unequal power structures that apportion and delimit which humans can lay claim to full human status and which humans cannot.

These concepts give me room to think about how in the absence of overt racial practice or language, race is significant and hidden all the same. Even as I consider how the institution of naturalization racializes immigrants as potential citizens, my concern is always about Blackness and the spaces in which it is constituted as outside belonging. Though I may write in the pages to come about an ideal American citizen, between these lines I am always treating "the black subject as a human subject worth of interrogation" (Bessette 2012).

1.6 One Final Point about Manufacturing Citizens

There is another way that American-made products relate to Americans by choice and Americans by birth. Anyone hoping to earn the label "made in America" must disclose the foreign content contained in the product. Amusingly, a product does not have to be made completely in the United States to claim the label. According to the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) as long as it discloses what part is made elsewhere, the label can be used (FTC 1998). Your favorite shirt, treasured lamp, even your phone could contain in some part foreign content, yet the whole can still claim to be made in America. Naturalized citizens too, are "made in the U.S.A of U.S. and imported parts" (FTC 1998). This dissertation is about how they are constituted as citizens and how they, as products, reflect the realities of American life.

There is perhaps one more thing that this dissertation is also about—the kind of American that I'm being made into. I am keenly aware that a paradox in my own identity coupled with my sociological knowledge and background started this journey. As I interviewed, and wrote, and thought about this project, it was the paradoxes I encountered that served as catalysts for progress—as paradoxes of possibility. What follows in these pages is an exploration of the paradoxes of possibility that exist when making new citizens.

These paradoxes rest upon the unavoidable fact that this manufacturing process selects some while refusing others. This dissertation is a story about the paradoxes that exist when black immigrants are made into American citizens.

2.1   Like One of the Family: The Meaning of Citizenship for Naturalized West Indians

"Dear Non-American Black, when you make the choice to come to America, you become black. Stop arguing. Stop saying I'm Jamaican or I'm Ghanaian. America doesn't care."

(Americanah, Chimamanda Adichie)

"She did not feel as though she did not belong because there were so many options for belonging."

(Americanah, Chimamanda Adichie)

On a warm spring day at her kitchen table in a Long Island suburb, Evelyn graciously told me the story of how she acquired American citizenship. From the start, Evelyn's story was unique. Though born in Guyana, by the time she arrived in the United States in the mid-1980s from Canada, she had already lived some 10 years in England. Her journey towards American citizenship was already noteworthy due this genesis. Even more notable was the revelation that the cry of her newborn child in the background of a phone call was the catalyst for her naturalization. Details such as the aforementioned in Evelyn's recounting of her journey to citizenship generated many ideas and questions for this research. However, one quote in particular from Evelyn's narrative succinctly captured the substance of this project and its focal point: belonging.

We had just started a segment of the interview concerned with the meaning of citizenship at large. As I had done with respondents before and would do after her, I asked Evelyn to answer the following question: *Do you feel you belong?* Though Evelyn's was one of my earliest interviews, I had already begun to trust that this question was asking what I wanted to know. After a short period of silence Evelyn readjusted her glasses from their perched position on her nose. With a thoughtful tone and intermittent pauses, likely the result of a seasoned educator's careful choosing of words, she said the following:

Emotionally, the word American means nothing to me but legally I know I have a right to be here. I mean it's good that I came out of the shadows and I was a citizen you know. I mean...I'm sure there are things I've had to fill out to say are you a citizen? I'd be able to check yes. So legally I belong and I'm entitled to all

the benefits that a citizen...accrued to a citizen. But you know I don't think, I'm getting my son to join to the army to fight for American rights.

(Female, 67, Guyana).

Over time and in the context of this project, this quote has come to represent the symbolic and material disconnect between citizenship as a lived experience and citizenship as an ideal. In her admission that she would not be in favor of sending her son off to war on behalf of the land where she was a citizen—and he was as well—Evelyn acknowledged an ugly truth about the creation of new American from foreign born immigrants. A certificate of naturalization indicates the successful acquisition of citizenship and the rights and responsibilities that this status entails. It does not however signify the acquisition of the allegiance and patriotism desired by the State. It does not unequivocally signify belonging.

Here lies the first of many paradoxes of possibility in the making of new Americans. That one can indeed recite an oath of allegiance completing the final step in becoming a citizen without actually feeling the sense of loyalty the oath demands. In other words, one can become a citizen of the United States and still not feel as if they belong. This disconnect may have its origins in the formal naturalization process itself. Consider the following snippet from the welcome section of the document, *A Guide to Naturalization*, form M-476 provided to immigrants by United States Citizenship and Immigration Services.

Deciding to become a U.S. citizen is one of the most important decisions in a person's life. If you decide to apply for naturalization, you will be showing your permanent commitment to the United States. You will also be showing your loyalty to its Constitution and its people (M-476).

The language of this paragraph suggests that loyalty and commitment are prerequisites for those who decide to apply for naturalization. The statement stands upon the inherent assumption that allegiance to the nation has already been inculcated as a strong desire in the potential citizen before applying. The results of this chapter demonstrate that at least for this collection of West Indians, loyalty might be too strong of an emotional attachment to claim.

2.2.   Nationalism, Patriotism and Race in the Making of New Citizens

If the nation is understood as an imagined community, then the bonds that connect members are not so much literal but instead figurative. Anderson contends that as imagined communities, nations exist and are in part maintained by the image that each member of the nation holds (Anderson 1991). Nationalism is the larger political project that maintains the nation, normalizing national identity through the notion that all members are connected by a shared experience of identity despite distance and difference (Anderson 1991:6). However, according to McClintock (1993), "nations are not simply phantasmagoria of the mind, but are historical and institutional practices through which social difference is invented and performed" (McClintock 1993). Nations do not simply exist in one form for the duration of time but are instead maintained and reproduced in ways that complicate lived experiences for different groups of citizens.

The relevant literature on nationalism discusses the reproducing of the nation through banal nationalism (Yuval-Davis 2011; Billig 1995), embodied nationalism, and emotional or affective nationalisms (Mayer 2004, Militz & Schurr 2016). Banal nationalism focuses on how members of nation unconsciously support the nation as imagined through a

variety of practices and interactions. This includes supporting holidays, having an American flag or even standing for the national anthem. Whereas Billig argues that nation is remade on the daily through mundane social practices, feminist scholars especially, have advanced the idea of embodied nationalism and citizenship. In this strand of research, nationalism is embodied through gendered bodily practices such as dance, cooking, wearing makeup and style of dress (Mayer 2004; Nash 2000; McClintock 1995). For example, Balogan (2012) compares two Nigerian beauty pageants, noting how organizers constructed different gendered nationalisms centered on performances of femininity and embodied representations of the nation.

Of greatest interest here, are the dimensions of emotional and affective nationalisms. The value in exploring these dimensions of nationalism extends from this point: "an important facet of emotions is that they are about something" (Krauel 2013:2). Perhaps this is why understanding emotions is never simple. For one, "whether an individual feels any particular emotion depends on personal history as well as biology and external stimulus" (Kim 2016:443). For two, emotions are both subject to and prisoner of language.

> If science so far fails to unveil the whole picture of emotions, so does language. In fact, the words we use to describe emotions—e.g., sad, happy, afraid—are extremely limited approximations of the content of emotions (Kim 2016:442)

The substance of this emotional content about the nation, however, does create an understanding of the narratives that help to shape the view and experience of citizenship. It also speaks to national belonging and attachments to the nation-state. In this way, nationalism should be understood as concurrently connected to "civic spirit, patriotism,

populism, ethnicism, ethnocentrism, xenophobia, chauvinism, imperialism, jingoism...." and of course racism (Balibar & Wallerstein 1991:46). In particular, emotional nationalism is characterized "at once by contradictory feelings of fear and desire that require, and indeed depend on, a foreign other" (Faria 2014: 318). Nationalism is always about a myriad of feelings, emotional connections and disconnections to those who represent citizens of the nation and those who stand outside that boundary as dangerous others.

Criticisms that immigrants do not show the love or pride of country desired speak to this emotional side of nationalism. Love and pride are feelings that citizens should have towards their nation. This is also where patriotism and nationalism become stand ins for one another. Though often used interchangeably, Poole (2013) points out that nationalism often represents extremes where patriots "are more likely to be measured and reasonable in their commitments, be responsible in their behavior, to respect the commitments of fellow patriots in other countries, and to look for a rational resolution of their occasional differences" (Poole 2013). In a similar way, Balibar and Wallerstein (1991) view nationalisms as "constantly dividing" between the good and bad forms of showing commitment to the nation. Li and Brewer (2004) also posit nationalism as chauvinistic arrogance and desire for dominance in international relations" while patriotism is "a healthy national concept". These scholars are not wrong about the potential pejorative side of nationalism which in that sense makes patriotism the right way for citizenship to show their attachment. As long as patriotism is seen as "positive love for one's own country," then immigrants may always find their feelings and emotional attachments to the nation as not enough if not love or equally as intense emotions (Li and Brewer 2004).

In the world after September 11th, nationalism and patriotism took on renewed interests, with loyalties and allegiances called into question. The increased surveillance of Muslim and Middle-eastern citizens in the wake of this terrorist act—and the age of terror that it signified lay ahead—show how much American national identity is also caught up in these 'isms' that reproduce promoted values and images of the nation. Consequently, all citizens are influenced by stories, celebrations and general social practices that recreate the nation according to a desired narrative. In the dimension of affective nationalisms, the concern is turned to how the nation is recreated through "quotidian affirmations" where citizens are engaged in "embodying, sharing, enjoying as well as disliking what feels national" (Militz & Schurr 2016:6).

> In the moment that bodies, objects or places meet and resonate with each other, bodily histories such as past experiences are activated as well. Bodily differences are tied to processes of affective becoming through generating, activating, and altering bodies, objects or places in moments of encounter (Militz & Schurr 2016).

In these encounters bodily differences matter in how meaning is drawn from experience. Though interned Japanese citizens, surveilled Muslims, and unarmed black men share visceral experiences that show the State's power over their bodies, only two out of these three groups must show an emotional attachment as a condition of their inclusion like the M-476 form dictates.

There are emotional and affective sides to becoming a member of the nation and it is about belonging and becoming and the spaces of experience in between. If we hold as true the idea that "deliberately manufactured bodily encounters between places, objects,

memories, and visitors incite feelings of belonging in some, whereas it may evoke feelings of exclusion in others" then we must own the possibility paradox this presents (Militz & Schurr 2016). Belonging should not be dismissed as the default expectation of all those we incorporate as new citizens. Moreover, nationalism and patriotism are not markers of inclusion, but are instead signposts about experiences that teach or have taught new Americans who they can become with their American national identity.

As black immigrants, understanding race in the United States is an indispensable part of the learning curve when adjusting to American life as a citizen. According to Carbado (2005),

> If it is understood that part of becoming American is being forced into a particular racial identity and developing an epistemology about race, then racial naturalization is a process or experience in which that identity formation and knowledge production occurs (Carbado 2005:646).

It is this racial naturalization that teaches a new black citizen the weight of race in the United States and presents their options for belonging when it comes to identity. Once armed with this information, they can make choices suited to their goals. Bashi Treitler (2015) expresses this point more eloquently.

> At the same time, immigrants are no more passive about their racial incorporation than any other racialized group in the system; they exercise their agency in response to acquired knowledge about their incorporation, specifically, and the new racial system itself, as a whole. People worldwide are surely racialized well before they have face-to-face and daily engagement with members of destination societies, but

certainly post-migration newcomers engage with destination racial systems immediately, and this is when their incorporation into a new society begins. There in the new racial system they join the non-migrants and veteran migrants already acting in racialized and racializing ways themselves (Bashi Treitler 2015:159).

In other words, black immigrants and their bodily differences presuppose a different form of 'affective becoming'. If "visceral experiences such as preparing and eating traditional dishes mark this affective becoming of bodies, objects and places" then experiences of racism mark the becoming of black American citizens in the United States.

The truth is that immigrants of color, with all their recognizable bodily differences, have many reasons to be unattached in emotional and affective ways to America. Most of which remain unaddressed by the State's incorporation mechanisms. Luckily, even the loyalty requirement that is desired is merely 'tested' through the naturalization process by knowledge and essentially verbal confirmation that one supports the principles of the Constitution. Furthermore, patriotism is not a standard immigrants must uphold or are tested on for inclusion. Gordon notes an issue here, however.

While an appellate court in 1944 ruled that, "patriotism is not a condition of naturalization; that attachment is not addressed to the heart, demands no affection for or even approval for a democratic system of government, but merely acceptance of the fundamental political habits and attitudes which here prevail, and a willingness to obey the laws which may result from them, the government has generally interpreted attachment as indeed being primarily a matter of the heart (Gordon 2008; (Interpretations 316.1(h)(3)(ii); U.S. v Rossier as quoted in Gordon 2008)

That naturalized citizens may lag behind native born citizens in love, pride or any other feelings of attachment is no fault of their own. Evelyn, whose quote begins this chapter, should not be criticized for having no emotional connection to the American identity. Instead, the United States and its government should.

As the 'happy side' of immigration, the formal naturalization process should directly attend to fostering this attachment (Aptekar 2015:133). It does so in part by altering a common trope used to represent the nation: family. Take the following quote from Assistant to the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, Henry Hazard, delivered in a lecture series to the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) in 1934.

> Naturalization is the act of adopting a foreigner and clothing him with the privileges of a native citizen. This conception of a new status of the former alien is quite in harmony with the idea of family relationship through adoption. Adoption is the formal act of takin a stranger and treating him as one's own. The naturalization adoptive process contemplates the taking of the former stranger into our national family, treating him as our own, and giving him the rights of a native citizen. The naturalized citizen, then, stands on an equal footing under the Constitution with the native citizen in all respects, save that of eligibility to the Presidency and the Vice Presidency. Having thus been placed by law upon the plane of a citizen by birth, he should be recognized and treated as a native (Hazard 1934:1-2).

There are many significant pieces of this quote but two things warrant our attention in this chapter: recognition and being treated as a native. Within the racial structures of the United States, black immigrants are racialized ethnics and thus doubly used. Once when they falsely

labeled a model minority and twice when they are used to discredit the oppression of African Americans (Pierre 2004). Yet and still, their phenotypic visibility marks them as African American. Thus, by becoming American, black immigrants officially erase their ethnic ties, and on paper and in person leave themselves vulnerable to being treated like African Americans. Though Hazard perhaps did not know this meaning lurked beneath his words, he was slightly misdirected when thinking naturalized citizens will be treated as natives when they become citizens. In the case of black immigrants, it might be more useful to consider how they are treated as natives of their own kind. In other words, African Americans.

In "Like One of the Family", from which this chapter draws its name, Patricia Hill Collins rewrites the second class citizenship narrative. She unveils the rhetoric of the American family as a means to make normal, hierarchies of gender and race that subordinate black women especially. According to Collins, to be like one of the family means to be "legally part of the nation-state" but still subordinate within it (Collins 2001:5-6). Importantly, Collins contends that the 'like' in that phrase references the legitimation of an American family that has always defined blacks and those closest to them as good enough to be family adjacent but never part of the normal family (Collins 2001). McClintock, in *Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family*, argues that the family trope serves two central purposes. First, it is an example of "hierarchy within unity" because it normalizes social hierarchies that create dominant and subordinate relationships amongst family members. Second, it offers a story of genesis that is both subject to time and ahistorical problematically.

It is within these two points, and Collin's construction of a racial and gendered position through being 'like one of the family,' that this chapter interrogates the position of

black immigrants, but outside of and in conversation with the African American national identity. Here's why this is necessary. Though no family arrangement dominates in the United States, there is hierarchy of family members. Subsequently, members of the family derive their power and agency from their positions in the family tree. Of course, dad, mom and older siblings can be conceived as immediate family members with power. But so can power be derived from bodily differences and perceptions: black, white, hetero or homo, male or female, Muslim or Christian. These oversimplified dichotomies are only to make a point. The family unit is an acceptable place where power differences and positions of privilege within the family tree are natural, normal and often our first point of contact with discipline and control clashing with our own autonomy.

In this chapter, I examine the meaning of citizenship for naturalized black immigrants from the West Indies, focusing on the symbolic and material boundaries they identify as a part of this lived experience. Using interview data from 51 naturalized West Indians I examine how they view themselves as members of the citizenry. Of most interest in this chapter are the narratives they produce in articulating what they perceive as their options for belonging. The specter of race ever looms over the black immigrant in the United States because of the visibility and existence of African Americans; an easy comparison. In addition, phenotypic similarities may render black immigrants virtually indistinguishable from their African American counterparts, but does this also mean a shared criticism of the second class citizenship often identified with the black experience in the United States (Rogers 2006)? If so, how does the experience of blackness influence emotional attachments and feelings of belonging?

2.3   Data and Methods

The 51 interviews that are the focus of my analysis in this chapter were conducted over the course of a year and half between 2016 and 2018. I gained access to the individuals who would come to be a part of this study through a predominantly Jamaican and West Indian church located in the Remsen Village neighborhood of Brooklyn. Though I had attended this church for many years as a child, I did not have much contact prior to 2015 when I returned. Before beginning data collection, I attended church regularly for 8 months to reestablish relationships. This took more time than I anticipated but reestablishing my insider status did ease the recruitment process. My rapport with long standing church members facilitated access to newer members who were unfamiliar with me and as a result I was able to quickly garner interest in the study. Even with this insider status, I was surprised by the number of potential respondents who were still uncomfortable and hesitant about sharing information that they deemed sensitive. Interviewer effects of this kind were also not unanticipated but unavoidable. Citizenship questions are often a point of anxiety for immigrants, regardless of current legal status. To reduce these effects and social desirability, I emphasized the anonymity of the study and my own status as permanent resident.

Interviews ranged from one hour to an hour and a half and took place at a location convenient to the respondent. Often they were conducted at the respondent's home, a neighborhood coffee shop or my office at a local college. All but three interviews were recorded. These three exceptions were due to the respondent's discomfort with the audio recording; they allowed note-taking instead. Each interview was semi-structured with questions that covered migration motivations, the formal naturalization process, and the experience of citizenship in the United States. A list of interview questions used can be found

in the Appendix. A subset of questions also asked about the role of religion in their lives and religious organizations in the citizenship acquisition process. Recorded interviews were transcribed and coded through multiple iterations that generated themes and constructs according to the aims of narrative analysis. For this chapter's analysis, special attention was paid to themes and events—outside of the actual naturalization process—that illuminated the how and the why of citizenship. How is citizenship experienced for someone who is Black from the Caribbean? Why?

My findings indicate that though a black immigrant may have acquired citizenship, the question of belonging is not settled. Far from once and for all deciding the matter, American citizenship is continually negotiated and contextually experienced. Table 2.1 list details about the 51 respondents I interviewed for this project. Though I return to these details again in Chapter 4, there are few important trends to note. First, Jamaicans make up the majority of the sample, even though four different nationalities are represented.

Table 2.1. Respondent Characteristics
% of Respondents

Country of Origin	Number	Percent
Jamaica	28	55
Guyana	13	25
Trinidad	8	16
St. Vincent	2	4
Mode of Entry		
Family Reunification	36	70
Student	4	8
Professional	6	12
Other (*without documents*)	5	10
Education		
Some college	4	8
Trade School	6	12
College	20	39
M.A.	21	41
Time in United States		
Came as a minor	11	22
Came as 18-35 y. o.	40	78
In country <20 years	9	18
In country 20-29 years	16	31
In country 30 years+	26	51
Current age		
30-39	7	14
40-59	14	27
50-64	24	47
65+	6	12
Sex		
Female	33	65
Male	18	35
Income Level		
Less than 49,000	15	28
50-74,000	21	41
More than 75,000	15	31
Total		*100*

This collection of individuals is also predominantly female, well educated, and much older than I anticipated. With most of this group living in the United States over 20 years, this 'American history' was important in analysis.

2.3.1   Let's Go Back to the Start: A Note about Data Analysis

"*Before moving to the U.S. you probably received some advice from friends or family. Now that you are here and a citizen, what is one thing about the U.S. that you wished you were told before coming"?* Initially, I thought of this question as warm-up that would gentle nudge my interviewees to the focus of our interview without jumping head first into our main topic: American citizenship. It was well after my first interview that I realized that this 'warm-up question' had become just as important if not more important than the questions I asked in the citizenship and belonging sections. I begin with the answers to this question because from the inception of this project, an immovable truth has been that I was asking my respondents to go back to the start. The start of their migration experience in general, but their naturalization process in particular. In interviews, going back to the start in a memory is complicated because none of us can be sure that when we revisit our memories, we see or leave them unchanged.

At first, it was a nuisance considering how I would address memory and recall as a potential limitation for the data. As Table 2.1 shows most of my respondents have been in this country for over 20 years with some naturalized for even longer. Though not an uncommon concern across many types of research projects, I was anxiously anticipating an issue long before I'd started any interviews. What if people can't remember details? Once I began interviewing, it became apparent that is wasn't about what they couldn't remember but instead making sense of what they could. Towards this end thematic narrative analysis gave much needed insight. "Narrative analysis seeks to put together a big picture about experiences or events as the participants understand them" (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). The participant is the narrator and the story is the product. In practice, this was quite difficult

because in this case, all the narratives produced did not unveil themselves in the same way or much less a progressive linear form. Furthermore, the time passed between the storyteller's experience and the story was beyond my control. Fortunately, the narratives alone did not hold all my interest.

> Narrative privileges the storyteller. It is through the personal narrative, a life as told, rather than through our observations as researchers, that we come to know a life as experienced. The subject of our research is not the object of observation, but is the narrator, the storyteller (Kramp 2004:8).

Meaning can be derived not only from the content but also how the storyteller uses plot, setting, characters, point of view, and time to bring their story to life.

Considering how respondents constructed their narratives was a savior for this project. There were in fact, many holes in many respondent's stories. Little things to big things and everything in between. Some forgot the actual year they were naturalized, their legal status or age at entry, not to mention the word that referred to that thing they were trying to tell me. On a few occasions, participants would randomly contact me weeks after an interview to say they remembered some detail they couldn't produce at the moment. With memory gaps being unavoidable, the semi-structured nature of the interviews also added another layer of complexity. I worked hard to keep interviews feeling conversational to elicit rich and detailed responses and to keep discomfort at a minimum. So, after the warm-up question, the ordering of all other questions could change according to the flow of the respondent's answers. As a result, some respondents were asked questions that others were not simply because they were either irrelevant or redundant. At times I suspected that when

certain questions were ordered or lumped together they inspired respondents to think differently than if I had not linked those questions. Consequently, though I coded each transcribed interview in multiple rounds, the codes did not initially make sense in the context of my interest in formal and informal naturalization and belonging.

Here an example might be useful. One hypothesis I had of the naturalization interview—which I discuss in detail in Chapter 4—was that participants would note some racial animus and remember the racial background of their interviewer. While there were a few stories that fit the above narrative, there were far more that didn't. Some couldn't remember because it had been too long. Some noted mild disinterest from the interviewer, others noted a pleasant demeanor. Sadly, I didn't find the consensus I was looking for across these experiences and I struggled to elevate codes like politeness and demeanor to larger bigger picture themes that made sense of the naturalization process. I was lacking the point of view necessary to finding meaning in these individual stories and to identify context-specific themes.

I had a breakthrough when I truly began to see each of 51 participants in this study as individual storytellers lumped together by two things: this research project and the naturalization process. They are a one of a kind series. According to Iris Marion Young,

> The unity of the series derives from the way that individuals pursue their own individual ends with respect to the same objects conditioned by a continuous material environment, in response to structures that have been created by the unintended collective result of past actions. (Young)

Like their stories, these respondents are a series constituted by the American citizenship manufacturing assembly line, founded in 1790, or 1870 for those of African descent. Their experiences reveal how they understand citizenship as something they sought, acquired, and live out on the daily. I begin my analysis discussing the warm-up question that became instrumental in highlighting time as an integral theme in the manufacturing of this citizen subjectivity. Next, I discuss their motivations for seeking citizenship and what they understand citizenship to mean in the context of their lives. Through their answers to questions about belonging, I consider citizenship as an American identity linked to race and interrogate belonging as an understudied dimension integral to reproducing the nation. Finally, I consider the position of black immigrants within the nation's racial hierarchy through the language of home and family as metaphors filled with rich meaning. I show that between the lines of my respondent's discussions about citizenship they are also articulating positions of belonging in the national family tree.

2.4   If I Knew Then What I know Now: Time is the Modality of Citizenship

'Hindsight is 20/20' is a popular cliché that basically means, if only you knew then what you know now. In hindsight, the warm-up question that I asked pointed to a theme in how citizenship was lived and experienced for my participants. Time is the modality of citizenship. By asking, *what is one thing about the U.S. that you wished you were told before coming"?*, I actively engaged time as a dimension that shaped how citizenship is experienced. The irony here is that for those who must pursue naturalization, acquiring citizenship is an end goal, but the experience of being a citizen endures for the rest of one's lifetime. Just like an individual takes on various statuses and roles through different life stages, why not

consider the meaning of citizenship evolving in the same way as well. Citizenship is indeed influenced by experiences accumulated over time spent living as a citizen. It takes on the possibility of acquiring an entirely different set of meanings when it is considered a journey instead of a destination. Despite what prior knowledge any of my participants had of America before migration, time spent living here would mean being confronted with positive and negative eye-opening experiences concerning the reality of life in this country. The warm-up question tapped into this portal of sorts. For this study, the negatives illuminated the reach and power of America's myth-making.

<div align="center">***</div>

George, was a retiree from Kingston, Jamaica with quite a calming disposition. He came to New York City as a single man with no children in his early 20s. Now at 58, he had acquired the house, car, kids and citizenship status that signaled a life well lived in America. On the day of our interview, I was running late and as a result was a bit frazzled when setting up our interview station. In a deep baritone voice that still had a surprising air of lightness to it, he told me: **"nuh badda rush mi dear, me have all the time in the world fi yuh today".** See what I mean about calming? His words put me at ease and within a few minutes our interview was underway and I was asking him the 'warm-up' question. His answer surprised me in two ways. First, the Jamaican patois that was present in the room only a few minutes before had disappeared. In its place was the polished tone of a professional who knows when a change of voice is necessary for the required performance. There was surprising consistency to this changing voice because I wrote in my interview notes at least 15 other interviews where this occurred. Once the mic was turned on, the presentation of self officially began. Second, his response was one I had not yet heard in interviews but would

come to see as common. To demonstrate what I mean, I include a short but relevant excerpt from George's interview transcript.

D: What is one thing about the U.S. that you wished you were told before coming?

G: One thing I wished I was told…wow what a question….hmmmm.

(George pauses for a time)

G: I think it is that everything you want exists here. But if you don't have the money to buy it….it doesn't exist for you.

(Male, 63, Jamaica)

George ends this provocative statement with laughter. As the reality of what he says sets in to me, I laugh too. Looking back on that moment, the laughter shared between us was perhaps acknowledgement of the bitter sweet truth to what he said. George was one of the first interviews where I realized how much information this question alone provided about perceptions of American citizenship and disillusions as well. There were more than a few replies to this question that echoed George's tone and performance. By that I mean, to effectively respond to this question it seemed that most interviewees would pause for a time to quickly flip through a slideshow of experiences that could be relevant. Most even noted how intriguing they found the question in their response. The rest of the interview was intimately shaped by these reactions because even, if inadvertently at first, my aim in the interview was slightly altered to understand how this initial response was arrived at.

Take Kia, for example. At 33, Kia was one of the youngest respondents and her answer to this question was one of the most common. Like George, Kia too, took some time in formulating her response. Then she offered this:

That it would be so hard to accomplish the things I want to. I wished someone had said that to me especially as it concerned my education. To be honest, even though I have my degrees now, I might not have decided to stay. (Female, 33, Jamaica)

Many respondents took issue with how much harder it was in reality to accomplish their dreams in America. Education, is a recurring theme that supports a well-established pull factor of the United States as a land of educational opportunity. What Kia highlights however, are the difficulties that arise when new immigrants try to take advantage of those opportunities. Based on her initial response to this question, I probed where I could during Kia's interview to uncover how exactly, if at all, her informal naturalization into an American black identity was shaped by complications in her educational pursuits.

Kia was not alone in identifying the unanticipated difficulties of educational and career pursuits once in the United States.

You have to work harder at everything than people who were born here… goals, whether it's educational or career-wise. (Female, 50, Trinidad)

Uhmm in terms of education, too, you know. When I came here no one told me

I had to find out by trial and error, you know. How to get in, how to study because I wanted to pursue my degree. Came from Guyana, you know. I did my O levels and that was the British system. Coming here now that's irrelevant so where do I take it....I heard about the GED...I asked no one could tell me where to go to get the GED...that part was hard. (Male, 62, Guyana)

Time offered a sobering reality for those who saw schooling as the key to their advancement in the United States. Even if education was the key to success, accessing that key was not as simple as one, two, three. Time, sadly corrected expectations about the institutional landscape of education in the United States.

There was also similar disappointment about the landscape of success in America in general. Time again is implicated here because day to day experiences may be accumulated that confirm or deny the reality of America's democratic values. A number of respondents discussed their feelings of disillusionment through the language of success and the American dream.

You know, before you come everybody knows about the American dream. I knew about it. Come to think about it, I don't know where I got the idea from but when I got here I was really trying to realize that dream where I could have a nice job and a nice home that I own and live good but it was not easy to do that at all. (Female, 48, Jamaica)

Man, I wish somebody told me the American dream was a myth. Better yet a lie. I'll just leave it at that. (Female, 51, Trinidad)

That one is a good question, you know. Because when I think of what I knew about America…it was… Put it like this. There were always rumors about America as a place where you could achieve success. You would have the opportunities you didn't have in Trinidad. What they didn't tell me is that the opportunities didn't come for free. They didn't come as easily as the rumors made it sound. That didn't do me any good, you know. (Male, 55, Trinidad)

That the American dream is just that a dream. It's not real in the way they make it seem. Sometimes you would think that everything here is going to be free or not free but that getting the things you want will be easier. But to tell you the truth I work here just as hard as I did in Jamaica if not harder to see what I want to see in my life. (Female, 54, Jamaica)

Well everyone want to live a better life and they tend to give us that coming to America you will live the American dream. You'll have a better life and sometimes many of us come and realize in reality that it is not so. You might have been better off if you stayed. (Female, 62, St. Vincent)

These respondents all talk about having to face facts and confront reality. The references to the American dream as a rumor, myth or lie are additional metaphorical means for these respondents to express their disappointment in realizing the truth. Disillusionment was also linked to the feeling of being unprepared for what they would face in the United States, whether that be in educational pursuits, facing racism, or just adjusting to an American way of life.

I think there's certain prejudices that I encountered initially that I guess I was not prepared for. You know, I was not accustomed to it and I was just simply not prepared for, so it took a while getting accustomed to it, really. It's still there, but you get accustomed to how to handle yourself... And of course the cultural differences. (Female, 62, Jamaica)

I think I wasn't ready for how homesick I would be. It was a lot to adjust to and I don't know why I never thought that I would miss things. I wasn't prepared for all the things I had access to back home. You come for what America has not what you already had so I guess in a way that is interesting that I feel that way. (Female, 36, Guyana)

That's interesting that you asked that because the very first time I came to this country....I had no clue....the things I saw that I was going to see. Because growing up in Jamaica in the country...in my mind...in the country area. In my mind America was like this little heaven and I really thought it was almost the

land of milk and honey. So I had no clue that they had old cars, homeless, potholes in the road, garbage. I had no clue. I thought I was coming to almost a little ideallyic state. So my first time here I was extremely disappointed and I couldn't go back. (Female, 63, Jamaica)

This warm-up question was greatly responsible for the substantive direction of the interviews. Because it pushed participants to consider what they had indeed learned during their time in the United States, it elicited introspective responses on their citizenship experiences. The question also reiterated time as an overarching and recurring theme in this project.

2.5   Motivations and Meanings of Citizenship

Immigrants naturalize for a variety of reasons. For the majority of naturalized black West Indians in this project citizenship was a strategy connected to better opportunities and a means to access them. It was also a way to escape pressures from their external environment. Table 2.2 lists their motivations for naturalizing.

Table 2.2. Percent of Respondents and Reasons for Naturalizing

	Number	Percent
Jobs/Career	15	29
Sponsoring family	13	25
Voting	12	23
Travel	7	14
Timing/ Green Card Expiration/Natural	4	9
Total	*51*	*100*

The top 3 reasons were educational and career opportunities, the ability to sponsor family members to live in the U.S. and voting. In seeking citizenship, respondents mentioned all the doors of opportunity they looked forward to bursting open with education and career aspirations as most important.

I didn't think about taking up citizenship until I started to seriously consider going back to school. A friend of mine at the time had just gone back and when I told her I was not a citizen, the first thing she said was oh no, honey, you want to go to school, you need to become a citizen. And she was right. I was able to get so much scholarship money and I think my financial aid package was better because I waited until I had the full citizenship. (Female, 50, Jamaica)

I applied for school and when I got my acceptance the financial stuff that came with it scared me. I wasn't thinking about how much money I would have to pay. That's when I learned that financial aid could give me money but that some of

that money I wasn't eligible for because I was a non-citizen. So right there even though I was already accepted I decided to wait until I became a citizen. (Female, 36, Guyana)

I wanted to go further in school and every time school stuff came up, it was a hassle. It was also confusing to know what to say on the paperwork and all types of things....sometimes I would have to call into an office and they would say it's because you are a permanent resident or because you don't have this paper or you need this from the school you went to back home. I just decided I didn't want to deal with it any more. So if becoming a citizen was going to get me out of all that mess. I was going for it. (Male, 47, Trinidad)

The picture these respondents paint about educational funding is a consequence of the permanent resident status. One I know all too well. Permanent residents are open to most forms of scholarships, grants, and loans. However, some opportunities like the Fulbright are open to U.S. citizens only. There were others who spoke about abstract career or educational opportunities.

I just wanted to make sure that nothing would get in my way in the future. Like if I wanted to go higher in my job or to get a new one. I just wanted to be sure that my status would never get in the way. (Female, 37, Jamaica)

At the time I was working a job where everybody that was in a higher level position was white and….I don't know…I guess I just thought that if I wanted to be up there, not being a citizen wouldn't help. I mean….all these guys were like white Italians so they were immigrants too but I just knew they had citizenship.

(Male, 43, Jamaica)

For the naturalized citizens who spoke of educational and career opportunities, seeking citizenship was a strategy that highlighted their aspirational capital. One of six forms of community cultural wealth highlighted by Yosso (2005), aspirational capital "refers to the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers" (Yosso 2005:77). While these individuals may have arrived as immigrants with little cultural capital, the community cultural wealth model appropriates alternative "knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression" (Yosso 2005:77). This is necessary given the predominance of white middle class values in the legitimacy of cultural capital.

Other respondents sought citizenship to ease pressures related to their jobs, or from traveling experiences.

Honestly, I started thinking about citizenship when I realized that travelling was such a problem. I had a bad experience coming back to America from Jamaica and it was one of my first times traveling to Jamaica by myself like an adult. When I got back to States, I didn't go easy breezy through customs. I had to wait in a room and then after like an hour or two they said I could go. The

whole thing was a mess man. I just wanted the opportunity to travel freely.

(Male, 44, Jamaica)

My mother actually kept on saying to me every time we would travel together: don't you think it's time you become a citizen. She was right because I would always for some reason be very nervous if we were traveling internationally. I remember we went to England years ago when I still a permanent resident and I don't remember the exact reason but something was not in the right place or was stamped wrong in my passport and boy did the English give me trouble to board my return flight. To this day I don't know what it was but it was a sour experience that pushed me to make it a reality. (Female, 50, Trinidad)

I was at the point where I was making enough money and I wanted to travel and every time I would try to plan a trip overseas with friends or something I would have to think about whether or not I would have issues because I wasn't a U.S. citizen. After a few times of traveling being the only one out of my group without that passport, I was over it. (Female, 58, Jamaica)

Though each naturalized during different time periods, these statements point out the ease of travel that goes along with a U.S. passport. My own travel experience, being detained in Germany for having the wrong visa ,was an unfortunate reminder that my Jamaican passport does not afford me the widest set of travel destinations or guarantee ease when traversing

international borders. In surveillance studies, identity documents like the passport signify not only what bodies belong but also determines their movements (Browne 2005).

Others spoke of changing job requirements where citizenship was a stipulation for maintaining the position and for advancement.

I was working for the Board of education at the time and I was told that even though they had hired me without this paperwork, I wouldn't be able to continue working without it. There wasn't a deadline like that but at the time, my husband was not making a lot of money and I was the breadwinner so together we decided I should try for it so that I could keep my job…you know, just in case anything should happen. (Female, 66, Jamaica)

There was a rumor going around that they were going to be going through uhmmmm…the personnel files. Investigating the paperwork that they had on everyone from when you started working there. A lot of us that were from the Caribbean would talk about what they were looking for and the rumor was they wanted to know who was a citizen. I never really did find out if it was true but I wanted to protect myself because if you didn't have papers or maybe if your green card was about to expire maybe they were going to let those people go. (Female, 48, Jamaica)

For you to teach and stay on to be hired permanently by the…then it was the Board of Education at the time. It was run by a board. You had to sign something called a…I don't remember the exact words. Like you are anticipating applying for your citizenship. So I signed that form and was taken on temporarily and within a certain time I had to file for and get the citizenship to be permanently employed. So that's what I did as soon as I hit the five years. Intent to file. I think that was the paper. (Female, 50, Trinidad)

All of these individuals naturalized in periods where employment verification was being refined as an important tool in weeding out undocumented immigrants pulled by the U.S. job market. Their pressures to naturalize were in effect a constraint created by the administration of naturalization and immigration laws.

In a similar way, family reunification policies create a migration pathway for family members. This was the second most common motivator towards naturalization, as these respondents discussed naturalizing out of the desire to give family members the opportunity to come to the United States.

I did primarily, because my sister and her family wanted to come, and also … I was married. Also, he… was not a permanent resident. So I also did that for him. (Female, 53, Trinidad)

I didn't wait to get my citizenship. As soon as I was eligible I was working on it because I wanted to bring my family here with me. My husband was still there and my kids and I wanted them here with me. (Female, 65, Jamaica)

In 2018, family ties remain one of the simpler institutional pathways to naturalization. This policy is the number one reason why Black immigrants like Jamaicans end up on the list of countries with the highest naturalization rates (SOBI 2015).

Since taking office, President Trump has strongly advocated for eliminating this segment of immigration policy. Doing so would not only curtail access to citizenship for many black and brown immigrants already in the U.S., but it would also influence immigration flows from the places most likely to yield black and brown potential citizens. By 'bringing up' family members to live, many of my respondents functioned as hubs, a central role in black immigrant networks (Bashi 2007). Hubs are essential to migration chains being that they have not only acquired access to and knowledge of key resources but they are willing to support, spokes, who capitalize on this information.

After family reunification, voting round out the top 3 common push factors towards seeking citizenship for this group. This is significant for a number of reasons, not the least of which is that voting is denied permanent residents. The desire to vote was expressed with a sense of urgency as well.

One thing American citizens can do is vote. I was a permanent resident for long and I did not have that power or that right so that was one of things I looked forward to doing as soon as I became a citizen. (Female, 66, Jamaica)

Being a citizen would mean I could finally vote. It was very important to me to be able to vote so I naturalized thinking about that power. (Male, 46, Trinidad)

The motive for me was the ability to vote. That was the immediate thing. I had been following the political process here and I realized that there were attempts to deny the right to vote. And there many Blacks who had that right but did not use that right and they took it for granted. They were not a part of the political system, the process. So for me, coming from a country where the percentage of the population that voted was in the 80s—86% or so—that's something that was ingrained and I felt I was outside the process here. (Male, 67, Jamaica)

Notably, power was a term that many of these respondents used to capture what they felt they would gain through voting in the United States. Citizenship acquisition in this light is a strategy for resistance, another form of community cultural wealth. Resistant capital supports "oppositional behavior that challenges inequality" (Yosso 2005:80). While voting is a normative way to challenge structures, it is an avenue for agency that is marked off limits to permanent residents.

Although some respondents had career and educational goals, or job pressures that pushed them towards citizenship, there were others who took their time, feeling no pressures at all.

I think I did it because I was just ready. I had nothing pushing me. No family saying you need to. I was just ready to take on citizenship. (Female, 62, St. Vincent).

It was just the last thing left. After permanent resident is citizenship and that's it after that so it just made sense to get the highest.....uhmmm...status or legal level that exists in this country. (Male, 55, Trinidad)

I never had a clear reason on my own. It wasn't like oh gosh, I wanna live in America. (Female, 32, Guyanese)

The feeling that citizenship was something one acquired when ready or as the next logical step is supported by Aptekar's research on naturalized Americans and Canadians (Aptekar 2015). This "natural next step in the immigrant trajectory" can also be examined in light of the institutional environment of naturalization (Aptekar 2015:133). Once one has achieved the permanent resident status, citizenship acquisition looks familiar: filling out forms, taking fingerprints, waiting and paying money being consistent across both processes. Being ready essentially means preparation to dive into that process again. A final set of respondents connected their readiness to the legal limitations of the permanent resident status. One respondent stated plainly, "I just did it because of my green card expiring." Others, like David, had reached the limits of the permanent resident status and did not see the sense in denying citizenship as an inevitability, given his long term settlement already.

My green card was experiencing and I was thinking...well....you are not going back to live at home so you might as well just become a citizen (Male, 47, Trinidad).

To summarize, respondents expressed motivations for citizenship that converge around the idea of this legal marker as a pathway to opportunity. Broadly construed opportunity encompassed many different strategic means of realizing educational or career goals, travel aspirations, and reuniting the family. In some ways opportunity also captured the consequences of lacking citizenship when in competition for jobs, educational funding or traveling internationally.

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Not surprisingly, many of the factors that respondents listed as powerful motivators for seeking citizenship were again reflected when asked what citizenship meant to them. The opportunities they wanted access in areas like education, travel, employment were recurring elements of respondents' narratives. The promise of educational and career advancement was a common expectation attached to the meaning of citizenship.

This country has a lot to offer. One thing you cannot deny is the opportunities you get access to. Especially in the area of education. I felt like all the doors opened for me when it came to school after I became a citizen. So that's it for me....opportunity. (Female, 53, Jamaica).

I realized that as a citizen, now I would have in terms of job promotion—there were certain jobs you could not get without being a citizen. So it put me in that realm. I was in that category now that I could apply for certain jobs that were always better paying jobs with benefits. Even where school was concerned I was in a better position to get certain aids and financial benefits b/ I was now

a citizen. From an economic and political and social perspective, I was in the game. (Female, 58, Jamaica)

The biggest thing for me about American citizenship is that I would be able to take advantage of every opportunity that exists here. Citizenship opens the door to that especially for good jobs with benefits. It matters being a citizen. (Female, 63, St. Vincent)

Citizenship gives access and opportunity to individuals who have not yet been able to fully play the game. These narratives connect to motivations for citizenship, showing that the expectation is a lived experience that manifests these desired benefits.

While opportunity remerged as a theme, access was also a common thread. Primarily, access was also conceptualized through mentions of travel and the protective status of citizenship. A small number of respondents reiterated the ease of travel with a U.S. passport and the global recognition of American citizenship.

Oh man. American citizenship is so good for travelling. I love traveling as American citizen more than I ever did as a Jamaican. That's a big plus. (Female, 37, Jamaica)

You can go everywhere as an American citizen. That's what citizenship really means to me when it boils down to it. I love voting and I was happy to do that

but I was really happy that I could travel without issues and worries. (Male, 46, Trinidad)

As an American citizen, anywhere I go in the world, I am known and I am protected. Travel is so much better as an American citizen and I love St. Vincent but an American passport opens a lot of doors. (Female, 62, St. Vincent)

The protective status mentioned in the last quote was further explained by other respondents outside the context of traveling.

Being a citizen I find you can come out of the shadows, you really do not have to worry or hide or anything like that. Because even when you have your green card and you have certain access, the citizenship puts you a bit further into being sort of part and parcel of the whole American experience (Female, 48, Trinidad & Tobago).

Citizenship to me is safety. No matter what I am a citizen so you cannot treat me any way. I have rights. (Male, Trinidad, 55)

I was looking forward to not feeling so worried about things. Like what if I went to protest and got arrested, or if something happened, God forbid. As a citizen, I was protected now. At least protected from more than I was as a permanent resident. (Female, 42, Jamaica)

For respondents who focused on American citizenship offering protection, the permanent resident status was identified as lacking. This is course by design to encourage naturalization—albeit passively.

Voting completes this instrumental trifecta on the meaning of citizenship. Of all the opportunities that these immigrants wanted access to, having a voice was a primary concern. An overwhelming majority discussed voting as at least one characteristic that marked citizens and citizenship—yet another link to motivations for naturalization.

> **You are paying your taxes, you're working. I said you need a voice. Where politics is concerned we are the underdogs but we are contributing to the economy and the society. Why not get your citizenship and have a voice at the poles and some of them have citizenship and they still don't go vote.** (Female, 50, Jamaica).

> **Voting gives me a voice. I live here and I pay my taxes here and I want my voice to be heard on the issues that concern me. That's the way I see it.** (Female, 50, Trinidad)

> **I felt like with voting I now had a voice. I followed Jamaican politics back home and it was like....as much as I want to say...or do something there I can't. Might as well use the tool, the voice I get here.** (Male, 59, Jamaica)

Rather than voting as power when discussing motivations, respondents spoke of voting as a voice when considering the meaning of citizenship. Perhaps a subtle shift, metaphorically, the idea of voice here is a stand in for agency in the same way that power captured that concept as well. Their vote is a tool to advocate for themselves and their families. To speak their own truths to power.

Gaining a voice through voting, having access and opportunity were the positives that my interviewees applied to the meaning of citizenship. They spoke of practical ways that citizenship influenced their lives as an instrumental strategy. There were emotional affinities or deep desires to becoming American. Perhaps this was the first sign of the disillusionment that exists in the space between what they expect and experience. In noting this more negative side of citizenship, some respondents' spoke, unprovoked, in the past tense, engaging time considering what citizenship means in the present but what it has meant in the context of their lives.

> **When I *became* a citizen I was understanding it to mean that I now should have the highest access to opportunity. And in this country, there are so many opportunities. Whatever you want to do there is a way to do it here. So when I became a citizen, I was looking forward to taking advantage of that. I *believed* that was what I was getting as a citizen.** (Female, 74, Guyana)

> **I think citizenship here in America means that you should not be denied any of the opportunities that all Americans are supposed to have. So if you say I should be able to buy this or go here or work at this level of the company then**

as a citizen, I should be able to do that. Now that *has not always* been the case for me. (Female, 54, Jamaica)

Citizenship to me means that I am equal. Well…….at least that is what I *wanted* it to be. I *wanted* it to mean that I was as equal to any other citizen. Now if you were to ask me what my experience as a citizen here has been like….now that is where the real difference is. (Female, 51, Trinidad)

These statements are gentle reminders that after acquiring the status, citizenship is a lived experience. In this section, I stressed the disconnect that lies in between what my respondents expected or thought of citizenship and what they in turn experienced. In what follows, I report related findings on the impact and after-effects of citizenship in their lives.

2.5. <u>What I Now Know: After-Effects of Citizenship</u>

Answers to the question—how did your life change after citizenship—illuminated the realities that these new citizens faced after acquiring citizenship. Some individuals responded to the question literally, considering what they did after their naturalization ceremony and taking the oath.

Nothing really. After the ceremony, I think I went back to work. I didn't even really tell many co-workers but I remember telling one person I was leaving to

go to the ceremony and when I got back she had a little American flag for me on my desk. But nothing really changed. (Female, 53, Trinidad)

After I took my oath, I went to eat with my mom and sister and that was that. I didn't really think of it again for a while. Not until I think I had to travel and I wanted a passport. That's when I think I remembered I was a citizen. (Female, 32, Guyana)

I mean. It meant something but the days after I got it, it wasn't something I was broadcasting or really even thinking about. (Male, 44, Trinidad)

These replies are telling. Despite the federal government's decade's old attempt to make naturalization ceremonies grand emotional gestures, these new citizens continued about their day like it was any other. Although a few others did mention celebrating with lunch or dinner, not much fanfare was made about the rituals performed on this day as well. I address this in Chapter 4 when discussing the formal naturalization process in detail.

Most respondents used this question as another way to reflect on a legal status they had achieved some years ago. Many responded along the following lines:

Nothing really changed, no not really. (Male, 40, Guyana)

It didn't really change anything in my day to day life. Life went on pretty much like it always had. It didn't change how I acted or how I thought of myself. I was still a Trinidadian girl as far as I was concerned. It was just something I did that I needed to do. (Female, 50, Trinidad)

I mean, I guess it was something I needed to check off of my list that cemented my living here. I had been here for a while so maybe more than anything it was my declaration that though I'm from here, here *(America)* **is where I live now.**

You know what, it just felt like I did it and it was done. I'm a citizen now. I knew I could vote and I was already looking forward to that but when I was naturalized it wasn't voting time so I wasn't immediately worried about that either. So I guess, I have to say it didn't really change my life in any like wham bam, today this then tomorrow that kind of way. (Female, 60, Guyana)

Others required clarification of the question before responding. However, they echoed the aforementioned participant's responses. A portion of a transcript is included here for demonstration.

D: So how did your life change after citizenship?

X: Pardon me. You mean like…….

(Pauses maybe waiting for me to fill in the blanks)

D: I mean after you became a citizen, how do you think your life changed?

X: Oh, I understand now. At first, I was like isn't it obvious, I became a citizen. But now I understand, you mean what did I see change in my everyday life, if at all.

D: Exactly.

X: I guess in that way not much. There was some paperwork I needed to fill out that I could now complete with this information but nothing changed in a really big way.

(Male, 62, Guyana)

Citizenship is instrumental and strategic for many immigrants. The previous quote shows how citizenship can be seen as useful in a practical sense but not changing the overall lived experience of an individual. Other respondents highlighted this instrumental function of citizenship mentioning workplace documents that required the legal status of citizen. Even for those who required this kind of documentation, citizenship would check that box but not have any other material consequences they perceived immediately in themselves or the world around them.

I was trying to get a promotion at work and I couldn't do it if I wasn't a citizen. As soon as I got my citizenship, I was planning on marching into that main office of the school and letting those people know, hey I'm a citizen, you can pay me more now. (Laughter follows). Other than me thinking about that job

promotion, when I got my citizenship I wasn't thinking like wow, my whole life will be different now. (Female, 59, Guyana)

I got my citizenship and I was happy about it. That's for sure but it wasn't like I was searching for my certificate every year on the day I was naturalized and commemorating it. Not at all. Just another part of my identity that I didn't think about until I needed it. (Male, 36, Jamaica)

Rather than inspiring an immediate symbolic or material change in the experience of American life, citizenship was conceived of as a necessary tool to realize goals that often existed prior to entering the United States. If not life changing, it is at the very least a status that is better understood over time and through the prism of race in this country. Martin's response sums this up better than I can.

I don't know that I have a good answer to what American citizenship means to me. I think I might need to sit on that question for longer than this interview can go but I can say that I have *learned* this. It's not so much what it means to me but that whatever it means to me….. is never as good as it can be…if you understand me. My citizenship experience is always going to be different because here in this country I am a black man. (Male, 63, Jamaica)

By invoking the past tense, Martin is activating time as a modality of learning how to be a black citizen in the United States. In the following section, I turn to belonging and race as a way to conceptualize the spaces and shades of grey in between expected and lived realities.

2.6   <u>Options for Belonging: Living out the Gray Areas of Citizenship</u>

What are black immigrant's options for belonging in America? In articulating their experiences as citizens, my respondents show clarity on their narrow options for belonging, yet they assert a sense of belonging anyway. This section reports the findings from the portion of the interview that addressed the meaning of the American national identity and how, if at all, respondents saw themselves as Americans. I also asked, do you feel you belong? Though I was concerned that this question would be misunderstood, it instead led to a wealth of information addressing symbolic and emotional dimensions of citizenship.

Three important themes emerged in regards belonging. First, race was an influential part of negotiating options for belonging and at the center of any disillusionment about being an American. Thus, the disillusionment that existed when I asked respondents the warm-up question and when I asked them to discuss the meaning of citizenship was often directly linked to race when asking about belonging. Second, my respondents understood belonging as having both political and cultural dimensions. They also disconnected these two to fit the context of their racial experiences and also to denote how they in effect "do" belonging in light of acceptable practices and performances of citizenship. Third, belonging was expressed as a racial position. These interrelated themes show how the meaning of American citizenship is expressed through racial identities an image of the ideal American. In what follows, I highlight quotes that capture this complicated nexus and how my respondents' options for belonging narrow as a consequence.

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A common mechanism for respondents to articulate the meaning of being American was to speak about it as a performance of nationalism or patriotic values. Of this the flag, anthem, and pledge were noted—and ultimately demoted in importance. Across these responses is an unwillingness to assert belonging in these ways. A contrast is the desire for an American passport. If passports are "markers of the bearer's allegiance to the issuing state" then it communicates belonging much like the flag would (Browne 2005:426). A difference is that the passport has tangible benefits while these markers of belonging do not in this context.

There was a Jamaican flag and an American flag in my front window one point, I don't know where they are but I didn't buy the American one for myself.
(Female, 65, Jamaica)

It's difficult to say what it is to be American. It says I pledge allegiance to the flag for which it stands, one nation under God, with liberty and justice for all. You talk about the pursuit of happiness, you talk about the fact that everyone has the same equal rights........No, No. So for me American doesn't represent what we state in the pledge or in the Oath. It's not a reality for me and the only reason why it's not a reality is just because of my skin. (Female, 48, Jamaica)

I think I had an American flag once. Just so you understand how little it meant to me. I couldn't tell you what happened to it or where it was. (Male, 62, Guyana)

If being American means to people here that I should wave a flag or say the pledge or sing the anthem with gusto and fervor…I hate to break it to them. It won't be happening. I'll sing my country's national anthem all day with pride. I have pride for what I have accomplished here in America but not as an American. (Female, 51, Trinidad)

As I completed interviews when national debates around the anthem were ramping up, quite a few respondents discussed the song's significance to them.

Take the national anthem for example. I get that as Americans I should know the song…but why should I sing if I don't want to. I don't see why Kaepernick can't protest the song if it's not in line with his beliefs. It's not like I love it but I want the choice to support what I love about this country and the choice to say what I don't. (Male, 36, Jamaica)

I see the national anthem debate going on as related to this question you ask…..whether or not I see myself as American. Apparently an American must love this country without question. So apparently, citizenship and all, I am not American (laughter follows). (Female, 55, Jamaica)

These responses suggest performing an American identity is a signifier to outsiders of a certain emotional attachment to the United States. This is also how options for belonging are limited. My respondents are not wrong in thinking that American identity is performative

and that some actions are deemed more acceptable than others. To be clear, no one I interviewed felt pressure to perform being American in any specific way, but they understood what such performances entailed and signified. As Maria states,

> **I never thought I had to prove anything to anyone. I used to have an American thing in the window. But that's because somebody gave it to me, so I stuck it into the window until it faded**. (Female, 63, St. Vincent)

When talking about American holidays, this point was further underscored.

> **I celebrate Thanksgiving now. I never had Thanksgiving in St. Vincent. But it's a great holiday to get together to celebrate with family and friends. I participate…or I celebrate it for that reason. I don't think I have ever thought of doing it as an American. I never made that connection.** (Female, 62, St. Vincent)

> **I celebrate the 4th of July and other holidays like that. Not because I am American and it's an American thing to do. More so, because it's like a start to summer. I can bring the family together and we can enjoy ourselves. Put some burgers and some chicken on the grill.** (Female, 37, Jamaica)

> **I celebrate most holidays that are American holidays but not because I am American…..it's because I live here…in this country.** (Male, 44, Jamaica)

I celebrate the 4ᵗʰ of July but not because I feel American…you know. It's because I love a good holiday. (Female, 41, Guyana)

Espousing certain personal characteristics, celebrating specific holidays, embracing celebrities and national heroes, or even discussing the weather are examples of banal nationalism (Yuval-Davis 2011). The constant reproduction of ideology and practices "in a banally mundane way" to maintain the nation (Yuval-Davis 2011:92). That these individuals see no need to reproduce the nation in these ways leads to an obvious question; why not? Kingston, a Jamaican male I interviewed, sums up one answer to why in the following way.

It's difficult for me as a Black man to be as patriotic for the United States as I am to my homeland because when you look at the chasm, the dichotomy within American society where racism is so deeply ingrained—as a Black man I feel dehumanized and marginalized by the system. I don't believe that there is equality and that is something I am deeply concerned about. (Male 59, Jamaica)

For Kingston, a patriotic performance is unrealistic given his position as a black man within the United Sates. It is this kind of reasoning about belonging that occurs over and over with race at the center. By mentioning equality, Kingston invokes an expectation of being American that is unrealized within his experience and that of perhaps countless other black immigrants. But there is something else also happening. Kingston has narrowed his options for belonging, much in the same way that NFL player Colin Kaepernick did by refusing to kneel for the anthem at games. It sends the message that inauthentic performances of emotional attachments will not be exploited to confirm a version of the United States that

does not truly exist. At the same time, his decision is based on his life experience in the United States and therefore needs no further justification.

Unrealized expectations are an underlying thread that enables my respondents to compartmentalize their citizenship. The rights of citizenship cannot be denied them. But it is still a fact of their experience that they are not treated the same as all other American citizens. Though I discuss experiences of racism in detail in Chapter 5, here I am concerned with how they distinguish the positive and negatives they perceive as attached to their citizenship status in the United States. For example, the following respondents are doing this work of separating citizenship into what works and doesn't in the context of their lives.

I know that you cannot stop me from voting or anything that I have earned as a citizen but there are ways to let me know that I am not your ideal person...if you know what I mean. It's subtle sometimes and more obvious in other ways. (Male, 47, Trinidad)

The experience might be different because of racism. My being a citizen on paper should give me the access. The experience might be different though in terms of how you are seen by the Whites who are racist—not all of them are— but in terms of on paper...If as a citizen, I'm allowed to go there, there, then you better bet I'm going to make use of that (Female, 37, Jamaica).

Listen, once I became a citizen, honey….whatever my rights were I was going to capitalize on it. Especially voting. But I can't change how people will see me, even if I am citizen. Citizenship doesn't change that feeling of all eyes on you when you walk into a room that they don't thing you should be in. (Female, 61, Guyana)

I did not expect that my citizenship would be a liberating experience or ameliorate the conditions of Black people ever. By the same token, I was disappointed that it did not afford me greater privilege or protection even at the workplace. I'd hoped that at least it would've been a good thing if it brought more liberation and a sense of inclusiveness that you are truly part of the system. (Male, 61, Jamaica).

Feeling like you are truly a part of the system was an idea shared by other respondents.

I know that there are things I cannot be denied. No one can stop me from voting. No one can treat any old way because I am a citizen. But in reality, I don't know that when I look at the direction of this country, I feel like I belong here. Or better, that I feel like I am wanted to be a part of this nation…because being a citizen proves I belong. (Female, 48, Jamaica)

I would love to respond and say that I feel like I am a part of this country just like every other American. I don't know that I can say that. I don't feel like I am a part of it when I can see certain injustices being done to people like me. Whether or not they are African American. We look the same so if it can be done to them, then it can happen to me realistically. (Female, 58, Jamaica)

Being a part of something or feeling left out is critical in the development of a sense of belonging. It is what I hoped I captured by asking "do you feel you belong?" What these respondents express in the previous quotes is their sense of belonging vis-à-vis the bigger picture of the nation. However, these responses also illustrate the distance between dimensions of citizenship and offer a path of inquiry into why this distance might exist.

It is important to remember that belonging is a relationship that links individual experiences to state projects that distinguish amongst and exclude some over others (Lister et al. 2007:9).

Feelings of belonging do not exist in a vacuum or materialize out of thin air which makes them messy and tangled up with other concurrent social processes.

There were other respondents who demonstrated this very point in their reactions to the question of belonging.

Of course I belong. Now I know that I don't belong in the same way as someone who might have lighter skin or some more money but when I became a citizen, that paper, it may not have much meaning other than the fact that it says I belong here. (Male, 59, Guyana)

You know, at first I was gonna say I don't truly belong because at the end of it all, I'm a…or at least, I will be seen as a black woman in this country. We are one of the most hardworking, undervalued groups by our own people and by whites. But I belong. Even despite that. My citizenship says I belong here.
(Female, 60, Guyana)

I consider myself as belonging. When I think about the illegal immigrant situation, I think to myself at least if I'm walking around this city and someone stops me, I have documentation. They can't just kick me out. That paper. That certificate…even if I don't know exactly where it is right now…It says I belong.
(Female, 53, Jamaica)

Each of these quotes point out other elements in their external environment that influence their sense of belonging whether it be race and skin color, rising xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment, and deepening class inequality. The statements above and Evelyn's quote from the start of this chapter do indicate that belonging is a dimension of citizenship that they are at least aware of in an abstract manner but do not necessarily see as a direct benefit of acquisition. Compare those responses to these ones:

You know, actually…I do. Now. When I first came, it was a really big adjustment. Really big adjustment. There were so many things that was really foreign. But I've been here long enough, so you kind of grow accustomed to things, and you

learn things, and you know…what you like and what you don't like. (Female, 50, Trinidad)

Of course I belong. There is no question about it. When I go back home now to Guyana, I stick out. (Male, 62, Guyana)

Yea, you know….I do think I belong. I have become…Americanized I guess. I'm more assimilated to this country more than when I go to visit my homeland of Jamaica. (Male, 59, Jamaica)

While only a few respondents gave answers like this to the question, these quotes do not discuss belonging as a racial position or influenced by other ongoing social processes. Instead they are alluding to another way to position oneself in the nation: by assimilating. These responses are not to be misunderstood as dismissing experiences of race. Especially because these respondents, like others in this study, identify experiences of racism as part of their racial naturalization into this country. Still, not actively wanting to become American through citizenship does not prevent assimilating whether by adopting ideology or concrete social practices. Individuals can feel attached in a number of different ways to people, places and things. As a result, sense of belonging is the outcome of an ongoing and inconsistent process of social construction involving external and self-identification (Yuval Davis 2006:199).

Overall, my respondents conceptualized belonging to the nation in a number of ways. The sense of belonging was manifested in how interview narratives disconnected dimensions of citizenship such as the rights, legal status and participation from the feeling of full inclusion. This was similar to Brettel's (2006) work where Nigerian immigrants drew lines between political and cultural belonging. By discussing what they felt they lacked even after acquiring citizenship and by often invoking racial difference as a reason, they articulated belonging as a position. Those that pointed to their assimilation as belonging or pushed back against nationalistic or patriotic actions demonstrate that there is agency in how one can act as a citizen. The harsh reality is that being a formal citizen does not necessarily translate to feeling like you belong as a member of the nation (Yuval-Davis 2011). Thus, "acting like a citizen is not the same as being a citizen" and vice versa (Fox 2005:176). Citizenship does resolutely make one a subject of the State but it can also provide an identity that a new citizen could be disconnected from. I further explore this disconnect in what follows focusing on identity cleavages and alignments.

2.7   Narrowed Options of Belonging: Identity Boundaries

Narrowed options of belonging are the result when the interviewees in this project refuse to recreate the nation in subtle ways such as recognizing the anthem or a national holiday, and in general expressing more emotional attachment. These actions are small but they are rejections of American national identity as it is presented to them—specifically with respect to the desire for an emotional connection. At its essence, sense of belonging helps in considering how various contexts of reception influence the sense of self, which is fluid and

always in dialogue with the external environment. That environment is one where all immigrants are racialized once they arrive in the United States. American racial classifications and meanings are a part of what they must navigate in creating a life here and a part of what they must understand will be connected to their specific national identity. My respondents' discussions about their racial and ethnic identities and their view of American national identity exposes assimilation as too restrictive and simple a framework to explain their integration. Especially as their agency is concerned. For that reason, it is not enough to consider the ways that they become American by "learning the language, voting, adopting the culture, and achieving economic security for oneself and social mobility for one's children" (Waters 1999:327). It is also essential to consider how these very actions are shaped and constrained by processes of racialization and structures of racial inequality (Bashi Treitler 2015). As a result, I consider my respondents' careful choices of their racial and ethnic identity categories and even their confusion as meaningful. Through these disputes they are denoting the identities, or forms of groupness, that align with their agency.

In the realm of identity, Waters (1999) notes that agency is often useful in pushing back against the weight of a black identity in America.

> Assimilation implies becoming black Americans, who have traditionally been the most stigmatized and abused people in American history (along with American Indians). If anyone has an incentive to either maintain loyalty to another country or to maintain a transnational identity, these West Indians do (Waters 1999:329).

The visibility of a Caribbean background is no match for a phenotypic cloak of blackness that easily surrounds black immigrant's cultural distinction. The identities that black immigrants

maintain and reject are even more important given "constant pressures to come to terms with how others were [are] identifying you—as black American" (Waters 1999:330). These identity battles represent another place where options for belonging are narrowed once again.

2.7.1   <u>Racial and Ethnic Options</u>

During data collection, a pattern developed at the start of my interviews. Nearly all respondents asked me to clarify the difference between race and ethnicity when completing a one page document with questions about background information. Once the consent form was signed and the interview recording underway, I would often ask respondents to explain why they asked about the difference. Here is one Guyanese respondent's reaction.

> **D: Earlier you paused and asked me to explain to you what I meant by race and ethnicity on the form. Why was that?**

> **I: In Guyana we have 6 different races. We have blacks which is Afro-Guyanese. We have the Indians... the Indo-Guyanese. We have the whites, the Portuguese, Chinese and Asian but it's not...how should I put it...it's not too... We conscious so ok. Indians and Blacks are the two popular races and we have time and time again racial disturbances in the past and we try to mend those fences politically. You have a dominant black party and dominant Indian party but we still have**

mixtures of races in both parties. I am a Guyanese man...Everyone just see me as a black man. I always consider myself black.

D: So what about ethnicity? Why did that make you hesitate?

I: Because of...I mean we know here of the political overtone and the rationale and their goals. They decide who is African American and you know for their own purposes

D: They?

I: Well I'm talking about the dominant culture. They're the ones who determine everything you know. The dominant culture is the one who determines whose voices can be heard, what are being published, what we eat and everything. For their own purposes, they identify African Americans. Its...the WASPS...there's a little bit of black and other races they try to bring in to make it look as though you know...but those WASPS are in control. (Male, 77, Guyana)

His analysis is sharp. Having lived in the United States for over 15 years, Daniel's perceptions on his race and ethnicity are still informed by his native country. At the same time, he

displays a clear understanding of race dynamics and even a theory on the marginalization of African Americans.

Interactions like this were a staple of interviews. Even though it was clear that my interviewees were actively trying to untangle race and ethnicity, I found the great majority to respond like Daniel. Confident in their point of view about these contentious identities. Perhaps more so, in the experiences that grounded them. By articulating these views they choose some identities as paths to belonging and rejected others. Following research on the identities of West Indian or Afro-Caribbean Populations done by Waters (1999), Butterfield (2004), and Rogers (2006) I asked questions about race and ethnic identity including when respondents identified themselves differently. Like Daniel, their answers show an active negotiation of racial and ethnic identities according to their racialization. Again, the one page demographic info sheet was a catalyst for these conversations.

D: So you write black for your race, but for your ethnicity you wrote Caribbean/Trinidadian. Why was that?

I: I was going to ask you what's the difference between the ethnicity, nationality, and the race. Ethnicity, I look at it as the style of dressing at the food, music; that I look at as ethnicity. Then you have nationality, which is where you're born. And then you have race, so I put black for it.

D: If someone asks, where you're from or what's your background, how do you respond?

I: I always say Trinidad.

D: Does it change on the context, does it change based on who you're talking to?

I: Not really. I always look back and say I'm from Trinidad, because whenever I think about anything, whether it is in terms of education, or food, or growing up, I always think Trinidad first. I still call Trinidad "home," even though I'm here more than I've spent years there. (Female, 51, Trinidad)

In this example, Lisa discusses, race, ethnicity and nationality as three different constructs that for her means three different answers. However, even after 18 years in the United States, her nationality is still Trinidadian. More interestingly, Trinidad is still home. The language of home was prevalent when I asked respondents to think about how they answered questions about their background. Here is another example from a Jamaican respondent.

D: You didn't put something for ethnicity on the form. How come?

I: I am who I am.

D: That's for sure. Still, you identify yourself as black, but nothing for ethnicity? What would you put for that question? Or why didn't you answer it?

I: I didn't think it was necessary to answer it... It's a tough question. I can't say African-American... What am I, Jamaican-American? It's hard, because I don't think of myself as anything in particular. When certain things happen, yes I'm Jamaican, when another thing happens, yes, I'm American. So yes...It depends on what's going on at the time. It depends on what's going on. But I never

really claim that American….like label…like how I guess they want it used.

D: When someone generally asks you what's your background or where are you from, how do you normally answer?

I: if they ask me where I was born, I guess I'd say Jamaica, West Indies, sure. Actually….when that question is asked about my background, I always say Jamaica because that is home. That's the place that made me who I am.

(Female, 48, Jamaica)

Even with these types of negotiations going on behind the scenes, the overwhelming majority of respondents chose Black as their race and referred to national origin for ethnicity. Table 2.3 lists their choices, while Table 2.4 shows how their racial identity choices differ according to nationality.

Table 2.3: Race & Ethnicity

RACE		
	Number	*Percent*
Black	45	88
African American	3	6
Black/African	2	4
Black/African American	1	2
Total	*51*	*100*

ETHNICITY		
	Number	*Percent*
Jamaican	22	43

Guyanese		11	22
West Indian		7	14
Trinidadian		6	12
Vincie		2	4
African		1	2
African-American		1	2
Missing		1	2
	Total	*51*	*100*

	Jamaica		Trinidad		Guyana		St. Vincent	
	#	% of Larger sample	#	% of Larger sample	#	% of Larger sample	#	% of Larger sample
Race								
Black	25	49	8	16	11	21	1	2
African American	2	4	-	-	-	-	1	2
Black/African American	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Black/African	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	
Total	28		8		13		2	

Table 2.4: Race and Nationality

Curiously, in interviews, on a question asking which identity they use first, approximately two thirds of respondents noted that they would reject the black label and use their nationality or ethnicity to represent themselves. Some mentioned that black was a category they had to come to learn referred to them.

I guess I didn't think about being Black in the way I have to here. Here when I am labelled black it is definitely a bad thing. And you know it didn't feel that way back home at all. (Female, 62, St. Vincent)

Sometimes I feel like people who are here think we are stupid. Like we don't understand that when you are seen as Black, people think less of you. We definitely, as immigrants, we learn that fast. But what I know is, I can think of

myself as Jamaican, but when I walk into any room, I'm black first. (Male, 67, Jamaica)

I come from Guyana where are all mixed up. Indian, black, different types of whites. It's not like we didn't have race relations issues, or stuff like that. It just is different from how things are here in America. So here I am black because I can say what I think, but Black is what people think before I open my mouth. (Female, 41, Guyana)

These quotes show their adjustment to the racialization that occurs in the United States. Also a recognition that agency, with respect to this identity, has limits, because being black is an externally imposed label, unfortunately with a power value.

Surprisingly, a few respondents joined together two identities such as Black and African or Black and African American. The presence of the latter as a response, in general, was surprising. Of the all the identities that I did not expect to see reflected in a group of Afro-Caribbean's, it would be African American. Furthermore, not only was the label African American selected as race, it was also chosen as an ethnic identity as well. I also noted that in interviews, at times respondents would use Black Americans interchangeably with African American. Though not many respondents wrote down the African American label, my surprise stems from the social distancing that Afro-Caribbean's have done with respect to African Americans because of their shared stigma (Bashi Treitler 2013; Thornton 2012; Waters 1994). I did not expect to see this label used at all. One Jamaican respondent was adamant that African-American was her identity on both of these.

See this I know because I work in diversity. I know that even when I am Jamaican, or say you are Nigerian or anything like that and you write down Black or you write African. It doesn't matter what you see yourself as. In my office, we put it as African-American because that what this country recognizes you as. So that's why I know what to put for those kinds of questions. (Female, 53, Jamaica)

Regarding ethnicity, most interviewees referred to their nationality as a stand in for this category with a few individuals selecting African or African American. Outside of their nationalities, West Indian was another choice, predominantly used by Jamaicans. Typically, West Indian refers to English-speaking individuals hailing from countries like the ones represented by my interviewees. In that sense it is a pan-ethnic identity cutting across differences and similarities to inspire a level of commonality inspired by shared Caribbean origin and migration dreams. The few respondents that selected this category as one they identified by had this to say about its meaning to them.

When I say I'm West Indian it's a bit different from just saying I'm Jamaican because I'm kinda linking myself to other people like those from Trinidad for example. Because we share some similar histories and things like that. I usually use it when I'm talking to people from places like Barbados, you know, places like my homeland. (Female, 48, Jamaica)

Listen when I use that title, is almost like I'm saying, you know about us West Indians. We do good work. We are hard workers and we don't play when it

comes to that kinda stuff. So I think when I use it I'm sending a message. (Female, 50, Trinidad)

Though few respondents, chose this identity as their ethnicity, many others mentioned this identity as on option that paves a particular road to belonging. One that often highlights West Indians or black immigrants at large as different, and better especially as workers, than African Americans. Here, a few respondents discuss how they view the West Indian identity as a way to improve their chances in the job market.

One of things I realized was that when people heard my accent, like if I'm going on a job, they would ask where I come from. I was here early when being black and not African American was a new thing. So they would hear my accent and ask where I was from, they would know Jamaica and some of the bigger islands but I think when I said West Indian and my accent came out, it was like their ears perked up with interest. I said to myself, uh huh...that's what I need to do. (Female, 63, Jamaica)

You, know —I think whites favor us because they think we are better workers and we complain less. For whatever reason, I think they give us West Indians that little...leg up in a sense. (Female, 53, Trinidad)

The racial and ethnic identities that my respondents selected reflects how they understand these classifications to work practically in the real world. Their choses show the weighing of identity options that are not only accessible to them but provide them with agency. The United States' rigid racial categories lump together individuals from different parts of the

world according to origin and descent (Jung &Almaguer 2006). However, in practice, race is observed and connected to how people recognize literal shades of skin color differences. For those who have an abundance of melanin like myself, it is even more difficult to escape black racial social meaning, thus making options for belonging that provide a way out, especially relevant to their lives.

2.7.2   Being American: The Attachment Gap

An identity that was a complicated and often not viable option for claiming belonging was to say that one was American. Few respondents claimed the American label without question. All but one (noted in section 2.7.1) rejected the hyphenated American identity as well. In these discussions, my respondents would often juxtapose black and white as two race-based American national identities, containing different options for belonging with influence on shaping their experience as citizens. To them, being seen as a white American offered citizenship advantages that they could not attain because of skin color.

..I still think there are white privileges and privilege that we don't get as black people that white people get. In terms of jobs, financially, there are privileges that white people get that we don't get like...like Europeans, as opposed to black Caribbean's (Female, 50, Trinidad)

I sometimes wonder whether this country ever really wanted anybody of color to become citizens. I mean yes, they have the process for people like me who

are not born here, but at the same time what I see white people in this country do. ......I know I can't do and get away with. Just look at police brutality. (Male, 36, Jamaica)

White Americans have the best experience as citizens. I don't think that's by chance. You think they don't know that most of us black and brown folks are not getting the same thing. They know this. This is in the laws...it is all over the history. (Female, 48, Jamaica)

Other respondents, removed themselves from claiming this label, centering their ineligibility on Whiteness and their inability to possess this characteristic.

An American is white and I can't be white. In that way it is simple. So I'm not American. But neither is a Black American or an African American. (Female, 58, Jamaica)

I can't say I'm American because to me that is somebody that is white. European. That's they really wanted to keep it but circumstances. The world changed. (Male, 67, Jamaica)

Listen Americans are white, plain and simple. (Male, 42, Guyana)

These two themes, focusing on race solely or on the privileges accorded to Whites as citizens over black were the most common reasons for not selecting an American identity.

Just under a third of respondents denied the American label was through divorcing feelings from the identity in a pragmatic way. The following examples elucidate this point.

Look, I'm proud to be an American...because on my passport that is what I am. I have a lot of pride in what I've done here and I know that it was because I was here. But I still can't think of myself like that. I just used it here with you but I never would if someone asked me. Even if when I go back home, I'm more American than Jamaican, but that is still home. (Female, 37, Jamaica)

It feels almost like a betrayal. I don't want to deny my Trinidadian background because that is where I am from and I will always love my native land. Still, you know I am proud to be here in America. This country has done a lot of good for my family so there is pride here. (Female, 51, Trinidad)

The feelings of pride and even betrayal here are connected to these respondents' understandings of where home lies. In this light, home is truly where their hearts are, even if they can recognize the benefits of life in the United States. A few other respondents, connected their feelings pragmatically to the legal options, namely dual citizenship.

Oh man. All I had my mind set on was dual citizenship when I was doing my citizenship. So with that...I could never walk around and say I'm American. Even

now every time I say it if I have to, I kinda screw up my face because it just doesn't seem right...seem like it's for me. (Female, 65, Jamaica)

Matter of fact I never thought when I came to this country first that I would ever become a citizen. I had a problem with the politics of this country, the way that Black people are treated and to me I suppose I felt I was betraying my country. It was a betrayal to my native land when I became a citizen. I actually checked out if I could enjoy dual citizenship and was sad when I couldn't. There was no way I was gonna start calling myself an American...unless I absolutely need to. (Male, 61, Jamaica)

In particular, the latter respondent expressed feelings of sadness and even betrayal as attached to claiming an American identity. Like other respondents, both did not deny ever using the label but do so only if necessary. Here are two of those situations.

I only will use if it I absolutely must. Like this one time I remember getting into an argument on the job and I think the person I was arguing with said something about my accent...back then it was very pronounced. I didn't learn as yet how to mask it like I can when I want to now. Any who...I remember the white lady saying something about going back to where I came and I said doesn't matter where I came from. I'm a citizen and I'm just as American as you. (Female, 54, Jamaica)

On occasion, somebody says something ignorant and I have to put them in their place. I will use it then. No…you can't do this to me or talk to me like this. I'm an American—sorta in those ways is how I would say it….only then though. (Female, 50, Jamaica)

Though most respondents were able to answer the question, a few responded that they didn't really have a strong reason. One of those explanations is useful for considering the behind the scenes meaning making occurring.

I can't really answer that. I just know that for me I can never say that I am American. I just don't ever see myself giving my home—Trinidad. Yea I guess I'm here I'm a citizen. I'm American (said with air quotes). But my home is still Trinidad. When I go back to visit, that's what I say. (Female, 50, Trinidad)

Respondents like Kim, offered another juxtaposition that rendered the American national identity as outside of their grasp: that of the old home and the new home. Using language and imagery of home in these ways indicate safety, belonging, and attachment not to where these naturalized citizens are now but where they came from. Though kinship bonds like mother or father, were never mentioned in reference to the nation, the terms home, homeland, and native land are not to be dismissed as nostalgia for a long gone version of life. Instead these words point to the position of their new racial selves in a land that never quite feels at home. This attachment gap and the others discussed in this section are better conceptualized as articulated positions within the national family tree.

2.8   The American National Family: The Distance between Us and Them

The attachment gaps that my respondents show—that their pride in being an American citizen is not easily transformed into patriotism or nationalism, that home is still where the heart is, that Americans are still white—are issues of national belonging. In the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) article, "Becoming American: The Hidden Core of the Immigration Debate," Political Science Professor Stanley Reshon argues that the most important immigration issue is not one of enforcement but rather integration and at the point of it all, national belonging.

> The question is: How can the United States facilitate attachments to this country? The answer to that question does not concern new immigrants alone. These are American national community issues. Both old citizens and new immigrants have an important stake in increasing the extensiveness and depth of attachments to the American national community. And of course, the government, representing all Americans, has a critical role to play in helping to foster American national identity and attachment— a role it has so far declined to play (Reshon 2007:5).

Given my findings on the attachment gap, Reshon's concern is well placed. However, the gap is not just one evident in emotional attachments and the language of love or pride. It is also evident in how my respondents distance themselves from others in the national family even those who look like them. In what follows, I provide a few examples that show how Black immigrants are positioning themselves in the national family tree.

One of the most obvious processes involved in granting positions on the family tree was by discussing those who seemed closer to ideological whiteness or blackness. Within these segments of our interview, Asians and Latinos were mentioned as those who could possibly be in better positions than black immigrants.

I secretly think there's some Asians who think they are better than us. I have worked with a view who just by who they interact with you, you can tell they think you are low class or you know, just like you are less than. Like they think they're like the whites in this country. You can think of yourself as better than us, but you are still not them. The sad thing is they (Asians) live more like them (Whites) than us Blacks do...whether we come from the Caribbean or from the motherland. (Male, 47, Trinidad)

All the focus on Latinos make me think that they are the ones next. I mean most of them light and have the hair and if they can speak English then they can pass....They can live and not let their background from Cuba or Mexico not show if they want. But with this skin, no way I can do anything but be black. (Female, 36,Guyana)

I think sometimes they want us to see these groups like the Asians them or the Cubans them....that so called do better than blacks—and it could be true—but it's like they want you to stop saying the system isn't fair for blacks because some Latinos are doing good or Asians or even some us of Blacks from the

Caribbean and you know it's like.. not true. And it's not fair. It's not right.

(Female, 42, Jamaica)

Despite feeling like these positions in the hierarchy were better advantaged over blacks, some respondents also recognized the similar plight people of color faced in the United States while others noted not all Asians or Latinos had the same experience.

Before I had lived here for a time, I never thought that blacks needed to link up with other groups because our problems are different. But more and more it's like the whole thing is bad and not any one group of immigrants like us who become citizens can change it. (Male, 40, Guyana)

Well. If they keep us fighting over which one of us is better than the other...we will be too busy to fight the real enemy. (Male, 59, Jamaica)

I understand that some of these Latinos are doing better and some are not. When I visit my family in Florida, we are around a lot of Cubans and they are doing well. When I look at Mexicans, they are not doing as well. (Female, 54, Jamaica)

Even though I recognize that Asians are in good jobs and their kids are at top schools. I know it's not all of them doing that well. Probably mostly the Chinese and Japanese. It's no different from when people say us West Indians are

better…or I mean more successful here than African Americans. (Female, 48, Jamaica)

Rather than lump all Asians or Latinos together, some respondents recognized ethnic variations in experience. Others saw solidarity and a form of commonality arriving out of shared subordination in the United States, even if there were subtle privileges that Latinos and Asians may be perceived to gain from being positioned higher in the national family.

About two thirds of respondents spoke about positions that dealt with three members of the Black community: African immigrants, Caribbean immigrants and African Americans. Most commonly, the latter group was cajoled almost for their position within the United States racial hierarchy.

When it comes to African Americans, it's easy to see that they are on the bottom of the ladder. I recognize that this country doesn't give everyone a fair chance but you must at least try. You can't just give up. (Female, 50, Trinidad)

I hate to say this but truth is I work with some African Americans on my job and they are just lazy. Looking to cut corners. It's a stereotype, yes. But one I experienced. Doesn't that make it true? (Female, 55, Jamaica)

I had one employee. An African American female. She was doing an excellent job. I mean really good work. I promoted her and she turned it down. When I asked why she said she was on section 8 and if she made more she would lose

that and she couldn't afford to. To me it's like.....come on. You can get off section 8 with this salary why wouldn't you want that. You think a Jamaican would turn down a better job to be stuck getting a government handout? Never would happen. Because we want to work hard for all we have. (Male, 36, Jamaica)

It is clear that these negotiations of position were tied up within values on work and productivity. But there was also the desire to distance oneself from these types of single stories that could deny anyone associated with blackness from being upwardly mobile in the job market. While the workplace was a key interaction site shaping some of these positions, so was the institution of higher education. Here, respondents lauded Black immigrants like Africans and again, criticized African Americans.

Those Africans man. They are like us Jamaicans. They are into the book. Your studies come first. I wish that I saw the same with African Americans. As a teacher, I have had experiences with African American parents complaining about homework and things being too hard...but it's like what do you want a smart child or one that can't read and write. (Male, 63, Jamaica)

Nigerians are very serious when it comes to education. They don't play with their kids. And they come over here with the intentions that their kids are gonna succeed. Right now, this year, at the High School... we had one, a Nigerian, accepted to all Ivy Leagues, 11 of them took her. Last year was a guy, same number too. Nigerian. We have a lot of them in this area. And right now, my friend who lives one street over, the husband is Nigerian. He is the one who's

doing most of the book-pushing. They are like us West Indians. With us from the Caribbean…you gotta do the book… You can whine if you want, but you gotta get the book first. (Female, 53, Trinidad)

I just don't understand why they don't take their education seriously here. I mean the first thing I wanted to do when I come here was go to school and so many of these black Americans squander the opportunity and wonder why they have to wait for the government to throw them something to live. West Indians, especially Jamaicans are not like that. Africans, who come here are not like that either. Education is everything and even if you don't have food in your belly, you will make it to school so you can get something in your head. (Female, 41, Guyana)

While Afro-Caribbean's and black African immigrants were seen to share the same values on education, African Americans undervalued what these respondents considered one of the best opportunities the U.S. offered. The aforementioned interviewees used educational and career as mediums to evaluate African Americans and to create distance from them while seeing groupness with African immigrants. The remaining one third of respondents relied on well-known stereotypes on the African American experience in showing why they positioned themselves as different from this group.

When I first moved here I lived around all Black Americans. They were nasty, and rude. I mean I'm a little island girl. Even though I grew up poor everyone says good morning when you pass them because you should have manners. And

even if all you have is a little stick of bush to call your own, you take care of it. You keep it nice and clean as best as you can. Not so with the black Americans. They were rude, they would throw the trash anywhere and you betta not say anything to them or else they ready to start a fight. I didn't want to be associated with that and I still don't. I moved as soon as I could. (Female, 62, St. Vincent)

You know there're also prejudices among black people. You know that. There's prejudice even among the West Indian people. There's prejudice among natural-born American citizens and West Indian people, or black. I think some of them (African Americans) resent us because we come here and we don't play. We get to work, we work hard, we buy our homes, send our kids to school and we move on with it. We don't complain, they do this to us, even if we know it's not fair. We just get to the work and plenty of them don't want to. (Female, 50, Jamaica)

Having grown up in a Jamaican family that said many of these things, I am all too familiar with these examples of social distancing. My parents would frequently chastise my brother and I after bad behavior—especially misbehaving in school—by reminding us that we were not African American and therefore it would never be acceptable for us to behave in these ways here in America.

After getting accepted to Spelman College, my own aunt advised me not to reveal my Caribbean background for fear that I would be disliked by African Americans. Her fears, thankfully, never materialized for me at Spelman or elsewhere in my life thus far. However,

these examples of social distancing are problematic in that they deny the linked fate of black immigrants with African Americans. Against this backdrop, the celebration of Black, particularity as in the lauding of a superior West Indian or Afro-Caribbean cultural ethos, reinforces the stigmatization of blackness in the U.S. (Pierre 2004). This pits different types of black immigrants against each other, setting the stage for unity amongst those who position themselves outside of the African American national identity. Where black immigrants are successful hard workers, African Americans are deficient and lazy and this zero-sum game 'e-races' the influence of race and racism for all who identify as black in the U.S. regardless of nationality.

Unfortunately, even with these ways of distancing and essentially attempts at creating other options for belonging, black immigrants, along with African Americans, occupy the bottom rung. In the metaphor of the family tree, blacks, and those ideologically blackened as such are low hanging fruit prone to falling short and ending up bruised, battered and even underdeveloped on the ground. Black immigrants are strange fruit. The kind that hangs in the balance, invisible especially for those who do not want to see blackness as the position of least value to the overall family.

Citizenship, even second class citizenship, is a strategic power move on the part of black immigrants. Though the stigma of blackness does limit their agency, being a citizen is one way to overcome. If the nation is thought of a family, then the family tree a visual representation of that family should note the social hierarchy in effect and genesis or origins then, of all members of the family. Figure 2 visualizes this tree, highlighting the fact that citizenship status is a step that is a catalyst for upward mobility. For black immigrants, the

fact of race in the United States means that they must find ways to ideologically whiten themselves despite physically looking like African Americans. While citizenship in some ways encourages assimilation, the individuals I interviewed show a reluctance to assuming American identities and to blending in with African Americans. These processes aside, their aims with citizenship are not to become American but instead to gain access to the family tree. More than just a representation of genesis and the hardening of a racial hierarchy, it is also a metaphorical Jacob's ladder to acquiring the American Dream—which is what most if not all immigrants come to chase. One respondent used this image of Jacob's ladder in a way that powerfully summarizes this point.

We sing this song in church, you probably remember it. We are climbing Jacob's ladder children, we are climbing Jacob's ladder children……the song says higher and higher…higher and higher. I think that's the American dream. To always go higher and higher and for your children to go higher and their children higher. And with citizenship it can be done. It will be hard don't get me wrong…..it takes hard work and perseverance. That's what I tell my kids. (Female, 62, Jamaica)

Though the position on the ladder and in the tree should not be ignored, the point that this respondent underscores is that citizenship is what allows for black immigrants like her to see the dream as viable. Of note is that once a foreign-born immigrant acquires citizenship, they have essentially created a much easier pathway for future generations. In this way the dream lives on and is passed on through biology instead of the necessity of adoption—making these generations Americans by birth.

2.9   <u>Conclusion: At the Point of it all</u>

This chapter explored a number of ideas in illustrating the making of American citizens into members of the national family. As a legal status that imparts rights, becoming an American citizen represents a shift in that individual's life story. However, citizenship does not solve the puzzle of belonging any more than the permanent resident status does. Instead, my participants demonstrate that their ideas about the possibilities that life in America holds are not at all fixed but vulnerable to change over time. Citizenship for this majority of those I interviewed was an instrumental and strategic decision that they viewed as important for acquiring their American dream. Even for those respondents who did not see acquiring citizenship as a strategic necessity, as a legal status it offered more benefits than the permanent resident status. Though my respondents show attachment gaps in how they feel about the nation and the American national identity, these breaks are not their fault. The attachment gap is a possibility paradox that stems from the biggest paradox of them all: all bodies are not created equal in the true practice of the land. Subsequently, it existed long before 1870 when individuals of African descent gained access to citizenship. It also existed before specific institutional logics and organizational arrangements were chosen to administer the benefits of naturalization and citizenship. However, it persists because of it. I attend to this side of the making of naturalized citizens in Chapter 4.
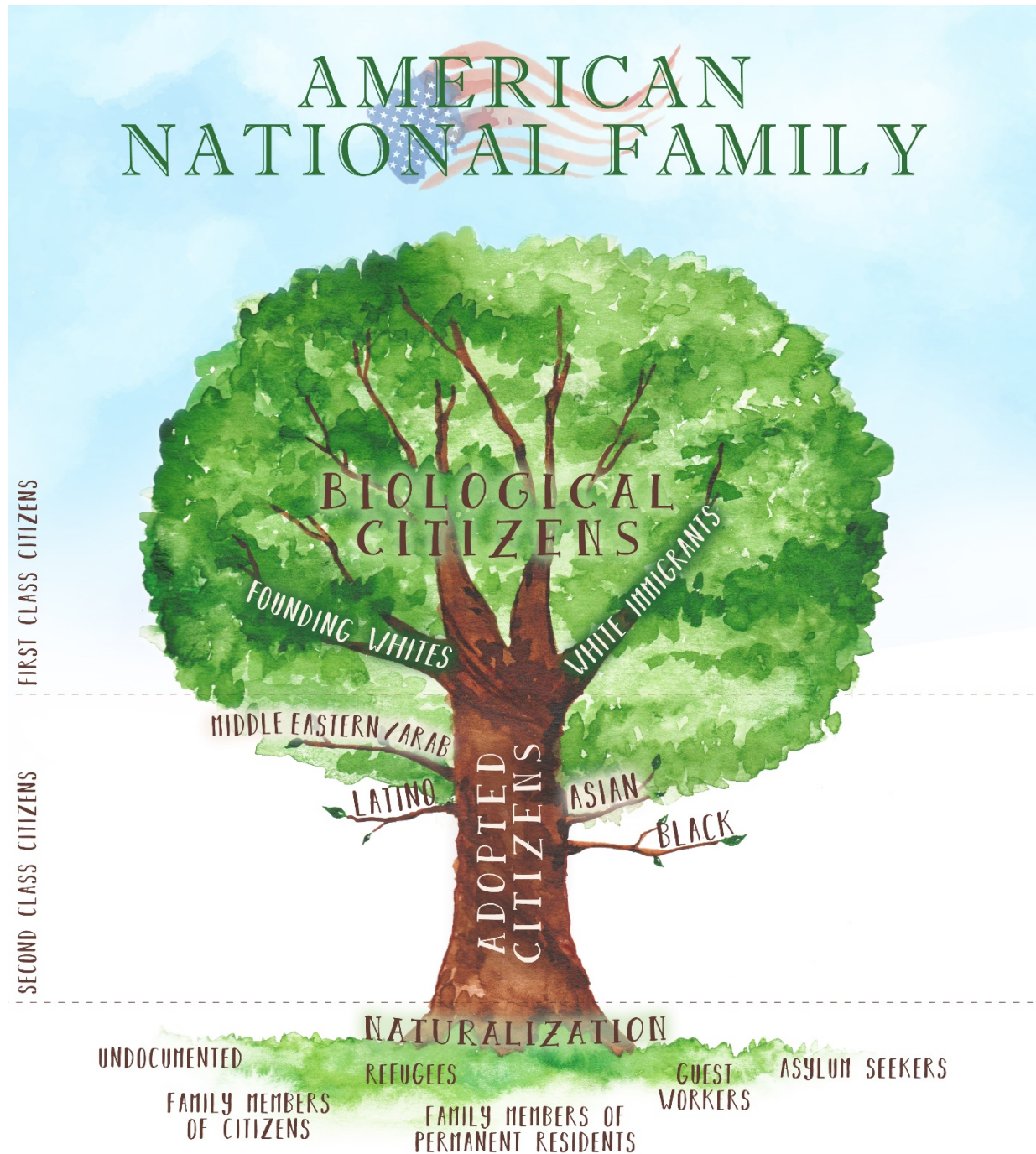
Figure 2: The American National Family: Citizenship Status.

3.1   <u>The Attachment Gap and the Naturalization Machine</u>

There are more than a few reasons that States, as rational actors, take great interest in their citizens. There is also great variation in how this 'interest' is made manifest in laws, institutional arrangements and structures that undergird social life. In this instance, I am concerned with how the law empowers organizational arrangements and practices that help to create a subjectivity known as citizen. Having revealed an emotional attachment gap in how my respondents conceive of American citizenship and identity in chapter 2, this chapter considers the interests of this State when manufacturing its new citizens. As a nation-building tool, naturalization functions as "a means to control the number, pace, and nature of admission into the community and is used in order to maximize national interests—in terms of cultural identity, the economy, welfare, well- being, and justice"(Orgad 2017:339). Along with immigration, naturalization realizes the State's interests as a "machine of many parts" within a larger project of nation-building (Foucault 1977:162). Simply put, naturalization is another machine where the State assembles the ideal citizen. In chap. 4 I focus on the parts of the machine, considering the steps of the process and how they transform aliens into citizens. In this chapter, I examine the orientation of the machine itself, considering how the administration of immigration and naturalization creates the specific kind of citizen subjectivity that my respondents exemplify; citizens who do not identify as Americans. Though the black West Indian citizens I interviewed were adopted as new members of the American family, they still lack the desired emotional bonds. However, if they should demonstrate a deeper sense of loyalty and stronger affections towards the State,

where and how in the administration of the formal naturalization process is this emotional bond tended to? The fact that this attachment gap exists even after naturalization is the State's fault, and at the very least its responsibility to close.

All citizens, whether native or foreign born, are shaped by machines or rather by institutions—like media, religion, or education—according to the image desired or embraced by the State. Unlike other machines, in dealing with the foreign born, naturalization must balance its inherent possibility paradox: to choose some as belonging is to exclude others. This paradox of possibility is influenced by naturalization's inclusion as part of the wider immigration system.

> When the emphasis of the larger system is on enforcement, detention and deportation, it affects the naturalization process. Likewise, to truly reform naturalization and make it more just and fair, the whole system must be changed…At the very least, there must be a decoupling of the integration and enforcement actions of immigration agencies, so that the recognition and celebration of new Americans is no longer an occasion to unravel so many of their American lives (Aptekar 2015:140).

This chapter develops the argument that to be a successful institution, naturalization must find its footing amidst an organization aiming to balance between its inclusionary and exclusionary sides that engage different logics, practices and tools. Moreover, how the organization resolves these contradictory tasks in administering immigration and naturalization laws is integral to the type of citizens it creates out of the foreign born.

3.2   Inside the State: Logics, Practices and Organizations

Consequently, my analysis of the formal naturalization process in this chapter is supported by a dataset that provides insight into the organizational level of administration. This archival dataset includes newsletters, lectures and agency memos covering the latter half of the 20th century and the first half of the 21st century. With organizational documents published by all three iterations of the agency given the job of administrating immigration and naturalization—The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization (BIN), The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and the United States Citizenship and Immigration Service (USCIS)— these data comprise one way to examine the organizational practices and tools of the State. Perhaps more interestingly, using these data is also a way to examine discourse produced by the State about itself for different publics that it engages. To be clear, my aim is not to prove intent. However, at the organizational level, intent need not be present to yield outcomes that encourage inequality.

Tressie McMillam Cottom (2014) makes a convincing case as to why organizations require persistent scrutiny.

Why focus on organizations to talk about things like justice, equality….Please indulge me a brief demonstration. If you are the victim of a crime and you want to pursue justice, what do you do? I mean the concrete actions? Well you can file a case with the police. You can hire a lawyer. You can ultimately petition a court to hear your claim. You wait and pray. Another one: how does one negotiate for citizenship? Is anyone familiar with doing this? You request some forms you complete them according to the specifications of a bureaucracy. You submit them to an office. You wait and you pray. To pursue justice, to pursue citizenship individuals do not waltz up to a place called justice or citizenship. Instead they go through this pretty mundane bureaucratic

practice. That is to say this: critical human projects in our society are negotiated through organizational practices. To understand how these organizations work and do not work is to better understand fundamental issues like justice, nation, state, etc. With this framework driving my analysis, several themes arose from this dataset with great significance for this research. These themes engage with fundamental concepts such as institutional logics, legitimacy, inhabited institutions as well as Weber's 5 dimensions of rationalization. To quickly summarize, each of these concepts helps to unveil where the formal naturalization process is in priority. The concept of institutional logics helps to establish links between "institutions and action" (Oliver & Greenwood 2008:100). According to Freidland and Alford (1991),

> Each of the most important institutional orders……. of society has a central logic – a set of material practices and symbolic constructions – which constitutes its organizing principles and which is available to organizations and individuals to elaborate….These institutional logics are symbolically grounded, organizationally structured, politically defended, and technically and materially constrained, and hence have specific historical limits (Friedland and Alford 1991:248–49).

In short, institutional logics are embedded practices and beliefs that serve as norms to guide individual and organizational behavior. They "are supra-organizational and abstract, but become observable in the concrete social relations of actors who utilize, manipulate, and reinterpret them" (Skelcher & Smith 2015:437). As an institution, naturalization confers citizenship rights to the foreign born through a conventional set of practices. It is an "inhabited institution" and successful only because of the staff of individuals who literally

bring organizational practices to life within these logics (Binder 2007; Hirsch and Lounsbury 1997; Scully and Creed 1997; Hallet & Ventresca 2006). The inhabited institutions concept recognizes the agency of the other human element in the organizational case at hand: those who work there.

> Organizations are not merely the instantiation of environmental, institutional logics "out there," where organizational actors seamlessly enact preconscious scripts, but are places where people and groups make sense of, and interpret, institutional vocabularies of motive.

Organizational action and the institutional logics that support the resulting practices cannot be overlooked in this analysis. Consequently, Thornton and Ocasio's (1999) definition of institutional logics is also relevant to this example. In their estimation, institutional logics refer to,

> "the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality" (Thornton & Ocasio 1999:804).

In the case of naturalization, the social reality at hand already invites competing logics to form because there is more than one function to naturalization, and it is coupled with immigration that necessarily excludes as well. In bureaucratic practices and organizational arrangements exist one type of evidence of dueling logics shaping actions stemming from perceived "rational and mindful behavior". (Thornton & Ocasio 2008:100).

The most important findings or themes are interrelated. One is that the naturalization process has waned in priority in comparison to organizational practices of enforcement. Since the early 20th century, no significant changes have been made to naturalization law, and few changes of substance made in practice as well. Related to that theme is this one: with shifting priorities towards enforcement, organizational actions show a hands-off approach that limits citizenship preparation to educating immigrants and delegates much of the task to meso-level civic organizations. Moreover, the State's persistent projects of belonging—naturalization ceremonies and initiatives that celebrate successful Americans by choice—are not attempts to inspire belonging in potential citizens. They are better conceived as ways to celebrate the State's successful creation of the citizens it desires and creates. A final theme identifies the dueling institutional logics of gatekeeping and facilitation that are rooted in the linking of immigration and naturalization laws and their administrative practice under one organizational roof. These logics are connected to all organizational arrangements and practices and include the persistent reminder that the services provided are to human clientele. History in this case shows stagnation in the evolution of naturalization practice, concerns of belonging perhaps most of all.

I agree with Aptekar (2015) that "the American government could do more to promote citizenship". This means above and beyond educational materials, citizenship classes, or information booklets. With increased funding and focus on immigration enforcement and national security, it is no surprise issues with symbolic and material boundaries and belonging exist. Consequently, the balance is off. The pendulum that swings between excluding and including, gatekeeping and facilitating, has swung too far to the most dangerous side. When at its best, immigration and naturalization laws and their

administration can be an efficient machine in creating acceptable new citizens to reproduce the nation. But this isn't a typical machine.

> Government machinery frequently turns in a more or less routine way without much attention being devoted to the human beings around whom it revolves. The fact that human welfare, hopes, and happiness and even liberty may be involved receives scant attention at times. (Lecture 17; Hazard 1934:9)

Forgetting that government bureaucracies serve human clientele is the exact disservice that can get in the way of larger organizational goals and logics.

While integrating newcomers into the existing body politic is an overarching goal, I show that the formal naturalization process has evolved with scant attention being paid to how potential citizens are prepared to become Americans, outside of the legal requirements. This lapse in citizenship education and preparation is a space where, should the State intervene, the attachment gap could be at the very least patched up if not completely filled. The paradox of possibility here is that the State's quest for discipline, control and power over immigrant bodies has been at the expense of the deeper emotional bonds it expects at the point of naturalization.

3.3   Data and Methods

Though my interviews provided me with an understanding of the meaning of citizenship, this data were inadequate when thinking about the evolution of naturalization as an institution. To examine naturalization as a manufacturing process in service of the State required a new dataset. Consequently, this chapter builds its argument upon government newsletters and documents spanning three decades. Though I initially considered attempting interviews with State employees, time and resource limitations ruled out this vantage point into the process of manufacturing citizens. Similar to Armenta's study on the institutional production of criminal aliens through the organizational practices of local law enforcement, I go 'inside the state' examining the discourse surrounding naturalization and its administration (Armenta 2016).

Table 3.1: List of Primary Historical Sources. (Source: USCIS Archives)

Primary Source	Published	Description
1. USCIS Today	Sept 2005-Jan 2007	A newsletter published by USCIS monthly from until 2007. Some issues missing. A total of 13 for analysis.
2. USCIS Monthly	Feb 2007-	A newsletter published by USCIS monthly from Issues missing. A total of 17 for analysis.
3. The Immigration and Naturalization Monthly Review (MR)	July 1943-Jun 1952	A newsletter published by the INS approximately four times a year from 1943 to 1952. Some issues missing A total of 104 for analysis.
4. The Immigration and Naturalization Reporter (INR)	July 1953-Summer 1989	A newsletter published by INS four times a year from 1952 to 1989. Some issues missing. A total of 126 for analysis.
5. 1934 Lecture Series	1934	A lecture series to educate INS employees. Total of 33 for analysis.
6. 1943 Lecture Series	1943	A lecture series to educate INS employees. Total of 20 for analysis.

I do so through a historical dataset of publicly available government documents that spans three periods across two centuries. Table 3.1 is a detailed list of all the specific primary documents used in this analysis. I accessed the MR and INR newsletters along with the 1934 and 1943 lecture series through a publicly available online archives accessed through the United States Citizenship and Immigration Service (USCIS) website. The most recent newsletters, USCIS Today and USCIS Monthly, I accessed through a search on the general uscis.gov website. I began my analysis with these newsletters by examining each issue to better understand general format and content. The MR and INR newsletters featured written selections and reports on organizational activities often authored by employees from various parts of the country. Common selections would include: statistical reports, year in review highlights, new developments such as technology, updated facilities, job procedures, updates to administrative rules and regulations among other items. The newsletters published in the 21st century by USCIS, were notably shorter and did not highlight authorship. However, the content was simpler though delivered in an updated form.

Notably, the INR newsletters included a front page that would often include imagery around themes that represented the nation. For example, two common symbols on the INR cover page were the American flag and the Statue of Liberty. Figure 3 shows examples of INR covers from each decade the newsletter was published. In the early years of the newsletter's publications, the cover page would rely on those symbols. However in the mid- 1970s, the INR cover page was updated with images that demonstrated the work of managing and administrating immigration and naturalization concerns. Even this subtle change in images is meaningful when considering the agency's focus during that time period on becoming a more modern and updated agency.

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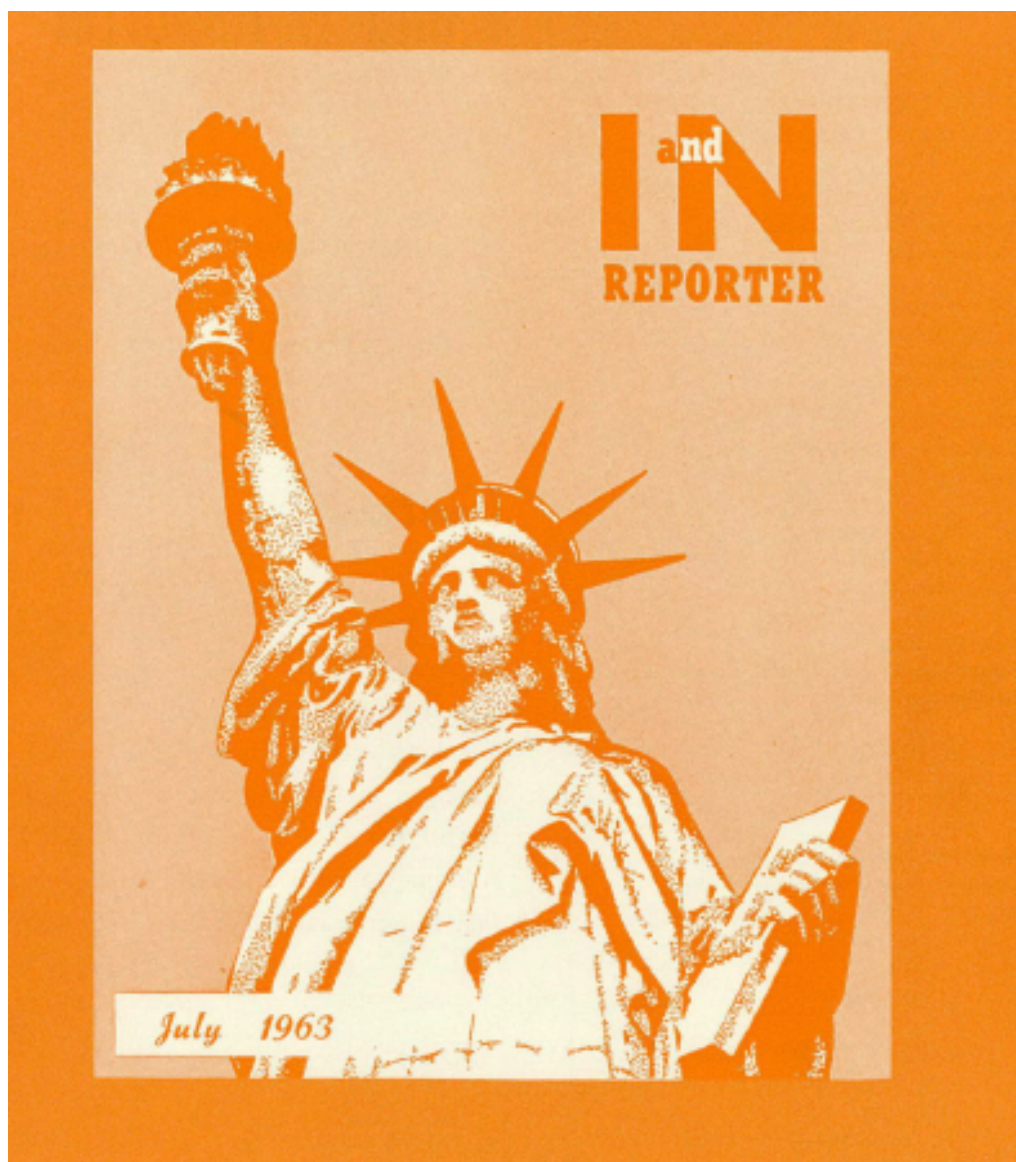
Figure 3: (Source: INR)
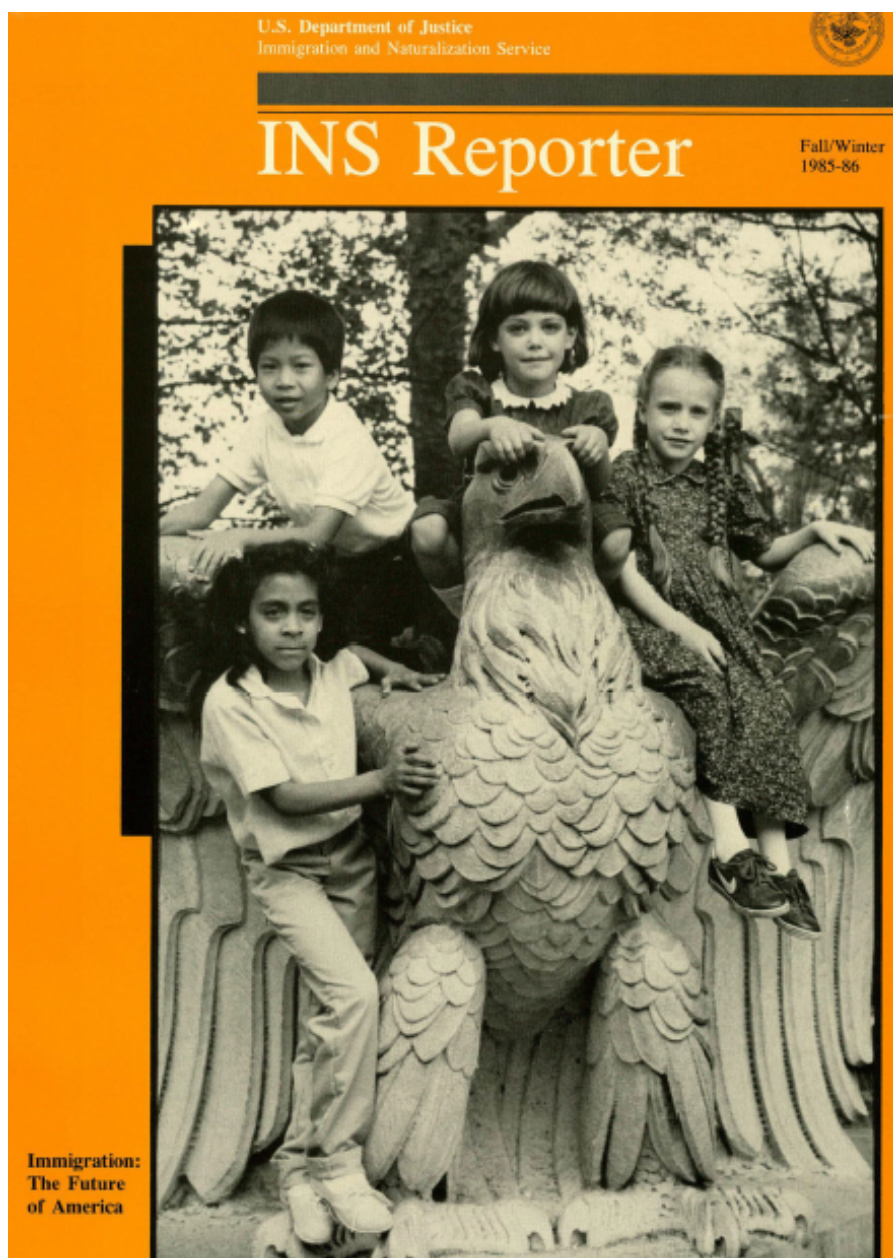
INS REPORTER

THE HOUSTON PROJECT

FALL-WINTER 1978-1979

**Immigration and Naturalization Service
U. S. Department of Justice**

INS Reporter

The Iranian Student Registration Program
Improving Telephone Service to the Public
Air Operations of the Border Patrol

I & N REPORTER

JANUARY 1958

E&N REPORTER

Spring 1974

U. S. Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service

Summer 1989

INS reporter

Second Report on the Implementation of IRCA
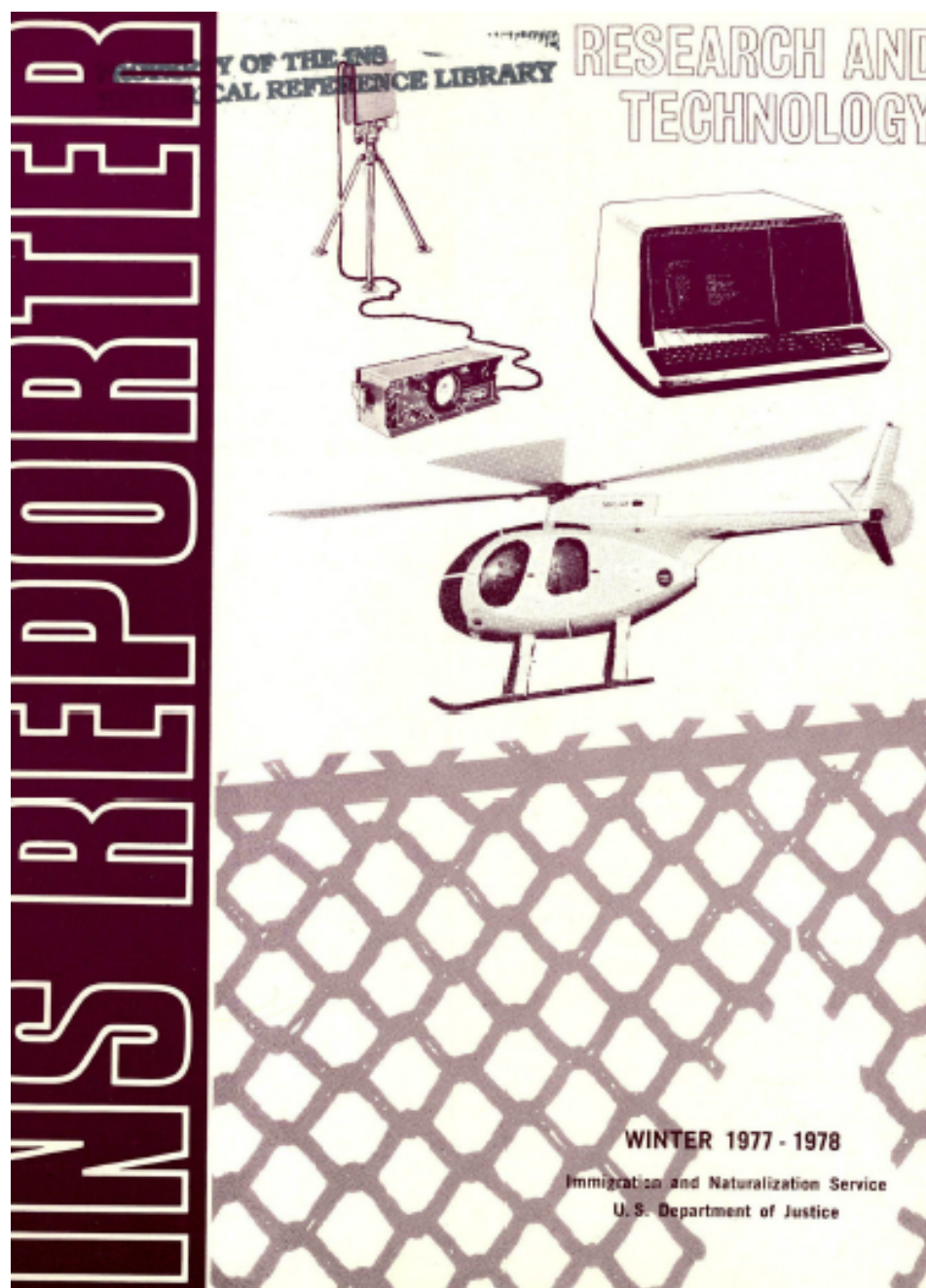
INS REPORTER

RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY

WINTER 1977 - 1978

Immigration and Naturalization Service
U. S. Department of Justice

INS Reporter

Proposed Omnibus Immigration Control Act
The Cuban Boatlift
Marriage Frauds
Technology Helps Patrol the Borders

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ☆ IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

The I&N Reporter

VOL. II, NO. 2   **OCTOBER 1953**
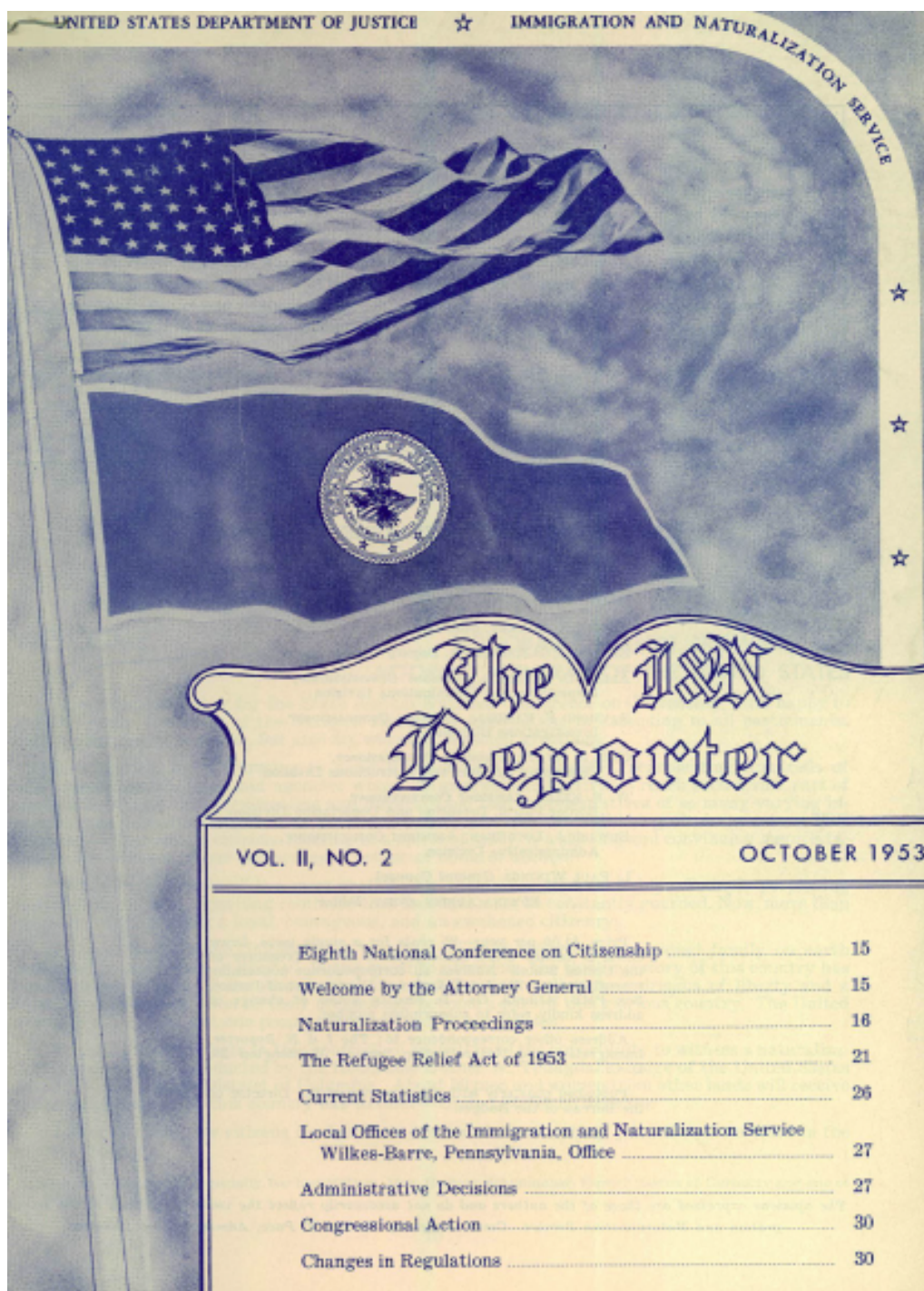
INS REPORTER

TARGET - ADJUDICATIONS BACKLOGS

BACKLOG OF ADJUDICATIONS

APPLICANTS FOR RESIDENCY

TASK FORCES

NEW RESIDENTS

BACKLOG OF ADJUDICATIONS
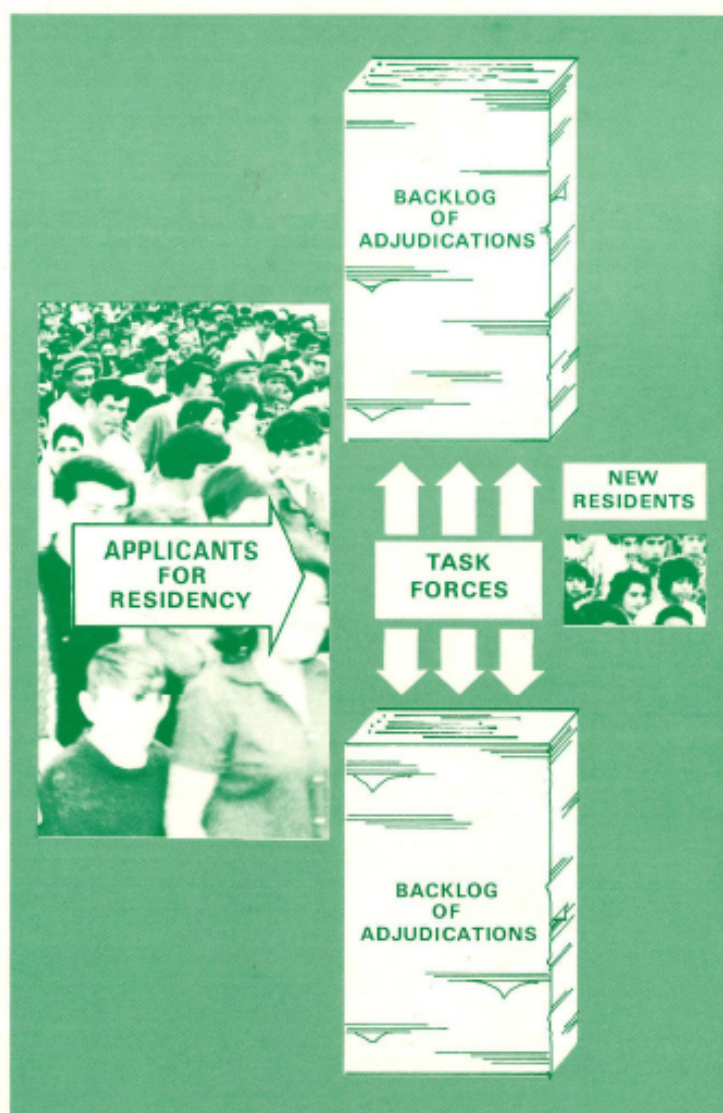
SPRING 1978

I also conducted an initial analysis of the content of these texts through the lens of my overarching questions about the naturalization process and its priority to the government: What practices, procedures are involved and evolving in the administration of naturalization?; What logics and ideologies drive organizational action on naturalization issues?; What import is given naturalization?; Does this change over time? This initial review helped to develop themes, concepts and codes to deepen the analysis of these documents. For example, my initial analysis identified visible tensions between the interests of the State in making new immigrants and being an exemplar of democracy but also maintaining order stability for the greater good of the nation. Consequently, balance between tasks became a theme that later evolved into the gatekeeping and facilitation logics undergrounding organizational action.

After conducting my initial analysis, I further specified the items of newsletters focusing on four thematic areas to develop a big picture view of the organization relating to my questions. These areas were: immigration enforcement; citizenship/naturalization; organizational changes/development; and legal context. Given that my interest was in the evolution of naturalization specifically, I did not focus on items that reviewed naturalization law or job procedures. Instead, I noted items that involved immigrants directly resulting in two categories—citizenship education and preparation, and initiatives celebrating naturalized citizens. I also examined organizational actions aimed at improving function, with respect to naturalization specifically and at large according to Weber's principles of rationality and Ritzer's (2004) McDonaldization. Through this analysis I note how the agency's ability to shape naturalized citizens and immigrants in general is evolving most beneficial in advancement of surveillance and enforcement.

In what follows, I present the results of this analysis beginning with a brief history of the administration of immigration and naturalization laws. Afterwards, I analyze the most recent organization to manage immigration and naturalization issues, USCIS, highlighting existing institutional logics, and practices in key areas of rationality. In discussing the precedents established by earlier organizational arrangements, I show how the USCIS current organizational identity and mission reflects a modern continuation of those that came before. I conclude the analysis by tracing how citizenship education and initiatives that celebrate naturalized citizens have evolved and waned in importance over time.

3.4   A Brief History of Naturalization

Long before citizenship was a possibility for any of the 51 respondents in this study, or something the American government could efficiently manage and track, it needed to be desired. This was accomplished by setting boundaries on who could possess it and what the possessor received. The 1790 Naturalization Act, was the first law to legitimize that desire, even if it did not yet exist out of necessity amongst the people. The Act created a uniform standard for states to use when granting citizenship to White men. Historian Dorothee Schneider suggests that perhaps "the simplicity of the process that made foreigners into American citizens also disguised the limited citizenship rights that accompanied naturalization" (Schneider 2001:52). The requirements were the ability to demonstrate good moral character, residency of at least 2 years and the desire to take an oath of support to the U.S. Constitution. At the time, there was no federal oversight of the naturalization

process or of immigration for that matter. In hindsight, the United States would never be so laissez-faire about these issues again.

In fact, it was nearly 100 years after the nation's founding that numerical restrictions on immigration became a necessity and nearly 200 years before the federal government took control of naturalization. The laissez-faire approach was in part because as a new nation, the United States was desperate for settlers, welcoming those brave enough to start a new life in America. Updates to the 1790 Naturalization Act were passed in 1795, 1798 and 1802, but the common thread was that citizenship remained relatively easy with few requirements and the exclusive right of free white men (DeSipio 2015). Even though blacks and African natives were granted citizenship in 1870, the 1790 Act made it clear that "from the beginning of the formation of the United States Americans were viewed as white"(Pinder 2010:40). Thus, the "who" could naturalize issue was effectively settled for quite some time, and the process of naturalizing remained simple for those eligible.

Beginning in the nineteenth century a series of laws set in motion the linking of immigration and naturalization policies, giving the government power to engineer its desired citizens. The first step for the State was to begin to accumulate knowledge about the alien entering its borders. Again, legislation was used to create this line of visibility. In 1819, the Steerage Act paved the way for increased federal oversight, creating a system for recording and reporting the passenger manifests of ships arriving to the United States (Ewing 2012). Here's how this act impacted Enos Gough. In 1912, when Enos Gough submitted his intent to naturalize, it was three years after he had arrived in Philadelphia from Port Antonio, Jamaica (Davis 2013). His declaration of intention, a form that back then

was an important prerequisite for citizenship, contained the following self-reported information:

> I, Enos Theophilus Gough, aged 31 years, occupation, Butler, do declare on oath that my personal description is: color, Black; complexion, dark; height 5 feet 11 inches; weight, 164 pounds. . . . I was born in Montego Bay, St. James, Jamaica BWI, on the 19 day of January, [A.D.], 1881; I now reside at 1928 Montrose St, Philadelphia, Pa. I emigrated to the United States of America from Montego Bay, Jamaica BWI on the vessel Bradford: My last residence was St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica, BWI . . . I arrived at the port of New York . . . on or about the 17th day of June [A.D.] 1909 (Davis 2013).

Perhaps it was a particularly warm day that Gough boarded the Bradford in Jamaica or maybe it was a very rough trip because he recalls one date for his arrival to the United States while the ship's passenger manifest actually lists his arrival as July 7, 1909. Despite this discrepancy, Gough would go on to become a naturalized citizen, without incident, in 1918, having remained in Philadelphia for the entirety of his 9 years in the United States. Gough's time to naturalization, those 9 years, is a clue that answers the question "how quickly do immigrants take on the responsibilities of citizenship?"[2] This is especially important information because the State views the speed of naturalization as a measurement of assimilation. If it means anything, using 2016 data, Gough's time to naturalization exceeds the average for immigrants from North America by 1 year (Witsman 2017).

Obviously, Gough naturalized under very different conditions and in an entirely different time period than potential citizens do now. It should be noted that in today's naturalization and immigration nexus, a 'discrepancy' like an unresolved date of entry into the country would definitely pose an issue for any immigrant seeking naturalization.

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[2] INS Winter 1977-1978 vol. 26:3

However, while the application forms, facilities, and general tools may have evolved, the intent of the naturalization has not. Gough's personal history is an early example of the origins of the naturalization institution immigrants inherit today. It begins however, with ability to take Enos Gough and transform him into an entity that can be known. It is this act that results in the ability to note Enos Gough's correct date of arrival in July and not in June. As the United States experienced mass migration in the late 1800s, choosing and refusing from amongst the many who wanted to enter the United States required immediate attention. The recognition that knowledge of the alien was central to any immigration apparatus was reflected in the 1850 census which for the first time asked questions about nativity (USCIS History). Legislation passed in 1855 that required passenger manifests to differentiate between aliens intending to stay permanently or temporarily further indicated the continued commitment to acquiring knowledge on immigrants.

With nearly 7 million immigrants arriving between 1840 and 1860, centralized control of immigration continued to increase in concern (Ewing 2012). Many of these immigrants came as a result of the 1862 Homestead Act and were welcomed as the United States needed laborers and settlers to develop new territory in present-day Texas, Nevada, California, Utah and other westward territory (Ewing 2012). The economic interests of this expansion made it relatively easy and attractive for immigrants from Southeastern European countries and China to capitalize on these wealth-building opportunities.

Though the 1790 Naturalization Act had already cemented the impossibility of citizenship for non-whites, it did not limit Chinese immigration or the influx of Chinese laborers in particular. Control over the alien was not desired with respect to citizenship, but

instead to entry and access to jobs in the U.S. The answer was another law, the Immigration Act of 1864. This law appointed a Commissioner of Immigration and provided the federal government with a means to control immigrant access into the United States, especially laborers (Ewing 2012). To facilitate labor contracts that in effect exploited foreign laborers, it also created the role of a Superintendent of Immigration and the United States Emigrant Office in New York City, both under the overall direction of the Commissioner of Immigration(USCIS History). For the first time, it linked together information about when aliens entered into the country and how many at a time, with plan for how to regain power over the process. Though it was repealed 4 years later, the 1864 Immigration Act provided an administrative model for controlling entry into the United States.

Its successor was the Immigration Act of 1891. As the "first comprehensive national immigration law", the Act of 1891 built on the preceding infrastructure of the 1864 Act. Along with a Superintendent of Immigration—who replaced the Commissioner as the head of the agency—and a corresponding office within the Department of Treasury, immigration inspectors were hired as the watchful eyes and ears of this agency at the nation's gates of entry (USCIS History). Through this legislation, "the federal government assumed direct control of inspecting, admitting, rejecting and processing all immigrants seeking admission to the United States;" and in effect, those desiring American citizenship. It is under this management structure that Ellis Island, one of the most well-known immigration inspection stations, opened in January 1892 (Ewing 2012). With better records on immigrants already being gathered, it was necessary to have a staff begin the sorting process from the point of entry. By 1893, a total of 183 individuals comprised the staff of the Office of the Superintendent of Immigration. Most of them worked at Ellis Island, then the most important

point of entry and a necessary space to examine the physical bodies of aliens and the knowledge accumulated thus far about them (USCIS History). The corps of immigration inspectors, detention guards, matrons and Boards of Special Inquiry in entry points like these worked hard to determine who should enter, based on their ability to be productive members of the nation. Step 2 was accomplished. A system for managing alien bodies had been created.

During this historical juncture, the law also made it clear that knowing the alien also meant identifying which characteristics were desired in the ideal citizen.

"The administrative practice of evaluating and processing candidates for naturalization was informed first and foremost by a substantial and growing body of citizenship law that provided categories and qualities of people eligible or ineligible for citizenship" (Gordon 2008:8).

Whiteness had already been linked to citizenship plainly in racial terms but also with respect to the performance of a citizen as well. The key is that naturalization law was not the primary tool used. Immigration law was. A 1903 law that made it possible to deport those who became public charges within two years of entry was only a precursor to what would come in the following years (Desipio 2015). By the end of 19th century, legislation passed barred a growing list of problem immigrants including: public charges, criminals, prostitutes, anarchists, imbeciles, unaccompanied minors and those dealing with physical or mental impairments. At this point, these immigration barriers also included race, most notably for Chinese, but not in the way race would become salient in the 20th century. Together these

categories of excluded individuals suggest important characteristics of the ideal citizen—which I discuss in Chapter 4.

As the 19th century came to a close the immigration laws passed represented the beginning of a period of greater restriction that would last for half a century. Though the federal government had taken more control of immigration, up until this point it seemed to ignore naturalization. This period of ignorance was about to end and so would the ease of acquiring American citizenship and the associated rights. As the 20th century began the immigration and naturalization laws passed during this time worked together scrutinizing those desiring access to American borders and ultimately citizenship. According to Schneider, "the assertion of the federal government's role as a gatekeeper to citizenship was complemented by a growing federal role in the restriction of immigration and residency" (Shneider 2001: 58). A companion to these laws was the continuing expansion of the bureaucratic and administrative side of immigration and naturalization concerns.

The shift from the 19th to 20th century ushered in more than a few organizational changes in this area. In 1895, the Office of the Superintendent became the Bureau of Immigration, which by 1903 was subsumed under the newly formed Department of Commerce and Labor (DoCL). Then in 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt's Commission on Naturalization suggested a necessary overhaul of naturalization procedure. The commission was convened due to concerns over the large numbers of immigrants and the consequences of local control by courts over naturalization (Schneider 2001; USCIS Org History). These concerns focused on the quality of the naturalized citizens produced, their ability to fit in as Americans, and perhaps most importantly, how they would use their right to vote. With

findings of widespread fraud and corruption, and with varying naturalization procedures from court to court, reform was a necessity.

The 1906 Naturalization Act was the chosen remedy. It replaced local control over the formal naturalization process with federal oversight. Once again naturalization and immigration were reunited under one agency, the Bureau of Naturalization and Immigration and housed in the DoCL (Schneider 2001, USCIS Org History). Along with providing new procedural rules for determining which petitions would be advanced to the court for citizenship, the 1906 law also instituted a new test; the ability to speak English (Desipio 2015). A few years later in 1913, the organizational setup would change again. This time the joint Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization were separated and placed under an updated Department of Labor (DoL) (Schneider 2001; USCIS History). As the 20th century rolled on, additional administrative changes included the creation of the U.S. Border Patrol as an office within the Bureau of Immigration in 1924. By 1933, both the Bureau of Immigration and the Bureau of Naturalization were once again reunited, now under the shared moniker of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Only seven years later, in 1940, the INS was moved from the DoL to a new home under the Department of Justice (DoJ). This strategic move highlights the first of many changes during the 20th century that solidify the form and function of naturalization as an institution. It also signaled the increasing need for the government to better apply to law to its actions in this area. In "The Strange Career of the Illegal Alien", Mae Ngai (2003) argues the following:

Because illegal entry is a concomitant of restrictive immigration policy, the quota laws stimulated the production of illegal aliens and introduced that problem into the

internal spaces of the nation. Although unlawful entry had always resulted from exclusion, in the 1920s illegal immigration achieved mass proportions and deportation assumed a central place in immigration policy. The nature and demands of restriction raised a range of problems for the modern state, which were at once administrative (how should restriction be enforced?), juridical (how is sovereignty defined?) and constitutional (do illegal aliens have rights?) (Ngai 2003:70-71).

As the twentieth century marched on, the move of immigration and naturalization control to the Department of Justice continued the shift towards actively using the gatekeeping logic to shape the population by purposefully excluding undesirables. By the 21st century, there were three interrelated agencies doing the work of one: USCIS, U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), and U.S. Immigrations and Customs Enforcement. Of these three, USCIS has responsibility over immigration and naturalization matters.

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These changes directly impact an immigrant's naturalization experience. For example, in 1919, after 14 years in the United States, Trinidadian native Cyril Chrichlow became an American citizen. His success achieving this feat is in more than a few ways about being on time. For one, being born in 1889 placed him a mere 19 years away from the opening of citizenship in the U.S. to aliens of African descent. Chrichlow arrived in the U.S. at age 16, and in 15 years had taken up residence in Nebraska, Illinois and finally New York. He had even lived in France for a few months. Like Enos Gough from Jamaica, Cyril was required to file a declaration of intent before he could apply for citizenship (Davis 2013). His WWI draft registration card and passport application filed in 1917 and 1920, respectively, would

contain the same bag of useful information for the State. What was he doing with his time here? What kind of a citizen would he become? In other words, what happens to individuals over time is how the State produces its citizens. Of course, the times change and so must the administration of naturalization.

78 years after Chrichlow was naturalized, Stacey, a respondent in this study, became a citizen in 1989. It took her a little over 13 years to achieve this status. Unlike Chrichlow, Stacy had no requirement to file a declaration of intent. Over the years, the declaration of intent has evolved into the permanent resident status, more affectionately known as the 'green card' because of its color prior to the mid-70s. Decades separate Stacy and Cyril's trajectories to citizenship. However, their processes share many similarities. At the most basic level, both individuals were required to submit some sort of application and undergo some level of evaluation. Their trajectories diverge because of the different organizations and bureaucracies tasked with overseeing their acquisition of citizenship. For Cyril Chrichlow, his naturalization process was under the control of the Bureau of Naturalization, then housed in the newly formed Department of Labor and Commerce. In 1989, Stacy's process was the responsibility of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, a division of the Department of Justice. In 2018, an immigrant hoping to naturalize, like myself, interacts with an entirely different apparatus; the United States Citizenship and Immigration Service (USCIS). What do these changes mean? In the following section, I begin by focusing USCIS.

3.5   A More Modern Agency for the 21st Century

I was a high school sophomore when the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 occurred. I still vividly remember many of the scary details of that day. Seeing smoke hovering over lower Manhattan from my classroom window. Taking a bus ride home with everyone content to ride in complete silence. Feeling numb at videos of planes hitting buildings. Like the Vietnam War, the assassination of MLK Jr., the elections of 2000, 2008, and 2016—September 11th is one of those defining historical moments because it changes how the world looks after. By June 2002, then President George Bush was responding to the new threat of terror the nation faced with a plan for "a more unified homeland security structure." In the-25 page creation plan for the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), September 11th was identified as the catalyst for this new government agency.

> Since September 11, all levels of government have cooperated like never before to strengthen aviation and border security, stockpile more medicines to defend against bioterrorism, improve information sharing among our intelligence agencies, and deploy more resources and personnel to protect our critical infrastructure (DHS 2002:1).

This level of cooperation would be permanently formalized in service of the new DHS mission to "protect the American homeland" (DHS 2002:1). From this point forward, DHS would be the sole agency coordinating the efforts of many different organizations that kept Americans safe. On March 1, 2003, the Immigration and Naturalization Service was replaced by CBP, ICE and USCIS. Of these three agencies USCIS, "oversees lawful immigration to the United States and naturalization of new American citizens". While this definition hides the exclusionary functions USCIS must fulfill in administrating immigration and naturalization

laws, housing the organization under DHS in the aftermath of 9/11 did cause concern if not controversy. In prepared remarks delivered at a Migration Policy Institute Event, the first director of USCIS acknowledged concerns about the ramifications of DHS control.

> I recognize that many people, while fully supportive of this goal, believe that our efforts to achieve it will be hindered by the fact that CIS is part of the Department of Homeland Security. This belief appears to be based on the concern that in their new home immigration services will be further eclipsed by enforcement activities. I firmly believe that the opposite is true. Services now have a higher profile than ever before, and no longer languish in the shadow of immigration enforcement (Aguirre 2003:2)

Sadly, it appears the future would prove Director Aguirre was incorrect. At the time his confidence was bolstered by President George W. Bush's five-year, $500-million initiative aimed at providing high-quality service to all legal immigrants. However, by the time Emilio Gonzalez assumed control over USCIS, it was clear that national security concerns would take priority over citizenship and naturalization.

3.5.1   Form Follows Function: Dueling Institutional Logics

Though I do not have information on the first USCIS Today issue, it is safe to say that these newsletters were published during the early years of the organization. The earliest newsletter from that time period is September 2005, marking the end of Director Aguirre's control. Within months of assuming leadership, Director Gonzalez had identified the organization's goals and they were clearly visible in each newsletter. Under Gonzalez's

control, the organization would focus on national security, customer service and organizational excellence (USCIS Today: March 2006, May 2006). According to Gonzalez,

> Our aim is to deliver to the nation the world's preeminent immigration benefits processing organization. Fresh tools will position us to enhance security and customer service in our existing mission, while confidently meeting the demands of new, imminent challenges brought on by the current push for immigration reform (USCIS Today: May 2006).

In order to accomplish this aim, the organization would undergo a transformation in infrastructure. In Director Gonzalez's formulation,

> Moving from a form and paper-based system to an electronic, account-based, paperless platform not only will mean better service for more customers, but will also serve to enhance security, deter against immigration fraud, and improve our electronic interaction with other agencies.

The goals he chose for the organization and the juxtaposition he set up with respect to necessary tasks directly engage the competing institutional logics that stem from the paradoxical tasks any organization that deals with immigration and naturalization together must face. By selecting, security and customer service, Gonzalez essentially directs organizational action towards gatekeeping and facilitation. The gatekeeping logic emphasizes the need to protect the nation, while the facilitation logic considers the human element that must be served. Furthermore, facilitation enables the United States to maintain the optics—or optical illusion—that say this is a welcoming nation of immigrants. These

logics are important as they buttress organizational actions aligning them with larger values and ideals. There are number of places where Director Gonzalez compares these logics and ties them to concrete organizational practices.

> Since assuming responsibility over the largest immigration service in the world, I have vigorously pursued opportunities to transform the way we approach our job. I am anxious to launch new customer service and security initiatives, many of which will be developed and implemented within the coming fiscal year. Building upon this momentum, it is my intention to inspire USCIS to reach higher, go further and push harder. I am convinced that USCIS is better prepared to administer its responsibilities to provide the right immigration benefit, to the right person, in the right amount of time, today and into the future (USCIS Today: May 2006).

> The USCIS mission is a delicate balance of precaution and compassion. We have a dual responsibility to the American people to maintain the integrity of our national immigration system while ensuring that we remain true to our historic tradition as a welcoming nation, one that was founded by and sustained through successive generations of immigrants from every corner of the globe. (USCIS Monthly: May 2007).

Security and customer service, precaution and compassion are simply frames for the gatekeeping and facilitation logics that connect to concrete organizational practices. For example, security means applying adequate scrutiny in all required aspects of the job.

However even in applying scrutiny, the facilitation logic is present, and good customer service is required. In the following associations, Director Gonzalez shows how both logics must be present for organizational excellence, which is his third priority.

> USCIS is one of the first faces of the federal bureaucracy that new residents and citizens see. We need to make sure that face is a reflection of the very best of what our Nation represents. In a short time, immigrants will see a more vibrant, technologically savvy, transparent, and speedy agency. (USCIS Monthly: Feb 2007).

> What's more important, however, is what USCIS employees have not done. They have not cut corners or used shortcuts. They have not lost their focus on national security. They have not compromised security or integrity in the name of production. (USCIS Today: Sept 2006).

Here Gonzalez directs employees to balance these logics in their respective tasks. This is how the gatekeeping and facilitation logics remain interconnected in practice. In an employee spotlight in the 2005 USCIS Today newsletter, an Adjudications officer produces this response to a question asking how the agency had changed since March 2003.

> The Service has evolved very much since the reconstitution under the newly created Department of Homeland Security. To me, these changes permeated all facets of operation in processing immigration benefits requests. In a nutshell, we're more careful in the work we do, we try harder not to make mistakes. All this due to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks (USCIS Today: September 2005).

Adjudications officers play a pivotal role determining whether immigrants are eligible for a host of benefits, including becoming a citizen. It seems here that his insistence upon not making mistakes is related to the emphasis on security within the organization. Director Gonzalez's chosen mission statement was "Securing the Promise," and all across the pages of these newsletters are variations of this and the other two strategies.

While the facilitation logic is often a matter of customer service, it also extends to integration functions like citizenship and the naturalization process. However, it is not as great a focus or given as much attention as security and the gatekeeping logic. In the May Director Gonzalez asserts the opposite however.

It is our role at USCIS to ensure that law-abiding immigrants who seek legal channels into our nation are met with the necessary scrutiny so that we do not admit individuals who seek to do our nation harm or are threats to public safety. However, once we properly vet these applicants, it is also incumbent upon USCIS to promote an awareness of U.S. citizenship to every new arrival and help cultivate an understanding of what it means to become an American (USCIS Monthly: May 2007).

Toward the successful execution of our mission, I contend that the goals of security and integration run parallel to each other. We have seen how successful integration efforts are also critical to the safety, security and ultimate prosperity of our Nation. Citizenship programs that promote a common civic unity and collective American identity within immigrant populations are just as important as the background checks and identity screens we employ at USCIS. (USCIS Monthly: May 2007).

Again, gatekeeping and facilitation logics are embedded as legitimate organizational goals and actions in service of citizenship, while still attending to their respective concerns. Even though Director Gonzalez feels that these logics and the functions attached to them are working together with respect to citizenship, I beg to differ. Still, his reliance upon these logics is a part of the legacy of INS.

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With a cursory glance, the early administration of naturalization and immigration could seem like a haphazard shuffling and renaming of the same agencies with no true reason. However, these decisions are significant in this analysis because they point to how the State aligns its function with its form. Thus, form follows function. As a principle of architecture, the phrase 'form follows function' means that the building should make sense for its purpose. Consequently, each new configuration of naturalization management—immigration as well—enables the organization to more effectively operate according to a set of institutional logics. As the latest version of this management apparatus or machine, USCIS is most efficient and equipped due to the precedents set by previous organizational arrangements. To demonstrate this evolution and highlight the presence of institutional logics, I contrast the modern agency for the 21st century, with its modern 20th century version. Far from experiencing the "liability of newness" where young organizations are more susceptible to failure, USCIS has built on the legacy of the INS in its quest for organizational excellence (Scott & Davis 2007:254).

To show how USCIS benefited from INS the period between 1913 and 1952 is significant for understanding how the gatekeeping and facilitation logics became

"organizationally structured" (Friedland and Alford 1991). Like the Post-9/11 environment that USCIS was formed in response to, this time period presented a similar urgency for an appropriate response. With immigration and naturalization reunited under one agency and many key historical events like World War II, the Great Depression and the passage of restrictive immigration laws such as the National Origins Quota Acts of 1921 and 1924, this would have been a busy period for the organization in control at that time. Moreover, both the exclusionary and inclusionary functions would be relevant.

Again, the gatekeeping logic reflects the exclusionary side of administering these laws through organizational practices including investigations and legal actions, along with deportation, enforcement, and border control tasks. Of most importance are the record-keeping, tracking, and statistics about the immigrants being managed. As the inclusionary side, the facilitation logic deals with naturalization, granting permanent residency status, giving visas to visitors, students, temporary workers, etc. In short, all the tasks that show the diplomatic and welcoming arms of the nation. Though here I write as if they are discrete, the gatekeeping and facilitation logics are linked. By that I mean that even though the facilitation logic seems to enable tasks where the State says 'yes,' there are people denied permanent residency, visas, and citizenship. Likewise, even though the gatekeeping logic suggest tasks where the State says 'no,' individuals can successfully fight against unfair enforcement actions. My point is that these logics do not end up neatly separated in the day-to-day functions of the organization. Neither in the USCIS form or in the INS form. The 1934 and 1943 Lecture series show the historical evolution of these linked logics. Here I select a few lectures that show the presence of the gatekeeping and facilitation logics in organizational directives. On the side of facilitation, the focus on the humanity of the service is in response

to criticisms that organizational actions showed a "lack of consideration of the human elements involved" (MacCormack 1934:3). It is a ploy to encourage administrative practices that paint the United States in a good light. In addition, naturalization is a primary focus of at least seven lectures. Concern for human elements increased because "the greatest emphasis is now being placed upon the deportation of criminal and other undesirable aliens" (MacCormack 1934:4). Ramping up enforcement is what the gatekeeping logic looks like when actively engaged. The newly formed Border Patrol is the focus of its own lecture, proving how important its function was in realizing the goals of the gatekeeping institutional logic. The emphasis on immigration enforcement practices also offers an opportunity to see how facilitation and gatekeeping logics collide in fundamental organizational operations. While these logics are paradoxical in the possibilities they provide immigrants, they are not inimical when conceptualized by the State.

The first lecture of the series on February 12, 1934 was titled the "Spirit of the Service." Delivered by then Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, Daniel MacCormack, the lecture focused on reminding those in attendance of the function of the agency, the duties of employees, criticisms and progress in response to them. It is most helpful in showcasing what exactly the "spirit of the service" refers to; the practical side of the facilitation logic. Commissioner MacCormack's own words are instructive here.

> Our Service is one whose every problem is human—whose every act and decision affects the lives and welfare of human beings. We must, ever strive for that most difficult ideal—technical accuracy informed by justice and humanity (MacCormack 1934:1).

MacCormack echoes these sentiments elsewhere as well.

> Our duty is the enforcement of the immigration and naturalization law. We cannot and will not evade this duty. We can and will see that it is performed efficiently, but at the same time humanely and in a spirt of helpfulness rather than persecution (MacCormack 1934:4).

The balancing act that MacCormack sets up in these scenarios charges the Immigration and Naturalization Service with at times contradictory responsibilities. Being efficient in performing the many necessary and conflicting duties is more complex because of this. During this time, the Service employed naturalization examiners, immigrant and patrol inspectors, and boarding officers among others. Some of these jobs deal directly with gatekeeping aims like preventing undesired aliens from entering the country. Regardless, all jobs require facilitation.

> We must bear constantly in mind that port inspectors constitute the first contact of returning Americans and arriving aliens with the official of our government, and that the treatment they accord those coming before them has reactions throughout our country and far beyond our shores. They can and should not only be 'guardians of the gate' but ambassadors of good will (MacCormack 1934:5).

The juxtaposition between guardian and ambassador and what lies between poses no issue to the Commissioner. Despite recognizing that this organization serves as "investigator, prosecutor, and judge," Commissioner MacCormack makes it abundantly clear in this first lecture that in these jobs "humanity, courtesy, and a spirit of helpfulness can be shown without reducing in any degree their effectiveness—in fact actually increasing their

effectiveness in the performance of their duties" (MacCormack 1934:3-4). This theme was evident throughout the series.

Lecture seven of the series, focused on the border patrol office. In a foreword, Commissioner MacCormack states that,

> There is perhaps no branch of our organization in which the Service as a whole takes greater pride than in the Immigration Border Patrol. The greatest problem we have to face is the prevention of illegal entry at unguarded points on our northern and southern frontiers (Wixon 1934).

Once again, most important issue as articulated by the head of the agency falls squarely on the side of the gatekeeping logic. With respect to policy and practice even this less pleasant side of the agency requires concern for the human elements.

> There was a period when pressure from the Department for arrests and deportations inculcated a competitive spirit in the force and led to grave abuses and invasions of the rights of both citizens and aliens. That policy and the practices that grew up under it have ended. Patrol inspectors are required to strictly enforce the law—but by legal means (Wixon 1934:9).

A similar directive was issued by the Commissioner to all employees in Lecture one.

> It is not sufficient to develop all the facts favorable to the contention of the government. They must also develop all facts favorable to the contention of the alien concerned. In their recommendations they must take into account not only those

phases of the case favorable to the Government but also those which are favorable to the alien (MacCormack 1934:2).

Paying attention these nuances is how we end up here:

> Cases are on record in which Patrol inspectors have taken it upon themselves to assist deportees by helping them to collect wages due them, and by moving them, their families, and belongings to border (Lecture 7, Wixon 1934:9).

As an agency practice, deportation directly engages the gatekeeping logic. Helping deportees get to the border is perhaps one way to lessen the blow via the logic of facilitation. I would still argue that the goal should not be to lessen the blow but to erase its possibility altogether. While the function of the Service is to administer immigration and naturalization law, this translates in practice to organizational actions, job positions, and tasks that are paradoxical. As a result, gatekeeping and facilitation logics do not take turns but show up simultaneously, requiring effort on the part of employees to embody the "spirit of the Service" at all time. Even when deporting someone.

Diplomacy is an ideal of the facilitation logic spanning all organization actions. According to Commissioner MacCormack, "courtesy and consideration are the least expensive and perhaps most useful of the tools we must employ" (MacCormack 1934:2). It can definitely ease the more difficult parts of the Service's exclusionary duties, but it is absolutely necessary in inclusionary duties like naturalizing a new citizen. While MacCormack used the term courtesy and Director Gonzalez's the term compassion, both are espousing the same organizational ideas more than a few decades apart.

The naturalization examiner who is courteous, avoids any appearance of harshness, arbitrariness, or irritability does much to dispel fear, expedite examination, and inspire confidence in the service and in the government (MacCormack 1934:5).

In the preceding quote, courtesy and consideration are tools that serve the facilitation logic by making the government look good and obscuring the fact that choosing some as citizens means deciding against others. Though simple logic it seems to me as good sense. Inspiring confidence in the government is one way to close the attachment gap that denies the development of deeper bonds between citizen and nation. Whereas the end game with enforcement or border patrol is exclusion or expulsion, the goal with naturalization is integration and inclusion, marking it as the exact space where actions in service of the facilitation logic stand to do the most good.

A final important lecture is number 17 of the series. This talk focused on addressing the human elements of naturalization issues and its balance between inclusion and exclusion. Assistant Commissioner Hazard notes that,

Admission to citizenship must be mutually beneficial to the government and the applicant. The proof of his residence here, of his moral character, and of his acceptable attitude toward our government is exacted more because of what it promises for the future than for what it tells of the past (Lecture 17, Hazard 1934:2).

In that light, some aliens will not benefit the nation if granted citizenship. For Hazard, "there is not inconsistency in giving hearty cooperation to the deserving applicant while vigorously opposing the naturalization of the alien who is a criminal or is otherwise unworthy (Lecture 17, Hazard 1934:2). Efforts must be taken "prevent the naturalization of the criminal and the

undesirable alien while maintaining a sympathetic and helpful attitude toward the worthy applicant" (Lecture 21, MacCormack 1934:2). Both logics are again in effect simultaneously but in a slightly altered way. Where the patrol office should be courteous in deportation, the naturalization examiner must be vigorous in opposing the undesirable applicant. Same logics; different tasks.

However, it is not just that these logics contradict in practice, but that they are useful in culling the masses efficiently. A useful example. The many laws that restricted immigrant movement and inspired new flows as in the case of undocumented immigration effectively demonstrated the State's power to determine who belonged in America. This power depended on an administrative side that applied the law while appropriately balancing those dueling logics of gatekeeping and facilitating. For example, the changes brought about by the 1924 law required practical application to the job tasks of many different State employees, not to mention a redistribution of resources. Even as employees would be adjusting, potential new immigrants or new citizens would also have to learn to navigate new procedures and rules as well. My point here is that how a law is put into practice has consequences for those on both side of the organization—workers or clientele. In *Culling the Masses: The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas*, sociologists Fitzgerald and Cook-Martin, give such an example.

> While the quota system gave generous allowances to British nationals that could in theory be used by blacks in Britain's Caribbean colonies, the sponsor of the bill, Sen. Reed ensured that their numbers could be limited by manipulating how the quota given to Britain was apportioned. "We want to hold down the immigration that has

begun to spring up among the Negroes, of the West Indies," Reed told Congress. In practice, U.S. officials at the embassy in London sharply limited the numbers of visas for blacks. Quiet administrative regulations accomplished what Southern-led Congressman had failed to do in 1914 and 1915, when they tried to pass an immigration bill that would exclude 'all members of the African or black race'.....While domestic opposition killed the overt discrimination in the 1915 bill, the regulation of the 1924 quota act in practice reduced black immigration from the Caribbean from 12,000 in 1923 to less than 800 in 1924 (Fitzgerald & Cook-Martin 2014:108).

The fact that the number of black British West Indians declined due to their exclusion in practice and not because of a legal limitation underscores the weight of the administrative side of the law. Not to be missed, however, is the State's ability to quickly respond when addressing the movement of undesired populations. A management apparatus that is responsive to the State's needs in tangible ways relies upon data about its unit of analysis. Record-keeping, statistics, knowledge of the alien in general enabled the State to close the literal and physical gate on these Black immigrants. That they were kept out is a result of the gatekeeping logic. That most of those denied visas probably had no idea what was occurring behind the scenes is a result of the facilitation logic.

A bit of background information is necessary to understand how and why. Gaining entry into the United States had also become more difficult due to additional provisions included in the National Origins Act of 1924. One of these provisions was the border patrol enforcement arm of immigration and naturalization. While creating the U.S. Border Patrol as a sub office under the then Bureau of Immigration, this legislation also institutionalized the

consular control system and created new categories of admission for foreign visitors (Ewing 2012). The consular system essentially created another gate to entry in the immigrant's homeland. Before entering the United States, potential immigrants would first have to obtain the proper visa which details what an alien can and cannot do when in the country; inclusive of seeking citizenship in the future. Consequently, as it worked then and now, the "consular corps is really America's first line of immigration enforcement, making the decision to issue or deny visas to millions of applicants each year" (Wenzel 2000:1). The creation of this corps and the new categories of admissions compounded the effect of immigration restrictions leading to some of the lowest levels of immigration between 1930 and 1965 (Ewing 2012). By delegating some of the management tasks to these international outposts, consular officers had the power to determine who could enter the United States. The knowledge that the State has of immigrants can be applied through this bureaucratic level effectively cutting off immigrant flows from specific locations if necessary.

Again, this can be despite the contours of the law. This type of discrimination in action evades fact-finding missions because there is no obvious problem when it comes to the law. The problem exists in practice and can prove difficult to unseat. It is another example of the unsettled strife between the *defacto* and *dejure* realities of American living, in this case as evidenced in organizational action resulting from competing logics. Fitzgerald and Cook-Martin (2014) suggest the same when they contend the following:

> While nationals of the Western hemisphere enjoyed preferences on the books, in
> practice, U.S. officials sometimes restricted Latin Americans and Caribbean blacks,

while avoiding the diplomatic problems of overt exclusion (Fitzgerald & Cook-Martin

2014:107).

The logic of facilitation in this case is diplomacy in organizational actions. It means telling

you no with a smile even as you deal with the 'yes' side of immigration and naturalization.

Still, service with a smile is anything but, when what counts as service negatively disrupts or

dismisses human lives. The issues with embodying this logic in the face of organizational

practices like deportation are obvious. However, where possible organizational actions

underneath the logic of facilitation align with the idea of the United States as a paragon of

democracy, obscuring flaws in this image. Albeit one whose boundaries of inclusion and

exclusion have always prioritized national interests, especially in the name of foreign policy

(Fitzgerald & Cook-Martin 2014). This is where the duel between these logics originates.

They still exist in the form of USCIS, because they are still effective at weeding out

undesirables while for the most part minimizing outrage at how the organization does it.

3.5.2 Internal Reorganizations: Seeking Organizational Excellence

As USCIS worked to determine its organizational identity, it necessarily built on the

infrastructure left behind by INS. However, INS was housed in the DoJ. The move to DHS

prioritized security under the gatekeeping logic and customer service over integration

functions under the facilitation logic. The final agency priority at this time was organizational

excellence. Like the INS before it, USCIS embarked upon a reorganization that would turn it

into a modern immigration system, fit for the 21st century. This transformation included

creating a new Department of Verification and the shuffling around of a few departments to

this new area. These internal reorganizations are common in the history of administrating naturalization and immigration issues and highlight the importance of rationality in organizational decision making. Each agency is a clear example of Weber's conception of bureaucracy with a specialized division of labor and structure such that each department and office should contribute to the goals of the whole.

Bureaucracies are "the means of carrying community action over into rationally ordered societal action" (Weber 1946). Government bureaucracies are perhaps the most dangerous of them of all when considering Weber's warning that they are essentially instrument of power. Thus, a bureaucracy succeeds in creating a system where the system of the bureaucracy itself is never questioned but rather the one in control will be questioned as failing to correctly enact the system. With efficiency and rationality as the main ways to achieve organizational excellence, bureaucracies are in many ways internally contradictory.

Administration (bureaucracy) is about specifics rules, procedures, and getting things done while democracy is about expression of will, participation, persuasion, and considering the voices of each citizen. But to come up with the democratic administration is not an easy mission because bureaucracy itself is the tool which is applied in the administration to get the work done. Bureaucracy itself is not democratic because it is based on hierarchy (Al-Habil 2011).

Above efficiency, Ritzer's (2004, 1983) principles of rationality for the modern age emphasize the evolution of Weber's work on bureaucracy. He identifies efficiency, predictability, calculability, and the eventual replacing of humans with technology as the way modern bureaucracies demonstrate rationality—best exemplified by McDonalds and the fast

food industry (Ritzer 1983; 2004). USCIS demonstrates the most up to date version of all these things.

In USCIS's transformation push, it emphasized organizational excellence in a number of interrelated ways according to these principles. By rearranging and creating new offices like the Office of Verification it worked on efficiency. Predictability and calculability are shown in the agency's evaluation itself, how long it takes to complete tasks and eliminating what was becoming an unavoidable backlog. Technological advances such as the USCIS website were pushed as ways to reduce the workload, thereby increasing all four principles. The level of efficiency the current bureaucracy has achieved is purposed by design. Remember form follows function. In its 2014 quadrennial review, DHS states that "at the center of any good immigration system must be an administrative structure able to rapidly respond to changes in demand while safeguarding security" (DHS, Quadrennial Review: 70). Since the early administration of naturalization, this has been the desire even while balancing gatekeeping and facilitation logics; to create a responsive organization. History shows these principles in effect as the administration of immigration and naturalization evolved. In what follows, I briefly discuss the 1950s to the 1980s highlighting these principles in effect.

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The Immigration and Naturalization Service began the 1950s having already completed one internal reorganization and preparing to embark on another a few years later. As always efficiency, calculability, predictability and updating technology to avoid human error were the end goals of these bureaucratic arrangements, whether directed towards the

exclusionary or inclusionary functions of the service. However, these principles couldn't be achieved without the organization having knowledge of itself, setting a precedent for later version of management. In 1943, a course of study on the organization took place with four major objectives identified as places for the Service's improvement. These objectives were:

1. A more complete consolidation of the immigration and naturalization activities;

2. Diving the work into organizational units according to the particular type of function involved;

3. Relieving the district director of detail to the fullest extent practicable so that he may be free to devote his time to general over-all direction;

4. Making adequate and specific provision for central handling in the district for the centralized handling of such functions as (a) personnel, (b) educational services, (c) administrative services which include mail, files, accounts, supplies and equipment. (July 1943, INS Monthly Review)

By 1951, the INS had a central office in Washington, 16 districts and 190 sub offices across United States borders around the world and in other countries like Cuba and Canada. Though the bureaucracy had consolidated some, there were still many moving parts of this machine.

> Keeping this widely scattered organization working smoothly as a team, interpreting the various immigration and naturalization laws similarly, is no simple matter. Through long years of experience the Service has worked out methods of coordination (Habberton 1951, INS Monthly Review).

Figure 3.1 is a map of the districts and headquarters of the Service at this time.

Figure. 3.1: Organizational Divisions of the Immigration and Naturalization Service 1951 (Source: September 1951, INS Monthly Review)

With so many parts to this machine, the Central Office was responsible for coordination. Operational practices, administrative matters, and the formalization of policy were done through this office where the Commissioner was head overseer. Responsible for all operating functions within field offices, decisions made at the Central office impacted the environment an individual living in Detroit, Michigan or San Antonio, Texas would navigate when dealing with immigration or naturalization issues. Already in September 1951, the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act had been proposed and the Service was looking ahead to the challenges it would face in administering this law.

Should the bill be enacted, the Service will be obliged to promulgate new Regulations and Operations Instructions to put it into effect. It will also be necessary to devise new forms or revise those currently in use to meet the provisions of the Act. To perform such tasks requires many man hours of work. Although no one knows for a certainty whether the bill will become law, or how it will read should it be enacted, the Central Office has already organized several working groups which are now drafting proposed regulations and studying forms, realizing that although the results of some of their efforts will in any event have to be modified, much of the work now being performed will be extremely helpful in making a possible final draft of regulations and amending or devising the necessary forms (Habberton 1951, INS Monthly Review).

Indeed, the Service showed it was ready to respond quickly to the times at hand. The Act was passed in 1952 and in 1955, another internal reorganization was undertaken.

Centering on a regional concept, Attorney General Brownwell announced in late 1954 a plan to consolidate the agency's work through four regions. This new organization arrangement was discussed in select I and N Reporters during 1955 to 1957, highlighting the work accomplished in each region. The bureaucratic set up of each region is further organized according to the functions of the Service realizing objective number two from the 1943 recommendations: organizing work according to function. Each region had the following offices: administrative, investigations, examinations, enforcement and an assigned regional counsel for litigation matters. Figure 3.2 shows the new regional concept map for the agency during these years.

The regional concept was arrived at following the State's evaluation of itself through "surveys which showed serious lack of supervision and coordination of operation at many ports of entry and other Service offices" (Husling 1956). Most importantly,

> The regional concept was set up to replace funneling of massive quantities of paper work throughout the Central office in Washington. Top administrators in Washington were found bogged down with routine operational activities and with little time to devote to policy determining functions (Husling 1956, I & N Reporter vol 4(3)).

This regional concept still remains today, though of course with different lines drawn across U.S. territories. Figure 3.2 shows the INS after the 1955 reorganization.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the agency focused on organizational excellence as it responding to the threats to its ability to properly secure the nation. Like features in USCIS Today and USCIS Monthly, INR's during this time discussed various roles in the organization, highlighted tasks that protected the nation's security, and noted technological advances in agency efficiency. For example, during the 1970s, the INS began to computerize records in the name of efficiency, changing the human role in tracking and surveilling immigrants.
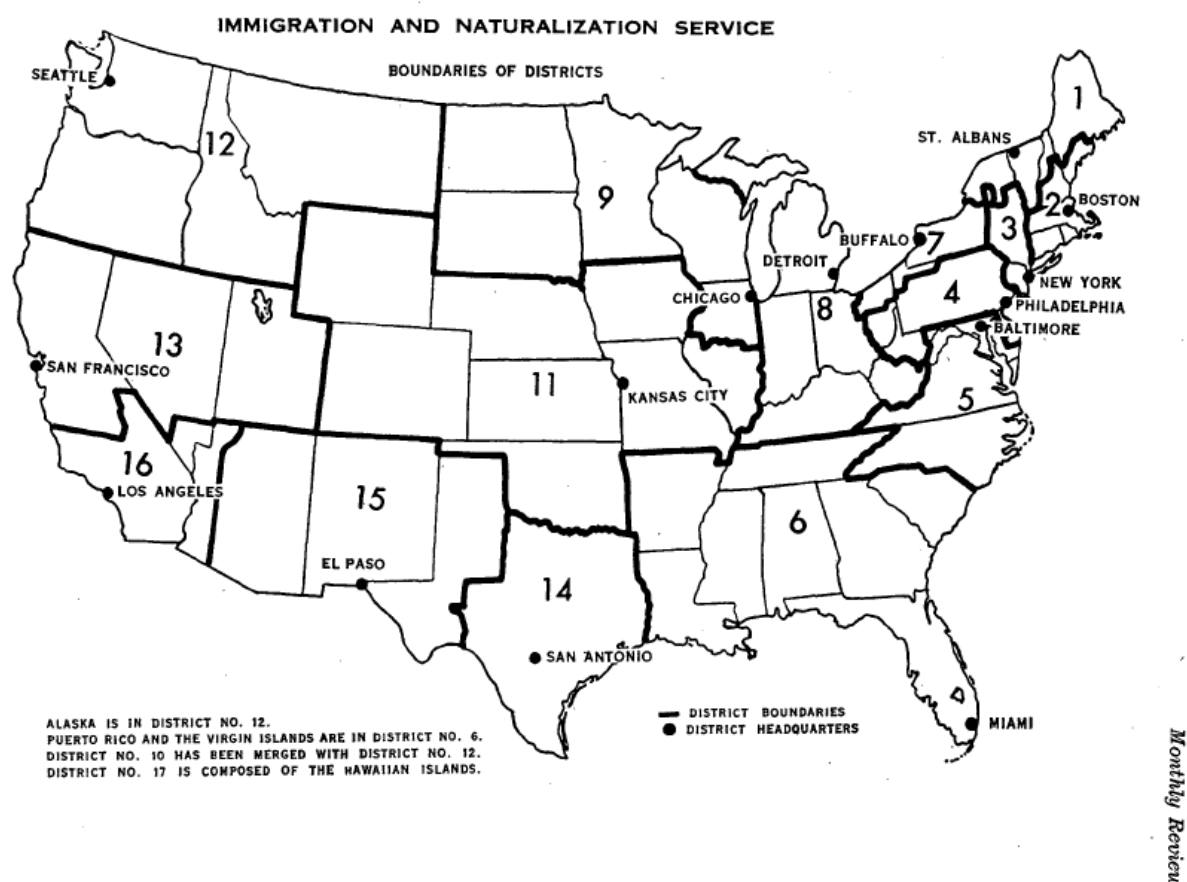
Figure. 3.2: Organizational Divisions of the Immigration and Naturalization Service 19561 (Source: July 1956, INS Monthly Review)

The April 1972 and fall 1973 INR newsletters discuss this change. In noting the steps they were making to a better records system, INS has this to say.

> A major step toward building a computerized index was begun in August 1970, when the Central Office assumed the processing of all visas. This was necessary because the proposed computerized Master Index system requires that all information fed into the system be typed in exactly the same format. Also, centralization of the visa processing provided more flexibility since changes necessary to operate a computerized system could be made immediately. To facilitate the centralized

processing of visas, the automated typing machines were transferred from the field offices of the Service to the Central Office. This change in procedure has provided a start to the building of a data base for a computerized index. (April 1972 INR)

In noting the evolution of the work of investigators, the shirt pocket system was identified as the old outdated mode of having multiple pieces of information on paper, unconnected and inefficient in surveilling aliens as necessary.

As an indication of changing times, Joe's "Shirt Pocket Intelligence System" has been replaced by modern and more effective methods in handling intelligence. CBASIC and MBASIC are here and are available. The enormous potential of these facilities has barely been tapped. In time, Service officers will learn that the information needed by them may be as close as their radio or the nearest telephone. Also, that bit of information which is now inadvertently being carried in a shirt pocket may be the missing link that completes the puzzle for a fellow officer in another section of the country. But, until it is out of the shirt pocket and placed in the CBASIC, or MBASIC systems, we'll never know, will we? (Fall 1973, INR)

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s a myriad of technological advancements kept the management of immigration and naturalization progressing with seeds for the modern 21st version of USCIS. This time period also formalized the organization's ability to improve upon its own functions through a more centralized process. The Office of Planning and Evaluation became operational in January 1974 with important responsibilities (Winter 1974-5INR; Spring 1977 INR).

Some of its functions, among others, include developing, reviewing, and evaluating Service policies and plans to insure the most use is made of our resources; conduct reviews, surveys, and analyses of program structure and how functions are integrated with respect to their organizational alignment; responsibility for all research and development programs of the Service, including identification and adaptation of relevant new technology; the development of a Service-wide Management-by-Objectives program to monitor program performance; development of long-range plans for ADP systems and policy; development of a national immigration policy, strategy and resource plan; and formulation of proposals for the effective and economical execution of programs to modify, curtail, eliminate or expand Service programs and activities (Winter 1974-5, INR)

The job of Planning and Evaluation is not only to try to keep INS on the right track but to assist the Service in being one of the better managed Federal agencies, up to date technologically, and poised to meet the challenges of the future. (Spring 1977, INR)

This bureaucratic change is one way the organization cements its ability to be efficient by applying predictability, calculability and the replacing of humans where technological can be more beneficial. Not only was the Office of Planning and Evaluation a new addition, there was also a reorganization of the division of labor. Figure 3.3 shows the organizational hierarchy of USCIS at this time.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

Executive Assistant — COMMISSIONER — General Counsel

Planning and Evaluation

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER

Field Inspection

Intelligence

Internal Investigation

56

Associate Commissioner — Enforcement

Associate Commissioner — Examinations

Associate Commissioner — Management

Assistant Commissioner — Border Patrol

Assistant Commissioner — Investigation

Assistant Commissioner — Detention and Deportation

Assistant Commissioner — Adjudication

Assistant Commissioner — Inspection

Assistant Commissioner — Naturalization

Assistant Commissioner — Administration

- Burlington, Vermont
- San Pedro, California
- Minneapolis, Minnesota
- Richmond, Virginia

Regional Offices

Overseas Offices

- Frankfurt
- Rome
- Hong Kong

APPROVED ___W. B. Saxbe___ DATE: 1-9-74

William B. Saxbe, Attorney General

Figure 3.3: Organizational Chart (Source: INR, Spring 1974)

The biggest change between figures 3.3. and 3.4 is that the bureaucracy has expanded and rearranged itself in order to emphasize the specifics of different agency tasks.

In another change, functional management has been improved by dividing responsibilities formerly assigned to Operations and Management organizations, Enforcement, Examinations and Management, thus removing one organizational layer between staff organizations and the Office of the Commissioner. The

Enforcement Division will be responsible for Border Patrol, Investigations, and Detention and Deportation functions. The Examinations Division will handle all immigration inspection functions and adjudication of Applications for benefits under the immigration laws. The Management Division will have responsibility for Naturalization and Administrative functions (Spring 1974, INR).

A decade later in the mid-1980s, INS is focused on automation and removing growing backlog. As a result of reorganizing and creating the Office of Planning and Evaluation, it can pilot test programs that will improve its efficiency. These programs include the Tiger Team and Project Inform which are directly related to how to manage immigration and naturalization records. By the late 1980s, the INS had 'tested' a pilot model office in Houston (INR 1978-9), created satellite offices and service centers (INR 1978-9), rolled out helicopters and horse patrols at the border (INR 1980-1, INR Fall 1977), and in general greatly improved its responsiveness to the external environment through a host of technological advances. Though I have not discussed the changes in light of gatekeeping and facilitation logics, they were indeed present. The organization would increasingly apply its knowledge to improving customer service by reducing backlogs and starting outreach to immigrants thereby fulfilling the facilitation logic. On the other hand, expanding the hands-on approach to security resulted in technological advancements aimed at catching fraud and stopping undocumented immigrants at the borders. Naturalization is marginalized. In the next section, I discuss the marginalization, showing how a hands-off approach remains the way the State deals with the formal process and leaves room for the attachment gap to develop. The following quote from President Reagan was included in the final pages of the

Fall-Winter 1984-5 INR. It sums up this continued juxtaposition of logics and the roots for naturalization's sidelining.

> "We shall continue America's tradition as a land that welcomes peoples from other countries....At the same time, we must ensure adequate legal authority to establish control over immigration. (INR Fall Winter 1984-5)

Hidden beneath these words is the outcome where integration tasks like naturalization suffer at the expense of emphasizing security and enforcement.

3.6.   Marginalizing Naturalization: Where the Attachment Gap Grows

Within the push to modernize the agency, naturalization practices are not evolving with the times. Security is at the center of the gatekeeping logic and it is priority number one for USCIS. This warrants funding and technology that enables the organization to continue to "secure America's promise," and "enhance national security;" mission taglines that are often at the bottom of USCIS Today newsletters. From the USCIS Today and USCIS Monthly newsletters a clear focus arises concerning naturalization and citizenship, and it is dependent on the facilitation logic. Naturalization is addressed via two relevant areas for thinking about how potential citizens can develop emotional bonds with the State. They are government projects of belonging that focus on: (1) citizenship education and preparation resources; and (2) initiatives that celebrate naturalized citizens. The latter is discourse aimed at immigrants (Aptekar 2015) and particularly useful for considering what the State desires in citizens.

Efforts directed towards citizenship preparation and showing off successfully naturalized citizens are not bad organizational actions. Still this isn't about good or bad actions, but the end results. Do these organizational actions reflect government attempts to bond with new immigrants? Or do they reflect something else. Yes and No. The yes reflects the fact that USCIS does offer services to help new immigrants naturalize. Here are a few relevant examples from features in USCIS Today and USCIS Monthly newsletters.

- A How Do I? section that provides answers to frequently asked questions about organizational procedures including applying for naturalization.

- A community relations corner where each new USCIS initiative is given a plan for outreach so that "USCIS programs and policies are understood by the impacted population, and that community concerns and input are conveyed back to our leadership" (USCIS Monthly: March 2007).

- A website that is at times publicized with the slogan, "don't want to wait in line, go online" with resources accessible whenever an immigrant desires (USCIS Monthly: March 2007).

These are examples of the oft-hidden integration practices of the facilitation logic. In addition, these efforts are 21st century Americanization projects spearheaded by former President George W. Bush's Task Force on New Americans. In the following quote, Director Gonzalez describes the integration aims of this program.

President Bush affirmed his commitment to immigrant assimilation through the establishment of the Task Force on New Americans. This federal effort focuses government resources to promote public-private partnerships that will encourage

businesses to offer English and civics education to workers, identify ways to expand English and civics instruction classes, including through faith-based and community groups, and find ways to promote volunteer community service and enhance cooperation among Federal, State, and local authorities responsible for the integration of legal immigrants (USCIS Monthly: May 2007).

Within USCIS, these integration measures focus on giving potential citizens access to the knowledge they need to apply for naturalization and pass the test at the end of the process. The problem here is that belonging isn't about knowledge of American life or having an understanding of U.S. history and the Constitution. Moreover, a focus on the assimilation of immigrants means something different than focusing on their integration. To this point, it is clear that Director Gonzalez conceptualizes immigrant integration through the language of assimilation, but this places the burden on immigrants removing the State's culpability in creating a bond with their new citizens.

For example, while immigrants may spend much time studying the information on the exam there is no guarantee that after studying they will develop an attachment to the United States. Orgad (2011) contends that

The goal of increasing attachment to the United States may (or may not) be legitimate, yet the right place for such a goal is not the citizenship test but the attachment requirement. In any event, it is hard to understand how asking how many Senators are in the Senate can increase the immigrant's attachment to the United States (Orgad 2011: 1252).

Instead, a more hands-on approach is required, one that does not presume the choice to naturalize signifies any more than that what it is: the decision to seek citizenship. In that way I for one, agree with Reshon (2007).

> National attachments do not happen primarily by accident. Nor are the best results achieved by a laissez-faire approach. This is especially true given the variety of powerful incentives both within and from outside the United States that all pull in the direction of weakening that attachment and those connections (Reshon 2007: 19).

Towards that end, the government cannot desire a patriotic assimilation when it takes no hands-on responsibility in imparting what patriotism is. How this phrase manifests is also telling. Consider the following quote from Gonzalez.

> The patriotic assimilation of those who choose to live and work here remains the best way to preserve one common American civic identity and ensure that the spirit of every citizen, both native-born and naturalized, can be harnessed to drive the next chapter of our great American story and continue our historic legacy as a nation of immigrants (USCIS Monthly: May 2007).

If this common American civic identity is the goal, then Director Gonzalez must also acknowledge his own words that charges his organization with the task of helping potential citizens "build an appreciation for our institutions and recognize their personal connection to the shared history of our nation" (USCIS Monthly: May 2007).

While USCIS may fail to understand what organizational practices develop a strong emotional attachment to the nation, they do emphasize successful naturalized citizens through a number of initiatives. In each USCIS Today and USCIS Monthly issue there were

numerous examples. Faces of America, Adopted Valor and Outstanding Americans by choice are three examples of initiatives that celebrate citizens who have gone through the naturalized process, though each differ slightly in aim. Faces of America highlights naturalized citizens who elect to share their stories with U.S. for reprinting in the newsletters. In contrast, the Outstanding Americans by Choice initiative which began in 2006 celebrates the accomplishments of naturalized citizens. The recipients of this title are chosen by the current director of immigration. This program continues today and has highlighted over 100 naturalized citizens thus far. Former Security of State Madeline Albright, authors Khaled Hosseini and Elie Wiesel, and singers Gloria Estefan and Thalia are some examples of Outstanding Americans by Choice. Finally, Adopted Valor celebrates foreign-born immigrants who served in the armed forces, including many who received naturalization as a condition of their service.

Citizenship education and initiatives that celebrate naturalized citizens are projects of belonging that have evolved —like the principles of rationality and institutional logics— from earlier iterations of the organization managing immigration and naturalization. In the early stages of managing naturalization specifically, supporters of citizenship education had to tackle how exactly to prepare eligible immigrants for the test, but also consider how attachment would be arrived at (Gordon 2008). Citizenship education truly began in earnest at the start of the 20th century, as the Bureau of Immigration and then the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization focused on creating educational tools to help potential citizens. During the Americanization period of the 20th century that textbook focused not only on teaching principles of American government but also on assimilation—the same kind

of patriotic assimilation that Director Gonzalez mentions. According to Gordon, then heads of the organization, Raymond Crist and Richard Campbell's textbook encouraged this idea.

> Naturalization authorities can only judge an applicant's loyalty by observing his daily life, and that the display of moral behavior was a better indication of allegiance to the country's constitutional values than the ability to regurgitate facts about U.S. history and government (Gordon 2008:21).

As such, assimilation of immigrants has been rooted to naturalization and citizenship education, even if a part of that preparation no longer include lessons on hygiene or how to raise American children. With respect to citizenship education, both world wars had direct influence on the importance of this task for the agency going forward. At the same time, realizing the aims of citizenship education required a partnership between the government, the agency managing naturalization and those organization that would supplement that work.

The Immigration Act of 1940 formalized what the agency had been doing for years with respect to integrating immigrants. The law ushered in a new period of "investment in national unity" that included the national citizenship education program and also "I'm An American," an initiative celebrating naturalized citizens. William F. Russell, Director of the National Citizenship Education Program at the time laid out the issue in his lecture during the 1943 series.

> The program of promotion, attempting to call to the attention of aliens the opportunities of citizenship education by sending to the schools the names of those who were candidates for citizenship, worked well under peace-time conditions.

Names were sent to the public schools as a routine matter, and, in later years, the Service through the foreign language press and through the radio programs, such as I Am an American and I Hear America Singing kept the opportunity for citizenship before the attention of the aliens (Russell 1943:2).

The national focus on citizenship education became formalized "as war clouds gathered and tensions increased [and] it became clear that former efforts calculated to assist the alien toward citizenship needed to be strengthened" (Russell 1943:3). Moreover,

Persons who had long resided amongst us, who for one reason or another had failed to become citizens, suddenly found themselves under all sorts of unsuspected pressures. In some places aliens were ostracized; in others they could not find employment; in others they were subject to ridicule and discrimination; in general they could not seek government relief. The result was an extraordinary increase in applications for citizenship, in an overburdening of the Immigration and Naturalization Service... (Russell 1943:3)

The Service was challenged not only to respond to an increase of individuals wanting citizenship but also to inspire the desire to become a citizen in the majority of the 5 million registered noncitizens at the time. The war increased the significance of education materials because it was not fought only on land, but according to Russell, "war of the 1942 model begins in the press, over the air, on the screen, and it attacks the mind of man" (Russell 1943:9). To protect against the assault of the mind of aliens in particular, the Service's task was clear.

But you simply cannot build a democracy on ignorance. The people must know, and their education must not merely be formal schooling in reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic; not even formal knowledge of how many senators, or branches of government, or courts there are. Their education must teach them to understand and love America, this land of patriot's dream. They must learn why America was founded, what the Fathers hoped for, why they shed their blood, what is at stake today (Russell 1943:8).

Unfortunately, it did not seem that President Roosevelt's administration quite agreed with respect to this program as a quality use of funds. The expanded citizenship education program relied on the Work Projects Administration to supplement its staff in coordinating with the INS and the DOJ. Without the additional help the program would have to rely on its staff of six from the INS to deal with citizenship preparation. This is indeed part of the issue. Citizenship education, then and now, is outsourced to meso-level civic organizations that have varying interests in citizenship. In a press release late last year, USCIS was proud to announce that it had given away $10 million dollars to organizations that help in citizenship preparation through its Citizenship and Assimilation Grant Program. According to USCIS,

The Citizenship and Assimilation Grant Program is a major part of the agency's efforts to support effective citizenship preparation services, and to provide information on naturalization to immigrants and public or private nonprofit organizations (USCIS, Press release 9-28-2017)

Some of the organizations that received this latest round of funding include: Asian Americans Advancing Justice located in Los Angeles; the Colorado Africans organization in Denver; and SEIU 1199 League Training and Upgrading Fund in New York City. Putting aside for the

moment the fact that these programs do not teach emotional attachments to the nation, there is another issue here. By outsourcing the work of preparing immigrant, USCIS aims to reach more eligible immigrants. But does it?

Of the individuals I interviewed, only three noted that they used an organization to prepare, despite the fact citizenship education programs using this model have existed since the early 20th century. Those three individuals all worked under the same union in NYC, 1199, which received funding this grant program. What is clear is that the government depends on this middle layer to deliver education and preparation services to immigrants requiring many different services, including naturalization. In looking back at the outreach program launched by INS in spring 1979, there are clear indications that the government needs organizations with interest in immigrants to accomplish this part of its work. The outreach program was launched to make sure that eligible immigrants were aware of the benefits they could receive and had help in figuring how to get them.

> Rather than concentrating on training well-intentioned community organizations inexperienced in immigration counseling, the Service elected to build the program around accredited or proven voluntary agencies (Volags). These agencies have been for many years engaged in assisting immigrants and refugees coming to the U.S. Because of their expertise, the Volags could be relied on in recruiting interested community participants—usually those who referred cases to them—for the training necessary to effectively assist aliens seeking benefits under the law. The Volags also would check their work for accuracy and follow-up effectively on individual cases (INR Spring 1979).

In the case of naturalization, it makes sense that using immigrant organizations could help the government increase its reach. USCIS's community relations program does this today. However, what is unclear is what is lost as a result with respect to helping potential citizens develop a strong attachment to the nation.

Perhaps to remedy this, initiatives that celebrate naturalized citizens accomplish another kind of work. They show the end result, making citizenship at least in theory, more desirable to those immigrants without it. The earliest example of this, I'm An American, began after the citizenship education program was formalized in the 1940s. The initiative was a radio broadcast where naturalized Americans would be displayed to the nation.

> I'M AN AMERICAN debuted on May 4th, 1940 on NBC's Red Network with the goal of promoting patriotism and citizenship through interviews with newly naturalized Americans. INS developed this format because, according to INS Commissioner James Houghteling, "the clear-seeing eye of some of our new citizens" would reinvigorate all Americans and remind them of the value of U.S. citizenship, something the show's announcer described each week as "a possession which we ourselves take for granted, but which is still new and thrilling to them" (new citizens). (USCIS Library, I'm An American, 2016)

The precursor to Adopted Valor, Outstanding Americans by choice and Faces of America, I'm An American was created to keep national unity despite the World Wars. In the write up on this initiative, there is a clear confusion as to whether the desire was to assimilate new immigrants or allow them to keep their cultural distinctions. Consider the following comparisons.

The show presented the American way of life as superior to the alternatives offered by European regimes and used immigrants who fled those countries to make the point. For example, when asked why he le Germany and settled in the U.S., Einstein explained, "as long as I have any choice I will only stay in a country where political liberty, toleration, and equality of all citizens before the law is the rule. (USCIS Library, I'm An American, 2016)

I'M AN AMERICAN promoted national unity but it did so in a pluralistic way, avoiding the idea of strict assimilation for a vision of America as a collection of peoples who contributed their own strengths and traditions to the greater good. For example, guest Eleanor Roosevelt reminded immigrants "never to forget your own cultural background and use whatever skills and culture that background gives you to enrich what you acquire in the United States. (USCIS Library, I'm An American, 2016)

I see things differently. In celebrating these individuals, the government accomplishes another job that is perhaps more important than even inspiring immigrants to desire citizenship. It legitimizes the American way of life that leads to success and the American dream. In our contemporary period, assimilation still remains the way that different publics view immigration and naturalization. Moreover, the government desires those who are most "assimilable" as citizens. Therefore, it highlight assimilated naturalized citizens, who set an example for immigrants by who they are and what they have accomplished in the United States—by way of citizenship of course. To underscore this point, a few examples from the

Faces of America newsletter are instructive. There is the story of Juana, an immigrant from Montenegro who became a citizen at 97 years old. She had this to say.

"I swear my allegiance to a country that gave much to my family and allowed us to stay together throughout the decades. My husband will be very happy today when he looks down from heaven and sees me become a U.S. citizen." (USCIS Monthly: Feb 2007)

There's also Dario Martinez, a medical student with leukemia whose citizenship application was fast-tracked with immediate benefits for his battle against the disease.

Although Martinez is still awaiting a donor, as a citizen, he is eligible to receive federal assistance and has nothing but gratitude toward everyone who reached out to him. So many doors are opening, he said. Everything is moving forward. (USCIS Monthly: January 2008)

These stories are not only examples of who is the desired potential citizen. They are also public campaigns emphasizing the benefits of citizenship. In other words, the kind of citizen United States citizenship can transform you into.

In closing, there are two supporting points to that argument. The first is that the modern management of immigration and naturalization has not yet figured out how to ensure that all naturalized citizens have a strong positive emotional attachment to the State. Still, there are contradictions in our government's orientation to that attachment.

There is no secret recipe for making an American. At USCIS we empower individual immigrants with the information and tools necessary to become a part of our

American community, and thus create their own unique American identity. This principle, and the promotion of a common civic bond that exists between all Americans, both native-born and naturalized, is at the core of our efforts to transform immigrants into committed and loyal Americans who voluntarily accept the obligations and responsibilities of citizenship. (USCIS Monthly: Dec 2006)

By Director Gonzalez's estimate, American citizens are made by different recipes. To that I agree, in part. I have posited thus far that the black West Indians I interviewed are unique as naturalized citizens because they are black and fated to fight the same battles as African Americans because of it. However, if there is no one recipe for making an American, then my works show that there are at least some recipes the government uses that create citizens for that lack the right taste for the patriotic and nationalistic performances that remake the nation in mundane ways daily.

Finally, point two. If we want to correct the recipe, or at least avoid creating citizens without belonging, those dueling institutional logics must be balanced. Actually, first, the imbalance must be acknowledged. It is not yet clear whether USCIS has evaluated itself on that point.

Our work to create an immigration system for the 21st century is critically important to the future of our Nation. As the gatekeepers and facilitators of U.S. Citizenship, we appreciate the unique freedoms and liberties every American holds dear, knowing that there are countless others across this world who wish to share in the peace and prosperity our nation provides by becoming citizens of our great republic. On our

231st year, let us renew our pledge to keep America's doors open, but well-guarded. (USCIS Monthly: July 2007).

When it comes to keeping the door well-guarded, there is no laissez-faire approach taken by the government. However, the projects of belonging that are used in naturalization still leave much up to the immigrant, even though the State has control over the formal process. In Chapter 4, I consider how the formal and informal processes together shape the naturalized black citizen subject.

3.7   Conclusion: Where Do We Go From Here?

In this chapter I show that the process of making citizens has evolved under the backdrop of the State's dueling institutional logics—the outcome of two at times paradoxical functions. On one side, the State must be able to protect itself and maintain stability which results in the gatekeeping logic and accompanying practices such as keeping record and tracking immigrants, deporting problem immigrants, blocking others from ever entering. As a self-professed premier example of democracy in the modern world, the United States must also protect its image as a nation of immigrants. This facilitation logic presents itself in calls for diplomacy in all State actions, along with practices and policies for integration and extracting immigrant value. The latter often include projects of belonging which have included varying approaches to citizenship education and assimilation over the years. The newsletters that are the subject of analysis in this chapter show an organization recognizing that efficiency looks different according to the threats presenting themselves. Consequently, in administrating matters of immigration and naturalization, the organization in charge must be responsive and requires intimate knowledge of itself and the alien it manages.

Throughout the 21st century technological advances are further enabling the State's gatekeeping and facilitation logics, but to the detriment of the formal process of naturalization—more specifically the State's projects of belonging. These projects include celebrations of naturalized citizens and citizenship education and preparation that should inspire immigrants towards citizenship acquisition. Exacerbated by the government's outsourcing of many responsibilities, these projects still fail because they do not create an emotional bond between the State and citizens, and it doesn't seem as if there is consensus towards how to do so. Perceptions of national belonging fall through the cracks here. Rather than assuming the formal naturalization invites those who feel American to become citizens, it should be the point where those who do not feel American become transformed in some way by the end. In chapter 4, I consider the transformations made by my respondents as a consequence of the formal and informal naturalization processes they undergo in their trajectories towards and lived experiences of citizenship.

4.1. <u>Informal and Formal Naturalization Experiences: Making the Naturalized Black Citizen</u>

Thus far, this dissertation has told the story of how a set of Afro-Caribbean immigrants understand American citizenship and how the naturalization process might have influenced that. In doing so, I've created an antagonist: Government administration and a protagonist: naturalized Black West Indians. In Chapter 2, I revealed the plot twist: that the protagonists, these 51 adopted citizens of the nation, do not identify as Americans emotionally. Furthermore, they articulate positions of belonging in the second class citizenship branch of the national family tree. In Chapter 3, I considered how the antagonist of this story—the State—has influenced this plot development in the naturalized citizens I interviewed. By focusing on the organizational and institutional identity of the management apparatus over naturalization, I complicate the story showing how the State's projects of belonging are insufficient at developing strong emotional bonds for potential citizens. That is with the assumption that these projects have that intent at all.

Through those two chapters I consider how this black citizen subject is made through the formal naturalization process and through their lived experiences of citizen. In this final empirical chapter, I turn my focus to the naturalized black citizen subject as product of not just a formal process but of an informal racial naturalization process as well. I contend that harmony between these two processes would paint a picture of the State as worthy of any immigrant's love, pride and loyalty.

On the other hand, incongruence between the informal and formal naturalization processes results in the attachment gap that these black West Indians demonstrate. For immigrants like this group, the naturalization process is their legal pathway to being claimed as one of the State's subjects. Thus, within the context of nation-building, the naturalization process is meaningful simultaneously on multiple levels. According to Aptekar (2015),

> Naturalization as the culmination of the immigrant journey helps legitimate the way the rest of the immigration process works, from boundary crossing to application for citizens. If immigrants who naturalize are supercitizens who have made the right choices, then immigrants who have not become citizens are the bad, undeserving immigrants. With the emphasis on the individual, any criticism of the system itself, such as mass deportations that separate families, or the decade long waits for family reunification, are neutralized. (Aptekar 2015:133).

There are three important points to analyze the naturalization process from Aptekar's conclusion: the role that the administration of naturalization and the entire set of immigration laws plays in shaping an immigrant's trajectory; the sorting of potential citizens into good and bad and; and the emphasis on the individual rather than the system.

In this chapter, I address the last two points, considering the naturalization process as a subset of the larger immigration apparatus that does not merely sort citizens into good and bad but instead shapes the docile citizen desired by the State. I use my respondent's background characteristics, their reflections on the naturalization interview, and their perceptions on religion and good citizens to show how they have been made use of by the State, as supercitizens. Naturalization experiences are an understudied but analytically rich

thematic area of citizenship. By highlighting this "interface between migrants and citizenship bureaucracies," I reveal intangible benefits that the State derives from granting citizenship to black immigrants in particular (Aptekar 2105). In research on the naturalization experiences of Mexican immigrants, Felix (2013) asserts the following:

> Negative encounters with the state play a dual role in shaping pathways to citizenship. On one hand, they can motivate migrants to naturalize for self-protection; on the other, they discourage migrants who perceive the naturalization process as marred by utilitarian discrimination (Felix 2013:1).

When dealing with the formal side of naturalization, immigrants' engagements with the State are meaning-making excursions that in turn might influence future interactions. I also consider how informal racial naturalization experiences shape them as citizen products. Using the concept of community cultural wealth (Yosso 2005), I show that these citizens use alternate forms of capital to negotiate the racist social formations of the United States. Unfortunately, their efforts are behind the scenes, while the government can use their presence in statistics on the happy side of immigration as evidence that it is race neutral in the culling of the masses.

4.1.1   Data and Methods

The primary data from this chapter derive from a subset of the interview that focused on how respondents told the story of their naturalization experience. The initial question for this part of the interview was designed to elicit as much information as possible without encouraging respondents to construct their memories of this experience in any specific way.

To each respondent, I gave the same directive: Walk me through the steps it took for you to become a citizen. Try to remember as many details as possible. Given my desire to think about the how and why of their citizenship experience, this question would facilitate narrative analysis, with an emphasis on the themes and structures of stories told.

> As nations and governments construct preferred narratives about history, so do social movements, organizations, scientists, other professionals, ethnic/racial groups, and individuals in stories of experience. What makes such diverse texts "narrative" is sequence and consequence: events are selected, organized, connected, and evaluated as meaningful for a particular audience (Reissman 2005:1).

In asking respondents to walk me through their experience, I gave them the opportunity to choose what parts of the process they emphasized and what parts they glossed over. After this segment, I would probe for details concerning the naturalization interview and oath ceremony, amongst other things. In this chapter, I also report findings from the segment of the interview where respondents discussed the role of religion in shaping them as citizens and helping them through the process.

Though I focus on all respondents for the first half of the chapter, in the second half I focus my analysis on the 28 Jamaican respondents. Table 4.1 lists naturalization details for all 51 respondents while Table 4.2 separates this information according to nationality. Table 2.1 is also included as a reminder of additional respondent characteristics for the entire sample. Table 4. 3 lists the characteristics of the Jamaican respondents while Table 4.4 looks at the religious identity of all respondents.

Table 2.1. Respondent Characteristics

Country of Origin	Number	Percent
Jamaica	28	55
Guyana	13	25
Trinidad	8	16
St. Vincent	2	4
Mode of Entry		
Family Reunification	36	70
Student	4	8
Professional	6	12
Other (*without documents*)	5	10
Education		
Some college	4	8
Trade School	6	12
College	20	39
M.A.	21	41
Time in United States		
Came as a minor	11	22
Came as 18-35 y. o.	40	78
In country <20 years	9	18
In country 20-29 years	16	31
In country 30 years+	26	51
Current age		
30-39	7	14
40-49	14	27
50-64	24	47
65+	6	12
Sex		
Female	33	65
Male	18	35
Income Level		
Less than 49,000	15	28
50-74,000	21	41
More than 75,000	15	31
Total		*100*

Table 4.1. Naturalization Details

	Number	Percent
Year Naturalized		
Before 1980	2	4
1981-1990	13	25
1991-2000	17	34
2001-2009	13	25
After 2010	6	12
Total Years to Naturalization		
Under 5 years	4	8
6-9 years	32	63
10-20 years	13	25
More than 20 years	2	4
Length of Naturalization Process		
0-11 months	42	82
1 to 2 years	8	16
More than 2 years	1	2
Total		*100*

Table 4.2. Respondent Characteristics- Jamaica

	Number	Percent (of Jamaicans)
Mode of Entry		
Family Reunification	20	70
Student	3	11
Professional	2	7
Other (*without documents*)	3	11
Education		
Some college	2	7
Trade School	2	7
College	13	46
M.A.	11	39
Time in United States		
In country <20 years	4	14
In country 20-29 years	10	36
In country 30 years+	14	50
Current age		
30-39	4	14
40-49	7	25
50-64	15	54
65+	2	7
Sex		
Female	19	68
Male	9	32
Income Level		
Less than 49,000	9	32
50-74,000	15	54
More than 75,000	4	14
Total		*100*

Table 4.3: Naturalization Details by Nationality

	Jamaica		Trinidad		Guyana		St. Vincent	
	#	% of Total	#	% of Total	#	% of Total	#	% of Total
Year Naturalized								
Before 1980	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981-1990	4	8	3	6	4	8	2	4
1991-2000	12	24	2	4	3	6	-	-
2000-2010	7	14	2	4	4	8	-	-
After 2010	3	6	1	2	2	4	-	-
Total Years to Naturalization								
Less than 10 years	18	35	5	10	11	22	2	4
10-20 years	9	18	2	4	2	4	-	-
More than 20 years	1	2	1	2	-	-	-	-
Length of Nat. Process								
0-11 months	25	49	7	14	8	16	2	4
1 to 2 years	2	4	1	2	5	10	-	-
More than 2 years	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	28		8		13		2	

Table 4.4: Religion by Nationality

	Jamaica		Trinidad		Guyana		St. Vincent	
	#	% of Larger sample	#	% of Larger sample	#	% of Larger sample	#	% of Larger sample
Religious Affiliation								
Christian	13	25	7	14	12	24	2	4
Pentecostal	10	20	-	-	-	-	-	-
Episcopalian	3	6	-	-	1	2	-	-
Anglican	2	4	1	2	-	-	-	-
Total	28		8		13		2	

In looking at naturalization trends, the majority of these respondents acquired citizenship after 1980 and before 2010. The largest group became citizens during the 1990s. Total years to naturalization measures how long after arriving in the United States these respondents achieved citizenship. The majority did so in less than 10 years; however, since most entered as permanent residents, their short trajectories to citizenship are influenced by this entry status. Most respondents recalled a short naturalization process that lasted less than a year. Table 4.3 shows these trends broken down by nationality. Examining religion, the majority of respondents I interviewed identified as Christian. As the largest group in this study, the Jamaicans had the widest set of identities, also claiming Anglican, Episcopalian and Pentecostal.

4.2.   The Ideological Functions of Naturalization

The naturalization process begins with the submission of the form N-400. A 20-page document that asks questions about past residences, marital, criminal, and travel history; all the details matter. In preparation to start my own naturalization process and to get an inside side look at citizenship programs, I registered and attended a Citizenship Now event in the spring of 2017. The event was held at large high school and staffed by volunteers, some with legal backgrounds. I was told that they expected to serve between 300 and 500 potential new citizens on that day alone. There were several stations set up that dealt with various stages of the application. After revealing that I may have unpaid parking tickets at one station, I was detoured to another and redirected to a Citizenship Now office with the advice to get accurate information of the status of those tickets. To me, of all the questions asked, including

criminal backgrounds, unpaid parking tickets would be the most trivial. After that experience I curtailed my citizenship plans until I felt better prepared to deal with the minutiae of applying. In other words, I decided to defer the dream a bit longer. Consider the opposite end of the spectrum, with immigrants who hear negative immigration stories.

> A female migrant shared a failed attempt at naturalization by one of her relatives, who were denied citizenship with the following words from the immigration officer: "I decide whether you become a citizen" (Felix 2013:3).

Naturalization experiences begin long before the submission of the form N-400, but they are often connected to how immigrants understand what it means to become a citizen. It is also a place to better recognize how immigrants are shaped by the legal process. The ideological functions of naturalization connect in many obvious and inconspicuous ways to organizational practices that shape naturalization experiences and perceptions. To explain in some way why black immigrants like the ones I interviewed do not show strong affections for the State, the links between practice and ideology must be interrogated. Within an American context, naturalization has three specific functions: as a contract, a political test and a vehicle for nation-building (Orgad 2017). Moreover, each function contributes to creating a citizen in name but perhaps not a citizen with a strong sense of belonging. These functions correspond to different parts of the naturalization process. Through each of these specific functions, I intersperse my respondent's reflections on the corresponding parts of the process.

4.2.1   Naturalization as Contract: Taking the Oath

In the practice of *naturalization as a contract*, potential citizens must take an Oath of Allegiance as the final step before citizenship is granted. The 140 words in the oath amount to a contract where new citizens acknowledge their rights and responsibilities. Since its first use over 200 years ago this declarative statement has evolved to ensure its alignment with the ideals desired for citizens. In the United States this oath is given the utmost importance because of the contractual obligations it contains. Numerous documents that provide information on naturalization stress to those seeking citizenship that "you are not a citizen until you take the Oath of Allegiance at a naturalization ceremony" (M-1051). Moreover, there are few exceptions to this requirement (M-476; G-1151; M-1051).

Despite the importance given the oath from the State, this was not reflected in the memories of the naturalized West Indians I interviewed for this research. All recalled taking the oath, but few could remember the exact words. Many expressed their desire to maintain a formal connection to their homelands despite the Oath's call for renouncing citizenship to their homelands. One respondent plainly stated, **"I would've loved to have dual citizenship"** (Male, 59, Jamaica). As noted in Chapter 2, another respondent, gave a more detailed response explaining the difficulty of simultaneously expressing allegiance to the United States and renouncing ties to his homeland.

> **Matter of fact I never thought when I came to this country first that I would ever become a citizen. I had a problem with the politics of this country, the way that Black people are treated and to me I suppose I felt I was betraying my country.**

It was a betrayal to my native land when I became a citizen. I actually checked out if I could enjoy dual citizenship. (Male, 61, Jamaica)

The feeling of betrayal this respondent describes was a sentiment echoed by many other respondents. The oath in particular with its language was criticized as being too strong by other respondents.

Listen, I said the oath because I had to. That doesn't mean that under my breath I was saying Jamaica Land we love. I can never give up the love I have for my homeland. (Female, 37, Jamaica)

I think even though I said the oath, in my mind I was still thinking that I am still going to love my country. The oath meant something but at the same time, it wasn't that big a deal because I knew I wasn't really giving up anything. (Male, 44, Trinidad)

The oath didn't change anything in my mind. I said it because I had to. (Female, 60, Guyana)

Though the oath is mandated by the State, governments have no power over changing the emotional attachments that people have to their countries of origin. If anything, these feelings are again indicting the State for failing to understand the complexity of its role in engendering deep emotional bonds.

Any gaps between citizenship as ideally promised and citizenship as lived experience for Americans by choice calls the State and its role in the process into question. Though the oath itself is standard in comparison to other nations, what is missing is an equally formal acknowledgement of the State's promises to its new citizens. What legal obligations must the United States uphold in this partnership? While naturalized citizens must affirmatively bear allegiance to the United States and vow to defend the Constitution (among other requirements), there is no equivalent declaration made from the United States to them. This inconsistency amounts to a "contractual allegiance [which] implies that allegiance is conditional"(Orgad 2017:340). Their adopted home will protect them and provide them with rights only as a condition of their continued loyalty. In this agreement, loyalty comes first and rights after allegiance is satisfied.

4.2.2   Naturalization as Political Test: Knowledge and Good Moral Character

When naturalization functions a *political test*, the burden is placed on aliens to prove themselves as deserving of inclusion. Within the United States context, two kinds of political tests are used to asses knowledge and character (Orgad 2017). The knowledge-based test happens during the interview portion of naturalization. Potential citizens are asked to demonstrate their ability to use the English language and also their support of the Constitution through knowledge of U.S. history and government. The knowledge-based test has also evolved over time with the latest version of the oral exam developed in 2006 to ensure its uniformity. The character-based test is the State's evaluation of the applicant's moral character "based upon the laws congress has passed" (M-476). Particularly important

in this test is the potential citizen's criminal record and whether or not their actions past or present indicate a lack of morality. Moreover, historically, this test has been "used to exclude applicants based on immoral behavior relating to lifestyle choices and sexual behavior—topics such as adultery, homosexuality, incest, prostitution, and polygamy" (Orgad 2017:342).

Both forms of the political test as employed in the U.S. process of naturalization deserve criticism if not on intent, at least on the outcome. One point of contention, noted by some respondents, is that many native-born Americans are unable to correctly answer the test questions deemed necessary for those seeking to naturalize. Remembering an experience she had as a teacher, Sally says,

> **Honestly, people who were born here do not know much about the U.S., in terms of like how many states. About 20 years ago, we were doing a lesson on the states. I was the assistant teacher, she was the teacher, and she's the American citizen, born and grew up in Wantagh, white Italian. And we were arguing - "I'm telling you, its 50 states" and she's like "no, it's 48." She did not know. We left the classroom and went arguing. And who do you think knew? All the Caribbean people answered the question. Americans are like "You sure it's not 48?" They do not know.** (Female, 50, Trinidad)

Another point of contention is about the uniformity of the test. Despite attempts at standardization, the knowledge-based citizenship test is still not the same for all. Which questions asked and how many are asked are just two of the factors that lead to variability

in the citizenship test experiences of any applicant. A few respondents recalled that their interviewer did not ask ten questions.

> **He didn't even didn't even bother to go through with the ten because I had it all right, and he said "Oh you got this".** (Female, 53, Trinidad)

> **I know I wasn't asked ten questions. I mean my interview was so short….and the questions easy but it definitely wasn't sure.** (Female, 62, St. Vincent)

> **I felt like I should've been asked more questions. I was prepared to answer more. I was a little bit let down because I felt like I had to prepare so hard and it wasn't even that serious.** (Female, 62, St. Vincent)

Like the last respondent, others I interviewed noted that the questions they were asked were not as difficult as they had anticipated. One respondent even considered the point of the test to be what immigrants would learn rather than what they would need to know in the interview.

> **I prepared for a long time. I had gotten the book from the library and I was reading and making sure I understood checks and balances, and the Senate vs. House and all those things. I was a little…what's the word…underwhelmed maybe. I felt like they wanted us to spend our time learning but they maybe they weren't really testing us in the interview. Because in my interview I think the**

guy asked me two simple questions. Who was the president and maybe something about the first States. Either way it was simple and that was that.

(Male, 40, Guyana)

Prior to the test's redesign in 2006, then USCIS Director Eduardo Aguirre acknowledged this variability in testing as part of the necessity for an updated exam. In his 2004 remarks before the Senate Judiciary committee on Immigration, Border Security and Citizenship he said the following:

> A candidate in San Francisco is, in all likelihood, not tested the same way or asked the same questions as a candidate taking the same exam on the same day in Boston. As a result, we are developing standardized testing procedures so that applicants can be assured that they are experiencing a fair testing process (Aguirre 2004).

The intent here is clear, but the desired outcome has still not been realized. Though applicants are to be asked 10 questions, many are asked less, some are asked more. As well, this variability depends on the interviewer the applicant receives and the goals of the organization managing naturalization at that historical moment.

The redesign of the test was not only to examine the differences in the test experiences of potential citizens, but also the content of the questions themselves. "We are examining the meaning of significant events that occurred in our nation's history and exploring ways in which candidates may better retain the significance of these events," said Aguirre (Aguirre 2004). Still, in 2017 the questions themselves reflect a narrow scope of the significant events and individuals marking U.S. history. Of the 100 possible questions on this test, 30 deal with American history. Those 30 questions span a historical period covering the

entire life course of the United States as a nation. Yet the only woman mentioned is Susan B. Anthony, and the only person of color mentioned by name is Martin Luther King Jr. Apparently, there are no significant history-makers who are American Indian, Asian, or Latino; at least none of significance for this test. Despite the consultation of "historians, civics experts, and adult educators," the questions still seem to reflect a re-telling of U.S. history that favors the events deemed significant by the dominant white majority of the population (Aguirre 2004). Though some may find it trivial, this critique stands as part of a larger discussion on the version of history that remains central to national identity.

***

In addition, the values of the dominant group in the United States have not just influenced the test questions but also strongly influenced the behaviors defining good moral character (GMC henceforth) (Orgad 2017). Original intent aside, the GMC requirement, is undeniably a key political test in naturalization where failure is not an option. Now more than ever, GMC is a means for permanently barring individuals with a criminal history from citizenship or in some cases removing them from the United States altogether. Though the requirement has been in existence since the first Naturalization Act of 1790, as a political test, GMC was not given the power it has to exclude today until the passing of the Walter McCarran or Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (INA).

The INA provided the first list of concrete offenses that precluded the establishment of good moral character by an immigrant desiring naturalization (Lapp 2012). Prior to this law, good moral character was determined on a case-by-case basis and was only applied to the five year period before an immigrant's application for naturalization. Along with

highlighting perceived negatives like habitual drunkenness and spending more than 180 days in jail, the act instituted the first permanent bar to demonstrating good moral character regardless of the 5 year statutory period: that of murder. In a critique of the good moral character requirement and its use as an exclusionary tool, legal scholar Kevin Lapp observes that "while some courts, particularly early in the twentieth century, felt that any violation of the law showed a lack of good moral character, the bulk of midcentury good moral character cases exhibited a more nuanced and redemptive view" (Lapp 2012:18).

The redemptive view conveyed the message that even with a criminal history the court would positively recognize the attempts made by an immigrant to demonstrate rehabilitation, especially in the 5 years prior applying for naturalization. However, the passage of the INA triggered a set of important changes that eventually eliminated the redemptive view in evaluating good moral character. In its place is a punitive approach that fails to consider the possibility of reform to an immigrant's character and continues to add more permanent bars to meeting the requirement. This more punitive approach is aided by section 101(f) of the INA. In this section a catchall provision was included, stating that "the fact that any person is not within any of the foregoing classes shall not preclude a finding that for other reasons such a person is or was not of good moral character" (Lapp 2012:20).

In short, failing to establish GMC is not limited to committing crimes but only one of many ways an alien can fail to meet the requirement. In the contemporary period, this provision has been stringently applied by USCIS against immigrants who have committed minor infractions such as being a drunk, failing to make child support payments or having an extramarital affair. Furthermore, the invention and expansion of the category "aggravated

felony" and its associated offenses through the late 1980s and 1990s also introduced a plethora of ways to deny naturalization to those with criminal backgrounds of varying degrees.

Coupled together, the aforementioned legal changes and their application have amounted to a cumulative culling of the masses in the current immigration and naturalization regime (Lapp 2012; Fitzgerald & Cook Martin 2004). More and more the case seems to be made that in service of immigration, those with criminal histories need to be discarded entirely as unfit for citizenship. In some cases those individuals deemed unworthy of naturalization are removed from the United States. In other cases, potential citizens are left on the threshing floor to occupy a liminal status that Lapp aptly labels "the half welcome." Barred from ever becoming an American citizen, the label means they are welcome to remain in the United States, but only as a permanent resident.

One example of this liminality is found in the case of Courtney Donaldson, a Jamaican immigrant who legally entered the U.S. at 14 years old.

In 1990, at the age of nineteen, he was found guilty of possession of marijuana. The court granted him deferred adjudication and in 1991, placed him on probation for ten years. Three and a half years later, the court dismissed the case and discharged Mr. Donaldson from probation. In 1997, Mr. Donaldson applied for naturalization. The INS denied his application on the basis that his conviction which constituted an aggravated felony, statutorily barred him from ever demonstrating the requisite good moral character. Not only that, the government initiated removal proceedings against him based on his conviction. Mr. Donaldson requested and was granted a 212(c)

waiver of deportation, in part because he was married to a U.S. citizen, with whom he had two citizen children; attended church with his family; had been steadily employed since 1989; paid his taxes and had no further arrests or convictions. The waiver permitted him to remain in the United States as a legal resident for the rest of his adult life, but he remains barred from ever naturalizing because his conviction triggers the permanent aggravated felon character bar. (Lapp 2012:28)

Far from the type of individual who would seem unfit for membership in the nation, Mr. Donaldson's case serves as a prime example of the failings of good moral character as a political test. Where the redemptive approach to applying this test would have shown Mr. Donaldson to be an immigrant who demonstrated a rehabilitation of his character, the punitive view rejected him permanently for an isolated act of youthful indiscretion. There is no doubt that the adjudication of this case is in line with the punitive focus of the criminal justice system at large. However, the fact remains that rather than encouraging individuals like Mr. Donaldson to become full members and seek naturalization, it creates a need to stay in the shadows doing great "damage to the community that the citizenship regime aims to promote and undermining American democracy" (Lapp 2012:67).

I was specifically interested in how my respondents considered themselves as meeting this requirement. In doing so, most emphasized the rhetoric promoted by the State.

I was not worried about that requirement. I had never been in trouble with the law. Neither here nor back home. I came by the book. Some people who didn't come with documents, I know they would have reason to worry but I had no reason to. (Female, 61, Guyana)

If I was living a bad life. Irresponsible or in trouble with the law then I would be concerned but I didn't have any marks or blemishes like that on my record. (Female, 54, Jamaica)

I think the kinda people that worry about this thing have a reason to. Like they didn't pay their taxes or they didn't do something right by the law. I heard stories of people like that so I knew what to expect. I didn't have any worries that I was gonna have to even think about this. I had what they were looking for if anything. (Male, 40, Guyana)

These responses reflect their estimation that they were not the kind of people the State sought to get rid of. They were in fact, the people the State would identify as bodies who belong. Which means they had passed the test.

4.2.3   Naturalization as Nation-Building: The Crisis of National Identity

Naturalization as a political test focuses on sorting out undesirables, while *naturalization as nation-building* aims to bring those chosen seamlessly into the fold. As an imagined community, the nation exists only as much as its citizens believe that strong bonds unite across differences. It is here that my findings about the attachment gap from Chapter 2 belong. Naturalization should be the ideal vehicle for nation-building. It should emphasize the role nation states can play in transferring cultural and social meanings to immigrants

(Bloemraad et. al. 2008). Yet, the substance of these cultural and social meanings is called into question, as immigrants in their trajectories to citizenship often face contradictory messages about their significance to the nation. These contradictory messages are essentially the same ideas embedded in boundaries of belonging.

Drawn and realized through State projects, boundaries of belonging create an understanding of the desired us that can be engineered out of them. Despite performing a different function than *naturalization as a political test,* the boundaries that separate us and them in *naturalization as nation-building* often accomplish the same outcome. Political tests, like the good moral character requirement, attempt to pin down the concrete behavior that is appropriate or inappropriate based on the abstract ideal type of an American citizen. In a similar way, the nation-building purpose of naturalization links ideology to practice through projects of belonging. These projects include citizenship ceremonies, educational programs, national celebrations and in general demonstrations of patriotism that perform the work necessary to maintain a unified national identity. Constant reproduction of the ideology and practices that maintain the nation is central for an enduring sense of nationalism. Stereotypical characterizations of immigrant groups as terrorists, criminals and rapists are examples of discourse involved in significant boundary defining work.

To assess the nation-building potential of the United States I consider the degree to which the naturalization "aims at cultivating a love of country and attachment to its cultural identity"(Orgad 2017:). Towards that end a nuanced understanding of belonging is required. Successful nation building should translate to naturalized citizens who feel a sense of belonging. Simply put, new citizens should feel at home and welcome in their adopted

homeland (Antonsich 2010). However, perceptions of national belonging are a derivative of the relationship between the individual and the nation state. They are the product of mechanisms that inform both the sense of belonging, which is subjective and experiential, and the politics of belonging which reflects the political projects of the state. Despite a myriad of wide ranging motivations, both parties enter in to a relationship with each other willingly. The resulting attachment or strength of belonging is shaped by the expectations held by each of the other and how well both parties meet or fail to meet those expectations. If new citizens are disillusioned from the start, then the potential for the nation to successfully build an American identity that reflects a multiracial present and future is in peril. My respondents exemplify this. Their naturalization processes extended far beyond the legal application and interview. It began with the ideas they first encountered about the United States, even when still living in their homelands.

Though seeking to promote bonds that secure the sense of community within the nation, *naturalization as nation-building* often falls victim to similar criticisms of *naturalization as political test*, and *naturalization as a contract*. Naturalization in the United States is a combination of these three functions to create a process that is a robust means of bringing in the highest caliber of citizens all while maintaining the order, stability and authority of the State. However, the aforementioned dual goals can allow for a paradoxical bond of national belonging to be created between the nation and its new citizens. One reason why Black immigrants who become naturalized citizens may lack stronger feelings of belonging and attachment could be because inadequate attention is paid to nation-building activities.

When broken down into these areas— contract, political test, nation-building—it seems that at least this set of naturalized citizens were underwhelmed by certain parts of the process. In fact, there are three important findings in this area. First, the majority of my respondents claimed that their process was easy. When I would ask them to "walk me through the process," at least two-thirds would say it was easy or simple.

It was pretty easy, it's a simple thing. It's just that I took a long time before I finally said "ok, I'll do it." I filled out the form, and it sat in the hour 1 year, 2 year, 3 year. And it's like 10 years later, I picked it up and said "this is ridiculous, let me go do this." I did it, I think I went to Jamaica Ave and dropped it off, as opposed to mailing it ... and maybe two weeks later, I got the paper in the mail. (Female, 51, Trinidad)

It was simple, I filled out the application, and by the time I filled it out and sent it in, I think within about 3 weeks they called me... I cancelled, I rescheduled it... by the time I rescheduled it, they called me... It was pretty quick. Like I said, it might have been a lot of money then, 50 bucks, I think that's what they charged at the time... Instead of $8- or $900 that they charge now. It was pretty easy. A lot of people tell you that you need a lawyer - no. You don't need it. You filled it out, send it in. It's done. (Female, 74, Guyana)

The only respondents who described a more difficult process were three who started their immigrant trajectories in the United States with an undocumented status. Those individuals

had lawyers, and more issues understanding paperwork and also a more complicated trajectory in general.

Second, the naturalization ceremony was not one that was memorable or that many respondents connected to emotionally with respect to belonging. Rather, they were proud to have achieved a goal they sought.

I felt pride. It was nice to represent Trinidad and to see everyone that was there from the other countries. It was pride that I had done it. I was a citizen. (Male, 55, Trinidad)

I don't remember much. I know there was a speech and a time where every country was recognized but it wasn't a....memorable moment to me in that way. If you didn't ask now I would even think about it. I don't think I even have since then which is probably why I don't remember it in a special way. (Female, 62, St. Vincent)

Oh, I was a proud peacock that day. I got dressed nice and I think I got an American flag and at some point...if I remember correctly...I think the judge or somebody asked us to wave our flags and we all did. All of us from our various countries. We said our oath and we were on our way. I was happy that I was a citizen. That was really the only feeling I had. (Female, 58, Jamaica).

The pomp and circumstance around the naturalization ceremony is a project of belonging established by the State post-World War II (Aptekar 2012). The ritualistic side of these ceremonies is set up to increase the patriotism that new citizens feel for the State. In this contemporary period, the government continues to recognize citizens in mass naturalization ceremonies during Constitution Week in September and even on the fourth of July. At least for these respondents, their strong feelings were not often directed towards the U.S. but towards themselves for their accomplishment.

Third, there were many respondents who saw no real purpose to their interview. Of course, the advantage here is that having successfully received citizenship they can think about what was revealed in their interviews that solidified the State's decision to select them. There were those who thought the interview was not a part of the process that held high priority.

I really don't know what my interview could have shown them about me. I think maybe that I spoke English and I knew the answers to the questions...the American history questions... but nothing else really. It was so short. (Male, 77, Guyana)

I don't think the interview had any true purpose. Just another thing they make you do because you have to do something. (Female, 63, St. Vincent)

Maybe it was just to see what kind of person you are.....like appearance. How you carry yourself...maybe. Because honestly they investigate everyone so I don't know what they don't already know by the time you have your interview.

(Male, 55, Trinidad)

These reflections point to the real fact that the State has been tracking and surveilling these immigrants from entry. The interview is not a fact-finding mission but in many ways a formality for those who have no issues in their immigration trajectory. I consider what this means in the following section.

4.3.   Formal Naturalization: Practical and Ideological

To really understand how Americans are made, naturalization must be understood at the ideological and practical levels. In seeking formal naturalization, immigrants have many points of contact with the State. In comparison to other countries, the steps of the U.S. naturalization process are relatively simple and straightforward. One of the many documents outlining these steps is plainly titled "10 Steps to Naturalization." In this document, Step 1 is to first determine if you are already a citizen by birth or through parentage. Once it is clear that you are not yet a citizen, Step 2 is to determine your eligibility for citizenship through the process of naturalization. To help those considering citizenship to figure out their eligibility, this guide also points to another helpful document that doubles as both a checklist and a kind of infographic of the process. The Naturalization Eligibility

Worksheet is that document. It asks 15 questions and provides checkboxes to select true or false. The final question of eligibility: *I understand and am willing to take an oath of allegiance to the United States.*

Checking true for all questions means one is eligible for naturalization. Thus, with each true answer, there is an abstract sense of the potential citizen inching closer and closer to acquiring citizenship. If only the actual process of naturalization was merely about checking off boxes—or is it? While it may be comparatively easier to naturalize as a foreign born immigrant in the United States than in countries like Germany or Japan, the process itself is painted as deceptively easy. In *The Road to Citizenship*, Aptekar (2015) outlines in great detail the various pathways to citizenship for eligible candidates noting that "the process of becoming an American citizen involves time, money, knowledge of the immigration system, the ability to speak, write, and understand English, and familiarity with American history and civics" (Aptekar 2015:45). To be fair, checking off each of the aforementioned on a list is itself a time-consuming process. How much time an immigrant spends on the process of naturalization will vary tremendously based on a number of factors such as English language proficiency, the ability to access up to date information on the process, and money.

Though according to USCIS, acquiring citizenship can be neatly laid out in ten steps or abbreviated in a 15-question eligibility worksheet, becoming a citizen requires more than what is listed on those documents. This is further compounded if we consider an immigrant's status upon entry into the United States. Let's say for example that 800 Jamaicans were deported in 2014. Before this unfortunate demise and before the possibility that any of these

800 aliens would represent deportation statistics, they were first captured by a number that noted their entry (if with documents) via national origin or some other relevant category. In one sense, it seems clear then, that it is the choices an alien makes that results in sharing space with others in an excel column on deportations or representing a number in a stack of N-400 naturalization applications. However, these choices alone do not account for the positions and the shifts in positioning and proximity to citizenship that occur over time for immigrants; that is due to the machinations of the institution of naturalization and the decisions of the State.

In her work on naturalization, Aptekar challenges what she sees as a "reductionist vision" that erases the many immigrant statuses of the contemporary immigration and naturalization regime in favor a false dichotomy between undocumented immigrants and citizens (Aptekar 2015:15). Instead, "we must keep in mind that a vast sorting process occurs prior to the point of citizenship" (Aptekar 2015:15). It is this sorting process and what it is in service of, that attention must be paid. Though I agree with Aptekar's assertion, I also argue that this sorting not only extends well into the naturalization process, but is perhaps even more important at that point in an immigrant's trajectory. The same sorting or culling that excludes many from eligibility for citizenship also continues as even eligible potential citizens may become stalled at various steps in becoming an American. These shifts in positioning that could result in one being deported, stalling at the permanent resident status indefinitely, or advancing to naturalization can be thought of as markers of relative citizenship mobility: upward, downward or stagnant. Upward citizenship mobility defines those immigrants who make steady progress and acquire citizenship, regardless of their initial legal status and number of years it takes. Stagnant citizenship mobility refers to

permanent residents who have not acquired citizenship despite eligibility. Lastly, downward citizenship mobility refers to immigrants who are deported, or permanently barred from becoming American citizens if they maintain residence here.

For example, filing the required form N-400 which starts the naturalization process means being able to pay the now $640 application fee and the $85 biometrics fee for a total of $725. This 2017 total is up only $45 from the cost to apply for citizenship in 2015. On the contrary, when the 2017 total is compared to the cost to become a citizen in 1990, the increase is a whopping $635. The rising cost of citizenship for a party of one is just one reason that potential citizens may linger at the permanent resident status for a number of years after residency is established. But there are many other reasons as well. Rather than ponder the many legitimate reasons why an estimated 9 million eligible permanent residents have not yet chosen to become citizens, there is another fruitful intellectual question. Why (and how) does the naturalization process, with its clear and straightforward steps, allow for or invite so many to be delayed in the trajectory to citizenship. Moreover, how many more delays exist when we extend Aptekar's reductionist vision critique to consider trajectories that begin earlier and include the undocumented? What if we considered trajectories to citizenship as beginning with the immigrant's entry status to the United States all the while examining the sorting associated with each step in journey? What would we find?

Such an exploration is an immense undertaking as it requires focusing on the merging of the structuring practices of the State and the agency employed by immigrants. The symbolic and the practical also converge here, too. What is naturalization supposed to do in the real world? According to Browne (2004), "the state is concerned simultaneously with

technologies of the self and with disciplinary technologies" (Browne 2005:430). Foucault's work and theorizing on the body as data, disciplinary mechanisms and docility offer a pathway towards revealing the specific forms these technologies currently take. As a starting point, contemplate the following metaphor Foucault provides in *Discipline and Punish* for its relevance to the current nexus between immigration and naturalization in the United Status.

> In every class there will be places assigned for all the pupils of all the lessons, so that all those attending the same lesson will always occupy the same place. Pupils attending the highest lessons will be placed in the benches closest to the wall, followed by others. According to the order of the lessons moving towards the middle of the classroom….Each of the pupils will have his place assigned for him and none of them will leave it or change it except on the order or with the consent of the school inspector. Things must be so arranged that those whose parents are neglectful and verminous must be separated from those who are careful and clean; that an unruly and frivolous pupil should be placed between two who are well behaved and serious, a libertine either alone or between two pious pupils (Foucault 1980:147)

What Foucault summarizes through this imagining of the classroom is an organized system or hierarchy that arranges various categories of students, or in this case immigrants. Keeping in mind the entry status of immigrants widens the scope and time frame of the lessons taught in the trajectory towards becoming or making a docile citizen. The sorting of eligible immigrants is thus an intentional "reason of the state"—a way the State maintains power within and around its borders.

Continuing with Foucault's classroom metaphor, it is reasonable to consider the goal of citizenship as desirable for many immigrants despite entry status. Though many may enter with a status that is time restricted such as a student visa, or initially claim to have no interest in citizenship, as time in the United States accumulates changing circumstances may necessitate the acquisition of a citizen status. As a middle ground, the permanent resident is the central category that stands between all immigrants (regardless of entry) and citizenship. The hierarchy in place means that all foreign-born individuals must become a permanent resident before becoming a naturalized citizen. With that in mind, this section examines the sorting process from these two trajectories: from initial entry status to permanent resident and from permanent resident to citizen. This allows for a clear demarcation of points of distinction and convergence that influence these trajectories. Thus, moving from one status to another in the hierarchy translates to learning the lessons required to strengthen the bond between the foreign-born alien and the state.

4.3.1   Pathways to Citizenship

A common misunderstanding about immigration statuses in particular is to whom the category of immigrant refers to. The first line is drawn between those who enter the U.S. for a temporary period of time and those who intend to stay longer. Due to these time-restrictions, the former are labeled as nonimmigrants even though many end up seeking permanent residency in the future (Aptekar 2015; Kretsedemas 2012). As an all-encompassing term, the category immigrant should therefore encapsulate nonimmigrants, the undocumented, legal permanent residents and naturalized citizens. The transition from

a nonimmigrant temporary status to an immigrant status is only supported by the legal pathways enforced by the State. For those we refer to as undocumented, their lack of documents means that they have no legal pathway to becoming formally recognized by the State. However, both undocumented individuals and nonimmigrants must achieve the status of permanent resident before becoming eligible for citizenship.

Pathways to permanent residency are numerous. There are currently eight different categories, each with many statuses subsumed. One can acquire a green card that establishes permanent residency through securing employment in the U.S. prior to applying, by having an immediate relative or family member who is already a citizen, or as a refugee. In 2016, slightly over 1 million immigrants became permanent residents, many of them through the categories listed above (Baugh, 2017). Approximately half of that group were already residing in the U.S. Regardless of how they became residents, each one was subjected to the same hypothetically standard process.

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Given that immigrants move through a trajectory, Foucault's classes are another way to think through what is learned at each of these legal statuses. As immigrants move their individual trajectories towards citizenship, they are evaluated by the State. In the simplest trajectories, from permanent resident to citizen, there is only one evaluation, the naturalization process. However, before this point, all immigrants have essentially learned what it takes to apply for this process, because they have done it before. I theorize naturalization as a disciplinary institution preparing potential citizens through techniques of discipline. According to Foucault,

>Discipline is an art of rank, a technique for the transformation of arrangements. It individualizes bodies by a location that does not give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations (Foucault 1980:146).

Through their trajectories towards citizenship, potential citizens are trained as to what the State expects and how to elicit it. Using Foucault's ideas, the formal naturalization process is the final test, the combination of forces that tests how ready an applicant is to receive citizenship. The State employs various techniques of discipline to the immigrant body which becomes its "object and target of power" (Foucault 1980:136). As such the body comes to elicit desired characteristics. It ranks immigrants according to legal status—cellular. It prescribes movement according to time which in the case of citizenship means waiting five years—organic. It imposes exercises, which can be thought of as the requirements immigrants must meet as a condition of residency in the United States—genetic. This includes paying taxes and not breaking laws. Finally, through arranging tactics which combines elements of all the previously mentioned techniques, the State ends up with a docile body after the formal naturalization process. The formal process does not seem difficult to those who have successfully been transformed through these techniques of discipline. In contrast, the undocumented have a more a difficult process because at some point, they failed to transform according to what the State desires. The collection of naturalized black West Indians I interviewed were successfully chosen by the State because they passed the State's tests and were proven able-bodied, submissive and yes, loyal. These characteristics form an ideal type of the docile citizen who can be "subjected, used, transformed, and improved", (Foucault 1980:136).

The ideal docile citizen must have ability or be able-bodied so as to not become a burden on the State. The excluding of those likely to become public charges or those lacking in physical and mental ability sends the clear message that individuals unable to acquire work and to pay for their own expenses, even in coming to America, will not be able to sustain a life here. It is no coincidence that whether treated as separate or linked offices, immigration and naturalization concerns were always housed under a federal department concerned with labor and/or commerce until 1940. It is also no coincidence that many of the immigration concerns in U.S. society have to do with an immigrant's entrée into the labor market and whether or not they are fairly contributing to American resources they use. Being able-bodied is that assessment. Able-bodied individuals literally possess the ability to complement the nation through what they accomplish as citizens.

Another characteristic identified is submission: the recognition by the alien that the State is the preeminent authority. The State's rules about entry, and the laws that govern one's existence in the country must be upheld by the immigrant, and a pattern must be established that supports that narrative. Breaking any laws or failing to comply fully with the boundaries set by the State sends the message that an individual could become a problem in the future. Too late for the State to intervene then. It is important to note here that formal legal rules are not the only boundaries of consequence in this assessment. Moral boundaries, like prostitution, polygamy and even anarchy also become important evaluations. Though present in the beginning of the State's developing interest in engineering citizens, the tools used to assess submission were rudimentary and more than likely incomplete. How quickly was negative information about immigrants able to circulate not only domestically but internationally? How effectively was the State able to investigate and weed out those who

failed to meet this requirement? Over time, the increasing importance of assessing submission has resulted in great expansions in the State's ability to surveil and track immigrants. Our current apparatus is much better equipped than prior iterations.

A final characteristic is loyalty, which of all the three discussed here, is most related to both the sense of belonging and projects of belonging. In the article, "Integrating Immigrants: Morality and Loyalty in U.S. Naturalization Practice", Gordon (2008) contends that debates about the fit of immigrants for potential citizens are often hiding "unarticulated questions about how to ensure loyalty to the State and to particular conceptions of national identity among prospective citizens" (Gordon 2008:2). In this way loyalty is a test for integration. In actual naturalization practice, loyalty is assessed through immigrant's good moral character and attachment to the principles of the Constitution, but what does this really mean? Like the other characteristics of the ideal citizen, this assessment has evolved as well. In the early 20th century, the Bureau of Naturalization instituted a citizenship education program that focused on teaching citizens how to adapt to an American way of life. An insightful example of how this influenced naturalization practice are the textbooks that were created and used to inspire Americanization.

Lessons taught "immigrants in the proper ways for Americans to dress, eat, decorate their homes, worship, and behave at work and in the family" (Gordon 2008:21-22). The texts included less information about the political background and values of the United States but instead offered prescriptions for model behavior. The conventional wisdom seemed to be that if immigrants lived like native born Americans, loyalty would obviously follow.

Unlike their progressive era counterparts, today's administrators are not promoting demonstrations of morality and assimilation to a particular American way of life as a way to attest for immigrant loyalty (although the good moral character clause remains a part of U.S. law). In fact, they are careful to emphasize that their calls for assimilation to American values refers to civic, not cultural values (Gordon 2008:27; Aguirre 2003).

At another point in time, I would have serious doubts that such Americanization textbooks could ever make an appearance in the future. In our current immigration climate, one cannot be so sure. Though differences exist in the administrative orientation towards immigrant integration, the actual test for loyalty remains the same. No matter how poor of an assessment it is, immigrants still demonstrate loyalty by learning select U.S. history and political facts (Gordon 2008). How this in turn shows attachment or even the strength of one's bonds to the nation remains a mystery. Especially because "the government has generally interpreted attachment as indeed being primarily a matter of the heart" despite professing that patriotism is not a requirement for naturalization (Gordon 2008:11). Indeed, loyalty is linked to abstract concepts like patriotism and nationalism—matters of the heart. That sense of belonging essentially results in concrete actions like going to war on behalf of your country. But how can the State effectively test the heart—or good moral character—for that kind of loyalty? It can't.

All of these characteristics undergo their moments of individual shine with respect to national interest. For example, during communist scares or war, loyalty becomes an important assessment for new citizens. Likewise, being able-bodied has evolved over time such that immigrants with special ability to impact American society through economic and cultural investments are highly favored and consequently better positioned for access to

citizenship. A well-known example is the visa preference accorded individuals who can contribute to the United States via cultural, economic, or academic avenues. Another example is the investor program that fast tracks individuals to permanent residency who invest $500,000 or more into a new business that will hire at least ten full-time U.S. employees (Colucci 2016, 2014). In a world where the war on terror now includes domestic and international terrorists, criminality has become an even more important marker of an undesirable citizen, making submission a necessary stipulation.

The State must have the ability to control its citizen-subjects. Foreign-born aliens who endeavor to become citizens must recognize the State's supremacy and be willing to submit to get the prize of citizenship. What the accumulated information about Enos Gough and Cyril Chrichlow demonstrate is that they were ideal docile citizens. What the accumulated information about my interviewees demonstrate is that they too were, ideal docile citizens. Able-bodied by being gainfully employed. Submissive by obtaining legal entry and observing the rules of the State that govern immigrant movement. This ideal type of the desired naturalized citizen is not exhaustive but is intended to help determine what bodies should be able to do in order for inclusion. Moreover, it is even more useful when considering the likelihood of blacks in general becoming entangled with enforcement of any kind, immigration or otherwise. One out of five immigrants who faces deportation on criminal grounds is black (SOBI 2015). Though criminality seems a rational characteristic that suggests the State is making the choice between a good and a bad citizen, black immigrants are more important to the State than that.

Two important works on black immigrants support this point. In *The Ethnic Project*, Bashi Treitler (2013) contends that racial projects for inclusion from black immigrants fail because they would fundamentally topple the racial hierarchy if allowed to succeed. What black immigrants are given as an option for belonging is instead to emphasize their ethnic differences from African Americans as a means to negotiate race in American institutions. The resulting social distance between black immigrants and African Americans isn't real in a material sense, however. Instead, the model minority myth is applied to this group only for the State to claim that second class citizenship doesn't really exist and African Americans are the real problem (Pierre 2004). In what follows, I show that black immigrants do have agency amidst these circumstances. While they transform themselves to meet the State's needs, they do so through the use of community cultural wealth—alternative cultural capital that aids in the pursuit of their goals, in spite of racism.

4.4   Informal Naturalization and Technologies of the Self: The Experiences of black West Indians

I focus this section of the chapter on the Jamaicans in this study. I turn to this group because their narratives demonstrate how they reconcile the stigma of blackness with their pursuit of happiness in the United States. Across their interviews, those of Jamaican origin were resistant to an American identity and spoke of their homeland with great affection. As Table 4.3 shows, the sample is educated, earns more income than black immigrants all together, making them ideal citizens in that sense. However, how do they make sense of the informal racial naturalization that they have experienced? How do they conceive of good and

bad citizens? How is religion a part of that? In other words, I wanted to understand how their reluctance to claim themselves as Americans influenced how they saw themselves as citizens. Towards that ends, Foucault's "technologies of the self" concept was useful in shaping my inquiry. According to Foucault,

> Technologies of the self permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies, souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality" (Foucault 1980:18).

This is particularly useful as immigrants do undertake transformations in self as a result of their engagements with the State.

Menjivar and Lakhani (2016) offer an example of what we can learn from focusing on the diffusion of State technologies at this micro level. As immigrants acquire more knowledge about what is required of them to be legitimately recognized by the State they undertake "transformations that can be enduring and that are nuanced" (Menjivar and Lakhani 2016:1822). As they internalize the knowledge they gain concerning whom the State desires as a citizen, immigrants employ agency in making changes where necessary.

> By producing versions of themselves more in line with categories of legal inclusion, immigrants albeit unwittingly reify constructed categories and notions of who is fit to belong as a permanent and full member of society and who is not. In doing so, they reproduce the exclusionary principles at the heart of the legal regime that bar individuals unable to realize these transformations and normalize images of those fit to belong (Menjivar and Lakhani 2016:1826).

The various transformations that immigrants undergo and the relative permanence of these changes are evidence that the stakes are high when seeking inclusion from the State. For Black immigrants especially, there is no escaping the role of race in complicating their desirability to the State.

4.4.1   Even If: Experiences of Race in the Workplace

Racial naturalization experiences are those where the meaning of an individual's specific American national identity becomes real. Carbado (2005) gives an example of this by writing about his own negative experience during a traffic stop.

> One of my earliest performances occurred only a few months after I purchased my first car, a yellow, convertible Triumph Spitfire. My brother and I were stopped by the police while driving in Inglewood, a predominantly black neighbor-hood in Los Angeles. After we were forced to exit the car and sit on the pavement, I questioned whether we had done anything wrong: "We have a right to know, don't we? We're not criminals after all." Today I might have acted differently, less defiantly, but my strange career with race within the racial borders of America had only just begun. It had not occurred to me that my encounter with these officers was potentially life threatening. This was one of my many racial blind spots. Eventually, I would develop my second sight (Carbado 2005:633-4)

This "second sight" is presumably what all black immigrants are fated to develop as a result of racial naturalization experiences. For the Jamaicans in this study, their second sight was

often developed through workplace experiences of racism that communicated to them that they didn't truly belong.

> **Oh sure. In my line of work, I came across it (racism) numerous times... When I first came, I had to go to all those high rise buildings in Manhattan... I think that was the worst. They tried to put me on the...garbage/freight elevator.... They had 2 sets of elevators, one for the.....I guess the muckity muck and didn't ask me what I was there for, or who I wanted, but automatically I was shifted to the trash elevator. I mean, that really hurt my feelings.** (Female, 48, Jamaica)

> **At the time I was working for this organization...this was a big government organization that spanned more than one State so they had a lot of money. Anyway, we would get these supervisor reports and they would assess your performance. Of course all the supervisors are white and all the supervisors would give them good reviews and they would get bonuses and rise through the ranks. I remember one time I got my evaluation back and I had only a few points for merit so I wasn't going to get the bonus. I was adamant that I was not going to accept it. I went back to the supervisor and he wouldn't change it. I had to go above his head to his supervisor and that's how I got it changed because it was unfair to me. Not long after I started to work on getting us unionized and I was a big part of us getting the union.** (Male, 67, Jamaica)

> **When I first started working in my office, I had a strong accent. One day I remember walking into our employee lunch room to hear some Whites mocking how I pronounced a word. I promptly told them...back in those days I was more of a hot head...But I told them that I speak and write better English than any American. They never messed with me after that.** (Female, 66, Jamaica)

These experiences bring up the interpersonal character of these interactions and harken back to Park's cycle (1950) of assimilation where increasing contact should lead to accommodation. However, accommodation might never be achieved, with these kinds of informal naturalization experiences are commonplace (Baumeister 2003).

Like the Jamaican respondent who helped unionize, and the one who told off her co-workers, there were others who spoke of pushing back their racial naturalization experiences in the workplace.

> **I worked as a baby nurse for years while I was working out my documents to be here. I was a live in baby nurse for a rich family in the city and for the most part they were nice to me. They used to give me clothes and sheets and things like that. I appreciated it at the time because I was just starting out here. Eventually I started to feel like they were looking at me like a poor thing. Getting rid of their left overs and I didn't like that feeling. Once I started to feel that way more and more I had to find a new place to work.** (Female, 54, Jamaica)

> **In my field sometimes people don't expect for me as a black woman, a Jamaican one at that to show up at their door to help their kids speak. I've had it happen**

countless times when I first started working and I would go into white neighborhoods where the people looked like they didn't want me in their home. So I started working with kids that really need me...and I feel more fulfilled because I don't have to deal with any disrespect and I'm doing good work for people who really could use it. (Female, 48, Jamaica)

In the latter experience, the respondent worked as a speech pathologist and was highly trained in her area but constantly underestimated when out in the field. These experiences no doubt leave an indelible if yet invisible mark. Most compelling in these interviews was how respondents would talk about resolving these experiences.

Even with this...with racism. I come from a place where there is so much poverty I know people who would walk miles to the streetlights to finish their home work because they had no lights in their house. Come on now...if I'm coming from that you think that racism in this country will stop me from doing what I want to do for me and my family. (Female, 55, Jamaica)

Sometimes I think the black Americans in this country use racism as an excuse. It can be a crutch if you let it. I mean...I've had people say and do things that I was sure was racist. But it didn't stop me. I have a goal or something I'm working for and I'm going to do it. (Female, 33, Jamaica)

In Jamaica we have a saying, we likkle but we tallawah. That means that though we are a small country, we have accomplished a lot. From the Usain Bolts to the Bob Marley's, you name it we are great. I'm not saying we don't experience racism here in this country. What I am saying is you can't let it stop you. You show them. Prove them wrong. That's how I trained my kids when they were growing up to see this country. It's not going to be given to you for free and sometimes...I don't even know if I should say this...it's like African Americans want to get it...the dream.... for free. It doesn't go like that. (Male, 40, Jamaica)

These responses take an "even if" approach. Even if racism exists, it does not thwart their pursuit of the goals and dreams that bring them happiness and the quality of life they left Jamaica to seek.

Moreover, in these responses they emphasize aspirational and resistance capital (Yosso 2005). The desire to reach a goal is a motivator that makes these immigrants a highly select group. It is this immigrant selectivity that Model (2008) posits as the reason for black immigrants, and black West Indian success, especially. The black West Indians who I interviewed are not downplaying racism, though I have felt at times that the academic literature in this area seems to suggest that they do. Instead, I hear in these narratives the type of resilience required when dealing with black racial social meaning in the United States. This indeed places them in good position to be used by the State which further obscures the agency and effort required for them to achieve any version of their American dream (Pierre 2004). That they are seen as natural comparisons to African Americans only complicates this experience of blackness. In the final section, I discuss how their views on their identity as

Christians reify the good and bad citizen dichotomy, further making them good docile citizen examples in comparison to African Americans.

4.5   <u>Living a Clean Life: Religion and the Good Citizen</u>

In being selected by the State, these naturalized citizens set an example as to what the State requires. Given that most of my respondents relied on information from family and friends throughout the process, the information passed on in their networks is important for shaping how they understand citizenship. To get at this, I asked questions about the advice they would give to others when seeking naturalization. From this question, I would probe about what made good citizens. Here, a quote might be useful.

I tell them listen, why not do it. If you are living a clean life then why not. Not to mention, the benefit is you get to vote. If you are living a clean life, what should stop from you wanting to participate. (Female, 66, Jamaica).

By emphasizing a clean life, this respondent is perhaps unknowingly legitimizing what the State looks for in its citizens, especially the GMC requirement. However, it is towards a particular end, being able to vote, and participate meaningfully in the society you are already making a life in.

It was clear that being able to vote was a desired outcome of citizenship for many. However, voting was also one of the ways to be a good citizen. So was obeying the laws of the land. Together these two practices were ways these respondents saw good citizens.

It's not hard to be a good citizen. Be a good person, don't steal, don't break the laws. Go and vote. What else is there to do? (Male, 38, Jamaica)

I think a good citizen obeys the laws of the land. Even if they disagree. And when they disagree they vote and they do something about it. (Female, 50, Jamaica)

I don't think you can call yourself a good citizen if you don't vote. (Male, 38, Jamaica)

It is important to note here that not having strong allegiance to the State did not dampen these respondent view on the importance of voting. Instead it was a means to express displeasure and voice disappointment in a way they saw as important to changing circumstances they were unhappy with.

Since the Jamaicans in this sample all identified as Christians—some noted denominations—many also discussed religion as way to ensure that they were good citizens.

As a Christian, I learn values and principles that I use to guide me every day. I treat people how I want to be treated. I'm a good person and my personal relationship with God is a big part of that. (Female, 63, Jamaica)

I think being a Christian means that I have to be a good citizen. God calls us to live our lives as an example and if I'm a liar or I'm cheating to get ahead or things

like that then I am an abomination to God. I'm a good citizen because of the place of my religion in my life (Male, 43, Jamaica)

I want to please God first. What I have found is that there is nothing the bible says that would make me a bad citizen if I follow it. It even says to follow the laws of the land. (Female, 54, Jamaica)

These respondents show how religion informs their notions of the good citizen. To them, the principles of Christianity, the bible and personal walk with God help to keep them in line. Other respondents noted that being seen as a Christian could influence how they are viewed.

Now you know, I never really thought of this before but I think if I was a Muslim in this country things would be more difficult because even those of them who are citizens face prejudice or persecution for their religious practice. (Female, 33, Jamaica)

Being a Christian does help. If I was a Muslim, like Nation of Islam, for example, I think I might have had some questions come up about me in the interview or maybe they would watch me. Being a Christian is like a check mark because this country is supposedly a Christian nation (Male, 61, Jamaica)

Religion represents an acceptable identity that aligns with the symbolic boundaries of the nation. This is significant for Black immigrants, who, based on other boundary criteria like race, face social exclusion. Though my respondents note that being a Christian is an

acceptable identity, they also view their churches as places that should respond to immigrant needs.

> **My church didn't have give me any help but I wish that I could have gotten some information about citizenship and those things from my church.** (Female, 37, Jamaica)

> **Our church has recently taken more interest in that area, our first lady especially. She is also keeping us up to date with the issues and I think last year they did a workshop or something like that about that how to get your citizenship and how to file for temporary protected status. I think churches are the exact places where this kind of information should be available.** (Female, 50, Jamaica)

Religious organizations are often funded by the government in aid of immigration services, and they are well represented in those efforts. At least six religious organizations received funding during the last cycle of the Citizenship and Assimilation Grant Program under USCIS.

For West Indians, religion shows integrative potential, as many English-speaking West Indian countries claim Christianity as the religion of the majority (Connor 2012). Furthermore, quantitative studies of Afro-Caribbean's religious participation indicate that they are a highly religious population—when able to find a church home that meets their needs (Chatters et al 2009; Taylor et al 2010). The following narrative account elucidates the benefits of church involvement:

The most important positive factor in the lives of the people I spoke with was the church. Many belonged to an ethnically rooted church, which was composed of West Indians or often just of people from a particular island. In addition to providing spiritual support, the ethnic churches reinforced parent's ties with other immigrants. These ties between parents are a source of aid and comfort for teenagers. Belonging to a church gives adolescents access to adults other than their parents....These churches gave social support to parents and a sense of identity and belonging to adolescents (Waters 1999 202-3).

The "refuge, respectability and resources" that these faith communities provide are important for the overall adjustment (Hirschman 2004:1228). Within this group of West Indians, religion was seen as a legitimate and acceptable identity. Their religious practice also informed their views on what made them good citizens.

4.6 Two Processes: Is there Harmony?

In this chapter, I've made the argument that there are two naturalization processes that my respondents have experienced: one formal and the other informal. On the side of the formal naturalization process my respondents are examples of citizens the government has selected as worthy of citizenship. These ideal docile citizens are able-bodied, submissive and loyal. However, even in the process, the State fails to teach the allegiance and patriotism it desires. It merely recreates performances of what is appropriate. Naturalization ceremonies are an example of this. I have also argued that informal racial naturalization shapes the type of citizen my respondents become. In discussing experiences of racism in the workplace, my

respondents highlight an area where they come to understand the meaning of a black identity in the U.S. I contend that by employing aspirational and resistance capital to these racial naturalization experiences, the black West Indians I interviewed are able to succeed, even though knowingly navigating racialized social formations.

The end result is a complicated naturalized black citizen subject. One who is a citizen, but not American (Flores-Gonzalez 2017). However, that nuance does not erase their use to the State. Even though Black immigrants are at high risk of becoming entangled with the immigration system, successfully naturalized black citizens are an example that supports views of the government's current approach to immigration and citizenship as race neutral. Black West Indians like those I interviewed are also positioned by the State as the supercitizen in comparisons to African Americans. Meanwhile, the government cannot take credit for their efforts to persevere despite the prejudice they encounter in everyday American life.

The informal and formal naturalization processes also help to shape and mold naturalized citizens by the relationships they hold to each other. If the State's concern is with creating a docile citizen and making naturalization a disciplinary institution, as it has shown, then the nation-building potential of naturalization is diminished, if not lost altogether. Likewise, the emphasis on naturalization as a contract and as a political test still does not help to create the attachment and loyalty the State desires. With respect to informal naturalization processes, the significance of race is amplified in day to day experiences in spaces like the workplace. America still suffers from a race problem that if remained unaddressed could overwhelm all projects of belonging the State employs in the formal

naturalization process. Ideally, both processes would be in harmony—consonant naturalization—where both the informal and formal processes reaffirm the same narrative about the State as a welcoming nation of immigrants that supports equality for all. What I see happening here is dissonant naturalization—an incongruence between the narrative the State wants to reproduce in and through naturalized citizens and the one they experience that is often visually inscribed on their bodies. This is where I leave you—with a question about which of these versions of informal and formal naturalization you see happening here in this country. As a reminder, this is America.

5.1   Many Rivers to Cross: Revealing and Removing Boundaries to Belonging

There was an epic struggle in the writing of this conclusion. I badly wanted to end things with an optimistic bow on top as if this dissertation was a gift that I had—after many moons—finally birthed to make room for myself in the academic world. As I tried to write in this manner, images of young children crying, housed in deplorable conditions, and news of parents denied access to their kids flooded my mind and every media screen I owned. View after view of these immigration frames clouded the utopian vision I somehow thought this conclusion would bring. Not only to this project but my studies on this issue. Instead I feel the call more than ever to bridge the gap between the professional sociologist pathway I accidentally pursued and the public sociologist that perhaps always lived within me.

From the beginning this project has been deeply informed by my own lived experiences at the margins of citizenship. As life would have it, the precise moment I began to question my own belonging coincided with what seems to be a cyclical rise of anti-immigrant sentiment and fears of defensive naturalization. In making sense of my own bouts of insecurity at the permanent resident status, mostly at the hands of the State, I began to cultivate "a theory of how the world works" according to immigration and naturalization (Burawoy 2013:297). That theory centered on belonging. When I would deplane in Montego Bay and breeze through the short line and easy customs process for Jamaicans, it was because my passport noted that I belonged. Contrarily, when I landed in the States, I braced myself for the extra scrutiny, the anxiety, the test—that once passed would say that I belonged in America too. But there was more.

No matter how strange my patois sounds, how unfamiliar the sights and sounds of life in Jamaica may become after each visit, I still feel Jamaican. When I defended this project's proposal I thought these differences denied me true belonging. Now at the end, I think differently. Though I may be out of place on a street in Mt. Salem, Montego Bay—I still feel like I belong there. Though I am in a legal relationship with the United States and have lived here most of my life, there are many reasons why I cannot cling to the same feeling. Moreover, there is no existing American national identity that can transcend this knowing. It this nuanced nature of belonging that I fought to capture in these pages.

In the book *Americanah* by Chimamanda Adichie, I found unexpected literary fuel for my interest in belonging. As the name might suggest the book is a chronicle of sorts. The story of a Nigerian transplant, Efemelu, who achieves American citizenship but returns back home to live. The book addresses her integration experience as a black immigrant and the obstacles in the way to becoming American. Preceding chapter two were a few of the quotes from that work that related to this project. One quote in particular continues to arrest me: "she did not feel as though she did not belong because there were so many options for belonging." Driven by an overarching question—out of many, how do we create one—my interviews with naturalized West Indians and my archival data converge to consider how belonging hangs in the balance as a consequence of intended and unintended actions.

I began this dissertation by asserting that the made in America label was more interesting when applied to American products of a human nature: naturalized citizens. Rather than choose to see naturalized citizens as becoming American, I embraced a view of these individuals as the end products of a complex manufacturing process. This view

fundamentally shaped the form of this dissertation as I go back and forth between the manufacturing process and the product. Having found what I thought I would, this dissertation could have ended with chapter two. However, this finding only addressed the end product—naturalized Black citizens—in light of the larger project of nation-building that naturalization attempts to address. It did not speak to the manufacturing that the formal naturalization process is accountable for. In Chapter three, I show the existence of competing institutional logics that influence organizational identity and practice throughout the 20th century and continuing in the 21st. Conceiving of the organization as a machine, I showed how principles of efficiency and calculability overshadow the human elements of the work of any agency given the task of managing immigrants and potential new citizens. Finally, in Chapter 4, I returned to the idea of my respondents as products shaped by an informal and formal naturalization process that lacks harmony in creating citizens who are American in every sense of the word.

5.2. Research Implications

Though I've traveled more than 200 pages to get here, I end up at the start again: with a criticism of assimilation and the conceptual blind spots it leaves for black immigrants. Especially as it concerns their racial positions in the United States. In part this is because black immigrants and African Americans have been lumped together and separated in a myriad of ways due to their shared black identity in the United States. Though they may share a political agenda, there are also tensions between these groups (Rogers 2006, 2001; Watts-Smith 2014). In *Black Mosaic*, an exploration of the diversity within the black

population of the United States, political scientist Candis Watts Smith found a problem as she completed her research: "a theory that captured the complex, intraracial relationship between black immigrants and African Americans did not exist. I agree. Watts-Smith posits the following as a remedy:

> A theory of diasporic consciousness, which focused on the individual level—on individuals' attitudes and behaviors—provides a flexible framework that helps us explain what we see empirically: complexity. (Watts-Smith 2014:201)

Though I find Watts-Smith's theory of diasporic consciousness compelling, I would like to situate black immigrants within a theory that engages the racial hierarchy. Two theories are of consequence here: Bonilla-Silva's tri-racial order and Clair Jean Kim's racial triangulation. In figure 5, I apply Bonilla Silva's theory considering how black immigrants become invisible in position of collective blacks. In the tri-racial order, whites and honorary whites are in better ranks than the collective black, however only whites experience first class citizenship. As members of the collective black category, black immigrants like those I interviewed are lumped with African Americans and vulnerable to the same experience of racism and discrimination. While I initially conceived of the black immigrant position within the national family, I find that this lumping does not recognize the continued valorization of this group compared to African Americans (Pierre 2004). Instead, I think it is useful to situate black immigrants in their own field of racial positions vis-à-vis the groups they are compared to: native Whites and African Americans.

In racial triangulation, Kim posits Asians as forever foreigners within a field of racial positions determined by concurrent processes of relative valorization and civic ostracism.

Relative valorization compares this group to all blacks in the United States who are seen as inferior. On this ranking, Asians are positioned higher than blacks. In the evaluation of civic ostracism, or citizenship, Asians are considered unassimilable and immutably foreign (Kim 1999:107). Kim's racial triangulation succeeds in theorizing the Asian racial hierarchy outside of the black/white binary (Gold 2004). A similar positioning is needed for Black immigrants as well. Especially as this black/white binary is increasingly complicated by growing diversity within the black community (Shaw Taylor 2009; Watts-Smith 2014). There are two interrelated points here in understanding black immigrants' location in a field of racial positions, which I visualize through figure 5.2. Though black immigrants are problematically valorized as better than their African American counterparts, they too experience second class citizenship as members of the "collective black." How does this translate to their position? Figure 5.1 shows Kim's positioning of Asians. The first difference is that rather than consider insiders and foreigners for the civic ostracism dimension, I consider biological and adopted citizenship. After all, despite how they became members of the national family, Black immigrants are marked so as to only experience a second class citizenship due to phenotypic similarities with African Americans. The second difference is that black immigrants are valorized both in comparison to whites and to African Americans. Their position as slightly more superior to African Americans is because of the ideological whitening many go through as a part of their lived experience in the U.S. It is this ideological whitening that religion, compartmentalizing racism, and social distancing accomplishes.. By distinguishing black immigrants from the collective black category, this field of racial positions demonstrates how the model minority myth has been problematically applied as a counter to the stigmatization of African Americans.
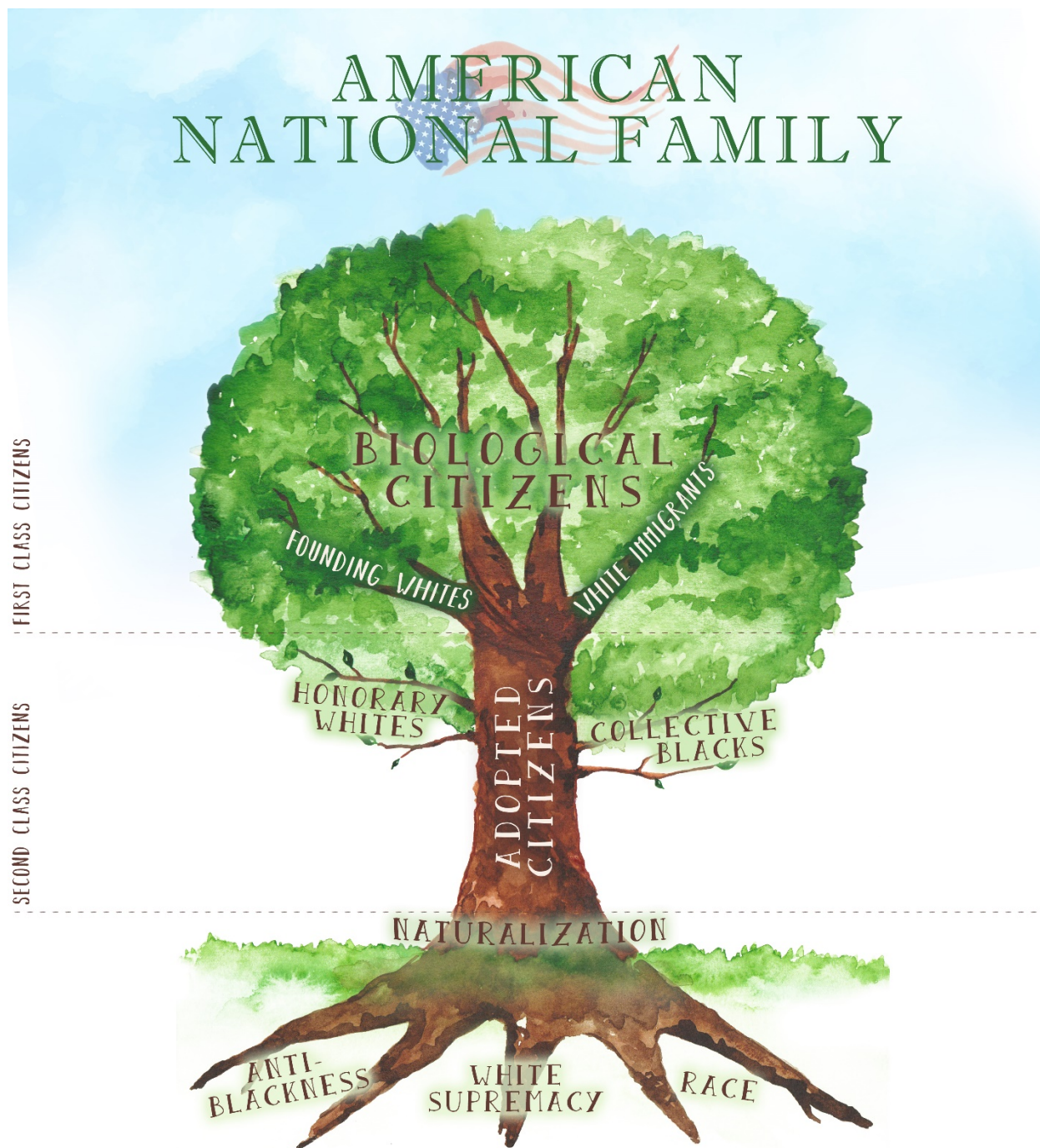
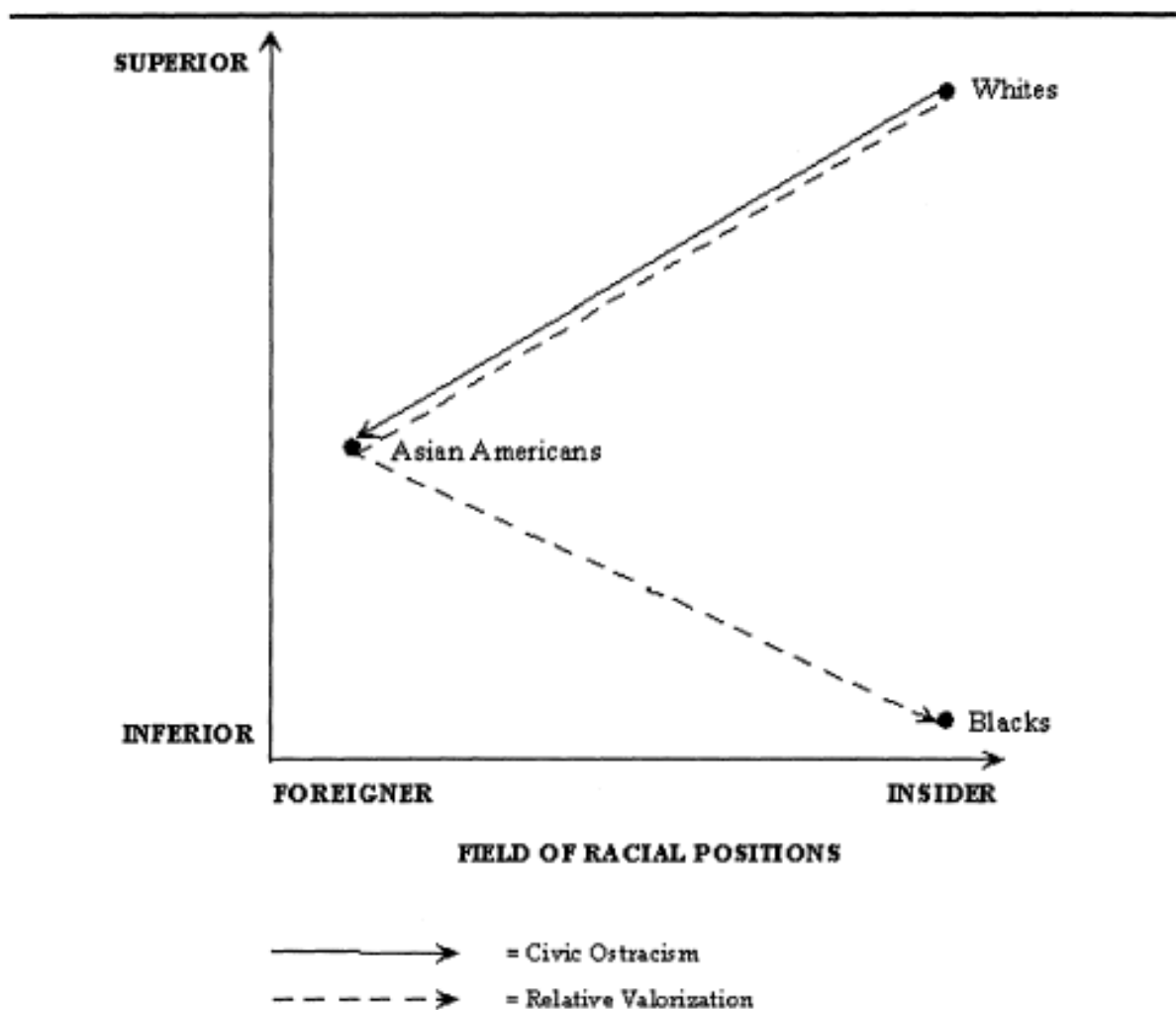**Figure 5:** American National Family (tri-racial order)

Figure 1. Racial triangulation.

Figure 5.1: Kim's Racial Triangulation (Source: Kim 1999)
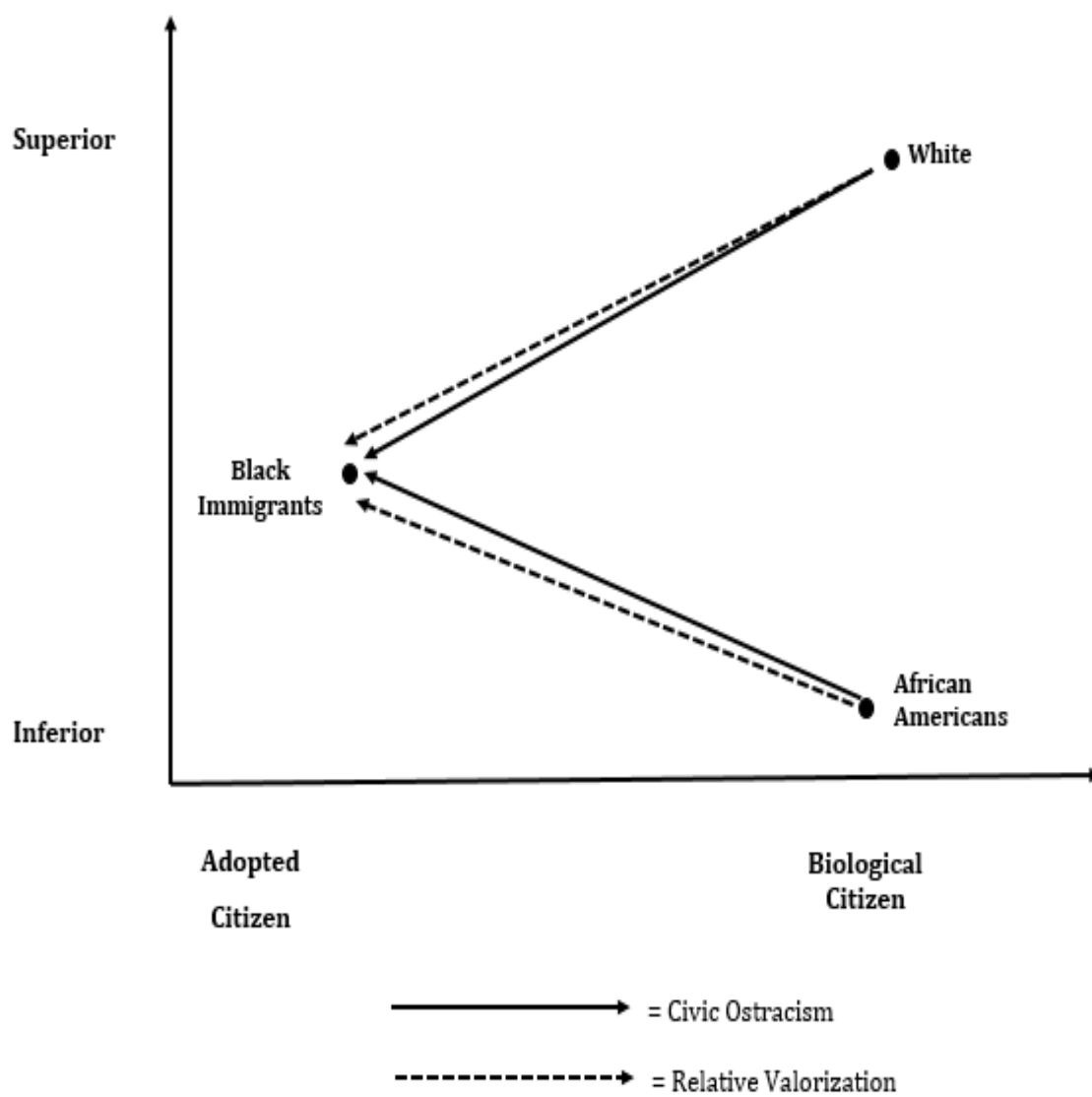
Figure 5.2: Racial Triangulation of Black Immigrants in the U.S.

5.2   The Promised Land: How Do We Get There?

At the end of this project, I've come to realize that remedying the conceptual blind spots I see marginalizing the black immigrant experience in the academy will include crossing many rivers. In the beautifully haunting song *Many Rivers to Cross*, Jimmy Cliff sings the following line with melancholy and a sense of perseverance.

<div align="center">

Many rivers to cross

But I can't seem to find my way over

</div>

This line resonates on many levels for this dissertation, especially as it concerns the limitations that influenced the shape of this end product. I wrote this story somehow thinking that after crossing many rivers to makes sense of this data, I would reach a promised land. One that closed the book once and for all in somehow. However, this ending is far from that. There are a few limitations that make such an ending impossible.

One limitation that prevented me from crossing over to this promised land was that the concept of belonging was limiting. As I reached saturation in my interviews, I recognized that I did not have a measure of what I meant by strong feelings. There was no scale to compare what strong looked like to weak. No scale to rank my respondents' emotions. Consequently, I look forward to designing future studies that examine both the sense of belonging and projects of belonging as well as to create measures that fix the fact that belonging is "relatively ill defined" and often forgotten (Skrbs et. al 2008:261;Bloemraad 2000). Another limitation was that I did not consider asking questions that truly got at how religiously active my respondents were. Though I recruited from a church, I did not ask how

often my respondents attended or in what ways they participated. However, more work should be done on how religion constitutes good and bad citizens in this contemporary immigration period. Zopf (2018) finds that for Egyptians in the United States, their racialization includes a religious evaluation that marginalizes them as Muslim even if that is not their actual faith. A final regret is that I did not choose to do oral histories. Though I was able to probe to get details about respondents' trajectories and lived experiences in the United States, oral histories are a much more thorough way to explore emotional transformations over the course of a lifetime. Work on black immigrants is often qualitative, but oral histories could reveal information that semi-structured and structured interviews do not.

In the context of this project, the promised land is also a limiting focus on a destination rather than on the journey. Citizenship too, is perhaps more about the journey than about the destination. At least that's what I wanted to show in these pages. I wanted to drive home the point that naturalized citizens are not cooked in an easy bake oven. They are not made overnight. Likewise, understanding the meaning of American citizenship neither starts with the n-400 applications nor ends with the naturalization ceremony. So far, American national identity has been able to survive on uneasy agreements on equality of opportunity if not equality of condition. Alas, even that is unrealized. There are indeed many rivers to cross, before we truly become one out of many. Perhaps here only, the journey is outweighed in significance by the destination viewed as the promise land. When the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, delivered his I've Been to the Mountain Top Speech, he used this biblical analogy of the promise land in a now famous quote that held much foreboding.

"I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people, will get to the Promised Land."

Only one night after uttering those words, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was dead. His words, those words, especially, still live on. Indeed, he did not make it to the promise land and as a nation we haven't either. We cannot however, stop striving.

This resolve is echoed in the experiences of those immigrants in my sample who employed resistance and aspiration as alternative but successful forms of capital to help them acquire citizenship and secure their American dream. It defines those who continue to defy an America whose myth-making stands to erase their experiences of inequality and inopportunity on the road to citizenship. At the point of it all, I hope the story told in these pages, privileged the standpoint of the 51 storytellers who gave me access into their lives. In that massive effort at storytelling, I found a few potential plot twists where I imagine that future research in this area could intervene, building bridges to cross rivers. Or at the very least, assemble necessary tools for the build. Towards that end, in my future projects I plan to continue interrogating black naturalized citizens through the lens of belonging, but focusing on how American citizenship is understood within family units that come to acquire this status differently. I also plan to explore the way black immigrants are both visible and invisible in the wider immigration marketplace, studying newspaper coverage in times of high anti-immigrant sentiment. I would also like to develop a study that examines discourse aimed at immigrants such as Outstanding Americans by choice.

5.3.   The Last Product on the Shelf

Throughout this project I worked hard to ensure that each of the 51 immigrants in this sample were represented in at minimum one quote. From the beginning, my methodological choices for this project from data to analysis stemmed from this belief: to really understand what was happening to black immigrants becoming citizens, I would have separate them from each other and then somehow put them back together. That was the story that I told in these pages. However, another story played out behind the scenes. As the writer of this story, I also had to break myself down into all that I had learned in my studies as a sociologist and find a way to apply what was relevant to this project.

> We seem unable to accept the fact that race, and class, gender, sexual orientation, and American empire, which produces "imperial emotions" (Haggis and Allen 2008) among all sociologists, including sociologists of color, are part of our subjectivity. Given that we are "social beings," sociologists, as everyone else, are as much "social products" as the people we examine. Until we accept this fundamental reality, we will continue avoiding doing the hard work we must do to produce a better sociological praxis, both within departments and for the people outside. (Bonilla-Silva 2017:183-4)

The story told in these pages would look different if another sociologist collected, interpreted or even thought of these research questions. What you read is as much as about the 51 naturalized citizens I interviewed, as it is about how I chose to interpret their lives sociologically.

From the beginning of this project, I have posed the question: out of many, how do we create one people? For me, the one has always been conceived of as a unifying consciousness of sorts—a mutually beneficial meeting of bodies, hearts and minds under the banner of American nationality. However, in late 2017, a colleague providing feedback responded to this question by asking: why do we want to? There are of course many valid reasons why States embrace the idea of a singular one, made up of many. Behind this question is a critique of a form of groupness that is not a mark of unity, equality, or a kumbaya moment of reconciliation. It is instead a call to shedding difference while experiencing inequality all the same.

At this project's end, I think I see my colleague's point in a more valuable way. Maybe becoming one of many shouldn't be one of the rivers we have to cross to the Promised Land. Maybe it doesn't need to be a part of this journey. And that might be the most provocative unexplored idea in all these pages. So, I leave you with new versions of the same question: why do we want to become one, out of many, anyway? What are the characteristics of the product we label America? What will it become?

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE[3]

Introduction

Thank you very much for agreeing to meet with me. My research is interested in examining experiences where West Indians may or may not feel welcome in the process of becoming American citizens. Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary and there are no right or wrong answers. If at any point you would prefer not to answer a question, or to no longer be recorded please let me know. In addition, you can also withdraw your participation at any time. Before you is an informed consent form that details all the things I have just told you. Please take a minute to read through and sign. After signing we'll begin the interview. Feel free to ask any questions that may arise along the way.

'Warm Up' Question

Before moving to the U.S. you probably received some advice from friends or family. Now that you are here and a citizen, what is one thing about the U.S. that you wished you were told before coming?

1. What was your primary reason for moving to the United States?

2. How long have you lived in New York City?

3. How often do you visit back home? When was your last time visiting and how long did you stay?

4. Do you plan to return to _____ and live permanently? Why or why not?

5. Do you think it is important to maintain ties with your home country? Why or why not?

6. How would you compare life on the island with life here in the United States? Are you satisfied with your standard of living? Why or why not?

Identity

7. How do you respond to someone who asks about your background or where you are from? Does this differ based on the person asking?

8. What would you say is your racial identity? Ethnic identity?

9. Do you identity yourself differently now that you live in the United States?

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[3] Some questions adapted from Rogers 2006; bolded questions may be omitted depending on religious background

10. How do race relations here in the U.S. compare to race relations back home? Are they better or worse?

11. What does it mean to be West Indian?

12. Would you say that West Indians are well known in the U.S.?

    a. What would you say they are well known for?

    b. Which of these are positive, which negative?

13. Do you feel that being West Indian makes a difference to your experience in the United States? If so how?

    a. Tell me about an experience where being West Indian was a positive for you.

    b. Tell me about an experience where being West Indian was a negative for you.

14. Have you had any personal experiences with racism or discrimination in the U.S.?

    a. Tell me about one of those experiences.

15. Do African Americans and Black Caribbean's experience racism and discrimination in the same way? Why or why not?

16. Do you feel that your being a man/woman makes a difference to your experience in the United States? If so how?

17. Do West Indians have different expectations of or treat men and women differently? If so how?

Citizenship and Naturalization

18. When did you begin the naturalization process?

    a. What were your reasons?

    b. Did anyone else in your family begin the process at the same time?

    c. Did you feel any pressure to become a citizen? Why or why not?

19. Walk me through the steps it took for you to become a citizen. Try to remember as many details as possible.

20. From whom did you seek help or ask advice?

21. How did you file? Did you have a sponsor?

22. How long did it take from filing your initial application until you were granted citizenship?

    a. How did you feel during the process? Were there times where you felt encouraged or discouraged?

    b. Tell me about one of those times.

23. How many interviews did you have? Why?

24. How did you prepare for your initial interview?

    a. From whom did you seek help or advice?

    b. What advice or warnings were you given?

    c. Did you have any fears? What were they?

25. Tell me about your initial interview. What kinds of questions were asked? How did you feel during the interview?

26. Were there any questions you had difficulty answering?

    a. Can you recall a specific example?

    b. How did your interview react in that instance?

27. Were there any questions that made you feel uncomfortable? Were any questions repeated?

    a. Can you recall specific examples?

28. Did your religious background come up during the interview? If so how?

    a. Do you feel this had a positive or negative impact on your case?

29. Can you describe your interviewer? Race/gender?

    a. How would you describe your interviewer's tone, body language, facial expression during the interview?

    b. What were your general impressions?

30. After the interview was completed how did you feel? Were you confident you would be granted citizenship? Why or why not?

    a. When did you receive notification that you had been granted citizenship?

31. What information discussed in the interview did you think might count negatively or positively against you?

32. What do you think the purpose of your interview was?

33. If you had multiple interviews, walk me through those.

    a. How were they different or similar to the each other?

Perceptions of Belonging

34. Do you think of yourself as American? Why or why not?

    a. Can you tell me about when you began to think this way?

35. What does being an American citizen mean to you?/What does it mean to be American

    b. Was the process worth it? Why or why not/?

36. How did life change after becoming a citizen?

37. Can you tell me about an experience after naturalization where you felt like an American citizen.

38. Do you consider yourself a good citizen? Why or why not?

    a. What makes good citizens?

39. Now, can you tell me about an experience after naturalization where you did not feel like an American citizen. Did your race or ethnicity play a role? If so how?

    a. Have there been other experiences like this one?

40. As a citizen do you feel as if you belong —or feel at home—in the United States? Why or why not?

41. Can you tell me about an experience where you felt like you belonged—or felt at home? Did your race or ethnicity play a role? If so how?

    a. What about in specific places—like work, church, your neighborhood, your child's school

42. Can you tell me about an experience where you felt unwelcome in the United States. Did your race or ethnicity play a role? If so how?

    a. What about in specific places—like the grocery store, your child's school the airport, or at work?

43. Do you feel that you are as welcome in the United States as other immigrants? Why or why not?

    a. Do you feel that your race or ethnicity plays a role in this? If so, how?

44. Do you feel that you receive the same treatment as other citizens? Why or why not?

    a. Do you feel that your race or ethnicity plays a role in this? If so, how?

45. Would you encourage others from your home country to come to the U.S.? Why or why not?

    c. What advice or warnings would you give?

Participation

46. Some Americans, celebrate national holidays, support American values, hang flags in their homes as ways to show their allegiance to the country. What are some ways that you show you are American?

47. Is it important to prove that you are American, why or why not?

48. Do you pay attention to politics in the U.S. and in your home country? Why or why not?

49. Immigration reform has been in the news a lot lately and some immigrants have begun in protest of some reform provisions. Have you attended any meeting marches or participated in any activities around this issue?

      d. If so when and where? Who sponsored this event?

50. Are you in favor of more restrictions on immigration to this country?

51. How do you think more immigration restrictions would affect West Indians specifically and you personally?

52. Some people have noted that not many black immigrants participate in marches around immigration but many Latinos do. Why do you think this is?

53. Do you think it is important for black immigrants to be politically active in this way? Why or why not?

      a. Do you vote in national elections, what about local elections?

Religion specific questions—based on participant's religious background

1. How important do you consider your religion to be to you?
   a. How often do you attend religious services?
2. What role does your church fulfill in your life?
3. Does your church ever discuss politics or social issues?
4. Does your church provide resources and help for immigrants?
5. Is this a role you would like your church to fulfill? Why or why not?
6. Does being Christian help you to be a better citizen?

Consent for Participation in the Research Study,
Out of Many, One People": Race, Naturalization and Perceptions of Belonging in Becoming
American

Donna Granville is conducting research to gather information about the experiences for naturalized West Indians in becoming citizens and their perceptions of what it means to be an American citizen. Your participation in this interview is voluntary, and will consist of answering open-ended questions about your experiences during your citizenship interview, your thoughts on what it means to be an American citizen, and the specific practices that you believe are important for a citizen of the United States. You will not be compensated for participating in this study.

You may discontinue participation at any time, for any reason, without penalty. Interviews will be audio recorded and your participation will last no more than one and a half hours. There is a risk that a breach of privacy and/or confidentiality can occur. However, all interviews will be carried out by Donna in the strictest confidentiality. You may decline to be audio taped and still participate in the interview. Though others in this organization may know that you have participated in this research, Donna will not identify any participants, and neither will any published material. However, identifiable information may be reviewed by the UIC IRB and/or State of Illinois auditors to ensure that this research is being carried out as approved. Audio files will be stored in a secured electronic file that no one other than Donna will have access to and will be destroyed six months after the interview completion date. Again, your participation in this interview is completely voluntary.

Your participation in this study may involve slight feelings of discomfort when asked about the details of your naturalization process. However, you might also find your participation in this study to be meaningful since you will be sharing your experience as a Black immigrant; a group that is often ignored and under-represented in terms of the federal agenda on immigration reform.

I acknowledge that Donna has explained to me the details of my involvement in this research, the need for research, and has offered to answer any questions that I may have concerning the procedures to be followed. I freely and voluntarily consent to participate in this study. I understand that I may keep a copy of this consent form for my own records.

_____   _____
(Respondent)   (Date)

_____   _____
(Investigator)   (Date)
Do you agree to be audio-recorded?   YES ☐   NO ☐

For questions, comments, or further information about this study please feel free to contact Donna Granville directly at 917 586 7314 or dgranv2@uic.edu or Faculty Advisor William Bielby at 312.996.3005 or wbielby@uic.edu. This research may be monitored by the UIC Institutional Review Board and state auditors.

Donna Granville, Ph.D Candidate	William Bielby, Ph.D
University of Illinois at Chicago	University of Illinois at Chicago
Department of Sociology (MC 312)	Department of Sociology (MC 312)
1007 West Harrison Street	1007 West Harrison Street
Chicago, IL 60607-7140	Chicago, IL 60607-7140

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the UIC Office for the Protection of Research Subjects toll free at (312) 996-1711 or uicirb@uic.ed

Out of Many, One People, Consent document- West Indian participants, Version 3, [01/25/2017]

Donna-Lee Granville

Recruitment Script

Out of Many, One People

PI: Thanks (*name of potential participant*) for your interest in taking part in this study. As you may already know, this study is interested in interviewing naturalized West Indians about their perceptions of the process of becoming citizens. So, before we go any further, is it ok for me to ask you a few questions to make sure you are eligible to participate?

PI: Are you 18 years or older? Are you a naturalized citizen? Lastly, were you born in a country in the West Indies and if so, which one?

PI: Great. Can I have an email address or phone number to contact you so that we can set up an interview?

PI: Thanks so much. I will be getting in contact with you soon.

Donna-Lee Granville

Telephone Script

Out of Many, One People

PI: Thanks (*name of potential participant*) for your interest in taking part in this study. As you may already know, this study is interested in interviewing naturalized West Indians about their perceptions of the process of becoming citizens. So, before we go any further, is it ok for me to ask you a few questions to make sure you are eligible to participate?

PI: Are you 18 years or older? Are you a naturalized citizen? Lastly, were you born in a country in the West Indies and if so, which one?

PI: Great. Thanks for answering these questions. You are a fit for this study so our next step is to try and set up an interview time and location. When is your availability over the next week? Is there a specific place that you would like to meet?

PI: Ok so to confirm, we have decided to meet on _____ at _____ to conduct the interview. The last bit of information that I need is your contact information. Is there a method of contact that you prefer?

PI: Thanks so much for agreeing to be interviewed. I look forward to seeing you on _____ at _____.

Donna-Lee Granville

VITA

2513 Newkirk Ave, Apt 6D *** Brooklyn, NY 11226 *** (917) 586-7314 ***
Email: dtgranville@gmail.com

EDUCATION

- **The University of Illinois-Chicago** (*Expected Summer 2018)*
  Ph.D., Sociology
  Dissertation Title- "Out of Many, One People": Race, Naturalization and Belonging in the Process of Becoming American
  Committee: Dr. William T. Bielby-Chair, Dr. Nilda Flores-Gonzalez, Dr. Anna Guevarra, Dr. Vilna Bashi Treitler (UC-Santa Barbara), Dr. R. Stephen Warner

- **The University of Illinois-Chicago** *(2012)*
  M.A., Sociology
  Master's Thesis: Hip-Hop, Hooray and Hallelujah: Institutional Entrepreneurship in a Hip Hop Church

- **Spelman College** *(2008)*
  B.A., Sociology

RESEARCH INTERESTS

- Race & Ethnicity, Migration, The African Diaspora, Sociology of Culture, Qualitative Methods, Pop culture and Media, Sociology of Religion

HONORS & AWARDS

Spring 2017	PSC-CUNY Adjunct Professional Development Grant, $3000	
Spring 2016	UUP Individual Development Award Grant, UUP-SUNY Farmingdale, *$350*	
Fall 2015	Dissertation Grant, Institute for Research on Race & Public Policy, UIC, *$1000*	
Fall 2013	Provost's Award for Graduate Research, UIC, *$2000*	
Spring 2013	SAGE Teaching Innovations & Professional Development Award (ASA), *$250*	
Spring 2012	Student Travel Award, Midwest Sociological Society (MSS), *$150*	
Spring 2012	Graduate College Student Travel Award, UIC, *$100*	
Spring 2011	Social Science Research Council Dissertation Proposal Development Award (SSRC-DPDF): Bridging, Bordering, and	

Bonding Section. Research Directors: Virginie Guiradon and Ruben Hernandez-Leon, *$5000*

Summer 2007	Summer Humanities Institute, UCLA
Spring 2007	Civic Engagement Fellows Program, Spelman College
Spring 2007	2nd Place Poster, Atlanta University Center Psychology Day
Spring 2007	Alpha Kappa Delta International Sociology Honor Society
2006- 2008	Research Scholar, National Institutes of Mental Health Career Opportunities in Research Training and Education (NIMH-COR)
2005-2008	The John Harland Scholarship

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

- *Research Assistant*   2012-2013
  New African Diasporas Project, UIC, Dr. Lynette Jackson
- *Research Assistant*   2010
  UIC Department of Sociology, Dr. Maria Krysan, "Cybersegregation" study
- *Interviewer*   2009
  UIC Department of Sociology, Chicago Area Study
- *Research Scholar*   2007
  Summer Humanities Institute, The University Of California, Los Angeles
- *Research Scholar*   2007- 2008
  National Institutes of Mental Health Career Opportunities in Research Training and Education (NIMH-COR) Research Scholar, Spelman College

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Granville, Donna. 2015. "New Life Covenant Church", pp. 161-174 in *How Religious Congregations are Engaging Young Adults in America*, edited by Monte Sahlin and David Roozen. Hartford Institute for Religion Research: Hartford, CT.

Granville, Donna. 2013. A Snapshot of Youth and Young Adults in New Life Covenant Church. Prepared for the <u>FACT Case Studies of Congregations Engaging Young Adults</u> through The Cooperative Congregational Studies Partnership. Available at faithcommunitiestoday.org.

MANU.S.CRIPTS IN PROGRESS

- Hip Hop, Hooray and Hallelujah: How Hip Hop Transforms Church As Usual for Marginalized Black Youth (*May 2018 submission to Black Studies Journal*).
- How To Be A 'Non-American Black': Racial Naturalization, Ethnic Options and Escaping the Boundaries of Blackness (*abstract available*)

- (In)visible in the Immigrant Marketplace: Framing the Absence of Black Immigrants in Newspaper Coverage of Immigration Reform. (Draft available)
- Who are 'Americans By Choice'?: Conceptions of Citizenship and National Identity in Idealized Representations of Naturalized Citizens (abstract available)

PRESENTATIONS & CONFERENCES
- Granville, D. (December 2018). "Like One of the Family: The Meaning of Citizenship for Naturalized Black West Indians". Department of Sociology. Brooklyn College.

- Granville, D. (April 2017). "Narrating Inclusion: Technologies of Self and State in Becoming American". New Directions in Critical Race and Ethnicity Conference. University of Tennessee, Knoxville. (Accepted but did not present)

- Granville, D. (March 2017). "From Alien to Citizen: Race, Naturalization, and the Manufacturing of American Citizens by Choice". 12th Social Theory Forum. University of Massachusetts, Boston.

- Granville, D. (May 2014). "Black in the Immigrant Marketplace: Framing the Absence of Black Immigrants in Newspaper Coverage of Immigration Reform". Roundtable. Pushing the Boundaries of Migration Studies Workshop. Harvard University, Boston.

- Granville, D. (April 2012). "Hip-Hop, Hooray, and Hallelujah: An Organizational Analysis of a Hip Hop Church". Chicago Ethnography Conference, Chicago.

- Granville, D. (March 2012). "Out of Many, One People: Deconstructing West Indian Identity in the U.S. Imaginary". Roundtable. Midwest Sociological Society, Annual Meeting, Minneapolis.

INVITED SPEAKER
- February 2018. Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship, Brooklyn College. Topic: Lessons from Graduate School.
- October 2018. Black & Latino Male Initiative, Brooklyn College. Topic: The Successful College Student.

TEACHING
Substitute Lecturer (Brooklyn College)
Fall 2017-present
- Introduction to Sociology-*Hybrid online & face to face* (Fall 2017, Spring 2018)
- Introduction to Sociology(Fall 2017, Spring 2018)

- Social Problems (Spring 2018)
- Urban Caribbean Diaspora (Spring 2018)

Lecturer (Brooklyn College)
Fall 2014-Summer 2017
- Sociology of Law (Fall 2015)
- Political Sociology (Summer 2015 & 2016)
- Aging in Society (Summer 2016)
- People, Power & Politics (Fall 2014, Spring 2015, Spring 2016)
- Introduction to Sociology (Spring 2015, 2017; Fall 2016)
- Race & Ethnicity (Spring 2015, Spring 2016)
- Social Problems (Spring 2017)

Adjunct Lecturer (Farmingdale State College)
Fall 2014-Fall 2017
- Multiculturalism & Diversity (Fall 2014 & 2015, Spring 2015-2017, online)
- Social Issues & Institutions (Fall 2014, Fall 2015)
- Introduction to Sociology (Spring 2015 & 2016, Fall 2016)

Adjunct Lecturer (St. John's University)
- Gender in Global Context (Fall 2014)

Graduate Instructor (University of Illinois-Chicago)
- Social Problems (Fall 2012, Spring 2013, Spring 2014)
- Research Methods (Fall 2010)

ADDITIONAL TRAINING
- SUNY Farmingdale (Fall 2016)- Online & Hybrid Course Development Certificate

OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES/ACADEMIC SERVICE
- Student Advisory Editorial Board, *Social Problems* (2014-2015)
- Graduate Student Researcher, Case Studies on Congregations with Engaged Youth Populations, Cooperative Congregational Studies Partnership (CCSP) (Summer 2013)

NON-ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT
- Daniel Murphy Scholarship Fund, Affinity Group Facilitator (08/12-May 2013)
- National Opinion Research Center, Production Assistant, Chicago, IL (02/2011-10/2011)

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS
- American Sociological Association (2010-present)
- Association of Black Sociologists (2010-present)
- Midwest Sociological Society (2009-present)
- National Association of University Women (2016)
- Black Immigration Network (2015-Present)
- Social Science History Association (2016)

COMMUNITY SERVICE
- Volunteer, Pan African Association. (Fall 2012-Spring 2013)
- Volunteer, Glass Slipper Project. (Spring 2012)
- Citizenship Workshop Volunteer, New Americans Initiative, Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights. Community Partner- Mujeres Latinas en Acion. (Fall 2011)
- Mentor, Visitation Elementary School. (Fall 2008-Fall 2011)

References available upon request.