

Session III

Causes of Emigration - the push [and some pull]

- Population Increases
 - Climate
 - Civil wars
 - Trade
 - Rising global inequality
-
- **Social Contexts for anti-immigrant views**
 - Changing global context
 - How Labor conflict becomes racial/ethnic conflict

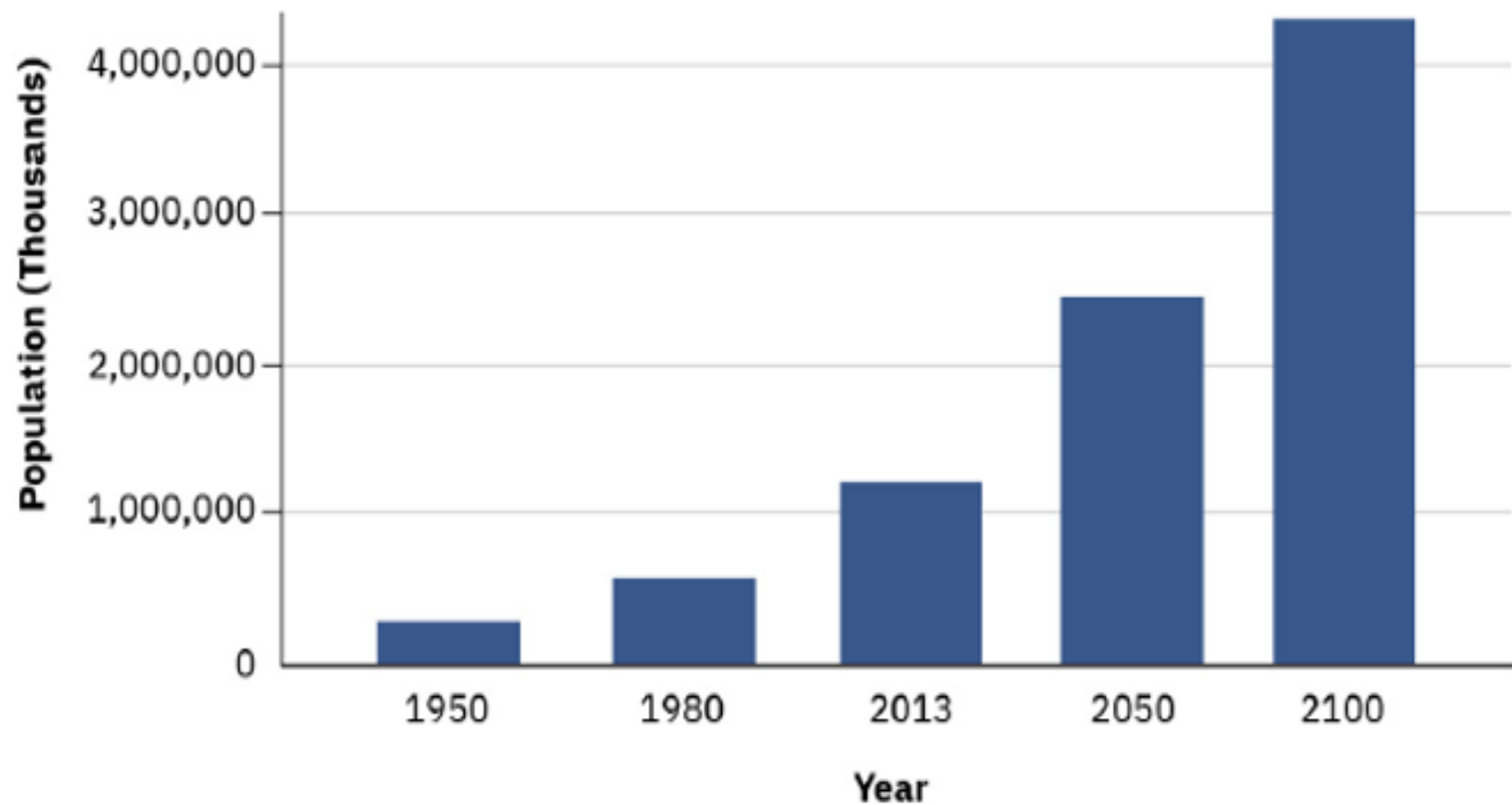


FIGURE 20.6 Projected Population in Africa This graph shows the population growth of countries located on the African continent, many of which have high fertility rates. (Credit: USAID)

Locust invasion: UN warning for Ethiopia, Kenya, Eritrea and Sudan (2019)



UN-FAO estimated: insects eating 1.8 million tonnes of vegetation a day across 135 sq miles of Ethiopia affecting four of nine states. In a northern state some farmers have lost "nearly 100%" of staple grain crop, (Food and Agricultural Organization)

8 November 2019 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-50345204>

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1 square km of locust swarm consumes in one day food for 35,000 people. Cause =unusual, heavy rainfall in arid regions, → moist soil for egg-laying and accelerate breeding. Warmer temperatures, climate-driven cyclones, trigger vegetation growth, causing solitary locusts to swarm.



cocoa powerhouses Ghana and Ivory Coast account for over 60% of global supply, facing catastrophic harvests. Rising temperature, erratic rainfall [El Niño] → root rot, reduced yields, vulnerable to pests & diseases, swollen shoot virus

Victims: small-time growers in Ivory Coast and Ghana, who have few options. (<https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/westafrica-cocoa/> 2024)

*rampant illegal gold mining has overtaken numerous farms in Ghana.

EMIGRATION

Since 1980s, Ghana has been a country of emigration

Civil wars in Africa

- *Second Congo War (5.4 million+ deaths),
- *Sudanese conflicts (1.5 million+ deaths),
- *Nigerian Civil War 1967 (nearly 2 million deaths)
- *Rwandan Genocide—1994 (killed 800,000 Tutsis)
- *Eritrean-Ethiopian War—1998-2000

More than 117 million people have been forced to flee their homes. (UNHCR)

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Historic "U.S. Grain Invasion"

1870-1913 cheap U.S. wheat flooded Europe → rise of **European emigration**

- Europe suffered from cheap American wheat
- drove down global grain prices,
- displaced European farmers; created an economic push for migration
- nations e.g. Germany & France adopted protectionist tariffs to shield their domestic farmers
- Poland: had ended serfdom, peasants bought land, then undermined by cheap US wheat

EX. Portugal

Protests began in 1885 because of flood of **American wheat at low price** [Elvino de Brito, 762]

- laws: 1889 & 1899 *Guaranteed fixed price to national wheat*
- Mills could only grind imported **after all national wheat was purchased.**
- 1899 protectionism met resistance from millers and representatives of public consumers

Import Surge definition

When a product is imported into a country in such increased quantities, relative to domestic production, and under such conditions as to cause or threaten to cause serious injury to the domestic industry that produces 'like or directly competitive' products". (FAO Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations)

[measure = 30% over average of previous 3 years]

[WTO] WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION

1948 -1994: GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade)

- rules for world trade
- 1986 Mexico joined

1995. GATT → WTO [not part of UN]

2000.- Agriculture negotiations start Doha round

- Previously more than 30% of agricultural producers had quotas or import restrictions
- WTO Eliminates import bans on some products
- Commits countries to reduce domestic support & export subsidies

2008 Doha (WTO) Round collapses

- China & India and **developing** countries insist on agricultural safeguard rules & be allowed to impose high tariffs on cheap food imports **from affluent countries**
- Want to **halt increases in imports** that put livelihoods of vulnerable farmers of developing world in danger

United States & other "developed" food **exporters refused** to accept [collapse of Doha round]

Developing countries	Agricultural Trade
1960	US\$ 7Billion surplus
2001	US\$ 11 Billion Deficit

70 % Developing countries are now net food importers --domestic production was wiped out by cheap imports and import surges (KUNA 2008).

Price—A Conveyor Belt of Globalization

Import surges disrupt local markets through prices

greatest frequency of poultry import surges occurred over 1999-2003 period, approximately 50% were registered in Africa, although Africa only received 5% of global poultry trade.

(FAO Import Surge Project Working Paper no 1. May 2005)

Local Impact of U.S.-poultry import surges

Cameroon. low levels of imports until 1999,

- imports increased **286.7%**
- decline in retail poultry prices
- → lower domestic production
- losses of rural jobs.
 - 1999 - 2004, some 92 % of poultry farmers abandoned the sector (Pingpoh and Senahoun 2007, 11-12).

Senegal, poultry imports from US jumped 0 tons in 1999 to 639 tons in 2000.

- farmers complained about flood of imported frozen chicken legs and parts
- fraction of price of local birds
- farmers abandon production

Senegal

high level of emigration: economic insecurity, high youth unemployment, & climate-related challenges.

Internal Migration: high levels of **internal migration**, particularly from rural areas to urban settings like Dakar

• **Remittances:** 4-5% of population living abroad
Emigrants' remittances contribute 11.4% GDP
2024 (<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS>)



more than 32,000 Senegalese migrants reached the Canaries 2023--twice number of arrivals during same period in 2022. (Spain Interior minister)



August 2023, number of irregular arrivals from Senegal for the first time overtook that of Morocco, which geographically is considerably closer



DUAL CITIZENSHIP: NOT RECOGNIZED

Exception: Senegal does not remove a person's citizenship upon acquiring a new citizenship. .

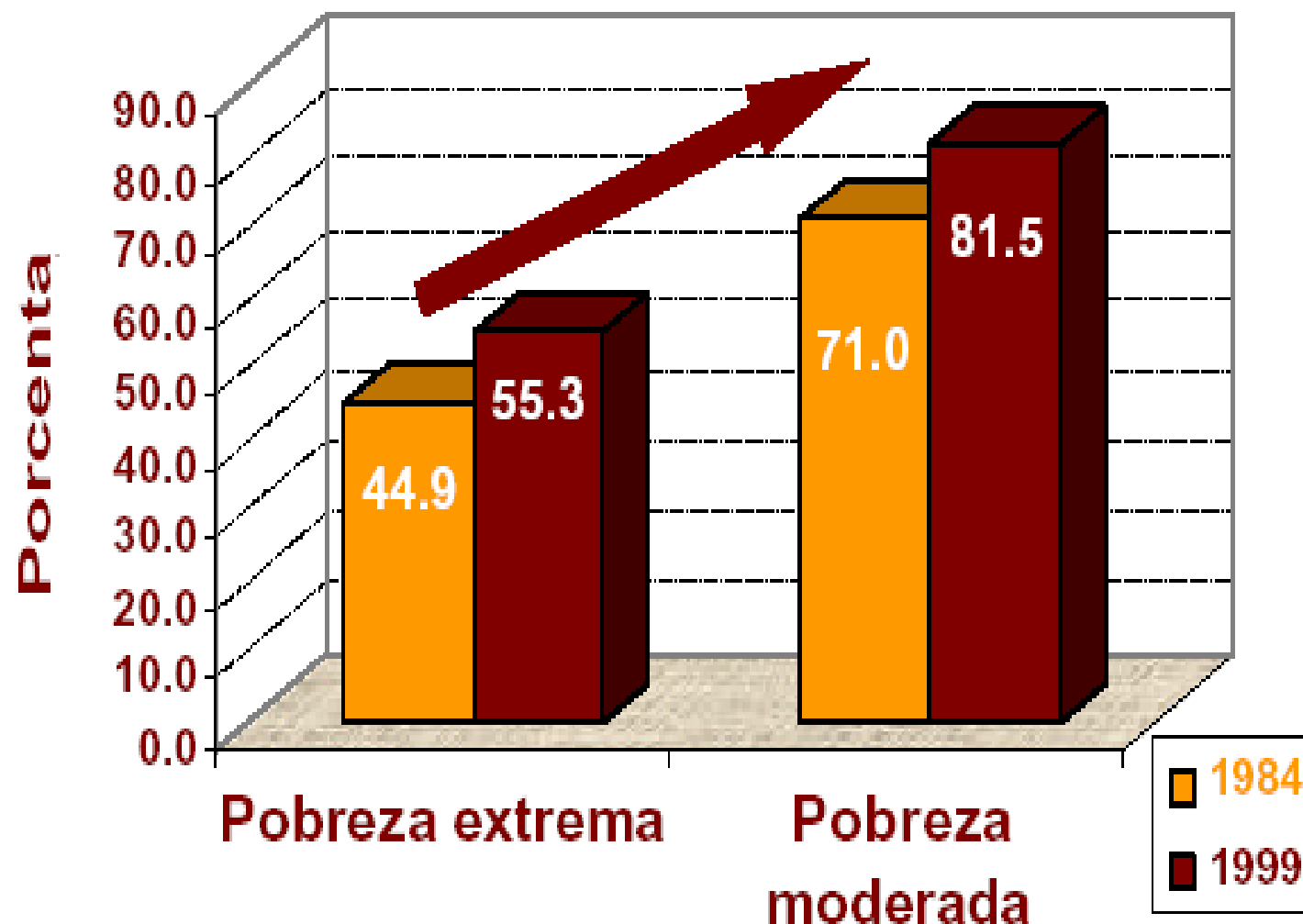
Birth within territory of Senegal does not automatically confer citizenship.

Squeezing Out Mexican Chicken

Why care about price of chicken?

- A transformed U.S. industry [industrialized & concentrated] → increase of U.S. exports [& 1994 NAFTA requirements]
- Contributed to ongoing labor displacement in rural Mexico
- → new migratory push out of Mexico.

México: Población rural en condiciones de pobreza extrema y moderada (Porcentajes)



U.S. Poultry Exports and Undocumented Immigrants in the United States



Mexico should export tomatoes and not tomato pickers. [Mexico Pres. Salinas de Gotari]

U.S. RESUMES ANTI-DUMPING INVESTIGATION OF
MEXICAN TOMATOES & LEVELS 17.65% IMPORT
TARIFF (MAY 7, 2019)



US Department of Commerce announced that it **resumes**
an anti-dumping investigation into fresh Mexican
tomatoes (requested by Florida producers)



Florida Tomato Exchange



FREE TRADE LOGIC

1) Specialization & division of labor
[Adam Smith 1723-1790]

2) Comparative advantages --some countries would be better endowed.
[David Ricardo 1772-1823]

3) Free Trade, Staple Theory--some export capital, some export labor intensive goods [Hechkscher-Olin Model 1933]

Wealth for all through participation in a world system of specialization, with differing factor endowments combined with free trade.

CRITIQUES

**It's a justification for global dominance
[Friedrich List 1844]**

**It doesn't lead to wealth on both sides
[Singer 1950]**

**It's an organizing ideology
[Wallerstein 2000]**

Methuen Treaty 1703. Portugal-England

- *English woolen clothes and other woolen manufacturers would be admitted at all times to Portugal, regardless of the Sumptuary Pragmatical sanctions forbidding them.
- *All Portuguese wines enter England paying same duties as the French ones.

Externalities of “Free” Trade

England killed the incipient woolen textile industry in Portugal in exchange for guaranteed export market for Portuguese wine

For Portugal, treaty meant renunciation of any industrial development-- even slaves working in Brazilian mines had to get their loincloths from the British

What the WTO takes away, the UNHRC tries to give back

1946

"The United Nations Commission on Human Rights"

- **established** to create an international legal fabric that protects fundamental rights and freedoms.

1948 Universal Declaration of human rights.

2006, UN Commission on HR replaced by Human Rights Council [UNHRC]

Has nine core international human rights treaties—

What the WTO takes away, the UNHRC tries to give back

UNHRC -Committee on Migrant Workers (CMW)

"The Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families"
--of all migrants, regardless of legal status

- body of independent experts monitors implementation of the **International Convention**

Though U.S. not a sitting member of HRC, its 2018 departure signals a disregard for multilateral mechanisms that hold governments accountable for human rights abuses. (Amnesty International)

U.S. renewed departure 2025

The trade-migration link

Where the externalities of economic theory become the social problems of nations and tragedies of individuals

Causes of Emigration - the push

Climate

Civil wars

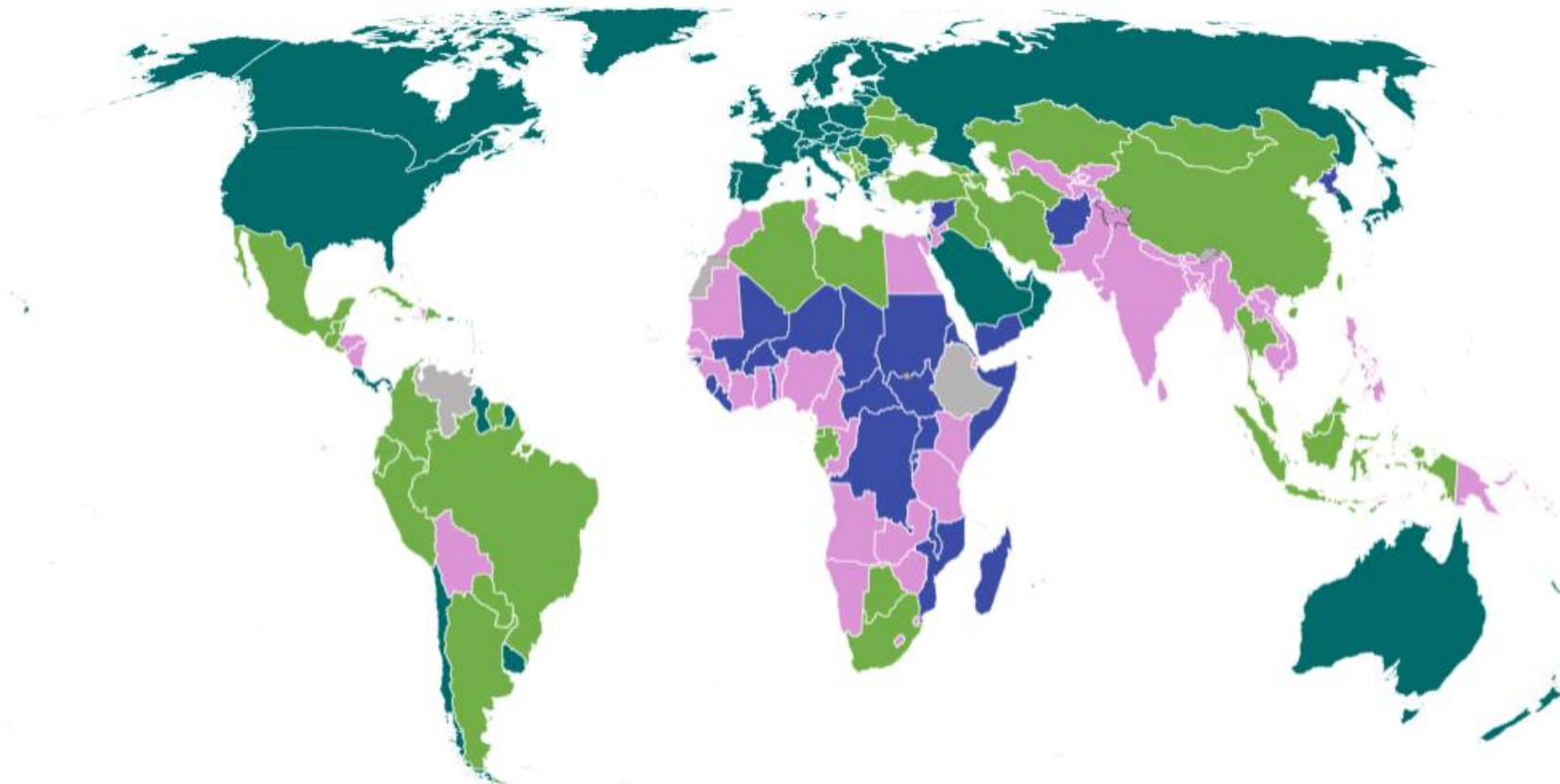
Trade

Rising global inequality



2024

● Low income ● Lower middle income ● Upper middle income ● High income

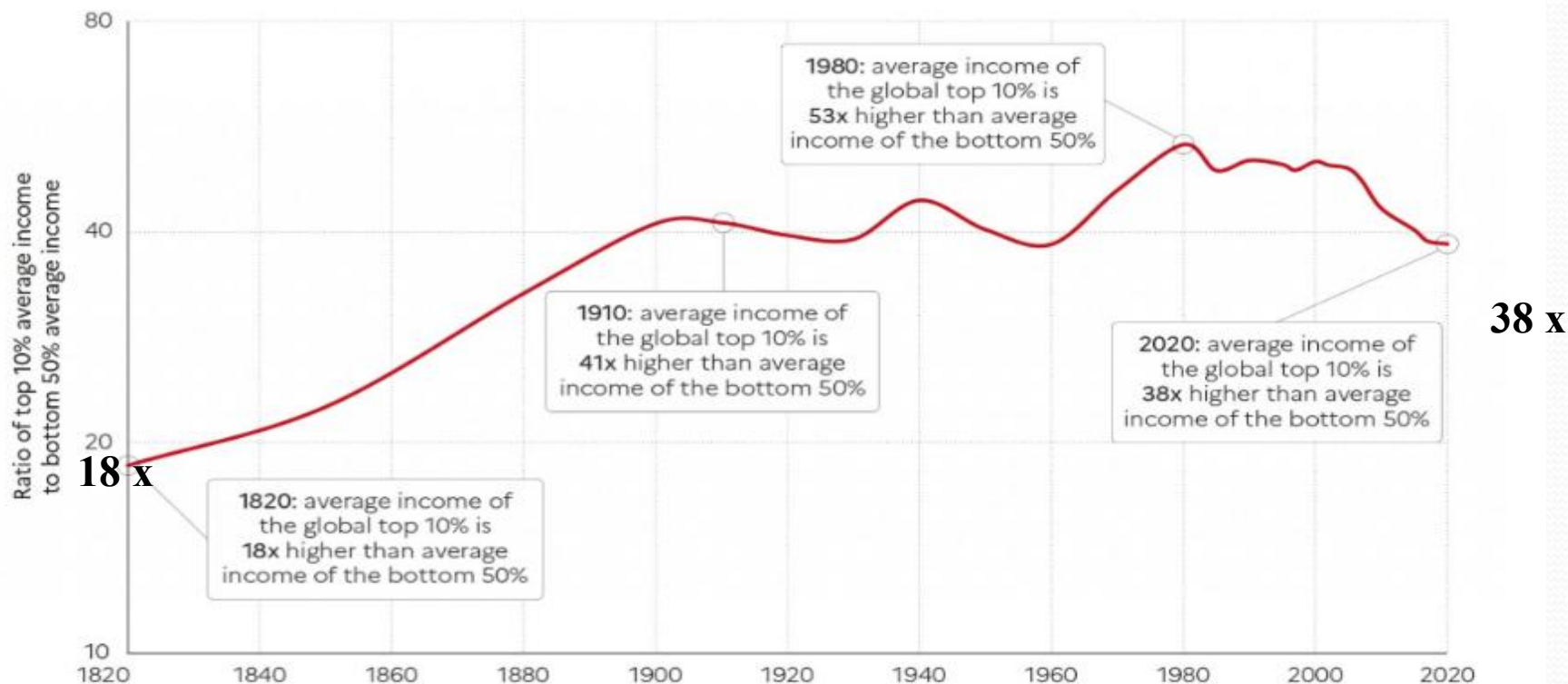


Source: World Bank Group

Countries are classified each year on July 1, based on GNI per capita data for the previous calendar year.

Global Income inequality T10/B50

Figure 2.2 Global income inequality: T10/B50 ratio, 1820-2020



Interpretation: Global inequality, as measured by the ratio T10/B50 between the average income of the top 10% and the average income of the bottom 50%, more than doubled between 1820 and 1910, from less than 20 to about 40, and stabilized around 40 between 1910 and 2020. It is too early to say whether the decline in global inequality observed since 2008 will continue. Income is measured per capita after pension and unemployment insurance transfers and before income and wealth taxes. **Sources and series:** [wir2022.wid.world/lmethodology](#) and Chancel and Piketty (2021).

Comparing 1965 & 1990

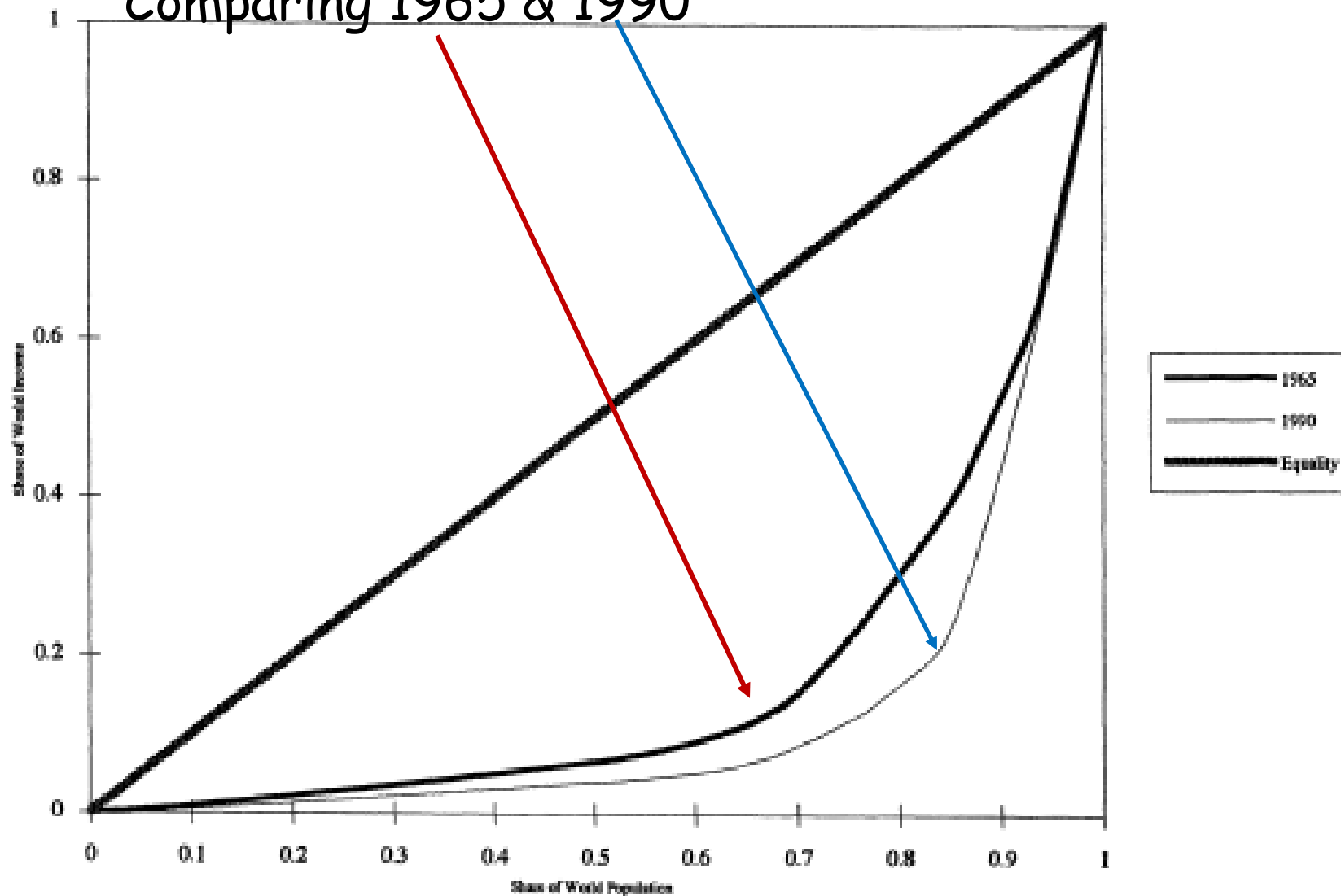


FIG. 3.—World distribution of income, 1965 and 1990

World-Economic Trends in the Distribution of Income, 1965-1992

Roberto Patricio Korzeniewicz, Timothy Patrick Moran *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 102, No. 4 (Jan., 1997), pp. 1000-1039

Intercountry inequality - unweighted

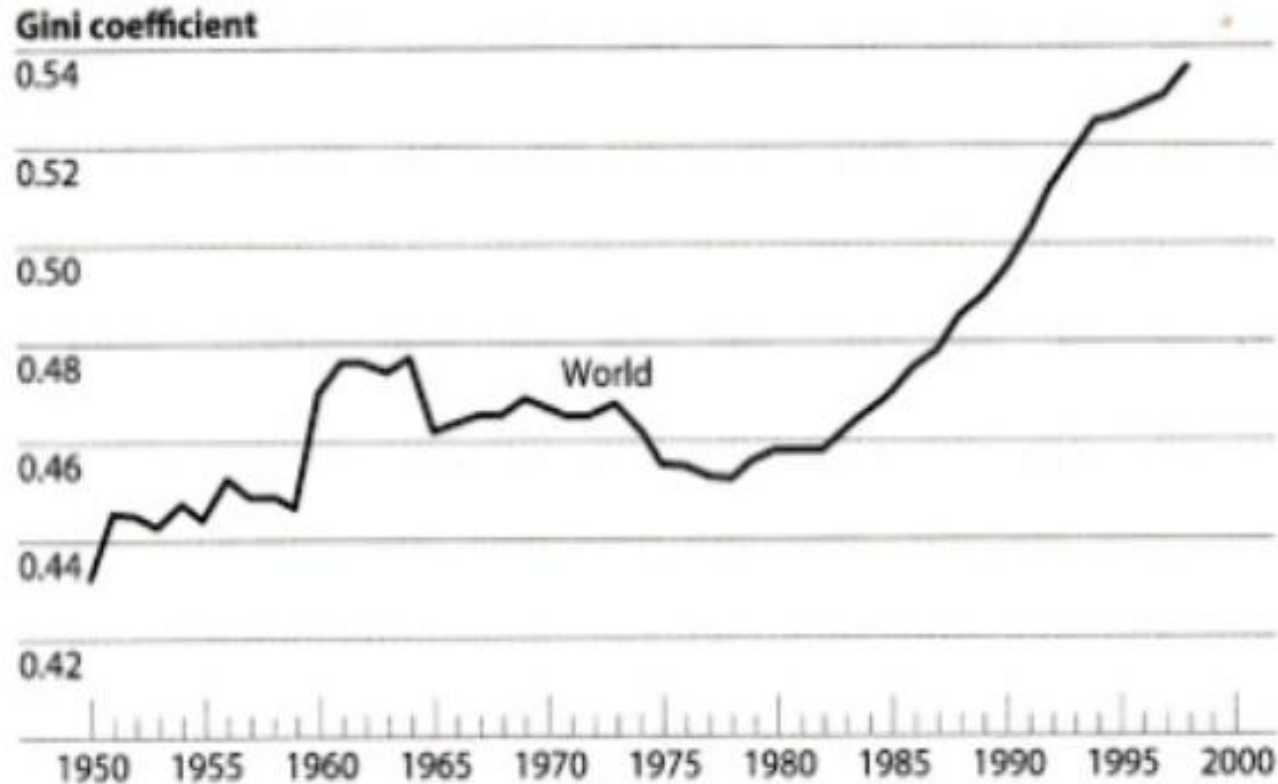


Figure 7.2. Gini coefficient: unweighted intercountry inequality, 1950–1998. Each country is one observation. Branko Milanovic. 2003. "The Two Faces of Globalization: Against Globalization as We Know It," *World Development* 31(4): 667–683, p. 675, figure 3. © Elsevier.

Explanations for anti-immigrant sentiment in U.S.

1) the numbers / scale

- Dilemma: humanitarian refugee model for one person or one family challenged by large numbers;

'I live in a church to prevent being deported'

Across the US, dozens of undocumented immigrants have taken refuge in churches to avoid deportation. For one woman in Colorado, her 14 months in sanctuary have taken a heavy toll.

She is one of nearly 50 people who live in churches in the US to avoid deportation - a long standing ICE policy discourages immigration arrests in "sensitive locations" like churches and schools.

Taylor Kate Brown BBC News, Mancos, Colorado august 8, 2018
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-45013747>

2021 still in the church

1) the numbers / scale

- Fugitive Slave Act **1793**
- Fugitive slave Act 1850 - harsher punishment for interfering in their capture-- \$1000 & 6 mos jail
- allowed for capture and return of runaway slaves within territory of U.S. States.
- formally repealed by act of Congress **1864**.

HABORING RUNAWAYS

Early "Personal Liberty Laws"

pre 1787: Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island,
Massachusetts & Connecticut

- 1777 Vermont abolished slavery
- 1780 Pennsylvania **Gradual Abolition Act**
[Quakers & abolitionists]
- runaways on Underground Railroad As many as
100,000 escaped= 2.5% of slave population

Hypothetical- Demography of harboring

1860 # slaves = 4 -4.5 mill

Pennsylvania Quakers & abolitionists drew runaways into the state.

1850 Total Penn pop =2,311,786

4,000,000 / 2311786

= 1.73 slave per person to be harbored
[6.92 runaways per family of 4]

DESIRE TO EMIGRATE [Push]

- 710 mil adults (14% of world pop) desire to emigrate (Gallup Poll [2013-2016])
- U.S. is top destination for about 147 million adults worldwide [2017 U.S. population = 324 mill] = .45 migrant per person
- One of every three Mexicans would like to emigrate to the US (PEW 2014 survey (Peña, María 2014. La Opinion. Aug, 26))

- 1979 President Carter told Chinese vp-- U.S. can't grant most-favored nation status to centrally managed economies unless they provide freedom of departure.
- Vice premier asked, how many Chinese nationals do you want? 20, million, 30 million (Borges)

Explanations for U.S. anti-immigrant sentiment

#1 it's about numbers

- Dilemma: The humanitarian refugee model challenged by the numbers

#2 Rise in U.S. income/wealth inequality

--

United States

- *increased income inequality

- *decline in post-WWII social pact [Keynesian]

- * shift from primary to secondary labor market [pensions, job security, etc. due to new economic order [global order].

Job expansion in very unskilled or very skilled.

- B* increased global migration push [x #]

- * increased rising social pact for migrants

U.S. labor market Employment relations

[Kalleberg]

Time 1 [post WWII - c1980]: standard

- **full-time & long-term**
- **career jobs, stable employment relations**
- **training & career-enhancing opportunities**
- **personal relationship between employer & worker; employers rewarded loyalty & effort with job security & promotion opportunities**

Where? Large-scale business & industry

Factors leading to standard employment relations [Fordism]

post-WW II Economic prosperity

- collective bargaining, & social security systems
- success of unions in obtaining security & advancement opportunities
- fostered a social contract between labor & management

policy of certain capitalists, e.g. Henry Ford, to pay their mass production workers enough to **purchase the goods they produced**

Balancing mass production with mass consumption
*involved low unemployment rates -(below 4%)
until the late 1960s,

*and gross national product growth rates -about 5% (Otero, 1996).

system produced peace, justice, mass prosperity, and social security and, **less resistance to 1964 immigration reform**

[1995]-en] "The Post-Fordist World. Labour Relations, International Hierarchy and Global Ecology", Annual lecture of the *Review of International Political Economy*, Durham, 1995, november 7th, published in *Review of International Political Economy*, 4:1, Spring 1997.

Why unravelling of standard employment relationship (mid-1970s)?

- ♣ increased international competition
- ♣ sluggish growth (189)
- ♣ 1982 recession

→ pressure on firms to be flexible

flexibility in employment = unravelling of standard employment relationship

Crisis - competitiveness between US, Europe, & Japan led to search for economies of scale → internationalization of production.

Firms sought ways to diminish labor regulations by sub-contracting production to non-Fordist countries = Outsourcing.

And

end of 1970s a major fall in profitability. 1)
slow-down in productivity;
2) growth of total labor costs, including
expansion of welfare state;
3) increase price of primary commodities.

I.B.M. plans to send thousands of upscale jobs from the U.S. to lower-paid workers in China, India & elsewhere.

"It ... means shifting ... jobs, opening a lot of locations in places we had never dreamt of before, going where there's low-cost labor, low-cost competition, shifting jobs offshore.'" (Harry Newman an I.B.M. executive)

An executive at Microsoft, told his department heads ... "Think India," and "pick something to move offshore today." HERBERT, BOB. 2003. "The White-Collar Blues" NYT. December 29.

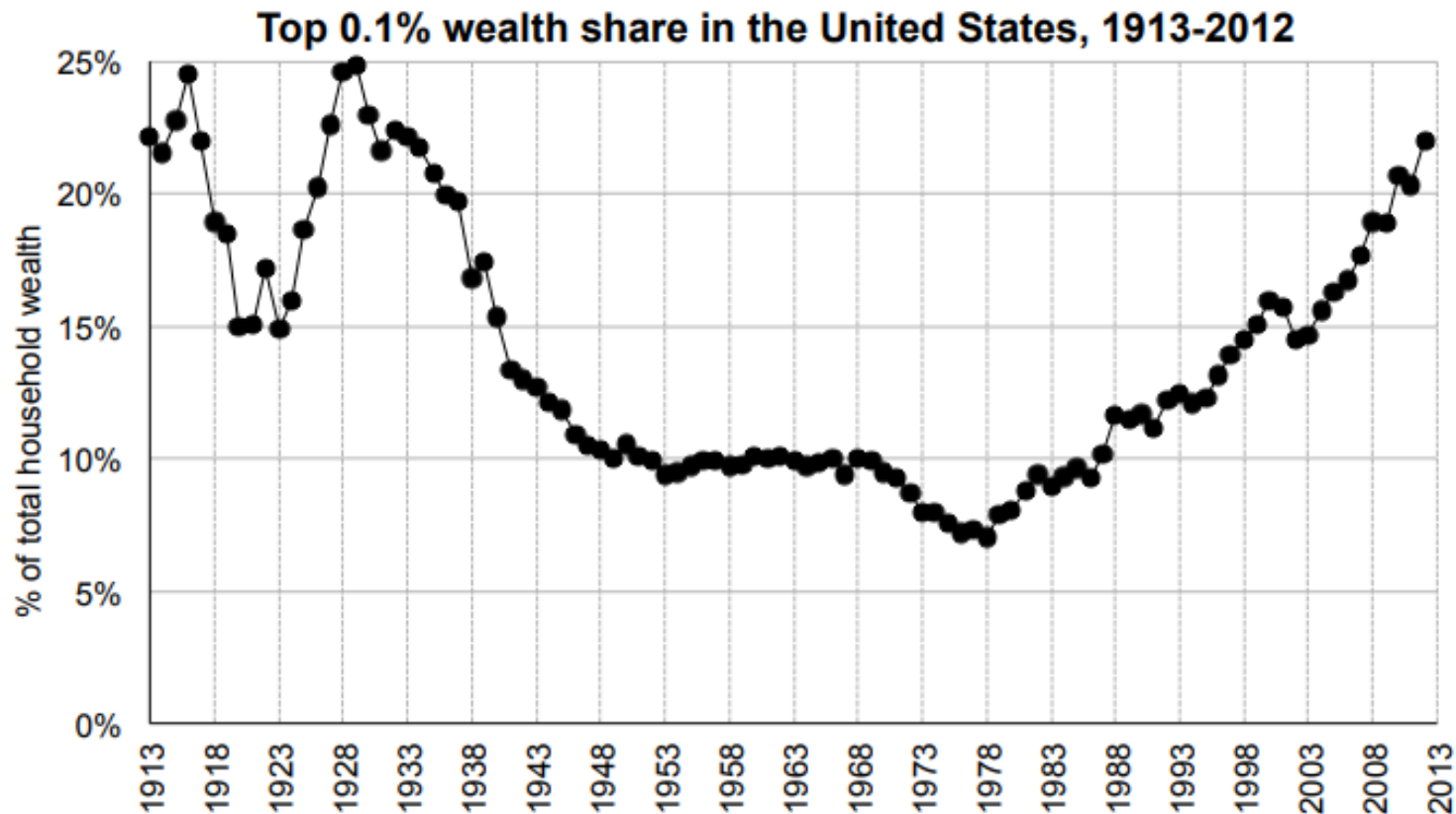
Some titles

The new labor market segmentation: Labor market dualism in the new economy. Kenneth Hudson. Social Science Research. V 36, no1 March 2007: 286-312 .

The Deindustrialization of America. Barry Bluestone & Bennett Harrison. 1982. Basic Books, Inc.

Conclusions: crisis produced new solutions which contributed to rising income inequality

U-Shaped Wealth Concentration



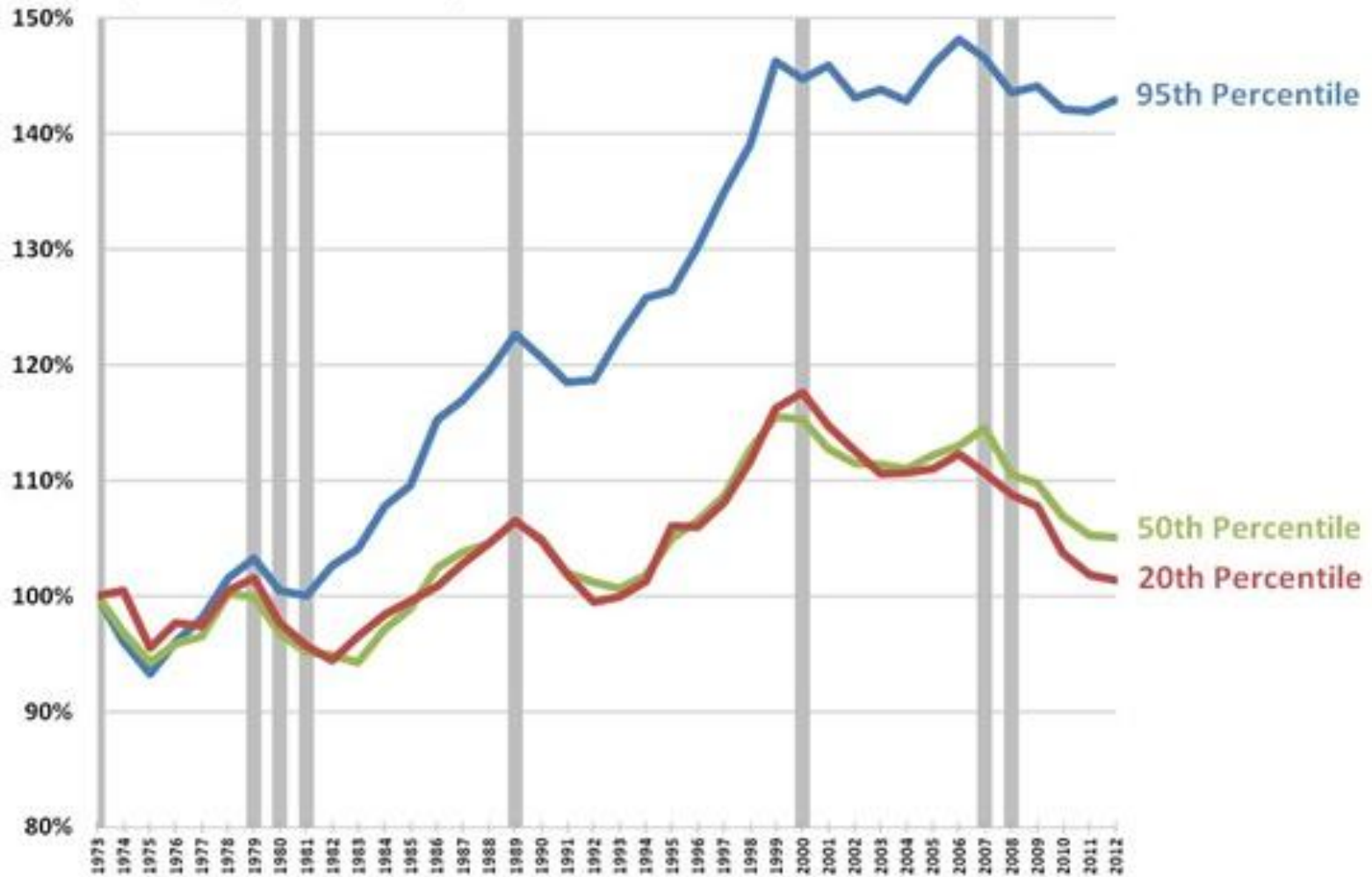
This figure depicts the share of total household wealth held by the 0.1% richest families, as estimated by capitalizing income tax returns. In 2012, the top 0.1% includes about 160,000 families with net wealth above \$20.6 million. Source: Appendix Table B1.

	1950 - 1970	1990 -2002
Every increase in Salary for bottom 90%	\$1	\$1
Matched by \$\$increase in top .01%	\$162	\$18,000

BOB HERBERT JUNE 6, 2005. NYTimes The Mobility Myth
http://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/06/opinion/the-mobility-myth.html?_r=0

Real family income gains from 1973 to 2012, as a share of 1973 levels

Gray shading indicates recession years



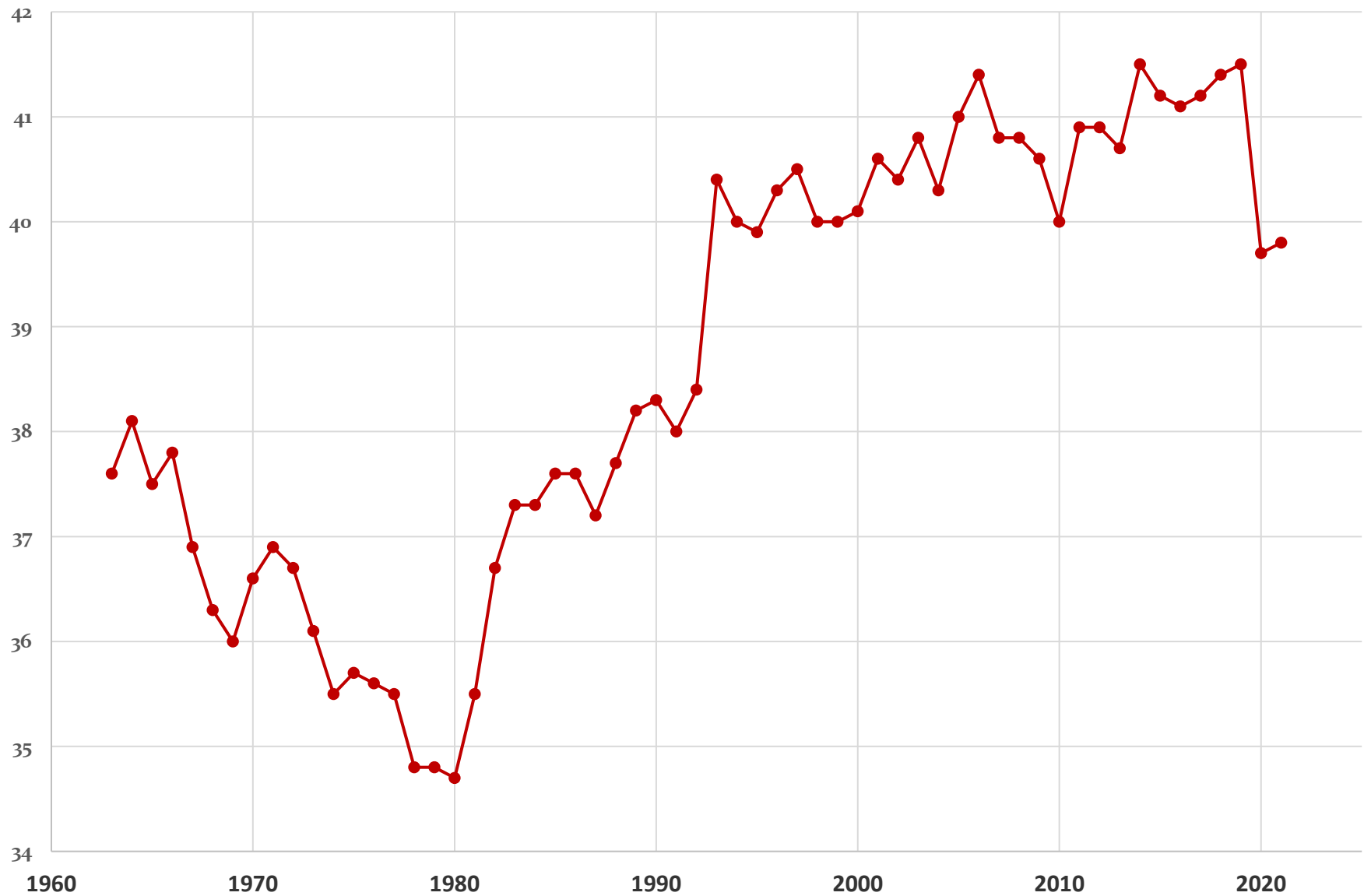
Source: Author's calculations from U.S. Census Bureau Data. Recession dates are from NBER.

1973

1980

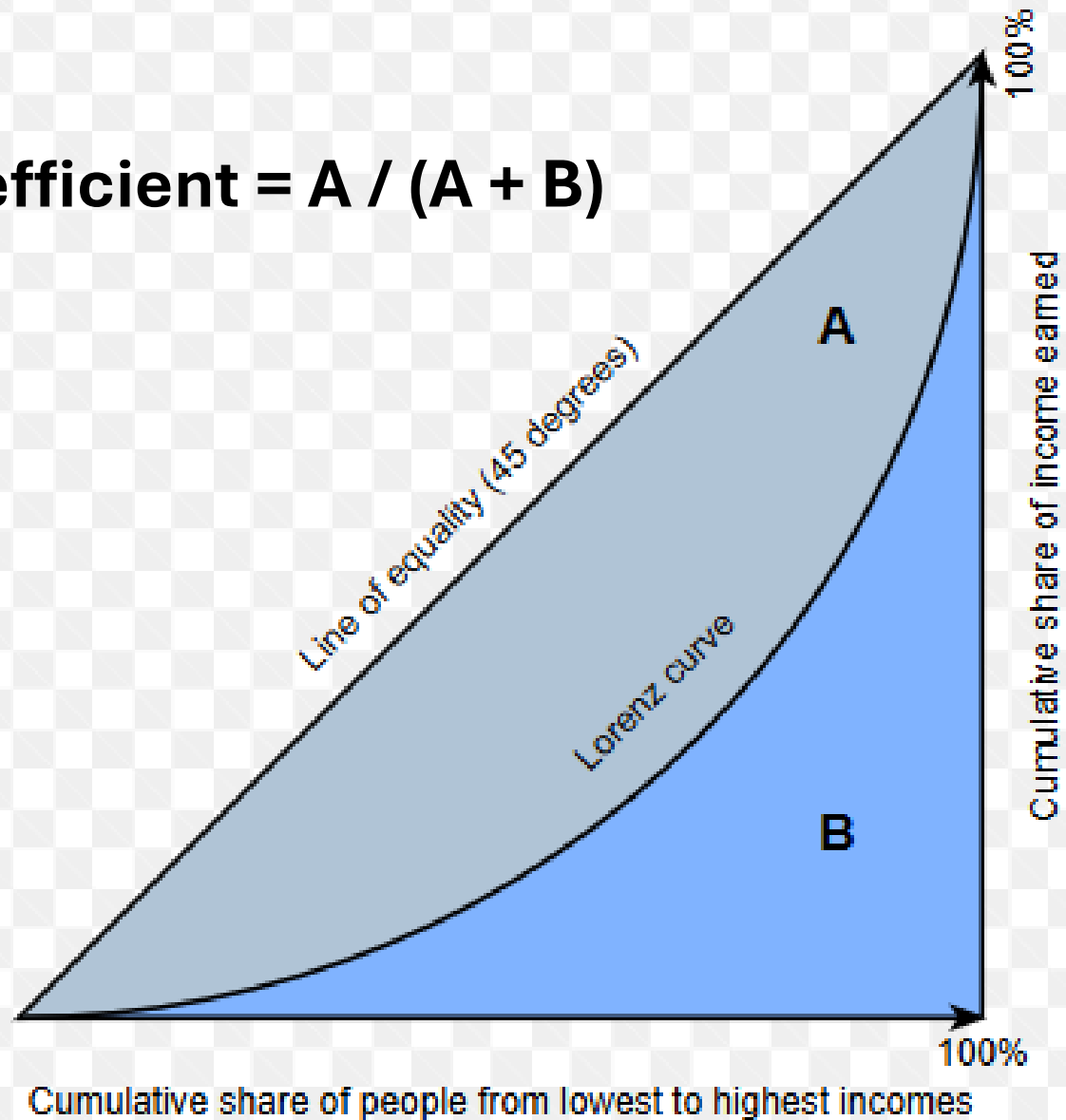
1990

US.GINI Measure of Inequality

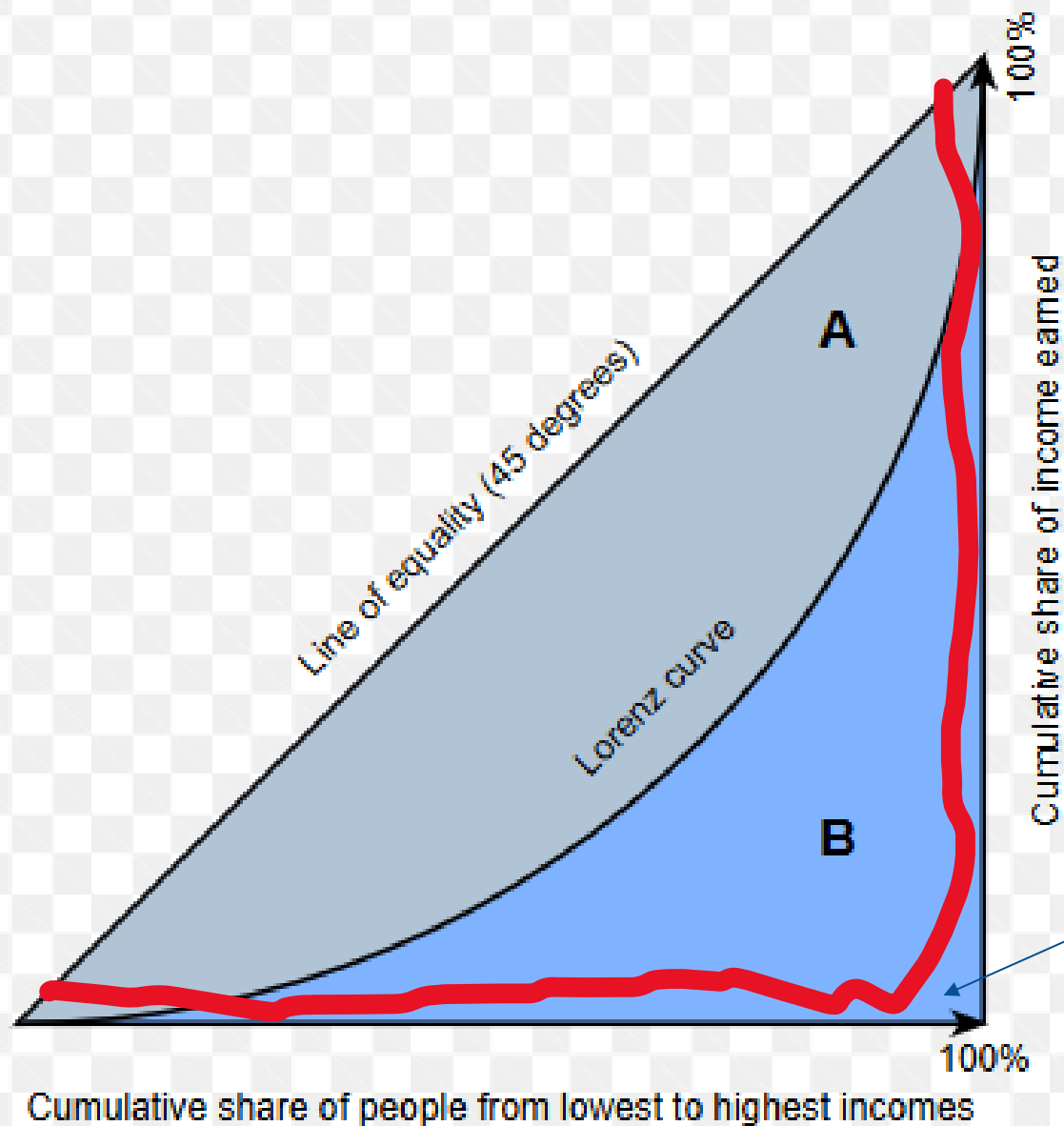




$$\text{Gini coefficient} = A / (A + B)$$

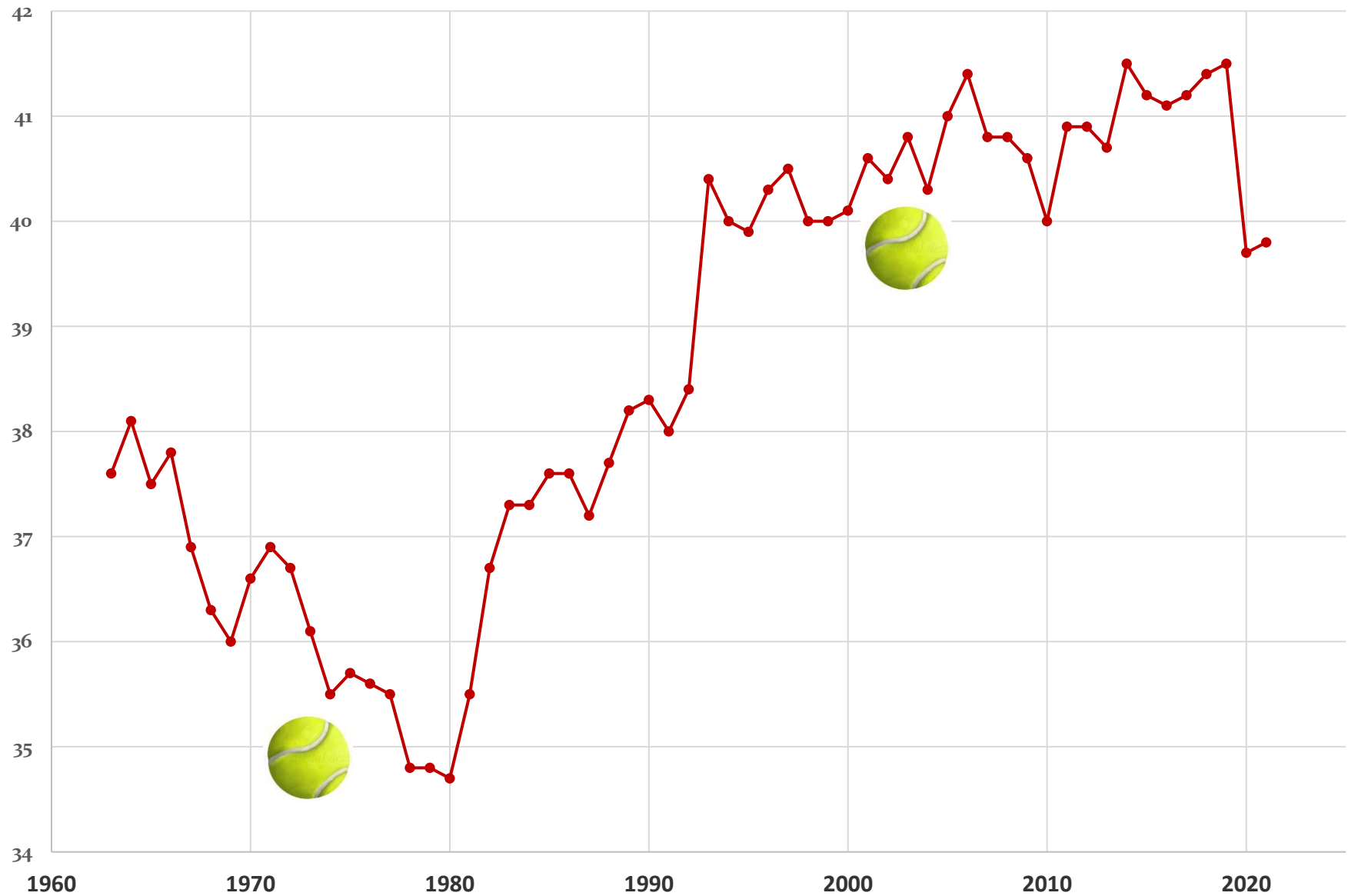


Gini coefficient = $A / (A + B)$



Monarchy B
High coef

US.GINI



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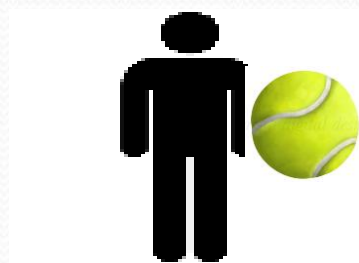
Structure



CULTURE



INDIVIDUAL



Two Ways to describe the labor market

PRIMARY

SECONDARY

OR *****

HPLF

Higher priced labor
Force

LPLF

Lower priced Labor
Force

Summary Time 1

Dual labor market theory--the American labor market is sharply divided between good jobs and bad jobs, & mobility between these two segments is severely restricted. [primary and secondary labor market]

primary market: high wages, good working conditions, employment stability, chances of advancement, equity, and due process in work rules.

secondary market: low wages and fringe benefits, poor working conditions, high labor turnover, little chance of advancement, and often arbitrary and capricious supervision (Doeringer and Piore 1971, p. 165).

Time 2: nonstandard employment [return to pre-WWII labor arrangements]

- Firm's responsibility for employee is "externalized" [no Fordism]
 - temporary help agencies; leased employees
 - "detached" workers or "triangular" employment relations
- regular part-time employment;
- self-employment or independent contracting
- no assumption of continued employment
- low pay, no benefits

solution to economic crisis = neoliberalism
from 'rigidity' to 'flexibility' in the wage
relation,

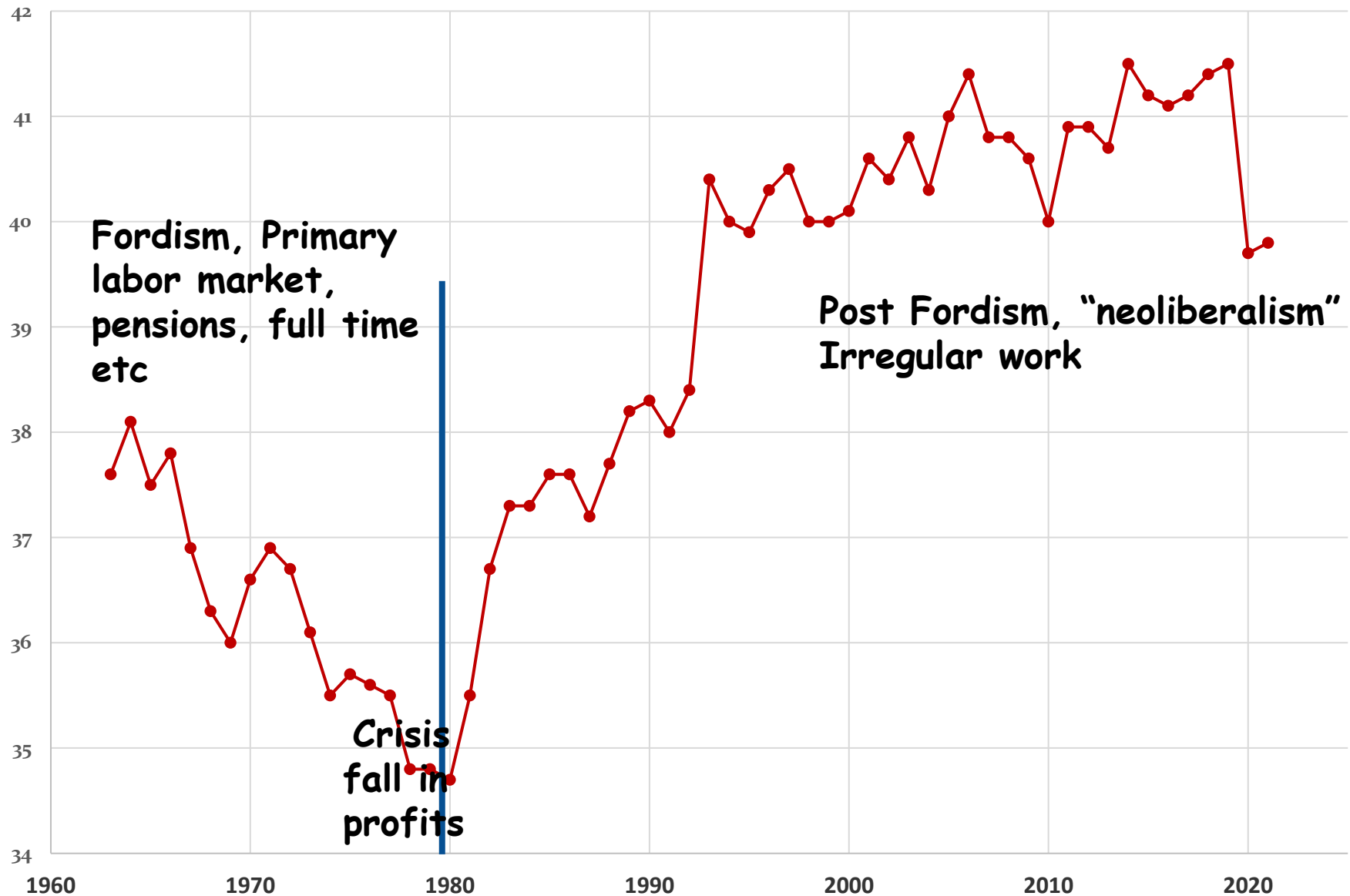
Reduction in regulation and in enforcement of
occupational health and safety matters,

reduction in expenditures for income and social
service support,

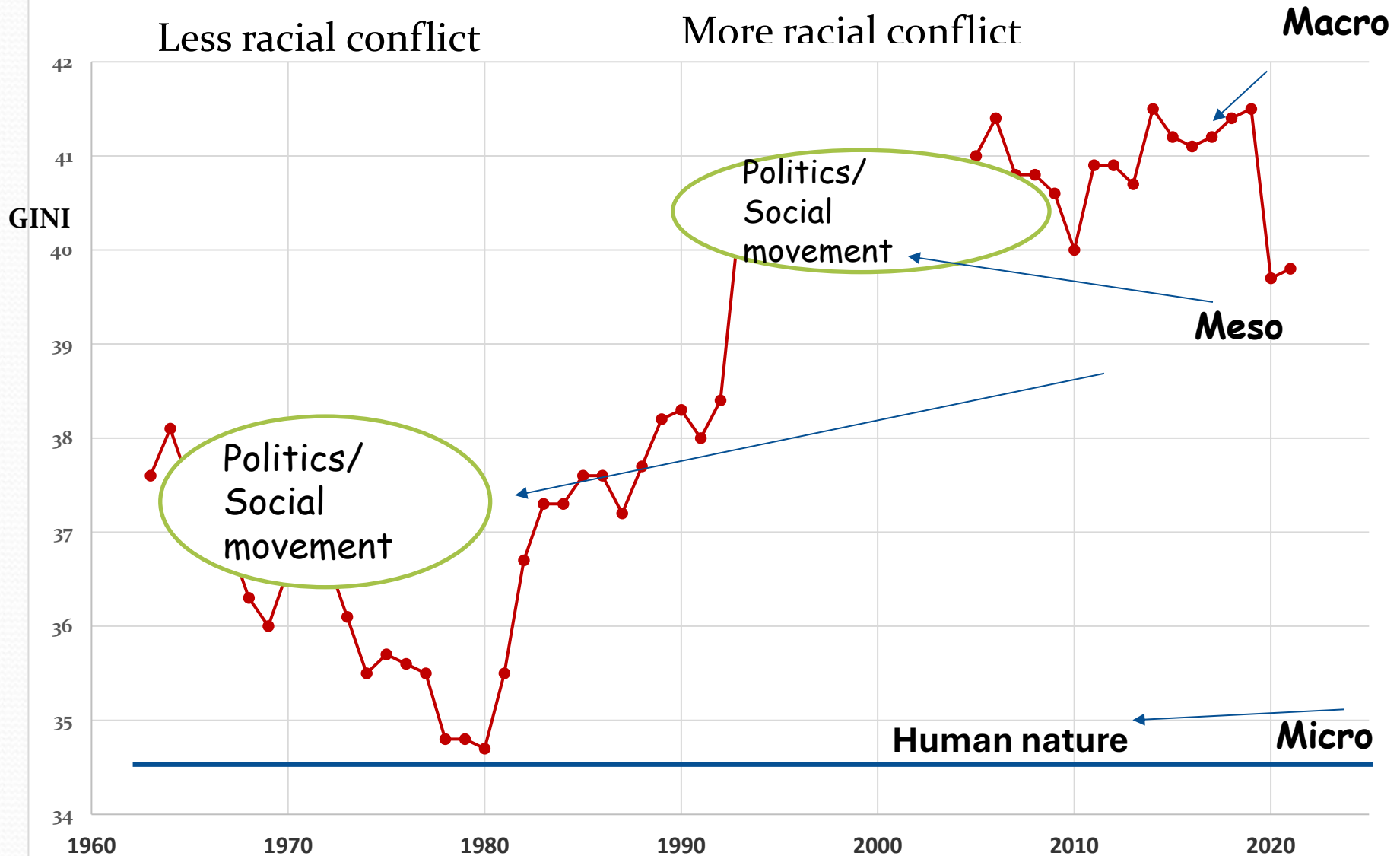
Over last 4 decades, events have transformed American labor market:

- 1) deindustrialization [technology & offshoring]
- 2) decline of organized labor, [33% of workforce in 1955, to 11.2%, in 2024-2025]
 - private sector 6%; local government 37.8% , (employs many in heavily unionized occupations, e.g. police officers, firefighters, & teachers.
- 3) large increase in relative size of immigrant workforce,
- 4) growing prevalence of nonstandard work arrangements

US.GINI



OUTCOME = racism/racial conflict



Interaction of 2 trends

A

- *increased income inequality
 - *decline in post-WWII social pact [Keynesian]
 - * shift from primary to secondary labor market
- and*

B

- * increased global migration [$\leftarrow$ #]
- * increased rising social pact for migrants

	c 1910	c 2000
Economic organization	1900s, economy in expansion from craft to industry. Industrialization had less adverse effect on native workers	1980s, economy in contraction . Shift to new economic order, a global order. Job expansion in either very unskilled or very skilled jobs
	upward mobility. Professions opened on basis of training. Growth so rapid, expansion open to many	some competition, less social mobility

A

- *increased income inequality
- *decline in post-WWII social pact [Keynesian]
- * shift from primary to secondary labor market

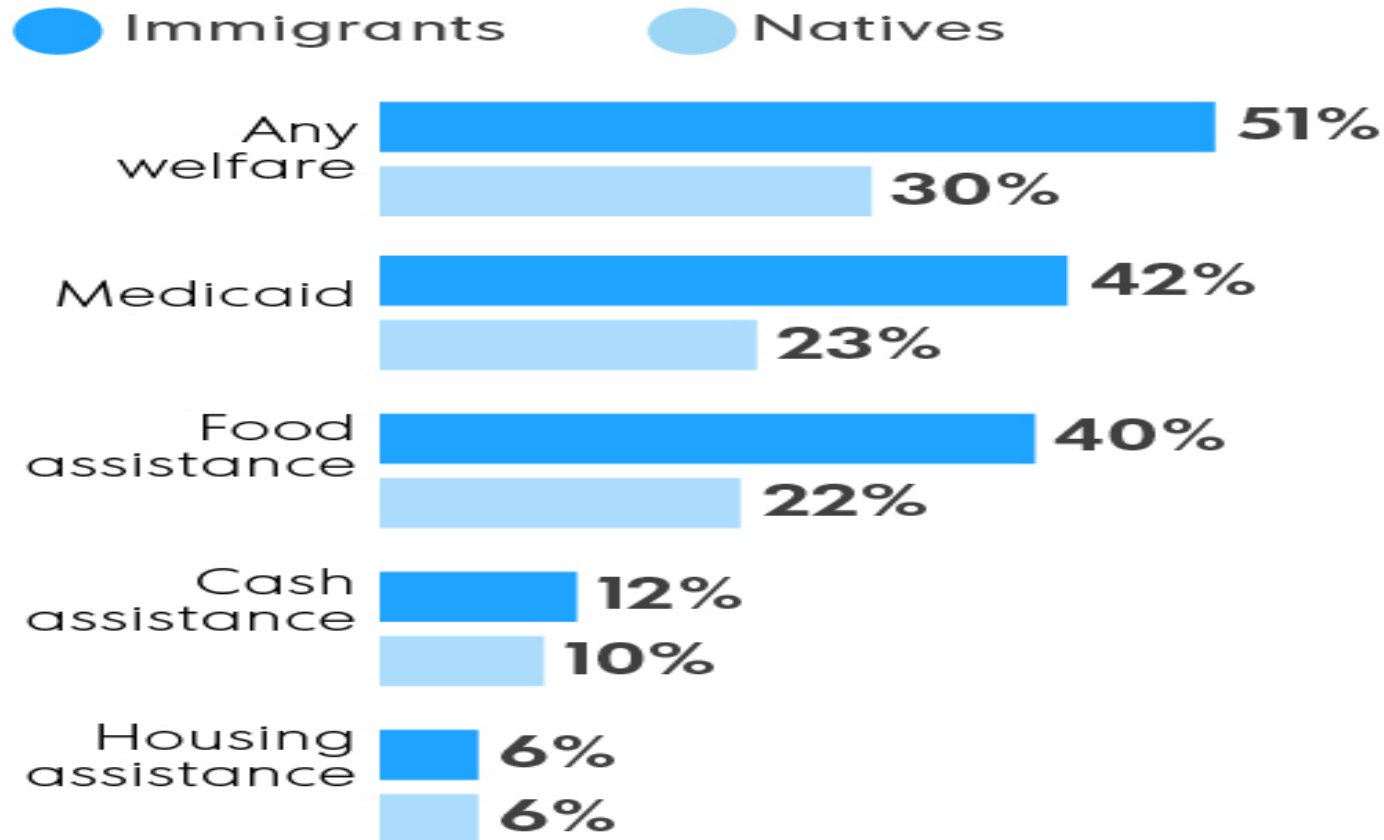
and

B

- * increased global migration push [$< \#$]
- * increased rising social pact for migrants

IMMIGRANTS MORE LIKELY TO USE WELFARE

Percentage of households headed by immigrants and natives that use welfare programs.



SOURCE: Center for Immigration Studies
Veronica Bravo, USA TODAY

 **USA TODAY**

HISTORICAL DISSIMILARITIES

S. Huntington 2004. *The Hispanic Challenge. In Foreign Policy.*

[Www.foreignpolicy.com](http://www.foreignpolicy.com)

	1900	2000
ECONOMY	Early industrial, Expansion	Service, deindustrialization contraction
SOCIAL SAFETY NET	Next to none	more
PROGRAMS of ASSIMILATION	Yes , promote cultural & linguistic homogeneity	No , maintain cultural & linguistic diversity

*Homestead Act of 1862 offered free land to the overcrowded population of Germany.

*Western states advertised for German farmers who had a reputation of being hardworking and highly productive.

*State governments joined the railroads in **sending agents to induce German emigrants** to settle and develop the abundant lands.

*1916 Congress established the Council of National Defense to speed up the assimilation of German and other nationality groups.

*The councils forbade the use of the German language in schools, churches, over the telephone and in semipublic places.

Americans spent more than \$2.3 billion on deodorant and antiperspirant in 2006

Gabrielle Glaser, the author of "The Nose: A Profile of Sex, Beauty, and Survival," argues that the phenomenon started in the early 1900s when marketers urged immigrants to eliminate their body odor to become more American.

(Grossman, Anna Jane. 2007. Skin Deep: Cast Aside Underarm Protection, if You Dare *NYT*. Nov 8.)

1900

no immigrant multiplier, little chain migration

US citizen rights & duties -- few citizen entitlements

No income tax until 1919. lower tax rates for all.

support groups favored Americanization

2000

immigrant multiplier:[# attributable to 1 immigrant] extended families can be brought in,

some benefits extended to immigrants

public support for taxes wanes

support groups favored multiculturalism

Federal Tax Changes → state and Local fiscal crisis → votes against programs

understand how immigrant story becomes part of fiscal crisis of state story

"New Federalism" (1982): Reagan proposed massive restructuring where states would take over responsibility for federal programs (like food stamps) in exchange for taking over federal excise taxes, intended to phase out federal grants.

1980s Reagan-era tax reforms and budget policies e.g. **Tax Reform Act of 1986 (TRA86)**, fundamentally altered the fiscal relationship between the **federal government and state/local governments**, generally reducing direct aid and limiting the ability of local governments to utilize federal tax subsidies.

Cuts to Domestic Aid and Grants: The Reagan administration slashed federal aid to cities, including public-service jobs (CETA) and housing assistance. For example, HUD budget authority fell significantly during the 1980s.

Combined with a massive increase in military spending, the national debt nearly tripled, rising from \$997 billion to \$2.85 trillion.

GATEWAY immigrants disproportionately go to California (Borjas)

Indochinese refugees [Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia] 1990
about **40% of the population is in California**

fiscal crisis California c 1980s

- **loss of revenue**
- **Rise in demands on revenue**

economic changes in agriculture: 1985 falling commodity prices;

***1991, loss of defense industry with base closings**

rising imports; dwindling foreign markets-;

***China, for example, imported CA cotton until 1983,
now exports cotton**

- **1994 Cal Prop 187** prohibit illegal aliens from using health care, public education, and other social services
- 1999 found unconstitutional by a federal court
- the court let stand Felony for any manuf, distributing, selling, using, fake documents
- 1994 CA reelection of Pete Wilson
- 1998 CA prop 227 forbidding mandatory bilingual instruction

Commentary on Nordic countries (2018)

They need to have 80% of adult population in workforce to maintain social welfare. But participation of non-European immigrants was lower

Sweden: 84% natives have jobs
51% of non-Europeans have jobs

"high immigration is threatening the principle of redistribution"

Explanations for anti-immigrant sentiment

#1 it's about numbers

- Dilemma: The humanitarian refugee model challenged by the numbers

#2 It's about effects of rising income inequality

#3 It's about labor conflict turned into a culture/race conflict

Where Labor conflict becomes racial/ethnic conflict- 2 cases

- Germany
- California/U.S.

- **Case 1 Germany**

- a. **Time 1 -post WWII no protest**

- *labor policy made by **corporatist style** codetermination between DGB (Labor), BDA (business organization) and state to administer Gastarbeiter program

- * DGB (labor) involved in planning to protect interests of German workers.

- * 2 conditions.

- * 1) Federal Labor office to oversee foreign recruitment;

- * 2) recruited immigrants would **equal** German workers in all aspects of wages and legal conditions of employment.

- * German state set up recruitment labor offices in major sending countries: Italy, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia. issued residence and labor permits. family reunification discouraged.
- * guest worker program 1955 to 1973 --to fill an existing vacuum in labor market.
Konjunkturpuffer--cushions the economy at a conjuncture [later Gastarbeiter]
- * Turks (27%) and Yugoslav (20%), Italians, Greeks, Spaniards.
- * Initial recruits worked in reconstructing cities

*Labor-Management struggle Post-war

1. German employers weak:

- * Factories, industries destroyed during war.

2. Union strength: German trade unions major organization that had not collaborated with Nazi regime. With support of Allied forces, they were able to reorganize and form a **single** trade union federation the DGB.

1980 comprised of 17 industrially organized unions.

• Case of Germany

a. Time 1 - post WWII didn't protest

b. Time 2 - 1980s protests

1990s racial tensions

- * Rise in violent attacks on foreigners
- * rose tenfold between 1990 and 1991. average 200/mo. [Economist 2/15/92:21]
- * support for anti-immigrant parties grew

factors contributing

- high unemployment rates,
 - completion of EU's internal market for goods, labor, and capital,
 - German wages and social benefits higher than other EU countries.
-
- 1) stimulated relocation of German firms to countries with lower wages & social benefits
 - 2) provided incentives for migration to Germany from these same countries.
 - Offshoring & immigration at same time.

- * German population's optimistic approach to European unification clouded by anxiety about the effects of **differences in wages and social benefits** across the European Union (Medrano 2003)

1985 Schengen Agreement

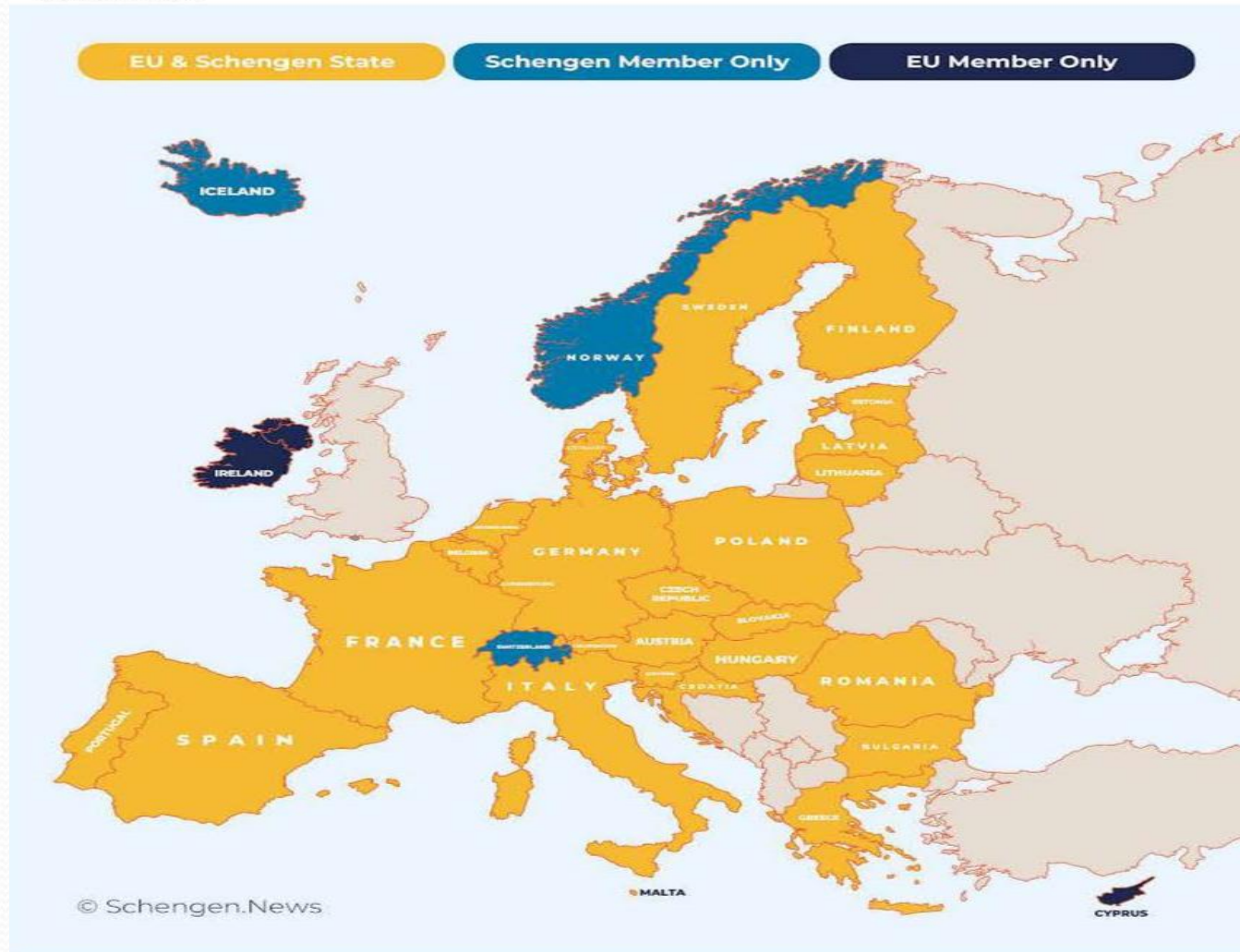
Schengen area - a territory where **free movement of persons is guaranteed**.

- Signatory states have abolished all internal borders
- common rules & procedures are applied with regard to visas for short stays, asylum requests & border controls

Schengen cooperation incorporated into the European Union (EU) legal framework by the **Treaty of Amsterdam of 1997**

Schengen Area: 2024 List of Member Countries

🕒 June 25, 2024



Map of Schengen Area & EU Countries © Schengen.News

Schengen Area is the largest border-free zone in the world, which permits unrestricted movement to more than 425 million citizens of the EU, as well as non-EU nationals living in the bloc or visiting the EU as tourists.

sessionIII

<https://schengen.news/schengen-area-member-countries/#:~:text=Schengen Area consists of 29,Area by air and sea.>

Faced with competition, younger generation
asks: "what does it mean to become an apprentice or a master craftsman? What do we get out of it? It brings us nothing. We are under heavy financial pressure; we must pay for the exam to become master craftsmen and so on. It costs us a lot of money. And then, after all of this, we experience how craftsmen from other countries come here and start putting things in the market."

Why am I worse off? In all probability because there are foreigners among us who live from social benefits financed with our contributions,"

Case 2. US: HOSTILITY AGAINST CHINESE

- * 1) 1870s Local/State take actions to bar them from labor market**
- * 2) 1882 CHINESE EXCLUSION LEGISLATION--further immigration was legally banned.**
- * 3) riots & violence Wyoming mob attacked and murdered 28 Chinese**

Time 1: 1850's they were offered keys to the city & high praise for their culture

- told to invite their friends to CA.
- August, 1850s SF chronicler--'fine and pleasing appearance'
- 1852 CA Gov MacDougall called them 'most desirable of our adopted citizens' (Parrillo, 242)

Macro

SF was a **series of shacks**, settlers had only fewest of necessities;

- Food was scarce, goods and supplies had to be brought from east around the Cape Horn whereas passage from China was more direct.
- Pacific crossings had gone on for couple of centuries
- Chinese first enter CA as **merchants**.
- They came to CA to engaged in **commerce with the gold miners** (Steiner 06).
- Chinese merchants became the **suppliers** of grain, rice, sugar, tea, dried fruits and spice to gold miners of California.

- * **Occupational Vacancy:** women there worked at more "glamorous" occupations
- * Chinese could fill domestic service jobs
- * Goods followed by skilled artisans, merchants, engineers, fisherman, farmers, and ironsmiths.
- * Prior to 1852 a few hundred migrant Chinese provided complementary not competing services.
- * **Mining sector:** -With Ca gold rush, thousands of Chinese came to Amer. Immigration jumped from 2,000 (1851) to 20,000 (1852)
- * **Experienced Miners:** From Canton: Gold mountain men

Charles Crocker (Central Pacific RR) -benefited from labor when Chinese were driven out of mining. 10,000 Chinese laborers dug the Sierra tunnel and extend RR through Nevada & Utah

***cheap** - estimated at $2/3^{\text{rd}}$ cost of white unskilled labor in 1865. **same salary \$\$/mo** but RR had to house and feed whites; whereas Chinese fed and housed by their contractors.

***more reliable and tractable than whites.**

- most whites were wandering mine workers and quit as soon as they had enough money- Or they expected to earn more in lucrative jobs in mines.

In 1869 83% RR employees were Chinese

Time 2: 1867-1879 = Attacks

- **1870** anti-chinese mass meetings SF and northern CA--we want no slaves or aristocrats. "mark the man who would crush us to the level of the Mongolian slave--we all vote."
- **LA 1871** mob of several hundred whites shot, hanged and stabbed 19 Chinese to death
- **1877** San Francisco exploded with **four nights of rioting**
- Chinese attacked in 34 CA communities, harassed or expelled from 9 Washington localities and tormented in 3 Oregon and 4 Nevada towns (Tsai)
- "Women's rights and no more Chinese chambermaids" (Kitano, 220)

Racist Discourse

a population befouled with all the social vices, with no knowledge or appreciation of free institutions or constitutional liberty, with heathenish souls and heathenish propensities whose character and habits are firmly fixed.. we should be prepared to bid farewell to republicanism & democracy.

[NYT 1865]

Macro Factors

- **1873-1875 mechanization [Taylorism on East Coast]** = scientific management of labor
 - ❖ organizing work so that **unskilled operatives** could produce fine shoes (Edwards p 113)
 - ❖ **replaces handicraft labor & worker control**
 - ❖ jobs become homogeneous & unskilled

increase in labor pool

- ❖ by 1900 nearly 2 million children 10-14 were at work in U.S, 6% of American work force; 20% of family income

cheaper labor

- ❖ boot & shoe **employers** undercut craft workers

Industrial labor relations became Racial conflict

1870s recession & mechanization → labor struggles

- **1873-1875 East Coast mechanized factory production** rise of Taylorism. Children & women = cheap labor



Chinese

WHY mattered for West coast?

SW manufacturing LOST MONOPOLY

- early 1860s high transportation costs of Eastern goods, and East Coast absorption output stimulated growth of West Coast manufacture.
- war's end & completion of transcontinental railroad brought Eastern manufactures into competition with West Coast.
- whites formed "anti-coolie" clubs which blamed wage cuts on competition with Chinese (Hilton 102)

West Coast ETHNIC SUCCESSION

shoemaking, Chinese came to outnumber whites
4 to 1

- wages fell from \$25/wk to \$9/wk.

boot & shoe production

- Chinese = 50% by 1871-1872. (Hilton 101)

textile industry

- Chinese = 64% workforce early 1870s

cigars

- strike breakers
- 91% were Chinese

Chinese

INDUSTRIAL LABOR CONFLICT → RACIAL CONFLICT

Increase in labor pool

- 1870s recession
- End of Civil war
- completion of transcontinental railroad
- 1873 winter drought
- collapse of 2nd Comstock boom. (Hilton 102).

SF streets filled with unemployed, 1877
1/5th to 1/4 unemployed. (Hilton 102)

LABOR PROTEST → ETHNIC CONFLICT

- East Coast skilled 3\$/day replaced by unskilled \$1.50 [women, children]
- RR brought Eastern manufactured products & labor to West Coast.
- Heightens job competition
- white workers on West Coast use "anticoolie" ideology to form trade unions

"Class feeling" fell to "race feeling"
it enhanced "union feeling".

..coincidence of episodic booms in the San Francisco labor movement and action against the Chinese suggested to labor leaders that **race feeling** was an important **source of solidarity** within old labor .. (Mink, 1986, 72-73)

1860-1869
Irish and
Chinese



Q. NOT A NATIONAL CONFLICT

*In 1870 100% of Chinese lived in CA, by 1880 72%, still only 3% east of Rockies.

Workplace initiative

* 1877 Chinese issue got attention from teamster leader Kearney, recent immigrant from Ireland. His group, **Workingmen's Party** a kind of populism which fought for the 8 hour day, direct election of US senators, compulsory education, end to corruption in public service, regulation of the banking system and industry, regulation of railroads, and equitable system of taxes.

WP won enough seats at the Ca constitutional convention causing **both major CA** parties at state and national level to embrace the anti-Chinese cause.

California State Senate created a special committee to investigate the impact of Chinese Immigration.

- demanded that federal action halt Chinese immigration.

bowing to lobby and pressure from other Western states, July 1876, **US Congress** appointed committee to investigate Chinese immigration.

Battle lines drawn between employers who wanted to use Chinese labor and workers and independent small farmers who opposed them

- Col Wm Hollister, large CA landowner. When asked whether any legal limitation should be placed upon Chinese immigration, he said "No sir, I would open the door and let everybody come who wants to come,...I say fully, freely, and emphatically, that the Chinese should be allowed to come until you get enough here to reduce the price of labor to such a point as that its cheapness will stop their coming."
- **Pro-Chinese** opinions shared by testimonies of owners of land, gasworks, factories, RR and many religious leaders.

National context Populism



Lyman Frank Baum 1890s

yellow brick road
Dorthy & friends
follow yellow brick
road [gold
standard] to the
Emerald City
[Washington DC].

Crime of 1873 known in Populist rhetoric

- = **Coinage Act of 1873**
- demonetization of silver
- **1792** Alexander Hamilton set U.S. on a bimetallic [gold & silver] standard
- with exception of Civil War, U.S. had not moved from this system.
- Populists wanted a return to silver

Dorothy is Uncle Sam, possessor of silver,

- but unaware of its awesome powers. Dorothy can return to Kansas by "kicking the heels of her silver shoes together three times".
- power to solve her problems (by adding silver to money stock) was there all the time.
- Munchkins are the little people, the supporters of populism

- Tin woodman is given "a new ax with a handle made of gold and a blade polished so that it glistens like burnished silver and a silver oilcan inlaid with gold and precious stones to oil himself "
- * The bimetallic standard will ensure the industry so that he won't be unemployed again

- **Winkies (north eastern capitalists/ industrialists for their squinty eyes)** they created the Tinman. Winkies did not build the Tinman a heart because they viewed laborers as machines and without use of a heart. the Tinman like some laborers was led to believe that he was in fact a machine
- **Winged Monkeys (the dark skinned Plains Indians who used to be free but are now required to live closer to the east)**

GOLD SUPPLY

1873 First major gold rush in South Africa

1874 gold also discovered in the DeKaap valley

1886 Great Rand reef

1893 more gold deposits on the
Witwatersrand

by 1898 gold production of Witwatersrand
exceeded that of entire United States

Post Civil War economic boom ended in mid 1870s

1870-1890 great depression

- September, 1873, financial house of Jay Cook and Co went bankrupt
- panic in the financial system
- Business bankruptcies were high
- prices fell
- profit margins fell

Rise of unemployment,

- 1st time national specter of huge groups of workers deprived of a livelihood

Origins of populist movement

- 1892 depression
 - farm prices sank to new lows
 - unemployment was widespread
 - monopolists getting richer; farmers and workers getting poorer
-
- * Populist Party of Midwestern Farmers & some urban workers had challenged the banks, railroads and economic interests that squeezed farmers.
 - * 1894 Congressional elections populist party got 40% of vote.

National Context

Workingmen's Party (populism 1890s)

Demands

- 8 hour day,
- direct election of US senators,
- compulsory education
- end corruption in public service,
- regulation of banking system and industry,
- railroad regulation,
- equitable tax system
- Restore silver

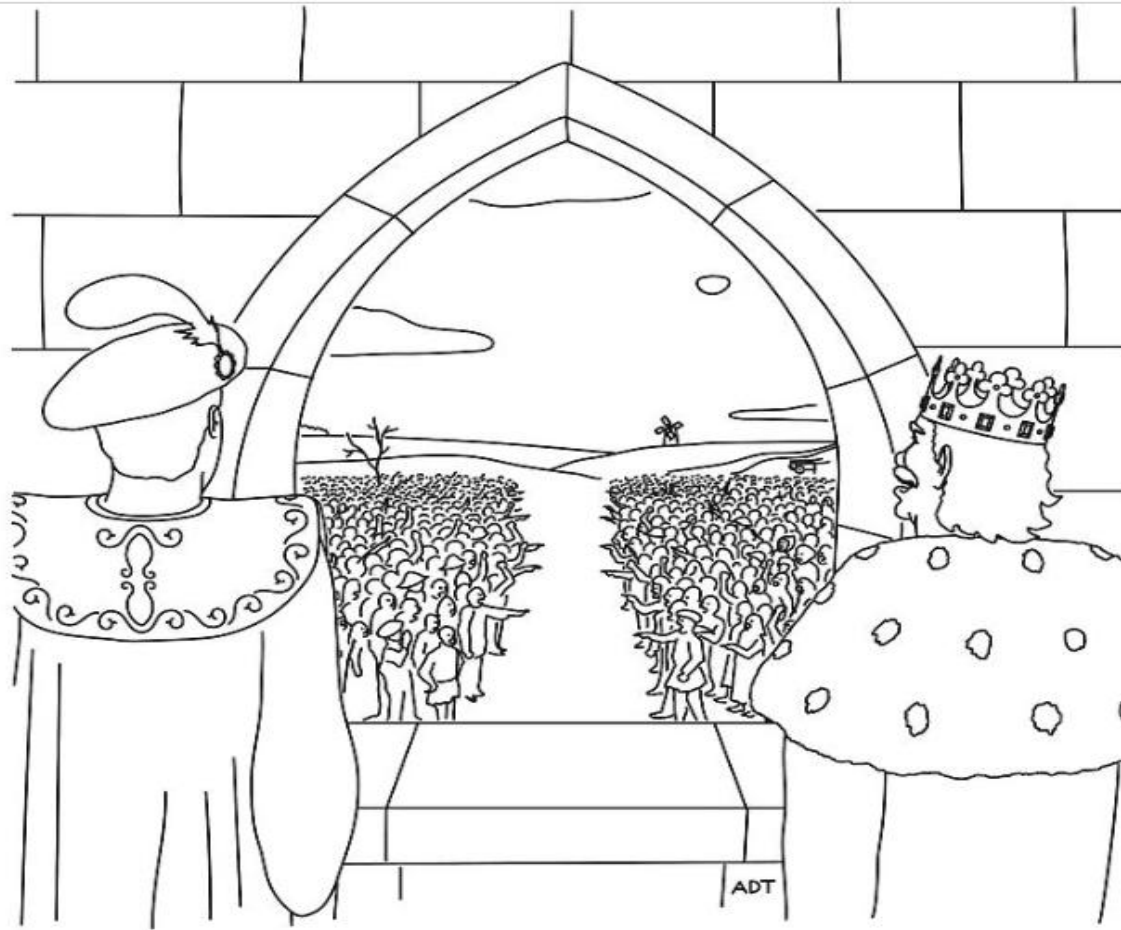
Populist Movement Grows

1867 Grange [Order of Patrons of Husbandry]

- In 1870s & 1880, as agricultural prices declined
- & credit became tighter,
- lower-class Southern whites began to join farmers throughout the country
- 1870 the Farmer's Alliance,
- 1892 the People's (Populist) party: labor & farmers & African-Americans.

- * 1894 Jacob Coxey, a populist lumber dealer from Ohio led march of unemployed to DC to demand a federal works program
- * 1894 Congressional elections, populists get 40% of vote
- * 1894 Pres. Cleveland called federal troops to put down nation-wide Pullman strike

**1896 populist defeated; join Democrats
[the party of Black Codes]**



"A revolutionary war was brewing, but I managed to turn it into a culture war."

1882

President signs

U.S. Congress [committee]

California constitutional convention

Workingman's party

Unions

CA Workers objections

President Hayes veto March 1879

- fearing China would expel American Diplomats, merchants and, missionaries urged Hayes to veto the bill.
- **President Chester Arthur vetoed**
- *third attempt* Congress drew up new bill: passed into law May 1882

- * **1888 Scott bill:** Chinese laborers who left U.S. could not return. President Cleveland signed.
- * some 20,000 who had left the U.S. were now not able to return, (excluding merchants, students, teachers, travelers). Some 600 Chinese already on their way back.

United States v. Wong Kim Ark | 169
U.S. 649 (1898)

IMMIGRANTS FROM CHINA

<i>1820-1850</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>1865</i>	<i>2,385</i>
<i>1875</i>	<i>16,437</i>
<i>1881</i>	<i>11,890</i>
<i>1882</i>	<i>39,579</i>
<i>1885</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>1895</i>	<i>539</i>

Chinese

People are frustrated and blame minorities/
immigrants

Such an explanation

- 1) fallbacks on psychological 'racism/ stereotype' answer
- 2) Silent about the real sources of frustration
- 3) doesn't explain why it is directed this way instead of chopping wood, playing football, etc.
- 4) silent about how certain minority/ immigrant groups got inserted into the labor market.