

GOVERNING BEYOND BORDERS: A FOUCAULDIAN ANALYSIS OF THE
HISTORICAL CHANGES OF MEXICO'S GOVERNMENTAL RATIONALITY
TOWARDS ITS DIASPORA IN THE UNITED STATES

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis seeks to contribute to migration studies literature by focusing on the case of Mexican expatriates living in the United States of America. It examines the birth and development of Mexican migrant community in the United States and the change of homeland states's attitude towards the Mexican diaspora community from a Foucauldian perspective. The main argument of this thesis is that; the deep rooted phenomenon of Mexican migration to the United States led to the formation of Mexican diaspora in the U.S. and there is a power relation between Mexican state and its diaspora in which the state has been governing its diaspora beyond borders, conducting the conduct of diaspora population through different techniques of governing. After rediscovering the population beyond, Mexican state developed a governmental rationality towards this population by using subjectification and biopolitical practices such as population building, establishing close bonds inside the community and applying generalizing controlling policies towards those people. By forming a self-control mechanism for the diaspora; Mexican people living in the United States were directed to participate and re-

produce those mechanisms willingly. By creating populations and building self-governing mechanisms, states might get involved in diaspora politics and after some phases, members of the diaspora apply those techniques to themselves without the need of any involvement. This thesis will examine the evolution and the current situation of Mexican diaspora in the United States of America by solely focusing on diaspora-homeland state relation and try to bring an interpretation from a Foucauldian point of view.

Keywords: Mexican diaspora, Power relations, Diaspora strategies, governmentality

ÖZ

SINIRLAR ÖTESİ YÖNETİM: MEKSİKA’NIN AMERİKA BİRLEŞİK DEVLETLERİNDE BULUNAN DİASPORASINA YÖNELİK YÖNETİMSEL RASYONALİTESİNİN TARİHİ DEĞİŞİMİNİN FOUCAULTCU AÇIDAN ANALİZİ

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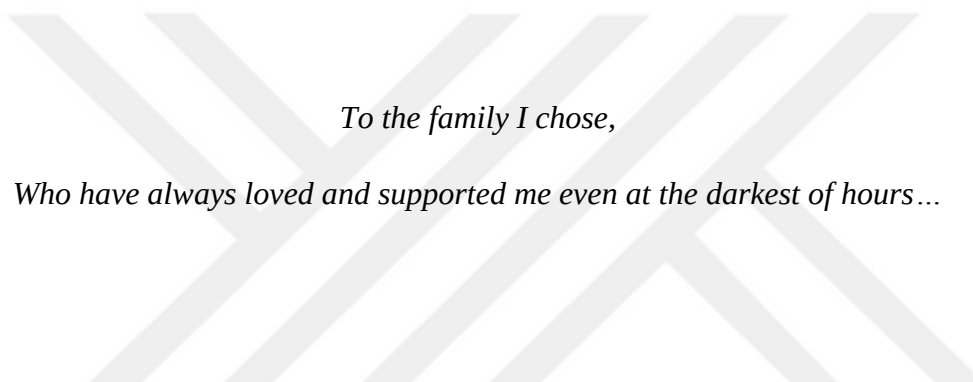
Bu tez, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri’nde yaşayan Meksikalıların durumuna odaklanarak göç çalışmaları literatürüne katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Amerika Birleşik Devletlerindeki Meksikalı göçmen topluluğunun doğuşunu ve gelişimini ve de Meksika devletinin Meksika diaspora topluluğuna yönelik değişen tavrını Foucaultcu bakış açısından inceler. Bu tezin ana iddiası şudur; kökleri derine dayanan A.B.D.ye yönelik Meksikalı göçü Amerika’da Meksika diasporasının kurulmasına yol açmıştır ve Meksika devleti ile diasporası arasında devletin yönetim teknolojileri aracılığıyla uzak mesafeden diasporasını yönettiği bir iktidar ilişkisi bulunmaktadır. Ötedeki toplumu yeniden keşfettikten sonra, Meksika devleti bu topluma yönelik nesneleştirme ve toplum oluşturma, topluluk içinde yakın bağlar kurma ve genelleyici kontrol politikaları uygulama gibi biyopolitik uygulamaları kullanarak bir yönetsel rasyonalite geliştirmiştir. Eninde sonunda, diaspora için bu kendinden kontrol mekanizmaları oluşturularak Amerika’da yaşayan Meksikalıların farkında olmadan bu mekanizmalara dahil olmaları ve bunları tekrar üretmeleri sağlanmıştır. Topluluk oluşturarak ve kendi

kendine yönetim mekanizmaları kurarak, devletler diaspora siyasetine dahil olabilirler ve bazı aşamalardan sonra, diaspora üyeleri bu teknikleri kendilerine herhangi bir müdahale gerekmeden uygularlar. Bu tez Amerika Birleşik Devletlerindeki Meksika diasporasının gelişimini ve mevcut durumunu yalnızca diaspora – ana vatan devleti ilişkisine odaklanarak inceleyerek Foucaultcu bakış açısıyla bir açıklama sunmaya çalışacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Meksika diasporası, İktidar ilişkileri, Diaspora stratejileri, yönetimsellik



*To my parents,
Whom I owe it all...*



*To the family I chose,
Who have always loved and supported me even at the darkest of hours...*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

People have been changing places for several reasons for centuries; either individually, as family or as a mass, people are shifting from one place to another. There are many reasons behind these movements. People may shift places voluntarily or involuntarily due to incidents such as wars, famine, political conflicts or reasons such as economic needs, weather conditions, physical needs etc. Although political instabilities or wars had forced thousands of people to relocate for a long time, in the era of modern capitalist structure, the most common reason for this shift is the goal of meeting economic needs. Whether economic migrants seeking for adequate wages or political refugees escaping from war conditions, these people are leaving their homeland but they are not completely disconnected from their roots.

This urge to maintain links with the roots brings some groups of migrants, expatriates or refugees together in the foreign land they go. Although it is not seen in each and every migrating group, coming together of the migrant groups in the new countries they settle forms diasporas for some migrant societies, which is a rising subject under globalization. The word “diaspora” is actually an ancient term coming from Greek. At its most vague and common definition, the term means “dispersal of a people from its original homeland” (Butler, 2001, p.189). In current usage; diaspora means “a connection between groups across different nation states whose commonality derives from an original but maybe removed homeland” (Anthias, 1998). Beside this vague definition, the term has gained a more political identity recently.

Though often conceived in terms of a catastrophic dispersion, widening the notion of diaspora to include trade, imperial, labour and cultural diasporas can provide a more nuanced understanding of the often positive relationships between migrants' homelands and their places of work and settlement (Cohen, 2008, p. ii)

Especially with the rise of globalization and large-scale migrant flows, diasporas have become more active, thus studies on diaspora has increased and deepened. Many books on this topic have been published such as *The New Diaspora* (Naim, 2002), *Diaspora, Politics and Globalization* (Laguerre, 2006) and *Re-imagining the Diaspora* (Nnaemeka, 2007). There is in fact an annual journal; 'Journal of Diaspora Studies' that has been publishing by Routledge, U.K. since 2007 under the body of Organization for Diaspora Initiatives (ODI) located in New Delhi, India. Membership in a diaspora now implies potential empowerment based on the ability to mobilize international support and influence in both the homeland and host-land (Clifford, 1994, p.311).

The phenomena of migration and diaspora are long rooted however, the approaches and the policies applied towards them have shown important changes over time. Although many studies on diasporas have examined Jewish or Armenian people or recently, they focus on Turks living in Germany, there is another interesting case in United States of America. Mexican migrants in the United States have built a diaspora and this diaspora have become more active and more central over time. Nevertheless, there is another important point that needs consideration; after going through a long path; the Mexican diaspora is being governed at a distance by the Mexican state by a governmental rationality through various technologies and strategies of governing.

1.1 Multi-ethnic Structure of United States of America and the Place of Mexicans in this Picture

As a well-known phenomenon, United States of America is a multiethnic and multicultural state, whose population is the third biggest in the world with 327,757,121 people which includes 72 different ethnicities (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). Mexican-origin immigrants constitute a big part of this ethnic diversity. Mexican migration to the U.S. is a deep-rooted phenomenon that lasts since 1848 and there are a significant number of Mexicans living in the United States today; 35,7 million Mexican origin residents according to U.S. Census Bureau data (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). More than 40 million persons living in the United States were born in other countries, and almost an equal number—the second generation—have at least one parent who was born abroad (Blau & Mackie, 2017, p.33). Together, the first generation (foreign-born) and second generation (U.S.-born children of the first generation) comprise almost one in four Americans (Pew Research Center, 2015a, p. 120). Mexican migration to the northern neighbor has started in 1848 and never stopped after that date. According to 2016 survey of U.S. Census Bureau, there are 36.3 million Mexican-origin residents living in the United States of America. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). This number is the combination of Mexican foreign-born people and people who are from Mexican ancestry. Even if we put the Mexican ancestry apart, Mexican-born migrants are accounting for 30.8 per cent of all foreign-born residents of the U.S. in 2007 (Stepcik, Dutton & Vandekooy, 2010). As been mentioned; “Mexicans are, by far, the largest immigrant group in the United States, numbering over 12 million persons and representing close to one-third of the foreign-born population of the United States” (Portes et.al. in Korinek & Maloney, 2010, p.129). As can be seen in the figure below, most of the Mexican migrants are living in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Utah and Nevada which was given to the United States with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848.



Figure 1. The Foreign Born from Mexico in the United States As Percentage of Total Country Population, 2000 / Source: Migration Information Source, Special Issue on Mexico, March 2004, available at http://www.migrationinformation.org/issue_mar04.cfm, based on 2000 Census data.

Along with densely populating in the shown areas, migration rate was on an ever-growing graphic until 21st century. Hence, migration has been effecting many dynamics in both sides of the situation and in relation to this influence; Mexican migration have been a central issue for states and societies of both sides. With this huge number of Mexicans, the network created in the U.S. is quite considerable. Also, the resistance to acculturation can be easily seen in Mexican community. Mexicans in the United States preserved Spanish language, even led Americans to adapt to Spanish. Mexican holidays and important events are also celebrated sweepingly in U.S.A such as Cinco de Mayo (5th of May – Mexican victory in the Battle of Puebla against French Forces in 1867) parades, Mexican Independence Day of September 16th, Dia de los Muertos (Mexican Day of the Death) the or

quincenera parties (Sweet 16 celebrations of young Mexicans). The long rooted characteristic of Mexican migration and the resistance of the migrants to assimilation have led to this current dynamic of Mexican culture in the United States.

Mexican and American states' positions during the nearly two centuries long period were not strict or stagnant but have been fluctuating graphic. Although Mexican diaspora have not been in an important position for a long time and disregarded by Mexican state, it has a key place in the current picture. This crowded population has not always been seen as meaningful or useful for the Mexican state, they even blamed as 'traitors', but after the country moved towards liberal economic structure, the migrants in the United States has become valuable and they have even won the title '*los héroes*'. Actually, the goal or expectations or the reasons of the Mexican people migrating to the United States have not changed, but the political discourses, policies by both the Mexican and American governments, their status among both Mexican and American societies have changed severally over time. Each shift reflected a particular political rationality from a Foucauldian perspective and it is not a finished process or a project, these policies and discourses continue to evolve and change.

Over the course of 100 years, Mexican policymaking has witnessed five phases: the early 20th century policies aimed at dissuading Mexicans from migrating; a policy of negotiation during and after World War II; the "laissez-faire" approach of the 1970s and 1980s; the "damage control" policy of the 1990s; and the current stage of proposals and talks that can be characterized as one of "shared responsibility" (Durand, 2004)

After political migration with the effect of Guadalupe Hidalgo Agreement, which re-drawn Mexico-United States borderline, and political instabilities in the country, migration from Mexico to United States depended on economic conditions. Economic hardship has been one of the biggest pushing factors for migrants since the 1980s. Mexico had faced a debt crisis in 1982 and announced

devaluation of its currency. This staggering crisis have lasted until the beginning of 1990s and deeply affected economic and political structure of Mexico.

After Mexico announced a devaluation and the suspension of its debt payments, it began a process of profound reform of its economic model that implied direct and indirect support of the U.S. government as a crucial element to avoid a deepening crisis and the default of Mexico's international obligations (Meyer, 2003a, p. 12).

This economic situation has led to a policy shift of Mexican government from 'policy of having no policy' towards Mexican migrants into a 'Nation beyond Mexican borders' approach. "From 1965 until the early 1990s, Mexico's migration policy was notable only for its non-existence" (Janssen, 2006, p.17). In the last decade of the twentieth century, however, the Mexican state had faced with a neo-liberal turn in its political and economical structure, which shifted its migration policy objectives. It had entered into an economic liberalization path under the administration of President Miguel de la Madrid and the relations with the United States have become closer. 1990s were a turning point for policies and approach of Mexican state towards its migrants living in the United States. As Delano puts it,

...From the 1990s onward, Mexico developed a more active strategy to engage with the Mexican-origin population in the United States through specific programs and enhanced consular activities; it expressed more direct opinions on U.S. laws and policies; and it participated actively in the development of bilateral cooperation in this area through special commissions and working groups (Delano, 2011, p. 124).

Especially after NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) got into effect on January 1st, 1994, Mexican liberal economy and its economic ties with United States became closer. The effect of economic liberalization and closer ties with United States also had effects on the Mexican migrants in the U.S.A. With the effect of economic liberalization in Mexico and establishment of NAFTA, Mexican state started to recognize its diaspora in the United States and enhanced

its bonds with its migrant population. State's approach and policies towards its diaspora has changed and it started to support, strengthen and institutionalize these people in the United States. Mexican state increased the number and scope of its organizations in the United States, it gave importance to consulates, started remittance campaigns, established several programs in order to strengthen the bonds of Mexican youth in the U.S. with the Mexican community and the homeland, established literacy and language programs in libraries in United States etc.

Mexican diaspora has been actively working especially since 1990s and they have become well connected and institutionalized through time. Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs is actively working on the issue, consulates are helping their citizens and opening new programs and organize activities constantly, lobbying activities in the U.S. administration is becoming stronger. Among these political and high-level efforts, small-scale home oriented associations formed by Mexican people are strongly supported by Mexico. Mexican state has been promoting several programs through consulates and migrant associations and these efforts continue in the 21st century as well. There are many programs, mechanisms, institutions established which target Mexican diaspora both in different strata and as a whole. These programs aim at improving the conditions of the migrants living in the U.S. in their economic, political, educational, health related issues and also in social life. All of these policies have been termed as 'diaspora strategies' by official authorities. These strategies give us an idea about how the government sees the population beyond their borders and shows us that governing is not restricted to national borders. And this population management and "governing at a distance" (Rose in Sharma & Gupta, 2009, p.157) techniques are related to rationality of the state as a component of art of government.

1.2. Michel Foucault's Art of Government and its Reflections in the Current Case

'Art of government' and 'rationality of the state' are concepts that French philosopher Michel Foucault have used to examine 'the state'. Michel Foucault has worked on psychology, epistemology and archeology, punishment systems i.e. prisons, sexuality and sociology throughout his academic life. But all of these concepts and ideas of Foucault have been developed around two main focuses; 'object' and the 'subject'. The main idea of Foucault, which he developed all of these other concepts and supporting themes around it was the issue of 'formation of the subject' through power relations. Michel Foucault studied the transformation and history of the subject and the processes of subjectification. Foucault asserts that he worked on the formation of the subject because he argues that we do not come to the world with identities or inherited social attributes as essentialists argue. On the contrary; Foucault argues that subjects are constructed within social contexts; authorities give us identities and by both totalizing and dividing practices shape our identities as both individual bodies and populations. Through this process of social construction of the people, we become subjects.

Power relations is decisive in the formation of subject hence it is another central concept for Foucault and he brings a rather different approach to this long-rooted concept. Although previous understandings gave power to a central authority, Foucault offered a rather unconventional explanation. According to Foucault's studies; there has been three types of power so far; sovereign power, disciplinary power and 'governmentality' which is developed under neo-liberal structure. Sovereign power can be easily symbolized by the king, a central figure, where full right and power of the governing body is not interfered or dispersed in anyway, there is quite a small room of free action for the subjects. Disciplinary power can be seen in the 18th-19th century which took over the place of sovereign power and it involves a bigger room of free action for the subjects. Disciplinary power is exercised through disciplinary means in variety of institutions such as schools, militaries, mental institutions etc. where people are forced to behave in certain

ways. Governmentality, however; directs people's actions and behaviors for the benefit of the power. This power relation developed under neo-liberal time defines willing participation of the governed. Foucault examines the evolution of power relations from disciplinary power to disciplinary power and comes to neo-liberal times that uses governmentality system.

Power is not a 'thing' but it is a relation according to French philosopher. Foucault finds 'power' in all kinds of relations, not only in state-society relations but also in father-daughter relation, in husband-wife relation, in boss-employee relation etc. He attributes a different meaning to power and brings a different approach to it, which he calls 'microphysics of power'. For Foucault; power appears as a strategy, emerging out of the relations between people, it is transmitted through subjects rather than being imposed on them. Foucault challenges centrality of power, accordingly; power is not centralized in society, it is not the property of the state, there is no locus of control or no center of gravity, you can find power in every sphere. Within and through these power relations; human being has become subjectified through various techniques and rationalities and within the power-knowledge structure under neo-liberal governmental rationality; human beings started to manage their conducts after embracing the technologies previously imposed on them. Hence, people have become subjects within the context of these technologies; in other words, they self-subjectify themselves over time. Thus, it is argued that; subject has been historically produced (Milchman & Rosenberg, 2009).

The historically produced subject and the process of this formation brings to the surface of the process of shaping people's behavior and creating a population. 'Population' which is a political being and the managing this population not through direct involvement by police forces or by using direct mechanisms such as school; but rather by directing the choices of the members of this population and shaping their behavior indirectly is what Foucault termed as 'governmentality'. Foucault defines governmentality as 'conduct of conduct' and explains the rationality of governing people which directs the choices, hence the conduct of

people. Foucault's examination of 'population' and the change of population since the 16th century, attributing a context to a community that brings people together and normalizing subjects through biopolitical practices of monitoring in the modern neo-liberal government and calculating statistical variables show the place and centrality of population in the governmentality structure.

Governmentality approach and different concepts introduced and studied by Foucault have been applied to many concepts by many Foucauldian academics; such as François Ewald, Giovanna Procacci, Pasquale Pasquino, and Jacques Donzelot who carried out genealogical investigations of insurance technology, social economy, police science, and the government of the family (Donzelot 1984; Pasquino 1991; Ewald 1996; Procacci 1993 in Lemke, 2012, p.78). Other than the fellow French academicians of Foucault; current scholars such as; Graham Burchill, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (Burchill et.al. 1991), Francesco Ragazzi (Ragazzi 2009), Elaine Lynne-e Ho (Ho 2011), Wendy Larner (Larner 2007), Fiona McConnell (McConnell 2012), Jen Dickinson and Adrian Bailey (Dickinson & Bailey 2007), Alan Gamlen (Gamlen 2012), William Walters (Walters, 2012) and many more have been conducting many studies following Foucauldian thinking and applying governmentality perspective to different subjects. Foucault's well-developed concept governmentality have been applied to studies of state, migration, climate change, health, transportation and many other subjects. Since governmentality concept is about managing people's choices by using freedom to channel their decisions subtly, this perspective can be used to study migration flows, temporary and permanent migrants and also to the diaspora relations established as a further step by some migrant communities. Mexican diaspora in the United States is one of these communities that can be studied under governmentality perspective.

Perspective of Foucault can be used fruitfully in examining the diaspora strategies of Mexican state since the strategies applied by Mexican state and the institutions and enterprises established through this system are all parts of political power and are essentially political relations that involve the exercise of power. Foucault does

not believe that political power is centralized or forced through disciplinary institutions. It is not solely about setting the rules, transmitting them to all surfaces of the society and punish the ones that do not obey the rules. For the case of migration and diaspora; the programs, institutions and regulations reproduce the political power upon the society outside of the border. Both the changes of approaches towards former citizens and the diaspora throughout time and the techniques used to strengthen the bonds of next generation migrants are techniques of governing at a distance and they can be explained from a Foucauldian perspective.

There are many studies about the migrants, about Mexican diaspora in the United States and different aspects and effects of this phenomenon, or about social effects of Mexican residents in the United States on the one hand and there are many studies on Michel Foucault and his concepts on the other hand. However, there is a need for further investigation regarding the strategies applied to the Mexican diaspora by the Mexican government and its use of biopolitical practices and governmentality structure. This thesis will try to bring these two concepts together by focusing on the relationship between the homeland state; Mexico and the diaspora in the U.S. and interpret the situation from a Foucauldian perspective. There are three distinct approaches to the study of diaspora strategies; instrumental framework, ethnic framework and governmentality framework. Each of these three perspectives explain diaspora strategies by taking a different point as the explanatory basis and bring different explanation, but within this thesis' standpoint, governmentality framework that has been developed under the thoughts of French philosopher Michel Foucault is the most comprehensive way of looking to the diaspora concept. In order to explain the place of Foucauldian thinking compared to the previous two perspectives; each of these frameworks will be explained in detail and compared below.

1.3 Different Approaches towards Diaspora-State Relations

As mentioned above, there are many reasons behind a person's choice of building a life away from their motherlands but keeping their ties strong with their origins. There are several types of diasporas in this context. Robert Cohen makes a categorization among the structures of diasporas based on their means of formation as such; victim diasporas, trade diasporas, labor diasporas, imperial diasporas and cultural diasporas (Cohen, 1997). Although he does not accept Mexicans as diaspora and argues; "In my judgment, these migrations are examples of borderland cultures rather than diasporas" (Cohen, 1997, p. 190), our focus point is Mexican diaspora and its clearly seen policies and lobbying practices in the United States of America. Also, the point of focus is not on the categorization based on the reasons of leaving in this thesis, but the emphasis is the changes of discourses and policies followed as appropriate to Michel Foucault's governmentality perspective. Hence, although most of the writers follows the categorization of Cohen, this study will not base its argument on Cohen's work.

Migration from Mexico to the United States and the formation of Mexican diaspora in the United States have been chosen within the interest of this thesis due to several reasons. First of all, presence of Mexican community in the northern neighbor has a long history and this position has been effecting many dynamics in both countries. Secondly, the position of Mexico towards its Mexican migrants in the U.S. have shown a fluctuating picture and this characteristic requires further examination. Lastly, current position is worth studying since it illustrates independency of governing from borders. This is a desk study which takes governmental reports of Mexico and United States, laws and treaties signed between these states, institutional programs of both governments, political discourses and formal literature researches as main sources of investigation and these sources show the different rationalities towards the same subject under different timelines.

There are different positions in examining diasporas and states' policies towards their diasporas. These studies can be divided into three different positions; structural-instrumental, ethnic and governmentality. Francesco Ragazzi summarizes the different positions in diaspora studies in his article "A Comparative Analysis of Diaspora Studies" (Ragazzi, 2014). The first approach is structural-instrumental framework, based loosely on Marxian and utilitarian assumptions of state behavior; the ethnic framework based on opposing theories of cosmopolitanism and transnational nationalism; and finally, the political-economy hypothesis, related to the governmentality framework (Ragazzi, 2014). I follow Ragazzi's categorization and expand these below.

1.3.1 Structural - Instrumental Framework in Diaspora Studies

The first framework, structural-institutional approach is the dominant perspective in the literature. This approach takes the relation between the states and their diasporas as instrumental and sees the relation as the usage of the diaspora by the sending states for economic purposes or for diplomatic benefits. In general, instrumental approach argues that sending states are giving importance to their diasporas because they are using these people for their own benefits, as a tool for economic and political benefit. This view is close to the realistic approach of the international relations discipline, and it explains the relation by looking at the cost-benefit table. For instance;

The states of origin also have an interest in improving the sociopolitical position of immigrants in the United States, believing that this will guarantee the flow of remittances and provide them with a lobbying base of support in the American congress (Itzighson, 2000).

There are many views in the literature that explain diaspora-state relation instrumentally and while authors such as Susan Coutin (Coutin, 2007), Luis Guarnizo (Guarnizo, 1998), Peggy Levitt (Levitt, 1998) and Rafael de la Dehesa (Levitt & Dehesa, 2003) look at the economic side and think of the importance of diaspora in relation to remittance value. They state that; "States are creating

economic, political and social mechanisms that enable migrants to participate in the national development process over the long term and from afar” (Levitt & Dehesa, 2003).

Those who look from the economic side base their assertions on World Systems Theory of distinguished neo-Marxists scholar; Immanuel Wallerstein and look from a more class-based perspective. “These populations are where they are ..., politically and economically, not because of their culture but because of their class location” (Gimenez, 1998). They explain state behavior as resulting from the position of the states at the core, or the periphery, of the world economy and as the outcome cost/benefit calculations (Ragazzi, 2014). They see remittances as “the principal tool of leverage” and see the importance of diaspora for sending states purely economical. “The goal of the government in pursuing these actions is to avoid deportations and to guarantee the flow of remittances” (Coutin 1998; Guarnizo 1998). “As the diaspora’s economic contribution has become increasingly important, home-country governments have worked to reincorporate the diaspora” (Stepnick et al., 2010).

The other side within the instrumental framework looks from a more politics oriented point and asserts that sending states are forming bonds with their diasporas for political means since these expatriates still benefit to the political appearance of the sending state and also they contribute to the polls since they can vote from abroad. Authors such as Christophe Jaffrelot and Ingrid Therwath, Charles King and Neil J. Melvin see the importance of diasporas in their diplomatic benefits.

Through informal engagement in relationships with diaspora institutions and the creation of more formal umbrella organizations, sending states are increasingly using their diaspora as a multiplier for foreign policy (Jaffrelot & Therwath, 2007).

“Another shift is that populations abroad are being increasingly included as informal diplomatic actors” (King & Melvin, 1999). However, this perspective is narrow in some senses. First of all, it does not explain why some states does not create a relation with their diaspora and use them for political or economic interests. Secondly, it does not explain the change of perspective towards diasporas over time. Nor it does consider the humanitarian factors and societal bounds involved in the relation. As appropriate to our scope of interest, Mexican state did not always approach its diaspora as it is now, it did not create a strong bond for a long time at the beginning, Mexican state and society even excluded its diaspora for a long time. This perception has changed over time and formed the institutions and programs that bring economic benefits to the Mexican state. Thus, the instrumental approach cannot offer an explanation to the change of ‘pochos’ expression used for Mexican-Americans which means rotten and faded in its Spanish origin, to the acceptance of the same Mexican migrants and even become ‘national heroes’. Hence, it can be said that instrumental approach only explains a limited side of the picture and it is not comprehensive enough to explain the overall situation which evolves over time.

1.3.2. Ethnic Framework towards Diaspora Studies

The second approach, the ethnic framework, sees the situation from a more sociological side. It focuses on the concepts such as ethnicity, citizenship, nationalism and the change in these concepts that came with the age of globalization. These scholars examine the changes and evolutions through the globalization of the world. This approach establishes a connection between nationalist feelings and globalization. Their focus is on citizenship bound of people and the importance that people attribute to their homelands even though they are apart from for a long time. Thinkers of this approach offer that nationalist feelings expanded outside of borders, hence people outside homeland gained importance and relationships with diasporas have strengthened. They assert that, with the effect of globalization, the structure has changed and the feeling of belongingness started to include emigrants and expatriates. Appiah looks from a

quite positive position and says that; “A tenable cosmopolitanism tempers a respect for difference with a respect for actual human beings” (Appiah, 2007). Similarly, Joppke asserts that;

Contemporary globalizing processes, most notably increased international migration in the context of a world-spanning human rights culture and the transnational linking of segments or subsystems of previously "national" societies with their counterparts abroad, are fundamentally transforming the meaning and regulation of citizenship as state membership (Joppke, 2003).

Today nation-states encourage diasporic politics among their migrants and ex-citizens, seeing in the diaspora not only a source of political support for projects at home, but also are source of networks, skills and competencies that can be used to enhance a state's own standing in an increasingly global world (Benhabib, 2010).

These scholars approach the phenomena of globalization from a positive perspective and focus on the positive consequences it brought to the relationship between states and their diasporas. They examine the re-formation of citizenship concept under cosmopolitan structure. They find citizenship concept more inclusionary in this context and give importance to ethnic bonds that keep those people together although they are drifted apart from their homelands. This perspective does not attribute a sharp, distinctive feature to nation boundaries but consider ethnic basis as important in people's relations with each other and with their states, their citizenship and feeling of belonging and in the formation of their diasporas. The general position is the expansion of the bonds with diasporas as an effect of the expansion of 'citizenship' concept in connection with globalization of the world. However, this perspective is not sufficient in understanding state's position for including migration in its agenda and employing practices to target expatriates. States use many resources and create a program in the agenda while expanding their bonds with their diaspora. This effort is cannot be undermined and ethnic bonds are not sufficient in explaining this effort. Position and role of the

diaspora is disregarded within this perspective but these are important points that need attention and evaluation.

1.3.3. Governmentality Framework in Diaspora Studies

The third dimension of diaspora studies takes inspiration from Michel Foucault's notion of 'governmentality'. To mention it shortly, governmentality is about the 'conduct of conduct'; which can be exemplified in short as states' practices to shape its citizens. 'Government' in 'conduct of conduct' refers to all endeavors to shape, guide, direct the conduct of others, whether these be the crew of a ship, the members of a household, the employees of a boss, the children of a family or the inhabitants of a territory (Rose, 1999, p.3). Moreover, the third literature of diaspora studies, which puts the governmentality perspective at its basis, gives a central importance to the close link between political-economic rationalities and policies to diaspora policies.

From this perspective, diaspora policies are shaped by modifications in programs of government and practices of power in the past decades and in particular the shift from welfare liberalism to neo-liberalism (Ragazzi, 2014, p.82). Foucauldian thinking does not try to find the answer to 'why' but tries to find 'how'. This point of view is influential in understanding the processes that shape the diaspora relations between migrants and home-state. Since the relation between them is not stagnant, governmentality perspective is able to understand these changes over time. Also, governmentality approach attributes a governmental rationality behind the establishment of the ties and argues that states take the migrant community as a mass and regulate them with a rationality. However, it is not solely for political or economic interests, but the state shape this community and their choices through the institutions and programs they establish. State does not have to use force in order to govern its citizens or that governing is not limited with national borders, it can be applied across borders and with different instruments other than force. These are strategies in order to govern at a distance and this perspective is more

beneficial for understanding the states' positive approach towards their diasporas which has evolved subsequently.

1.4. Comparison of Different Frameworks of Diaspora Studies

As explained just above, there are three perspectives in the literature for studying state-diaspora relations and there is a considerable difference between these three approaches. While the first two approaches see the policies of states fixed in time and do not emphasize the change in policies, governmentality approach considers change over time especially with the emergence of neo-liberalism. Also, governmentality perspective does not see the current situation as fixed either, it is open to change as governing is an ongoing and never ending endeavor. In this approach, states' 'interests' are not fixed over time, but are instead contingent upon political-economical rationality that underpins a government's program (Kunz, 2011). The first approach, which links the given importance to diasporas to the states' economic and political interests looks to the issue from a realistic fixed perspective which explains everything with cost-benefit calculation. The second approach, ethnicity based approach has been criticized by several authors since it gives a unifying characteristic to globalization. For authors such as Glick Schiller and Fouron (2001), Joppke (2003) and Skrbis (1999), we are indeed facing a process of 're-ethnicization' and 'long-distance nationalism' – reducing the criteria for inclusion in the polity along ethnic lines – that embraces transnational communities as a new component of the nationalist program. However, many authors oppose this position since they are giving an exclusionary character to globalization and to the policies that come with it. Also, in my view, they are not considering the rising right-wing position in this highly globalized world structure, which divides people even more and emphasize nationalist bonds on the one hand and degrading and excluding migrants on the other. It can also be argued that, the definition of ethnicity is also changing under the influence of globalization,

advancement of technology, the ever-changing structure of people and societies. Ethnicity does not mean a strictly-defined group of people who share certain common grounds anymore. Now we see that new generations consider themselves to belong to their ancestors even though they do not know the language, or they have not even stepped on their homelands. Ethnic bonds and people's definitions of themselves as belonging to a group is also changing. New groups are emerging and people's approach is changing, self-definition of people is changing, it is becoming more and more not restricted to certain criteria as before.

After these two approaches and seeing their restrictions in current situation, I find governmentality perspective more comprehensive and appropriate for the analysis of states' current approach and policies towards their diasporas.

While structural-instrumental and ethnicity-based frameworks provide some insight into the determinants of diaspora policies, the governmentality framework provides a more comprehensive point of entry to understand their transnationalization and the development of post-territorial forms of government (Ragazzi, 2014, p.87).

Although governmentality perspective does not deny or reject the idea of instrumentalist approach that states make cost-benefit calculation in their policies, Foucauldian perspective looks behind these calculations and tries to find political rationality and 'how' side of this calculations. Economic benefits in terms of remittances or political benefits in terms of voting behavior or lobbying activities are of course parts of diaspora relations. Also, ethnic bonds are likewise effective in diaspora activities. Although they are considered as components of the structure, it is important to stress that they are techniques of governing by reshaping the group as a different population and normalization of population. Both sending and receiving states increased their policies regarding the diasporas and they are regulating these people by using the institutions, associations, hometown groups. I think that these states are not considering diasporas as citizens or people, but they are approaching them as an 'entities' or 'populations'. They

aim at grouping these people, seek to normalize diasporas through technologies of government and biopolitical practices for the optimization of all.

Also, governmentality approach can be used efficiently when examining the change in the attributed meaning to the same concept. Foucault's nominalist perspective is useful at this point. As Lemke states, nominalist account stresses the central importance of knowledge and political discourses in the constitution of the state (Lemke, 2007, p.43). Foucault is interested in examining the historical changes of the meanings and the change of the perception as he states:

One needs to be nominalistic, no doubt: power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society (Foucault, 1980a, p.93).

This strategic situation and appliance of power through every sphere of life has been evolving all over the world for migration and emigration policies side. As Ragazzi argues;

...The evolution of emigration policies, the increasing transnationalization of state practices and the proliferation of the 'diasporic' discourse is best understood in relation to the changing modalities and technologies of the 'art of government'—or governmentality, namely to the modifications of the state itself (Ragazzi, 2009, p.379).

There are a number of scholars who relate diaspora strategies with governmentality perspective and they are applying this perspective to various case studies from all around the world. Francesco Ragazzi, Jen Dickinson, Adrian J. Bailey, Alan Gamlen, Elaine Lynne-Ee Ho, Wendy Larner, Fiona McConnell and Beverly Mullings are important names of this position. Dickinson and Bailey (2007) study the Indian diaspora while McConnell (2012) focuses on Tibetan

migrants and Ho (2011) looks into the case in Chinese border; but the commonality in the examination of all these different populations is to base the study upon diaspora strategies conducted by the nation states. “Diaspora strategies describe policies aimed at mobilizing citizens abroad and tend to be initiated by government actors that represent the interests of the nation-state” (Ho, 2013). “The rise of diaspora-centered development as a strategy for the global neoliberal world has led to growing interest in governments& attempts to engage overseas populations in national economic and political projects” (Dickinson, 2017). This thesis approaches to the examination of states’ relations with their diaspora from this perspective as well. Governmentality perspective comprises other points left out of the economic, political, diplomatic or ethnic points of the issue. Biopolitical and governmental practices and policies also explain the goal of optimization of the society as a whole, subjectification of people without using force but by using their own consent and freedom. Thus, this approach provides a better description of the phenomenon from a wider angle both in the examination of diaspora strategies in general and the specific case of Mexican diaspora in the U.S.A.

Mexican diaspora in the United States of America has a significant part in the general picture due to the history of this relationship and the significant number of the Mexicans in American population. Especially within the context of the current structure, diaspora policies and strategies have a considerable effect in both countries. There has been a considerable change in the official account of the Mexican state and society in their approach towards the Mexican origin people living in the United States for decades. Along with the perspective towards the Mexican migrants in the U.S., also the policies and institutions have changed and diversified in the United States.

The changes and the new policies of the Mexican state can be examined from the governmentality perspective in detail for several reasons. Firstly because of the change in the meaning that is being attributed to the same concept in the Mexican diaspora case. Furthermore; the state rationality of Mexico and the technologies of

governing that are being applied to the Mexican diaspora in the recent situation can be interpreted by using Foucauldian governmentality perspective.

There is a number of studies, as mentioned above, which examine diaspora strategies from a Foucauldian approach. Moreover, many more studies look at the situation of Mexican immigration and Mexicans living in the United States. However, there are not many studies that look at diaspora strategies of Mexican state and policies conducted towards Mexican diaspora in the United States that use the governmentality notion of Michel Foucault as the basis. This thesis brings the two together and offers a Foucauldian explanation to the diasporic relation of Mexican state. In order to understand the position of Michel Foucault more deeply, the next part will focus on the studies of the philosopher and provide a closer look at his position. Furthermore, the concepts employed in the practice of the concepts developed by Foucault will be used for examining Mexican state's diaspora policies. The aim and significance of this thesis is its aim of bringing the two together. Hopefully, this thesis will contribute towards fulfilling this gap in the literature.

1.5. Michel Foucault's Studies

French philosopher Michel Foucault is an important thinker who opened basic concepts into discussion from a revolutionary perspective. He did not provide an ideology, he did not provide a guideline or a path to follow, his method was 'genealogy' which can be explained as 'historical analysis of power' at its simplest. But fundamentally; Foucault examined 'object' and 'subject' and the things and phases that shape them historically. In fact; what he wanted people to see was that there are many ways of looking at the same phenomenon. He introduced himself as a 'historian of the present' (Foucault, 1978, p.30-31) since

he examines the transformation of practices starting from 16th century and reaches out to modernity.

Foucault examines technologies of power throughout centuries and argues that power exist in each and every relationship. Foucault does not attribute power solely to the state, but instead he argues that power is dispersed and exists in every social context. Under sovereign power and slavery, relationship among the society and with the ruler was based on forceful power valid in the early and middle ages. This power relation was mostly irreversible since there was a little room for free action. Slaves would not be able to act on their own will, they were dependent on their owners, so their freedom was quite limited and the master was holding the advantageous side. This is quite beneficial for the power owner since the object is to have obedient and productive subjects. “Authoritarian forms of rule refers to non-liberal, seeks to operate through obedient rather than free subjects” (Dean, 2010, p.155). In the modern state, there is an imbalance of power between the subjects and the governing, but there is room for action. Alternatively, the relationship between a company owner and an employee can be an example of this kind of power relationship. It is reversible through changes of the governing parties or the regime, or change of jobs. There is even a power balance in more loose social relationships such as love relationships or neighborhood. It can be reversed easily. Within these contexts; what Foucault claims is that power infuses into all kinds of relations.

In addition, Foucault does not see power external as in the Marxist views, in which the power owners exploit the powerless. For the French philosopher, power is much more comprehensive, embedded not only in institutions but dispersed in every part and member of the society and something not necessarily negative.

He parted clearly with the Marxist interpretations of power relations, arguing that power is not essentially something that institutions possess and use oppressively against individuals and groups. Consequently, Foucault tries to move the analysis one step beyond viewing power as the plain oppression of the powerless by the

powerful, aiming to examine how it operates in day to day interactions between people and institutions...Foucault sees it as co-extensive with resistance, as a productive factor, because it has positive effects such as the individual's self-making, and because, as a condition of possibility for any relation, it is ubiquitous, being found in any type of relation between the members of society (Balan, 2010, abstract).

“Foucault's examination rejects the conception of power as that of property – as that which is held or possessed by an individual and exercised upon one lacking the property” (Hewett, 2004, p.19). Power relations exist everywhere; it is internal to every sphere of life. Another side of power relations is that; it is not solely negatively applied from the top to the bottom. It lies within complexity and is not necessarily evil. Power relations are not necessarily good or bad, but they are dangerous according to Foucault (Foucault, 1997b, p.256). Power is productive and power is taken as dispersed and internal to every sphere of life according to Foucauldian thinking. According to Dean, Foucault's examination of power relations can be divided into three as; sovereign power, disciplinary power and governmentality (Dean, 2010, p.30).

Sovereign power is exercised on bodies and it entails obedience of the subjects. This relation between the king and his subjects was similar to the relation between 'shepherd and its flock' (Foucault, 1978). It involved control of the common people with declarations, general laws, harsh punishments, ceremonies and corporal punishment as in the cases of public executions. The public executions demonstrate the 'taking life' emphasis of the sovereign power. In the sovereign type of power; exercising force and taking life of people for the demonstration of strength and superiority were the fundamental tactics which were used for domination. Sovereign power lets its subjects to live or it makes them die. Capital punishment was being exercised upon a small number of people but its scope was quite large. Numerically less people were punished with harsher punishment as Foucault exemplifies with the public execution of Damians on March 1757 under the accusation of murder attempt of King Louis XV, the king of France, in the introduction of *Discipline and Punish* (1978). The execution was cruel and

excessive; it was a big event, an 'exemplary punishment' to show the strength of the King to the common people.

However, the methods and systems of punishment and governing people have changed over time. Damians was the last person to be subjected to torture and public execution. Of course, this change was not a straightforward process which becomes better and more humane with the spread of liberalism. Punishment or execution did not end or go away completely, but punishment became the hidden part of the penal process, these practices disappeared from public eye hence stopped taking attention or reaction from the public. Apart from assessing its evolution towards better or worse, there is a significant shift which is under consideration. Rick Roderick summarizes this shift in his lecture 'The Disappearance of Human' as 'the change of criminal from one single individual; Damians to the general 'social enemy' (Roderick, 2012). As Dean explains in detail in his article 'Foucault: A Man in Danger', there has been a shift from shepherd-flock game to city-citizen game under liberalization of the government as Foucault specified:

Foucault's account of liberal governmental formations ... is an articulation of elements of the shepherd-flock game concerned in its modern form to optimize the life of the population and normalize the identities of individuals within it, and of the city-citizen game in which the individual appears as an active and responsible citizen within a self-governing political community and within commercial society (Dean, 2001, p. 331).

In the disciplinary power, practices are exercised on bodies and the souls, these are the targets. Disciplinary power is exercised through institutions such as prisons, military, legal system, hospitals, schools. Its aim is to create docile and useful individuals by using examination, training and punishing people through these institutions. Ensuring docility was possible with the method of execution and torture in the sovereign power but gaining utility was not a part of it. Exercise of sovereign power could target only a number of people and those methods could

not ensure gaining utility from the public. This new method, disciplinary power ensured both of them and also could reach out many people. Hence, it is a new economy of power in which punishing more people is possible. Disciplinary power can be accepted as more efficient since it distributes punishment equally in a more lenient way to the increased population. Foucault calls these new economies as 'anatomy-politics of the body' which controls, surveils, punishes and disciplines the body. The rise of the disciplinary power and its disperse to people was the discovery of a new technology of power. By this discovery, usage of power became wider and it became more economical.

Another technology of power had been developed in the 18th century with the rise of the church in Europe and categorizing and excluding people based on their sexuality. In addition to seeing power dispersed in every relationship, power is connected to knowledge in Foucauldian thinking. According to the French philosopher; power and knowledge are mutually implicated and you cannot have power without knowledge and the modern governing systems have evolved upon this perspective. This close, interchangeable relationship between power and knowledge led to birth of biopolitics and conducting governance upon bodies of the population. This new technology of power examined and classified illicit sexual practices scientifically and produced sexuality discourse. By doing so; the emphasis shifted from the individual body to the population as a whole. Target is the population and the goal is normalization of the population, maximization of life and welfare and the ultimate goal is to reach to optimum society. Foucault names this new economy of power as 'Bio-politics of the population' which focused on letting die and making life. In the Bio-politics can be thought as the wider version of disciplinary power; which is exercised on entire population rather than individuals. Its main aim is the welfare of the population as a whole and the state uses tools such as statistics, public health and hygiene policies and economy as a public science in 'bio-politics'. It is the modern version of power used in the Western, developed countries. According to Foucauldian understanding, governments are using bio-political practices in order to regulate their populations while the state approaches to the population as a mass. Foucault explains what he

means by the population as; “I mean a multiplicity of individuals who are fundamentally and essentially only exist biologically bound to the materiality within which they live” (Foucault, 2009, p.21).

There has been a shift from the pastoral power of the state where the power relationship resembled shepherd-flock type to the modern state regime where there is city-citizen game as Foucault studies historically. As Dean states; “Foucault’s analysis rests on a thesis that the exercise of rule in all modern states entails the articulation of a form of pastoral or bio-power with one of sovereign power” (Dean, 2001, p.332). In the modern state, political power wielded over legal subjects and pastoral power wielded over the life of individuals (Foucault, 1979). Hence, individual benefits or personal wellbeing have been replaced with the sake of a greater entity and population has become the main target as a mass. Moreover, the evaluation and calculation for this population is made through bio-political practices such as statistics, demography, surveys, birth control etc. Bio-politics uses knowledge as the source of power much more than the precious technologies of power. Power and knowledge are highly inter-related since knowledge feeds power and there could not be power without knowledge. That is the reason of many statistical surveys and other studies that gather information about the population and keeps track of many data.

As can be understood from his examination of power relations, Foucault looks at the social transformations. He studies the changes that led to the current situation of the modern neo-liberal Western countries. Foucault names himself as ‘historian of the present’ since;

Writing a history of the present means writing a history in the present; self-consciously writing in a field of power relations and political struggle... Foucault, is writing a history of the present in order to make that present into a past (Roth, 1981, p.43).

In his books, Foucault looks at transformation of several practices in quite different fields, all of which are exercised for social control and monitoring.

In *The Order of Things* (1966) French thinker looks at sciences before and after the classical period and afterwards by taking 1650 as the turning point. He looks at the change in the scientific approach, which focused on similarities before 1650 and after that date science focuses on differences by making comparisons. In *the Discipline and Punish* (1978), he looks at the transformation of disciplinary system and punishment. As been explained in this book, Foucault examines the execution punishments of the middle ages and the transformation of that system into prisons through time. He asserts that, punishment become a hidden part of the penal process and now the punishment is not solely on the body, it aims at increasing 'utility and docility'. This is a new economy of power in which there is a more equal distribution of punishment away from public eye. In *the History of Sexuality* (1984), he looks at the phenomenon of 'sexuality' and argues that as the word started to be used in the modern society, people started to be distinguished according to their sexuality and bodies gained a political importance. Thus, his studies were focused on certain terms gained new meanings and functions, and his method was genealogy, which is historical examination of power. After these broad genealogical studies, Foucault discussed the bigger theme 'governmentality'.

In his famous collection of his College de France lectures; 'Security, Territory, Population' (1977-78 lectures) we see the examination of all the changes and his emphasis on time and space boundaries. All of these notions that he uses have led Foucault to use the more comprehensive term 'governmentality'. Although Foucault did not invent the term, he attributed a new angle to it.

For Foucault, governmentality thus does not stand for a mythic practice of signs depoliticizing and masking those relations, but rather for a range of forms of action and fields of practice aimed in a complex way at steering individuals and collectives (Bröckling, Krasmann & Lemke, 2010).

When Michel Foucault continued from the politics of using human body as a political through 'bio-politics', he started to examine the states' practices upon their population and the expansion and the complexity of the picture led him to fill the meaning of 'governmental rationality', or as the well-known name, 'governmentality' concept.

All in all, in all these endeavors, what Foucault actually looks at is the transformation of the power relations and state-population relations. He examines the practices of governments, the 'technologies of power' that are being used in order to control, monitor, shape and regulate populations in neo-liberal states.

1.6. Governmentality and Biopolitics

As can be seen in various studies conducted by Foucault, the French philosopher diverged from conventional studies and shed light on different institutions and evaluated power from a new angle. Foucault brought a different approach to power relations and governing of people. He argued that states do not always rule through control and violence, such as police force, but govern people through specific 'technologies of power' that can change over time. As Rose explains in detail;

What Michel Foucault termed 'the governmentalization of the State'. That is to say, the invention and assembly of a whole array of technologies that connected up calculations and strategies developed in political centers to those thousands of spatially scattered points where the constitutional, fiscal, organizational and political powers of the state connect with endeavors to manage economic life, the health and habits of the population, the civility of the masses and so forth (Rose, 1999, p.18).

Foucault examined techniques and history of domination of people and also technology of self-subjectification. There are commonalities between domination of people and technology of self-subjectification which bring out the subject of governmentality. As Foucault says; “This contact between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self I call governmentality” (Foucault, 1988, p.18-19). Exercise of power and the act of governing infiltrates into every sphere of life; both in macro and micro spheres. Along with that, there is a rationality behind these exercises and practices; government has a rationality in the sense that the state is governed by an autonomous sort of rationality through the usage of power infiltrating into every sphere of life. As we specified above, government discovered more economical technologies over time and this comes from rationality of the state. “The new science called political economy arises out of the perception of new networks of continuous and multiple relations between population, territory and wealth” (Foucault, 1991, p.101), and these multiple relations brought ‘governmentality’ to the foreground.

Governmentality has two meanings in Foucault’s work; first of all, it indicates the relation between government and rationality behind and secondly, it marks the emergence of a distinctly new form of thinking about and exercising power in Western societies. In this sense, the main object of governmentality is the ‘population’. Governmentality seeks to frame the population with ‘apparatuses of security’. It would include all the practices and institutions that ensure the optimal and proper functioning of the economic, vital and social processes.

The state is no more than a composite reality and a mythicized abstraction, whose importance is a lot more limited than many of us think. Maybe what is really important for our modernity – that is for our present – is not so much the *etatisation* of society, as the ‘governmentalization’ of the state (Foucault, 1991, p.103).

It is exercised on the population as a whole and the objective is welfare of the population, optimization of life, wealth, health as a whole.

It is the population itself on which government will act either directly through large-scale campaigns, or indirectly through techniques that will make possible, without the full awareness of the people, the stimulation of birth rates, the directing of the flow of the population into certain regions or activities etc. ... The population is the subject of needs, of aspirations, but it is also the object in the hands of the government, aware, vis-à-vis, the government, of what it wants, but ignorant of what is being done to it (Foucault, 1991, p.100).

As Rose and Miller assert; “The term governmentality sought to draw attention to a certain way of thinking and acting embodied in all those attempts to know and govern the wealth, health and happiness of populations” (Rose&Miller, 1992, p.174). Foucault takes the emergence of statistics as the key condition for the emergence of bio-politics. Because statistics is about getting scientific, quantitative knowledge and according to Foucauldian understanding, knowledge makes things and subjects apprehensible and thus governable in some way (Tazzioli &Walters, 2016, p.447). Statistics, economy and public administration has started to be implemented upon the population as sciences. “Bio-politics would thus be a strategy seeking to transform certain vital tendencies or fundamental biological traits of individuals or the human race with the intent of using them to strengthen economico-political forces” (Gros, 2015, p.271). State uses statistics, public vaccination, general census, public hygiene, surveys for the purpose of regulating, controlling, monitoring and directing population as a whole. State gathers these data because as specified above, knowledge gives power.

Foucault takes 18th century as a turning point in this regard for the discovery of bio-politics. What he terms ‘bio-power’ as the general, aggregate politics is divided into two in the 18th century. In the 18th century, body had discovered as a controllable tool through the policies for fighting the plague epidemic. This period of ‘anatomo-politics of the body’ uses disciplinary power for the control of the

body by keeping it under surveillance and punishing it when necessary. When this control over body has spread to the practices of sexuality for the health of the population, bio-politics of the population as a whole started to be in effect. The possibility of controlling and exercising power in a more general level through a more plural mode of power has been realized.

The theme was to have been 'biopolitics', by which I meant the attempt, starting from the eighteenth century to rationalize the problems posed to governmental practice by phenomena characteristic of a set of living beings forming a population: health, hygiene, birthrate, life expectancy, race... (Foucault, 2008, p.317).

States have realized in the late 18th and 19th century that they can intervene to the population en masse by using public vaccination, birth control, population census and categorizations according to the census. "Population as an object of study and a target of strategic interventions comes into view as a correlate of bio-power in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (May & McWhorter, 2016, p.248). Now the target became the population and the objective is the 'normalization' of the population, maximization of life, welfare and reaching to the optimum society. When we take a further step, as applicable to our study, these policies are being applied to the population outside of state's main borders as diaspora strategies.

What actually changed the picture was the discovery of the population as a governable entity. As Kelly states; population gained a 'political personage' with the emergence of bio-politics in the 18th century, before that, population was meaning only to 'people being present' (Kelly, 2010, p.4). In the neo-liberal structure, there are limits to what governments can do, thus there is a need for a more economic use of the sources, more economic use of power and in general a more economic government. Now, states can govern less and have effect upon the whole population. Now the state is governing by shaping the possible field of action through people's freedom. Government as the 'conduct of conduct' entails

the idea that one governed is an actor and therefore the locus of freedom (Dean, 1999, p.21).

Foucault relates the discovery of the population and the emergence of bio-politics with neo-liberalism. Accordingly, with the discovery of the population, government mechanisms have also realized their limits since it is not possible to govern everything. Thus, the art of government has transformed and opened to liberalism. Since there are limits to what government can do, you need a more economic government and you need to govern less by shaping the possible field of action through using freedom. Foucault recognized the biopolitical character of liberalism, locating it on the level of the government of life, in opposition to or at least apart from the universalist procedures of democracy (Esposito, 2008, p.356).

These practices regulate and constrain people by using freedom constrained with time and space but they are not coercive or forceful practices. The trickiest part of these practices is that; people learn to control and regulate themselves over time through these technologies of power. Once they do, state does not have to directly involve anymore so it is economically quite beneficial for the state. Hence, state governs without directly governing. Government encompasses not only how we exercise authority over others, or how we govern abstract entities such as states and populations, but also how we govern ourselves (Dean, 1999, p.19). These practices can be observed in hospitals, classrooms, prisons, mental hospitals or even in theaters. People are organized and monitored through lines, bells or tickets according to a specified time constraint in a specific space. We are being taught to behave accordingly in these places since childhood; for instance, children go to the classroom each morning at a specific time until they hear the school bell at another specific time. Through these kinds of practices, we learn to act according to time and the rules, in fact we are self-disciplining ourselves. Foucault has shown that, similar methods of enclosing and partitioning space, systematizing surveillance and inspection, breaking down complex tasks into carefully drilled movements and coordinating separate functions into larger combinations were developed around

the same period in factories, schools, prisons, hospitals, commercial establishments and governmental offices (Mitchell, 1991).

Within time, the subtle controlling practices of the state are naturalized and internalized by individuals, people do not even think about the logic of their behavior. At this point, people start governing themselves without any effort by the state. In this way, state organizes its citizens without getting involved directly. Thus, the scope of governing expands outside specific borders and ‘governing at a distance’ becomes possible.

Nikolas Rose explains the phenomenon as such;

Political forces instrumentalize forms of authority other than those of ‘the state’ in order to ‘govern at a distance’ in both constitutional and spatial senses – distanced constitutionally, in that they operate through the decisions and endeavors of non-political modes of authority; distanced spatially, in that these technologies of government link a multitude of experts in distant sites to the calculations of those at a center – hence government operates through opening lines of force across a territory spanning space and time (Rose, 1999, p.50).

Transformation of these technologies is not over either. Foucault has examined transformation of historical practices and the policies of neo-liberal Western societies in the 1970s and 80s. The world has evolved into a more globalized and less divided form since Foucault’s death. With the effect of globalization of the economy, labor migration and ongoing refugee exchanges, societies become more heterogeneous and the border distinction lost its previous sharpness. In this picture, states had to evolve themselves into this changing situation. After all, ‘governmentality’ is a never-ending, ongoing process. Foucault uses this term to express the continuous flow of governing which refreshes itself constantly. “The state is something that is both present –it exists – and is always necessarily becoming – does not exist enough” (Sawyer, 2015). The changes of the practices of today reflects to this character of governmentality logic. As the conditions have changed throughout time, states renewed their perspectives and practices

according to the new shape of the society, they have discovered new technologies of governing.

In our case, states adapted themselves to this heterogeneous structure by turning their faces to their migrants and diasporas. With the elimination of strict citizenship notion and with the increasing number of migrants, states have faced a wider group of people to govern, in a way, rediscovered their migrant population. States' scope of influence has expanded, thus they had to develop new strategies. With the increase in the sphere of influence, states' controlling areas have expanded, their mechanisms have changed, policies have had become more inclusive. Consequently, the importance given to diasporas has increased significantly over the past decades. Diasporas have become another focusing point for both sending and receiving states. Studies upon diasporas accelerated, statistical surveys increased, more data started to be gathered about diasporas. Receiving states expanded their control sites in order to manage the 'extra' population and sending states started to govern through diasporas. As Kunz explains;

The creation of the diaspora as an actor and the governing through diasporas also allows expatriates to obtain political leverage and negotiating power and opens up space for resistance...The involvement of diasporas in governing at a distance contributes to legitimize and consolidate neoliberal forms of governing (Kunz, 2012, p.106).

1.7. Governmental Strategies, Migration and Diaspora Studies in the Literature

Governmental strategies are also relevant to understand the regulation of migration. There are several studies who take the issue from the perspective of visibility (Tazzioli and Walters), or focusing on governing refugees (Suzan Ilcan) or looks for the management of migrants in terms of security concerns (Mark

Duffield). They all relate governmentality practices with the administration of foreigners in some way although their points of focus are different from each other. Martina Tazzioli and William Walters argue that control of the migrants is highly related with ‘visibility’ of them and it is a dual process; migrants have also learned to use their visibility within time. In terms of state policies, they say that;

In the government of migration visibility works not only as a means of surveillance and control but more importantly as a way of producing knowledge on migration and migrants.... Indeed, migrants are objects of a face-to-face encounter with mechanisms of visibility – as in the case of identification procedures and biometric controls; and in the meanwhile they are the targets, both singularly and as groups, of remote systems of monitoring (Tazzioli and Walters, 2016, p.454).

Suzan Ilcan and Kim Rygiel focus on refugee camps by interpreting the work of Agamben on concentration camps. The authors find the tracks of governmentality practices in the refugee camps. And they also stress that, “Here, individuals are not viewed as passive recipients of aid but rather as having the potential to be transformed into responsible, resilient subjects who survive through crisis” (Ilcan & Rygiel, 2015, p.334 & 337). Therefore, they find bio-political applications and efforts to render people ‘docile and efficient’ in the refugee management through camps.

Mark Duffield, on the other hand, focuses on another side of the issue and relates migration populations and their management with security concerns and management. He names those people as ‘surplus population’ whose skills, status or even existence are in excess of prevailing conditions and requirements (Duffield, 2007, p.9). He takes the issues of decolonization, globalization, insurance of people and the distinction made between developed and underdeveloped. The scholar asserts that;

In a globalizing world, decolonization introduced a need to police international circulation, that is, to separate the 'good' circulation – such as finance, investment, trade, information, skilled labor and tourism – from the 'bad' circulation associated with underdevelopment: refugees, asylum seekers, unskilled migrants, shadow economies, trafficking, drugs and terrorism (Duffield, 2007, p.30).

To illustrate, when a person goes to a hospital in the United States of America, they need to fill up a form about their personal backgrounds before they access to medical examination. The first question on those forms is the ethnic identity and the first option at the top of the list is Hispanic minority. Along with this position of Tazzioli and Walters which gives emphasis on the situation about irregular migrants and migration, also regular, legal migrants are subjected to the phenomenon of visibility. Putting differentiating boxes to legal forms in order to gather further information based on ethnic categories can be related to the issue of visibility even though people are legally present in the country. These forms are not valid only on hospitals, they are also being used in legal applications and even in job applications. Although those people stay in the United States legally, even though they are legal migrants or third generation Mexicans who have American identities, they are being monitored by the mechanisms of visibility.

The long and short of it; governmentality literature has been used to examine many sorts of issues including diaspora strategies, refugee camps, security management or as appropriate to our point of focus, diaspora strategies. Although migrant population can be seen as a negative factor for the receiving state and migrants can face with exclusionary practices in the receiving country, sending country can establish strong relations with the diaspora and govern this population at a distance in accordance with its political rationality. The different policies, technologies and practices of controlling foreigners can be interpreted from a Foucauldian perspective and another implication of this thought is upon the situation of diasporas shaped throughout a period of time and gets institutionalized in some cases.

1.8. Diaspora Strategies and the Mexican Diaspora

To emphasize again, the term ‘diaspora’ originally means people separated from their homeland for some reason but still interested in political, cultural, economic events in the homeland and who does not lose their ties with their heritage culture and community. In this basic sense, what diaspora referred to was the exile people for mostly political reasons. However, the term has gained a much wider meaning since its scope expanded and included huge groups of people apart from their homeland for various reasons and even further, the term includes the second, third generations of migrants apart from their homeland. Robin Cohen explains five different types of diasporas as; victim diasporas, labor diasporas, trade diasporas, imperial diasporas and cultural diasporas (Cohen, 1997). As related to our focus of interest, labor diasporas consist of people in search of work opportunities for economic motivations. Especially with the rise of globalization, nation state based economy lost its central place and diasporas and governmentality have gained a global perspective.

As the dynamics of economy and society are trans-nationalized, the motors of both poverty and development are not necessarily nationally or even locally organized. The world is connected up across the borders of nation-states, which must have consequences for how and where development is conceived and implemented (Mohan & Robinson, 2002).

Thus, states have developed diaspora strategies within the above mentioned context. Although expatriate citizens and their many kinds of collectivities have been existed before, states have started to give importance to them relatively recently. States have acted as if they have ‘discovered’ the diasporas in the changing structure. Actually, states have developed their policies and invented a new governmentality strategy through diasporas. They have developed ‘diaspora strategies’ in order to involve those outside into the states’ scope of influence. A diaspora strategy is an explicit and systematic policy initiative or a series of policy initiatives aimed at developing and managing relationships with a diaspora

(Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009, p.3). Diaspora strategies are a new way of thinking about populations made manifest in the relatively recent ‘discovery’ of expatriate populations. High-skilled expatriates are being mobilized by a range of practices; the development of diaspora strategies as a means of accessing new economic opportunities and skill sets in the context of a knowledge based economy, the efforts of demographers and other social scientists to identify and count offshore citizens, and the proliferating techniques such as webpages, databases, networking and events (Larner, 2007, p.334).

Another important point that gathers attention within this picture is the perception towards expatriate people. Not only the policies for migrants and expatriates have changed, the place of these people in the eyes of societies have also changed significantly. This case is quite obvious in the Mexican case. Due to the geographical and economic structure, Mexico has been sending millions of migrants every year to its neighbor United States of America for a long time. Also, the Mexican migrants were not returning to their home country after getting into the U.S. and working for a while, in addition to that; they were not losing their bonds with their homeland or with their culture either. That point has had several reflections in both states as will be discussed further in the next chapters, the position of these people have changed significantly and continue to change in the eyes of both nations.

Mexican expatriates were seen as traitors in the eyes of their own people and state before 1960s and they were called ‘pochos’ as an insult to refer to their adaptation to the American life style. “In the Mexican case, there is a definite shift in Mexican society’s perception of migrants, from *pochos* and traitors to ‘national heroes’ that invest in development projects in Mexico through programs” (Delano, 2011, p.40). With the effects of programs providing remittances to Mexico on the one hand and with the increasing number of Mexican migrants in the United States on the other, previous ‘pochos’ have become national heroes. The discourses and policies towards Mexican migrants have changed especially after 1965 when they gained a political voice through the National Voting Rights Act passed the U.S.

Senate and signed by President Lyndon B. Johnson. This law has eliminated some requirements for voting and opened up the way for the ethnic minorities to vote in the United States. After the legislation of this law, ethnic minority groups have become a bigger part of American political and social life; they have gained a stronger political identity and started to affect the political status in the country that they were once outsiders. Mexican minority has been one of the most affected and effective group of this political change due to their crowded population. Mexicans started to be an object of political agenda in the American politics and they started to emerge as a lobbying group which shows a path to other Latin American migrant populations.

Increasingly, Mexico, and central American governments such as El Salvador and Guatemala are permitting those who are born to citizen parents in foreign countries to retain voting rights at home and even to run for office; the practice of recognizing dual citizenship is becoming widespread (Benhabib, 2010).

Also for the Mexican political life, those citizens living abroad have become a target audience for domestic elections. Mexican presidential candidates started to address their migrants in their presidential campaigns more and more. Former president of Mexico, Salinas de Gortari (1988-1994) has used Mexican migrants while running for presidency and his efforts have affected both his presidential campaign and his endeavors during his term. Gortari has established the Program for Mexican Communities Abroad and the Paisano Program that strengthened the position of Mexican consulates in the United States. These initiatives were all directed toward protecting migrants leaving or returning to Mexico, providing better services for Mexicans in the United States, and promoting relationships with Mexican-American leaders and organizations (Shain, 1999-2000, p.685). Although the case can be seen from a positive perspective, these initiatives were actually new ways of governing at a distance. Mexicans who have migrated to the United States started to gain importance, their 'bad' image has shifted into 'heroic' image

and their importance have increased incrementally ever since. These people have been treated as hidden mines that have been discovered by their state.

Therewith, the position of the Mexican diaspora, state's relation with it, discourses and policies have been shifting, there has not been any fixed structure since the beginning and it is not fixed today either. As new technologies of power will be invented and new meanings attributed to the diaspora, governing of Mexican diaspora will be changing as well. This is not a finished process or effort. Just as Foucault gives importance to historical changes and practices not the fixed norms, power and governing are not fixed either. These concepts and social contexts change as well. Micro-physics of power emphasis of Foucault means that power is dispersed in social context, it emerges out of relations between people and it appears as a strategy. The usage of power as a strategy and changing dynamics of governing effort based on these practices are found in new techniques in governing outside of states' borders. In the case of the Mexican migrants in the United States; Mexican state has been governing its diaspora at a distance with a governing rationality for several decades now and the practices mentioned in the previous chapter can be explained from governmentality perspective.

Evolution of Mexican community's position from both in terms of state policies and also internally as social dynamics continues in the modern era. As Cohen states; "Awareness of their own precarious situation may also propel members of diasporas to advance legal and civic causes and to be active in human rights and social justice issues" (Cohen, 1997) and this assertion has been proved in the case of Mexican diaspora. More and more associations started to be established, more campaigns started to be run for the immigrants, home-town associations have broadened their activities and scope and in today's active picture, there are many institutions and programs towards Mexican origin people in the United States of America. As will be examined in detail individually in the following chapters of this thesis; Institute of Mexicans Abroad (IME), Bienvenido Paisano Program, Mexican Consulate Services, U.S.-Mexico Foundation, Ventinilla de Salud, Plaza

Comunitaria are among the important institutions and programs for Mexican diaspora relations.

Mexican state is using those associations for governing their diaspora at a distance and for its lobbying activities in the United States and this has been creating some reactions for the American front. And more importantly, these institutions and programs are part of the important phenomenon 'subjectification'. Foucault examined formation and transformation of concepts of 'subject' and 'object' and their relation with each other. Other concepts of power, bio-politics, governmental practices and the general governmentality theory of Foucault have taken subject as the center of attention. Foucault takes 'subject' in two meanings; one is in the meaning of governed and dominated subjects of the sovereign, and the other as the self who governs objects himself. In this picture, subject and object are highly related. By joining in these mechanisms, Mexican diaspora is being a subject of the governmental techniques and also it is being subjectified. These associations and programs and the changes of practices through them will be examined throughout the upcoming parts of this thesis by looking through a Foucauldian lens.

Mexico has been chosen for this purpose firstly because of the undeniable and crucial relation between Mexican and American states for nearly two centuries. The two countries have had an interdependent situation due to economic needs of Mexico and cheap labor needs of United States. Both the states have adopted and improvised policies in accordance with this irreversible relation and tried to cooperate within this direction. In addition, in the current structure, Mexicans consist an important part of American economy and society. Mexico's population is counted as 129.2 billion in 2017 according to the survey made by World Bank (www.data.worldbank.org) and there are 36.3 million Mexican-origin residents living in the United States of America (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). Mexican migrants and diaspora have played a central role in scope of these regulations. Besides this deep relation between two states, fluctuation of Mexican position is appropriate for investigation from a nominalist perspective. Within the current

discussions of building a border wall and restricting migrant access to the United States, it is important to study position of diaspora for the Mexican state. Also, this case is quite appropriate in order to see the subjectification mechanisms with the diversity of the mechanisms and institutions directing Mexican diaspora in the United States. Diaspora relations is an appropriate topic for Foucauldian perspective and the strong place of Mexican diaspora is making this case valuable for studying. In this direction; followed method and the incoming focus points will be summarized below.

1.9. Method and Outline

This thesis is based on a desk study that uses governmental reports, laws and treaties, institutional programs, political discourses and formal literature researches for data collection. It is a descriptive pure study that shows the historical background and current situation of Mexican diaspora in the United States of America and looks it from a Foucauldian perspective. Foucault see things such as state and identities as socially constructed. These concepts develop within social contexts, they are social and cultural creations rather than natural entities. Therefore, as the social contexts change, these phenomena change as well, and this thesis will focus on the transformations in the Mexican diaspora and state relations and try to explain the governmental rationality behind them. This is an historical analysis and descriptive study of the Mexican diaspora case which uses political programs and discourses, institutional programs and agendas, policies of consulates and public offices as its resources of information and analyses them.

This thesis examines the transformation of relations by focusing on the ‘how’ question. It does not go into the explanatory ‘Why’ side of the issue nor does it put forward a suggestion into place. The aim of this thesis is not to change the situation; it does not aim at suggesting a policy that would affect the picture. The

sole purpose is this thesis is to argue that Mexican diaspora strategy is a case of governing at a distance. As indicated above, this thesis tries to find answer to the question: “Can the policies of Mexican state towards its diaspora in the United States be considered as a case of governing at distance within the governmentality perspective?” The rationality behind these policies, the target population and the evaluation of that population along with the techniques that are being used in order to govern the population away from the borderland will be examined and tried to be illuminated in this thesis. As will be demonstrated in detail below; Mexican state has been governing its migrants, its former population; the second and third generation Mexican origin youth which were born and raised in the United States of America but did not lose bonds to their homeland identities; basically its diaspora although they are not inside the territorial boundaries. There is a political rationality behind the policies of governing at a distance that is being used by the Mexican state and this political rationality is a part of bio-politics which seeks the welfare of the population as a whole. Mexican state has been exercising biopolitical and governmental power on its diaspora and this is a form of governing. Voting laws, international agreements between American and Mexican governments, political discourses, consulate programs and solidarity campaigns of established institutions will be examined and they will be evaluated as both sources and tools of this governmentality practice.

In order to construct these arguments on a firm footing, the first section of this thesis will present the changes in the policies of Mexican state towards its citizens in the United States of America over time. The first section will explain this historical change and show the current situation. The second section will go into the details of the programs and policies of state institutions. The third section will evaluate the rationality and objectives of the policies and programs shown in the second section and the last section will cover up the previous arguments with the governmentality literature.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MEXICAN POLITICS AND THE CHANGES IN MIGRATORY POLICIES THROUGHOUT TIME

It is almost impossible to think about Mexican policies, Mexican population, the economy and many more without the influence and the close interaction with the United States. Likewise; it is not possible to think about the American economy, societal structure, political campaigns etc. without considering Mexicans. There is a large number of Mexican associations, business programs, political groups and representatives, cultural activity centers in the United States and their number and scope of influence has been growing constantly. This flourishing, rich interaction between the two states has a long history. The important steps which shaped the current relationship between the two countries and the diaspora policies of Mexican state goes back to almost two centuries ago and before examining these ever-growing relations, it is important to create a background and look at the important historical defining points for both states.

In order to give a strong idea about Mexican state's behavioral changes towards its diaspora, the upcoming part of this chapter will firstly provide an overview of turning points for Mexico. Within the direction of this aim, general information of Mexican historical details is interpreted from these resources; "Mexico since 1980s" written by Haber, Klein et.al published in 2008 and "The Mexican Transition: Policies, Culture and Democracy in the Twenty-first Century" written by Roger Bartra in 2013. The purpose is not to give an over-detailed historical background here, instead the point is to give a general idea about important events since their effects on migration will be examined next. With this purpose, the next part will illustrate the main events for the Mexican history, which starts with the

ancient civilizations and comes up until the modern structure. Afterwards, the second part will take the issue to the place of Mexican immigrants in the United States and the perspective towards those people throughout the time periods mentioned previously. All of these events and the historical timeline have had effects on diaspora policies of Mexican state. Along with shaping the diaspora policies, these events and the historical changes show the flexibility of history. Evolution of these policies will hopefully be understood clearly after knowing the background.

2.1. Historical Background of Mexican Political Scene

Mexico is one of the most deep-rooted countries of the world and it has a rich and tumultuous history. History of Mexico goes back up until 13.000 years ago to first civilizations of the world; Mayans and Aztecs. Mexico was colonized in the 16th century by the Spanish Empire which lasted for two centuries. This period had affected the culture, social balance, religious and political structure of Mexico because the Spanish colonizers have ended the Mayan and Aztec civilizations, killed or enslaved the indigenous population. Spanish rule brought Catholicism and imperial political and economic rule to the region. This has changed the societal structure and political rule deeply. Colonial rule lasted until early 19th century, indigenous people lost their strong existence in the picture, public life has changed through conversions conducted by Catholic missionaries, Spanish rule changed the political and economic structure. Spanish colonial rule was ended by rebellion gathered by Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla and led by Vicente Guererro and Mexico declared independence from Spain in 1821 with the ratification of the Treaty of Cordoba (Kenyon, 1961, p.177). This treaty gave Mexico freedom from Spanish rule and the country became independent.

Even though Mexico declared independence and established its constitution, the country faced another struggle two decades later. Mexico went into war with America in 1846 and the Mexican-American War lasted for two years, it was settled by Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. With this treaty, Mexico lost a large proportion of its lands to America; New Mexico, Texas, California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona and Wyoming had been included to American territory. Obviously, this was a big defeat for Mexican state and it had important negative effects for Mexican population along with political, economical effects and other subjects for the state. Mexican population effected from this treaty dramatically because those living in the given areas to America mostly stayed in their lands. The right to choose either to move to the southern side of the new border towards Mexico or to stay in their current land and became American citizens was given to the population affected by the land loss. Most of these people chose to stay and become American citizens. Hence, 1848 is accepted as the first migratory wave of Mexican people towards America in the literature. “With the Treaties of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848) and La Mesilla (1853) Mexico lost almost half of its territory to the U.S. and about 1% of its population” (Gonzalez, 1999). It can be argued that the relationship between United States and Mexico based on migratory population has started with this territorial shift.

After the end of the Mexican-American War and determination of the new border, Mexican land could not find rest and it was occupied by French forces in the 1860s. Napoleon III tried to change the political structure of Latin American countries, tried to bring monarchy and used Latin American countries, including Mexico, as economic sources. Napoleon III chose Maximilian I as the monarch to rule Mexico and removed Mexico’s Republican president of the time, Benito Juarez from the office. United States acted in opposition to French forces and issued a resolution which indicated American opposition to the French rule and monarchical attempts in Mexico in 1864. The support of United States was important in terms of the close relationship between the two neighbors, although monarchical rule was against the interests of America and there were many

reasons behind this opposition, it is not the focus point here. At the end, French occupation and monarchical rule of Mexico did not last for long and Mexican independence forces overtook the power from Maximilian I and executed him. At the end of this short period; Benito Juarez regained power in Mexico and re-established Mexican Republic.

French invasion was the last invasion of Mexican land but the inner conflicts and domestic turmoil continued. The picture has not been any calmer or more stable for Mexico. Political scene of Latin American countries has showed many changes, coup d'états, governmental changes, dictatorships, political turmoil, social revolutions for decades. After the death of Benito Juarez, Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada was elected for presidency but Tuxtepec Revolution took place and once again, Mexico could not maintain political stability. This divergent situation became more stable under Porfirio Diaz administration but the system turned into a dictatorship over time and created new problems and instabilities for the country. Porfirio Diaz came to presidency in 1876 and his rule lasted until 1911. Diaz ruled the country for a long time under dictatorship, which is called as 'Porfiriato' term and his personal authoritarian regime ended with the Mexican Revolution. Important indicators of his administration were the economic growth, infrastructural developments on the one hand and the social injustice and exploitation of the farm workers and public on the other hand. Diaz regime had brought political stability, even though it was authoritarian. In addition to political stability, his regime provided economic growth and transformation to Mexico. Under this administration, banking system developed, the production structure based on agriculture shifted towards manufacture of low-technological intermediate products and railroads were built around the country. Although Mexican economy flourished during this period, social unrest also increased, because the changing and developing economy was due to favoring of a particular rich group by the regime. In addition, this situation widened the gap within the classes of Mexican society.

The same policies that encouraged the growth of large-scale commercial agriculture created a class of dispossessed small farmers who became radicalized and clamored for the return of their lands. Similarly, the growth of mining, railroads, and manufacturing produced a working class that began to organize and strike (Haber et.al, 2008).

This disadvantageous and injustice picture for the farm workers of Mexico led to a significant increase in migration to the United States. Another effect was the rebellion of the disadvantageous lower class which led to Mexican Revolution of 1910 and Diaz's exile in 1911.

Mexican Revolution took place between 1910 and 1920 and it brought instability back to the country. "The departure of Porfirio Diaz opened a two-decade-long period of military coups, rebellions, and civil war" (Haber et.al, 2008). During the revolutionary period, Mexican political scene hosted many leaders as short-term presidents. Within this unstable context, Venustiano Carranza, who was the leader of Constitutional Army took control and managed to establish constitution in 1917. He was elected as President but this did not bring stability either and Carranza was assassinated during another rebellion; Plan of Agua Prieta in 1920. Alvaro Obregón was leading the coalition responsible for Plan of Agua Prieta and he became the new president and served between 1920 and 1924. Obregón could fulfill his term and appointed his successor Plutarco Elías Calles who served as president between 1920-1924. These were not peaceful times either, Obregón and Calles faced three major revolts during their periods and Calles had to deal with a civil war against Catholic fanatics who wanted to overthrow Calles.

Therewith, after a long period of authoritarian rule, the country faced a revolution but this revolution did not bring stability or strength and not long after the revolution, Mexico faced with a civil war. The revolution brought republic, it established a constitution and provided democratic elections but the fight for presidency did not bring the expected stability and on the contrary, it resulted more conflict and civil war. Naturally, these all had effects on Mexican economic and social indicators. The foreign investment and the development of manufacturing

sector started to diminish and American interest in the private sector shifted towards Mexican land. During the time of Civil War, United States had several attempts of incursion over some Mexican territories. Obregón and Calles tried to follow Porfioro Diaz's system of economic development and they too tried to establish strong bonds with large landowners and wealthy businesspersons. However, they also distributed small parts of lands to the small farmers in order to avoid a social polarization which led to the revolt that ended Porfitiato.

After fulfilling their terms, Obregón and Calles wanted to continue ruling the country. Thus an amendment that would let a second term in office and extend the term to 6 years was passed through the Congress. Obregón won the election in 1928 but soon got assassinated by Catholic militants. Afterwards, Calles appointed several puppet presidents to rule the country under his shadow. In 1929, he formed Revolutionary National Party (PNR), this administration ruled Mexico practically as a single party. In 1934, Lazaro Cardenas came to presidency, who was supposed to be another president under Calles's authority but on the contrary to Calles's expectations, the new president gained power and sent Calles to exile in the United States. Cardenas changed PNR into Party of the Mexican Revolution (PRM) and in 1938, the party changed once more into Institutional Revolutionary Party, or in its original name; Partido Revolucinario Institucional in 1940.

This party brought political stability to Mexico once again and it stayed in power for 71 years, until 2000. It established a political monopoly and it ruled the country with a closed economic system. During the long PRI rule, Mexico first pursued a closed economic system, introduced Permit System in 1947 which changed the regulations regarding import in order to regulate the import-based, foreign-dependent economy. Then, PRI rule tried to increase domestic production and followed a protectionist 'Mexicanisation' economic policy in 1960s and 1970s. Mexicanisation policy brought as a protectionist mechanism to the economy which focused on domestic resources and producers and avoiding foreign investment. It was economic nationalism in a way. The country faced with Debt Crisis in 1982, struggled with economic depression and virulent inflation. With the effect of the

Debt Crisis, they switched to foreign investment and hence liberalized the economy. Mexico joined in General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, which evolved into WTO today) in 1986 and eventually signed the North American Trade Agreement in 1994. Two years later, Mexico joined World Trade Organization.

In 2000, the long rule of PRI was broken by right-wing opposition party; National Action Party, Partido Accion Nacional (PAN). Vicente Fox (2000-2006) and Felipe Calderón (2006-2012) from PAN came to presidency but PRI gained its power with Enrique Peña Nieto in 2012. Lastly, in the elections held recently in 2018, a new opposition party leftist social democrat PRD, Partido Revolucionario Democrático – Democratic Revolutionary Party won the elections and the six-year long term of the new President Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador begun. As can be seen even from this brief summary, Mexican history is full of political struggles, many wars and domestic turmoil and economic hardship. This instable situation witnessed a lot of changes in the power balance within Mexican state and society and redefined the place of Mexican diaspora in the United States in the eyes of the Mexican state.

2.2. Current Institutional and Social Structure of United Mexican States

When we come to the current picture of Mexico, or with its official name United Mexican States, the country stands as a unique state with its long historical background. Mexico is the 15th biggest economy in the world scale with its crowded population of 129.2 billion people according to 2017 census. It is a quite large country with its 1,964,375 km² territory. It has a long border line with the United States of America, and along with its 3,152 km border with America, the country is sharing borders also with Guatemala and Belize. Mexico is led by federal governmental system; it has thirty-one states and one federal district. 1917

constitution is still functional and the presidential term is six years but the constitution prohibits consequential presidential terms in order to avoid emergence of dictatorial rule. The amendment made in 1993 under PRI administration has changed the electoral rules. The new system brought more space to the opposition parties for maneuver, opposition parties had more freedom of action with this amendment and at the end; this change democratized the elections and politics in Mexico. Hence, this change can be interpreted as a balance change in power relation within Mexican democratic parties.

The Mexican Parliament consists of two wings; The Senate and The House of Representatives. The Senate has 128 members who serve for 6 year-term just like the President and the House of Representatives has 500 members which serve for three-year terms. It is not possible to serve in the parliament for two consequent terms; and this creates the problem of lack of expertise and continuity for the country. The Supreme Court has eleven members who are appointed by the President but all of these members must have an approval from the majority of the Senate and this system puts the Senate on top of the President and works as a control mechanism. Also, other than the federal district of the capital; City of Mexico, all of the thirty-one states have their own congresses and their own constitutions.

Although the system seems democratic and stable when looking from outside, there are still many corruption cases in Mexican politics. Presidential elections are still doubtful, political struggles and assassinations of politicians are still happening. In the 2018 elections, a hundred and thirty politicians were murdered during campaigning period. As mentioned in the summary of Mexican political history right above, the country has had an unstable, conflictual structure which affects social and economic structure negatively.

When we come to the societal structure, Mexico has a crowded population and it continues to grow at a rate of 1.3%. The crowded population has been leading to migratory waves when it is combined with low employment opportunities. Spanish

is the common language and most of the population is Catholic Christians. An interesting point among the population is the unity in their identity. Mexican society is not divided among itself and exclusion among society is not common. What makes this point interesting is the structure of societal unity under such a politically divided and struggled country. But this might be one of the reasons of the strong societal bounds of migrants, the formation of strong diaspora relations and the resistance to assimilation.

As mentioned above, Mexico is among the strong economies of the world, but poverty and unemployment are still important factors in the country. The economy is mostly based on several industries such as food and beverages, tobacco, textile and automotive. Along with these industrial branches, oil and petroleum constitute an important part of Mexican economic revenues. Mexico has rich oil reserves which helped the economic development for decades. As been mentioned, Mexico is ranking as the fifteenth biggest economy of the world. In line with the World Systems Theory of Immanuel Wallerstein (Wallerstein, 1974), Mexico can be considered as a semi-peripheral state which works as a satellite of the developed United States of America. As will be examined in detail in the following parts, there is an undeniable and irreversible relation between the two countries and there are dimensions to their relationship. One aspect of this relationship which interests us the most is the place of emigrants and the societal and political aspects of this migration phenomenon. With the help of the next part of this section which will give information about migratory waves from United Mexican States to the United States of America that created the current structure incrementally, to help understand the formation of Mexican diaspora in the United States of America and the diaspora policies applied to these people by their home-state.

2.3. Mexican Migration to the United States of America

As stated previously, Mexican migration to the United States is a long-going phenomenon which showed many shifts and changes. This phenomenon can be categorized in terms of three main waves and their subcategories. The categorization is made by taking crucial breaking points of three centuries long history of the migration from Mexico to the U.S. separately. 'The first wave of migration' is the beginning of migration from Mexico to the United States phenomenon; which examines the situation in the 19th century, to be exact the timeline between 1848 and 1909. This first wave is mainly the beginning of the phenomenon under the effects of political instabilities in homeland. The second main wave is 'Migration in the 20th century' which focuses in its subcategories on migration with the effect of Mexican Revolution of 1910, the effect of Bracero Program established in 1942 and establishment of Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in the United States in 1986 and lastly takes examines the effects of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) signed in 1994 on migration. This second wave in the 20th century is generally the acceleration of migration from Mexico to the U.S. and its highest point. The third part which focuses on the situation in 21st century takes the terrorist attacks of 9/11 as the breaking point since after this date, migration rate from Mexico to the United States started to fall for the first time in its history. This decline is still continuing as will be mentioned below. These breaking points have shaped the relation between the states and diaspora. Thus, interpretation of diaspora-home state relation will be clearer after examining these three main migratory waves and their subcategories in detail.

Table 1: Periodisation of Mexican Migration to the United States of America

Periods of Immigration	Characteristics
1st Wave of Migration: 19th Century i. 1848- 20th Century	• Political immigration • Low level of immigration
2nd Wave of Migration: 20th Century i. Migration Before and After Mexican Revolution 1910-1939	• Political breaking point • Peak in migrant numbers • Discouragement of migration • Negative image of diaspora
ii. 1940s & Bracero Program	• World War II • Need for labor in USA • Increase in immigration
iii. End of Bracero Program 1964 & 1970s	• Termination of the program • Chicano movement • Economic hardship in Mexico • Mexicanization policy • Increase in migration
iv. Debt Crisis 1980s	• Private bank crisis • Economic liberalization • Policy of having no policy towards migrants
v. NAFTA 1994-2000	• Ratification of trade agreement • Legalization of migrants • Institutionalization of the diaspora
3rd Wave of Migration: 21st Century i. Effect of 9/11 on Migration 2001-2010	• Terrorist attacks of 9/11 • Decrease of migration for the first time
ii. Recent Decade	• More restriction on migration • Mortgage crisis in the USA • Decreasing level of Mexican migrants

2.4. The First Wave of Migration: Migration in the 19th Century

Today, Mexican migrants are forming the biggest migratory group in the United States of America. According to the investigations of U.S Census Bureau, Mexican Americans consist 11.2 % of United States population and 36 million Americans are found to be coming from Mexican ancestry (U.S Census Bureau, July 2016). Roughly 10 per cent of Mexico's population of about 107 million now lives in the U.S.A. (Stepnick, et.a., 2010, p. 175). This significant migratory mass is a result of several immigration waves that goes back until 1848. From this date forward, Mexican migration to the United States increased gradually over time and it peaked after a while.

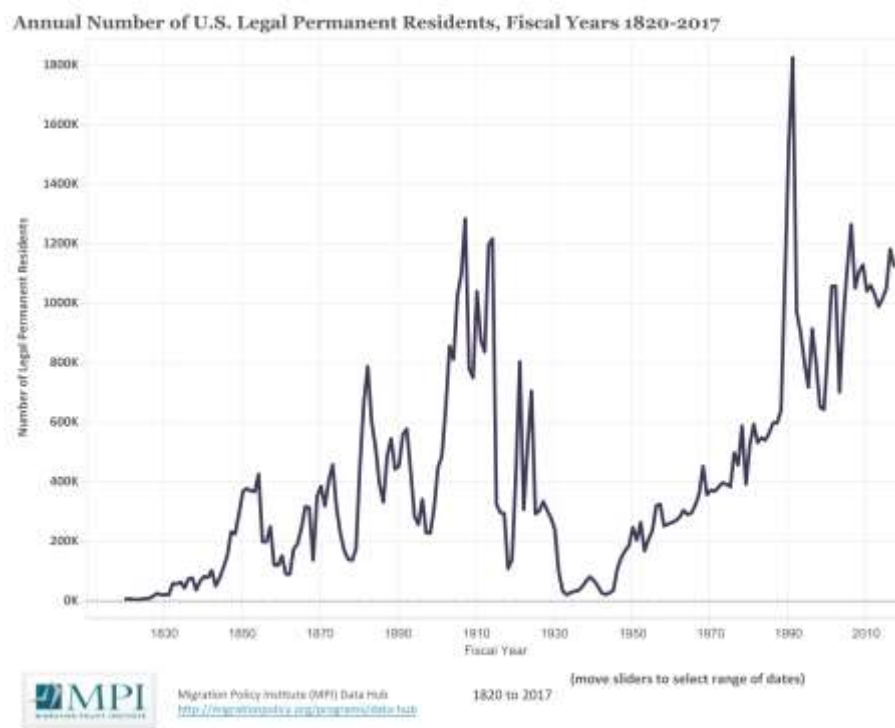


Figure 2: Annual Number of U.S. Legal Permanent Residents, 1820-2017

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*

As can be traced from the graphic obtained by U.S. Department of Homeland Security, migration trend was not in great numbers before 1840s. During the decades before that date, Mexican migration was not a decisive phenomenon but the case had changed with a fraction. The first wave of Mexican migration to the United States is accepted as the result of the Mexican-American War of 1846. The war lasted for two years and it ended with the ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. As explained before, Mexico lost a significant part of its lands to the United States. United States of America paid 15 million U.S. Dollars for acquisition of Mexican lands as decided by the Article XII of Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Griswold del Castillo, 1992, p.192). Two out of three of the Mexican population living in those areas; Texas, New Mexico, California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona and Wyoming, had chosen to stay in their lands and became American citizens. Although this movement can be considered as population exchange, this huge new population is considered as the first great Mexican migration to the United States.

Six years after this treaty, United States of America added new land from Mexico to its territory through the Gadsden Purchase. United States added new land from southern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico to its territory by paying 10 million U.S. dollars to the economically struggling Mexican state in 1854 (Schmidt, 1961). American motive for this acquisition was to build a railway line and remove border issues with Mexico out of the agenda. Today, there are a significant number of people living in those lands. Even though the population at the time of the land acquisition was not significant enough to be considered as a migratory wave, the people living at the time stayed in the new American border and their citizenship status changed. The border issues between America and Mexico for some time and the border crossings from both sides accelerated especially during the American Civil War from 1861 to 1865. Nevertheless, border disputes got settled throughout time especially after United States preserved its land integrity at the Civil War and Mexican state gained political and economic stability with Porfirio Diaz administration (Ponzio, 2005, p.17). United States completed the railway road and this railroad accelerated migration. With the effect

of the development of railway transportation opportunity, migration from Mexico to the United States started to gain speed in the last decades of the nineteenth century. “The number of Mexicans in that country increased slowly in this period, from sixty-eight thousand in 1880, to seventy-eight thousand in 1890, and 103 thousand in 1900” (McCaa, 1997; Durand and Arias, 2004).

Because of this increase in Mexican people in the United States, Mexican state started to support its citizens abroad, a social bridge was formed between Mexican states and the migrants. In 1849, Mexican immigrants in the United States organized and started ‘Sociedades Mutualistas’; mutual-aid organizations. These organizations were founded by Mexican immigrants in the United States, mostly located around Texas and California. Over time, some of the mutualistas expanded their scope and evolved into bigger organizations. The relation between Mexican state and these organizations also expanded over time. These were the first attempts to reach out to the population beyond borders and they grew bigger in time. The nature of this relation was social support and it evolved into more and more. This connection was the first attempt of Mexican state to pursue the interests of its citizens abroad and it can be considered as the first attempt of Mexican state’s diaspora strategies. The Mutualistas were mutual-aid organizations which functioned like a social benefit program. It helped Mexican citizens in the United States for their funeral organizations and provided illness benefits in times of need. Mutualistas worked as a group defense mechanism for the Mexican workers. Mexican laborers in the United States were working in bad conditions for low wages but mutualistas gave effort to unionize these laborers and seek for their rights, some mutualistas even organized strikes against American employers. This organization also created job opportunities in the United States by providing recreational services to Mexican laborers.

Along with the Mutualistas, ‘Clubes de Oriundos’ (Hometown Associations) were also created in the first half of 20th century. They lost effect after a while but regrouped in the 1960s with more effect. These clubs were also focused on social issues; their main objective was to create interaction between dispersed Mexican

migrant groups. They started to be established in agricultural areas of Los Angeles, California. They helped the new migrants coming from Mexico to settle in America, to find a shelter and to adapt in the new conditions and also bond with other Mexican migrant groups.

Other than Mutualistas and Clubes de Oriundos, Mexicans that migrated to U.S.A formed another association but the focus of this one was different from the other two. Sociadades Patrióticas (Juarez Clubs or Juntas) were formed by Mexican migrants who were worried about political imbalance in their home country. These clubs raised funds neither to help the newcomers nor to provide help in social events to the migrant community in the U.S. but they raised funds to help to fix the political struggle and eliminate the conflictual picture in Mexico. The Juntas collected money and purchased weaponry for the Mexican army, they recruited volunteers, they organized debates to find solutions for social and political problems in Mexico. Also, they sponsored Cinco de Mayo parades (which is an important memorial day for Mexican culture) in United States, in order to continue the ancient tradition. Their efforts lasted until 1909, and had effect on Mexican Revolution.

These three organizations; Sociedades Mutualistas, Clubes de Oriundos and Juarez Clubs were formed by Mexican migrants living in the United States for a while. These people were voluntarily organized these associations in order to connect with other migrants and help their home countries. Over time, some of them developed and connected with Mexican state's resources and institutions. These organizations were started by Mexicans mostly locating in Texas and California states in United States but they gathered attention of Mexican state. Establishing bonds with Mexican state worked as a step of establishment and development of diaspora relations.

With the effect of these organizations, Mexican diaspora started functioning and this population was established, these can be considered as the beginning stones of governing mechanisms that will turn into self-government for these migrant

population. All in all, it can be said that Mutualistas were looking after the Mexicans in the United States mostly in social issues.

For the first time, Mexican state gave a name to its diaspora in the United States and created this population by giving it an identity and started working for this group and working with this group. This can be considered as the first step of forming the migrant group in the U.S. and then subjectifying it over time. This initiation of developing diaspora relations together with labor organizations is an example of governmentalization as Wendy Brown explains. “Governmentalization refers to the internal configuration of the state by the project of administration and its links to external knowledge, discourses, and institutions that govern outside the rubric and purview of the state” (Brown, 2006, p.74). Power is highly interrelated with knowledge as been discussed by Foucault and the information gathered from external resources such as labor unions and other institutions as in this case are giving the governing mechanism power. As these institutions develop, the more migrants participate, the more information is gathered making it possible for Mexican state to exercise power on the diaspora. In the twentieth century, the number of Mexican migrants and the policies followed towards migration showed some changes, as will be mentioned in more detail below.

2.5. The Second Wave of Migration: Migration in the 20th Century

In the twentieth century, Mexican migration to the United States continued dynamically but the reason was not political or territorial agreements anymore. The political and economical problems of Mexico pushed people to seek for new opportunities and a better life. Economy in the northern neighbor was developing, and the United States was in need of cheap work force in manpower based sectors such as agriculture and mining. Hence, American land appeared as a big opportunity for many Mexicans. American side of the border was in need of cheap

labor force so the flow from southern side to the northern based on manpower began in the twentieth century. Many seasonal workers were going to the United States for six-month periods. However, economic fluctuations in both countries reflected migratory waves and created parallel fluctuations.

For the last century, Mexico has served as a reserve pool of cheap labor for the benefit of U.S. businesses, agricultural interests, and other groups, and a volume of immigration reflects changing economic conditions in the United States. By and large, the policies of the American federal government have responded to these conditions and have encouraged immigration during good times and clamped down during hard times (Healey, 2006, p. 307-310).

These short term migratory waves turned into permanent settlements over time and created new concepts and phenomena as will be explained in the upcoming part together with the fluctuations in migration waves.

2.5.1 Migration Before and After the Mexican Revolution

As mentioned before, Mexican state pursued a closed economic model for a long time. During Porfirio Diaz rule; Mexican economy opened up to foreign investment, mostly coming from American manufacturing sector; railways were built to the country and infrastructure developed vastly. Despite these developments and improvements, life quality of the people did not improve except for a limited part of the society. Hence, the economic gap among the society got widened. Rich part of the society got richer as a result of foreign investment but the farmers and workers got poorer in this picture. Within this politically and economically challenging environment, Mexican people choose to move to the northern side of the border.

With the increasing tension that led to the Mexican Revolution in 1910, the migration flow increased even more. Considering the fact that two million Mexicans died during the ten-year long term of the Revolution, people's desire to flee from this environment of violence is quite understandable. The number of

Mexicans in the United States reached to 220.000 in 1910 and with the effect of the Mexican Revolution, people fled to a safer zone, to the United States more and more. Before 1910, when the Revolution began, 20,000 migrants per year were migrating to the United States but with the effect of political instability and the violent environment, the number rose up to 50,000-100,000 people per year in 1920s (Young, 2015).

Also, the significance of those people rose as an effect of the revolution because more people had fled to the northern side. "... In 1920, many Mexicans escaped the post-revolutionary political chaos and filled the labor vacuum generated in the United States due to enormous post-war economic development" (Migracionoea.org, 2014 & McCaa, 1997). As a result, during the second decade of the twentieth century, the Mexican population doubled again in the United States, and reached a total of 480 thousand persons (Durand and Arias, 2004 in Migracionoea.org, 2014).

During the time of the Revolution, Mexican state tried to get information about the position of those living in the United States through using the consulates. They formed 'Revolutionary Clubs' in 1915 in the border cities of America within the body of consulates and asked people to register to the consulates. Fitzgerald explains why: "The principal reason for the register is to see on which side lie the sympathies of Mexicans living in the United States, in case there is an uprising" (Fitzgerald, 2000, p.30). Therefore, it can be said that Mexican state recognized the power of those living outside their borders and tried to use it during the revolution. This can be considered as a process of population formation. By registering to the consulates and joining these clubs, Mexican migrants living in the United States were gathered together under administrative control and statistical data. Also, by seeing and accepting the power lying in this population, Mexican state acknowledged its population abroad, gathered information of this population which brought knowledge and power with it.

The large number of migrants coming from Mexico reached to a high level and brought the need to regulate migrant population for the United States administration. Within the economically divergent, migrant-based structure of United States of America, the state felt the need to restrict migration and homogenize the society and passed firstly The Quota Law of May, 1921 and then Immigration Act in 1924. America was attracting many European migrants in 1920s, especially Italians and Germans. This act restricted migration flows from Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia and effected Italian, Polish, Jew and Slav migrants mostly. This act exempted migrants coming from Mexico and Western hemisphere due to the lobbying activities of agricultural businesspersons. Agricultural sector was depending greatly on Mexican land workers and they needed seasonal Mexican workers in their land, hence they affected the migrant restriction policy of the state. Mexican workers were not demanding high wages, they were working for long hours and this was making them desirable for American landowners.

Over the objection of labor advocates, Congress created the first U.S. guest worker program, allowing Mexican nonimmigrant admissions between 1917 and 1920, and then exempted Mexicans and other Western Hemisphere migrants from per-country immigration limits imposed on the rest of the world beginning in 1921 (Rosenblum et al., 2012, p. 6).

Migration from Mexico to the United States continued in the next decade. United States government and business sector showed its need to Mexican workforce via this exemption. This act and the restriction of European and Asian migrants benefited the Mexicans and migration from Mexico to the United States continued. The political disturbance in Mexico between the Catholic Church and anti-clerical Plutarco Elías Calles administration encouraged people to leave the country again. The Cristero War between 1926 and 1929 increased the migratory leave rates again and Mexican people run away to escape from the discontent in their homeland. In addition, many Mexicans went to U.S.A as refugees or exiles.

Already settled migrants in the United States also organized and supported the side of the Catholic Church.

The efforts of Mexican population in the United States both in the period that led to the Mexican Revolution and their efforts in the Cristero War period are moments of politicization of the previously left migrants. These efforts and their support shows that they did not lose their bonds with their countries, they still care about the religious and political balance in their country even though they are not living there anymore. Overall, it can be said that people's bonds are not depended on boundaries and national territories.

Nevertheless, the migratory movement shifted towards a more negative path with the effect of the Great Depression. American government brought tighter security control measurements in borders in 1929 and the number of Mexican migrants decreased in 1930s. In addition to tighter control from the American side, Mexican state also started to pursue a policy which would discourage migration. With the effect of the Revolution, Mexican state turned into a more nationalistic, more self-oriented structure both in economic and social matters. In parallel, their attitude towards their migrant citizens turned into a very exclusionary and negative side. After Porfirio Diaz, Mexican state turned back to closed, autarkic economic model and tried to establish more nationalistic identity. Thus, state propagandas, media pamphlets and commercials started to show discouragement campaigns for migration. State used media organs to show the negative effects of migration, they illustrated the problems the previous migrants have faced in the United States. Mexican citizens who have migrated to the northern side were seen as a threat due to the political fear after Mexican Revolution. Also, the element of national power arising in the country affected nationalistic feelings of the citizens. Mexico tried to persuade its citizens that Mexicans who have migrated before were not living a better life and they were facing a lot of problems away from their homelands. They tried to bring Mexican national bond back together with the emigrants by showing the negative side of migration. All these points led to a decrease in the

migration rates of Mexicans to the United States during the decade of Great Depression.

The key point here in the case of Mexican state's effort to persuade its citizens not to migrate and to come back to homeland is that; Mexican migrants were seen as a source by the state. Focus of the presidential candidates turned towards the population abroad because crowded population was a source that could provide economic, political and social support even though they were outside the borders. Migrant population outside the borders was a source and at the same time, Mexican state was not spending its resources on this outside population, so this was a very economic source for the state. The population of Mexican migrants in the United States was already present but the meaning and role attributed to them by the home state had changed. Mexican presidential candidates started to organize speeches in United States and tried to talk into the Mexican migrants to go back their homeland. "Mexican presidential candidates visited the Mexican community in the United States as early as 1928 when José Vasconcelos campaigned throughout the Southwest, urging Mexicans to repatriate themselves to Mexico" (Sánchez, 1993).

Migrants in the United States were started to be named as 'pochos' which means traitors and the nationalist wing tried to bring back 'hijos de la patria' which means 'the children of the motherland'. "The consulate arranged reduced train fares for Mexican repatriates and distributed flyers in Los Angeles calling on "Mexico's sons" to return" (Fitzgerald, 2000, p.31). Mexican state started administrative controls in order to prevent workers leaving the country. It established administrative control units in order to prevent Mexican workers leaving the country. Also, land reforms were regulated to benefit the farmers.

Mexico also discouraged emigration (i.e., migration to the United States) during this period, with a 1926 law requiring exiting workers to obtain permission from municipal authorities, and a series of public relations campaigns to discourage outflows and support return migration (Rosenblum et al., 2012, p.6 & Fitzgerald, 2008).

These policies had a negative effect on migration flow, as expected and aimed at, and the period between 1920-1930 showed a decline in migration from Mexico to the United States and on the contrary, a small portion of previously settled migrants returned to their homelands after being called as 'pochos'. Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs opened up a special division within its body in order to protect those Mexicans who were repatriated from United States and come back to their homeland.

Therefore, the migration flow during the time of the Mexican Revolution and Cristero War led to an increase in migration due to the explained political and economic reasons and U.S.A portrayed a welcoming attitude towards Mexican migrants in the 1920s. However, the picture changed with the effect of Great Depression at the end of the decade. Also, Mexican state showed a negative attitude towards its citizens in the United States and tried to discourage its citizens to leave their homelands. All in all, the period between 1920 and 1930 illustrated a fluctuating picture in terms of migratory waves. The political instabilities in the country led people to leave as migrants, as refugees, as exiles. But the economic collapse in United States and the negative incentives of Mexican state towards leaving the country decreased the number of migrants throughout the 1930s. Mexican state's and society's attitude towards their migrants also shifted and they accused the migrants for being traitors and encouraged the 'sons of the nation' to come back to their homes. Also the American federal government wanted to send the migrants back to their homeland in this period. They began a worker campaign in favor of American workers which was called 'repatriation campaign'. "The result was that, the Mexican American population of the United States declined by an estimated 40% during the 1930s" (Cortes, 1980, p. 711).

Nevertheless, when the new World War broke out and created a need for cheap labor power again and the Mexican economy needed remittance entrance in the country with the effect of the rapid increase in population, negative slope of

Mexican migration got reversed and their population in the United States increased sharply in 1940s. Naturally, the discouraging propagandas of Mexican state also reversed and protection of the interests of Mexican migrants came to the agenda. All in all, the position of the migrants was changing sharply and radically within short periods of time and these instabilities lasted for some time.

2.5.2. Migration in 1940s and the Bracero Program

As mentioned above, 1930s showed a reverse impact on migration and Mexicans started to go back to their homelands. Policies of both states created this situation. American state was not economically available and was not thriving as before and the Mexican state was pursuing nationalism-oriented, closed political model. The negative impact of these policies lasted until 1940s. With the emergence of the World War II and the involvement of the United States of America to the war, a manpower shortage emerged in U.S.A and American agricultural industry started to need cheap labor again. In order to establish a safe, legal worker flow for the shortage of American agriculture sector, Bracero Program was established between Mexico and U.S.A. This step is also important for the Mexican side because for the first time, Mexico had gained an advantageous position. Mexican state was hoping to benefit from the workers leaving the country for a short period of time. Mexican state expected the braceros to learn new advancements and methods in agriculture during their time in the United States and use these new skills in the agricultural sector of Mexico when they come back. Also, within the scope of the general provision of the agreement, a ‘savings fund’ was established under Mexican Agricultural Credit Bank (Banco de Credito Agrícola) and ten per cent of the earnings of the braceros were taken to this fund. Mexican state also hoped the braceros to contribute to the economy through remittances. “Unemployment in Mexico and a lack of rural workforce in the U.S. informed bilateral talks and culminated in the signing of agreements between the two governments” (Mendel, 2014, p. 171).

Franklin D. Roosevelt was the President of United States at the time and Manuel Avila Camacho administration was leading the Mexican state. Both leaders established the Bracero Program (Bracero means laborer in Spanish) in 1942 which granted rights to Mexican agricultural laborers in order to secure and fasten their entrance to the country and meet the need of cheap labor of American agriculture sector. Mexican workers needed to get permit from the United States and go through a long application process in order to become a 'bracero', but this was a good opportunity in order to enter United States. America guaranteed minimum wage, housing, health benefits and transportation service to the Mexican farm workers under the Bracero Program. This program was designed to be in effect until the World War II ends and actually United States suspended the program in 1948. However, with the emergence of the Korean War, United States feared of another laborer shortage and brought back the Bracero Program in 1951 by enacting it into Public Law.

At the end, the program lasted until 1964 and Mexican laborers worked in American fields as farm workers and they worked on railway instruction sites. Through this program and the help of the cheap labor coming from Mexico, United States could overcome the negative effects of the war and American economy had risen. With nearly 50,000 farms employing more than 400,000 Mexicans a year (Calavita, K. 1992, p 141), labor migration from Mexico towards United States reached to another level with the Bracero Program, and the general density of braceros was in the states of Texas and California. The number of Braceros peaked in the 1950s, as can be seen from the table below:

Table 2: Mexican Migration to the United States during Bracero Program

Mexican Migration to the United States			
Year	Braceros	Year	Braceros
1942	4,203	1953	201,38
1943	52,098	1954	309,033
1944	62,17	1955	398,65
1945	49,454	1956	445,197
1946	32,043	1957	436,049
1947	19,632	1958	432,857
1948	35,345	1959	437,643
1949	107	1960	315,846
1950	67,5	1961	291,42
1951	192	1962	194,978
1952	197,1	1963	186,865
		1964	177,736

Sources: Wayne Cornelius (Bustamante 1975, Briggs 1974)

Together with the legal, authorized braceros, the number of irregular migrants also increased during this term. Mexicans who were not admitted to Bracero Program also tried to enter America and mostly succeeded. These irregular migrants were crossing the border by using Rio Grande river and since they were coming to the U.S. in wet clothes, Americans used the derogatory term 'wetbacks'. Since the 'wetbacks' were not involved in the legal program, they did not have legal rights, land owners did not have to provide them transportation service or health benefits. The 'wetbacks' were even cheaper than the 'braceros' so the landowners started to hire them. "After 1946, while the Bracero Program continued apace, irregular immigration skyrocketed, and growers were quick to take advantage of the availability of un-attached workers to whom no safeguards nor conditions applied" (Basok, 2002).

The number of rapidly rising 'wetbacks' created irregular and undocumented, uncontrolled migrant problem in the U.S. and the federal government tried to prevent that situation. "Government efforts reached a peak in the early 1950s with the insultingly named 'Operation Wetback', a program under which federal authorities deported almost 4 million Mexicans" (Grebler et.al., 1970, p. 521). This was a reason of the discriminatory reaction coming from the Americans; especially in the state of Texas, many derogatory even racist events come to the foreground, sanctions and regulations increased against irregular migration. In the 1960s, irregular migration reached an excessive level and with the advancements in agricultural technologies, the need for hand labor diminished and in 1964, Bracero Program was ended. With the program, 4.6 million visas were issued to Mexican farm workers and many others also fled to America without necessary documentation. American economy benefitted from the program on a considerable scale. "The program generated millions of dollars of profit for growers and other employers, because they were paying braceros much less than American workers would have received" (Amott&Matthaei, 1991, p. 79-80).

All in all, the phenomenon of Mexican migration had reached to a fraction point with this program and later on, led to the establishment of closer bonds within the

Mexican migrating community and their home-state. At first, the general tendency was upon the legal authorization and the processing of the braceros. During the time of this program, the struggle for the rights of Mexican migrants both in the context of the program and also in terms of previously settled migrants started. “In the context of the Bracero Program some organisations, such as LULAC (League of United Latin Citizens), the American G.I. Forum, and the Community Service Organisation (CSO), began to address issues of first generation immigrants’ rights” (Gutiérrez, 1999). However, as the result of the discriminatory reaction faced in the United States and with the effect of Mexicanidad (Mexicanhood) propagandas conducted in 1920s and 1930s., nationhood-embracing ‘Chicano Movement’ evolved and escalated quickly. Afterwards, many institutions aiming at defending especially social and legal rights of Mexicans were established in late 1960s and during the 1970s.

2.5.3. Migration after 1964, End of Bracero Program and the Problem of Undocumented Mexican Migrants in the 1970s

Migration of Mexicans to the United States took a slightly different shape after the abolishment of Bracero Program. As mentioned above, Bracero Program was ended with the effect of unstoppable waves of irregular migration. The excessive number of irregular population faced with exclusion and discrimination especially when American people had a hard time in finding employment opportunities for themselves. The problem increased and took an ugly shape especially in the state of Texas. The braceros in Texas region faced with non-negligible amounts of discrimination and abuse, which led to Mexican migrants to organize against discrimination in the 1960s under ‘Chicano Movement’. After facing with discrimination from American society, Mexican farm workers began to protest the discrimination and these protests were taken to another level by Mexican-American youth studying in universities. These people started the ‘Chicano Movement’ and by giving the movement this name, they embraced their identities because they did not want to be known as assimilated ‘Mexican-Americans’. Within the scope of this movement, Mexican farm workers and Mexican-

Americans in the United States gathered and started protesting the discriminatory behavior of American society and demanded equal treatment, political representation and education reforms. They also protested the Mexican casualties of the Vietnam War and demanded equal rights from the country that they were giving their lives to.

For the first time, Mexican society in United States came together with a political agenda and they asked to be heard in the political arena by participating in the elections. This was an important movement in terms of embracing the identity and resisting to assimilation, and Mexican state also supported their citizens abroad through legal counseling on the movement. Rights discourse worked as a binding strategy for the Mexicans. As Patton states; “rights can be made and unmade” (Patton 2005, p.272-273) and Mexican community gathered around new rights in the United States. As Golder explains, rights are summed up on three different figures; rights are ungrounded and illimitable since they are not timeless essence of humanity. Rights as strategic instruments since they are political creations and depend upon political, discursive and strategic viability. And lastly rights as performative mechanisms of community since rights also bring new communities into being (Golder, 2011). This rights discourse worked as a community creative strategy for the Chicanos. As Foucault argues; “through some political technology of individuals, we have been led to recognize ourselves as a society, as a part of a social entity, as part of a nation or a state” (Foucault, 1988 in Martin, et.al., p.146). The previous incidents and the policies of the home-state encouraged Mexicans in the United States to come together as the ‘Chicano’ society. By constructing the Chicano identity, Mexican people became a part of a social entity in the United States.

Rights particularizing, producing narratives of identity formation which are unavoidably exclusionary and regulatory. In doing this, they do not simply represent a pre-given or already established identity but rather – through the various legal and political mechanisms of representation, lobbying, enactment and enforcement – go to constitute that very identity in the guise of its recognition. They are thus performative mechanisms and attendant upon this performativity

there is an unavoidable excision and relegation of experience in the formation, and the re-iterative shoring up, of the rights based identity (Butler, 1993, p.188).

While the struggle was ongoing in U.S.A, immigrant flow from Mexico was accelerating due to economic hardship and rising unemployment rates. In the 1960s, Mexican state started to promote a program for its economy, in which they tried to 'Mexicanize' the economy. They set foreign ownership limits to each industry and tried to prevent foreign hands from Mexican market. Because the economy was becoming more foreign dependent since the 1950s, foreign investment was effective especially in the manufacturing sector. Mexican government wanted to change this foreign dependent economic system and opposed the import-based and foreign-owned economy. This policy of 'Mexicanisation' led to economic contraction and high rates of unemployment, the economy got closed to foreign market through implying high tariffs and limitations on import. Mexican state aimed at promoting domestic industrialization but the period of Mexicanisation policy created an economic hardship once again. 1970 economic crisis had affected Mexican economy deeply, high inflation and unemployment rates disturbed the society and led Mexican workers to migrate to United States to find jobs. Mexican state tried to enhance the economic situation by using the oil reserves of the country with Portillo administration. Although oil revenues increased and helped the economy, it could not be the solution for economic gap. "The Mexican economy, shaken by the 1970s crisis with high rates of unemployment and currency devaluations, motivated out-migration..." (Palerm, 2014, p. 103).

With the effect of the benefits gained from the Chicano Movement and new Mexican networks, these migrants had better opportunities in settling down in the United States, finding shelter and jobs. Also the 1965 Amendments in American Immigration Law helped the Mexican workers a lot. This amendment increased the number of available visas and made the family ties a principal factor for admitting the migrants. With the effect of this regulation, close relatives of

American citizens could enter United States without numerical restriction and also political refugees could enter the country easily without numerical restriction. With this law, many relatives of already settled Mexicans in the United States benefited from this opportunity and entered the country. Through this regulation, Mexicans used their family based networks and after the amendment started to be in effect in 1968, they even expanded their reach and tightened their networks.

Hence, 1970s was another turning point for both legal and irregular migration to United States. With the amendment in Immigration Law in America and the rising unemployment rates in Mexico, migration level increased. In addition, while Americans were seeing Mexican migrants as temporary workers that will leave at some point, Mexicans settled in the country and this shift changed the balances. Mexican undocumented migration reached to high levels and became an important, irreducible and disturbing phenomenon for Americans. The federal state had to make arrangements in order to eliminate the problem of irregular migrants coming from Mexico. As Briggs illustrates in detail;

In 1973, there were 70,141 Mexican Nationals legally admitted as immigrants to the United States. In that year, as has been the case in most years since 1960, the number of legal Mexican immigrants surpassed the total of any other country in the world... During 1973, for example, there were 609,673 illegal aliens apprehended in the southwestern quadrant of the United States by the Immigrations and Naturalization Service (INS) of the U.S. Department of Justice. In fact, 88 percent of all illegal aliens apprehended in the United States in 1973 were of Mexican origin (Briggs Jr., 1974, p.1)

Beside those migrants who were caught and deported by U.S. authorities, there were other migrants who did not get caught and continued to live in the U.S. 1970s appear to be the booming point of Mexican migration flows. It can be argued that the situation changed to a degree that was never reversed in the 1970s. Annual legal immigration rose from just over 44,000 in 1970 to more than 100,000 in 1981, while the number of undocumented Mexicans annually apprehended increased from about 277,000 to nearly 900,000. It has been estimated that some

931,000 undocumented Mexicans were counted in the 1980 U.S. census, 81 percent of whom entered during the prior decade. Overall, the population of the United States, that is of Mexican origin increased by 93 percent during the 1970s, and about one-third of this increase is attributable to immigration (Massey,1986 p.103).

Although Massey argues the reason of this critical increase in the 1970s as the developed Mexican web in the United States and he does not put the economic reasons in the picture because of the positive effect of oil production on Mexican economy. However, both the social web among migrants and the economy was effective on this migratory boom, because oil production benefited the economy but it did not solve the problems and economic deficit of the state rose to 6.6% in 1970 and the deficit continue to grow up to 14% in 1981, and it worsened with the 1980's Debt Crisis of Mexico. In connection to this situation, migration flow continued in great numbers during 1970s and in early 1980s.

2.5.4. Migration in the 1980s, Debt Crisis and IRCA

Migration was booming in the 1970s and its effects lasted in 1980s as well. The effects of migration were being felt on both sides of the border. The number of migrants increased rapidly during the 1970s and the effect was felt massively in 1980s. In addition, the second generation Mexican-Americans were growing in number each year.

On the Mexican side of this period, economic struggle was still going on but the state switched to different set of economic policies. Mexican economy started to open up to foreign investment after the state understood that they could not get over with the devastating effects of 1980s Debt Crisis. Mexican peso got devaluated and private banks were expropriated, Mexico declared moratorium on September 1982. Eventually, the state found the solution in opening the economy to foreign markets and foreign investment; they switched to free trade from the long-going closed economic model. Mexican state ratified General Agreement on

Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1986 and almost eliminated all trade protectionist policies.

When these new tactics did not pay enough, Mexican state demanded to establish another Bracero Program with the United States but American side opposed this proposal and Mexico turned back into a 'policy of having no policy'. Mexican state chosen to accept migration as a sovereign issue of United States and stayed outside of migration issues by following a 'policy of no policy'. However, this decision changed with the election of new president; Salinas de Gortari. President Gortari came to power in 1988 and established closer bonds with American state under Bush administration. President Gortari tried to save the country from the economic crisis and tried to find better was for the problems of Mexican migrants. Gortari administration established an agreement with the United States in 1990 and via this agreement; Mexican private bank debts were converted into 'Brady Bonds'. Brady Plan of United States was designed in 1989 under U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady in order to intervene in the economic crisis happening in Latin American countries (EMTA). This crisis was harming U.S. economy as well and through this plan they intervened in the situation. U.S.A guaranteed the interests of the debts and World Bank, IMF and Eximbank of Japan financed the interests (Vasquez,1996, p.233). As Mexico was the first Latin American country that negotiated with commercial bank creditors to solve the crisis, it became the first country to involve in the Brady Plan. As the result of this agreement, Mexican debt increased but their annual payment burden subsided. Salinas also had another initiation for reconstructing Mexican economy. His administration abolished the restrictions on foreign investment and privatized public enterprises.

However, foreign investors were still abstaining from investing in Mexico and due to unemployment, Mexican workers were still trying to cross the northern side of the border. The rise of migrants was not stoppable at the time due to high unemployment in home country. As a result of this; American state was trying to control the situation by lessening the available visas and dragging out the procedures but this tactic was having a reverse effect and causing more

undocumented migration and these people were mostly coming to the country through human smugglers in the border. As mentioned above, the number of irregular migrants reached almost a million. Having disturbed by this uncontrollable situation, American state acted Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in 1986. The IRCA had two policy objectives for the American state; on the one side they wanted to slow down irregular migration by establishing a control mechanism for hiring processes and on the other side they wanted to decrease the number of irregular, long-term migrants in the country. For these purposes; this act brought responsibilities and limitations to American employers for hiring authorized, documented workers. If they would not obey this law, they would have to pay sanctions and even prison terms was possible. Workers, on the other hand, were to supply I-9 Employment Eligibility Verification Form while applying for jobs. Also, the law tried to prohibit employers from discriminatory behavior towards their employees. Another important article of this act was that; it brought amnesty for one time to those irregular migrants who came to the country as of 1982. By doing so, IRCA dropped the number of irregular documents residing in the country, since 1.7 million irregular farm-workers benefited from this amnesty and became legal citizens of United States.

Hence, during the 1980s, Mexican side was struggling with the economic depression and American side was struggling with undocumented worker problem. United States government established IRCA in order to regulate and prevent undocumented migrant problem but the fear of getting deported led Mexican workers to settle in American land and do not go back to the homeland. Hence, the preventive policy turned out to be increasing the number of migrants. Mexican migrants were thought to be temporary labor power but they turned out to be permanent migrants who established quite large networks and organized day by day. "International labor migration from rural Mexico has followed an upward trend from 1980 to 2002 but it is driven overwhelmingly by past migration, reflecting the central role of migration networks" (Borjas, 2007, p. 286). With the opening up of the Mexican economy to free trade and international markets at the end of the 1980s, their cooperation with United States not only in terms of worker

exchange but also in terms of economic establishments and formation of bigger enterprises have tightened the bond between two countries. Mexico was started to be shaped as a hub for the United States markets and the effect of this phenomenon was felt greatly in the 1990s with the signing of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

2.5.5. The Signing of NAFTA in 1994 and Its Effects on Migration

As can be seen from above, Mexico had pursued a closed economic model for a long time but with the collapse of economic system in the 1980 Debt Crisis, Mexican state had put forward some effort to change the conduct.

This long changing process gave its biggest turn in in 1990s. Mexico has been undergoing a long process of transformation away from protectionist policies, a process which has merely intensified in recent years. This transformation represents a shift away from a policy of high tariffs and licensing restrictions meant to encourage industrial development and import substitution (Axelrad, 1993, p.204).

The rapid increase of Mexican population within the scarce economic opportunities was a serious problem for the state and this was the main cause of migration flows. As of 1990, Mexico's labor force of 30 million persons was growing at a rate of one million persons per year, while only 300,000 to 400,000 jobs were being created per year in the formal economy (UNCTAD, 1990). In the 1990s, Mexican state completed the long-going economic transformation and turned towards liberal economic structure under Salinas de Gortari administration to solve these problems. When Gortari's efforts in domestic arena could not solve the economic problems in the country, they moved towards liberalizing the closed economy and seeking for establishing cooperation with their wealthy neighbors. Within this context, Gortari and American president at the time George Herbert Walker Bush started to negotiate for a free trade area. With their initiation, preparations for NAFTA started and Canada joined in the negotiations in 1991.

After negotiations and regulations, the agreement was signed on 1994. On the contrary of the high expectations, NAFTA did not solve the economic problems of Mexico for the large scale but it helped to liberalize the economy faster than it would without the agreement and it attracted foreign investment over time. Since it eliminated tariffs, made the borders easier to pass for businesses and produced mechanisms which would protect the property rights of foreign investors. The effect was not as dramatic as expected. It helped the manufacturing sector and foreign direct investment for this sector increased 53% between 1994 and 2005 with the effect of the agreement but other sectors such as construction, mining, agriculture, electric power generation could attract foreign investment almost close to nothing. Overall per capita economic growth of Mexico was only 1 percent between 1994 and 2001.

Both parties of the agreement were expecting from NAFTA to develop Mexican economy and to slow down labor migration to the United States. Economic relations grew as expected; United States export numbers rose from 47 billion \$ to 91 billion \$ and U.S. imports from Mexico rose from 45 billion \$ to 131 billion \$. However, this growth of numbers did not affect the migration numbers, human flow from Mexico to the United States did not stop and even became easier with the development of communication and transportation options between two countries. Unauthorized migrant number was 2 million in 1990, before the signing of NAFTA but it rose up to 4.8 million in 2000. As Martin summarizes;

Many of the evaluations of NAFTA's first decade conclude that trade-led growth was not sufficient to bring prosperity to Mexico: real wages in Mexico were lower in 2001 than in 1994 despite higher productivity, income inequality was greater, and Mexico-U.S. migration rose (Martin, P. 2008, p.85).

“Thus, instead of deterring Mexicans from moving to the neighboring country, they have promoted a more rapid growth in the size of the undocumented population” (Massey, 2005). After the establishment of NAFTA, the number of

Mexican migrants, both legal and irregular, increased even more. According to the numbers of U.S. Census Bureau, in the timeline between 1980s and early 1990s, Mexican population in the United States grew steadily. As mentioned above, President Salinas de Gortari had changed the 'policy of no policy' perspective towards migration and got involved in American policies towards migration. Mexican state gained power and instead of following American policies, involved in the process and presented its position and regarded its interests.

In 1990, in the context of a general improvement in bilateral relations under Bush and Salinas, the Immigration Sub Group was elevated to Working Group status, and Mexicans involved in the Working Group describe a fundamental philosophical shift from the goal of scoring rhetorical points on subjects of disagreement, to looking for areas of common ground, including maximizing the proportion of migrants which traveled legally, minimizing smuggling, and protecting human rights (Rosenblum, 2002, p.22).

After 1990, the number increased quite rapidly and this trend continued through the decade. American government tried to control the numbers by passing the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA). This law made it possible to legalize irregular migrants, strengthened border controls by increasing the number of personnel, bringing new high-technological control mechanisms to the border and also directed the building of a fence through San Diego border. As a counter effect of this act, human smuggling through the border and document frauds and bribery increased greatly and Mexican migrants continued to cross the border one way or another.

During 1990s, 514,000 workers entered the U.S. land per year. U.S. Census Bureau gives the numbers of Mexican-born people of the U.S.A. as 4.3 million people in 1990, 9 million people in 2000 and 10.6 million people in 2004. The statistics show that 7 million Mexicans in 1997 which increased up to 10 million in 2002; which coincides to 43% of a growth rate only within a 5-year time period (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005, p.37). While the American federal government tried to

lower down the number of irregular migrants via regulations and treaties and similar policies, these efforts had a reverse effect and Mexican irregular migration continued to grow.

The North American Free Trade Agreement and the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, together with intensified enforcement along the southern U.S. border, were aimed wholly or partially at curtailing the flow of unauthorized Mexico-to-U.S. migration (Borjas, 2007, p. 269).

Yet again, the result did not meet the expectations. Along with the incoming migrant numbers, the number of the settling Mexicans increased. With the effect of the new control mechanisms and regulations, it was hard for the temporary workers to go home and come back to United States. Thus, many temporary workers settled down in order to avoid the hardship of passing the border. “In 1992, an estimated 20 percent of unauthorized Mexicans in the United States returned to Mexico within six months; by 1997, the return rate was down to 15 percent within six months, and by 2002, only 7 percent” (Martin, P. 2008, p.75). United States administration turned into economic support strategy for Mexican economic development and migration management. United States established ‘New International Financial Architecture’ (NIFA) initiation in 1999 and supported many countries’ economic development, and Mexico was one of these countries. “NIFA constitutes a transnational class-based strategy to reproduce the power of financial capital in the world economy and in effect, the structural power of the United States” (Soederberg, 2004, p.176). Neither the preventive policy efforts nor the efforts to develop Mexican economy and decrease unemployment rates in order to eliminate the problem of Mexican migrants gave efficient results. These efforts even backfired and increased the number of Mexican unauthorized migrants to settle down in United States.

So and so forth, with the effect of the changes in the presidential offices in both of the countries, the focus of the administrations turned into accepting Mexican

migrants and improving their life conditions and regulate the phenomenon when it came to the year 2000. However, with the crucial event in the beginning of the twenty-first century; with the 9/11 attack to the World Trade Center in 2001, American policies towards migrants became even more strict thereby affecting general structure of American diversity based policies and the situation of Mexican migrants and the new migratory waves.

2.6. The Third Wave of Migration: Migration in the 21st Century

2.6.1. The Effect of Terrorist Attacks of 9/11

Demographic structure of United States of America is apparently highly diverse with people coming from different heritages, ethnicities, different national backgrounds, races and languages. The country is an assembly of many cultures and ethnicities. However; this picture and turning back to more nationalist feelings of American society started with the attacks to the World Trade Center in 2001. This date is a breaking point for American society, politics, domestic and foreign policies of the government and even for the general life style. Within the scope of our interest; this turning point is also important because the federal state drawn a strict line to its migratory policies after 9/11 attacks, and policies of Mexican state shifted from migration reforms towards improving the conditions for their citizens already residing in United States.

Before the terrorist attack, the relations between American government and Mexican state was quite close with the effect of the newly elected presidents on both sides. Republican President George W. Bush was pro-migration, arguing that; “migration is not a problem to be solved; it is the sign of a successful nation” (Bush, 2000). President Bush was eager to change the inefficient immigration policies of the American state and new president of Mexico Vicente Fox was eager to develop closer ties with the American side after the liberation of Mexican economy and establishment of the collective agreement; NAFTA. Mexican

President Fox had a plan for migration focused on four objectives. Fox's aims were establishing a new migrant program like Bracero Program, legalizing unauthorized migrants in the U.S., exempting Mexicans from U.S. visa limitations and ending border violence. Within this context, presidents of both sides were negotiating about establishing another temporary worker program and President Bush was seeing the growing potential of Mexican population as voters, hence willing to use this power in 2000 by legalizing the irregular Mexican migrants through legislations. But the devastating terrorist attack of 9/11 changed this picture.

American state turned towards a closed, even aggressive border control and migration limiting policy agenda. "The immediate U.S. response to the terrorist attacks included a dramatic tightening of border inspections and a toughening of the policy discourse about borders and cross-border flows" (Andreas, 2003, p.1). "The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks shifted Mexico-U.S. migration discussions away from legalization and toward security, with an emphasis on ensuring that foreign terrorists do not arrive legally or illegally" (Martin, 2008, p.68). Even the effect of 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) started to be felt more deeply after 9/11. Department of Homeland Security was established in 2003 and they took the responsibility from Immigration and Naturalization Service. Important portion of funding was given to Homeland Security in terms of border security and the fence along U.S.-Mexico border continued to be built. Mexican state, on the other side of the border, was also involved in an endeavor against terrorism because they did not want to harm the good relation and increasing trade with the United States. The economic bound was the main issue of worry for Mexican state. Along with the economic anxiety, Mexican and American presidents were about to propose a legalization policy before the terrorist attacks and Mexican president Fox wanted to continue to pursue this goal. In exchange for greater cooperation on the anti-terrorism front, Mexico wanted to assure not only unimpeded commerce across the Rio Grande, but has continued to aggressively push for a migration deal with

Washington that would include regularizing the status of some 3.5 million unauthorized Mexican workers in the United States (Andreas, 2003, p.10).

This policy proposal could not get through the strict policies of United States after 2001 and the protectionist, tough policies of the federal state led to a significant decrease of Mexican migratory flow. American state added new requirements for visa process, made the hiring procedures of foreign employees and imposed new responsibilities for both the migrants and the employers. With the technological developments, increase in personnel, stronger precautions against irregular entry; border security had become harder to cross. Also on the southern side of the border, Mexican economy was more stable than it was for a long time and population growth rate was on decline, so that more balanced economy and more balanced population rate decreased the problems of unemployment in Mexico. These harsher policies in America and development signs in Mexico led to a decrease in overall migration of Mexicans to the United States in the period after 9/11 attacks.

Undoubtedly, increased enforcement at U.S. borders and in the U.S. interior has played and will play a role in the size of the flows — as will Mexico's evolving demographic trends, which are likely to reduce emigration pressures to an extent not yet fully knowable (Chiquiar & Salcedo, 2013, p.1).

If we highlight it in figures, annual migrants coming from Mexico was 466,000 between 1990 and 2000 but this number decreased to 280,000 in the period between 2001-2007. 2007 is taken as a dividing point because of the economic crisis of 2008, which effected American economy deeply. So, it is proper to say that; the period after the terrorist attacks has changed the migratory policies and many more things of American politics and these changes has affected Mexican migration and the relation between two countries. Developing conditions of Mexican state at the same time was also effective in the phenomenon of declining migration. Of course, this negative period upon migration did not and certainly

will not diminish the place of Mexicans in the United States and future predictions indicate more Mexican workers will be needed in the near future in America (Chiquar & Salcedo, 2013). However, without getting into those predictions, we can assert that Mexicans' place in the country strengthened over time and although the number of migratory flow decreased in the beginning of the 21st century, the Mexican network and diaspora relations continued to grow and widen its scope. This scope and place of Mexicans become more over time and today, it can be said that Mexican diaspora and lobby is significantly effective and active in the United States of America.

2.6.2. Mexican Migration to United States in the Recent Decade

Migration from Mexico has been a growingly important phenomenon for the United States for nearly two centuries. Today; 36,3 million according to U.S. Census Bureau data (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). More than 40 million persons living in the United States were born in other countries, and almost an equal number—the second generation—have at least one parent who was born abroad (Blau & Mackie, 2017, p.33). Together, the first generation (foreign-born) and second generation (U.S.-born children of the first generation) comprise almost one in four Americans (Pew Research Center, 2015a, p. 120). There are fluctuations in the migration graphic due to economic and political changes in both countries. Looking at the current situation, we can state that Mexican migration was on the rise before 9/11 with the effect of welcoming attitude of President Bush, but after 2001, the picture has changed and Mexican immigration started to decline. And as can be clearly seen from the table below; the declining trend accelerated with the effect of 2008 crisis.

**Annual Immigration from Mexico to the U.S.:
1991-2010**
(in thousands)

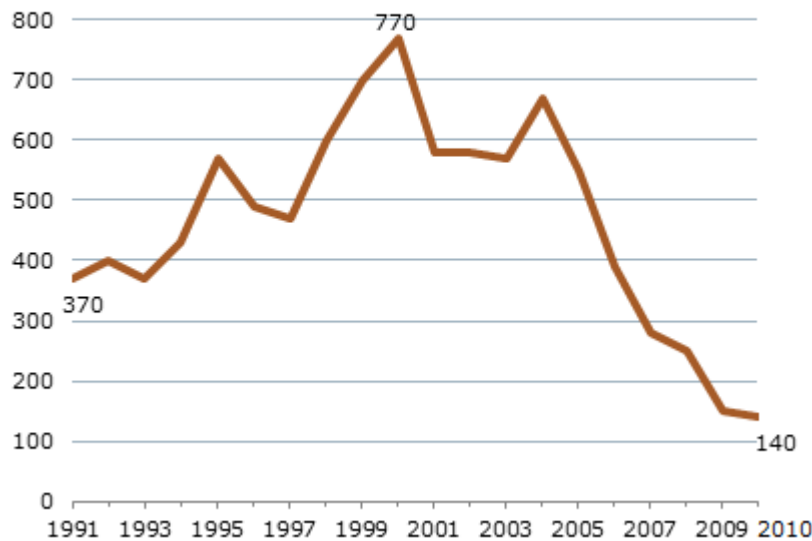


Figure 3: Annual Immigration from Mexico to the United States: 1991-2010

Source: Pew Hispanic Center various sources

The 2008 mortgage crisis affected the American banking sector and private sector effected deeply and this resulted in a decline in employment opportunities for some sectors, such as construction. This negative slope of employment opportunities decreased the attraction of foreign workers. The stabilizing and developing political and economic structure of Mexico with its lower population rates also provided better conditions for its citizens, so that Mexican people's incentives to leave the country also diminished. "Demographically and economically Mexico is changing, and those changes will decrease (and are decreasing) the U.S. immigration of low-educated individuals, legal or illegal, from Mexico" (Duleep, 2013, p.3).

Along with the negative economic indicators and high unemployment rates in United States, more convenient structure in Mexico, societal pressures and growing deportation numbers of U.S. Department of Homeland Security after 2008 had important effects. American society started to turn towards more

nationalistic feelings, started to build inner-community ties with each other and exclude foreigners. After 2008 crisis, American unemployment rates skyrocketed and remained high for a long time and this led to unease in American society. “In 2011, as unemployment remains high and governmental entities are experiencing severe budget shortfalls, such immigrants are accused of taking American jobs and draining governmental resources especially in health care and education” (Límon, 2012, p. 236). Hiring of undocumented migrants in an environment of unemployment risk for American people started to gather negative attention while there were so many American unemployed people. In this period, all these factors of security, protectionist policies, economic disturbance and unemployment led many Mexican migrants to return to their homeland. After 50 years, Mexican net migration dropped to zero percent in 2010 with the equalization of returnee migrants (both voluntarily and through enforcement by deportation) with the new comers. The social pressures also led to the rising of nationalist feelings and exclusionary behavior, which led to the election of President Donald Trump, who has promised to build a wall through Mexican border.

As the research of Pew Hispanic Center puts forward, the irregular migration rates are at the lowest in a decade and this decline is related with a reduction of 1.5 million Mexican unauthorized immigrants from 2007 to 2016 (Passel & Cohn, 2018, p.5). A special branch to deal with deportation of unauthorized migrants; Immigration and Customs Enforcements under the Department of Homeland Security have an active role in this decrease in migrant rates since only in 2013, the number of the deported people reached to 438,421. (U.S. DHS, 2013, table 39). Mexican immigrant population decreased about 300,000 people between 2016-2017 from 1.6 million to 1.3 million (Zong & Batalova, 2018). In light of the recent data, it is seen that recent arrival of Mexicans decreased sharply, most of the irregular Mexican migrants came to the country many years earlier. Recent border apprehensions, deportation rates, economic development and decline of population rate in Mexico made it less advantageous to go the northern side of the border. These trends led to a recent decrease in Mexican emigration, while Latin immigrants from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras fill the gap that is left by

Mexicans. Some scholars argue that these new Latin immigrants from the 'Northern Triangle' will take the irregular migratory phenomenon of Mexicans and their number will continue to increase over time, (Passel & Cohn, 2018) another perspective argues that despite the recent decline of Mexican immigrants, America will need them again in the next economic prosperity boom and their number will grow again (Chiquar & Salcedo, 2013). Both of these scenarios might come true but whichever comes true, the important point is that the history of Mexican migration secures the place of being a crucial phenomenon for American politics. By number, "Mexicans are the largest single group of immigrants in the United States, representing about one-third of all immigrants and more than 4 percent of the country's working-age population" (Borjas, 2007, p.225). Along with the demographic importance, Mexicans' well-developed network and strong diaspora relations, which is taken as a role model by other Latino migrant groups in U.S.A, will strengthen their position in American society in every sphere of social and political matters over time. As Límon argues in Tutino's book;

Mexican American U.S. citizens are becoming a large, viable, and socially effective middle class, it may also be the case that over the short and long terms, they may be joined by Mexican immigrants to the degree that the latter can stabilize their presence in this country (Límon in Tutino, 2012, p.250).

Mexican Americans managed to provide better opportunities for themselves in United States, of course with the support and effect of their homeland; Mexico. This trend will continue with the participation of more Mexicans to the picture.

In this regard, this second chapter of the thesis has examined the historical background of Mexican political history, the changes in the complex political scene of the country and economic hardships the country had to face. This chapter provided a foundation for understanding the long-going migratory phenomenon from Mexico to the United States. Similarly, this chapter clearly indicated that; Mexican migration to the United State has a fluctuating record in parallel to the

fluctuating politico-economic structure in the country. These fluctuations are related with political and economic changes at both sides of the border. Nearly three centuries long history of migration from Mexico to the United States with important turning points for both states and their effects on migration have been shown above. This long history has been examined by taking the three centuries long period one by one and examining them with important points as sub-categories separately. After examining these in detail, the upcoming chapter of the thesis will link these changes with the diasporic institutions, policies and entities established over time. By doing so, evolution of the diaspora relations and the governance of the Mexican migrants at a distance will become clearer and more understandable.

CHAPTER 3

EXAMINATION OF THE CHANGES IN MEXICAN DIASPORA AND ITS DYNAMIC RELATION WITH THE MEXICAN STATE

The previous chapter of this thesis has focused on making a historical periodization of long-going migration phenomenon between Mexico and the United States. This periodization has provided background information about the deep-rooted structure of migration between these two countries and at the same time, prepared the stage for the examination of the rationality behind these changes.

As it is clearly seen, migratory movement of Mexicans towards the northern side of the border has been an important phenomenon for almost two centuries. Moreover, there have been fluctuations in the numbers and migration flows and the perception of the phenomenon but the phenomenon has never lost its effectiveness or centrality. Within the context of this deep-rooted structure, the attitudes of the societies, policies of both of the states, political agendas and discourses have changed throughout the long going and fluctuating period. Along with the continuous flow of immigrants from Mexico to the United States, settlement of the presumably ‘temporary’ migrants shifted the course of the events for both countries.

Approach towards migrants at the beginning (beginning from 1848 and reaches until 1909) was quite positive and Mexican state was trying to support the diaspora mainly in social matters. Mexican Revolution of 1910 did not change this positive attitude right away; migrants were seen as ‘safety valves’ against political opposition and disorder in the first post-revolutionary years. Shortly after; this

approach has turned to the opposite side and Mexican diaspora started to be seen as an anti-governmental group. With the President Carranza administration, migrants tried to be retuned back to the home, in this period, migrants were named as 'sons of the nation'. We see the emphasis of nationalist approach and efforts of 'Mexicanisation' policies towards migrants in this period. Latapí summarizes these efforts in the 1920s and 1930s as 'estrangement of the diaspora' since Mexican and American governments cooperated in fostering the forced return of Mexican migrants to the homeland in the wake of Great Depression (Latapí, 2008, p.23). When the migrants did not return home; social pressure started and migrants were blamed as 'pochos'; traitors who refuse to come back home in time of need. When coming to the 1940s, the same migrants, in the previous context the traitors, were now became leverage, a source of bargain in front of United States due to economic needs after Great Depression and World War II. This bargaining source effect lasted until the end of Bracero Program in 1964 and diaspora took another shape after this date due to 'Chicano Movement' reaction after exclusionary attitudes of American people towards Mexicans. Under this context; Mexican diaspora gained importance and started to be seen as 'economic source' by the Mexican state. In 1980s; state started its efforts in reaching to the diaspora not only in social matters but also in other issues. Mexican state gained its trust back towards the migrants that was lost after Mexican revolution. In the 1990s; Mexico tried to institutionalize and consolidated diaspora relations. Mexican state changed its discourse in a more comprehensive way and announced its target as the 'Nación Mexicana reaching beyond the borders'. Mexican state officially included its diaspora to its agenda and announced the new borderless approach, also established binational approach towards the diaspora with the United States government. Effect of the lobbying campaigns, political and economic benefits and contributions of the diaspora have been comprehended increasingly by the Mexican state at the turn of 21st century and this raised the attention to diaspora. Political rights and remittances became main objectives. Although with the effect of terrorist attacks of 9/11 and economic crisis of 2008 have affected the position

of migrants for the American side; centrality of Mexican diaspora is still a priority for Mexican state.

Settlement of the temporary workers started to disturb the host country after a while and on the other hand divided Mexican family members. Lots of the emigrants went to the new country to seek for employment by leaving their families and this created a situation where a family is rooted on the both sides of the border. Hence, these two countries and the migrants involved in the picture cannot be thought separately, the relation here exceed national borders and national citizenship definitions. Thus, it would be more appropriate to consider the situation by using the term 'transnationalism' and 'transnational migrants' in diaspora studies for the case of Mexican immigration to the United States. In the case of the Mexican immigrants, it can be argued that transnational bond is very strong due to family structures and culturally strong relations of Mexican society. Transnationalism addresses the multiple connections and interactions that link people, cultures, agendas and institutions across the borders of closed nation states and "it is helpful to understand diaspora as the contingent outcome of political mobilizations within transnational social spaces" (Faist et.al, 2013, p.122). In a way, it eliminates the borders hypothetically and merges geographic space of the state and the social space of nation together.

Although different perspectives of diaspora studies may look from a different side to this phenomenon and may say that tis improvement is due to ethnic bonds of people or due to economic and political benefits, these are not enough to explain the whole picture. "Rather than being viewed as an ethnicity, diaspora may be alternatively considered as a framework for the study of a specific process of community formation" (Butler, 2001, p.194). Governmentality is the most comprehensive way to understand and examine all these changes and mechanisms of governing at a distance. Governmental rationality can explain the implementation of diaspora strategies and many practices targeting the diaspora population. In addition to this, diaspora strategies are being used to control, reproduce and manage the emigrant population upon the individual body and

psyche of the emigrant. “Immigration is not a problem for disciplinary strategies, it is an opportunity for disciplinary strategies! It is an opportunity to train a nation of docile and obedient bodies” (Nail, 2013, p.119).

Governmentality takes population as its target and implies technologies of production, sign systems, power and the self to the populace as part of the economic, liberal art of government. With the technologies of government and used techniques under it, mainly through bio-politics, governmental rationality, i.e. reason of the state has developed. Foucault defines four technologies for governing of people in his seminar ‘Technologies of the Self’; technologies of production, techniques of sign systems, techniques of power and lastly techniques of the self (1988). Technologies of production permits us to produce, transform and manipulate things, objects. What he calls ‘sign systems’ allows us to use language, symbols, numeric in a meaningful way. Power technologies determine the behavior of individuals in a society. They determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends of domination. Lastly, technologies of the self permit the individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct and way of being. Foucault takes the last two technologies for explaining the art of governing in neoliberal ‘conduct of conduct’; governmentality. “This contact between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self I call governmentality” (Foucault, 1988, p.1). State conducts the conduct of its governable populace indirectly under governmentality. People willingly participate and govern themselves according to the needs and directions of the power. This technology of governing and the techniques under it are applied for domination, subjectification of the target population. This populace may start to follow the directions of the power and subjectify itself without direct involvement. “The ability of the citizen to generate a politically able self depends upon technologies subjectivity and citizenship which link personal goals and desires to social order and stability, which link power to subjectivity” (Cruikshank, 1993, p.235).

Through this rationale of state, Mexican diaspora has been governed at a distance for some time as well. Mexican state started this governmentality effort by proposing 'Mexicanidad' to the migrants. In this way, Mexican state had offered identity of being Mexican to its migrants away. Mexican state is not directly involving in the affairs in the United States, or it does not establish a strict, direct position for the diaspora, not leading the migrant population to act in a certain way. What Mexican state does is to provide mechanisms, establish institutions and programs for Mexicans away from the nation borders and give them the freedom of choice for being a part of these mechanisms or not. These mechanisms and institutions present programs and campaigns for Mexican migrant population to participate and become more educated, more intellectual, healthier, more productive and efficient. The institutions and programs established by Mexican state individualize and totalize the diaspora at once. Mexican diaspora population has been created, divided and governed throughout this time and techniques of subjectification and self-subjectification have been continuing to implied upon this population. These points are all showing the possibility and reality of governing people beyond borders.

This upcoming chapter of the thesis merges the governmentality approach to the evaluation of Mexican diaspora in the United States and shows how this migrant population is being governed at a distance. In order to establish this relation; this chapter starts with the important Foucauldian concept subjectification and shows the application of subjectification techniques to Mexican diaspora. Afterwards, it goes deeper to the population dynamic of the Mexican migrants in the United States, examines establishment of the diaspora, looks into the changing dynamics of Mexican diaspora throughout the historical timeline and studies used programs and functioning institutions in detail. To start with, inner dynamics of the migrant populace will be examining beginning with its resistance to assimilation.

3.1. Mexican Community's Resistance to Assimilation

United States of America is a unique, multi-cultural country which embraces many different cultures coming from all over the world with their own identities, own histories and own cultures. Especially in the World War II period and after, the country had taken many migration flows and hosted many nationalities. Especially Italians, Polish, Jews, Germans and Asians migrated to United States in great numbers. Through the help of 'melting pot' strategies and lack of inter-communal network, many of these migrants assimilated into American culture and the fundamentals of their own cultures transformed and melted in the American way of life. However, it is not logical to put the Mexican case within the same frame.

Mexican migration to the U.S. was not only one of the oldest and largest but was also one that never stopped. Compared to the drastic decreases over time in the proportion of the foreign-born among other important immigrant groups, such as those from Poland and Italy, the Mexican foreign-born did not show a consistent decline (Roberts, 2017, p.32).

Throughout the long history of migration from to the United States, many Mexicans resisted to assimilation and preserved their connections to their original identities. There are many factors behind this resistance. The geographic proximity of the homeland was a great advantage in this matter. Also, strong family ties and the worker network established in the new country helped a lot. Institutions and mechanisms established in the United States by the Mexican state have been effective at the same time. Although many factors can be listed under this title, it is an undeniable fact that Mexicans did not lose the touch with their country, culture, history, language, religion and traditions. Mexican-Americans were grouped as a mixed-racial group; neither as white nor as black. This non-White categorization led to segregation of Mexicans and the way Mexicans see and define themselves. Dowling asserts as the result of his study of interviews with Mexican immigrants that Mexican immigrants are understanding their racial identities as closely related

with both national origin and their experiences about racial assignment in the United States (Dowling, 2014, p.96). So, racial classification and segregation was another factor which united Mexicans under the umbrella of their national ties.

A crucial proof of this preservation can be showed with their use of language. There are 35,709,528 Mexicans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017 Estimate) and 56,510,571 Hispanics (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013-2017 American Community Survey) in the United States. Although many migrants coming from all over the world adapt to English language before coming to U.S. or after settling down, there are many Mexicans who have been living in the country more than a decade and do not know English. “About 80 percent of non-Mexican immigrants are fluent in English. Among Mexicans, the number is 49 percent” (Borjas, 2007, p.107). This is not because of lack of ability, but it is because of resisting to losing ties with their mother-tongue and other factors that are mentioned above. “Constant movement across the border with Mexico kept the Spanish language and much of the Mexican heritage alive in the Southwest” (Healey, 2006, p.171). Spanish is the native language of 13% of United States residents, it is the second most spoken language after English and U.S. Census Bureau estimates that by 2050, there will be 138 million Spanish speakers in the country. The most densely Spanish speaking states are Texas, California and New Mexico, where Mexican immigrant population is at the highest. This resistance and commitment to the mother tongue led the American federal state to made some changes and regulations in order to interact with the population. Many signs are written in Spanish under English explanation, forms are written and distributed both in English and in Spanish in public offices, there are many reflections in the media of the Spanish language usage. Also, speaking Spanish is an asset for Americans when applying for jobs.

Along with the usage of language, national holidays, such as Cinco de Mayo parades, beauty pageants, fiesta de quinceñera (16th birthday celebration parties), football matches, cultural activities, even the usage of ‘piñata’ in the birthday parties of both Hispanic and American children show the strong cultural bound of

Mexicans and their effects upon American culture. Together with these signifiers in the social space, political ties of Mexican immigrants to their homeland also show their transnational bonds. “Whether they have become U.S. citizens or not, have documents or not, many Mexicans retain a sense of belonging to Mexico and continue to display an active interest in local as well as national issues in the country” (Goldring in Pries, 2001, p.65).

Within this portrait, it can be argued that assimilation resistance of the Mexican migrants in the United States is a governmental mechanism of Mexican state. By addressing to this people as the ‘sons of the nation’ even though they are ‘the nation beyond the borders’ Mexican state applied a technique of governing. Accordingly, Mexicans managed to preserve their cultural-community ties, felt empowered and strengthen their position in the host state and even started to shape the way of procedure in United States. Vice versa, strengthening of diaspora relations also helped to strengthen transnational ties and actually brought a regularity due to institutionalization of the relations and operation.

These strong transnational ties have helped to create and develop diaspora relations and on the other side of the medallion, diaspora also helped to keep these ties strong and intact. As it is argued under subjectification umbrella of Foucault, these mechanisms contributed to the maintenance of a diaspora population and at the same time these immigrants participated in many diversely established programs willingly, which will be examined in detail. Therefore, it can be argued that the people consisting the Mexican diaspora have been both the objects of these programs and mechanisms and subjects of them. They were the target population with these programs and they felt empowered with these programs. By continuing to participate, develop these mechanisms and following the positions put in front of the participants, Mexican diaspora population willingly become a part of these mechanisms and reproduce them. Hence, Mexican state indirectly affected the choices of this population and conducted their conduct.

3.2. Subjectification of the Mexican Diaspora

As explained above, Foucault explained his interest in power relations between object and subject in his lecture series entitled *Security, Territory, Population* (1977-1978) and also in his work 'The Subject and Power'. In these lectures and writings, Foucault explains how the subject is created and how technologies of power brought the practices of subjectification to the foreground. Foucault gave importance to these practices that shape human beings, identities and create populations. He argued that the practices matter and this is not a complete process; there is not an ending in this endeavor. This process re-invents itself, new techniques are implied within the direction of new technologies of power and people are being subjectified under this construction.

Within this direction, Foucault argues processes of governance attribute us identities and we accept these roles as free selves and embrace them without being aware of this identity formation phase. Actually, as Cruikshank adds to the Foucauldian idea, we embrace these identities as they are 'opportunities of empowerment' (Cruikshank, 1993). Subject is, in a way created and within the governmentality technologies, human beings feel empowered but in fact, this is just another form of government by shaping people's choices and using freedom. Mexican government's ability to control its citizens and expatriates in the United States reiterates new mode of governing the migrant mass both as a group and individually. What Mexican state did actually was to create a population to govern, people are taken as a mass and population is constituted as an instrument of governing without forcing people but by using their freedom as an apparatus. In this picture, not only Mexican migrants have not thought that they were being directed and governed, but they also felt more powerful and supported. Migration, already settled migrants, their community have been re-interpreted; they were all attributed new meanings within the governmental strategy. Mexican identity was offered to the migrants and the diaspora and people who participate to this framework might be feeling empowered. What Mexican state did was not to

realize its migrant population but was to subjectify the diaspora. Three modes of objectification that being applied to a person or a group of people in order to subjectify them are; dividing practices, scientific classification and self-subjectification (Foucault, 1984 & 1994, Rabinow & Rose, 2003). These three phases can be traced in Mexican diaspora as well.

In the first mode, people are turned into subjects through division. People are categorized based on some defining commonalities and differences and classified accordingly. These classifications can be based on physical constants such as women groups, programs for children, support organizations for elderly etc. On the other side, they can be based on vaguer commonalities such as teaching groups for illiterates, or support groups for people who has the same disease or problem etc. Nonetheless, while this categorization brings some people who share commonalities together, it also divides the groups apart from each other on the other hand. Foucault examined division and categorization of mad people/sane people, criminals/suspects, or sick/healthy etc. Migrants are divided as a separate group with the same logic. Mexican migrants have been grouped as a different category of Mexicans by the home state under different names. Through this division, this group was opened to investigation. From now on, studies and scientific endeavors can be conducted upon and about Mexican diaspora.

The second mode of objectification, ‘scientific classification’ comes after dividing the population as a separate and operable entity. It is mostly related with Foucault’s notion of bio-politics and his linkage of power and knowledge. In the perspective of interrelation of power and knowledge; science has great importance and political implications. As mentioned, power is not forced via police power or army, but it is extended to every sphere of life through various types of governmental technologies like bio-politics. These methods of bio-power are also exercised about migrant groups after shaping them as a separate population. Through bio-political practices such as statistical surveys, birth and death rates, demography, life expectancy et cetera, Mexican state has more knowledge about its migrant population even though they are away from the homeland. There are

many statistical data about Mexican-Americans, Mexican migrants, Mexican community, their health rates, birth and death rates, average life expectancies or criminal rates in their neighbors in many surveys as well as on official records of U.S. Census Bureau. Some research has been conducted about mental illness of Mexican emigrants (Escobar, Nervi & Gara, 2009) and infant mortality rates among Mexican migrants (Hummer, et.al., 2007). Many data have been gathered and continued to be investigated about Mexicans in the United States about many issues and through this way; diasporic population is classified in a scientific manner as a part of the whole subjectification process.

The third and the last mode of objectification of the subject is 'self-subjectification'. In this last phase, differentiated and scientifically studied group becomes an entity that needs to be directed and governed. This phase has a different implication since it is exercised internally.

Self-subjectification can be traced in Mexican migrants' endeavors to create a community, improve themselves in order to participate in the normal line of that community. There are many programs and institutions that aim at improving qualifications of Mexicans in the United States as will be examined. Mexicans contribute to these endeavors voluntarily and want to be a part of a more developed community so rise the normal line to optimum level. By improving their qualifications by participating to symposiums of working groups, by participating in remittance sending campaigns, by joining in library groups et cetera, Mexicans living in the United States imply self-subjectification practices upon themselves. In this way, without actively involving to people's actions but by directing them to behave in this manner on their own, Mexican diaspora is being self-subjectified and governed strategically at a distance.

3.3. Establishment and Development of Mexican Diaspora in the United States

As been explained during the historical analysis part of this thesis, Mexican migration to the United States has been considered to start with territorial loss as a consequence of 1848 Guadalupe Treaty which was signed after Mexican – American War. And after that time, migration took a more economic-oriented shape from an underdeveloped country towards its well-developed neighbor. As the periodization made in the first chapter indicates, these migration flows showed some changes in accordance with some political and economic turning points but the phenomenon has never lost its importance or centrality. Nevertheless, the establishment of diaspora relations did not start right away and it took a long time for the diaspora relations to take its current shape. As Latapí indicates;

Although the origins of the Mexican diaspora have to do with the process of national formation in both countries and the loss of Mexican territory after the U.S.- Mexican War of 1847, the political history of the Mexican diaspora can be traced to two internal conflicts: The Mexican Revolution and the ‘Cristiada’ the civil war that pitted religious, anti-agrarian forces against the post-revolutionary government (Latapí, 2008, p.23).

During these events and long periods of societal, political and economic changes, Mexican state’s relationship with its diaspora have fluctuated over time for the better and the worst. Very early steps of diaspora formation begun in the first period of migration in 1848. The attitude towards migrant population was positive until 1909 and diaspora relations were more social and protective within this period. Afterwards, Mexican diaspora was subjectified and the positive approach towards this population took a downturn with the Mexican Revolution in 1910. Diaspora relations and diasporic programs gained pace with Bracero Program and Chicano Movement and diaspora policies were institutionalized in the 1990s. This long and changing dynamic gained more importance in the 21st century and many programs aiming each section o the diaspora population have been established. As

there is not a fixed structure, these policies and mechanisms will continue to change and new technologies will be invented to conduct the conduct of Mexican diaspora in the United States. However, to go into deeper details and understand the rationality beyond each and every period, the next part will focus on the first steps of Mexican diaspora formation.

3.3.1 Planting the Seeds of Mexican Diaspora in the First Period of Migration (1848-1909)

In the first period, which started after the first wave of Mexican ex-citizens which had to switched to the American side after 1848 and lasted until Mexican Revolution of 1910, the Mexican state showed some efforts for the Mexicans on the other side of the border, mostly in the social context. During President Porforio Díaz's term (1877-1880 & 1884-1911), migration flows towards United States were considered as normal and the Mexican administration did not see a need to control or prevent these flows. Within this complex situation in domestic sphere, migration was on the back side of the agenda and the main purpose was to restore order and ensure economic stabilization. But under this politically and economically dark scene, many Mexicans were migrating to the United States and they were facing many problems in the new country. In the first periods of his quite long rule; President Díaz was more interested in finding the reasons behind the immigration flows and detect the number of the migrants rather than pursuing an actual policy agenda on migration. So Díaz administration established a study group under Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to understand emigration phenomenon.

Other than that; mutual-aid organizations; 'Mutualistas' were established which provide funeral and illness benefits, collective support to Mexicans in the United States, create togetherness and group defense against exclusion from political participation and protect Mexican workers from abuse in the workplace and also help via providing recreational services to the Mexican migrants. Establishment of this organization can be considered as the first seed of the emergence of Mexican

diaspora. 'Alianza Hispano-Americana' was one of the biggest mutualistas which was founded in 1894. So these mutualistas helped the Mexicans on the northern side of the border in social matters and tried to protect this population against exclusion and unjust treatment at workplace.

Towards the end of his rule, Mexican emigrants' problems grew bigger and in order to raise awareness and protect expatriates from exclusion, President Díaz regime published informative articles in local newspapers about Mexican immigrants' problems in the United States. "Prevailing images of the United States and Mexico began to change during the period of unprecedented migration. Travel accounts reflected the hopes and fears of immigrants and were often used to either encourage or discourage migration" (Venkovitz, 2015). However, his administration did not put a strong policy for those problems and did not look out for its citizens. And this dysfunction of Mexican state raised opposition and created reactions among expatriates located in the United States. As a result of this anger; 'Clubes de Oriundos' which are hometown associations and 'Sociidades Patrióticas' or Juarez Clubs were established. Mexicans could come together to show their reactions and contribute to the political cause in the homeland through these clubs even though they were physically away from Mexico. The Juarez Clubs raised money and recruited volunteers, they purchased weaponry for the Mexican Army in the period of 1862-1867. Also, they sponsored Cinco de Mayo parades and beauty contests, they organized debates about political and social matters. So, even though Mexican state was ignorant towards their problems and community; Mexican migrants did not disperse. It would be appropriate to say that, against the ignorance of their problems, Mexican emigrants got organized in the host country and they effected the situation in their home country by giving support to the Revolution. As the counter-effect of this position; ignorant position of Mexican state turned towards hostility. By participating in and supporting the Revolution; Mexican migrants in the United States both proved their significance even they are away from their country's borders and also the attitude towards them has had changed to a negative side in the eyes of the new administrations.

To put it generally, in the first steps of emigration and at the term of Porfirio Díaz administration, the common attitude was positive towards the ex-citizens, the flow was accepted as normal and there were not any restrictions against leaving the country. The government was trying to understand the phenomenon, provide aid and benefits to the Mexicans in U.S. in social matters through Mutualistas but ignoring the problems or were not creating solutions for these problems. Hence, at the end of this term of ignorance, Mexicans abroad organized and they established new groups since they were in opposition to Díaz administration and reactive against the ignorance of Díaz to migrants' problems. Via these groups, Mexican emigrants tried to help to stabilize the situation in Mexico and contributed to Mexican Revolution, which have changed the perception towards those migrants in the following years. This contribution and effect showed that physical separateness and physical borders between the countries were not isolating factors and even though people have been fallen apart, they could still have effects on homeland as a population. Due to this effect of the migrant population over the homeland, the perspective and approach towards them from the Mexican state took a negative turn with the emergence of Mexican Revolution of 1910.

3.3.2. Negative Turn in Diaspora Relations with the Breaking of Revolution (1910 – 1939)

In the early periods of the revolution, where the regime was not stable and the administration was continuously facing coup d'états; migration flows were considered as a 'safety valve' for between revolutionary disorder and political opposition and enemies. Thus, the first governments after the Revolution did not oppose migration, did not try to prevent leaving or return of the emigrants. Post-revolutionary Mexican state depended on emigration as a development strategy and a political safety valve, a position enshrined in Article 11 of the 1917 Mexican constitution, which forbids exit restrictions (Cardoso, 1979, p.20). However, in the upcoming times of the Revolution, the attitude towards those Mexicans in the United States have changed significantly, especially with the effect of political endeavors of Juarez Clubs.

However, when President Venustiano Carranza (1917-1920) managed to establish the order in the country, his administration tried to dissuade people to leave the country and persuade emigrants to come back home. He had three policy objectives; dissuasion of Mexicans from leaving the country, protecting workers' contracts and 'Mexicanize' the immigrants in the northern neighbors (Delano, 2011, p.69). The nationalist propaganda called for the return of 'hijos de la patria' (sons of the nation) to the homeland, and administrative controls tried to prevent the Mexican farm workers from leaving the country. As an effort of dissuasion, Mexican immigrants in the United States were started to be called as 'pochos' and 'traitors' who left their home country when the things were not going well and when they were needed the most. Also, they tried to strengthen the bonds with the previously gone and settled Mexican migrants in the United States by promoting 'Mexicanidad' among them as part of Mexicanization policy. Mexicanidad emphasis was a political discourse targeting nationalist feelings of people with Mexican ancestry and this campaign of 'Mexicanidad' was used broadly during Carranza rule in order to bring emigrants together regardless of their location.

In the next decade, Mexican government tolerated and encouraged more social and organizational proactive efforts (Gonzalez, 1999). Mexican state established Honorary Committees and 'Brigadas de la Cruz Azul' (Blue Cross Brigades) which were community-based groups aimed both at civil rights problems and cultural problems of the migrants. They were supported by Mexican consulates during 1920s and 1930s. These institutions tried to develop community unions, organize repatriations, promote 'Mexicanidad' (Mexican nationhood) and organize fundraising events in order to find resources for community projects. President Alvaro Obregon (1920-1924) is considered as the most active president in terms of seeking solutions to migration pressures and protecting the emigrants (Cano & Delano, 2007, p.14). Mexican state increased the number of its consulates in the U.S. There were over 50 consular agencies in the U.S., including 'abogados consultores' (consulting lawyers) and comisiones honorificas (Gómez-Quíñones, 1983). Along with these improvements in consulate support for civic projects and trying to cherish the nationhood feeling among Mexicans, diaspora efforts also

focused on Mexican workers and business, hence labor unions and business associations started to be established in the U.S.

Labor unions such as 'La Sociedad Progresista Mexicana y Recreativa' (The Mexican Progressive and Recreational Society, established in 1924) and 'Confederación de Sociedades Mexicanas' (CSM - Federation of Mexican Companies, established in 1927) and 'Confederacion de Uniones Obredas Mexicanas' (CROM – Mexican Workers Unions Confederation, established in 1928) started to gather and seek for Mexican workers rights in the United States and even organized several strikes against unjust conditions and unequal payment. Also, Mexican business associations started to be established in the U.S. 'La Camara de Comercio Mexicana' (Mexican Chamber of Commerce) was found in 1924, which was a big step in institutionalization of Mexican business in the northern neighbor.

Another important attempt was on the cultural side. During the 1930s, 'La Sociedad Mutualista Mexicana' (Mexican Mutualista Society – community based organizations) and also 'Congreso de Pueblos Que Hablan Espanol' (Spanish Speaking Towns Congress) were founded. These cultural reflections emerged in the 1930s; they aimed at improvement of civic rights of migrants, advocated for their humanitarian rights and hoped for softening the immigration laws in the United States mostly due to deportation and exclusion of Mexicans after the Great Depression. Mexicans emerged as 'favorite scapegoats' and deported from United States in big groups (Henderson, 2011). Mexican immigrants in the United States were exposed to harsh repatriation campaigns during Great Depression (Lessard, 1984).

The general attitude towards the Mexicans in the United States have had changed in the short period between the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and the Great Depression of 1929, which affected the worker flow directly. While the Mexican emigrants were considered as safety valve in the early revolutionary period, they started to be called as traitors when the administration stabilized under nationalist

administration. The migrants were called to come back home and to support their homeland, the migrants who did not were labelled as 'traitors'. Promotion to spread Mexican nationhood feeling via the consulates was on the agenda for a few years and with the effect of another perspective, another president, Mexican state started to pursue the protection and well-being of the Mexican emigrants against discrimination and ill-treatment. "From 1910-1939 the main reasons for the formation of Mexican community-based organizations were their defense against discrimination, protecting labor rights and problems related to deportations and repatriations" (Cano & Delano, 2007, p.16). And the transnational relation between Mexican state and their emigrants developed in this period. Moreover, in the forthcoming term, the picture shifted towards another way with the effect of Great Depression and World War II in the next decade, because Mexican state gained an advantageous position in the new era, when the Mexican workers turned out to be important sources for United States under tough circumstances. Once the 'unwanted low-level workers' have become important sources for United States under bad economic circumstances at the time of the Second World War and this situation gave a leverage to Mexico. Within this picture, the Mexican emigrants have become a source for both sides and gained importance as a usable and governable population.

The intriguing thing is that; the position of these people, their involvement in the community, their attitudes towards the homeland have not changed dramatically. Foucault's nominalist perspective, his understanding of history as not a fixed entity forms the philosophical framework that can explain the position of Mexican case. The role of these emigrants has not changed; but the position of Mexican state towards the diaspora has changed significantly. Hence, not the name or concept 'diaspora' has changed but the practices have changed. These people were 'sons of the nation', they were 'traitors', once they were 'heroes', then they became 'sources of bargaining', policies of 'Mexicanisation' were introduced and later 'nation beyond borders'. The name has changed and created new discourses for the same people who were continuing to do their jobs and pursuing their lives. This position supports the idea of Foucault that "state does not have an essence"

(Foucault, 2004, p.90) thus, “we must examine power relations where the state seems to emerge in ‘transactions which modify, or move, or drastically change’ (Sawyer, 2015, p.143). Likewise; diaspora does not have an essence either; practices build the state, the diaspora, migrant community, network etc. These concepts did not exist in history naturally, but the events in the Mexican past have shaped them and carved it into today’s structure.

It is important to look at Mexican diaspora not as a strictly-defined phenomenon but to examine its practices, the events and discourses that bring these people together, diaspora’s agenda and dynamics of the relation between the diaspora and Mexican state. This structure has changed dynamically and dramatically, but the people involved were the same. Names given to them were different in accordance with different dynamics. That position changes continued under the effect of newly emerging dynamics.

3.3.3. Diaspora Relations under the Effects of World War II and the Bracero Program

With the emergence of World War II and U.S. involvement in the war, the relation between the neighbors and the position of Mexico in front of United States has changed. United States was on the dominating side of the binational relation but with the effect of the war, the need for cheap labor power gave Mexico bargaining power against United States. As a result, bilateral cooperation agreement of Bracero Program was established which manages the migration flow and labor contracts of Mexican workers. While the situation had given more power to the Mexican side and led to the flow of millions of Mexican workers to the U.S., diaspora relations did not develop as much in this term. “During the fairly long period extending from the Mexican Revolution to the 1960s, the Mexican government viewed the diaspora as an anti-governmental group created by internal conflicts, and its policy towards it consisted in inviting to return to Mexico” (Latapí, 2008, p.23). Although the negative image of Mexican emigrants after the Revolution had finally faded, Mexican state focused on Bracero Program and

diasporic initiatives did not develop considerably in this term. The roles of the consulates decreased during 1950s, most of the focus was shifted upon the implication of the agreement and the flow. “By the 1950s the political dialogue that had peaked in the 1920s and 1930s seems to have faded” (Zazueta, 1983, p.460).

With the end of the Bracero Program, organizational development gained speed, especially with the effect of millions of new migrants and establishment of a wide ‘Mexican network’ with the effect of 1965 Amendments in American Migration Law, which set familial bonds as an easing factor of accepting migrants. Mexican state established ‘Programa Nacional Fronterizo’ after the end of the program. This new program tried to fill the gap of recruitment of Mexicans since the employment program of Bracero has ended. It aimed at creating new job opportunities and offers. Also, in the 1960s, ‘Clubes de Oriundos’, i.e. Mexican hometown associations began to develop greatly. These associations were similar to mutualistas but they were more detailed. Clubes de Oriundos organized migrants in groups based on the community of origin hence made a classification and created a national bond among many migrants and reinforced their bonds with their hometowns. They supported education, language learning and job training of immigrants. In addition, with the emergence of the ‘Chicano Movement’ and embracement of Mexican identity and movement of being proud to be Mexican strengthen the ties greatly. It influenced the creation of 22 of the currently 40 most important non-profit organizations concerned with support of Mexican Americans (Cano, 1977). The Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) was founded in 1968, also nation based association ‘National Council of La Raza (NCLR) and Centro de Acción Social Autónoma (CASA) was founded in 1968. These associations provided assistance to undocumented Mexican migrants and integrated these migrants as part of the same group.

If we evaluate the general view of Mexican state of Mexican migrants in this period, they were mostly seen as the source of bargaining in front of United States. The importance given to the establishment of stronger bonds have shifted towards

migrant worker management with the effect of the Bracero Agreement. After the abolishment of the agreement, while the focus of the Mexican state stayed in their citizens' recruitment in the U.S., social ties gathered attention with the breaking of Chicano Movement. The organizations built after this date planted the basis of today's migrant organizations that have crucial place for both countries. After discovering the emigrant population as a governable source, Mexico's attention turned towards the advantages that can be gained from the migrant population. With this turn of focus, solidarity clubs and funds for Mexican diaspora increased, Mexican state increased its support and investment to the population abroad. Also, the information gathered about this population also showed an increase. Via registering to hometown associations, Mexican migrants in the U.S. contributed to these mechanisms and the state also had the ability to gather more information, more statistical data about this population, which is a part of biopolitics, governing upon the bodies of a population. This point highlights both the importance of population creation and the extension of governmentalization. Just as governing is not bounded with borders, it is neither restricted to internal links. In addition to this, governing is conducted upon the bodies individually and also it is conducted upon the population as a mass.

3.3.4. The Situation after the Chicano Movement (1970s)

As mentioned above, Bracero Program increased the number of Mexican immigrants significantly. Both documented and undocumented Mexican workers fled to the country in great numbers continuously, the number had reached to millions of immigrants with the program. In addition to this crowded population, Chicano Movement was an important step for the Mexican immigrants to accept and embrace their identities and stand up to discrimination and exclusion they face in the United States. As a continuation of the Mexican state's dividing practices and population creation efforts, Mexican diaspora started to realize and embrace their identities in the United States and from this point onwards, self-identification of the members of this population gained speed. In Foucauldian explanation, self-identification is the last phase of subjectification and this is a different phase than

dividing practices and scientific classification because self-subjectification is conducted internally. At the end of the previous steps of dividing practices and scientific classification, form of self-subjectification starts to be applied internally; in which human beings turn themselves into subjects. After being exposed to previous implications, people internalize these practices and technologies after a while and without being pushed or directed into the technologies, people start to exercise them upon themselves. “Governance in this case is something we do to ourselves, not something done to us by those in power” (Rose, 1990, p.213).

In this manner, people are drawn into contributing to and reaching to the normal line of society that set as a governmental technology. Through hygiene, weight and obesity control, regular exercise, check-ups or personal grooming, or as in our case, involving in the mechanisms established for a specific population, people become a part of these technologies. This is a process of active self-formation of bodies, souls, thoughts, conducts mediated by an external authority figure. It can be said that self-subjectification is the aggregate outcome of previously imposed technologies. “Individuals learn to recognize themselves as subjects of democratic citizenship and so become self-governing” (Cruikshank, 2006, p.335). This process also applies to governmental rationality since it is the economic way of governing people without getting directly involved and spending wide range of sources. “Through some political technology of individuals, we have been led to recognize ourselves as a society, as a part of a social entity, as a part of a nation or of a state” (Foucault, 1988, p.146).

Starting from the Chicano movement, the pile of reaction coming from previously implied technologies showed itself and this movement is an important signifier of self-subjectification of Mexican diaspora. By participating to the movement, by developing it and taking it to the agenda of both American and Mexican states and societies, members of the Mexican diaspora empowered themselves, they felt liberalized and making a difference. But the foundation of this movement is coming from the previously established mechanisms, policies and institutions which aimed at creating the diaspora population.

This event and its echoes lasted for a long time and effected the formal relations between Mexican state and the diaspora in the United States as well. The situation and strength of proud, identity-conscious Mexicans in great numbers in United States affected the policies and attitudes towards them, awareness and supports towards these people raised significantly. “Until the 1970s, Mexican government policy was formally anti-emigration, fueled in part by fears of losing both skilled and unskilled labor needed for developing the economy” (Fitzgerald, 2006). They have become important sources and investment in relations with them gained importance. Politicians and presidential candidates raised their campaigns in United States and increased their support for emigrants.

When President Luis Echeverría came to power in 1970, interest in the Mexican population abroad was widespread among intellectuals, businessmen and some government officials. The ties between Mexico and Mexicans living in the U.S. began to grow in cultural, political, social and economic areas, and became more complex (Gómez-Quíñones, 1983 in Cano & Delano, 2007, p. 22)

With the Chicano Movement, these people carried out these missions and subjectified themselves. They were subjects even when they were objects. In addition, especially after this movement, self-subjectification is accelerated and new technologies aiming at reaching this population to the optimum started to be developed. President Echeverría raised his focus on emigrants and increased the state’s support for emigrants, raised awareness in the protection of this migrants and started new initiations for this cause. New clubs, hometown associations and organizations were founded in the 1970s, the relation became more important and started to be more popular on the state agenda. New programs aiming the diaspora were established and the discourses aiming the population became stronger. This support continued after Echeverría administration as well. In the early 1970s, ‘Comisión Mixta de Enlace’ (Binational Outreach Commission) was founded and it managed the relations between the Mexican government and the migrants through the help of Ministry of Labor and Mexican – American organizations.

‘Federations de la Estados’ (State Federations) were founded in 1972 and an important example of this federations is ‘Federación de Clubes Zacatecanos’ which is among the most organized Mexican communities in the U.S. Government also invested in establishing Mexican cultural centers, created scholarship programs for the Mexican students in the U.S. who wishes to study in their home country. Also, Mexican government donated books about Mexican culture and Spanish learning to the libraries in cities with large Mexican population. It can be argued that these institutions and groups were created to create an obedient and controllable population. These programs targeted every part of Mexican diaspora, there is a program for every class of Mexican diaspora. The rationality behind this is to penetrate to every sphere of the diaspora and to have an effect on each and every one of the participants, even on the 3rd generation Mexicans who have not even seen Mexico in their lives.

This period of protective and considerate policies towards Mexican emigrants and efforts of strengthening the ties did not continue in such an accelerated way. As the Mexican economy stabilized and Mexican position towards United States gained power, the state lost its interest in the migrants. With the break of 1982 Debt Crisis in Mexico, the state needed the migrants once again but the economic crisis and country’s bad position, the state neither could open new programs and institutions nor could support the already established programs in 1980s. Nevertheless, even though direct investments decreased and slowed down, since these mechanisms already established self-subjectification mechanism and these migrants were participating and re-producing all of them continuously, these mechanisms lasted on their own. This point is clearly showing the rationality of government and how the governmentality techniques are economical ways of governing even beyond borders.

Moreover, when the contribution of the remittances to the Mexican economy was discovered, Mexican state increased consular activities. This newly discovered technology opened another path to the Mexican state for gaining economical power and establishing another relation with its diaspora. In 1980, remittances

provided 1.8 billion \$ a year, almost equal to tourism (Lozano, 1992) and Mexican state needed to use this important source. 1x1 Program was established in 1986 in order to increase the efficiency of the remittances. This campaign supported remittances sent by the emigrants via multiplying the amount by state support. The collected money was transmitted into public projects in Mexico. Although this 1x1 program could not raise much money and could only contribute to 28 projects, the idea evolved in time and still valid with great echo. Remittance gathering and making a campaign for it is another technology implied. By giving the remittances for contributing to the life in the home country, Mexican diaspora felt more connected and empowered since they were helping out even though they were far away, but this is still being a part of this new technology and the governing technique. President de la Madrid focused on making relations with business community and established the 'Project for the Strengthening of Ties between the Mexican Government, Mexican Population and the Mexican-American Community'. Hence, the focus on economic programs and campaigns can be evaluated as another governmental technology developed according to the conditions of the time.

In 1986, cultural side gained importance once more and 'Programa Cultural de las Fronteras' (Cultural Program for the Borders) was established in order to promote radio programs, academic activities, seminars, publications and exhibitions related to Mexicans. Also, 'Consejo Nacional de Población' (CONAPO) was established within the body of Ministry of Interior Affairs in order to study current policies and develop new policy recommendations upon the matters of political problems and migration. These programs are contributed to creating and differentiating the migrant population and aimed at subjectifying these people.

Along with the cultural side and newly discovered economic benefit of the migrants, their political benefits were started to be discovered as well. After creating Mexican diaspora as a separate population and shape these people's identities by creating a togetherness and unity feeling, Mexican state's emphasis about its migrant population in the United States had turned to political side.

Mexican government started to issue voting cards for Mexicans abroad who are older than 18 under the jurisdiction of Federal Electorate Institute in 1980s. Although this initiation did not immediately give results and it took a lot of time and effort for Mexican migrants to vote for the presidential elections of their home countries, the first attempt for gaining voting rights was performed in 1980s. With the upcoming elections, politicians started to take migrants as resources, elected President Salinas established 'Outreach Program' while running for presidency. Mexican Assembly for Effective Suffrage was organized for Mexican votes and Mexican Democratic Forum was organized. Therefore, by 1988, Mexican emigrants got politicized and the focus on them shifted towards a political side. Giving the right to vote to Mexican diaspora was another aspect of constituting participating legal citizens, or in Cruikshank's terms 'citizen-subject'. "The constitution of the citizen-subject requires technologies of subjectivity, technologies aimed at producing happy, active and participatory democratic citizens" (Cruikshank, 2006, p.340). Mexican migrants felt empowered politically and they are citizens even though they are away from home through voting but they are actually being directed with voting mechanism.

In the two-decade long period that starts with the breaking of Chicano Movement and lasted until the 1990s, Mexican state's policies towards their migrants have shifted several times.

The Mexican state spent years largely ignoring Mexicans abroad, with no consistent policy besides repatriation, the guest-worker program and various ad hoc policies. Starting in the late 1980's, in the midst of deep political and economic crises, the Mexican state began to take official recognition of Mexicans in the U.S., developing a series of outreach programmes, and, more recently, expanding the definition of the Mexican nation to include Mexicans abroad (Goldring in Pries, 2001, p.67).

At first, when the administration discovered the power of its migrants, shifted its focus on emigrants, established many cultural organizations in order to protect the

commitment of the migrants to their Mexican identity. However, in accordance with the economic situation in the country, the attitudes have fluctuated. In the times of oil boom and relatively strong economy, Mexican state ignored the migrants and decreased its speed in establishing institutions and organizations with Mexican migrant community, but these mechanisms continued to work on their own. Under the harsh conditions of Debt Crisis, a new techniques which subjectifies the diaspora was discovered; remittance gathering programs were established. And when the political power of the emigrants was discovered, the importance given to them gained another position, a new technology started to be applied. During 1980s, Mexican state started reaching out to their diaspora, trying to establish a new link with its emigrants (Gonzalez Guterrez, 1993) and this new link got deepened with the 1988 elections.

The politicization of the Mexican community, especially in support of the opposition in the 1988 elections, and the growth of their importance for the economy through their remittances, had a significant impact in the Mexican government's attention to migrants and determined its policies in the next period (Cano & Delano, 2007, p.27).

With the effect of all these developments and under the newly growing circumstances. awareness and efforts of the Mexican state towards their migrant community in the U.S. got more institutionalized and stabilized and gained another shape. As can be understood, new techniques and technologies of governmentality has been developed under changing circumstances. The circumstances in the 1990s and the position at this point led to institutionalization of this techniques and technologies, which accelerated and secured the position of governmental mechanisms and helped in self-subjectification mechanisms.

3.3.5. Institutionalization of Diaspora Policies in the 1990s

The economic and political stage in Mexico had been changing for some time and each of these changes had effects both inside the borders of the nation and also

affected Mexicans abroad. Due to rough political climate and reactions of Mexican expatriates towards the unrest in their home country, Mexicans living outside of the border was not approached positively and the state was not putting a lot of effort for the problems of these Mexican migrants. “Mexico’s first major step towards overcoming the historic distrust between the country and its migrants and émigrés came in the early 1990s, when consulates throughout the U.S. began to contact existing organizations and to develop systematic changes” (Latapí & Janssen, 2006, p. 17). As mentioned in the first chapter upon the historical periodization of Mexican state structure and migratory waves, this cluster of changes in politics and economy of Mexico led to economic and political liberalization when it came to the 1990s. Mexican state joined the GATT in 1986 and established NAFTA in 1994 and completed its economic liberalization for the decade. “The changes in the political and economic context in Mexico, as well as the transformation in the government’s relations with the U.S., mainly as a result of the liberalization of the Mexican economy, impacted the development of contacts between the Mexican government and the immigrants in the U.S.” (Cano & Delano, 2007, p.26). In addition, with the impact of the developments of diaspora relations in the 1980s and the grown situation of the diaspora, the relations started to become more institutional in the last decade of the twentieth century.

Mexican state gave importance to anti-assimilation of the population in the beginning of 1990s as another technique. ‘Nación Mexicana’ (Mexican Nation) initiative was put into action and aimed at non-loss of Mexican nationality in the United States. President Carlos Salinas (1988-1994) was ‘courting with migration’ as Aparicio and Meseguer named (Aparicio & Meseguer, 2012). Under Salinas administration; 1x1 initiative was taken further and support was given to 2x1 program. The same logic was valid but state contribution per every dollar contributed by the emigrants was doubled. President Ernesto Zedillo (1994-2000) established ‘National Development Plan’ right after he came to the office. Within the plan, it was stated that; “Mexican nation extends beyond the territory contained

by its borders” (PEF, 1995, p.16). This shift is quite intriguing since it proves the shift in the perception in official perception of Mexicans abroad.

In addition to that, in 1996, ‘Nationality Law’ was approved which shows a ‘symbolic reincorporation of citizenship rights for Mexicans abroad’ (Goldring, 1988a). Along with these developments on the Mexican side of the border, binational initiatives also gained speed in the 1990s. “The U.S. – Mexican Binational Commission’ was founded in 1977 under President Carter and President Portillo administrations but this commission was not actively working until 1990s. Especially during President Clinton term (1993-2001), this binational effort gained importance and pace, it tried to bring a collective perspective to the study of Mexican migration and it drew cabinet-level attention for the first time since establishment. These new endeavors are aiming at increasing the already established positions of the Mexican diaspora population, and eventually reaching it to the optimum level.

Along with these governmental plans and initiatives, many institutions and long-term programs were established during 1990s. One of the most comprehensive of these initiatives was the ‘Programa de las Comunidades Mexicanas en el Exterior’ (PCME - Program for Mexican Communities Abroad) which was established in 1990 under Salinas de Gortari administration. The program was established under Ministry of Foreign Affairs and “Its principal mandates are to raise awareness among the Mexicans around the world ... and to implement international cooperation projects offered by Mexico for the benefit of its diaspora, 98.5 percent of it in the United States” (Gutierrez, 1999, p. 545). Also, Mexican Cultural Institutes were founded in order to preserve the Mexican culture among the migrants. In order to provide solutions to the problems of the migrants; ‘Grupos Beta de Protección a Migrantes’ (Migrant Protection Beta Groups) were organized and managed by the Ministry of Interior and after a while, when the context of these Beta Groups extended; they got institutionalized and turned into ‘Instituto Nacional de Migración’ (National Migration Institution) in 1993. This institution aimed at managing both the problems of the migrants abroad and the migrant

issues within the Mexican borders. It granted visas, organized regularization programs for the adjustment of the migrants, the institution has detention centers for ensuring the safety of apprehended and deported migrants. At the local level, Local Offices for the Attention of Migrants were founded for the migrants to apply to when they encounter a problem.

In the political side of the spectrum, Mexican immigrants gained another important position. As mentioned above, a voting card was started to be issued under the body of Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) in 1980s. These voting cards, or by its original name 'matricula consular', were functioning as identity documents in Mexico. The problem of getting this document from IFE was solved in 1992, with the shift of authorization of the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs through their consulates. Matricula consular was written in both Spanish and English, it was proofing that Mexican state was recognizing that individual's identity as a Mexican citizen even though they are outside the border and the person's address abroad. Importance of matricula consular increased over time with its recognition and acceptance by the American authorities and institutions. By obtaining the document, Mexican migrants were able to open bank accounts, enroll in schools, obtain drivers licenses, and most importantly; they could visit their homes in Mexico without being deported by United States. Although it is not giving legal residency rights to the migrants, they can benefit from many services and rights through the cards. On top of that, Mexican migrants also gained voting rights, after a long process of debate and regulations in 1997, however, they could not exercise this right until 2000 elections. Matricula Consular provides legal rights to Mexicans in the United States but at the same time, it keeps track of the Mexicans. By signing Mexican migrants to certain programs and attributing legal documents and keeping statistics of their data, Mexican state has been applying mechanisms of visibility to its diaspora. These programs and legal regulations create a surveillance and control upon Mexican migrant population in their involvement in United States' system.

With the impact of NAFTA which was started to be negotiated in 1991 and got signed in 1994, Mexico gained a higher status in front of United States. For the first time, Mexican state pursued lobbying campaigns in United States legislation. After NAFTA, more regulations were put in place in the United States due to the established cooperation agreement and both states' decision to fight irregular immigration. Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) and also Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRCUORA) were declared in 1996 under U.S. legislation. These legislations effected migrants' access to health and education in the United States directly. With the establishment of NAFTA, the position of Mexico came to a more equal level with the United States and this improvement of status paved the way for the institutionalization of migration dialogue between two countries.

Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo brought a constitutional reform that affected the legal status of Mexican migrants and brought a new level in diaspora relations in 1996. With the new constitutional regulations, dual nationality status was given to the Mexican emigrants. Through this new status, Mexican migrants abroad could both benefit from their rights in the United States but at the same time, they could participate in Mexican affairs much more actively. Discussions of giving the right to vote to the ex-citizens were started to be discussed in Mexican Congress.

All in all, 1990s represents a successful era and a crucial step for migration dialogue, binational relations and institutionalization of diaspora relations. Until 1990s, government's response was mainly channeled through consular protection and short term programs but this situation evolved into more structural side in 1990s.

Migration dialogue was institutionalized through the creation of working groups, bilateral commissions, memoranda of understanding, discussion forums, interparliamentary commissions and the signing of various accords related to migration management (Alba, 2004).

The position of Mexico has changed and improved, Mexico's relations with diaspora got institutionalized and became more permanent and this increasing graphic continued and especially peaked during President Fox administration in the new century.

Institutionalization of the diaspora served for self-subjectification and control techniques to evolve. Mexican population in the United States continued to participate to the institutions and programs established eagerly, via these events; self-formation of these people is implemented. So that we are not actually free objects, we are subjects that are being governed through their freedom and Mexican state has been using this technology upon its diaspora under its modern structure. Although Mexican diaspora is being self-subjectified since the Chicano movement, these institutionalization wave brought control and surveillance mechanisms to the agenda, which can be considered under bio-politics. The objective of the state had become surveillance and control of the population behind the national borders. Matrícula consular, the new 'rights', election registration, banking account opening rights etc. are all seem to be beneficial things for the members of the diaspora but at the same time, these applications give important registration and information about the population abroad to the Mexican state. Gaining statistical data and controlling this population becomes easier. So, there is another rationality behind these new rights. Along with being rights, they are at the same time control techniques and mechanisms that are being used in increasing the normal line of this population in the upcoming decades.

3.4. Diaspora Relations in the 21st Century

As been told above, Mexican diaspora had gained many rights in the previous century and these rights and programs have been institutionalized in 1990s. New century expanded the scope of these rights and programs, produced new

techniques. Right before coming to the twenty-first century and the redefinition of Mexican nation of President Zedillo, Mexicans living in the United States had limited rights and power to reach to authorities and public services. They had limited claim for protection at Mexican consulates, they were sending remittances to their original homes, they were going to their homeland in order to vote but they were not considered as real members of the community and most importantly, they did not have political rights. Redefinition of the Mexican nationhood by President Zedillo in a way that comprises the Mexicans living outside the national borders and considering them just as another valuable part of the nation was a big step. The situation accelerated in the 21st century with the end of seventy-one year long PRI rule in Mexico and election of President Vicente Fox in 2000.

Inclusionary discourse of President Zedillo was strengthened under Fox administration. President Fox gave emphasis on the issues regarding Mexican migrants in the United States and tried to bring joint programs and binational new initiatives. Relations between Mexico and the United States got intensified greatly in the first years of President George W. Bush and President Zedillo administrations. President Fox addressed the Mexican immigrants as ‘dear beloved heroic paisanos’ in his speech in South City. The President stated that; “Mexico’s gross product, together with the gross product of Mexicans generated in the United States makes us the eight largest economy in the world.” As Fitzgerald examines the speech; “Transborder nationalism is illustrated by the discourse of heroic paisanos abroad promoted by Mexican president Vicente Fox in his visit to South City” (Fitzgerald, 2004, p.243).

The controversy is intriguing; once the same migrants were ‘pochos’ and ‘traitors’ of the nation, but the same migrants turned out to be ‘national heroes’. The same emphasis was made by American President George W. Bush in his speeches as well. Bush set the immigrants as role models and stated that;

Immigration is not a problem to be solved, it is the sign of a successful nation. New Americans are to be welcomed as neighbors and not to be feared as strangers... Latinos enrich our country with faith in God and a strong ethic of work, community and responsibility. We can all learn from the strength, solidarity and values of Latinos (Speech in Washington D.C, June 26, 2000).

While the immigrants especially the Mexican immigrants were seen as problems and American citizens were defending that these people were stealing their jobs, creating problems and refusing to accept them in their social circle, this situation has shifted towards a more positive way and the same immigrants were mentioned proudly in presidential speeches. Along with these shifts in political discourses and joint actions of two countries, institutional approach also evolved in the beginning of the new century.

Presidential Office for Mexicans Abroad' (OPME) was founded in 2000 with the purpose of establishing direct communication between the President and the Mexicans living abroad. It promoted Mexican businesses and intended to create a distributary web for Mexican products. OPME managed the remittances and made investments in home country. A bigger campaign targeting remittance collection was also established in 2002; Vicente Fox administration brought 3x1 Program-Citizen Initiative in 2002 and it took the shape of 3x1 Program for Migrants in 2004. With the strengthening in the position of Mexico and the relations between two neighbors in this period, Mexican state could push for its objectives. Since remittances were in great importance for Mexican state, President Vicente Fox pushed for a decrease in transfer fees to American banks. Two countries established a joint agreement in the banking sector and signed Mexico-U.S. Bank Agreement in 2002 and Automated Clearing House was established which ensured lower cost of transfer for remittance flow.

Also, as mentioned under the developments in 1990s period, Mexican state had already started an organization to target the Mexicans abroad; 'Programa de las Comunidades Mexicanas en el Exterior' (PCME - Program for Mexican Communities Abroad). Mexican state took a step further and take the

institutionalization of its diaspora at its most with the ‘Institute of Mexicans Abroad’ (IME). It combined the comunidades, PCME and the OPME and created a single big roof for Mexican migrants in 2003. IME (Instituto de los Mexicanos en el Exterior) was established in order to promote strategies and integrate programs for migrants, collect proposals of the public and get recommendations from the communities about migratory problems. IME has a three-part system in itself which divides the related issues and categorizes them in order to handle the issues of Mexicans more efficiently. Advisory Council of IME works upon six divisions; health, political affairs, legal affairs, border issues, economic and business issues and communications and outreach issues. The institution gives benefits and solutions for many of the problems Mexicans face in the United States, it provides scholarships for Mexicans to complete their education in the U.S., provides legal counseling for those who involve in the American justice system. In sum, the organizations under IME and the functioning advisory bodies are designed to improve the living standards of Mexican communities living outside the national boundaries.

The new century can also be considered as another breaking point in terms of democratization of the Mexicans abroad and their involvement in the voting system. While the Mexicans abroad became so valuable and they were included in the definition of the nationhood, their political rights were still restricted. Although the right to vote was given to the emigrants in 1997, this right could not be put in order until 2000 elections. Before 2000, Mexicans living abroad had the right to vote but they could only vote if they travel to their hometowns in Mexico and if the voting center had extra voting ballots. While the Mexican state was benefiting from economic contributions of these migrants, it was not recognizing their political rights because of the opposition that they create against the ruling party, PRI. The barriers in front of expressing political rights were eliminated in 2000 but the participation was not high as expected. But when the next election term came in 2006, public attention was raised in terms of voting. IME and the AMME (World Association of Mexicans Abroad) worked for voting promotions and Mexican Congress passed the resolution for Mexican expatriates to vote wherever

they live. Voting by using the postal service got enabled and Mexicans outside the national borders finally gained the right to vote in the real sense.

Pressure from the diaspora was much stronger and much better organized, thanks partly to the intervention of the Institute for Mexicans Abroad as well as to the increasing political activism of other organizations, such as the World Association of Mexicans Abroad (Latapí, 2008, p.27).

All in all, the institutionalization wave continued in the new century as well. Mexican migrants have already been started to be considered as valuable assets and a merge between the homeland and the migrants abroad was already being targeted. In order to manage the merge between the homeland and emigrants; diaspora studies were established and political strategies were put in place in the beginning of the 21st century. “The Mexican government’s action in favor of the Mexican community in the United States is therefore an institutional response to people’s needs in the fields of education, health, culture, recreation and business” (Figueroa-Aramoni, 1999, p. 538). With the constituting of IME and giving actual voting right to these migrants, Mexican diaspora had reached to a new level where it can express the needs and problems more clearly, directly and accurately. Mexican state put a lot of effort after 1980s and these efforts compiled and created bigger organizations and initiatives in the upcoming decades. Although the position of Mexican immigrants was jeopardized after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in the eyes of scared, panicking, extra-protective Americans; Mexican state’s efforts did not diminish and they pushed further for institutionalization and strengthening the position of their migrants. Now there are numbers of new programs under these institutions which aim the diaspora and the Mexican state is managing this population through the institutions and the programs, aiming at increasing their position in American society, having a more educated, intellectual and healthier diaspora population abroad.

3.5. Recent Situation and Developments

The current situation of the Mexican immigrants in the United States is open to many discussions, especially after the election of President Donald Trump, since he enforces to put a concrete wall between two countries throughout the southern border of United States. Besides the point that the approach of American citizens towards Mexican immigrants got darker and they started to exclude them once more with the shift towards the nationalist right-wing; border wall discussions are out of focus here and will not be discussed in detail. The support and the policies of the Mexican state, on the other hand, will be discussed. As Foucault asserted, governing is a never-ending endeavor so the efforts and technologies continue to evolve and change. Diaspora relations have been growing continuously since the 1980s and today, the relations took a high-level status. As related to our argument from a Foucauldian perspective, recent situation of Mexican state with its diaspora in the United States is under the umbrella of governing technologies and strategies at a distance. Before examining the situation from ‘governing at a distance’ perspective, the current institutions and programs, which are tools and technologies of governing will be mentioned briefly.

Today, the impact and the programs of the already established institutions, especially, IME continues actively. “Created in 2003, IME formalized a long-standing Mexican government policy to gain the trust and support of an increasingly influential expatriate population who live mainly in Mexico's most important neighbor, the United States” (Aguinas, 2009). IME gathers information about all the Mexicans spread all around the world and provides statistical data about these people, which is under biopolitical endeavor to gather information and have power upon this population. The institution gives educational support to Mexican citizens through education programs and scholarships, it gives education about health matters such as HIV panels, tuberculosis or sexual health educations, organizes panels and meetings about financial inclusion of Mexican people, gives support to sportive activities of Mexican heritage youth through scholarships and

state support to sportsmen, organizes cultural activities for Mexican children in the United States and establishes community projects which brings the society together and creates solutions to common problems. The rationality behind these supportive programs is increasing the position of the population abroad, having a healthier, more educated, more intellectual, better diaspora population and eventually reach it to the optimum line. By gathering information and having statistical data, Mexican state is gaining knowledge about this target population and as Foucault stated clearly, power and knowledge are highly interrelated.

Knowledge, once used to regulate the conduct of others, entails constraint, regulation and the disciplining of practice. There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations. (Foucault, M. 1977, p.27)

These programs are providing knowledge to the Mexican state and makes it more economical to govern these people from abroad, makes it easier to develop new techniques, targeting the changing population, accessing to every different sphere within this population and reproduce the subjectification techniques. Through the mentioned programs and many more, Mexican diaspora is being governed by regulations and disciplinary measures but by using individual bodies. Political and economic programs are highly related with lobbying campaigns and objectives of Mexican state. Especially the Institute of Mexicans Abroad – IME- established in 2003 with the convergence of Presidential Office for Mexicans Abroad (OPME) and Program for Mexican Communities Abroad (PCME) is the biggest institution working with this aim. Binational Leaders Network also aims at raising awareness about contribution of Mexicans to the American economy and hence works as part of lobbying efforts.

An intriguing recent project of IME is ‘Este es mi Mexico’ (This is My Mexico) competition. This competition encourages Mexican children to make drawings

about Mexican history, culture, gastronomy, traditions, music that says ‘This is my Mexico’. Although it is a competition for children, it is an important exemplifier of Mexican state’ and institutions’ efforts to create a bond with their diaspora at any age. These programs and competitions reproduce the population creation processes for new generations of Mexicans in the United States. Another interesting program of IME is the ‘Red Global MX’ which is a network that “seeks to unify the Mexican talent abroad and capitalize it in favor of development in Mexico”. This program addresses Mexicans abroad as high-talented members which can contribute greatly. It supports, gives scholarships and funds and promotes talented Mexican youth who are successful at athleticism and sports. “The network fulfills the double purpose of positioning the Mexican diaspora in their countries of residence, and also promotes the image of Mexico in the world” (www.gob.mx) Red Global MX is “a diaspora program by the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs that seeks to create collaboration bridges between Mexicans living abroad, their host country and Mexico” (<https://www.redglobalmxbc.com>) creates an aim for Mexican youth abroad and also creates a public database and network, since it requires the applicants to register in the program website. So, these programs reproduce population and national identity and at the same time give information and power to the state.

Activities of the Mexican Consulates continue at high speed and their scope have widened greatly. They provide High Security Matricula Consulars, offer health services to the citizens in need, provide legal representation to Mexican nationals, corroborate the well-being of Mexican nationals who are under custody, the consulates also reach out to Mexican communities in United States, they locate missing relatives and reunite these families, they assist to family reunification of minors, assist victims of violence, human trafficking and hate crimes in United States. Other than these responsibilities of the consulates, some programs have been established under Mexican authorities and ministries. An important representative of these program; ‘Ventanilla de Salud’ (Health Windows); which is under the authority of consulates, works on informing Mexicans about health matters, gives counseling and referrals for Mexicans and their families. It has free

programs both in United States and Mexico which gives information and education on health related topics. It aims at educating Mexican diaspora in health matters and achieve a healthier population.

Another program in educational arena; Plaza Comuntaria is a program of public libraries. This program gives literacy education to the illiterate Mexican adults and teaches these immigrants English and citizenship issues. Mexican state also donates books and materials written in Spanish to American libraries that are about Mexican heritage and culture. English Learning Monitoring Program is also in order to increase the education level of Mexicans abroad but with another nuance, to teach English to lower income Mexican children. Although it may seem like this effort to teach English will simplify assimilation to American society, this program in fact aims at improving position, intellectual level and position of Mexican youth in the American system.

Also, binational institutions are being established such as U.S.-Mexico Foundation (USMF) which was organized in 2009 with the objective of fostering binational cooperation and understanding. This foundation gives grants to local non-profit organizations located in Mexico. Also, USMF has many programs under its jurisdiction, which targets different segments of Mexican community residing in the United States. ‘Dreamers without Borders’ program is important mostly for establishing cultural bonds with the diaspora. This program enables young Mexican participants to visit their home country; Mexico. This program aims especially second and third generation Mexicans, who have Mexican origin but born and raised in United States and did not visit Mexico. The official statement of the program is as follows;

The program serves to strengthen identity and a sense of belonging amongst the Dreamer population in the U.S., deepen this group’s understanding of their country of origin and to build new bridges of understanding and cooperation between the two countries by leveraging the potential of this young binational group on both sides of the border (www.usmexicofound.org)

Via the ‘Dreamers without Borders’ program, national identity is being reinforced, population creation goal is being renewed with the participation of new generations of migrants and the name of the program is also striking. The name itself implies that state is targeting its population beyond border and all these endeavors are not bounded to the borders. As the name of the program suggests; reaching out to people does not have borders and governance has no physical borders or barriers.

‘1000 Dreamers – 1000 Leaders’; another program under USMF aims at developing participants’ skills in business sector and provide them network opportunities. With the success of this program, unemployment rates and status of the diaspora population reaches to a better level. This program appoints personal mentors to each Dreamer and gives online training to them. A similar program which specifically aims at Mexican female youth; Mujeres en STEM, Futuras Lideres (Woman in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics, Future Leaders) takes girls at high-school level and matches them with female mentors gives them education and guidance in order to develop in the specified fields. USMF also developed ‘Binational Leaders Network’ which promotes social inclusion in United States and supports empowerment of the Mexican immigrant community in the U.S., and contributes to raising awareness about contribution of Mexicans in the American society and economy.

In order to ensure the inclusion of Mexicans, this network established English Learning Monitoring Program that seeks to promote English learning among Mexican youth that comes from low-income backgrounds. The network seeks to promote Mexican culture among American society and promote the inclusion of Mexicans in the social circle. In a more systemic and high-level position, the USMF launched another program; Mexican American Leadership Initiative (MALI). This program is at a different level from the others, because it involves the Americans with Mexican heritage, who are at influential positions in United

States and the program makes a connection between these people and their heritage country. These individuals have influence in American society and the program aims at using these people as bridges for binational U.S.-Mexico relationship.

Apart from these programs which are focused on improvement of different situations in United States, a certificate program has been established recently. This program gives the returned Mexicans English proficiency certificates that enables these people to work as English teachers in Mexico. It helps the returnees to find employment opportunities in Mexico and also enhances language skills of Mexican citizens. (<https://usmexicofound.org/programs/5/mexican-american-leadership-initiative-mali>) All these programs work as promotion mechanisms which are setting a higher picture for Mexican migrants and encourage them to become better, more successful. By showing the success of Mexican people that are sharing a common ground with the diaspora and making them participating in these programs, Mexican state is achieving setting an upper level for the rest of the diaspora population and also, these programs are targeting another side of the diaspora population; women. While female Mexican migrants are feeling more powerful by participating to these programs and feeling liberalized by taking a new step; they are actually participating in the same mechanisms and self-subjectify themselves. At the same time, Mexican state is reaching to another part of its target population.

Programa Paisano is another program which was originally established in 1989 but still continues today with developed objectives and methods. This program is launched every year before Christmas holiday. Mexicans living in the United States cross the border and visit their families in the holiday season without getting deported. Mexican state provides leaflets at consulates and borders to migrants about their rights during the travel, informs the travelers about custom allowances and explains necessary procedures. Also a phone-line is established which is open to complaints against migrant abuse at the borders and in these cases the phone line connects the victim migrants to corresponding authorities.

3x1 Program for Migrants (Tres por Uno in Spanish) is still continuing and the projects under this program have gained speed and importance. The program is currently under the jurisdiction of Mexican Ministry of Social Development and as the scope of the program; the Federal government, Mexican state and municipal government each multiply the money that migrants send by 3 times. "Mexico receives upwards of \$25 billion in remittances annually and 1 in 10 nationals currently lives abroad, 90% of whom live in the United States" (Duquette-Rury, 2015, p.7). According to the data of KNOMAD and The World Bank report, Mexico is the third highest remittance receiving country after India and China with 33.7 billion U.S. dollars received in 2018 (Ratha, et.al., 2018). With the 3x1 program, Mexicans abroad contribute to the needs in water and drainage problems, road and sidewalks constructions, electricity needs and social projects in Mexico. Through this program, migrants in the United States can contribute to local projects in the homeland and via this program, the relation and commitment between the diaspora and homeland is being consolidated.

In 2004, Mexico wanted to establish another agreement and pushed for pensions of Mexican workers. The scope of the agreement was quite beneficial for Mexicans since it would enable Mexican workers to accumulate their pension contributions in both countries simultaneously so that they would retire earlier and receive larger pensions. That would decrease unemployment rate in Mexico and hence decrease migration rate. However, this agreement did not pass from United States Congress and did not go into effect. Although it did not become effective, the objective and lobbying campaign of Mexican government in a different subject; ensuring their diaspora's social security rights, was a significant step. This was another effort to increase the position and qualifications of the migrant population, even though it did not go through, Mexican state targeted working and retired part of the Mexican diaspora population with this attempt. And the draft of this agreement is still an objective for Mexicans, this is among important objectives of Mexican state and diaspora. Under the administration of President Felipe Calderón (2006-2012), Mexican state also launched 'Seguro Popular' (Popular Insurance) program that

provides universal medical care for Mexican children from birth. So that health and social security are important headlines for Mexican state for some time.

What is needed to be noticed about these programs is that; they are targeting different parts within the Mexican diaspora population. As been told in detail; this population has created as a separate entity, divided, strengthened and governed. Now, we see the efforts of governing more economically, drawing the normal line of this population upwards, reaching it to optimum level. Within the scope of this endeavor; these programs are separately established by targeting different age and status groups within this population. Governmental rationality behind this effort is to go deeper into this created society and going into every sphere of this mass, controlling them and creating a completely obedient and efficient population at the optimum level.

Rather than placing discipline and sovereignty, the modern art of government recasts them with this concern for the population and its optimization (in terms of wealth, health, happiness, prosperity, efficiency), and the forms of knowledge and the technical means appropriate to it (Dean, 2010, p.30).

When it is looked from a general and comprehensive window; Mexican state's efforts and policies towards its diaspora has been growing and expanding on many different subjects in accordance with the needs and problems of both the Mexicans in the United States and the Mexican state itself. The established programs under those institutions aim at improving education level, health conditions, monetary status, literacy statistics, political participation and rights of Mexicans living in the United States.

In this era of regionalization and globalization, it is evident that for two countries with such close links as Mexico and the United States, one joint objective must be to achieve healthier, more responsible, better informed, and more educated citizens (Figoueroa-Aramoni, 1999, p.538-539).

This objective of creating a 'higher-quality' community, a higher 'normal line' for those people are in great accordance with the Foucauldian thinking. Michel Foucault argues that bio-political technologies such as population census, statistical forms, participatory events, institutional programs and such are exercised on the population as a whole in order to improve the normal line of society and create a better community with members who have higher levels of education, who are healthier, skinnier, who obey the rules of the society etc. "The aim of the modern art of government, or state rationality, to develop these elements constitutive of individuals' lives in such a way that their development also fosters that of the strength of the state" (Foucault, 1981, p.252). The modern art of government, state rationality are what Foucault calls 'governmentality'. Foucault argues that state had seen the limits of sovereign and disciplinary power in the past and these forceful practices are not enough to govern all spheres. Thus; bio-politics and governmentality have been developed and this method is economically efficient that it uses general methods but does not interfere in every sphere, it is the 'conduct of conduct'. This rationality can be observed in many areas and practices of the modern society and it is not limited with the state borders. In the case of the Mexicans living in the United States, the policies, practices, discourses of the Mexican state, the changing and growing policies towards the Mexican diaspora are elements of Mexican state's rationality in order to govern their population beyond the national territory. Thus, Mexican state has developed diaspora relations and it is exercising diaspora strategies in order to govern its population at a distance.

Governmental rationality can help us understand the logics of diaspora strategies and practices targeting the diaspora population. In addition to this, diaspora strategies are being used to control, reproduce and manage the emigrant population through the individual body and psyche of the emigrant. "Immigration is not a problem for disciplinary strategies, it is an opportunity for disciplinary strategies! It is an opportunity to train a nation of docile and obedient bodies" (Nail, 2013, p.119). So that, Mexican state's position have started from attributing a Mexican identity to its diaspora and subjectifying the migrant population, then moved to

control this populace and it continues with endeavors to reach an optimum diaspora population in the United States. Current programs and institutions established are aiming at having a more educated, healthier, wealthier migrant population. These programs mentioned are parts of technologies and apparatuses of the Mexican state in order to achieve this goal. By setting these goals for their migrants, Mexican state is reaching to a more obedient, successful, governable population. And by participating to these mechanisms, Mexican people feel empowered and a bigger part of the community even though they are far away from their homeland. This is neither a finished nor a completed process, these endeavors will take different shapes over time and new policies for governing the population abroad will be established. This is a never-ending effort as Foucault argues.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Dispersion of groups of people from their homelands has been an ongoing phenomenon for centuries. Although it is seen in many different ways and shapes and they depend on different reasons, this phenomenon is an important point of inspection since some of these dispersed groups did not lose their ties with their homelands even after many decades and they transferred this bond to the next generations. By doing so, we can see many groups of migrants who have not even seen their homeland but still attached to the language or religious and social culture of the motherland. People's desires or destinies to shift places have been creating many phenomena such as migrant organizations, community networks, communal spaces like Chinatowns, lobbying et cetera. Diaspora is one of these phenomena that may arise as a result of leaving the original homeland. Dispersed people who have not lost their bonds with the homeland and who have a desire to go back home eventually create diasporas. People might be leaving the homeland due to many reasons such as war, famine, economic depression, political conflicts, civil war, annexation, natural disasters etc. Whether the reason be economic crises, famine or political conflicts, what creates the diaspora is these people's commitment to their heritage and their resistance to acculturation and the image of going back to homeland. In a way, it can be argued that diaspora does not embrace the receiving state as 'the real home' no matter how long they have been living in there. There were different reasons for the Mexican migrants leaving the country and going to United States but these people in a great scale did not lose their ties with their home country and eventually Mexican diaspora was formed in the United States.

Individuals of Mexican origin in the United States are an identifiable group residing in a geography other than their place of origin that experience not only physical displacement but also cultural hybridity; a yearning for the homeland; alienation from the host land; a complex structural relationship among homeland, host land, and diaspora; and a collective identity largely defined by the relationship between homeland and host land (Rinderle, 2005, p.301).

Formation of diasporas and their current function as empowering institutions is a big topic for the literature and there are different approaches for examining this phenomenon. Mainly, there are three perspectives that are used for the study of diasporas. The first one, instrumentalist approach is a dominant way of looking at the phenomenon and it relates the diasporas and the relation between states and diasporas with economic and diplomatic benefits. This approach sees diaspora groups as sources for the sending state. It looks into the remittances sent by the migrant populations to the homeland and the lobbying activities conducted by the migrant groups in the host country. In a way, diasporas are as seen as tools for the sending states in the host states, these groups function as economic sources and political bargaining leverages. Basically, diasporas are tools of the sending states. Scholars like Charles King, Neil J. Melvin and Therwath see diaspora as a political and diplomatic tool for sending state and scholars like Coutin and Guarnizo evaluate the economic benefits of remittance sending migrants at the center. But this approach does not consider the social bonds of those people, not does it evaluate the changes of the position of diasporas over time. So, this perspective remains limited in terms of enlightening the situation broadly. Also, it does not explain the states that does not have a bond with their diaspora hence cannot 'use' the diaspora. All in all, instrumental approach is restricted in explaining the emotional, ethnic and national ties of the peoples and the changes of the phenomenon over time.

The second approach, ethnic framework, on the other hand focuses on the societal side of the issue and examines the concepts of ethnicity, citizenship and nationalism involved in the diaspora relations. Ethnic framework takes globalization as the main focus and looks into the different meanings attributed to

ethnic behaviors and the concept of citizenship within diaspora relations. People's nationalist feelings create the diaspora and states' needs for support in the global structure led them to give value to their diasporas. According to this sociological understanding; diaspora is a source of support for the home state in the globalized world. While this framework is more oriented to the sociological side of the issue, it remains restricted in political sphere and cannot explain the position and involvement of states into the matter. There is a two-way relation between diasporas and the states and while ethnic framework is beneficial in explaining the position of diasporas, it remains restricted in terms of explaining the side of the states. States also put a lot of effort and allocate resources to the diasporas but this is not explained by ethnic perspective.

The third perspective, which is the one that underlies the argument of this thesis is the governmentality framework inspired by Michel Foucault's studies. Accordingly, formation and development of diasporas, their current position as 'groups of empowerment' and the importance given to them are parts of governmentality technologies exercised over these groups and they have not been fixed structures.

The situation of the migrants within the political and state rationality has changed over time. As it is valid in Foucauldian discussion, this change of attributed meanings and implied attitudes towards the same phenomenon shows that the concepts have a changeable and dynamic structure open to different interpretation rather than having fixed meanings and cause-effect relation. Diasporic individuals have been alternatively called 'traitors' and 'national heroes' in different periods. Thus, the nominalist approach suits to this situation quite well and also the shifts and developments in terms of institutional bonds with the diaspora of the Mexican state can be examined within the context of governmentality concept of Michel Foucault. The relation between Mexican state and its diaspora in the United States have been changing with the effect of political and economic factors for a long time and its current shape depends on this long-going process of transformations. The relation is still not fixed today either, as Foucault argues, governing is an

ongoing and never-ending effort and this point applies to Mexican case as well. The relation and governing strategies have been changing for decades and it is not fixed today as well. As new technologies of power will be invented and new meanings attributed to the diaspora, governing of Mexican diaspora will be changing. This is not a finished process or effort. Just as Foucault gives importance to historical changes and practices not the fixed norms, power and governing are not fixed either. These concepts and social contexts change as well. All these concepts and contexts focus on the subjectified migrant population in order to conduct their conducts.

The term 'diaspora strategies' is used by Foucauldian scholars and has been used in this thesis on purpose. "States are creating economic, political and social mechanisms that enable migrants to participate in the national development process over the long term and from afar" (Levitt & Dehesa, 2003, p.3). Foucault makes analytics of power and argues that power is everywhere, not only rested in police or the army. This notion also applies to power's accessibility to people not within the same physical conditions. Just as diasporas proved that leaving somewhere physically does not mean that leaving the ties completely and commitment is not bounded to physical conditions, governmentality strategies also showed that neither applying power nor governing a group is bounded to physical national borders.

Hence, governmentality perspective takes diaspora as a created population under the direction of a certain state rationality and state's policies and practices applied to the diaspora as governmental strategies to direct this created population. Population here does not imply the national relatedness of people but a targeted group of people shaped separately with an objective. This is a comprehensive understanding that considers the changes of positions under nominalist understanding and identity shaping process. Accordingly, governmental rationality is applied both individually and totally. Migrant population's identity is shaped through targeting both the migrant members individually and the migrant community totally. This is a part of the process of subjectification of the objects.

With this subjectification process, people govern themselves within the framework suggested by the government. By doing so, state govern the population through people's freedom without getting too much interference. And this is not a method or rationality restricted to the national borders. This governmental technology can be applied independently from physical restrictions. Within the scope of this technology, diasporas are governed at a distance through diaspora strategies. This perspective is more comprehensive since it is able to explain the changes, it includes both the benefits and the nationalist feelings into consideration and also it explains the 'how' side of both past and current policies.

This thesis interpreted Mexican experience in terms of diaspora relations with the governmentality perspective of French philosopher Michel Foucault. It is argued that, Mexican state did not re-discover its migrant community in the United States but instead, re-valued its diaspora according to the changing governmental rationality. This thesis does not deny agency to diaspora, but the main concern here is the diaspora-homeland state relation. It is argued that; there has been a state rationality behind the turn of the Mexican state towards its diaspora in the United States and this rationality is explainable from governmentality perspective. As been studied, there are many institutions for Mexican diaspora and these institutions, programs established beneath them, mechanisms, discourses etc. target each different part within the Mexican diaspora.

There are big institutions working for the diaspora such as Institute of Mexicans Abroad, Mexican Consulate Services, U.S.-Mexico Foundation. Along with these institutions and within the scope of them, many programs have been established such as 3x1 Program (remittance gathering program), Bienvenido Paisano Program (worker welcoming program), Ventanilla de Salud (health windows program), Plaza Comunitaria (literacy program), Dreamers without Borders Program (homeland visitation program), Binational Leaders Network (business relation program), Mujeres en STEM (women empowerment program) and many others. As been mentioned, all these programs target a different proportion of the Mexican diaspora and in the big picture, this population is being governed both

individually and as a group. These mechanisms target the Mexican youth, elderly, businessmen, women, children, illiterates, workers, retirees so and so on.

The governmental rationality behind these diverse programs is to penetrate into every sphere of the diaspora and govern this population both individually and as a group. Mexican state has been subjectifying its diaspora and applying bio-politics practices and by doing so abolishes physical restrictions above governing. The ultimate reach of these programs and mechanisms is to have an obedient and efficient group abroad and to help this group reach its optimum point. This rationality has not developed or emerge all of a sudden; but there have been many events and steps leading to this point.

In order to give a firm rooting idea about governmentalization of Mexican diaspora, the first chapter of the thesis have focused on the very basis of the story; Mexican history. Mexico has a deep-rooted history as being an inheritor of biggest and first civilizations of the world. Due to this long history, the country has also witnessed many occupations, wars and political disturbances. This complex and unbalanced historical past had led to troubles in structuring the democratic administration in the country. There have been many domestic disturbances in Mexico which led to migration and also effected the position of the migrant community abroad. In order to show this effect, periodization was made which links important historical events with the migration tendency of Mexican citizens to the United States.

The second chapter has focused on the communal structure of the Mexican migrants and mentioned the institutions, diaspora communities, networks established as part of the diaspora and practices applied towards the migrants. There are many institutions and programs in the United States established with interest or help of Mexican home state.

Although these programs and practices focus on many different fields, there are two common points in all of them; they all bring Mexican diaspora together with the homeland Mexico and empower the Mexicans in the United States. At this

point, the third and the last chapter of this thesis explains the Foucauldian point of view and how these institutions and practices applied are apparatuses to create a population and govern the population abroad at a distance. As been argued, these policies have started as population creation and identity shaping processes, lasted as creating an obedient migrant population abroad, came to the point of control and monitor the diaspora. Over time, Mexican state established and developed many institutions and mechanisms targeting its diaspora in the United States. Together with this, Mexican people who are creating this diaspora population are voluntarily involving in these mechanisms and institutions.

Within this structure; Mexican individuals consisting the diaspora are being subjectified. This subjectification has two sides; they are being subjectified by the state since they are controlled in these mechanisms and they are also self-subjectifying themselves since they are voluntarily involving and they are feeling empowered and good by participating. Within this circle. Diaspora population is being governed and self-governed both as a group and as individuals.

At the current situation, the diaspora is not only seen as an obedient and controlled population but the focus is now to increase position and qualifications of this population and reach it to the optimum level. This aim of reaching to the optimum society is an important emphasis of Foucault's analytics of power and current governmental rationality of the Mexican state. What the thesis argued was that this rationality has been governing the Mexican diaspora in the United States at a distance as a governmental strategy. This thesis supported its argument about governmentalization of the Mexican diaspora living in the United States by examining Mexican history, looking into the structure of the diaspora and using Foucauldian thinking.

By integrating the governmentality framework to the Mexican case, this thesis offers that; the policies and practices that came after the neo-liberal turn in Mexico are governmental strategies aimed to direct the choices and positions of Mexican population living in the United States at a distance. Mexican migrant population in

the U.S. have been treated in many different ways as been explained throughout the thesis. The current position that comes from the neo-liberalization wave has shaped and targeted these migrants as a 'population'. Especially the economic liberalization wave coming after 1982 Debt Crisis had effected the affair between Mexican state and Mexican migrants in the United States positively and shaped the current dynamic. The neo-liberal structure has created a convergence between the state and the people and led to the development of diaspora strategies for Mexican people. As mentioned, there are many diaspora strategies applied to Mexican migrant population living in the United States and there are different techniques involved. Under the position of the second decade of the 21st century, Mexican migrant population in the United States is being excluded from the population, they are losing their position as 'friends' 'patriots' and 'Mexican-Americans' who are part of the society under the influence of the rise of right-wing. However, whatever the reason and explanation comes behind the usage of this term, what interests us in scope of this thesis is that; a new term is being used now and the change continues. New techniques are being discovered and implied and of course and the diaspora is evolving too. This is an ever changing dynamic which cannot be bounded to one frame and although these are relatively long processes, it is important to examine the changes.

There are some points that this thesis comes short. This thesis does not deny the nationalist bonds of Mexican people and the state as considered in the ethnic framework nor does it argue that there are not any political or economic benefits of the Mexican state from its diaspora as argued by instrumental – structural framework. These positions are not denied but it is argued that governmentality framework is a better position in explaining the changes of positions towards the Mexican diaspora discourse and it is more suitable to the current policies and practices applied to Mexican diaspora. Although Mexican migration and Mexican diaspora have been studied widely in the literature, there are not studies examining this phenomenon through a Foucauldian glass. The main objective here is to provide a source to contribute to this gap in the literature. Hopefully, this can be a valuable source for future resources that combine diaspora relations and

Foucauldian governmentality perspective. Main concern was not to establish a causality relation in the thesis. Hence, this study does not put forward why there have been those shifts in the attitudes and policies of the Mexican state. Nor it does argue that ‘this is the reason why the Mexican state is giving the current value to its diaspora’. Perhaps other approaches are better suitable for causality concerns since the instrumental approach gives the answer as political and economic benefits or ethnic framework as nationalist feelings of the people is the cause of state’s developed interest in its diaspora. Looking at the reason, answering ‘why the state is interested in the diaspora’ has not been the concern in this thesis. This thesis aims to explain the ‘how’ side of the changes and the shape of position of Mexican state and its diaspora in the United States.

During the preparation process, language barrier has been a restrictive factor especially during the research process of the thesis. There are many resources in the literature written and studied in Spanish and there are many explanatory websites designed in Spanish. Thus, language has been a restrictive factor and a native speaker of Spanish might make a more detailed research by using Spanish resources in the literature. Along with the language problem, a site based research in the United States including active participants of Mexican diaspora and participants of diaspora institution programs might give a more dynamic result for the same purpose.

For the future research, governmentality perspective can be applied to current practices of states and other instruments related to the state. There are many new studies in academia that adopt Foucauldian perspective to security issues, mobility, green movement or social media. Within the scope of the diaspora relations; governmentality framework can be used also for a comparative study of diaspora relations for future interests. There are many diasporas all over the world and governmentality perspective can be applied to examination of all of them. Nevertheless, there is a gap in the literature in terms of comparative research that uses Foucauldian understanding and applying his analytics to modern construction.

Further researches may focus on this gap and contribute to the literature by making comparative researches.

For instance, roots of Turkish diaspora in Germany and Mexican diaspora in the United States are quite similar in their fundamental structures. Both of these communities migrated temporarily mainly for economic reasons and the receiving states accepted these migrants as cheap labor power. Sending states and receiving states both made agreements to regulate the migrant flow but the tendency of these people proved the state planning wrong when they settled and established a communal network for incoming migrant relatives and friends. While the networks grew bigger and bigger, importance of these diasporas have grown also. Both groups in time have faced with exclusionary reactions from the receiving societies they migrated into and under today's construction, both diasporas are facing with similar reactions once more. Also, both the Mexican and Turkish diasporas have resisted to assimilation and pressure of the receiving societies. Along with these structural similarities, a comparative analysis can be made by putting the similarities at the basis and examining the state approaches and comparing the policies and rationalities of Mexican and Turkish states. By conducting a multisite research focusing on regions with high migrant population both in United States and Germany, a comparison can be made whether same technologies are conducted to these diasporas or not, or whether Mexican and Turkish states' rationalities behind these policies are similar or not. In addition to comparative research, surveys and on-site researches with active participants can be made in order to illuminate and examine the conditions and lifestyles of the migrants and positions of diasporas.

Apart from a comparative study, an inner study can be conducted about the biopolitics of the governmentality issue of the Mexican diaspora. There are many surveys about the Mexican diaspora conducted by the Mexican state which looks at very detailed and various signifiers of this population. There are many statistical data and surveys about gender and age distribution of these migrants, statistical distribution of their hometowns of Mexico, age of departure from Mexico,

educational levels, former and current occupation of the migrants, whether they were born in a town, city or a village and percentage distribution so on and so forth. These are all parts of information gathering processes which is under the topic of biopolitics. By gathering this detailed information, state has the knowledge hence the power over the bodies of the migrant population. This is also a part of governmental rationality since gaining knowledge and hence power makes governing easier and more efficient. Although this thesis did not focus on biopolitics and biopower, this can be another point of investigation and a future research about the biopolitical discourses of Mexican state upon its diaspora in the United States of America can be conducted.

Although the point of focus has been the state policies and governmental rationality in this thesis, there is another side worth studying. The place and importance of non-governmental organizations for diaspora relations and other than that the agency of the diaspora are also vague and central topics. In accordance with our focus, there are central non-governmental organizations working with and for migrants within the structure of Mexican diaspora, their objective and function is also about improving the conditions and place of Mexican migrant population in the United States. For instance; Consejo de Federaciones Mexicanas / Council of Mexican Confederations in North America (COFEM) and Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) are only two of the non-governmental organizations which work for the matters of immigration, scholarships, health advocacy, civic participation, education and civic rights of the Mexican immigrants. These organizations also aim at empowering the immigrant community by supporting them in many different ways. Non-governmental organizations also have had an important place in the development of Mexican diaspora in the United States of America, their objective to achieve a better more qualified migrant community and statistical data gathered and used for reaching out to this community are other reflections of governmentality and biopolitical implementations. Hence, NGOs can be another topic for further future studies within Mexican diaspora and governmentality framework. Also, agency of the Mexican diaspora throughout the long-going

historical changes especially during the period of Chicano Movement can be examined in another study.

This thesis tried to make a contribution to the literature upon the subject of examination of the Mexican diaspora in the United States from a Foucauldian analysis. Further researches can expand this endeavor by making comparative researches and on the site researches. Also, new dynamics about this community and new contexts produced, or the role of media in the formation and development of diaspora can be examined. As mentioned in the forth section of this thesis, migration trend from Mexico to the United States is in descend in the 21st century and this downfall will bring new positions on both sides. A new study can be conducted about the negative migration trend from Mexico to the United States of America since this is a new tendency and this will have different effects on the deep-rooted Mexican diaspora in the United States.

In addition, as this thesis examined, power and governing are not restricted to borders, this is something above physical conditions. Mexico's approach to its diaspora in the United States and the policies implied on them clearly shows that states can govern beyond borders. This is the side of the Mexican state but there is also another side of the same issue. At the other side of the medallion, United States of America also conducts some policies to the same Mexican diaspora population and this shows that 'governing beyond citizenship' is also possible. Both American and Mexican states see the same group of people as different populations and attribute different meanings to it. As Mexican state governs this population beyond its borders, American state governs the population within its borders beyond citizenship. Hence, this can be another topic to be studied and contributed to the literature.

All in all, this thesis tried to contribute to the literature by examining the governmental rationality of Mexican state towards its diaspora in the United States by looking from governmentality perspective developed by French philosopher Michel Foucault. Of course, there are some points that this thesis comes short and

there are many other areas that governmentality approach can be applied to. As Michel Foucault implied throughout his academic endeavor; there are many perspectives to look at a phenomenon and it is important to consider other sides and angles. Power is everywhere and it is embedded in every relation, it is important to see this circle of power.

...It's my hypothesis that the individual is not a pre-given entity which is seized on by the exercise of power. The individual, with his identity and characteristics, is the product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces (Foucault, 1980b, p.74)

This also should not be forgotten: "Where there is power, there is resistance" (Foucault, 1990, p.95).

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Bu tezin amacı, Uluslararası İlişkiler literatrnde eřitli alıřmaları mevcut olan diaspora alıřmalarına; Amerika Birleřik Devletlerinde bulunan Meksika diasporası vakasını ele alarak Foucaultcu ynetimsellik bakıř aısını bu vakaya uyarlamaktır. Literatrde hem diaspora kavramı hem de Fransız dřnr Michel Foucault'nun (1926-1984) ynetimsellik kavramı pek ok akademisyen tarafından pek ok konu zerine uzun sredir alıřılıyor olsa da, bu ikisini bir araya getiren alıřma sayısı sınırlıdır. Bu tez ise, bu bořluęu doldurmaya Meksika diasporası vakasını ele alarak katkıda bulunmaya alıřmaktadır. Meksika diasporasının seilmesinin birden fazla sebebi bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan bařta gelenleri ABD'ye ynelik Meksikalı gnn neredeyse iki asır geriye uzanan kkl tarihi ve gnmz resmine bakınca bu toplumun ABD nfusunda gz ardı edilemeyecek kadar byk bir yer kaplıyor olmasıdır. Ayrıca bu uzun tarihsel gemiř sresince sergilenen asimilasyon direnci, kendi kltrn ve dilini yeni gelinen topluma ařılama bařarısı ve diaspora-devlet iliřkilerindeki dramatik deęiřimler ve dinamizm de bu tezde bu vakanın seilmesinin nemli sebepleri olmuřtur. Bu baęlamda, yalnızca Meksika devletinin uyguladıęı politikalara ve kurduęu kurum ve programlara bakılarak ynetimin sınırlara baęlı olmadığı, sınırlar tesi ynetimin mmkn ve gerek olduęu, kurulan ve yerleřen sınır-tesi iktidar iliřkileriyle insanların bir sre sonra kendilerini ynetmeye bařladıkları Meksika vakası incelenerek iddia edilmiřtir.

Diaspora kelimesi Antik Yunandan bu yana kullanılmakta olsa da gnmzde kullanım alanı ve kavramın nemi giderek artmaktadır. Uzun zaman boyunca sadece Ermeni ve Yahudi diasporası gndemde olduysa da, gnmzde pek ok diaspora hakkında eřitli alıřmalar yrtlmekte. Gnmzde baktıęımızda

Afrika diasporası, Orta Asya ve Avrupa'daki Türk diasporası, Latin diasporası gibi çeşitli vakalar sıklıkla incelenmektedir. Amerika Birleşik Devletlerinde uzun zamandır bulunan Meksika diasporası da bu kapsamda incelenebilecek ve önemli yere sahip vakalardan biri konumundadır.

Diaspora literatüründe temel olarak iki bakış açısı ele alınmaktadır. Bunlardan ilki diasporayı anavatanın araç olarak kullandığını öne süren yapısalci yaklaşımdır. Yapısalci yaklaşıma göre devletler diasporalarını siyasi, ekonomik ve diplomatik faydaları için kullanmatadırlar ve bu yüzden diasporalarıyla ilişkilendirirler. Yalnızca fayda-zarar analizi açısından durumu inceleyen bu yaklaşım pek çok açıdan eksik kalmaktadır. Öncelikli olarak yapısalci yaklaşım değişimi göz önüne almaz; diasporalara, devlet ve toplumlara ve hepsinin arasındaki ilişkiye sabit şekilde yaklaşır ve değişim momentini açıklamaz. Ayrıca bu yaklaşım diasporalarıyla ilişki kurmayan devletleri açıklamadığı gibi diasporasından fayda sağlamayan ama bu ilişki için önemli ölçüde kaynak kullanan devletleri de açıklamakta eksik kalır. İnsanlar ve topluluklar arasındaki vatandaşlık, sosyal bağ, memleket vb. ilişkileri göz ardı eden yapısalci yaklaşım, bu bağlamlarda diaspora çalışmalarında genel ve kapsamlı bir analiz sağlamak açısından eksik kalmaktadır.

İkincil bir yaklaşım olarak etnik yaklaşım öne çıkmaktadır. Etnik yaklaşım daha sosyoloji temellidir ve merkezine aldığı olgu, küreselleşmenin etkisiyle diasporaların önem kazanmış olmasıdır. Etnik yaklaşım küreselleşme ile birlikte insanların vatani duygularının, memleket kavramının öneminin, milliyetçi duyguların kabardığını öne sürerek dolayısıyla diasporaların önem kazandığını iddia etmektedir. Fakat bu yaklaşım da birçok yönden eleştiriye açıktır. Öncelikle etnik yaklaşım diasporaların rolünü ve pozisyonunu açıklamaz. Küreselleşme öncesinde kurulan güçlü diaspora ilişkilerini açıklamakta eksik kalır. Diasporaların pasif kaldığı bu çerçevede, etnik kimliğin de belirlenmiş ve sabit olarak kabul ediliyor olması da ayrı bir negatif faktördür. Kişilerin kimlikleri, kendilerini tanımlama şekilleri, kendi etnik tanımları bir kalıba uymak zorunda değildir ve bu tanımlar zaman içerisinde de değişiklik gösterebilir. Dolayısıyla,

etnik yaklaşım diaspora çalışmalarında faydalı olsa da bu bakış açısının literatüre kapsamlı ve açıklayıcı bir çerçeve sunduğunu söylenemez.

Bu çerçevede getirilebilecek bir diğer bakış açısı ise, Fransız düşünür Michel Foucault'nun 1977-1978 Colleague de France derslerinde ortaya koyduğu yönetimsellik kavramıdır. Yönetimsellik yani davranışın yönlendirilmesi kavramını diaspora konusu bağlamında düşündüğümüz zaman, Foucault'nun da iddiaları doğrultusunda yönetimin sınırlara bağlı olmadığı, devletin dolaylı yollarla sınırları ötesindeki vatandaşlarının davranışlarını yönlendirebileceği iddia edilebilir. Tüm bunlar göz önüne alındığında, yönetimsellik bakış açısının diasporaya hem aktif bir rol tanımlama açısından, hem diaspora-devlet ilişkilerinin değişkenliğini içinde barındırması açısından hem de toplumsal bağlar ile fayda hesaplarını birden içinde bulundurması açısından daha kapsamlı bir çerçeve sunduğu iddia edilebilir. Bu çerçeve doğrultusunda bu tez Meksika diasporası ile Meksika devleti arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemek için Foucaultcu yönetimsellik bakış açısını kendine temel olarak seçmiştir. Foucault iktidar ilişkileri, yönetimsellik ve nesneleşerek özneleşme kavramları kapsamında temel olarak kendiliğinden kabul edilen normları yeniden incelemekte ve bu kabullere eleştirel bir yaklaşım getirmektedir. Foucault anlatılırken düşünür, tarihçi, siyaset bilimci, postmodern vs. gibi pek çok kelimeyle tanımlanmakta olsa da, Foucault'yu bir kalıba sokmadan çalışmalarını okumak faydalı olacaktır.

Foucault'nun temel odağı öznedir ve özne ile iktidar ilişkisini inceler. Kendisinin ortaya koyduğu ana mesele günümüzde temel kabul edilen kavramları irdelemesi, iktidar ilişkilerini her yerde, her alanda ve her ilişkide tanımlamasıdır. Foucault'ya göre iktidar her yerdedir; iktidar devletin elinde merkezileşmiş değildir, dağılmış ve her alanda bulunabilir şekildedir. Aksine, iktidar ilişkileri her yerde, bir baba ile kızın ilişkisinde, romantik ilişkide eşler arasında, patron ile çalışan arasında, arkadaşlar arasında yani her türlü ilişkide bulunabilir. Tarih boyunca iktidar ilişkilerindeki özgürlük dengesi farklılık göstermiş ve ilişkileri tanımlamıştır. Egemen iktidarda merkezde toplanan mutlak bir iktidar vardır ve kral tebaası üzerine mutlak iktidar uygular ve tebaanın çok kısıtlı bir özgürlük alanı bulunur.

18. – 19. Yyda ortaya çıkan disipliner iktidarda özgürlük alanı artmıştır ve iktidar kurumlar aracılığıyla daha geniş bir çerçevede topluma nüfuz eder. Okullar, askeriye, akıl hastaneleri, hapishaneler gibi kurumlar aracılığı ile insanların belli bir şekilde belli kalıplar içerisinde hareket etmeleri sağlanarak uygulanır. Burada özgürlük alanı daha geniş olsa da insanlar belli kalıplara sokularak ‘normal’ hale getirilir. Yönetimsellik ise neo-liberal zamanda gelmiş olup nüfusun yönetilebilir, verimli bir varlık olarak keşfedilmesiyle ortaya çıkmıştır. Yönetimsellikteki iktidar ilişkisinde insanlar kurulmuş olan mekanizmalara kendi istekleriyle, belli bir zorlama veya itme olmadan katılırlar, bu katılım çerçevesinde öznelardır ama aynı zamanda nesnelardır ve mekanizmalara gönüllü şekilde katılarak o mekanizmaları farkında olmadan yeniden üretirler. Bu iktidar ekonomik bir yönetim şeklidir ve devlet rasyonalitesinin bir sonucudur. Foucault yönetimselliği en temel ve basit haliyle davranışın yönlendirilmesi (conduct of conduct) şeklinde tanımlar. Bu çerçevede iktidarın en büyük kaynağı bilgidir. Foucault bilgi ile iktidar arasında doğrudan bir ilişki kurar. Bu doğrultuda, daha çok iktidara sahip olmak için daha çok bilgi sahibi olmak gerekir ve dolayısıyla yönetimsellik çerçevesindeki iktidar ilişkileri bilgiye dayanır. Bu sebepten ötürü de devlet yönettiği nüfus hakkında biyo-iktidar yürütme amacıyla nüfus sayımları, istatistik çalışmaları, doğum-ölüm oranları, sağlık bildireleri gibi çeşitli araştırma ve veri toplama yollarıyla daha çok bilgi edinmeye çalışır. Bu da bedenler üzerinden geniş bir kitleye iktidar uygulanmasını sağlar. Bu bağlamda toplumdaki kişilerin de bu politikalara dahil olması, örneğin devletin kampanyaları aracılığıyla kişinin sigarayı bırakması bu devlet aklına dahil olup gönüllü bir şekilde davranışının yönlendirilmiş olması, nesneleştirilerek özne olması ve bu mekanizmayı yeniden üretmesi demektir.

Foucaultcu çerçeve ana hatlarıyla iktidar-yönetimsellik-özne çerçevesinde bu şekilde özetlenebilir ve bu kavramları ve bu bakış açısını birçok alana uygulanması mümkündür. Hali hazırda yönetimsellik alanında ve Foucault’nun diğer kavramlarıyla ilgili ve bu kavramları birçok alana uygulayan çokça çeşitli çalışmalar bulunmaktadır. Devlet çalışmaları, göç, iklim değişikliği, ulaşım, cinsiyet çalışmaları gibi çeşitli alanlara uygulanan yönetimsellik kavramı insanların tercihlerini özgürlükler üzerinden dolaylı yolla yönlendirmek hakkında

olduğu için bu konu göçmen toplumlar ve diaspora çalışmaları, diaspora politikaları alanına uygulamak için e oldukça uygundur. Bu tezin kapsamı doğrultusunda bu kavram ve bakış açısı; Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde uzun süredir bulunan Meksika diasporasına Meksika devleti tarafından uygulanan politikalar doğrultusunda, Meksika devletinin ABD'de kurduğu mekanizmalar, kurumlar, uygulamalar aracılığıyla diasporanın kendini yönetmesi incelenerek uygulanmaktadır.

Çok kültürlü bir devlet olan A.B.D. 327,757,121 kişilik kalabalık nüfusuyla bünyesinde 72 farklı etnik kökeni barındırmakta (U.S. Sensus Bureau, 2018). Meksika kökenli göçmenler ise 35,7 milyon nüfusla bu yapıda önemli bir yer kaplıyor (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017) ve bu da Meksika asıllı göçmenleri önemli bir konumda tutuyor. Neredeyse iki asırlık geçmişi bulunan, 1848 yılında Guadalupe Hidalgo anlaşması ile başlayan ve o tarihten itibaren sürekli bir şekilde devam eden Meksika göçü hem A.B.D. açısından hem Meksika devleti açısından hem de iki ülkedeki toplumlar açısından çok önemli bir konumda bulunuyor.

Bu derin kökenli, neredeyse iki asırlık Meksika-Amerika göçü kavramına Meksika devletinin göçmenleri ile ilişkisi açısından baktığımız zaman tüm bu tarih boyunca sabit devam eden, belirli bir çerçevede bir ilişki bulunmadığı göze çarpıyor. Meksika devletinin ABD'ye göç eden nüfusuyla ilişkisi Meksika'da yaşanan siyasi olaylar, ülkedeki politik çerçeve, ülkenin ekonomik durumu ve ABD ile politik ilişkilerinin değişkenliğinin de etkisiyle sürekli olarak dinamik bir yapı sergiliyor. Meksika'dan Amerika'ya yönelik göç kavramı Guadalupe Hidalgo anlaşması ile 1848 yılında ilk başladığı zamanlarda Meksika devletinin göçmen nüfusuyla ilişkisi sosyal alan çerçevesinde başladı. Devlet diasporayla cenaze yardımları, eğitim fonları, sağlık yardımları ile sosyal ve temel alanlarda ilişki kurmaya başladı. 1910 Meksika Devrimi'nin etkisi ile devlet-diaspora ilişkisi olumsuz bir yöne doğru gitti. Devrim döneminde ülkedeki karışıklıklarda destek olması amacıyla Meksika devleti 'vatanın oğulları' diyerek tanımladığı göçmenleri ülkeye ihtiyaç anında geri çağırdı fakat göçmen toplum geri dönmedi ve kendi içlerinde örgütlenerek uzaktan da olsa devrimci tarafa maddi yardımlar ile destek verdi. Bu

durumda devlet önce ‘vatanın oğulları’ diyerek geri çağırdığı bu topluluğu vatan haini ilan etti ve devlet-diyaspora ilişkisi 1910-1920 döneminde kötü bir hal aldı. 1920ler ile 1930lar arasında hain kavramı terkedilmeye başladıysa da göçe yönelik tavır yine olumsuz haldeydi. Bu döneme Meksikalılık söylemleri yaygınlaştı ve devlet Amerika’ya göçün aslında çok iyi bir şey olmadığını, oradaki göçmenleri sorunlar yaşadığını göstermeye çalışarak vatandaşlarını ABD’ye göç etmekten vazgeçirmeye çalıştı. Meksikalılık propagandalarının yapıldığı bu dönemde göçmen sorunları bir yandan dinlenerek konsolosluklar aracılığı ile diaspora toplumu ile bağ kuruldu. 1940lar Meksika devleti-diyaspora için bir dönüm noktası oldu denilebilir. 1940lara geldiğimizde İkinci Dünya Savaşı ve Büyük Buhran’ın yıkıcı etkileri doğrultusunda Amerika Birleşik Devletleri’nde büyük bir işçi ihtiyacı doğdu. Özellikle tarım ve altyapı çalışmalarında ucuz işçiye yönelik ortaya çıkan bu ihtiyacı kapatabilecek en büyük kaynak güney komşusu Meksika oldu. Aynı süreçte ekonomik ve siyasi sıkıntılar ile mücadele eden Meksika’da yüksek işsizlik oranları dolayısıyla bu işçi ihtiyacında göç etmek isteyen binlerce Meksikalı oldu. Aynı zamanda bu dönem Meksika’nın ABD karşısında pazarlık gücü kazandığı ve sadece uygulanan politikalara cevap verip yerine getiren devlet halinden kendi politikası olan bir devlet haline gelmesini sağlayan bir dönem oldu.

Bracero Anlaşması 1940ların başında imzalandı ve binlerce Meksikalı ABD’ye işçi ihtiyacını karşılamak için geçici süreliğine göç etti. Fakat geçici olması planlanan bu göç, binlerce Meksikalı’nın ABD’ye yerleşerek ülkelerine geri dönmemeleri sonucunda kalıcı hale geldi ve beraberinde toplumsal sorunları getirdi. Bunlara paralel olarak, yasal yollarla gelen Meksikalıların yanı sıra pek çok düzensiz göçmen de bu dönemde ABD topraklarına girdi. Düzenli göçmenlerle düzensiz göçmenler toplandığında hatırı sayılır sayılara ulaşan Meksikalı göçmenler özellikle yoğunlukta bulundukları Teksas ve California eyaletlerinde Amerikan halkı için işsizlik nedeniyle sorun oluşturmaya başladı ve toplum içerisinde dışlanma problemleriyle karşılaştılar. Bu dışlanmanın sonucunda 1920-1930lardan gelen Meksikalılık politikalarının da etkisiyle Amerika’da bulunan Meksikalı göçmenler kimliklerini benimseyerek bir araya geldiler ve Chicano Hareketi’ni başlattılar. Bu hareketi yönlendiren diaspora elitleri ayrı bir

çalışma konusu olabilecek olsa da bu tez kapsamında bu konuya değinilmemiştir. Chicano Hareketi ile kimliğini benimseyen ve savunan Meksika diasporası bu tarihten sonra daha güçlü hale gelmiştir. 1980li yıllara gelindiğinde Meksika ekonomisinin bunca zamandır süregelen kapalı yapısından çıkıp liberalleşmesinin de etkisiyle Meksika devleti diasporasıyla ilişkilerini daha köklü bir yere taşımaya başlamıştır. 1980lerden itibaren diasporayla ilişkinin sadece sosyal alanda kalmadığını, devletin diasporasına olan güvenini yeniden kazandığını ve siyasi kampanyalarda diasporanın da bir hedef kitlesi haline geldiğini görebiliriz. 1990lara gelindiğinde ise diaspora ilişkilerinin kurumsallaştığını, Meksika devleti tarafından pek çok kurumun, bu kurumlar altında çeşitli programların, konsolosluk programları sunulduğunu ve ilişkinin daha köklü, diaspora topluluğunun daha çok kısmına hitap ettiğini görüyoruz. 21. Yüzyıla geldiğimizde ise; 9 Eylül saldırılarından sonra kırılan ve azalmaya başlayan göç dalgası Meksikalı nüfusunun artışına olumsuz etki etse bile diaspora ilişkileri gelişerek devam etmektedir ve günümüzdeki duruma baktığımızda farklı bir seviyeye geçildiği görülmektedir. Günümüz durumunda, hali hazırda kurulmuş ve oturmuş mekanizmalar, kurumlar ve programların çeşitliliği ve nüfusa etki alanı artmakta, diaspora nüfusu bu programlara devamlı biçimde katılmakta, katıldıkça da bu mekanizmaları yeniden üretmektedir. Bu mekanizma ve programlarla diaspora toplumunun entelektüel seviyesi, okuma yazma oranı, sağlık durumları, ekonomik düzeyleri daha yukarı seviyeye çıkarılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Bu mekanizmaların uzun zamandır işliyor olması sayesinde, diaspora topluluğu gönüllü katılımı benimsemiş, programları ve bu programdaki öğretileri içselleştirmişlerdir. Meksika devleti bu programlar ve kurumlar aracılığıyla diaspora toplumunun tercihlerini yönlendirmekte, bu topluluk üzerinde dolaylı yollarla iktidar uygulamakta ve daha verimli ve yönlendirilebilir bir topluluk elde etmektedir.

Foucault'nun özneleştirme diye adlandırdığı kavram Meksika diasporası üzerinden de takip edilebilir ve Meksika diasporasının yönetimselliğinin anlaşılmasında faydalı olacaktır. Foucault'ya göre yönetimselliğe dahil olan kitle üç aşama aracılığı ile nesneleştirilerek özneleştirilir. Bu özne-nesne ilişkisi karmaşası Fransızca'da süje kelimesinin hem aktif hem pasif kullanımı

olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Temel olarak aktarmak gerekirse, kiři ortaya konulan bir politikaya veya programa dâhil olduđu zaman katılım sağlayarak kendine uygulanan bu olayı yeniden üretir konumda olduđu ve bu uygulamaya tabii olduđu için hem özne hem nesne konumundadır. Öznelleştirmeye kitlesel açıdan bakarsak öne sürülen üç aşamayı takip edebiliriz. Öncelikle bir kitle benzer yönleri ve farklılıkları açısından incelenerek kendi içinde bir araya getirilir ve geri kalan kesimden ayrıştırılır. Böylece bir grup, bir toplum, bir hedef kitle oluşturulmuş olur. Bu uygulama diasporaların oluşumunda da takip edilebilir. Meksika diasporası Amerika'daki Meksikalıların anavatan ortaklığı ve kültürel ortaklık üzerinden bir araya getirilip farklılıkları üzerinden geri kalan toplumdan ayrıştırılmasıyla oluşturulmuştur. İkincil olarak bilimsel veri toplama yoluyla oluşturulan bu topluluk üzerinde bilgi sahibi olunur ve Foucaultcu yaklaşımın öne sürdüğü üzere bilgi, iktidar getirir. Meksika diasporası hakkında yürütülen nüfus çalışmaları, diaspora üyelerinin eğitim durumu araştırmaları, sağlık grafikleri, alışkanlık istatistikleri bu aşamaya örnek verilebilir. Son aşamada ise bu oluşturulan grup özneleştirilir ve hem kitlesel bazda hem de bireysel üyeler bazında yönetilebilir bir hal alır ve en nihayetinde bir müdahale gerekmeden kendisini özneleştirir. Meksika diasporasının önceden kurulmuş mekanizmalara dahil olarak ortaya konulmuş politikalara uyması, kimliklerini benimseyerek bu söylemleri yeniden yaratmaları ve daha iyi bir topluluk haline gelme istek ve çabaları kendini özneleştirme kavramını desteklemektedir.

Foucaultcu öğretinin de vurguladığı ve bu vakadan da okunabileceği üzere, iktidar ilişkileri ve yönetim Meksika diasporası ile Meksika devleti vakasında da görülebildiği gibi sınırlara bağlı değildir. Sınırlar ötesi yönetim de bir yönetim teknolojisi ve stratejisi olarak uygulanabilmekte, burada da görüldüğü gibi topluluk vatan sınırları dışında olsa bile davranışları yönlendirilebilmektedir. Meksika devletinin kurduğu kurumlar ve programlar içinde dikkat çekici ve iktidarın oluşturulan diaspora toplumunun her alanına nüfuz ettiğini gösteren belli başlı programlardan bahsetmek konunun daha somut örnekler ile gösterilmesini sağlayabilir.

Diyaspora-anavatan ilişkisi denilince akla ilk gelen ekonomik fayda üzerinden başlayacak olursak Meksika devletinin 1x1 olarak uygulamaya başladığı, zaman içinde 2x1 ve günümüzde 3x1 halini alan Döviz Programı incelenebilir. Bu program ile ABD’de bulunan Meksikalı göçmenlerin bağışladıkları her 1 dolara karşılık Meksika devleti 3 dolar bağışlamakta ve Meksika’da okul yapımı, yol ve elektrik idaresi gibi toplumsal giderlere katkı sağlanmaktadır. Bu programın Foucaultcu açıdan ve bu tez açısından önemi ise bu programa katkıda bulunarak Meksika asıllı göçmenlerin uzakta olsalar bile anavatana katkıda bulunduklarını hissetmeleri, hiç görmemiş olsalar dahi anavatan ile bağlarının güçlendirilmesidir.

‘Bu Benim Meksikam’ adlı program ile Meksika diasporasındaki çocuklar hedeflenmektedir. Bu program ile hiç ziyaret etmemiş ve bulunmamış olsalar bile, Meksika asıllı çocuklardan hayallerindeki Meksikayı anlatmaları, resmetmeleri istenilmekte ve bunun hakkına yarışma yapılmaktadır. Bu programın özelliği anavatan ile bağın çocuk yaştan itibaren sağlanıyor olması, bir Meksika ideali yaratılıyor ve asimilasyona karşı bağların güçlendiriliyor olmasıdır.

Meksika diaspora toplumunun gelişmesini, daha iyi bir konuma gelmesini sağlayan programlar arasında Ventanilla de Salud yani Sağlık Pencereleri adı verilen program dâhilinde Meksikalı göçmen topluluğunun sağlık gereksinimleri karşılanmakta ve saplık temalı eğitimler verilip sempozyumlar düzenlenmektedir. Bu programın amacı daha sağlıklı bir diaspora toplumuna ulaşmaktır. Eğitimde ilerlemeyi hedefleyen bir program ise Amerikadaki kütüphaneler bünyesinde kurulan okuma-yazma kursları ve dil kurslarıdır. Bu eğitimler aracılığıyla Meksika toplumunun Amerikan toplumunda yaşadığı dil sıkıntıları aşarak daha iyi bir yere gelmeleri gözetilmektedir. Sınırlar Ötesi Kültürel Program isimli program kapsamında Meksikalı göçmenlerce düzenlenen, yapılan veya Meksika diasporası, toplumu hakkında olan radyo programları, akademik aktiviteler, seminerler, yayınlar ve sergilerin tanıtımı yapılmakta Bu program kapsamında hem Meksika diasporasının entelektüel gelişimi ve ilerlemesi hedeflenmekte, hem de Meksika kimliği ve bağı güçlendirilmektedir.

1990lı yılların ardından daha önce değinilen kurumsallaşma çerçevesinde önemli bir yere sahip olan ‘Uluslararası Yurtdışındaki Meksikalılar’ enstitüsü Meksika diasporasının önemli bir yapıtaşı haline gelmiştir. Bu enstitü dahilinde de pek çok program bulunmaktadır. Enstitü sağlık sempozyumları düzenlemekte, özellikle Aids ve kanser konularında eğitimler vermekte, spor aktiviteleri düzenleyerek Meksika diasporasının hem spor anlamında gelişimini hem de sağlıklı bir yaşam düzenine sahip olmasını desteklemektedir. Aynı zamanda, bu enstitü altında bulunan bir diğer program ‘İki Uluslu Liderler Ağı’ programı Meksikalı göçmenlerin başarılarını göstermeyi hedefleyen ve Meksikalıların Amerikan ekonomisine sağladıkları katkıları gösteren, Amerikan ekonomisindeki yerlerinin önemini irdeleyen bir lobicilik faaliyetidir. Bu enstitü altındaki başka bir program olan ‘Küresel Kırmızı Meksikalılar’ programı gençlere yönelik olup Meksika asıllı gençlerin Amerika’daki atletizm ve spor dallarındaki başarılarını ödüllendirmekte, burslar ve madalyalar aracılığıyla bu alanlardaki yetenekli gençleri hedef grubu olarak almaktadır.

Direkt olarak Amerika’daki Meksika diasporasına yönelik kurulmuş olan Amerika-Meksika Kurumu kapsamında da diasporayı hem genel olarak hem de farklı kesimler aracılığıyla hedefleyen çeşitli programlar bulunmaktadır. 1000 Hayalci – 1000 Lider programı dâhilinde Meksikalı göçmenlerin işsizlik oranı düşürülmeye çalışılmaktadır. Bu program ile seçilen 1000 Hayal eden için birer lider atanmakta ve bu liderler gençlere internet üzerinden yol göstericilik yapmakta, iş dünyasıyla ilgili eğitimler ve tavsiyeler vermektedir. Bilim, Teknoloji, Mühendislik ve Matematikte Kadınlar isimli program altında Meksika diasporasındaki kadınların bu alanlara katılımı desteklenmekte ve ilerlemeleri amaçlanmaktadır. İngilizce Öğrenim Takip Programı ile Amerika’da yaşamakta olan fakar İngilizce bilmeyen Meksikalıların topluma katılımları arttırılmak amacıyla İngilizce eğitimleri düzenlenmekte ve gelişimleri takip edilmektedir. Meksikan Amerikan Liderlik Girişimi programı bünyesinde ise bu toplumun bir parçası olan ve iş dünyasında başarılı yerlere gelmiş Meksikalılar çeşitli etkinlikler aracılığıyla tanıtılarak Meksikalı topluluğa örnek olarak sunulmakta, bu şekilde

başarılı olmanın mümkün olduğu gösterilmekte ve daha başarılı bir topluma erişmek hedeflenmektedir.

Günümüzdeki çerçevede Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde bulunan Meksika diasporasına yönelik Meksika devleti yaklaşımı ve uygulamaları yukarıda sunulduğu üzere incelendiği zaman; Meksika devletinin şimdiki hedefinin diasporasını hem kitlesel hem bireysel temelde uzaktan yöneterek daha iyi bir yönetilebilir topluma ulaşmak olduğu söylenebilir. Meksika devleti bu politikalar ve mekanizmalar aracılığıyla daha sağlıklı, daha iyi eğitilmiş, iş dünyasında daha başarılı, daha entelektüel, maddi açıdan daha iyi yerlerde bir diaspora nüfusuna sahip olmaya çalışmaktadır. Diaspora nüfusu burada ayrı ve yönetilebilir bir kitle olarak görülmektedir.

Fransız düşünür Michel Foucault'nun yönetimsellik kavramı ile diaspora çalışmalarını bir araya getirmeye çalışan bu tez kapsamında, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde yaşayan Meksikalıların tarihsel değişimi, devlet ile aralarındaki ilişkinin göç tarihi boyunca dalgalanmaları, oluşturulan aracı mekanizma, program ve kurumlar ile birlikte ne durumda oldukları, bu politikalar ardındaki yönetim stratejileri ve diaspora toplumunun davranışlarının dolaylı yoldan yönlendirilip şekillendirilmesi incelenmiştir. Foucaultcu açıdan yaklaşılarak ortaya konulan temel iddia; bu vaka üzerinden de okunabileceği gibi, yönetimin ve iktidarın sınırlara bağlı olmadığı, sınırlar ötesi yönetimin de bir strateji ve teknoloji olarak kullanılabildiğidir. Foucault bakış açısının önerdiği üzere unutulmamalıdır ki iktidar her yerdedir ve sınırlar veyahut fiziksel bariyerler iktidar ilişkilerine engel değildir. Üzerlerine ayrı ayrı pek çok çalışma bulunan Foucaultcu yönetimsellik kavramı ve ABD'deki Meksika diasporası olgusunu bir araya getirme konusunda literatürde bulunan boşluğa bu tez kapsamında bir fayda sağlanmaya çalışılmıştır.

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