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# Era[c]ing Diversity: A Critical Rhetorical Approach to Race and the New Citizen

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ERA[C]ING DIVERSITY: A CRITICAL RHETORICAL APPROACH TO RACE AND THE NEW CITIZEN

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By

Theresa Louise Donovan

2011

*For my parents, Marion and Robert*

ERA[C]ING DIVERSITY: A CRITICAL RHETORICAL APPROACH TO RACE AND THE  
NEW CITIZEN

By

THERESA LOUISE DONOVAN, B.A, M.A.

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## ABSTRACT

*Era[c]ing Diversity* is guided by a broad question of inquiry regarding the formation and reformation of subjectivity through the filling out of “blank” forms such as the application for naturalization. This dissertation examines how the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service uses and distributes race, and how subjects participate in the social reproduction of the dominant ideology to create a society where individuals think: I am White; He/she is Black, or Asian, or Native American etc. *Era[c]ing Diversity* examines how the N-400 constructs the new citizen and the ways that permanent legal residents of Mexican origin disrupt or reify this construct. Specifically, *Era[c]ing Diversity* argues that the application for naturalization provides for a restrictive view of race in the United States, and that the design of the Form N-400 and the ethno-racial questions within it persuade applicants (immigrants from Mexico) to identify as White even if they have never done so previously.

This investigation strives to understand the link between discourse and society and employs a critical rhetorical approach that integrates the three levels of social organization: macro, meso, and micro. This three-part research project consists of an analysis of the historically situated racial projects (Omi and Winant) that have transformed the racial categories on the application for naturalization in the past century (chapter four), a “textual” analysis of the current application for naturalization using theories of visual rhetoric (chapter five) and ethnographic-oriented methods (non-participant observation, questionnaires, and video interviews) to understand how permanent legal residents of Mexican ancestry negotiate the application with a focus on the racial construction of the “new” U.S. citizen in this process (chapter six). Finally, *Era[c]ing Diversity* considers the implications of race as presented by the

U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and the effects of the participation and negotiation of the social reproduction of this racial discourse by this community in U.S. society.

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## Chapter 1

### A CRITICAL RHETORICAL APPROACH TO RACE AND THE NEW CITIZEN

*We welcome the new citizen, not as a stranger but as one entering his father's house.*

President Woodrow Wilson (1917)

*The only title in our democracy superior to that of President is the title of citizen.*

Justice Louis Brandeis (1937)<sup>1</sup>

Generally, our western ideas of citizenship originate with Ancient Greece where citizenship was seen as a relationship between the individual and the city-state. Today, with the rise of the nation-state, citizenship is sign of membership into a certain nation. Many political theorists assert that citizenship is a social contract that carries with it certain responsibilities and virtues. According to William Galston, a citizen should be courageous, law-abiding, and loyal; socially, the citizen should be independent and open-minded; he/she should have a strong work ethic (economic), and politically, the citizen should respect the rights of others, have the ability to judge the performance of elected officials, and engage in political discourse (qtd. in Kymlicka and Norman 7-8). The ideal citizen, as outlined by Galston, however, is far from what the individual understands when referring to citizenship. It usually entails *legal* status, identity as a member of a political community or communities, and civic activity such as the four activities listed by Galston (Kymlicka and Norman 30-1).

In the U.S., immigrants seeking naturalization i.e., citizenship, after a relatively short period of residency (on average five years), are subject to learning the language (English) and knowing something about the country's history and political system. In addition, naturalized citizens must demonstrate good moral character and profess loyalty to their new home.

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<sup>1</sup> (See U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service 2)

Becoming a citizen, at the individual level, carries with it certain rights (cannot be deported), duties (voting, military participation, obeying laws, paying taxes) and benefits (access to resources, federal assistance), but at the social level, citizenship is supposed to carry with it the “ideal of *social cohesion*” (Kymlicka and Norman 31). The idea, however, of social cohesion is nearly impossible today when most countries are culturally diverse since “in very few countries can citizens be said to share the same language, or belong to the same ethnonational group” (Kymlicka *Multicultural Citizenship* 1). Yet Kymlicka argues that “most political theorists” operate under the assumption of a homogenous nation-state where citizens share a “common descent, language, and culture” (*Multicultural Citizenship* 2). This, I would argue, is also an underlying assumption of the naturalization process. Immigrants must demonstrate ability in the language and culture of the U.S. Although a common descent is not asserted openly, it is, nonetheless, an ideological assumption that is reproduced in the application for naturalization, Form N-400.

Will Kymlicka maintains that ethnocultural differences after WWII are handled much the same as religious tolerance, “ethnic identity, like religion, is something which people should be free to express in their private life, but which is not the concern of the state” (*Multicultural Citizenship* 3). If this is the case, why is race still a question of relevance on the application for naturalization? The answer lies primarily in the historic treatment of race in the U.S. and the use of racial categories to exclude certain segments of society to the full rights and benefits of citizenship. The *1790 Naturalization Act* allowed citizenship to “white persons.” Although naturalization requirements have changed over time, this racial requirement remained in effect until 1952. From 1790 until 1952, it was the job of the lower courts to decide who was White.



This difficult task was accomplished through the consideration of various factors: observation (skin color, physical attributes), scientific evidence, and ancestry to name a few.<sup>2</sup>

Regardless of the taxonomies developed to determine whiteness, for most of our country's history, being white was required for citizenship. Ian Haney López and Cheryl Harris argue that the courts determinations on race worked to solidify the boundaries of race in U.S. society. Harris argues that the law "affirmed critical aspects of identity (who is white); of privilege (what benefits accrue to that status); and of what property (what legal entitlements arise from that status)"(1725). The legal scholarship dedicated to race and scholars of critical race theory underscore the issue that race did not precede the law, but that race, as socially constructed, was an outcome of the laws. Haney López argues that "law is a prime suspect in the formation of races" and that further studies should be conducted to understand the role that law has in maintaining and sustaining race in society (*White by Law* 13). Specifically, Haney-López asks whether "legal rules construct races through the direct control of human behavior, or do they work more subtly as an ideology shaping our notions of what is and what can be?"(*White by Law* 13). This dissertation will explore the second question addressed by Haney López by examining the establishment of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and historic changes to naturalization law and policy. The current application for naturalization, Form N-400, has traces of the social, economic, ideological, and political processes that have informed naturalization (citizenship). Permanent legal residents applying for naturalization are

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<sup>2</sup> See Haney-López' *White by Law* for more information on the legal construction of White and the historic cases tried.

unaware of the embedded ideologies and the consequences of acts of writing in the formation of subjectivity at an individual and social level.

I first became aware of the implications of the application for naturalization as a volunteer at a local non-profit organization<sup>3</sup> that provides assistance to immigrants. I participated in two “citizenship drives.” The first was

part of a national campaign sponsored by the

Spanish-language television station, *Univision*. The

¡*Ya es hora, ciudadanía!*<sup>4</sup> (Now’s the time,

citizenship!) campaign was launched in 2008<sup>5</sup> by an

alliance of private and public organizations that

promote citizenship as a means for legal residents to become more civically involved in their communities. The local organizations provide help by way of volunteers and free legal advice to applicants in order to facilitate the application process. It was at this event that I encountered Juan.<sup>6</sup> In preparation for the “citizenship” campaign event, Juan was given a checklist of documents, information, and fees that he needed to bring with him on the day of the event.

Juan met all of the basic requirements: he was over the age of eighteen, had at least five years as a legal resident, knew basic English, was of “good moral character,” and was knowledgeable in U.S. history and government. He brought with him three forms of identification, two 2 x 2 photographs, and a money order made out to the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service. He also filled out a planning sheet that was part of the preparation for the application process



**Video 1.1.** “*Ya es hora*” 2012 PSA

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<sup>3</sup> The Diocesan for Migrants and Refugees (DMRS)

<sup>4</sup> Translations throughout by author

<sup>5</sup> As we near another presidential election year, the “*Ya es hora*” campaign 2012 is underway.

<sup>6</sup> Names have been changed for confidentiality.

where he annotated important dates such as travel outside of the U.S., marriage, divorce, and birthdays of children, etc. In his rush to ensure he had all of the necessary documentation, he gave little thought to a small but important section on the application: “Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search.” (See Figure 1.1 below)

Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search				Write your USCIS A-Number here: A	
<b>NOTE:</b> The categories below are those required by the FBI. See instructions for more information.					
<b>A. Gender</b>		<b>B. Height</b>		<b>C. Weight</b>	
<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female		<input type="checkbox"/> Feet <input type="checkbox"/> Inches		<input type="checkbox"/> Pounds	
<b>D. Are you Hispanic or Latino?</b>		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No			
<b>E. Race</b> ( <i>Select one or more</i> )					
<input type="checkbox"/> White	<input type="checkbox"/> Asian	<input type="checkbox"/> Black or African American	<input type="checkbox"/> American Indian or Alaskan Native	<input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	
<b>F. Hair color</b>					
<input type="checkbox"/> Black	<input type="checkbox"/> Brown	<input type="checkbox"/> Blonde	<input type="checkbox"/> Gray	<input type="checkbox"/> White	<input type="checkbox"/> Red
<input type="checkbox"/> Sandy	<input type="checkbox"/> Bald (No Hair)				
<b>G. Eye color</b>					
<input type="checkbox"/> Brown	<input type="checkbox"/> Blue	<input type="checkbox"/> Green	<input type="checkbox"/> Hazel	<input type="checkbox"/> Gray	<input type="checkbox"/> Black
<input type="checkbox"/> Pink	<input type="checkbox"/> Maroon	<input type="checkbox"/> Other			

**Figure 1.1** Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Check

This “part” of the document asked Juan to answer questions about his gender, height, weight, and whether he was Hispanic or Latino. He assumed that he was since he was from Mexico and checked the box marked “yes.” Question 5.E. asked him to select one or more races and this question baffled him. He stopped and asked the volunteer if he had to answer this question. She told him, “yes;” According to the instructions he had to choose at least one box. The problem, thought Juan, was that he did not understand why Hispanic and Latino were not considered racial categories. Also, since he did not identify as Asian, American Indian or Alaskan Native, or Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander that left only two blocks, White and Black<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Although it is the norm in scholarly literature to use lower case letters when referring to the racial categories of white and black, I choose to use uppercase letters to highlight the fact that they are racial categories and to

or African American. As a Mexican immigrant of dark complexion, he had never thought of



**Video 1.2** Antonio and Race

himself as either White or Black. He was tempted to check Black, but he did not identify with the African American culture and therefore opted for White. Now, a third option seemed plausible; he could mark both White and Black, but that also did not seem adequate. In

the end, Juan opted for White. (This was also the case with Antonio, who participated in this study; Antonio discusses his option to self identify in Video 1.2.<sup>8</sup>)

It was precisely this situation that intrigued this researcher. After volunteering in two citizenship events and helping over fifty immigrants from Mexico fill out the Form N-400, I began to question how this important form for naturalization had much broader implications in the construction of race in the U.S. In the United States, the idea of race and specifically the Black/White paradigm has become the defining feature of social structure (Kymlicka *Liberalism*) and therefore remains an important facet of U.S. society. Although this system of racial oppression has been dismantled since the end of slavery and racial segregation, the idea of racial categories has become part of American culture (Goldberg), and the binary divide of Black and White continues to reign despite immigration policy that supports diversity<sup>9</sup>. Yet when

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differentiate them from other uses of the words black/white. When quoting another source, I do not change the original formatting as intended by the cited author. The reason for capital letters is articulated by Kimberlé Crenshaw who states that “Blacks, like Asians, Latinos, and other ‘minorities’ constitute a specific cultural group and, as such, require denotation as a proper noun” (1332 n.2).

<sup>8</sup> I incorporate video here and in chapter six. Translations are provided, as necessary. Please refer to the key (🔑) in the text.

<sup>9</sup> According to a recent *Congressional Budget Office Paper* titled “Immigration Policy in the United States,” immigration policy serves four main goals: to “reunite families,” “admit workers with specific skills,” “provide

faced with questions of identity, applicants for naturalization are asked to *not* declare their diversity, but conform to the U.S. conception of race. This is evident by the severely limiting options the applicant has to choose from. Because of this and other issues, my dissertation investigates the discursive nature of race and ethnicity and the implications of citizenship in the racialization of Mexican immigrants in the U.S.

### **1.1 Major Questions**

The overarching question of inquiry for this investigation is:

*How does the application for naturalization (N-400) construct the new citizen and how does this community disrupt or reify this construct?*

And specifically:

- 1. What are the historically situated racial projects that inform the current racial discourse of the N-400? (Chapter 4)*
- 2. How does the visual rhetoric of the form (N-400) construct and persuade its users? (Chapter 5)*
- 3. How do applicants negotiate race as presented in the application for naturalization? (Chapter 6)*

These are essential questions because the racial categories on the application for naturalization do not encourage diversity but rather support the melting pot metaphor of assimilation. Given my location as a researcher on the U.S./Mexico border and my experience working with a local non-profit organization, my study will focus on legal residents from Mexico applying for naturalization. This is an important group to study since “Mexico accounts for 31.3 percent of all immigration, with 11.7 million immigrants living in the United States, more than

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refuge” for persons facing persecution, and “ensure diversity by providing admission to people from countries with historically low rates of immigration” (U.S. Congress vii).

the number of immigrants from any other region of the world” (Center for Immigration Studies). The largest number of legal immigrants in the U.S. comes from Mexico; therefore, the racialization of this group of immigrants will have the most impact on the conception of race in the U.S. Furthermore, the outcome of this study will be relevant to the racialization of immigrants from Latin America, as “54.6 percent of the foreign-born” are from these areas (Center for Immigration Studies).

In “Becoming American: The Hidden Core of the Immigration Debate,” Stanley Renshon states that there are three essential steps that immigrants must take in order to become part of the American national community: they must adapt to American culture, acquire the language (English), and be civically engaged. Does cultural adaptation also include adaptation to the racial categories of defining self in the U.S.? Although I do not believe that it is an explicit part of cultural adaptation, the fact remains that the application for naturalization ignores the ways different groups of people from diverse countries define themselves and race. The current question of racial identity on the N-400 influences the majority of Hispanic or Latino<sup>10</sup> applicants to choose between Black and White, thereby reinforcing the culture of Black/White as the dominating categories. This study will examine, through the lens of rhetorical theory, how these individuals experience race. Since race and identity are complex issues, this will require a few “border crossings” of my own into other disciplines such as sociology and discourse studies in order to provide an account of the construction of race at the societal, institutional, and individual levels.

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<sup>10</sup> I choose to use Hispanic/Latino interchangeably in this document. Although I disagree with the use of the labels Hispanic/Latino since they “typically collapse diverse peoples into a single overarching group” (Cobas, Duany, and Feagin 9), these are the terms used on the N-400 as well as the U.S. Census forms.

## 1.2 Rationale

Although there is an abundance of studies that examine race at the macro level, few have focused on the daily experiences of individuals, and none have looked at race-making in the context of citizenship at the individual level. This study will examine this understudied dimension of race and ask: How is race experienced in everyday situations? How do legal residents applying for citizenship understand race? Do they accept or reject the racial framework provided for them? Does this framework influence their ways of self-identification? What are the broader ramifications of the choices for self-identification in U.S. society? This study will be ethnographic in scope and implement questionnaires and video interviews with legal residents in the process of applying for citizenship. Their accounts will problematize further the racial paradigm in the U.S. and expand upon much needed research in this area from the perspective of Rhetoric and Composition.

In addition, this research adds to an already growing body of work related to the construction of race in society. While other research has focused on producing a theory of racialization (Hall; Omi; Winant; Fenton) this research applies these theories to understand the role of writing in the process of becoming a naturalized citizen. Other research has examined the legal construction of race and the U.S. Census as part of this process (Rumbaut; C. Rodríguez; Haney López to name a few), but I critically examine the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and the application for naturalization.

### 1.3 Investigation of the Research Questions

It is the aim of this research to investigate racial identity as rhetorically constructed. Language is a means to construct social realities and be constructed by them. Language is also the node in a dense network that connects us to other elements of social life and necessitates a “critical” lens. According to Raymie McKerrow, “a critical rhetoric serves a demystifying function...by demonstrating the silent and often non-deliberate ways in which rhetoric conceals as much as it reveals through its relationship with power/knowledge” (92). This critical rhetorical approach will be informed by discourse analysis.<sup>11</sup>

Although there are many versions of discourse analysis, in general these approaches can be divided by those that include detailed analyses of texts and those that do not (see van Dijk 1997). According to Norman Fairclough, “discourse analysis in social sciences is often strongly influenced by Foucault” and “generally pay little attention to the linguistic features of texts” (*Analysing Discourse* 2). Fairclough’s own approach to discourse analysis tries to transcend this divide by analyzing texts for the “socially constructive effects of discourse” while also investigating the effects of this discourse when people talk or write (*Analysing Discourse* 3). This study also works to incorporate the macro (societal), meso (intermediate or institutional) and micro (individual) effects of discourse in society by analyzing specific texts (the act of writing your identity at the individual level) as well as analyzing the social structuring of language by investigating the historic changes to the racial identity question in the past century. The racial identity questions in the current application for naturalization are the outcome of these historic changes and constitute the meso-level of analysis. Although the overarching

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<sup>11</sup> In chapter three, methodology, I explain in detail my strategy termed a critical rhetoric approach informed by discourse analysis.



methodological framework for this study is critical rhetorical analysis, this research will also require the integration of other forms of analysis, such as ethnography and visual rhetoric. To understand race at the micro-level of lived experience necessitates ethnographic research methods such as questionnaires and interviews. The meso-level of racialization will require discourse analysis of the Form N-400 with attention to the fine-grained details of the “text” (linguistic features) while incorporating the lens of visual rhetoric to analyze the overall design of the Form. Finally, critical rhetoric will serve to link the three levels (macro, meso, and micro) to understand their effect on the racialization of new citizens in the United States.

#### **1.4 Outline of the Chapters**

I now turn to an outline of the dissertation. In chapter two, literature review, I provide an overview of the major theories that inform this study. This discussion begins with the integration of three sociological theories of racial formation (Hall; Omi and Winant; and Fenton). Since these theories place discourse at the center of the production, and consumption of racial ideology, I argue for rhetoric’s place in racial formation theory through the role of discourse and ideology. Next, I turn to the relation of rhetoric and ideology and the treatment of this by Rhetoric’s most cited scholar on the subject, James Berlin. Recent critiques of Berlin’s theorization of rhetoric and ideology by Raúl Sánchez lead to a reinterpretation of the Althusserian concept of ideology. Sánchez argues that Althusser theorizes “ideology” and “ideologies” (two separate concepts) and that “ideologies” can be located (and resisted) in text. This understanding of ideologies conceives of writing as “acts of subject formation (and reformation)” (Sánchez 743). Sánchez’ interpretation of rhetoric and ideology (à la Althusser) is

congruent with Gramsci's theory of hegemony<sup>12</sup> and Foucault's order of discourse<sup>13</sup> and is discussed at length in this chapter. Chapter three describes the methodology. I mentioned previously that the analytic approach used for this study is critical rhetoric informed by discourse analysis. I begin the chapter with an overview of discourse analyses in Rhetoric and Composition and outline a critical rhetorical approach that incorporates Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis<sup>14</sup> (2003, 2001, 1997, 1995, 1992, 1989). Fairclough's model is context-driven and strives to explain how language functions in society and its effects at the macro, meso, and micro<sup>15</sup> levels. Investigating race at the different levels requires a mixed-methodology that incorporates "text" analysis, questionnaires, interviews, and secondary data from the U.S. Census and the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Chapters four, five, and six are dedicated to the different levels of analysis. In chapter four, I conducted primary research at the U.S. Customs and Immigration Service Historical Library in Washington D.C. to investigate the historic changes to the racial identity questions on the application for naturalization. I present the historically situated racial projects<sup>16</sup> that relate to the racialization of U.S. society with a focus on naturalization law, treatises, court decisions, and immigration policies that affected Mexican immigrants in particular. This historiography serves to understand the major changes in the application regarding race and ethnicity and link these

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<sup>12</sup> By hegemony, Gramsci meant "the permeation *throughout* society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that has the effect of supporting the status quo in power relations" (B. Burke).

<sup>13</sup> According to Foucault, the order of discourse refers to the ways discourse is produced, controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by "procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers..." ("The Order of Discourse" 52).

<sup>14</sup> Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in capitals refers specifically to Fairclough's model.

<sup>15</sup> Fairclough does not use these terms (macro, meso, micro) but does refer to three levels of society.

<sup>16</sup> Racial formations, according to Omi and Winant, are "created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" by "historically situated *projects*" where human bodies and social structures are represented, organized and ruled ("Racial Formation" 124).

changes to any major changes in immigration and naturalization. I discuss these findings and compare it to the U.S. Census Bureau's treatment of race and ethnicity. This is important because both the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and the U.S. Census Bureau follow the Office of Management and Budget's revised Directive 15 adopted in 1997 which changed the racial categories to five: "American Indian or Alaska Native," Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander," "Asian," "Black or African American," and "White." This directive also allowed for the option to choose more than one racial category; an option that did not exist prior to the 2000 census. According to Rumbaut, it also changed the two ethnic identifiers to "Hispanic or Latino" and "not Hispanic or Latino" (25). The changes to the census forms and the applications for naturalization are the outcome of the articulation (Hall) of political, ideological, historical, social, and economical processes but manifest differently.

In chapter five, I analyze the current application for naturalization, Form N-400 (revised 18 Jan. 2011) using visual rhetorical theory. Carlos Salinas argues that technical rhetoricians should incorporate graphic design theory in the "reading" and "writing" of images. In accord with this, I employ the graphic design principles of Robin Williams to "read" the blank form and present my findings and their implications. This analysis incorporates a fine detailed text analysis of the Form N-400 with attention to the ways the Form constructs and constrains its users. In chapter six, I attend to the micro level of racial formation, the individual. I examine how the permanent legal resident negotiates the racial questions on the Form N-400. This required the use of ethnographic methods such as questionnaire, non-participant observation and video interviews. The group-administered questionnaires were given to students attending free, local citizenship classes in the El Paso area. I queried fifty-five participants about how they

preferred to self-identify and asked them to answer the racial identity questions from the 2010 census and the Form N-400. In addition, participants were asked about the overall design of the document and whether or not this was a factor in their responses. I present the findings from the questionnaire and integrate participant comments, class observations, and video interviews to elaborate further on the participants' responses on the questionnaire. Finally, I incorporate the macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis to understand how the naturalization process constructs the new citizen.

### **1.5 A Note about Terminology: Text, Discourse, Language, and Rhetoric**

I use the term text in a very broad sense; a text<sup>17</sup> in general will refer to anything "written." This could also include a transcript of the spoken word, or even a webpage, or in the case of this study, the official form for applying for naturalization. By including a webpage as an example of a text, I am deliberately alluding to electronic discourse, which includes the blending of technologies and media to include images. In fact, the webpage, as well as the N-400 is an *image* (see Ding). Writing is an act of creating and can take on various forms. Language will be used to refer to "whole" language, such as the English language. Discourse will refer to the structural aspect of texts as an element of social life. However, both the terms language and discourse can be used in specific as well as abstract ways. Rhetoric is a slippery

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<sup>17</sup> Brian McNely examines our field's troubling reliance on terms such as text and intertextuality in his dissertation: *Uncommonplaces: Redirecting Research and Curricula in Rhetoric and Writing* (2009). I agree with McNely's assertion that approaching all rhetorical artifacts and acts as textual is reductive in nature (8), and I cringe at times with the differentiation between terms such as discourse/image/text even as it is used within this dissertation. However, there does not exist, in my opinion, a vocabulary (in our discipline) that is adequate to replace these terms.

term that can be defined as “situated strategic discourse.”<sup>18</sup> In a general sense, rhetoric and discourse can be synonymous, but I want to emphasize the notion of rhetoric as situational and strategic; therefore rhetoric is context and purpose driven—it has social effects and can influence change in our beliefs, attitudes, and our identity. It is also always ideological. Rhetoric is then a modality of power, and these ideological constructions can be identified in texts as well as enacted in society. For this reason, social research that is limited only to textual analysis will not be able to fully address the social and ideological effects of discourse. How meaning is made or how race is constructed requires the examination of the text itself (N-400), and the interpretation of the text in particular areas of social life—on new citizens integrating into U.S. society.

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<sup>18</sup> Situated strategic discourse is a common definition and has been used by many rhetoricians. It is attributed to Traci Zimmerman in “The Introduction to Rhetorical Practices.”

## Chapter 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

*Although identity may be socially constructed through discourse as our invocations of postmodern and cultural theories assume... We don't live identity as discourse; we live identity within bodies. (LeCourt 21)*

*Why is it that so many compositionists insist on the rhetorically complex composition of "selves" until it involves critical and emotional issues like racism? (West "The Racist Other")*

The persistent view of race in society as biological, and the continued dominance of the Black/White paradigm in the U.S. (despite increased immigration from diverse countries in the last 70 years) is a source of frustration for Critical Legal and Critical Race scholars. In surveying the current theories of racial formation, it is apparent that these theories share a common thread: racialization is about rhetoric and ideology, and "who" controls the circulation of the two. Thus, I argue that Rhetoric and Composition is the most apt to forward Critical Race Theory's agenda.

I begin the discussion with one of the most influential scholars in our field regarding the relation of rhetoric and ideology, James Berlin, and the critiques of his treatment of the two, by Raul Sánchez. Sánchez argues that Berlin's rhetoric is subsumed by ideology and that this understanding of rhetoric/ideology has not been "useful" for composition. Sánchez offers an alternative interpretation of Althusser's ideology that promotes the role of writers and writing in the formation of society and subjectivity. This interpretation underscores my argument that writing (broadly conceived) is vital to maintaining the status quo in U.S. society. It also advocates textual analyses since ideologies can be located (and resisted) in concrete (textual or

linguistic) objects. The “location” of ideologies and the analysis of text has been a source of controversy in Rhetoric and Composition (Faigley; Crowley), but Sánchez’ interpretation of rhetoric and ideology (*à la* Althusser) is congruent with Gramsci’s theory of hegemony and Foucault’s orders of discourse.

## **2.1 Racial Formation**

Historically, the concept of race can be traced from slavery and the massive colonization efforts of the English, Dutch, Spanish, French and Portuguese.<sup>19</sup> This laid the groundwork for the categorization of the races through scientific methods during the 1600s. The pseudo-sciences like that of phrenology and craniotomy provided the “evidence” to categorize race hierarchically with White at the top and Black at the bottom in the Western world. Racial categories emerged as a way to link skin color, mental, and intellectual traits to a group of people and treat these traits as predestined. Subsequent generations accepted racial divisions as natural (and scientifically backed) and reified them through a system of privileges that excluded non-Whites from important rights and freedoms. Race as a natural phenomenon was so readily consumed and distributed in society, that by the time of the first national census in the U.S. (1790), the nation “not only counted its population,” but also “racially classified it” (Prewitt 5). This *habit*<sup>20</sup> of racial classification continues from one decennial census count to another. Although racial classification has remained a constant staple of the census, the racial categories have shifted continually in response to changes in politics, science, and demographics (Prewitt 6).

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<sup>19</sup> For a detailed account of the history of race in the U.S. see Winthrop Jordan, Edmund Morgan, Theodore Allen, Kathleen Brown, and Matthew Jacobson

<sup>20</sup> See Terrance MacMullan for discussion of the habits of Whiteness.

One major shift in scientific thinking occurred with the advent of sociological theories of knowledge and became influential in the U.S. with the publication of *The Social Construction of Reality* by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966). Berger and Luckmann assert that the worlds we live in are not some objective natural phenomena, but are socially constructed through a myriad of social practices. Our commonsense knowledge of the world is constituted by the ways we talk about, *write it*, and enact it. This new theory of representing reality altered significantly how we understand race. Today scholars agree that race is a social and psychological construction, and that there is “no biological basis for distinguishing among groups along the lines of race” (Omi and Winant 123). Under this shift, race is no longer linked to physical, biological, or mental traits, but is defined as “a *concept that signifies and symbolizes sociopolitical conflicts and interests in reference to different types of human bodies*” (Winant “Race and Race Theory” 172)<sup>21</sup>. This is not to say that the biological vestiges of race do not still permeate society and complicate our notions of race, but scholars reject any link between race and biology.

Since racial categories are artificial human creations, various scholars from diverse disciplines such as African Studies, American Studies, African American Studies, Critical Race Theory, Critical Legal Studies, Sociology, Psychology, Biology, Communication, and Rhetoric have spent the last few decades studying racialization and how it is sustained and distributed in society. Some of the most noted contemporary theories of race have been argued by British sociologists Stuart Hall and Steve Fenton as well as American sociologists Howard Winant and Michael Omi. The theories presented by these scholars (and discussed in the following sections)

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<sup>21</sup> Also Omi and Winant “Racial Formation” 123.



underscore that race is the outcome of historical, political, economic, and cultural processes that are enacted (and the result of interaction) at all levels of society.

In “Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance” (1980), Stuart Hall offers the metaphor of articulation to indicate that race is a complex structure that involves “relations of linkage and effectivity between different levels of all sorts of things” (Foster-Carter qtd. in Hall 44). Hall adds that “these things require to be linked because, though connected, they are not the same” (44). Drawing upon the works of Althusser and Balibar, Hall explains that an articulation is composed of different instances; these “instances” are economic, political, ideological, and historical and involve hierarchical and lateral relations. The outcome is a production, distribution, and exchange of “race” that positions different social groups in relation to one another. These “instances” or levels also represent the “structured relations between its parts, i.e., relations of dominance and subordination,” and include the material and individual levels of society (44). Hall’s theory of articulation is also a criticism of the current tendencies in theory to explain race from either an economic or sociological stance, thereby discarding the notion that class in a capitalistic society determines race. Instead, Hall outlines a theory by which different levels or instances influence each other through an articulation of dominance in a specific historical context that allows for the social persistence of certain social practices within a society. One such example would be, despite the rejection by scholars that people can be grouped into racial categories, the articulation of dominance allows for the social persistence of this practice and provides the categories that are considered appropriate: White, Black, Native American, Native Hawaiian, etc. while designating which categories are not considered racial: Hispanic and Latino.

Working within Hall's framework, Omi and Winant (2002, 1998, 1994, 1986)<sup>22</sup>, Winant (1994; 2000) develop a theory of racialization based upon the pre-existing discursive practices that describe race termed "racial formations." Racial formations, according to Omi and Winant, are "created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" by "historically situated *projects*" where human bodies and social structures are represented, organized and ruled ("Racial Formation" 124). The historically situated projects do the ideological work of linking structure and representation; it "connect[s] what race means in a particular discursive practice and the ways in which both social structures and everyday experiences are racially *organized*, based upon that meaning" (Omi and Winant "Racial Formation" 125). Racial projects occur at the macro level (i.e. state) and micro levels (everyday experience), in the political spectrum and across historical time; this suggests that our "society is suffused with racial projects, large and small, to which all are subjected" (Omi and Winant "Racial Formation" 127). Racial projects are diverse and include "large-scale public action, state activities, and interpretations of racial conditions in artistic, journalistic, or academic fora, as well as the seemingly infinite number of racial judgments and practices that we carry out at the level of individual experience" (Omi and Winant "Racial Formation" 128). Examples of these racial projects include laws that legally excluded non-Whites from certain rights and privileges in society, such as citizenship or the policies of Affirmative Action endorsed by institutions and government agencies. Both of these *projects* have contributed to our present understandings of race in the U.S. For example, the *1790 Naturalization Act* defined U.S. citizens in terms of race by designating that only White persons could become citizens. This law conferred privileges to White persons; thus ordering

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<sup>22</sup> In this dissertation, I cite specifically the two essays by Omi and Winant published in 1998 and 2002. Please note that the difference in the two versions is that the 1998 version is in the plural "Racial Formations."

hierarchically U.S. society through racial designations. Likewise, policies like Affirmative Action, which have been implemented to ensure equality in U.S. society are also based on racial categories, and therefore depend upon the continued practice of racially categorizing people.

Steve Fenton engages further the discourse of race and ethnicity and the process of racialization in his book *Ethnicity, Racism, Class and Culture* (1999). In his theory of ethnic<sup>23</sup> formation, Fenton identifies three social levels where we can observe ethnicity: the macro, meso, and micro.<sup>24</sup> The macro level is comprised of the major economic and political structures of the social order, the meso—the intermediate institutions (or structures) between the individual and the state, and the micro—the everyday interactions of social life (Fenton 13-14). Fenton places greatest importance on the intermediate—the meso-structures of social institutions. These institutions, such as schools and universities, act as a link between the individual and the state.<sup>25</sup> These are “of central importance” because it is through them that “cultural capital for advancement is acquired” and “cultural identities are preserved” (14). It is here, Fenton argues, where the most decisive cultural battles are enacted because schools are most often the instrument used to maintain dominance in society, whether through language or culture. He explains the importance of the meso-level through an example of the school system. Schools, argue Fenton, reinforce the dominant ideology by privileging specific forms of knowledge, skills, and abilities that are valued by the dominant groups in society. Students who come to school with technological skills and the related vocabulary are valued in the school

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<sup>23</sup> Fenton prefers the use of the term ethnicity since it does not “suffer from the historical association of error that race does” (6). In this case, Fenton, along with a growing group of social scientists, have replaced the word race with the word ethnicity to refer to self-identifying groups based on shared traits such as religion, nationality, culture or language.

<sup>24</sup> Fenton calls these levels of social formation: macro-social formations, meso-structures of social institutions, and micro-social life (13).

<sup>25</sup> These meso-structures can be independent or regulated by the state (Fenton 14).

setting whereas students who do not have access to computers at home and who do not possess these skills are labeled “deficient.” Although Fenton highlights educational institutions as a prime example of the meso-structures, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service is another meso-level structure that mediates between the individual and the state. It is through the legal residency and naturalization process that the three levels (macro, micro and meso) are articulated simultaneously. At the macro-level, the U.S. Government provides the policies for immigration and defines who can apply for citizenship, who is a good candidate for citizenship, and through the presence of racial categories on the application, designates that race is an important part of U.S. society to new citizens. At the micro-level, individuals reconcile their experiences with the pre-defined racial and ethnic categories provided on the official forms for immigration.

Fenton also recognizes the importance of language in the construction of ethno-racial identities. “Ethnicity-making situations” occur at all levels of society (macro, meso, micro) and in all types of contexts from nation-states, proto-nations, indigenous, and urban contexts.<sup>26</sup> Ethnic classifications frequently come to form, “as a matter of law or a matter of fact, a constituent element of politics” (23) and different groups of people have differential access to political power—which shapes ethnic ideology:

The boundaries of ethnic groups are symbolically represented—as the bearers a specific language, religion, or more generally, ‘culture’; but they are also materially constituted within the structures of power and wealth. Thus, ethnicity should be regarded as materially and symbolically constituted, as a systemic

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<sup>26</sup> See chapter one of Fenton for detailed discussion of “ethnicity-making situations.”

feature beyond the reach of individual actors, as well as a dimension of individual action itself. (Fenton 25)

The three theories of ethno-racial formation presented here have one uniting theme: racialization is connected to practices of representation. Hall states that race articulation is composed of “instances” that are constituted and reconstituted through ideological *representation* and discourse (“Race, Articulation” 62-64); Omi and Winant state that racialization occurs when “human bodies and social structures are *represented*, (my emphasis) organized, and ruled (“Racial Formation” 124), and Fenton asserts that “boundaries of ethnic groups are symbolically *represented* (my emphasis). . . .” (25). Hall stresses that these practices of representation “connect meaning and language to culture” and that “meaning is constructed in and through language” (“The Work of Representation” 15). Hall explains further that a socially shared system of meaning allows us to transmit and express meaning, but that practices of representation are not reduced to language in a narrow sense; it includes words, sounds, images, things—any sign or signifying practice that produces meaning.

In the discussion of racial theory and representation, Hall, Omi and Winant, and Fenton agree that racialization is not just about representation, but a struggle over controlling signifying practices. Hall calls this a structure of dominance; Omi and Winant mention the organization and ruling of human bodies and social structures, and Fenton explains that the language of *constructionism* (his emphasis) elaborates on a much older theme in sociology, that of “the importance of social definitions, and the social power mobilised by those who are in a position to create and sustain both the labels and the meanings the labels confer” (11-12). This struggle to/for representation has material, political and social consequences and are

historically contingent; representation is multiple and changes over time. It is also ideological; Hall as well as Omi and Winant stress that racial formation is an ideological process while Fenton indirectly states that racialization refers to “a set of powerful ideas and beliefs about ‘race’” and the consequences of these ideas in society (4). Where exactly do these ideological processes occur? Hall emphasizes discourse as the carrier of ideology (“Who”); Fenton locates ideology in culture, but adds that “language is a fact of life but it is also a dimension of the politics of culture” (6). In an earlier essay (1998) titled “Racial Formations,” Omi and Winant declare that racial subjection is ideological. This subjection renders racial ideology as common sense and these beliefs act as an “amateur biology” (“Racial Formations” 17). This “amateur biology” orders people and our perceptions of them and is “too essential, too integral to the maintenance of the US social order” (17). Omi and Winant refer to this as a “*system* of racial meanings and stereotypes of racial ideology” that has become a “permanent feature of US culture” (17). Racial representations in U.S. society, according to Omi and Winant, tend to present a view of race that is fixed and immutable rather than historically contingent. Omi and Winant emphasize the role of discourse in racial ideology and define racialization as:

an ideological process, an historically specific one. Racial ideology is constructed from pre-existing conceptual (or, if one prefers, “discursive”) elements and emerges from the struggles of competing political projects and ideas seeking to articulate similar elements differently. (“Racial Formations” 18)

It is through these “discursive elements” that distinctions among groups are created, reinforced, and challenged. Omi and Winant do not elaborate on the concept of discursive elements, but that these elements do the ideological work of creating reality and sustaining a

version of reality. At the same time, there is no unity among discursive elements, so that competing and conflicting versions of reality are constantly challenging the dominant ideology.

## 2.2 Rhetoric, Composition, and the “Absent Presence” of Race

Given the important role of discourse in sociological theories of racial formation, we could assume that race would be a central object of study in Rhetoric and Composition. Yet more than a decade ago, Catherine Prendergast and Keith Gilyard<sup>27</sup> observed that race was “undertheorized, unproblematized, and under investigated in composition research—” (Prendergast 36). In an aptly titled essay, Prendergast laments race as an “absent presence” in composition studies and racism as an “absent *absence*” (her emphasis) (36). Prendergast explains this absence in part on the “color- and power-evasive paradigms” (Frankenberg) of race that dominate composition studies. This concern is echoed by Victor Villanueva who also calls for a move away from these paradigms in favor of what he terms a *colonial sensibility*<sup>28</sup>. The problem, notes Prendergast, is that race is often used in identifying research subjects but not theorized or addressed in the research:

For while it [race] is often called upon as a category to delineate cultural groups that will be the focal subjects of research studies, the relationship of race to the composing process is seldom fully explored. Instead race becomes subsumed into the powerful tropes of “basic writer,” “stranger” to the academy, or the trope of the generalized, marginalized “other.” (36)

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<sup>27</sup> As mentioned in Prendergast from a conference presentation delivered at the Watson Conference on Rhetoric and Composition, 1996.

<sup>28</sup> Villanueva argues: “The demand for linguistic and rhetorical compliance still smacks of colonialism practices which reproduce, in effect, the colonial histories of America's people of color. What we need, I'd say, is a greater consciousness of the pervasiveness of the ethnocentricity from which we wish to break away.” He proposes what he terms a colonial sensibility.

Timothy Barnett also criticizes the unwillingness of English Studies to interrogate discourses of whiteness despite English Studies' great interest in critical pedagogies since the 1960s. In his discussion of including discourses of whiteness in the composition classroom, he also advocates for the study of the ways race "has proven to be a critical site of power relations in the United States" and "the power racial discourses maintain in our lives *and* the power we have to revise them" (14). This type of investigation is clearly, states Barnett, the domain of scholars in English Studies. Prendergast also advocates a turn to investigate the textual practices that a priori socialize students into discourses of race and power relations without reducing it to a pedagogical model or application (49). Prendergast understands that the challenge, then, is to theorize race (to include whiteness) in a way that does not "reinscribe people of color as either foreign or invisible" (51). Once composition scholars engage race and racism at this level, then composition can begin to counteract the discourses of race that permeate the classroom and beyond (Prendergast 51). What Prendergast is forwarding, in my opinion, is a return to investigate the implications of race and the writing subject outside of the composition classroom. Even though the classroom is undoubtedly a "social affair" (Bruffee 775), our scholarship and research on race have remained circumscribed by our pedagogy.

This study attempts to address the "absent presence" of race in Rhetoric and Composition Studies by specifically focusing on writing and writing subjects in the social construction of race in the U.S. This is an important endeavor because after the publication of Prendergast's essay, race has still been largely ignored from a composition perspective. Race is a prominent theme in communications departments, and a survey of the current literature demonstrates the breadth of the research in areas such as media (Zagacki; Cisneros; Owen and Ehrenhaus), global



politics (Barber); terrorism (Cloud), public discourse (Roberts-Miller; Asen; Gunn; Goldzwig), cultural identity (Carstaphen and Sánchez), health (Happe), writing (Canagarajah), racism (Crenshaw), race relations (Hatch), whiteness (Moon and Flores; Nakayama and Krisek; Shome) and critical rhetoric (Roberts-Miller; Flores and Moon)<sup>29</sup>.

The absence of race in composition studies is lamentable since composition and especially critical rhetoric is perhaps the most apt to further Critical Race Theory's (CRT)<sup>30</sup> agenda to uncover and contest racial subordination. Critical Race Theory accomplishes this by rejecting three mainstream beliefs: 1. Colorblindness will erase racism; 2. Racism is a matter of individuals, not systems; and 3. Racism can be countered without paying attention to other forms of oppression (gender, class, etc.) (Valdes, Culp, and Harris 1-2). The mission and goals of CRT has had far reaching affects outside of legal academia and has flourished as critical race feminists, queers, and Latino/as have added to the body of work of racial injustice to include sexual oppression, culture, language, and immigration etc. (Valdes, Culp and Harris 4). Despite the expansion of critical race scholars in the past two decades, it is apparent that CRT alone cannot address and dismantle racial oppression from a juridical perspective alone. This is where critical rhetoric can further Critical Race Theory's goals. According to Flores and Moon, critical rhetoricians emphasize "the workings of power, dominance, subordination, and marginalization" and "call for new definitions and understandings of power that complicate juridical notions of power, coercion and punishment" (183). Furthermore, Flores and Moon note that "critical rhetoricians explain how and why traditionally marginalized and

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<sup>29</sup> This list is not exhaustive. In a search under the keywords "race" and "rhetoric" in the databases JSTOR and Academic Search Premier, the overwhelming majority of the items encountered were from communication journals rather than composition.

<sup>30</sup> Critical Race Theory (CRT) began as an offshoot to Critical legal studies in the late 1980s and was founded on the basic premise that the American legal system is structured to maintain White privilege (Valdes, Culp and Harris, 1).

disenfranchised peoples participate in their own disciplining processes and continue to have faith in dominant discourses” (183). This speaks to one of CRT’s main frustrations: if race is a social construct, then why does the public, legislators and the judiciary not recognize this? Critical rhetoric can attend to this by addressing how to translate social construction theory for these audiences and also by focusing on “the micropolitics of local power relations” (Flores and Moon 183). By the “micropolitics of local power relations,” Flores and Moon mean the strategic workings of race and power at the level of the everyday through the examination of various cultural texts that speak to the marginalized. Although rhetoric and composition has been quick to include alternative discourses and silenced voices in the rhetorical tradition and issues of cultural and linguistic diversity in the classroom, the discipline has not turned its attention to the intersections of critical race theory and critical rhetorical theory to understand how discourses of race function in society. In this dissertation, I seek to contribute to this intersection by questioning the grand narrative that “American” is the equivalent of “White” and scrutinize the Black/White binary of race by including the experiences of permanent legal residents of Mexican descent seeking citizenship.

This undertaking also furthers an area of CRT that is undertheorized and under investigated: immigration. In “Race, and the Immigration Laws: The Need for Critical Inquiry,” Kevin Johnson argues that CRT (nor Lat/Crit or Asian American Legal Scholars) has not sufficiently analyzed immigration law (187) and that we need to look at immigration law outside the lens of Black and White. Although this dissertation does not turn its attention to immigration law, it focuses on the impact of racial naming, which is informed by immigration law, and how these “neutral” questions about racial identity obscures the grand narratives

embedded in them and the role of writing in this process. But despite the importance of the micropolitics of power, rhetoric and composition has been slow to theorize how writers become racial subjects and the role of ideology in this theoretical question.<sup>31</sup>

### **2.3 Writing Subjects**

To understand the role of discourse in the process of racial formation, it is important to begin with one of the most influential scholars in our field regarding writing theory and writing subjects: James Berlin. The foundation for Berlin's rhetorical theory was presented first in "Contemporary Composition: The Major Pedagogical Theories" (1982). In this essay, Berlin presents the major pedagogical theories used in composition and argues for the importance of understanding that pedagogical theories are grounded in rhetorical theories. Furthermore, he argues that the different approaches that instructors use in teaching the composing process are "located in diverging definitions of the composing process itself," and the ways that writer, reality, audience, and language are understood both separately and as they relate to each other (765-766). Berlin identifies four "dominant groups" or rhetorical theories that are used by rhetoricians: the "Neo-Aristotelians or Classicists," "Positivists or Current-Traditionalists," "Neo-Platonists or Expressionists" and the "New Rhetoricians" (766).

How these dominant groups define writer, reality, audience, language, and truth are summarized in the chart that follows. In Berlin's discussion of these four theoretical approaches, it is ironic that he does not enter into a discussion of ideology or subjectivity; these terms are absent from the discussion. It is in his later essay "Rhetoric and Ideology in the Writing Class" (1988) that Berlin states that the "question of ideology is never far from

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<sup>31</sup> Sánchez (2001; 2005) also argues that rhetoric and composition has undertheorized the writer and the writer as subject.

discussions of writing instruction”(477). In this essay, Berlin, again, is concerned with the pedagogical implications of rhetorical theory, but he enters the discussion by focusing on rhetoric and ideology in three rhetorics: cognitive psychology, expressionism, and social epistemic. Berlin’s treatment of ideology in this essay has implications for writing theory beyond the pedagogical and political, and, states Sánchez, “has explicitly and beneficially complicated rhetoric and composition’s orientation toward its objects of study: writing and writing subjects” (“Composition’s Ideology” 741). In contending with the issue of ideology, Berlin expands upon how each of the three rhetorics deals with and defines the writing subject. Cognitivists believe “the structures of the mind correspond in perfect harmony with the structures of the material world, the minds of the audience, and the units of language” (480). Writing is viewed as problem solving, and the composing process is given scientific examination (Flowers and Hayes). “The real is rational,” (482) and the words ‘self’ and ‘subject’ are absent because the “existent” is inscribed in the things as “indisputable scientific facts” (484). Expressionists believe in “the inherent goodness of the individual” subject (484). Reality serves only the needs of the individual, and the material, the social, and the linguistic serve the interests of locating the individual’s authentic self (484). The discovery of the true self is as important as the product. Power is vested in the individual who uses the world (material,

**Table 2.1** Berlin's Paradigms of Rhetorical Theory<sup>b</sup>

	Neo-Aristotelians or Classicists	Positivists or Current Traditionalists (Cognitive Psychology*)	Neo-Platonists or Expressionists	New Rhetoric (Social Epistemic*)
Writer	Rhetoric provides the means necessary to persuade audience of Truth. <sup>c</sup>	Individual sense impressions leads to knowledge; "must reproduce the objects and the experience of them in the minds of the hearers" (770)	Writer at center of communication; Comes to Truth or Knowledge through dialectic process with audience/hearer	Creator of meaning, shaper of reality (776), but language is socially constructed and "truth is impossible without language" (774).
Reality	The material world exists independently (767).	The material world exists independently	The material world exists independently and is always "in flux" (771).	Multiple
Audience	Objective receiver of Truth (775)	Objective receiver of Truth	Enters in dialogue with writer as a way to discover ultimate knowledge/truth	"Message arises out of the interaction of writer audience, language and reality; meanings are relationships" (775).
Language	Communicates about the material world and is unproblematic medium of discourse (767).	Corresponds with thought and can communicate about the material world	Deals with the realm of error; but can communicate essential realities (771)	"Is at the center of a dialectical interplay that involves the writer and the world;" "language embodies and generates truth" (774).
Truth	Discovered through syllogistic reasoning—deductive (769)	Discovered through induction (769)	Discovered through internal apprehension, but beyond expression in language (771); Truth located in the individual (773).	Rhetoric is the means to arrive at truth; truth is multiple and dependent on a given discourse community (774).
Ideology*		"Refuses ideological question," encourages discursive practices in line with dominant ideology (478)	"Openly admits its ideological predilections"—opposes ideology of current traditionalist (478)	"Self-consciously aware of its ideological stand"—ideology is at center of classroom activities (478).

social, linguistic) "to express the experience of the self," to reveal the authentic self. Through the authentic self, the individual will "discover the truth of the situation" (485). For scholars

<sup>b</sup> This chart includes Berlin's paradigms from both "Rhetoric and Ideology" and "Contemporary Composition." I see that these paradigms overlap and items from "Rhetoric and Ideology" are noted with an asterisk.

<sup>c</sup> Truth beginning with a capital "T" denotes one universal truth.

like Gibson, Coles, Murray, Elbow and Macrorie<sup>32</sup>, the self, subject, and voice are interchangeable. The authentic self exists separate from the economic, political, and social influences that exert pressure on the individual to conform (486).

The social epistemic rhetoric of Burke, Ohmann, Young, Pike, Bruffee, Faigley, Bizzell, to name a few, views “rhetoric as a political act” (488). The individual engages the material, and the social through dialectal interaction. This interaction is grounded in language, and knowledge is formed from the interaction of subject, social group, and material conditions (488). The subject is “a social construct that emerges through the linguistically-circumscribed interaction of the individual, community, and the material world” (489). There is no universal authentic self because the self never operates in “complete freedom” (489). The self as well as knowledge is historically bound. The self constructs reality and is also constructed by it. It is a product of a dialectical relationship between the individual and the social.

Berlin’s essays came at a time that the field was in the midst of the post-modern turn. In postmodernity, knowledge is created through a dialectical relationship between the writer, reality, audience, and discourse. This rejection of the unified, autonomous subject of modernity has fundamental implications for the notion of subjectivity, which is why Berlin places subjectivity at the center of our teaching practices. Berlin’s treatment of the subject, albeit the student subject, is important because Berlin is not only summarizing and clarifying the implications of the different paradigms and perspectives to the composing process, but he does this so that he can argue for the supremacy of New Rhetorics/Social-Epistemic Rhetoric’s view of the world. Rather than approach subjectivity from a modern/post-modern dichotomy, Berlin

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<sup>32</sup> See Berlin for a discussion of these scholars and their treatment of rhetoric and ideology.

chooses to examine it from the lens of three different perspectives. I argue that, although Berlin does not specifically refer to the New Rhetorics as a postmodern conception of the subject, his classification of the writer and his/her relationship to the other dimensions (audience, language, reality, truth, ideology) is clearly postmodern. Thus, I approach this investigation from the lens of postmodernism. The new citizen is not a unified subject but is composed of multiple and often conflicting subject positions. Like the scholarly work on student writers, new citizens struggle with inherited social narratives, i.e. racial categories, and must negotiate their identities in response to them. It is only under the postmodern paradigm, that writers (new citizens) are active participants in the creation of these social realities and are allowed the agency to be able to resist and change these powerful discourses. Understanding how this happens first entails understanding how subject positions are created in the context of a specific act of writing at the institutional level where U.S. government agencies provide the discursive positions available for racial identity (what is possible) and the process by which a new citizen invests in a subject position (See Hall "Who" 6). The *naturalization* of the subject positions regarding race constrains our knowledge and beliefs about race in a given society and the struggle to control what can be—the range of subject positions available to immigrants, is ideological.

## **2.4 Writing Subjects and Ideology**

If knowledge, then, is an arena of ideological conflict, it is at this point that I turn the discussion back to Berlin's understanding of ideology and rhetoric and the implications of this for theories of subjectivity. In "Rhetoric and Ideology," he "foregrounds" and "problematizes" ideology by situating "rhetoric within ideology" (477). By doing so, Berlin declares rhetoric as

“always already ideological” (477). Ideology is “never innocent,” and never free of bias; this means “to examine rhetoric is to consider the ways its very discursive structure can be read so as to favor one version of economic, social, and political arrangements over other versions” (478). Berlin applies Therborn’s usage of ideology presented in *The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology* and concludes from a rhetorical perspective that “ideology provides the language to define the subject (the self), other subjects, the material world, and the relation of all of these to each other” (479). In “Composition’s Ideology Apparatus,” Sánchez argues that the problem with Berlin’s treatment of ideology is that he “clearly situates rhetoric within ideology” (741), and Berlin’s “large claims for ideology” actually diminishes his articulation of rhetorical theory (743). Berlin’s subordination of rhetoric to ideology also continues in his last published book *Rhetorics, Poetics, and Cultures* (Sánchez 744). Sánchez explains that Berlin outlines a theory of the subject where the subject becomes “a mere function of one discursive regime” and not a participant in the making of society (746). This becomes even clearer when Berlin situates discourse and experience as two separate phenomena: “The effort is to make students aware of cultural codes, the competing discourses that influence their positioning as subjects of experience” (*Rhetorics* 116). Sánchez argues that this space between discourse and experience allows for writing to be theorized as the “notation system of experience” (“Composition’s Ideology” 746). The problem with this view of rhetoric, states Sánchez, is that it renders impossible a rhetorical theory that “might explain the formation of textually embedded writing subjects and acts of writing” (“Composition’s Ideology” 743). This theory could explain writing subjects and acts of writing outside of the academy, outside of the writing classroom,



and for more than just student writers. Such a theory would attend to the diverse scenes of writing and how writing functions in the world.

Sánchez' critical engagement with Berlin's ideology theory leads to a new articulation of this theory—one that is also important to racial construction since Hall, and Omi and Winant invoke ideology through the use of Althusser and Gramsci (as does Berlin) without fully theorizing its functions and forms. Sánchez also argues that a theory of the Althusserian subject has not been questioned from a "composition-specific perspective," and given its widespread application in the theoretical work of our field, we "should interrogate it closely before applying it" ("Composition's Ideology" 748). In the following sections, I highlight Sánchez' important points in his "interrogation" of ideology from a "composition-specific perspective" as it pertains to writing subjects and the act of writing.

In his theory of the state, Althusser defines the "subject" and outlines how an individual becomes a subject. Althusser states that "subject in fact means: (1) a free subjectivity (2) a subjected being who submits to a higher authority, and is therefore stripped of all freedom except that of freely accepting his submission." Individuals freely accept submission through the "reproduction of relations of production," and this is secured through the State Apparatuses. Althusser distinguishes between two types: the repressive and the ideological. The Repressive State Apparatuses (RSA) consist of the enforcers: police, courts, army, prisons, government etc., and the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) are the religious, educational, familial, legal, political, and cultural institutions (to name a few). The RSA functions in the public arena and the ISA in the private. The RSA operates by repression and the ISA through ideology. The ideology by which the ISA functions is, according to Althusser, the ideology of the ruling

class. This ideology “interpellates” individuals as subjects. Althusser explains that before a child is born, it is “always already a subject.” In other words, there are ideological positions and expectations assigned a priori. This is also the case for immigrants who are seeking naturalization—racial positions and expectations are assigned a priori. Although it is true that these potential citizens have already been interpellated by the racial positions and expectations from their home countries, the process of naturalization is influential, and necessary to cementing the new citizens’ ideas and beliefs of race in U.S. society.

In “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,” Althusser theorizes ideology as something that represents “the imaginary relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live.” This distinction between “the imaginary” and “real” formulates ideology as “pervasive and quasi-ontological and the question of its origin and perpetrators becomes difficult to address” (Sánchez “Composition’s Ideology” 748). Rhetoric, then, does not create knowledge and reality; ideology is given this role with rhetoric at its service. This view of ideology, which is the most widely cited by composition scholars, incapacitates the subject and is not “the kind of subject needed” for composition theory (Sánchez “Composition’s Ideology” 748). Sánchez’ criticism is also addressed by Judith Butler who questions Berlin’s description of the relation between ideology and subjectivity and traces these concerns back to Althusser and “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses.” Butler’s critique centers on the process of interpellation. According to Butler, interpellation requires that there is some form of pre-ideological status of existence and that there is an anticipatory desire on the part of the addressed to accept the subject position(s) (111). This pre-existing ideology constitutes already

what is possible and therefore struggle and negotiation will not be easy; it is “almost impossible to refuse” (Butler 110).

Sánchez resolves the inadequate subject for composition theory by returning to an earlier work by Althusser, *For Marx* that proposes a writing subject that is “useful” for composition (“Composition’s Ideology” 748) and for this dissertation. In *For Marx*, Althusser places ideology in relation to action or practice:

So ideology is not an aberration or a contingent excrescence of History: it is a structure essential to the historical life of societies. Further, only the existence and the recognition of its necessity enable us to *act* on ideology and *transform* ideology into an instrument of *deliberate* action on history. (232, emphasis added by Sánchez “Composition’s Ideology” 749)

It is this emphasis on action and practice that Sánchez interprets ideology as a “phenomenon about which something can be *done*” (his emphasis), and allows for subjects to resist or enact ideology (“Composition’s Ideology” 749). This is also the area of Althusser’s theory that can be the most fruitful for composition scholars because ideology as practice can be applied to writing theory since how “subjects” resist and/or enact ideology is accomplished through language and more specifically from a rhetorical perspective through “(at least in part) as the writing of texts” (Sánchez “Composition’s Ideology” 749).

The tension between the two views of ideology (action and practice) that Althusser proposes was one that Stuart Hall and others at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies also tried to work through in the 1970s. In a now out-of print volume titled *On Ideology* (1978),

they analyze the question of ideology<sup>33</sup> and note that Althusser identifies ideology as a level in the social formation. The ideological level accounts for the complexity of relations between the base and superstructure; the former is comprised of the economic level and the latter, the political (qtd. in Sánchez 750)<sup>34</sup> They also note that the economic level is always the determinant and dominant level in a social formation, but later Althusser adds that there is equivalence between levels and each level has the power to influence the other (qtd. in Sánchez 750). Because of this tension of determinant-equivalence, Sánchez argues that Althusser is presenting two different things, not two versions of the same thing. Sánchez understands that ideology as an overdetermining force is quite different from *ideologies*, which can be “embodied in institutions” and “can be located and resisted” (Composition’s Ideology” 751). Ideologies can be located in concrete objects:

Simply put, “ideology” cannot address specific applications arising from specific sets of relations, but there are plenty of “ideologies,” and we need only look at both large-scale and everyday struggles between people and institutions to find them. (Sánchez “Composition’s Ideology” 751)

This understanding of ideology conceives of writing as “acts of subject formation (and reformation)” (Sánchez 743). Thus, writing subjects are active participants in the making of society and the making of their own subject positions. This study extends Sánchez’ (and Miller’s) theory of textual rhetoric to the context of the application for naturalization, Form N-400 and the writing subjects involved—permanent legal residents. Legal residents applying for

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<sup>33</sup> As summarized by Sánchez 2001, 2005

<sup>34</sup> Hall also discusses this work done at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in “Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance.”

citizenship engage in the organization of their own racial subjectivity as well as the racialization of U.S. society through writing in (or checking a box) their identity.

## **2.5 Ideology, Hegemony, and Social Formation**

It is here, in the terrain of ideologies, that the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies turns to the theory of hegemony by Gramsci to explicate how ideologies function as part of *social formation*; For Gramsci, this meant explaining how the ruling classes ruled. From a Marxist point of view, the dominant class ruled through force and coercion. Gramsci identified two forms of political control: domination and hegemony. Hegemony referred to ideological control and consent. By hegemony, Gramsci meant “the permeation *throughout* society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that has the effect of supporting the status quo in power relations” (B. Burke). These values, attitudes, beliefs and morality are mediated through signifying practices and the struggle to make certain meanings prevail. This struggle for representation is a departure from structuralism’s view of language where meaning is derived from difference; rather, meaning is a struggle for power. This struggle of power “takes place on a broad front which includes the institutions of civil society (education, trade unions, family), with the possible unevenness between different levels and domains” (Fairclough *Critical Discourse Analysis* 76). So hegemony is domination across different levels or domains of society but it is never complete domination; “it is never achieved more than partially and temporarily” (Fairclough *Critical Discourse Analysis* 76). Gramsci terms this an “unstable equilibrium.” This unstable equilibrium takes place around “points of constant instability... to construct or sustain or fracture alliances [between classes or blocs] and relations of domination subordination, which takes economic, political, and ideological forms”

(Fairclough *Critical Discourse Analysis* 76). Under the framework of hegemony, ideologies are located in “all manifestations of individual and collective life” (Gramsci *Selections* 328). Like Sánchez, Fairclough understands that a Gramscian concept of ideologies begets that ideologies can be located in structures, events, language—in *text*. Gramsci supports this in *Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks* by asserting that “the printed word is the most dynamic part of this ideological structure,<sup>35</sup> but not the only one” (155).

Although the interpellation of the subject is strictly Althusserian, according to Norman Fairclough, “there is in Gramsci a conception of subjects as structured by diverse ideologies” (*Critical Discourse Analysis* 76). The diverse ideologies construct the subject as a “strangely composite” character (Gramsci *Selections* 324) where “common sense” is achieved by the conflicting, and overlapping intersection of past and ongoing ideological struggles. Gramsci termed this an “ideological complex” (*Selections* 195). This perspective of the ideological complex has been developed by various theorists such as Berlin, Laclau and Mouffe, Hall, and Omi and Winant; however, these theorists reject Gramsci’s (and Althusser’s) reliance on class as the battleground for hegemony. To resolve this, many theorists turn to Foucault who also argues that the relations of power cannot be reduced to Marxist modes of production or class struggle. In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault argues that power precedes relations of production, power precedes discourse; power is not repressive but productive. He explores the concept of power/knowledge in this essay through the lens of the modern prison and explains how subjectivity is constituted in the *orders of discourse*. Even though Foucault places discourse at

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<sup>35</sup> Gramsci specifically refers to the “Church” in this selection, but uses this example to discuss how in general the ideological structure of a dominant class is “organized...to maintain, defend and develop the theoretical or ideological front” (*Further Selections* 155; Q3 sec. 49).

the heart of social practices, he also suggests that discourse is secondary to power. Fairclough explains that “power is implicit within everyday social practices which are pervasively distributed at every level in all domains of social life, and are constantly engaged in” (*Discourse and Social Change* 50). Yet the pervasiveness of power is only tolerable because it “masks a substantial part of itself” (Foucault *History of Sexuality* 86). Discourse is where power most readily masks itself. Therefore, the structuring of signifying practices is a form of hegemony.

The ideologies of hegemonic struggle can also be understood in terms of Foucault’s order of discourse.<sup>36</sup> This is important because writers draw upon the socially available resources when producing and interpreting a text and these are constituted in orders of discourse. According to Foucault:

in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality. (“The Order of Discourse” 52)

Foucault explains further this thesis by explaining how discourse is controlled through “procedures” from the exterior and interior. Exterior “procedures” include societal value systems that define what is true and not true; i.e. that races exist and can be classified. Interior “procedures” control discourse through classification and ordering; For example, Hispanic and Latino are not races; and the number of ways to self identify are constrained by what the governmental agencies have deemed legitimate. Finally, a third group of procedures controls the discourse by determining the condition of its application and by imposing a certain number

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<sup>36</sup> See Fairclough *Critical Discourse Analysis* (76) for a discussion of this

of rules on individuals who hold them and limiting access to others.<sup>37</sup> The discourse of racial classification in U.S. society is controlled at an institutional level by the government. The government determines its application and retains the knowledge of how the racial classification system is applied. The discourse is so ritualized that it is commonplace to answer questions of race on all sorts of forms, and the orders of discourse regarding race is socially appropriated by individuals.

One other important understanding of orders of discourse that Foucault presents is that for a specific discourse to maintain its hegemonic hold, it is not forwarded as totalizing and unified. For the discourse to be socially appropriated it is masked and the discourse is continually altered, differentiated, and gradated in a plethora of documents at a given historical moment. This can yield diverse discourses that are often conflicting and contradictory, but it is exactly this instability that helps to maintain a discourse's primacy. Fairclough argues that Foucault's orders of discourse are akin to Gramsci's ideological complex (*Critical Discourse Analysis*): Both concepts are based on an unstable equilibrium that is masked through diverse ideologies (Gramsci) or discourse (Foucault) that change over time, and can be located in concrete linguistic objects.

The U.S. racial categories are a point of constant instability—categories are added, deleted, or altered over time, and the different levels (economic, political, and ideological) exert influence over the final outcome in a given historical moment. The final outcome of racialization also becomes a process of definition through the lens of the dominant ideology. Cobas, Duany, and Feagin assert that for Latinos this entails “their incorporation into a white-

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<sup>37</sup> Foucault names these group of procedures ritual, doctrine, societies of discourse and social appropriation of discourse (“The Order of Discourse” 52-56)



created and white-imposed racial hierarchy and continuum, now centuries old, with white Americans at the very top and black Americans at the very bottom” (1). At the core of racialization is a struggle over language and identity; this struggle is apparent at the moment of applying for naturalization as the applicant comes into contact with the dominant culture’s definitions of race. The questions regarding racial self-identification on the Form N-400 impose certain assumptions about race on the applicant without his/her awareness. The invisibility of the ideologies presents race as “common sense.” In “common sense, “ideologies... become naturalized” (Fairclough *Language and Power* 76) much like a new citizen becomes *naturalized* into full participation in U.S. society.

The theories engaged in this dissertation provide the foundation for understanding how racial ideology becomes naturalized in U.S. society. The reinterpretation of the Althusserian ideology/ideologies allows for a theorization of the “subject” that is useful for composition—one that locates ideologies in texts and subjects as active participants in their “subject formation (and reformation)” (Sánchez 743). Subjection becomes part of the “literal” writing of texts. This understanding of Althusser resonates with Gramsci’s theory of hegemony and the Foucauldian subject. These theories explain that power is maintained through an unstable equilibrium and it is masked through diverse (and conflicting) ideologies or orders of discourse. Under this framework, racial formation no longer becomes a paralyzing endeavor, but one that allows for the investigation of the discourse of race as negotiated by individuals at different levels of society with a focus on acts of writing (broadly conceived). This idea is forwarded by Utz McKnight who states that if we take the idea of articulation seriously, where race, class, gender etc. are all interdependent of one another, then it is not important to investigate racial

practices as structured in dominance, but to “look at the ways institutions, collective formations, and individuals use race as an open, contested, and variable concept of dominance everyday” (21). The major sources of racial practices today are comprised of discursive elements (Foucault) and according to McKnight, racial subjection in the U.S. is acquired through “social encounters when very young, and the idea of racial difference as phenotype is initially explained or justified as a social value of importance” (46). Although new immigrants applying for citizenship in the U.S. do not come to this country void of social encounters that assign value to skin color, it is my contention that the process of legal residency and naturalization is a significant source for the racial subjection of the new citizen.

This dissertation examines how the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service uses and distributes race, and how subjects participate in the social reproduction of the dominant ideology to create a society where individuals think: I am White; He/she is Black, or Asian, or Native American etc. The subjection begins with everyday acts of writing your race on a form with predetermined racial categories. The analyses in the following chapters examine race as presented by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the participation and negotiation of the social reproduction of this racial discourse by permanent legal residents of Mexican origin in the process of becoming U.S. citizens.

## Chapter 3

### METHODOLOGY: A CRITICAL RHETORICAL APPROACH

The purpose of this research is to understand how legal residents of Mexican origin, who are applying for citizenship, negotiate race and to frame this analysis within the broader context of racialization in U.S. society. I am concerned with issues of race since it is a primary category of access in U.S. society, and legal residents are initiated, in part, into this category of access via the application for naturalization, N-400. The N-400 presents its readers a version of reality regarding race that is laden with preconceived ideological positions and expectations. This became apparent to me during my volunteer work helping legal residents through the application process as the racial identification questions were difficult for applicants to answer. For example, question 5.D. asks the applicant if he or she is Hispanic or Latino, and question 5.E. asks the applicant to choose a racial category. These two questions together signal that the Hispanic and Latino are not considered racial categories and are labels that De Genova and Ramos-Zayas, among others, say were devised in the 1960s to “erase the particular histories of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans” (17).<sup>38</sup> Consequently, Latinos are encouraged to identify racially in the U.S., and on the N-400 they *must* identify racially.<sup>39</sup> This led me to question the version of reality this Form presents and the implications of this in shaping race in U.S. society. This initial curiosity seemed to be an insurmountable task, but my ultimate goal was to look at how race works (discursively that is) in the world for this specific population.

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<sup>38</sup> De Genova and Ramos-Zayas are referring specifically to the use of these terms on the U.S. Census forms.

<sup>39</sup> Where the census form allows an applicant to opt out of the racial question or write in their own response, the N-400 does not provide these options.

Although many rhetoricians have explored the connection between language and society and have used diverse analytical methodologies, very few integrate the everyday experiences of the people that are subjected to the discourse that constructs their material realities; so I knew from the beginning of designing this dissertation that I had to integrate the individual—the legal resident, in this project while also keeping an eye on the text—the application for naturalization in the process. The outcome of this is an analytical method that I term a *critical rhetorical approach informed by discourse analysis*. I explain in the following sections why I use discourse analysis as a lens to look at the object and subjects of this dissertation. The discussion begins with discourse analysis and its relationship to scholars of rhetoric and composition. I explain that any approach that links language and society should be critical in nature and follow the framework of Norman Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). I turn next to understanding where the rhetorical fits into this framework. I describe this three-part research project that consists of an analysis of the historically situated projects that have transformed the racial categories on the application for naturalization in the past century, a “textual” analysis of the current naturalization application using theories of visual rhetoric, and an ethnographically-oriented approach (non-participant observation, questionnaires, interviews) to understand how applicants negotiate the Form<sup>40</sup> and the implications of this negotiation in U.S. society.

### **3.1. Discourse Analysis and Rhetoric and Composition**

There are many versions of discourse analysis, but in general these approaches can be distinguished by studies that include detailed analyses of texts and those that do not (van Dijk)

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<sup>40</sup> When referring specifically to the application for naturalization, Form N-400; I use a capital “F”—Form.

and those that are critical and those that are not (Gee). The different approaches tend to be one of disciplinary background: scholars from linguistics use a systematic methodology that integrates utterance-level detail, while “discourse analysis in the social sciences is often strongly influenced by Foucault” and “generally pay[s] little attention to the linguistic features of texts” (Fairclough *Analysing Discourse* 2). The critical label is not related to whether the analysis includes linguistic features of text, but with whether or not the text-level analysis is connected to its function/implication in society (Gee 68). Fairclough’s own approach to discourse analysis tries to transcend this divide by analyzing the fine-grained details of a text for the “socially constructive effects of discourse” while also investigating the effects of this discourse when people talk or write (*Analysing Discourse* 3).

So, where does the field of Rhetoric and Composition stand on the analysis of discourse? This question was one that Ellen Barton and Gail Stygall attempted to answer since there was, as of 2002, little written from a composition perspective on the “systematic analysis of discourse” (1). This is due in part to what Barton and Stygall categorize as a cyclical relationship between composition and discourse studies that has alternated between periods of “interdisciplinary productivity and suspicious withdrawal” (2). According to Barton and Stygall, as discourse studies emerged as a field in the 1980s, it was noticeably absent from composition’s disciplinary discussions. Even though it was not a disciplinary focus, scholars from rhetoric and composition conducted and published research using discourse analysis, and Barton and Stygall affirm that this area of research has grown every decade since. This is not surprising since the analysis of discourse, state Barton and Stygall, is “basic to the enterprise of

composition studies: Every study in the field is based implicitly or explicitly on the analysis of texts and/or talk in their various contexts” (1).

Yet amongst the interdisciplinary productivity, scholars in Rhetoric and Composition critiqued the use of a methodology with the baggage of linguistic epistemology. Lester Faigley questioned linguistics’ view of subjectivity in *Fragments of Rationality* and the “reading off” of ideology from text. Sharon Crowley also questioned the association between linguistics and composition (and thus discourse analysis). Despite these critiques, in Barton and Stygall’s view, composition benefits from discourse studies in its ability to “elaborate and specify discourse features of writing itself and to elaborate and specify the discourse contexts in which writing takes place” (2). The increased focus on discourse analysis led Barton and Stygall to compile a collection of essays on the various approaches used by composition scholars with the goal of “situating the systematic study of discourse more explicitly in the field of composition” (1). These studies are broad and diverse in topic and methodology but all strive to understand how written language and discourse function in a variety of contexts. Although critiques of these approaches stem around the issue of whether discourse analysis is reductive in nature, the volume presented by Barton and Stygall demonstrates that since the 1980s discourse analysis has increasingly focused on context rather than text and has resisted systematization; thus it is not about a particular methodology or limited to certain sites of investigation. Barton and Stygall argue that because of this, “discourse studies brings to composition...a theory of language in use and a methodology with which to formulate and test insights about social interaction and structural analysis” (9).

In my opinion, the critique that rhetoricians, such as Faigley<sup>41</sup> and Crowley, have of discourse analysis is that when conducted at the text dimension, it does not account for situated meaning. This narrow understanding of discourse analysis as a study of the correlation between language and form is reductive, but discourse analysis is a broad area that incorporates varied and diverse methodologies as well as varied and diverse sites of investigation.

The volume edited by Barton and Stygall presents a collection of sixteen studies that go beyond detailed sentence/utterance analysis to incorporate situated meaning. These studies include investigations into metadiscourse (Vande Kopple), academic discourse (Peck MacDonald), genre analysis (Swales and Luebs; Berkenkotter and Ravotas), narrative (Stygall), professional discourse (Charney), revision (Nystrand), gender bias and authority (Fuller and Lutz) and critical discourse (Huckin). As exemplified in this volume, the methodology that discourse studies brings to composition is varied and highly adaptable to our areas of research. It is not only about text and sentence-level analyses; it can be used for written, oral, and visual forms of communication. This ideal discourse analysis (form-function) is one that is in line with Fahenstock and Secor's characterization of rhetorical analysis (same volume) as "inevitably situational and functional" (178).

Since the aim of this study is to understand the rhetoric of race in the context of citizenship and its implications in society, a rhetorical analysis that is situational and functional is not sufficient. This necessitates a methodology that investigates how this situated meaning is

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<sup>41</sup> Faigley states that "linguistic theory that attempts to relate language to social practice can offer ways to begin discussing the unstated cultural assumptions of texts, but linguistic analyses....are incomplete unless they take into account the specific historical circumstances in which these texts were produced and read" (97-98).

enacted in society through a critical lens. In Barton and Stygall's volume, Thomas Huckin advocates a critical discourse analysis approach for use by composition researchers and composition teachers because it puts emphasis on the "fine-grained details of a text" but also on the "political aspects of discursive manipulation" (157). The need for a context-driven approach to discourse analysis is in line with the goals of composition research as well as other academic areas that strive to understand the link between language and society. So it is of no surprise that critical discourse analysis has become what Norman Fairclough terms a new "cross-discipline" where many disciplines such as linguistics, anthropology, sociology, education, and psychology have contributed to CDA (*Language and Power* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 9). To this list, I also add English and Rhetoric and Writing Studies.

### **3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical discourse analysis is a theory and methodology that has its roots in critical applied linguistics. There are many different approaches<sup>42</sup> to critical discourse analysis, but in general critical discourse analysis is categorized by its attention to the relationship between language and society. Critical discourse analysts strive to describe, interpret, and explain the relationship between the two. Although the approaches to CDA are broad, researchers must attend to all three parts of CDA: critical, discourse, and analysis. What distinguishes CDA from discourse analysis is that it addresses a social problem and attempts to explain this problem by analyzing the function of discourse in constructing the problem, but this analysis must consider issues of power and the social, political, historical, and ideological contexts where this discourse

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<sup>42</sup> In this dissertation I use the term approach when referring to CDA. Since there is no systematic unified set of standards to conduct CDA, there is therefore not one CDA method. CDA is both a methodology and a theory.



emerges (Rogers 3-4). In contrast to discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis strives to not only describe current sociolinguistic conventions but to also explain how these conventions are the product of a struggle over power. According to Fairclough and Wodak, critical discourse analysis:

Sees discourse—language use in speech and in writing—as a form of ‘social practice.’ Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned—it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people...Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects—that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people. (258)

Given CDA’s foundational principles, this study seeks to understand the application for citizenship as a site of struggle over racial identity for legal residents of Mexican heritage. The current conventions for racial identification on the application for naturalization are the outcome of power relations. These issues of power are articulated in the social, historical, and political discourses where U.S. racialization emerges. The naturalization of racial categories has sustained race as common sense and these “common sense assumptions are ideologies”

(Fairclough *Language and Power* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2). This dissertation examines how the discourse of race constitutes society and promotes a racial ideology of a White America. To explain how this happens and the role of the new citizen in this, I rely on Fairclough's "systematic methodology" for discourse analysis.

### 3.3 A Critical Discourse Analysis Approach

Critical discourse analysis methodology has been furthered by Fairclough 2003, 2001, 1995, 1992, 1989; Fairclough and Wodak 1995; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; van Leeuwen, 2008, 1993; van Dijk 1997, 1993; Rogers 2004; Gee 2011 as well as by rhetoricians such as Wodak, 1995; Wodak and Meyer, 2009; Huckin 2002; Huckin and Berkenkotter 1995; Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000 and Blommaert 2005. Although there are many ways to conduct critical discourse analysis, the definitive text for critical discourse analysis (CDA)<sup>43</sup> is Fairclough's 1992 book titled *Discourse and Social Change*. This 260-page book was dedicated solely to delineating a social theory of language. In his social theory of language, Fairclough draws upon works from linguistics, pragmatics, and discourse studies and the theories of Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser, Michel Foucault, Jürgen Habermas, and Anthony Giddens. Although Fairclough is not the first to attempt a synthesis of theories from language studies and other social sciences, previous theories have paid little attention to the role of power and ideology and the role of language to these processes.<sup>44</sup> In the following section, I discuss the major proponents of Fairclough's methodology as presented in *Discourse and Social Change* (1992) and salient

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<sup>43</sup>Scholars like Gee distinguish between CDA and cda. CDA in capitals refers to critical discourse analysis as described by Norman Fairclough. There are many ways to conduct critical discourse analysis. I intentionally use CDA in capitals since I am using a Faircloughian model. This model, however, will be adapted to fit my unique research agenda, but I follow Fairclough's theoretical underpinnings of CDA.

<sup>44</sup> Fairclough discusses previous attempts to synthesize a social theory of language in Ch. 1 of *Discourse and Social Change*.

additions and/or changes to this methodology as outlined in *Language and Power* (1989/2001).

Using this as a frame to conduct research, I then discuss how I will adapt this approach to the study of race and citizenship to present a *critical rhetorical approach informed by discourse analysis*.

In *Discourse and Social Change*, Fairclough provides a three dimensional approach to CDA: “Discourse-as-text,” “Discourse-as-practice,” and “Discourse-as-social practice.” Discourse-as-text (73-78) consists of vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure (concrete linguistic objects of study) (75). At the level of grammar, the clause is the unit of analysis where cohesion refers to “how clauses and then sentences are linked together” (75). The text structure involves the “architecture of the texts” to include “specifically higher-level design features” which constitute a genre such as a crime report in a newspaper or a job interview (77-78). Discourse-as-discursive practice (78-86) involves processes of text production, distribution, and consumption according to the different types of discourse. Texts are produced in specific ways in specific social contexts. The text producer can be understood by a set of different subject positions such as “animator,” “author,” “principal” (78). Text consumption can be individual or collective and has to do with the type of text and the discourse being produced. In particular, Fairclough notes that “some texts (political speeches, textbooks) are transformed into others” and that “institutions have specific routines for ‘processing’ texts” (79). The distribution of the text deals with who is involved with the text. Fairclough provides the example of a casual conversation versus a text produced by political leaders. The first text is limited in distribution and pertains to the immediate context of the situation whereas the second is distributed across a range of different institutional domains

(79-80). Here, Fairclough is quick to also explain that text production and interpretation also depend upon “members’ resources”<sup>45</sup> and defines this as the “things” that members have internalized and bring with them to the text process and interpretation (80). It is at this level that Fairclough links the texts (concrete linguistic objects of study) to context through three other analytical concepts: force, coherence, and intertextuality. Force refers to “the actional component” of a speech act (82). In my opinion, it is a matter of the choices available for a subject to express his or herself. Fairclough determines that force “potential” is usually distinguished between indirect and direct force. Consider these three utterances by a flight attendant: If you’d like, you can move your seat to 35A; Please move to 35A; Move to 35A. The difference in these utterances is a matter of force and is highly context dependent.

Coherence is, according to Fairclough “a property of interpretations” (83). A coherent text is one “whose constituent parts (episodes, sentences) are meaningfully related so that the text as a whole ‘makes sense’, even though the text itself may have few “formal markers” to indicate the relationship between the parts of the text (83). Texts set up subject positions where the subject is capable of interpreting the text through making connections or inferring them. These connections are ideological and will be discussed further in chapter four. The final dimension of discourse-as-discursive practice is intertextuality (Bahktin 1981, 1986; Kristeva 1986). Intertextuality stresses the historicity of texts and the understanding that texts are constituted by preexisting “chains of speech communication” (Bakhtin *Speech Genres* 94).

*Texts transform the past into the present.* We can, however, discuss intertextuality across all

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<sup>45</sup> I liken the members’ resources to Emig’s governing gaze: “We see what we elect to see. We have, as this metaphor puts it, a gaze that is governed—by our expectations which is in turn governed by our experiences and by what we have cognitively decided to make of them...” (65).

three levels of text production, distribution, and consumption. According to Fairclough, discourse-as-discursive practice should encompass a combination of both micro and macro levels. For Fairclough, the micro deals with how participants understand and interpret texts and the macro deals with the orders of discourse and other member's resources that are being drawn upon in order to do this.

The third dimension of analysis is discourse-as-social practice, and its aim is to understand discourse in relation to power and ideology drawing upon the theories of Althusser and Gramsci (86-96). In chapter two, I discussed at length Althusser's theorization of ideology. Raul Sánchez argues that Althusser's theory presents two distinct forms: ideology and ideologies. Althusser's theory of ideologies, states Sánchez, is one that is conducive to composition studies and supports the investigation of concrete linguistic objects since ideologies can be located in texts. This has largely been a source of contention from composition scholars who have rejected critical linguistics' textual view of the location of ideology. Fairclough also agrees that ideology resides in texts, but he maintains "that ideology invests language in various ways at various levels" and that it is not necessary to account for ideology at only one level (88). The issue at hand is whether ideology is located in structure or in speech acts, and Fairclough argues that doing so is problematic since neither is completely adequate to understanding discourse-as-social practice. Fairclough prefers the view that ideology is located in both the structures (orders of discourse) as well as the discursive event (89). Tied to the issue of ideology is if individuals are aware of the ideological processes built into conventions such as racial categories on government forms. Fairclough links this issue to Althusser's interpellation of subjects. Fairclough rejects Althusser's overstatement of the

ideological constitution of subjects since he understands that all discourse is ideological but is not “all ideologically invested to the same degree” (91). This is where Fairclough introduces the concept of hegemony (Gramsci) as a means to understanding how certain discourses are more ideologically invested than others. It also provides a means to explain how discourses change and how subjects can be agents of that change. Fairclough defines hegemony as “the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamental economically-defined classes in alliance with other social forces, but it is never achieved more than partially and temporarily” (92).

Hegemonic struggle, states Fairclough, takes place over different levels and domains of society but that discursive practice “is a facet of hegemonic struggle which contributes in varying degrees to the reproduction or transformation” of the existing order of discourse and social and power relations (93). The loci of this discursive struggle are the particular institutions such as “the family, schools, courts of law, etc.” (94). The dominant exercise power not through coercion but also by integrating subordinate groups through discourse. Thus, I focus on racial categorization as presented by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, but this investigation will highlight how this order of discourse shares a degree of integration with other governmental institutions. The concept of hegemony is useful to analyzing discourse in its social context and within a web of power relations.

CDA methodology has been furthered by Norman Fairclough in subsequent publications. Most notably (and recently) in *Language and Power* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (2001). It is important, however, to highlight some important points from this publication.<sup>46</sup> In this book, Fairclough still conceptualizes discourse analysis as a three-dimensional approach that involves the text,

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<sup>46</sup> The 1989/2001 versions of *Language and Power* have remained virtually the same besides some minor changes and an updated bibliography (*Language and Power* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. iix).

interaction of the text (discursive practice) and explanation (discourse-as-social practice).

*Language and Power* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition is also written for an audience other than linguists and can serve as an introductory resource for researchers that are not familiar with CDA. Given this change, Fairclough provides guiding questions to conduct Critical Discourse Analysis so that this framework can be easily applied. The guiding questions for each dimension are based upon experiential, relational, and expressive values. Each of these values represents the traces or cues that are found in a text. Experiential value has to do with traces of “*contents* and knowledge and beliefs” from the author’s experience of the world (93). Relational values refer to “a cue to the social relationships enacted via the text in the discourse” and the expressive value is a cue to “the producer’s evaluation...of the reality it relates to” (93).

The second and third dimensions of analysis as explained in *Language and Power* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. have remained essentially the same, except that Fairclough renames the second dimension, interaction, and the third, explanation. I’ve already presented Fairclough’s main points as summarized from *Discourse and Social Change*, but it is important to emphasize that the second level of analysis is where text and social structures interact. This interaction is dependent upon all the discourse that a text is a part of as well as the common-sense assumptions, which give the text its values. In short, it is how the participant interprets the text. The final level—explanation is where discourses are mediated by the social context of the discourse. The discourses only become real or “socially operative, as parts of institutional and societal processes of struggle” (117). The object of the explanation phase is to “portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures,

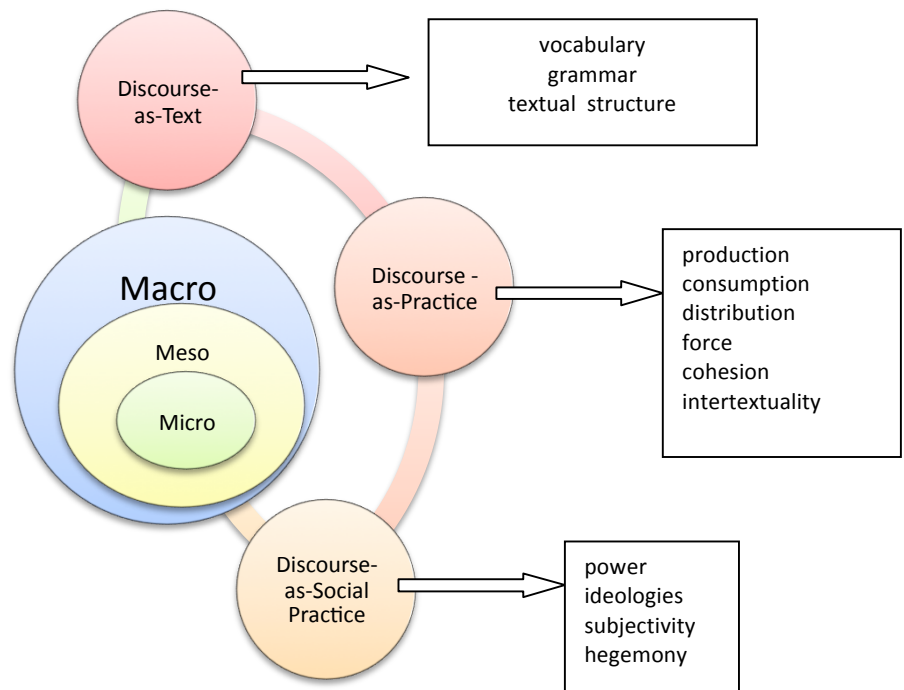
sustaining them or changing them” (135). Explanation has two dimensions; this depends upon the focus of the explanation—process or social structure (135-136). We can see discourses as part of social struggle and contextualize them and their effects on structures or we can show what power relationships determine discourses. The former puts emphasis on the social effects of discourse, the latter; the social determination of discourse. Both of these, however, should be investigated at three levels of social organization: the societal, institutional, and situational (136).

Finally, one key change to *Language and Power* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) is Fairclough’s addition of chapter ten, which highlights issues of language and power in a global context. In this chapter, Fairclough explains that research into the local or national issues of language and power are automatically set within the international frame as well (203). This chapter is ultimately concerned with the globalization of discourse in the age of the Internet and global news channels. Of import to this study is Fairclough’s discussion of how each society has its own orders of discourse and that globalization is a domain of struggle, not just a domain of homogenization. Legal residents applying for citizenship do not come to the Form N-400 as a blank slate; they come to the Form with traces of the orders of discourse regarding race from their “home” society.

The review of the literature regarding Fairclough’s CDA approach yields a representation of this model as understood below in Figure 3.1. The center circle represents the levels of society, which is comprised of the macro (society), meso (institutions), and the micro (the everyday). The macro also incorporates issues of globalization. The three dimensions used to conduct Critical Discourse Analysis are: Discourse-as-text, discourse-as-practice, and discourse-



as-social practice. All three of these dimensions are used in varying degrees at all three levels of society and is context driven. The boxes are the concepts that Fairclough uses in his systematic analysis of discursive events. The approach outlined below will serve as the base point for conducting a critical rhetorical analysis of race and the new citizen.



**Figure 3.1** The three levels of social organization (macro, meso, micro) and the three dimensions of CDA (text; practice, social practice)

Fairclough's model for CDA is useful for this investigation because of two factors: he conducts analysis at the three levels of society, and he provides the tools and vocabulary to conduct textual analysis in composition research.

### 3.4 Where is the Rhetorical in CDA?

I mentioned previously in this chapter that I was working towards a *critical rhetorical approach informed by CDA*. So where exactly is the critical rhetoric in CDA? This requires the examination of the term that unites these two approaches—critical. According to Raymie

McKerrow, “a critical rhetoric serves a demystifying function...by demonstrating the silent and often non-deliberate ways in which rhetoric conceals as much as it reveals through its relationship with power/knowledge” (92). CDA, with its goals of understanding the function of discourse in the construction of our social lives through the systemic analysis of language forms and functions while attending to issues of power (Rogers 3-4), exemplifies the type of critical rhetoric that McKerrow argues for: one that “examines the dimensions of domination and freedom as these are exercised in a relativized world” (91). Therefore, the treatment of critical by these two approaches (discourse/rhetoric) is essentially the same.

If doing critical work is, as Ralph Cintrón states, simultaneously an inquiry into the object of knowledge as well as “an inquiry into how, why, and when the knowledge became knowledge and who made it so” (13), then the issue at hand dividing critical rhetoric and critical discourse analysis is a question of how. Discourse analysis inevitably, because of its grounding in linguistics, focuses on the linguistic patterns of a text (sounds, words, meaning, register, style, and intertextuality) and analyzes the functions of these patterns by context and in constructing social practices. Since all rhetorical acts contribute to the production and reproduction of society (See K. Burke) then rhetorical analysis foregrounds the function of language in constructing and creating identities and reality whereas discourse analysis foregrounds the function of linguistic patterns (See Stillar).<sup>47</sup> The issue here really is one of focusing on the system (grammar) rather than the practice since the theoretical assumptions of both CDA and critical rhetoric are identical: language is doubly constitutive—it constructs but is

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<sup>47</sup> Stillar dedicates his book “Analyzing Everyday Texts” to understanding and integrating text analysis from the three perspectives: discourse, rhetorical, and social theory. Although his analysis of rhetoric is framed by Kenneth Burke, he does offer insights into understanding the difference and similarities of the three perspectives.

also socially determined. Both approaches also share the same theoretical framework as they both invoke theorists such as Bakhtin, Kristeva, Althusser, Gramsci, and Foucault.

If many of the theoretical underpinnings of critical rhetoric and critical discourse analyses are similar, then where do the two diverge? In general, rhetorical analyses incorporate higher-level constructs, whole text, the sentence level, and word choice in examining a text but do not employ linguistic vocabulary in doing so because the textual evidence is handled differently and are rarely quantified (Fahenstock and Secor 195). Our discipline has our own vocabulary for such analyses, but notes Huckin, we tend to lack such vocabulary when discussing the fine-grained details of a text and thus turn to CDA to supply this (158). Rhetorical analyses for the most part invoke terminology from classical rhetoric such as *topoi*, *telos*, *kairos*, *logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos*, and from contemporary theorists concepts like the rhetorical situation, identification and the pentad (K. Burke). Since the terminology is diverse, scholars must selectively decide how to approach a text and decide which concepts are best suited to analyze a text (Huckin 163). However, at a minimum, Fahenstock and Secor stipulate four basic characteristics of rhetorical analysis:

It must attend to the rhetorical situation.

It should use an identifiable vocabulary drawn from rhetorical theory.

It should analyze language choices in terms of the effects on its audience.

It should uncover the argument of the text. (183-184)

Despite differences in approaches, Fahenstock and Secor note that both discourse and rhetorical analyses are “equally illuminating” and that the “different lenses always produce different visions and the more lenses and visions, the better” (195). This is where I have tried to

lead this dissertation research by using diverse yet complementary forms of analysis where the incorporation of the different lenses and visions result in a better “illumination” of the social problem at hand. Hence, my critical rhetorical approach<sup>48</sup> **informed** by CDA will incorporate Fairclough’s levels and dimensions of analysis, but will use rhetorical vocabulary and theory to explain this analysis while attending to the rhetorical situation, and the effects of the discourse.

### **3.5 Critical Rhetoric, Racial Formation, and the New Citizen**

This research attempts to understand how the process for applying for naturalization and becoming a new citizen contributes to racial formation in the context of the U.S. Although this is a daunting task, Fairclough’s three-dimensional approach to CDA that incorporates discourse-as-text, discourse-as-practice, and discourse-as-social practice provides a starting point for the design of this investigation. This three dimensional approach, according to Fairclough, should be investigated at three levels of society: social, institutional, and situational. This framework works effectively with social theories of race formation that incorporate three levels of social formation: micro-, meso-, and macro- (Omi and Winant; Winant; and Fenton) as discussed in chapter two; therefore I will be using this terminology (micro-, meso-, macro-) in the dissertation. In order to investigate race and the new citizen at the three levels of social formation, I have designed a three-part approach to this study: Part I corresponds to the macro level and consists of a historical analysis of racial formation through the racial categories provided used for immigration and naturalization purposes in the last century. Part II

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<sup>48</sup> At this juncture, it is important to note that the two most widely cited and utilized frameworks for critical rhetorical analyses are put forth by Raymie McKerrow and Thomas Nakayama and Robert L. Krisek. However, neither McKerrow nor Nakayama and Krisek outline a methodology per se for conducting critical rhetoric.

corresponds to the meso-level and is an in-depth analysis of the design of the current application for naturalization, Form N-400, and specifically the racial identification questions in the Form. Part III corresponds to the micro-level and incorporates ethnographic methods to understand how the individual applying for citizenship negotiates the application and U.S. notions of race and the effects of this negotiation. I have dedicated a chapter to each level of social analysis, but the analysis of each level will draw upon all three dimensions of CDA, discourse-as-social practice; discourse-as-practice; and discourse-as-text simultaneously. Each part will be discussed at length in the following sections.

#### **A. Major Questions**

The overarching question of inquiry for this investigation is:

*How does the application for naturalization (N-400) construct the citizen and how does this community disrupt or reify this construct?*

And specifically:

- 1. What are the historically situated racial projects that inform the current racial discourse of the N-400? (Chapter 4)*
- 2. How does the visual rhetoric of the form (N-400) construct and persuade its users? (Chapter 5)*
- 3. How do applicants negotiate race as presented in the application for naturalization? (Chapter 6)*

#### **B. Chapter 4. Going the Macro: Racialization and the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service**

The macro processes that contribute to racialization in the U.S. context are discussed in chapter four of this dissertation. The guiding question of inquiry for this chapter is:

*What are the historically situated racial projects that inform the current racial discourse of the N-400?*

The objective of this chapter is to understand the orders of discourse regarding race as presented by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and this necessitates an understanding, although brief, of relevant historical events regarding race-making in the U.S. such as laws regarding citizenship, and the U.S. Census Bureau's treatment of race. The U.S. Census Bureau has figured prominently in the articulation of race in the U.S. and shares a parallel history with the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the treatment of race on the application for naturalization. I visited the U.S. Customs and Immigration Service Historical Library in Washington D.C. to conduct primary research into the genesis of racial categories by immigration officials and the changes to these categories for naturalization purposes in the past century. The changes are discussed and presented in this chapter. I draw upon the theories of Althusser, Gramsci, and Foucault to explain the discourse in relation to power and ideology. This chapter explores how race is conceived and controlled by the Immigration and Naturalization Service through what is included and thereby excluded in the categories available for racial identification. It also looks at the historical changes to the document and how a particular discourse at a particular moment of time draws upon other discourse types. In essence, I look at the power "in" discourse and the power "behind" discourse (See Fairclough *Language and Power* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). The historical changes to the questions of racial identification are indicative of the changing relationships of power at the institutional and societal levels.

### **C. Chapter 5. Interacting with the Institution: The “Blank” N-400 and the Rhetoric of the Visual.**

Chapter five of this dissertation deals with the meso-level of society (the institution) through an analysis of the content and document design of the N-400. It is at this level that scholars (See Fenton) argue that cultural battles are enacted; this is where the new citizen encounters the dominant discourse about race in the U.S. The question of inquiry for this chapter is: *How does the visual rhetoric of the form (N-400) construct and persuade its users?* The first level of analysis consists of the “fine-grained details” of the text. I examine the structure of the questions on the application and the verbal forms used to determine their relational value (how these constructions present social relationships). It is in this chapter, however, that I depart from Fairclough’s CDA approach. This is due in part because Fairclough, as well as other scholars who use CDA, focus inevitably on “verbal” or “written” elements. Although Fairclough assumes “broad and non-restrictive notions of discourse and text” to include visuals, he does not offer a comprehensive framework for the analysis of visuals (*Language and Power* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 23). Furthermore, it is important to note that although Fairclough provides for a broad notion of discourse, he does not theorize the relationship between the visual/verbal. Ultimately, CDA views the text—spoken or written (not broadly conceived) as primal. Visual rhetoric transcends these boundaries by positing that the text and structure are not independent but work simultaneously on the “reader” to make meaning (See Kress and van Leeuwen; Mitchell; Blair; Goggins; to name a few).

I stated that visual rhetoric is used to analyze the “blank” N-400. By visual rhetoric, I am referring to “a frame for analysis for looking and interpreting” (Helmers 65). But that frame

includes diverse disciplines, foci, genres, and methodologies, and there is no consensus on what constitutes visual rhetoric. Therefore, the first part of chapter five is a brief literature review with an emphasis on scholars that theorize the visual/verbal relation such as Wysocki, Hocks, Hagan, and Salinas. From these theorists, I develop a method of “looking and interpreting” the N-400 based on Salinas’ concept of the *configuration* and his assertion that technical rhetoricians should infuse graphic design theory to “read” and “write” images. This analysis makes transparent the discourses within the Form from a multimodal lens. Multimodality entails the mixing/blending of multiple technologies and media to include words, sounds, images, graphics, and video and inevitable leads to hybrid constructions.

The analysis of the Form begins first with global issues and then concentrates in on “Part 5,” which asks applicants to racially self-identify. The visual presence of information, spacing, black-boxing, font style and size along with the content of the N-400 are laden with cultural significance. For example, the “NOTE” at the top of part 5 projects a certain ethos. First, the word is written in all capital letters, and second, it states that the FBI requires this information. This note sets the tone for this section as official and also legitimizes the information being requested.

<b>Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search</b>	Write your USCIS A-Number here: A
<b>NOTE:</b> The categories below are those required by the FBI. See instructions for more information.	

**Figure 3.2** Part 5. “NOTE”

Although forms are designed to be easily read and recognized so that anyone can understand them, they convey a message that arises from the reading of the image of the page and the word. These image/word(s) are far from neutral or objective, and the analysis



presented in this chapter demonstrates that an unfilled-out form is just as lethal as the filled-out form.

#### **D. Chapter 6. Attending to the Micro: The New Citizen**

The third part of this study is concerned with how applicants act and interact with texts the course of social events. Texts, however, can be shaped by the writer and also by social agents, the applicants. In chapters four and five, I focused on the relationship between the text (N-400), social practices, and social structures (the U.S. government). In this chapter, I use postmodern ethnographic-oriented methods to explore how legal residents who are in the process of applying for citizenship negotiate the discourses and ideology provided to them by the state. Postmodern ethnography may use methods of observation, but rejects the positivist assumptions behind this method. It incorporates the perspectives of the population under study. Focusing on the micro-level allows the researcher to see the effects of the Form in use, and how the dominant racial ideology puts constraints applicants' choices. Ethnographic methods are the most appropriate at this level especially since this study looks at a text (the applications for naturalization) in relation to society. The question of inquiry for this chapter is:

*How do applicants negotiate race as presented in the application for naturalization?*

The purpose of this micro-level research was to collect information about attitudes, thoughts, and behaviors regarding race from the sample population. The scope of the ethnography was limited to non-participant observation, a questionnaire, and follow-up interviews. Since ethnography is directed at explaining cultural patterns by incorporating the social actors, the social actors are described below.

### *Sample Population*

The sample population for this research was legal residents from the El Paso area that were in the various stages of applying for naturalization. One of the most difficult tasks in designing this dissertation was finding access to this sample population since it was not feasible to have access to immigration records in order to administer a questionnaire to new citizens. The other means of identifying applicants was to work through the two non-profit organizations in the El Paso area that provide assistance to legal residents who are applying for naturalization. The two non-profit organizations are the Diocesan Migrant and Refugee Services (DMRS) and *Las Americas* Immigration Advocacy Center. Although the *Las Americas* Immigration Advocacy Center has hosted citizenship “drives,” they do not have a dedicated citizenship section; for that reason, I chose to work with DMRS to identify the sample population of which seventy-five would participate in a written questionnaire. There is no clear cut rationale for this number (75) except that I wanted the sample to be large enough to be able to make some overarching generalizations about the data obtained as well as be an attainable goal.

### *Instruments*

The questionnaire was two-pages in length and written in both Spanish and English. It was composed of open-ended and closed-ended questions. The questionnaire was designed so that the participant could answer the questions on racial identity from the U.S. Census Form, the application for naturalization, and of their own accord by “filling in the blank.” The open-ended questions asked participants to reflect on the choices available to them and indicate how they would prefer to self-identify now and in future instances. The follow-up interview was oral and in Spanish or English. The interviewee determined the language choice. The interview was

also composed of open-ended and close-ended questions. In general, I asked participants to explain their answers on the questionnaire. Of interest particularly was how the participant perceived race before living in the U.S. and how this influenced their answers on the questionnaire. (See Appendix B for the consent form, questionnaire, and interview questions.)

### *Administering the Questionnaire*

The best method to gather data from a large sample size is a group-administered questionnaire. The group-administered questionnaire allowed me to get my initial questionnaire results in one space of time and also ensured a very high response rate since it was administered face-to-face rather than mailed. The challenges, however, to a group-administered questionnaire were twofold: getting everyone together and getting permission. After speaking to the executive director of DMRS, I decided that the best route for this type of research was to visit the free citizenship classes that were held on a weekly basis in the El Paso area. DMRS trains the volunteer instructors and provides them with the course materials for the citizenship classes. At the time of this research, there were thirty different citizenship classes conducted at eighteen different locations in the El Paso area. These locations varied and included churches, libraries, and community centers (See Appendix C for a listing of the citizenship classes). Students who attended the class were in various stages of the application process, preparing for the test and interview phase of the application process. In total, I visited twelve different citizenship classes located throughout the city. The classes were chosen randomly with the only criteria that I visit classes from different areas of the city and from different types of locations, i.e. churches, schools, libraries, community centers.

Before visiting the first citizenship class, I conducted a pretest of the questionnaire as Jeanne Converse and Stanley Presser assert that researchers should pretest the questionnaire. Ideally it is best to conduct both a participatory pretest and an undeclared pretest. For the purpose of this study, I conducted both types of pretests. The participatory pretest was conducted on a group of graduate students that are not U.S. citizens. These students were told that this was a practice-run of the questionnaire and provided immediate feedback on the questionnaire design and content. An undeclared pretest was conducted at the first citizenship class site in the study. Subjects were not told that it was a pretest. The two pretests helped me to gauge whether the questionnaire was effective. I found that many participants had difficulty answering the self-reflexive questions and left them blank. I then redesigned the questionnaire by converting the open-ended questions to close ended or short responses.

#### *Video Interviews*

Of the sample population (75), I proposed as a goal of fifteen percent of this population to conduct a follow-up interview. I asked participants to indicate on the questionnaire whether they were willing to conduct an interview in regards to the responses on the questionnaire and if so, to provide contact information. I contacted the interested participants and arranged to meet at their convenience. The interview was scheduled around kitchen tables, as well as at the location of their citizenship class since this was a neutral and public place that both the participant and researcher were comfortable with. Participants first signed an additional consent for the videotaped interview (See Appendix B). The interviews were approximately twenty to thirty minutes in length and began with a review of their questionnaire as a starting point to begin the discussion.

### *Non-Participant Observation*

Observation was used in a very limited scope and was implemented in the administering of the questionnaire. It was in this context that I observed how the participants approached the questionnaire. The notes consisted of a short analysis of the rhetorical situation: who, when, where, how many participants and the comment or question that was posed by the participant. I was, in a sense, a rhetorical eavesdropper.<sup>49</sup> The observation yielded some very interesting comments to add to the qualitative research because inevitably an open conversation about racial identity ensued at every citizenship class I visited.

### *Analysis of the Data*

I outlined previously the approach I used to analyze the data. This research is for the most part qualitative and utilizes this critical rhetorical approach. Some of the data from the questionnaire and the primary research on the racial categories used in the last century was quantitative. The quantitative data regarding racial identification was submitted to simple statistical analysis using Microsoft Excel. The results were presented in the pertinent chapters in written and table form. Some of the data analyzed included gender, age, and length of residency as it correlated to racial identification.

The data from the questionnaire is then used to complement the citizenship class observations and video interviews with permanent legal residents. It is in this chapter that I draw upon the previous levels (macro, meso) and address the overarching question of inquiry. In addition, I use this chapter to discuss limitations with this critical rhetorical approach and my role as researcher. I end the chapter with final conclusions about the study.

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<sup>49</sup> See Krista Ratcliffe

## Chapter 4

### GOING THE MACRO: RACIALIZATION AND THE U.S. IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

*Race is determined by language in such phrases as “the races of Europe,” but by physical qualities such as color, hair, and shape of head, when we speak of “the five great races” or divisions of mankind. (Folkmar 54)*

*The racial categories included in the following text generally reflect a social definition of race recognized in this country, and not an attempt to define race biologically, anthropologically, or genetically. In addition, it is recognized that the categories of the race items include racial and national origin or socio-cultural groups. (U.S. Census Bureau 2010 Census Questionnaire Reference Book 27)*

In this chapter, I trace the evolution of the federal racial classification system and explore the role of this system in the construction of U.S. citizens and ultimately in the racialization of U.S. society. I examine the historical context of the classification system from 1898 until the present with a narrow focus on immigrants from Mexico and discuss how changes to this scheme and definitions thereof were used to control access to citizenship. The body of this work will focus on changes to the racial classification system as it pertains to naturalization and the official forms for naturalization. Where relevant, the discussion will incorporate laws and policies pertaining to race and immigration in the U.S.

The historical context is crucial to understanding our present-day treatment of race in the U.S. In chapter two, I surveyed the literature regarding current theories of racial formation in the society. These influential theories understand race as the outcome of the interaction/intersection of different levels of “things” in society to include politics, economics,

history, and ideology (See Hall's Articulation). This dissertation furthers the theoretical work of these sociologists by using as a framework Omi and Winant's racial projects while incorporating Fenton's contribution of the meso structure (institutions) in the process of racial formation. Racial formations, according to Omi and Winant, are "created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" by "historically situated *projects*" where human bodies and social structures are represented, organized and ruled ("Racial Formation" 124). These historical projects often mediate between the discursive and the institutional forms in which it is routinized and standardized (Omi and Winant "Racial Formation" 127). Race is "routinized and standardized" through public institutions; all have descriptions of race within their regulatory schemata and these definitions impact policy implementation and the internal practices of the institutions. At the micro level, individuals consume these definitions of race and reproduce the definitions in establishing social identities. There is no place where this is more evident than the production of race by the U.S. government and the consumption of this "product" through various institutional practices such as the U.S. Census and the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The production, distribution, and exchange of "race" position different social groups in relation to one another through the lens of the dominant ideology. Yet, "race" as a concept is not unified or stable. It changes over time, and in different contexts, and it can present itself in diverse and conflicting ways.<sup>50</sup> However, this instability is needed to mask the dominant

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<sup>50</sup> The diverse ideologies construct the subject as a "strangely composite" character (Gramsci 324) where the "common sense" is achieved by the conflicting, and overlapping intersection of past and ongoing ideological struggles. Gramsci termed this an "ideological complex" (195).

discourse.<sup>51</sup> The historical development of the racial classification schema in the U.S. presents itself as unstable, but a closer examination of the historical racial projects (laws, policies, manuals, treatises, and naturalization and immigration documents) reveals the persistent stability of a core set of ideas about race that circulate in society.

#### **4.1 Legalizing “White”**

The point of departure for this discussion begins with the Naturalization Act of 1790 that limited citizenship to any “free,” “white” person that had resided in the U.S. and its jurisdiction for a period of at least two years. Applicants had to prove to “any common law court of record” that they were of “good moral character” and that they had resided for at least one year “in any one of the states” (1 Stat. 103). From 1790 to 1802, three other acts to establish the uniform rule of naturalization were passed<sup>52</sup>, but each upheld the 1790 conditions that applicants be “free white persons.” According to Marian Smith, “U.S. nationality law generally transformed northern and western European immigrants into U.S. citizens” (92). This pivotal law, excluding all non-Whites from active participation in U.S. society, remained in effect until 1952 (Haney López 43). In the century after the Act of 1790 passed, there appears to be little controversy or litigation over its enforcement (Smith 92). But where the majority of immigrants were from northern and western Europe, by the late 1800s the demographics shifted and there were increasing numbers of people from other parts of Europe and Asia. This shift challenged the existing legislature regarding race and naturalization.

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<sup>51</sup> “In every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality. (Foucault “The Order of Discourse” 52)

<sup>52</sup> 1795 Naturalization Act, 1798 Naturalization Act, and 1802 Naturalization Act



As the country's demographics were transforming, two major changes to citizenship law occurred in the latter part of the 1800s. First, the Act of April 1866, and the fourteenth amendment conferred citizenship to all persons born in the United States, and who were "not subject to any foreign power" except for "Indians not taxed" (qtd in Smith 93). Then, in 1870, the Act of 1866 was revised to include "aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent" (sec. 2169 U.S. Revised Statutes). This Act and the subsequent revision separated citizenship by birth and citizenship via naturalization since the racial requirements for citizenship only applied to those naturalized. This was also confirmed by the Supreme Court in 1898, which ruled that U.S. born children of Chinese and others were eligible to be citizens. This was in direct opposition to the Naturalization Act of 1882 that prohibited the naturalization of Chinese. Despite the racial qualifications set forth in sec. 2169, Marian Smith, U.S. Customs and Immigration Service Historian, notes that "Congress, at times, ignored §2169 and used its original authority over naturalization to extend U.S. citizenship to groups of racially ineligible aliens" to include "Native Americans" and the "Chinese-born citizens of Hawaii at the time of annexation" (93). This also seemed to be the case when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 conferred citizenship to Mexican-born residents of the Southwest. Article VIII of the treaty stated that "Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico...shall be free to continue where they now reside" and that those who remain have one year from the treaty to declare citizenship. Those that fail to declare will "be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States." Article IX provides further instruction that once said territories were incorporated into the Union, Mexicans will enjoy "all the rights of citizens of

the United States.” These two articles of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo granted full access to U.S. society to Mexicans *residing* in the territories in 1848.

Mexicans not residing in said territories would have to petition the courts to become citizens. This did not mean that all Mexicans were racially eligible to naturalize; only those that were “White” and this was determined by “any court of record.” The “any court of record” that determined eligibility for naturalization had a diversity of rulings regarding the eligibility of Mexicans in the fifty years following the treaty. The lower courts passed on the decision regarding racially eligibility to the Supreme Court and in 1897 (the United States v. Rodríguez), the court determined that Rodríguez was eligible for naturalization. The judge ruled that the defendant Rodríguez “would probably not be classed as white” from the standpoint of the anthropologist, but he was legally considered “white” by the law (re Rodríguez qtd. in Haney López 61). This historically important decision by the judge was, perhaps, the context needed to separate Mexicans (and all Spanish-speaking citizens and immigrants) from Whites.<sup>53</sup>

#### **4.2 Forming the Races**

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, growing concern over the shift in the source of new immigrants, the conferring of citizenship by Congress to racially ineligible aliens such as Mexicans (as well as Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and Native Hawaiians) led to the formation of the racial classification system. According to Perlmann, the formative decades of the classification system were 1890-1913, but that the system was “created, refined, and initially contested” from 1898 to 1903 (2). Although it is not completely clear when the scheme was implemented, race became an important category after 1898. In the 1898 Annual Report of

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<sup>53</sup> Laura E. Gomez writes extensively about the implications of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the naturalization of Mexicans in *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race*.

the Commissioner General of Immigration, there is a move to use race to classify immigrants rather than nationality since nationality “gives no clue to their characteristics and their resultant influence upon the community of which they are to become members” (qtd. in Perlmann 3). This was important because country of origin did not report much about the new immigrant—immigrants who were coming from “multi-national empires” such as “Russia, Austro-Hungary, Turkey and Germany” and thus a person who listed their country of birth as Germany was not necessarily a German (Perlmann 3<sup>54</sup>). Race was initially gathered as part of the passenger lists of the ship manifests (See Perlmann; Smith; Weil). The first list included forty-six “races or peoples” and defined it as “blood” but that “mother tongue” could be used to assist in determining race (Smith 93<sup>55</sup>). Yet the first list did not seem to be any different from a list of nationalities with such entries as: “African (black),” “Bulgarian,” “Dalmation,” “Italian (North),” “Italian (South),” “Mexican,” “Servian<sup>56</sup>,” and “Spanish American.” According to Smith, this first list was created by Ellis Island immigration officials and was considered “a practical tool” devised by these officials to classify people (93).

In “Races at the Gate,” Patrick Weil researches the creation of the original list of “Races and Peoples” and finds that it was the “essentially the work of three civil servants: Terence V. Powderly, Edward F. McSweeney, and Moses Victor Safford. Powderly was the then Commissioner-General of Immigration and was aided by McSweeney, the Assistant Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, and Dr. Safford, who had served as Surgeon General at the U.S. Marine Hospital on Ellis Island (Weil 629-631). It was McSweeney and

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<sup>54</sup> Perlmann’s “Race or People” does not have page numbers in the print or digital copy. I have numbered the pages for citation purposes starting with one.

<sup>55</sup> See the instructions in the Figure on 93.

<sup>56</sup> Serbian in the original entry on the list of Races and Peoples is spelled Servian.

Safford who worked on drafts of the infamous report submitted to the Immigrations Bureau in 1898 with the original list of “Races and Peoples (Weil 631). Weil believes that Safford was especially influential in devising the list; in a letter to the then Secretary of Treasury dated Dec. 31, 1897, Safford writes of his ability to accurately identify different human “races” (631). Far from a mere “tool” of immigration, Weil states that the list was created with the goal of gathering statistical data about immigrant groups based on race.

The original list was legitimized with the Act of March 3, 1903, which mandated the classification of all aliens entering the U.S. by race (Weil 632). Later that year, the new Commissioner-General of Immigration, Frank P. Sergeant, decided to “gather some of the ‘races and peoples’ of Europe into ‘four or five’ well-recognized divisions, which conform more or less to geographical location” (Weil 633). These divisions were the Teutonic (northern Europe), Celtic (western Europe), Iberic (southern Europe), Slavic (western Europe) and the Mongolic (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, East Indian, Pacific Islander, and Filipino) (Weil 633-634). Although the 1898 list remained in effect, there was a move from within the Bureau to distinguish among immigrants from Europe thereby establishing a hierarchy of whiteness.

#### **4.3 The Naturalization Service and the *Dictionary***

The “List” and the mandate to classify all aliens according to race did nothing to clarify the issue of racial eligibility because the language of the laws was vague and to compound that, there was a differential application of the laws by Congress and the courts. No one seemed to share a “common” understanding of the racial distinctions, to include the courts. Marian Smith reports that “any court of record” meant that at that at the turn of the twentieth century there were “more than five thousand high and low courts exercising such jurisdiction,” and “judges in

different jurisdictions had different ideas of what constituted ‘whiteness’ or good moral character for that matter (92). The lack of uniformity and other problems regarding this matter<sup>57</sup> led to the establishment of the U.S. Naturalization Service in 1906. The Basic Naturalization Act of 1906 gave the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization the responsibility of “all matters concerning the naturalization of aliens” (34 Stat. 596).

In its first year, the Bureau printed additional instructions for “Filing Alien Manifests” (qtd. in Perlmann 7). These instructions stated that special attention should be given when distinguishing between race and nationality. For example “France appearing on the manifest might not necessarily mean French, and similarly French may not mean France by nationality” (Perlmann 7). These instructions were also accompanied by special distinctions. Perlmann notes that the first three distinctions involved Cubans, West-Indians, and Spanish Americans, and these three “specifically exclude blacks” (Perlmann 7). The fourth distinction was African (Black) and “refers to the African Negro, whether coming from Cuba, or other islands of the West Indies, North or South American, Europe, or Africa. Any alien whose appearance indicates an admixture of Negro blood should be classified under this heading” (Passenger List Forms qtd. in Perlmann 11). Perlmann states that the first order of business, then, was to “distinguish the European subgroups from the larger black-white division” and “reassert the one-drop rule” (Perlmann 7). These special instructions made clear then that not all Mexicans were of the White race. Any Mexican that had the appearance of an “admixture of Negro blood” should be

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<sup>57</sup>Smith states that this lack of uniformity in decisions and procedures “bred fraud” and this “underlay Congress’s establishment of the U.S. Naturalization Service” (93).

classified as such. Hence a policy of immigration control was contingent in great part on a “racialist<sup>58</sup>” approach.

This “racialist” approach was further legitimized by the creation of the Immigration Commission (Act of Congress of February 20, 1907; see Folkmar, *The Immigration Commission* n. pag.). The committee’s duties were “to make full inquiry, examination, and investigation...into the subject of immigration.” The commission, led by Senator William P. Dillingham retained the 1898 list of “Races and Peoples” and was authorized to “send for persons or for papers” regarding matters of immigration. The commission contracted Dr. Daniel Folkmar<sup>59</sup> to write *The Dictionary of Races or Peoples* published in 1911. In the introduction to the *Dictionary*, Dr. Folkmar explains that Eastern Europe had become an important source of immigration and “it became apparent that the true racial status of many of them was imperfectly understood even in communities where they were most numerous” (1). The purpose of this dictionary was to “promote a better knowledge” of the sources of immigration to the U.S. and treats more than six hundred subjects with a special focus on current and potential immigration trends (1). Folkmar is also quick to point out that this work is written for the student of immigration, not the ethnologist (2). This is a telling point because, although Folkmar’s dictionary is a scholarly work, he had to work within the limits and goals of the immigration commission. Folkmar presents the arguments regarding race and understands that the number of races are in dispute and that some writers have proposed “15, 29, or 63 races,”

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<sup>58</sup> “Racialist” refers to “selection based on national or ethnic origin” (Weil 626).

<sup>59</sup> I list Folkmar as the author in the Works Cited. In a letter of transmittal (n.pag.) in the foreword of the *Dictionary*, the chairman of the commission, Mr. Dillingham writes that he has the honor to present this dictionary “on behalf of the Immigration Commission,” which was “prepared for the commission by Dr. Daniel Folkmar.”

but he “deems it reasonable to follow the classification employed by Blumenbach<sup>60</sup> ..., the Caucasian, Ethiopian, Mongolian, Malay and American, or, as familiarly called, the white, black, yellow, brown, and red races” (4). Folkmar justifies the use of this classification for two reasons: “the generally prevailing custom in the United States” and because other ethnologists such as Keane and Brinton have returned to this classification system (4). The “prevailing custom” in the U.S. refers to the issue that Folkmar was, to some degree, restricted by the current classification system in the U.S. The government had gathered race-based statistics since 1903 and for continuity purposes could not just “do away” with the previous list, and it was part of Folkmar’s duties to make this previous list “authoritative” (Perlmann 14). Specifically, Folkmar was restricted by the 1898 “List,” but he also incorporates the 1898 proposed divisions suggested by then Commissioner-General of Immigration Sergent. Although there are some differences in these divisions, it is striking to note that the proposed divisions are quite similar to Folkmar’s work except that the 1911 division adds the categories “Malay” and “American” which were in the 1898 list subsumed under “Mongolic” (refer to Table 4.1).

**Table 4.1** Comparison of the 1898 and 1911 Racial Divisions

1898 Proposed Divisions	1911 Dictionary or Races or Peoples
Teutonic, Celtic, Iberic, Slavic	Caucasian
African	Ethiopian
Mongolic (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, East Indian, Pacific Islander, and Filipino)	Mongolian
	Malay
	American

<sup>60</sup> Blumenbach, Keane, and Brinton were the leading ethnologists from the U.S. and Britain at the turn of the century.

According to Folkmar, race is defined as physical characteristics, but also includes linguistic factors: “Race is determined by language in such phrases as ‘the races of Europe,’ but by physical qualities such as color, hair, and shape of head, when we speak of ‘the five great races’ or divisions of mankind” (54). The reason Folkmar does this is laid out in the Introduction of the *Dictionary*; Immigration officials need to have some way to identify and classify a person racially, and they are not ethnologists nor have the proper “scientific” training to do so. Language, then, is another means to ascertain race especially since nationality does little to distinguish between native and naturalized citizens. Furthermore, the subdivision of people along linguistic lines is because “this is also the classification that has the sanction of law in immigration statistics and in the censuses of foreign countries” (4).

Folkmar’s designation of the five grand subdivisions of mankind are further classified by stock, group, and people. Although race is defined by physical and linguistic factors, the terms stock, group, and people lack clarity. In the dictionary, he defines stock as a “loose expression for race” (55). But further elaborates that “a stock in ethnology generally includes several races” (55). “People” is also defined in a circular fashion since the use of it in this dictionary is the equivalent of “race” (55). Therefore, the “English People” is the same as saying the “English race” (55). The comparative chart of races and peoples organizes the races according to the previous immigration lists and creates a grand scheme to “naturalize” race (refer to Figure 4.1). This grand scheme was not ideologically neutral since one only has to look at the dictionary entries of the main divisions to understand that “White” was defined in relation to all other races, creating a system of racial classification of White and Non-White.



CAUCASIAN, CAUCASIC, EUROPEAN, EURAFRICAN, or WHITE race. The name given by Blumenbach in 1795 to the white race or grand division of mankind from the Ethiopian, Mongolian, American, and Malay races (see these). The term is now defined more suitably for our purposes in a broader sense by Brinton and Keane, namely, to include all races, which, although dark in color or aberrant in other directions, are, *when considered from all points of view, felt to be more like the white race than like any other of the four other races just mentioned* (my emphasis). (30)

## COMPARATIVE CLASSIFICATION OF IMMIGRANT RACES OR PEOPLES.

Based on Brinton (of. Keane).			People.	Ripley's races, with other corresponding terms.
Race.	Stock.	Group.		
Caucasian..	Aryan....	Teutonic....	Scandinavian:	I. TEUTONIC.
			Danish.....	
			Norwegian.....	
			Swedish.....	
		Lettic.....	German (N. part).....	H. Europæus (Lapouge). Nordic (Deniker). Dolicho-leptorhine (Kohlmann). Germanic (English writers). Reihengräber (German writers). Kymric (French writers).
			Dutch.....	
			English (part).....	
			Flemish.....	
		Celtic.....	Lithuanian.....	Part Alpine.
			Scotch (part).....	
			Irish (part).....	
			Welsh.....	
	Aryan....	Slavonic....	Russian.....	II. ALPINE (OR CELTIC).
			Polish.....	
			Czech:	
			Bohemian.....	
		Illyric.....	Moravian.....	H. Alpinus (Lapouge). Occidental (Deniker). Disentis (German writers). Cello-Slavic (French writers). Lappanoid (Pruner-Bey). Sarmatian (von Hölder). Arvernian (Beddoe).
			Servian.....	
			Croatian.....	
			Montenegrin.....	
		Armenic....	Slovak.....	Part Alpine. Part Mediterranean.
			Slovenian.....	
			Ruthenian.....	
			Dalmatian.....	
	Aryan....	Itallic.....	Herzegovinian.....	III. MEDITERRANEAN.
			Bosnian.....	
			Albanian.....	
			Armenian.....	
		Hellenic....	French.....	H. Meridionalis (Lapouge). Atlanto-Mediterranean and Ibero-Insular (Deniker). Iberian (English writers). Ligurian (Italian writers). Part Mediterranean. Part Teutonic.
			Italian (part).....	
			Roumanian.....	
			Spanish.....	
	Aryan....	Iranic.....	Spanish-American.....	Part Mediterranean.
			Mexican, etc.....	
			Portuguese.....	
			Greek.....	
	Aryan....	Semitic....	Hindu.....	Doubtful.
			Gypsy.....	
			Arabian.....	
			Hebrew.....	
	Aryan....	Chaldeic....	Syrian.....	Doubtful.
			Caucasus peoples.....	
			Basque.....	
			Finnish.....	
Mongolian..	Sibirie....	Finnic.....	Lappish.....	Doubtful.
			Magyar.....	
			Bulgarian (part).....	
			Turkish, Cossack, etc.....	
	Sinitic....	Chinese.....	Japanese, Korean.....	Doubtful.
			Kalmuk.....	
			Chinese.....	
			East Indian (part, i. e., Indo-Chinese).	
Malay.....			Pacific Islander (part).	
Ethiopian..			East Indian (part).....	
American (Indian).			Negro.....	
			American Indian.....	

Figure 4.1 Comparative Classification of Immigrant Races or People from the *Dictionary*

This system also created a hierarchy of whiteness that placed Scandinavian first; English, fourth; and Mexican, twenty-ninth out of a possible thirty-nine (See Figure 4.1). It is surprising, given the purpose of the *Dictionary*, that “English” was not placed first since Folkmar writes that “there is no necessity in this dictionary for discussion of a subject so well understood by all

as the character, social institutions, and other qualities of the English as an immigrant people. It may be assumed that all Americans understand the race which has given us our language and laws and political institutions” (54). It is ironic, however, that it is in this entry “English or Anglo-Saxon; inaccurately British” that Folkmar finally defines the terms used in the dictionary (rather than in the introduction) and he explains how peoples of “mixed-origin” should be dealt with: race is “to be determined by the preponderating element in the mixture” (55). This “preponderating element” was exploited when confusion arose over the placement of a “people.” In the entry for “Ethiopian,” for example, Folkmar discusses the issues surrounding the inclusion of some “groups” under the grand division of Negro such as the Papuans of New Guinea, and concludes that for immigration purposes they should all be classified as Negroes:

NEGRO, NEGROID, AFRICAN, BLACK, ETHIOPIAN, or AUSTAFRICAN. That grand division of mankind distinguished by its black color and, generally speaking, by its woolly hair. While the black, like the white and yellow races, is accepted by practically all ethnologists as a primary division of mankind, there is the greatest difference of opinion as to what should be included in it Some... would set apart the ‘Oceanic Negroes’—that is, the Negritos of Malaysia and the Papuans of New Guinea...for immigration purposes it is preferable to include all the above under the term ‘Negroes.’ They are alike in inhabiting hot countries and in belonging to the lowest division of mankind from an evolutionary standpoint. (100)

The preponderance of one element over another was the building block of this classification scheme, and the classification endorsed the current ideology that race had something to do with “intelligence.” Folkmar positions “Negroes” as the lowest division of mankind from an

evolutionary standpoint. Above them, are the three other divisions: Mongolian, Malay, and American as evidenced by “type of head.” Although Folkmar enters into scholarly discussion of the disputes over racial categorization, the Bureau of Immigration applies the system in the widest sense possible wherever there is disagreement, as in the case of where to place “Eskimos” (see below).

MONGLIAN, MONGOL, MONGOLIC, MONGOLOID, ASIATIC, or YELLOW race. That grand division of mankind that is typically, as to color, yellowish, and as to origin, culture, and present habitat, Asiatic. An important subject in immigration. The Mongolian and the Caucasian (see) are the two largest “races” or divisions of mankind... The term “Asiatic” may be used in a geographical sense to include India. (97)

The term “Mongolic grand division” is used by the Bureau of Immigration in the widest sense of all, to include the Malays, as well as the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans. All of northern, central, and eastern Asia was originally occupied exclusively by the Mongolian race, if we exclude from this grand division the doubtful Eskimos...(98)

Finally, the short, or brachycephalic, type of head is more characteristic of the Mongolian and Malay races than any other. The eastern Eskimos, however, like most American Indians and Negroes, have long heads. (99)

This taxonomy provided the basis to contradict previous court decisions by applying race in the widest possible sense and utilizing a definition of “preponderance” to exclude immigrants of dark complexion. It was noted previously that in 1897, the Supreme Court ruled that “by law” the defendant Rodríguez was “white.” Although Mexicans are classified under the Caucasian race in the *Dictionary*, the entry regarding “Mexican” states that the definition of Mexican is restricted to those with “pure white blood” regardless of nativity:

MEXICAN. Any native of Mexico who is neither of Negro nor of Indian descent.

Defined thus for immigration purposes, because Negroes and American Indians are listed separately regardless of nativity (cf. *Cuban* and *Spanish American*). (96)

This understanding of “Mexican” is again reinforced in the entry for “Negro” and “Spanish American:

NEGRO. Immigration statistics count as Negro, or “African (black)” “aliens whose appearance indicates an admixture of Negro blood,” “whether coming from Cuba or other islands of the West Indies, North or South America, Europe, or Africa.”<sup>61</sup> Only American-born immigrants of pure European blood are counted as Cuban, Spanish American, Mexican, and West Indian (see). (101)

SPANISH AMERICAN. Defined by the Bureau of Immigration, ‘the people of Central and South America of Spanish Descent.’ Those of Negro or Indian

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<sup>61</sup> It is not clear what source Folkmar is quoting in this passage. It is assumed that he is referring to the guidelines for immigration statistics.

descent (see) are listed separately, as are also Mexicans, West Indians, and Cubans (see). (137-138)

Lest there be any confusion, the definition for Mexican further implies that the Mexican “race” is not overwhelmingly White: “The Mexican population, unlike that of Cuba, is mainly of Indian or mixed origin and is therefore largely excluded from this definition. While 70 per cent of the inhabitants of Cuba are white, less than 20 per cent of the people of Mexico are of pure white blood.” (96). The *Dictionary*’s definition of Mexican conflicted with the U.S. Census classification that maintained that Mexicans were White.<sup>62</sup>

The census had added race to the data they collected in the Census Bill of 1910 and racial statistics gathered in this census were used to limit immigration through the Act of 1917 that barred immigration from a geographic area with longitudinal and latitudinal precision. One small part of this Act was to bar immigration to contract workers. In *Not Like Us: Immigrants and Minorities in America, 1890-1924*, Roger Daniels explains how growers in the “American Southwest” urged lawmakers to exempt Mexicans because they “feared a farm labor shortage” (83). The Secretary of Labor issued orders soon after to honor the request. This exemption would prove to have further ramifications for immigration, as the understanding of White would come under attack by the courts. Two fundamental cases were argued before the Supreme Court: *The United States v. Ozawa* (1922) and *The United States v. Thind* (1923). The 1922 case, re Ozawa, argued that the language regarding racial ineligibility set forth in sec. 2169 was based on color not race. The Supreme Court’s conclusion was that “a person of Japanese race, born in Japan” was ineligible to naturalize because he was not White, or as stated in the

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<sup>62</sup> Prior to the 1920s, Mexican was a separate entry on the U.S. Census, but the Mexican government pressured the U.S. to not list Mexicans as separate since Mexicans were White. In 1920, the entry was removed. (See Perlmann)

written decision those “popularly known as the Caucasian Race” (Smith 96). Of relevance to Mexican immigrants is the courts conclusion in re Ozawa that “it is not likely that Congress would be willing to accept as citizens a class of person whom it rejects as immigrants” (Smith 96). If Mexicans had not been exempt from the Immigration Act of 1917, they would likely not been able to naturalize regardless of race.

The United States v. Thind (1923) brought to light again the obscurity in sec. 2169 regarding whiteness. It was argued that Thind, “a high caste Hindu of full Indian blood” should be eligible to naturalize because he was of the Caucasian race and Caucasian was synonymous with White (Smith 96). The Supreme Court ruled that “white persons” in sec. 2169 was a racial term, not a “color” test (Volker 4). This was, perhaps the first time that White was upheld by the courts to mean race. It is not clear whether or not this ruling was influential in a change in the U.S. Census, but in the next decennial census (1930), Mexicans were classified as a separate race.

This differential application of Caucasian, White, and Mexican allowed immigration officials, administrators, and the judiciary the agency to exclude certain groups of immigrants from naturalization. The lack of uniformity in matters regarding naturalization was addressed by the newly formed Immigration and Naturalization Service<sup>63</sup> in *Lecture 8* published on March 26<sup>th</sup>, 1934. *Lecture 8* clarified the requirements regarding race, education, residence, moral character, and attachment to the constitution. In a review of the pertinent laws and court cases regarding race, H. L. Volker, an Associate Examiner for the Immigration and Naturalization Service states that the Supreme Court has ruled that “persons of the Armenian, Mexican, Parsee, and Syrian races” have been allowed to naturalize, but that “no authoritative and final

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<sup>63</sup> The Bureau of Immigration and Bureau of Naturalization merged in 1933-1934 to become the Immigration and Naturalization Service (See USCIS History)

decisions have been rendered determining the racial eligibility to naturalization” (5). Volker notes that the Mexican, Parsee, and Syrian cases were decided prior to the Ozawa case; this was important because it was “when the Supreme Court first considered section 2169” (5). Volker’s conclusion regarding Mexican immigrants provides the ambiguity to continue to deny some (“non-White”) Mexicans the right to naturalize or even to immigrate since the Immigration Act of 1924 provided that immigrants who were not eligible to naturalize could not immigrate to the U.S.

#### **4.4 Revising the List of Races and Peoples**

The formation of the new agency also raised the question again about racial categories. Smith states that the two Bureaus used different racial classification systems and the merging of the two “initiated some reconsideration and revision,” internally at least, on the question of race (98). The original 1898 List of “Races and Peoples” was still the definitive source for racial classification, and Smith discovered that as recently as 1930 in a memorandum for then Secretary of Labor, the Department of Labor had concluded that the race categories could not be changed because the data was “required ‘by law’” (98).

But where naturalization was solely a function of the courts prior to 1929, the establishment of the Immigration and Naturalization Service marked a transition where the INS had the administrative discretion to determine eligibility; it was the responsibility of INS to carry out the will of the courts and the legislative mandates. The “administrative discretion” of the INS was used to permit alterations to the traditional list of “Races and Peoples” (Smith 98). The changes to the List are represented in Table 4.2. By 1936, four races were added and two amended, and in 1937, Manx was added to the list (Smith 98-99). Sometime in the late 1930s



another USCIS circular was issued, this time reaffirming the whiteness of Mexicans (Smith 99). This was in response to political pressure from Mexican Americans aided by the Mexican Government, and “Mexican was dropped from the list of races and peoples” (Perlmann 44). This change was first initiated through dispute over the census<sup>64</sup> categorization of Mexicans and then was extended to immigration, (Perlmann 44). More importantly, it demonstrates how an administrative act changed Mexican to White.

Regardless of administrative changes to the original list of races, immigration officials maintained that there was difficulty in recording an immigrant’s race and the Bureau decided to significantly change the racial classification schema. Rather than stating their race, applicants could choose from a list of eligible races; hence the change to White, African or African descent or Filipino (Smith 99). The forms were revised again, however, with the passage of the Nationality Act of 1940.<sup>65</sup> The Nationality Act of 1940 extended eligibility for citizenship to “descendants of races indigenous to the Western Hemisphere” (sec. 303). Like much of the previous laws regarding immigration and naturalization, the term “races indigenous to the Western Hemisphere” lacked clarity and begged the question of whether or not this was a geographic term. In 1945, the Immigration and Nationality Manual spelled out who was not eligible: “native Samoans or Polynesian inhabitants of American Samoa, and Maoris (members of the Polynesian family) born in New Zealand” (sec. 722.1).

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<sup>64</sup> The next census (1940), Mexicans were classified as White.

<sup>65</sup> It is important to note that the List did not go away. It was still used by the “immigration” side of the INS. Further changes to the list occurred after 1940: Spanish American was changed to Latin American in 1942 and Hebrew was deleted in 1943 (See Weil and Smith).

**Table 4.2** Comparison of Changes to the List of “Races and Peoples”

1898 List	1936	1937	1940	after Act of 1940
African (black) Armenian Bohemian Bosnian Bulgarian Chinese Croatian Cuban Dalmation Dutch East Indian English Finnish Flemish French German Greek Hebrew Irish Italian (North) Italian (South) Japanese Korean Lithuanian Magyar Mexican Montenegrin Moravian Pacific Islander Polish Portuguese Roumanian Russian Ruthenian (Russiak). Scandinavian Scotch Servian Slovak Slovenian Spanish Spanish American Syrian Turkish Welsh West Indian (other than Cuban)	African (black) changed to Negro Italian (North) and Italian (South) becomes one entry under Italian  Added to the List: Albanian Estonian Latvian Filipino	Added to the List: Manx	List is changed to only these categories: White African or African Descent Filipino	List changed to only these categories: White Negro Japanese Chinese Other

After passage of this act, naturalization forms were revised and included five choices: White, Negro, Japanese, Chinese, and Other. According to Smith, the change to these categories are inexplicable and “do not correspond to the List of Races or Peoples” or the “races then eligible for naturalization” (101).

The 1940s marked a period of great change in Immigration and Naturalization law. From 1942-1943 eleven different bills were introduced to eliminate racial barriers to naturalization (Smith 101). This was, in part, due to INS administrators dissatisfaction with the agency’s racial classification system as well as the realization by INS officials that race was a matter of administrative practice not law (Smith 101). Race was finally abolished as a determinant for eligibility to citizenship through the Act of 1952; This Act officially repealed the Congressional Act of 1947, which required immigration officials to record race (as well as other information) of all immigrants.

It is at this point, that the INS revises the Form N-400 and the race category is purged.<sup>66</sup> However, the descriptor—complexion is left (or added) to the forms. In a review of the historical forms on file at the U.S. Customs and Immigration Service Historical Library, the question of complexion is present until the 1970s on the forms for “Declaration of Intention” to Petition for Naturalization (N-300; N-315; N-321; N-325); and until 1975 on the N-400; Application to File Petition for Naturalization (See Figure 4.2). The purpose of the question on complexion is not clear, and neither are the possible answers. Instructions to the forms do not designate acceptable categories. A survey of filled out forms shows that the most common answers are fair, medium, dark, light and ruddy. Below is a copy of a filed N-400 for Zbigniew

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<sup>66</sup>It is not clear when race is deleted from the form, the USCIS Historical Library only has historical forms dating back to 1959.

Brzezinski, President Jimmy Carter's National Security Advisor from 1977 to 1981, who was born in Warsaw and entered the United States from Canada on March 7, 1954. This example was taken from the National Archives Digital Vaults and although the form is not clear, Brzezinski enters "fair" for his response to complexion.

The image shows a historical document titled "PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION" from the United States Department of Justice. The form is for Zbigniew Brzezinski, filed in the U.S. District Court of Massachusetts, Boston. It includes fields for name, address, date of birth, and date of entry into the U.S. The word "fair" is circled in the "Complexion" field.

**Figure 4.2** Zbigniew Brzezinski's Petition for Naturalization

#### 4.5 Race and the N-400 after 1952

While conducting primary research at the U.S. Customs and Immigration Service Historical Library in Washington D.C., the historians related to me that because of the Act of 1952, race was deleted from all naturalization forms since race no longer had any bearing on eligibility. I discovered that after 1952 a specific question regarding race was not present on the N-400, but that race was still recorded for all immigrants as part of the criminal background check. The form FD-258 is used to check FBI records through the fingerprints of the applicant. Although each "District" office has its own fingerprint cards, the Form FD-258 is used for all Permanent Resident and Petition for Naturalization Forms<sup>67</sup> (See Figure 4.3).

<sup>67</sup>The Form FD-258 is also used when filing the I-90, Alien Registration Receipt Card, I-589, Request for Asylum in the United States, I-600A Kit, Application for Advance Processing of Orphan Petition; I-643 or G-14, Refugee Adjustment of Status.

<b>APPLICANT</b> <small>* See Privacy Act Notice on back</small>		LEAVE BLANK		TYPE OR PRINT ALL INFORMATION IN BLACK				FBI		LEAVE BLANK	
FD-258 (REV. 12-10-07)		SIGNATURE OF PERSON FINGERPRINTED		LAST NAME		FIRST NAME		MIDDLE NAME		DATE OF BIRTH	
RESIDENCE OF PERSON FINGERPRINTED		ALIASES AKA		CITIZENSHIP		SEX		RACE		DOB	
DATE		SIGNATURE OF OFFICIAL TAKING FINGERPRINTS		CTZ		HGT		WGT		EYES	
EMPLOYER AND ADDRESS		YOUR NO.		OCA		HAIR		PLACE OF BIRTH		POB	
REASON FINGERPRINTED		FBI NO.		FBI		CLASS		REF		LEAVE BLANK	
		ARMED FORCES NO.		MNU							
		SOCIAL SECURITY NO.		SOC							
		MISCELLANEOUS NO.		MNU							
1. R. THUMB		2. R. INDEX		3. R. MIDDLE		4. R. RING		5. R. LITTLE			

**Figure 4.3** Race and the Form FD-258 Rev. 10 Dec. 2007

Earlier versions of the N-400 do not specifically state that the applicant must use Form FD-258, the data on file at the USCIS states that this form was used with the N-400. The Permanent Resident Application Instructions (I-485) specifically mention Form FD-258. Applicants are “furnished” a copy of the fingerprint chart and must go to “any police station, sheriff’s office or office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service for fingerprinting” (See Figure 4.4).

**FINGERPRINT CHART.—THIS APPLICATION MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY A RECORD OF YOUR FINGERPRINTS, taken on the fingerprint chart furnished you with this application. Write in your Alien Registration number on the chart in the space marked “Number,” then take it with these instructions to any police station, sheriff’s office or office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service for fingerprinting. You must then sign the chart in the presence of the officer taking the fingerprints, and have him sign his name and title and fill in the date in the spaces provided. DO NOT BEND, FOLD, OR CREASE THE FINGERPRINT CARD.**

**Figure 4.4** N-400 Instructions for Fingerprinting<sup>d</sup>

This chart is not filled out by the applicant, but by an authorized agent. Thus, race is ultimately determined by the official. Instructions for the FD-258 are not provided to the

<sup>d</sup> Figure 4.4 Instructions are taken from Form N-400 revised 1973.

immigrant since the only responsibility the immigrant has is to fill in their “Alien Number.” I did not find any instructions with the FD-258 in the USCIS Historical Library, but did find through the State Department the following instructions regarding race (Figure 4.5).

9. Race (RAC) block: Select one of the corresponding alphabetic codes:

CODE	RACE
I	American Indian or Alaskan Native – a person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Americas and who maintains cultural identification through tribal affiliations or community recognition.
A	Asian or Pacific Islander – a person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent or the Pacific Islands.
B	Black – a person having origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa
W	White – a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East.
U	Unknown – Applicants should choose the most appropriate code.

**Figure 4.5** Instructions for Race on the Form FD-258

It is not clear when this classification system was implemented because of the lack of information regarding the instructions to fill out the FD-258. However, this Form has gone through very few revisions; the USCIS Historical Library has on file only two revisions: edition 4-25-72 and 12-29-82. The 1972, 1982 and 2007 revisions, to my knowledge, have very few changes. It is significant to note that there is a move within the government to consolidate the List of Races into five main divisions (refer to Figure 4.5); a move that Folkmar and the Immigration Commission made in 1911! The choices given on the FD-258 are listed in alphabetical order and include: American Indian or Alaskan Native; Asian or Pacific Islander; Black; White; and Unknown.

Although collecting racial data may not be a direct function of USCIS, race nonetheless remains a category that must be answered. New immigrants are codified and constructed by these categories. The Form FD-258 accompanied the N-400 until 2002. In July of 2002, the N-

400 (Ed. 7-23-2002) is revised and “Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search” is added. This section asks applicants to describe themselves and states that the FBI requires this information. Two questions on the form relate directly to race and ethnicity. Given the country’s historical exclusion of immigrants based on racial ineligibility, the USCIS points out in the instructions that the FBI will use these categories to conduct a criminal records search and the results of the search “may affect your eligibility” but that “we do NOT make naturalization decisions based on your gender, race, or physical description” (their emphasis). Although these categories do not restrict naturalization, they do however reinscribe the idea that race exists; humans can be categorized by race, and that race matters in U.S. society. The 2002 revision allowed applicants to declare whether they were “Hispanic or Latino” and choose among five race options: White, Asian, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaskan Native, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (see Figure 4.6).

<b>Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search</b>				Write your USCIS A-Number here: A			
<b>NOTE:</b> The categories below are those required by the FBI. See instructions for more information.							
<b>A. Gender</b>		<b>B. Height</b>		<b>C. Weight</b>			
<input type="checkbox"/> Male	<input type="checkbox"/> Female	<input type="text"/> Feet	<input type="text"/> Inches	<input type="text"/> Pounds			
<b>D. Are you Hispanic or Latino?</b>		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No					
<b>E. Race (Select one or more)</b>							
<input type="checkbox"/> White	<input type="checkbox"/> Asian	<input type="checkbox"/> Black or African American	<input type="checkbox"/> American Indian or Alaskan Native	<input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander			
<b>F. Hair color</b>							
<input type="checkbox"/> Black	<input type="checkbox"/> Brown	<input type="checkbox"/> Blonde	<input type="checkbox"/> Gray	<input type="checkbox"/> White	<input type="checkbox"/> Red	<input type="checkbox"/> Sandy	<input type="checkbox"/> Bald (No Hair)
<b>G. Eye color</b>							
<input type="checkbox"/> Brown	<input type="checkbox"/> Blue	<input type="checkbox"/> Green	<input type="checkbox"/> Hazel	<input type="checkbox"/> Gray	<input type="checkbox"/> Black	<input type="checkbox"/> Pink	<input type="checkbox"/> Maroon <input type="checkbox"/> Other

**Figure 4.6** Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search

The options available to self-identify on the Form N-400 were developed through changes in the classification system used by the U.S. Census. The original “List of Races and Peoples” had migrated over to the U.S. Census Bureau early on.<sup>68</sup> Although it is not within the scope of this dissertation to survey the historical changes to the census forms regarding race, it is crucial to highlight how and when “Hispanic and Latino” became separate categories and trace how the USCIS/FBI determined the options available on the Form N-400.

#### **4.6 The Emergence of the Current Racial Categories**

The Hispanic/Latino identifier was the outcome of massive influxes of Puerto Ricans in the 50’s and Cubans in the 60’s. This rapid shift in migration was accompanied by changes in the U.S. Census forms, and in 1950 the census included information on people of Puerto Rican birth; the same occurred in 1960 as a separate category for Cuban birth or parentage (Rumbaut 23). In response to civil rights activism and the need to collect statistical data concerning minority groups’ disadvantages, according to Rumbaut, the “White House ordered the addition of a Spanish-origin self-identifier on the 1970 census” (23). Following this, Public Law 94-311 was passed that mandated the collection and analysis of data for “Americans of Spanish origin and descent.” The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) whose job was to develop a government-wide program to collect this data initiated this mandate. The Statistical Policy Division of OMB issued, in 1977, Directive 15, which “specified a minimal classification of four ‘races’ (‘American Indian or Alaskan Native,’ ‘Asian or Pacific Islander,’ ‘Black,’ and ‘White’) and two ‘ethnic’ backgrounds (‘of Hispanic origin’ and ‘not of Hispanic origin’)” (Rumbaut 24).

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<sup>68</sup> Perlmann details in Working Paper 648 the relationship between the U.S. Census and the Immigration Commission c. 1910. Many of the researchers/staff that worked for the Immigration Commission, including Dr. Folkmar also worked with the U.S. Census Bureau.



Criticism of the categories issued in Directive 15 led to a revision of the standards, which were adopted in 1997. The revised Directive 15 changed the racial categories to five: “American Indian or Alaska Native,” “Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander,” “Asian,” “Black or African American,” and “White.”<sup>69</sup> It also allowed for the option to choose more than one racial category; an option that did not exist prior to the 2000 census. According to Rumbaut, it also changed the two ethnic identifiers to “Hispanic or Latino” and “not Hispanic or Latino” (25). The historical background reveals that the choices for race and ethnicity on the form N-400 are a direct result of the revised Directive 15 of 1997. The Office of Management and Budget does not explain the justification for these five categories, but it becomes apparent in a comparison of the 1911 *Dictionary* and Directive 15 that statistical continuity was involved. I compared the current racial divisions from Directive 15 (1997) with the 1911 *Dictionary* and found that the Directive matches the Dictionary’s five grand-divisions of humans and within this structure are five color groups: white, black, brown, yellow, and red; this is evidenced by reviewing the entries in the Dictionary for the 1911 “grand-divisions” and the races as per Directive 15. The first three categories are listed in the Dictionary as such and demonstrate that the current racial categories (White, Black, Asian) are listed as synonyms for Folkmar’s “grand-divisions:”

CAUCASIAN, CAUCASIC, EUROPEAN, EURAFRICAN, or WHITE race. (30)

NEGRO, NEGROID, AFRICAN, BLACK, ETHIOPIAN, or AUSTAFRICAN. (100)

MONGLIAN, MONGOL, MONGOLIC, MONGOLOID, ASIATIC, or YELLOW race. (97)

Although there is not an entry in the dictionary for Alaskan Native, Folkmar debates the classification of “Eskimo” and “Aleut” and determines that the Eskimo is more like the Indian

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<sup>69</sup>Of note is that the “races” are listed in alphabetical order in Directive 15, but not in the Form N-400.

tribes also known as Americans and that the Eskimo is “long-headed” like some of the Indians from the southernmost tribes (78). Folkmar also reasserts this in the entry under “Mongolian” (99) even though the Immigration Bureau applies the term Mongolian in the widest sense to also include the “Eskimo” (98).

In regard to Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, Folkmar understands Hawaiian to be part of a larger classification of Pacific Islander (see entries below).

HAWAIIAN or SANDWICH ISLANDER. An individual member of the northernmost Polynesian people subject to the United States. (See *Pacific Islander*.) Not counted among immigrants on arriving in the United States. (73)

PACIFIC ISLANDER. A native of those Pacific Islands which lie between the Phillippines, the Celebes, and Australia on the west and America on the east. The Hawaiian Islands on the north are included. A loose geographical rather than ethnographical term... The term then corresponds to Oceania as generally defined. But this latter term also is made to include Malaysia. ...It is more convenient, however, for the present purpose to include in the term all islanders toward the west, with the exception of the Malaysians, who are called East Indians (see). All Pacific Islanders are put by the Bureau of Immigration into the “Mongolic grand division. (102)

Although there is an attempt by the Bureau of Immigration to exclude Malaysia from the category “Pacific Islander,” Folkmar remarks that this term is geographical not ethnographical and geographically speaking includes Malaysia. Under the 1911 classification scheme, the

Bureau would racially identify Native Hawaiians or Other Pacific Islanders as Mongolian. This significant difference, however, only changes who is considered “brown” but ultimately retained Blumenbach’s classification (See Table 4.3): “the Caucasian, Ethiopian, Mongolian, Malay, and American, or, as familiarly called, the white, black, yellow, brown, and red races” (Folkmar 3).

**Table 4.3** Comparison of Five Racial Divisions

1911 Dictionary or Races or Peoples	1997 Revised Directive 15
Caucasian	White
Ethiopian	Black or African American
Mongolian	Asian
Malay	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
American	American Indian or Alaskan Native

After 1952, race is no longer a category for eligibility for naturalization, but it is apparent that the racist ideology concretized in the “List of Races and Peoples,” and the five “grand-divisions of mankind” continues to circulate in society. The current construction of race repeats the prevailing notions of race as espoused a century ago in *The Dictionary of Races and Peoples* commissioned by the Bureau of Immigration. The racial classification set forth by Folkmar and the Immigration Commission in 1911 reemerges with the publication of Directive 15. The reemergence of the racial discourse of 1911 is central to hegemony (Gramsci). According to Omi and Winant, the “ruling groups” exercise control through maintaining “a popular system of ideas and practices-through education, the media, religion, folk wisdom, etc.” (Omi and Winant “Racial Formation” 131). Although these “ideas” are circulated at all levels of society, they are

legitimized through the government. This ideology is then reproduced by different branches (the Department of Labor, Customs and Immigration, courts, the Executive Branch, the U.S. Census), and these pre-existing discursive practices that describe race are consumed by citizens and non-citizens alike through “historically situated *projects*” where human bodies and social structures are represented, organized and ruled (“Racial Formation” 124).

The historically situated racial projects presented in this chapter demonstrate how the U.S. definition of citizenship (to “free white persons”) excluded immigrants from Mexico until congress signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This treaty defined Mexicans as White since racially ineligible immigrants could not become citizens (sec. 2169). This definition was upheld by the Supreme Court in their ruling of *The United States vs. Rodríguez* (1897). In this monumental court decision, the judge noted that Rodríguez would be classified as White by the law but not by the ethnologist. Rumbaut claims that this historically important decision by the judge was, perhaps, the context needed to separate Mexicans (and all Spanish-speaking citizens and immigrants) from Whites (22). This court decision and the differential application of whiteness and naturalization law by “any court of record” left Mexican immigrants at the mercy of the judiciary until the Act of 1952 which removed race as a requirement for eligibility for naturalization. This change, however, did not stop the recording of racial data on all immigrants since race was required as part of the FBI background check.

The racial categories were transformed until the 1997 revised Directive 15, which standardized the races to five, with two ethnic identifiers. Race emerges as a question on the N-

400 in 2002<sup>70</sup> with the revised Directive 15 standards. Although the N-400 has undergone various updates, the current N-400 (revised 1/11) and its questions on race and ethnicity remain unchanged. Even more striking is the question that precedes race on the Form that asks the applicant to declare if he or she is Hispanic or Latino. This question accomplishes what Rumbaut maintains the 1897 Supreme Court decision did: provides the context to separate Mexicans (and all Spanish-speaking immigrants) from Whites.

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<sup>70</sup> Although I did not find any information as to the addition of these questions in 2002, in my opinion, the questions were added as a direct result of the Enhanced Border Security Act of 2002.

## Chapter 5

### INTERACTING WITH THE INSTITUTION: THE “BLANK” N-400 AND

#### THE RHETORIC OF THE VISUAL

*[T]he whole revolution of information technology seems to encourage the idea that ideology becomes increasingly reduced-miniaturized—in step with the development of ever smaller and more powerful computing devices. Therefore, we need to keep awake, applying our critical intelligences outside, as well as inside the black box: questioning and resisting. (Kinross 29-30)*

In recent years, Anne Wysocki (2001), Carlos Salinas (2002), Mary Hocks (2003), and Susan Hagan (2007), among others, have argued for a theory of rhetoric that does not privilege one form (visual/verbal) over another. Wysocki sees the visual and verbal as no longer separate and opts for “word/image;” Hocks calls this “hybridity,” and Hagan, “visual/verbal collaboration.” Wysocki, however, is conflicted over using the terms “word,” and “image” since they are very “slippery” terms (160). She likens word to content and image to form and also uses “form/content” in her article because she “cannot make any clean cut between content and form” (159). But, another way to avoid these slippery terms is to consider the fusion of the visual and verbal as “configurations.” Carlos Salinas argues that our field needs “an understanding of visual rhetoric that sees images as configurations that are designed and critically read...” and outlines the role of the technical rhetorician in the “reading” and “designing” of configured images (170). In this chapter, I approach the “blank” Form N-400 as a configured image and use visual rhetoric as a frame for analysis. In the following sections, I provide a brief literature review regarding the theorization of the image/text and outline the methodology for analyzing the N-400.

## 5.1 A Rhetoric of the Visual<sup>71</sup>

Since the 1960s scholars from various fields began arguing for the importance of the visual in making meaning. How scholars conceived of the visual depended upon their theoretical and disciplinary framework. Some referred to only artistic images, or two-dimensional images; others focused on digital composing, but this new mode of inquiry encompassed pretty much anything considered visual. One limitation to this new field of study was the rigid separation between the image and the word. In the introduction to a seminal collection of essays edited by W. J. T. Mitchell titled *The Language of Images*, Mitchell comments how our world is “inundated with composite pictorial-verbal forms (film, television, illustrated books)” and “the technology for the rapid, cheap production of words and images (cameras, Xerox machines, tape recorders)” (1). He further notes that in general when scholars refer to a language of images, they are referring to “three sorts of things”: “language about images,” “images regarded as language,” and “verbal language as a system *informed by images*” (3). The central conflict, notes Mitchell, is that scholars “insist on separating the study of texts and images from one another” rather than investigating the interaction of the two (“Diagrammatology” 627). Since Mitchell’s essay, scholarship into the impact of the “language of the visual” has proliferated and given rise to a new field of study: visual rhetoric. Helmers defines visual rhetoric as “a frame for analysis for looking and interpreting” (65). This frame for looking and interpreting includes diverse foci and methodologies, but most of the previous

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<sup>71</sup> Although visual rhetoric is the term most commonly used, scholars have argued that visual as an adjective before rhetoric diminishes the fact that the visual is rhetoric much like some scholars argue that ethnic labels before American (Asian American, for example) and especially when hyphenated “can highlight the boundary between minority Americans and White Americans” (Chen 9).

scholarship theorized visual rhetoric as a neutral medium that represents reality; this relegated visual rhetoric to issues of design and layout.

In the last twenty years, visual rhetoric has undergone significant changes as our understanding of the image/text has evolved. Some scholars (Kress and van Leeuwen, Mitchell, Blair, and Goggins) have focused on visual language and argued that images contribute to logical arguments and that images can present visual arguments. With the development of new “writing” technologies and the expansion of the World Wide Web, other scholars such as Wysocki, Salinas, Hocks, and Hagan have theorized the visual/verbal relationship in creating meaning and call for new definitions of what we consider writing. In “Impossibly Distinct,” Anne Wysocki argues that “images” and “words” are no longer distinguishable on the screen and theorizes the “word/image” (159-160). Hocks opts for the use of the term “hybridity” and posits that “the relationships among word and image, verbal texts and visual texts, ‘visual culture’ and ‘print culture’ are all dialogic relationships rather than binary opposites” (Hocks 631). Hocks defines hybridity as “the interplay between the visual and the verbal in one constructed, heterogeneous semiotic space” (637). For Hocks, “any rhetorical theory works as a dynamic system of strategies employed for creating, reacting to, and receiving meaning,” thus, digital rhetoric should account for the dialectical relationship between “writers, audiences, and institutional contexts” and also attend to the multiple modalities available for making meaning (632). Multimodality entails the mixing/blending of multiple technologies and media to include words, sounds, images, graphics, and video and inevitably leads to hybrid constructions. Although the concept of hybridity sounds appealing, it becomes clear through Hocks’ analysis of two websites (Wysocki’s “Monitoring Order” and Christine Boese’s “The Ballad of the Internet



Nutball”) that Hocks’ hybridity is akin to collaboration. In her analysis, Hocks claims that Wysocki’s site “combine[s] pictures and text in thoughtful and unconventional ways,” and uses the “juxtaposition of pictures, words, and unconventional margins to transform our understanding of the visual through the reading experience” (637). In “Visual/Verbal Collaboration in Print: Complementary Differences, Necessary Ties, and an Untapped Rhetorical Opportunity,” Susan Hagan provides further framework for analyzing the visual/verbal. In this essay, Hagan argues that when we operate “under the assumption that visual and verbal modalities operate in similar ways,” we overlook important distinctions between the two (49). Hagan offers a model of analysis based on perception (Arnheim) and cohesion (Halliday). This analysis is rooted in difference, which, she states, “leads to the argument that *visual*/verbal messages develop when cohesive and perceptual relationships form between image and text, resulting in four types of loose to tight *visual*/verbal collaboration” (49). Her analysis leads to a new type of image/text collaboration, one that includes actual with “imagined” images and text.

Although Wysocki, Hocks, and Hagan theorize the visual/verbal relationship, their theories are problematic even in their terminology: word/image; form/content (Wysocki); hybridity (Hocks); visual/verbal collaboration (Hagan). These theories posit the “word” as separate from the visual even though Wysocki admits these are slippery terms. But by opting for content/form, Wysocki does not elude this issue. In addition, with the rise of digital technologies, the word on the page has become an image, one that Goggins says is “in both a literal and figurative way, a rhetoric of the written word is *visual*, distinguishable from other

forms of symbolic representation by the sense of sight” (88). Therefore, written rhetoric (verbal, content, word) is visual rhetoric (Goggins 88).

The problematic terminology of Wysocki, Hocks, and Hagan is avoided by invoking Salinas’ concept of the image as “configuration.” In “Technical Rhetoricians and the Art of Configuring Images,” Salinas contends that “images are integral to all forms of writing (broadly conceived), and primary to how we read and communicate, especially via web writing” (166). Salinas’ approach differs in that he invokes Lupton and Miller’s critical design theory and *conceptualizes writing as visual*. Lupton and Miller assert that language encompasses “words, images, objects, and customs” and that these do not work separately in the meaning making process, but “participate in the culturally and historically determined meaning that characterizes verbal language” (65). Salinas likens this to design/writing which views images and verbal language as both written and designed (169). By design of images, he refers to “the strategic composition of visual representations that have cultural significance” (168). Thus, rhetoricians must consider the cultural impact of images, and see images as constructed and ideological. Salinas argues that despite research in this area no theory speaks directly to how to culturally read and write images. Salinas, therefore, proposes a rhetorical theory that theorizes “images as *configurations* that simultaneously operate as artifacts, figures, representations, and projections” (166).

The concept of configuration is taken from Sosnoski who theorizes it as an “analogical and graphical intuition” (11) that is also a “mode of argumentation” (16) articulated as an “arrangement” (159) that rel[ies] principally on visualized resemblances” (12). This

understanding of configuration views images<sup>72</sup> as participatory in the building of culture and therefore the “reading” of them is always negotiated and/or contested (Sosnoski 160). Because of this, its “domain is rhetoric” (Sosnoski 159), and configuring is “always a heuristic” (Sosnoski 166). Salinas argues, then, that technical rhetoricians must “incorporate a savvy awareness of the consequences images have into how they design images” (171). One way to do this is to “infuse graphic design views into our understanding of visual rhetoric” since graphic design “ha[s] a longer, more critical history of theorizing and producing images” (171). Salinas “tweaks” Sosnoski’s concept of configuration to include not only the critical reading of images but also the design of images and outlines a methodology using Lupton and Miller’s design theory for graphic artists. Salinas argues that

Technical rhetoricians need to know how specific material elements constitute particular images (how content is artificially designed); how images are written and spaced into particular contexts(how they are figured); how images are inscribed with identifiable values (what ideologies and cultural values they represent); and how images convey the particular interests of their makers (what identity or ethos they project. (166)

Salinas’ model provides clear questions that researchers can use to analyze images: How is content artificially designed? How are they figured? What ideologies do the present/represent? What identity or ethos do they project? (166). I use these questions to guide the analysis of a “blank” Form N-400.

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<sup>72</sup> Although it is difficult to avoid the terms image/text or image/word, it is important to keep in mind that when Salinas invokes “image,” he is including in this “writing broadly conceived.”

## 5.2 The “Blank” Form

Many scholars may question the validity of analyzing a “blank” form. This may beg the question whether a blank form is rhetorical and if it is ideological. In 1985, Robin Kinross challenged the assumption that texts used to inform are void of ideology in his essay titled “The Rhetoric of Neutrality.” Kinross refutes this assumption drawing upon the work of Gui Bonsiepe who asserts that documents used to inform are “interlarded” with rhetoric:

Informative assertions are interlarded [durchsetzt] with rhetoric to a greater or lesser degree. Informing without rhetoric is a pipe-dream which ends up in the break-down of communication and total silence. ‘Pure’ information exists for the designer only in arid abstraction. As soon as he begins to give it concrete shape to bring it within the range of experience, the process of rhetorical infiltration begins. (qtd. In Kinross 18)

Kinross applies Bonsiepe’s assertion of the “interlarding” of rhetoric to analyze the British Railway timetable. He examines the 1928 timetable and two subsequent redesigns. The timetables, according to Kinross, “organize and articulate and give visual presence to information” and thereby use rhetorical means (19).

TABLE 13—continued

# LIVERPOOL STREET, FENCHURCH STREET, STRATFORD, ILFORD, ROMFORD, BRENTWOOD & WARLEY, SHENFIELD & HUTTON AND CHELMSFORD

MONDAYS TO FRIDAYS INCLUSIVE  
(For trains on Saturdays see pages 63 to 69)

		a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.	a.m.
		1034	1038	1042	1046	1049	1111	1114	1118	1125	1130	1141	1142	1153	1156	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0
LIVERPOOL STREET	dep.	1034	1038	1042	1046	1049	1111	1114	1118	1125	1130	1141	1142	1153	1156	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0
Bethesda Street	..	1038	1042	1046	1049	1111	1114	1118	1125	1130	1141	1142	1153	1156	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0
Coborn Road for Old Ford	..	1042	1046	1049	1111	1114	1118	1125	1130	1141	1142	1153	1156	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0	12 0
FENCHURCH STREET	dep.	1030	1032	1034	1036	1038	1040	1042	1044	1046	1048	1050	1052	1054	1056	1058	1100	1102	1104	1106	1108	1110	1112	1114	1116	1118	1120	1122	1124	1126
Leman Street	..	1030	1032	1034	1036	1038	1040	1042	1044	1046	1048	1050	1052	1054	1056	1058	1100	1102	1104	1106	1108	1110	1112	1114	1116	1118	1120	1122	1124	1126
Shadwell and St. George's East	..	1032	1034	1036	1038	1040	1042	1044	1046	1048	1050	1052	1054	1056	1058	1100	1102	1104	1106	1108	1110	1112	1114	1116	1118	1120	1122	1124	1126	1128
Stepney (East)	..	1034	1036	1038	1040	1042	1044	1046	1048	1050	1052	1054	1056	1058	1100	1102	1104	1106	1108	1110	1112	1114	1116	1118	1120	1122	1124	1126	1128	1130
Baker Street	..	1036	1038	1040	1042	1044	1046	1048	1050	1052	1054	1056	1058	1100	1102	1104	1106	1108	1110	1112	1114	1116	1118	1120	1122	1124	1126	1128	1130	1132
Bow Road	..	1038	1040	1042	1044	1046	1048	1050	1052	1054	1056	1058	1100	1102	1104	1106	1108	1110	1112	1114	1116	1118	1120	1122	1124	1126	1128	1130	1132	1134
Stepney Road	..	1040	1042	1044	1046	1048	1050	1052	1054	1056	1058	1100	1102	1104	1106	1108	1110	1112	1114	1116	1118	1120	1122	1124	1126	1128	1130	1132	1134	1136
Stratford Market	arr.	1046	1049	1050	1053	1057	1059	1100	1103	1107	1110	1113	1116	1119	1122	1125	1128	1131	1134	1137	1140	1143	1146	1149	1152	1155	1158	1201	1204	1207
Stratford	dep.	1046	1049	1050	1053	1057	1059	1100	1103	1107	1110	1113	1116	1119	1122	1125	1128	1131	1134	1137	1140	1143	1146	1149	1152	1155	1158	1201	1204	1207
Maryland Point	..	1052	1054	1056	1058	1100	1102	1104	1106	1108	1110	1112	1114	1116	1118	1120	1122	1124	1126	1128	1130	1132	1134	1136	1138	1140	1142	1144	1146	1148
Forest Gate for Upton	..	1053	1055	1057	1059	1101	1103	1105	1107	1109	1111	1113	1115	1117	1119	1121	1123	1125	1127	1129	1131	1133	1135	1137	1139	1141	1143	1145	1147	1149
Manor Park for Little Ilford	..	1058	1060	1062	1064	1106	1108	1110	1112	1114	1116	1118	1120	1122	1124	1126	1128	1130	1132	1134	1136	1138	1140	1142	1144	1146	1148	1150	1152	1154
Ilford	..	11 2	11 4	11 6	11 8	11 10	11 12	11 14	11 16	11 18	11 20	11 22	11 24	11 26	11 28	11 30	11 32	11 34	11 36	11 38	11 40	11 42	11 44	11 46	11 48	11 50	11 52	11 54	11 56	11 58
Seven Kings	..	11 6	11 8	11 10	11 12	11 14	11 16	11 18	11 20	11 22	11 24	11 26	11 28	11 30	11 32	11 34	11 36	11 38	11 40	11 42	11 44	11 46	11 48	11 50	11 52	11 54	11 56	11 58	12 0	12 02
Goodmayes	..	11 9	11 11	11 13	11 15	11 17	11 19	11 21	11 23	11 25	11 27	11 29	11 31	11 33	11 35	11 37	11 39	11 41	11 43	11 45	11 47	11 49	11 51	11 53	11 55	11 57	11 59	12 01	12 03	12 05
Chadwell Heath for Becontree	..	11 11	11 13	11 15	11 17	11 19	11 21	11 23	11 25	11 27	11 29	11 31	11 33	11 35	11 37	11 39	11 41	11 43	11 45	11 47	11 49	11 51	11 53	11 55	11 57	11 59	12 01	12 03	12 05	12 07
Romford	..	11 13	11 15	11 17	11 19	11 21	11 23	11 25	11 27	11 29	11 31	11 33	11 35	11 37	11 39	11 41	11 43	11 45	11 47	11 49	11 51	11 53	11 55	11 57	11 59	12 01	12 03	12 05	12 07	12 09
Gidea Park and Squirrels Heath	..	11 17	11 19	11 21	11 23	11 25	11 27	11 29	11 31	11 33	11 35	11 37	11 39	11 41	11 43	11 45	11 47	11 49	11 51	11 53	11 55	11 57	11 59	12 01	12 03	12 05	12 07	12 09	12 11	12 13
Harold Wood	..	11 19	11 21	11 23	11 25	11 27	11 29	11 31	11 33	11 35	11 37	11 39	11 41	11 43	11 45	11 47	11 49	11 51	11 53	11 55	11 57	11 59	12 01	12 03	12 05	12 07	12 09	12 11	12 13	12 15
Brentwood and Warley	..	11 30	11 32	11 34	11 36	11 38	11 40	11 42	11 44	11 46	11 48	11 50	11 52	11 54	11 56	11 58	12 00	12 02	12 04	12 06	12 08	12 10	12 12	12 14	12 16	12 18	12 20	12 22	12 24	12 26
Shenfield and Hutton	..	11 36	11 38	11 40	11 42	11 44	11 46	11 48	11 50	11 52	11 54	11 56	11 58	12 00	12 02	12 04	12 06	12 08	12 10	12 12	12 14	12 16	12 18	12 20	12 22	12 24	12 26	12 28	12 30	12 32
Ingeststone	..	11 43	11 45	11 47	11 49	11 51	11 53	11 55	11 57	11 59	12 01	12 03	12 05	12 07	12 09	12 11	12 13	12 15	12 17	12 19	12 21	12 23	12 25	12 27	12 29	12 31	12 33	12 35	12 37	12 39
CHELMSFORD	arr.	11 52	11 54	11 56	11 58	12 00	12 02	12 04	12 06	12 08	12 10	12 12	12 14	12 16	12 18	12 20	12 22	12 24	12 26	12 28	12 30	12 32	12 34	12 36	12 38	12 40	12 42	12 44	12 46	12 48

B Calls to take up passengers only  
C Calls to set down passengers only  
N Not after 29th September

P Commences 2nd October  
R Runs Fridays 15th, 22nd and 29th September only  
SS Second class carriages are not run on these trains

**Figure 5.1** London North-Eastern Timetable 1928<sup>e</sup>

Kinross uses the dictionary definition of rhetoric: “the art of using language so as to persuade or influence others; the body of rules to be observed by a speaker or writer in order that he may express himself with eloquence” to posit that timetables draw upon the second notion of rhetoric: “the body of rules for eloquence” (19-20) and declares that the “system of tabular arrangement” used in the timetables are like “a figure of rhetoric: a framework for eloquent articulation” (20). Kinross’ main point is that there seems to be a distinction between design for information and design for persuasion, but that distinction breaks down when scrutinizing the railway timetables (21).

He demonstrates, through one aspect of the timetables, typeface, that a collection of beliefs and attitudes are associated with the choice of typeface. It is through this examination that Kinross argues that there is no such thing as rhetoric of neutrality. Kinross adds that the

<sup>e</sup> As reproduced in *Monotype Recorder* 32, Winter 1933, in Kinross 20

“whole revolution of information technology seems to encourage the idea that ideology becomes increasingly reduced-miniaturized—in step with the development of ever smaller and more powerful computing devices. Therefore, we need to keep awake, applying our critical intelligences outside, as well as inside the black box: questioning and resisting” (29-30). Kinross demonstrates that the distinction between design for information and design for persuasion is fallacy.

Kinross highlights a very important point: the presence of ideology is reduced through the proliferation of information technologies. In fact, information technologies used for digital composing, printers, and copy machines have allowed for the “form” to become commonplace. Although Bonsiepe and Kinross are concerned with visual design for information, I turn my attention to the “blank” form. It seems that we fill out forms wherever we go from the beauty salon to the dentist’s office. These forms are usually aimed at soliciting information from the user whether through a simple sign-in sheet or a more detailed form such as medical history. The explosion of the form has led to its “routinization.” Routinization, according to Anthony Giddens, is “the habitual taken-for-granted character of the vast bulk of activities of day-to-day social life” (376). Yet, the danger of a routine is that it becomes second nature and is no longer questioned or resisted. Consider the dangers inherent in the amount of confidential information (personal, medical, financial) collected on these routine forms. These concerns beg the questions: Who will use it? How will it be used or shared? How will it be protected? The dangers inherent in these forms are obvious, but the ideological assumptions in a “blank” form are overlooked and thereby reinforced through our use. For example, we come to expect the designation of race on certain forms and, thus, no longer question its validity. Although it may

be “blank,” the unfilled-out form is far from empty of rhetoric; it is “interlarded” with it. Forms are designed to be easily read and recognized so that anyone can understand them; this also disguises that they convey a message that arises from the reading of the image of the page and the word. These configurations are far from neutral or objective, and the unfilled-out form is as lethal as the filled-out form. The visual presence of information, spacing, black-boxing, font style and size along with the text in the N-400 are laden with cultural significance. Because of the visual presence of information, the Form itself becomes an image.

According to Ding, “a visual representation of the structure of a page fits all the above definitions of images: it lacks articulation of language, it uses forms in space, and it more naturally represents the structure of a page than verbal descriptions” (34). That the word and the page are can be defined as images further supports Salinas’ concept of configuration. The verbal/visual, word/image, form/content cannot be neatly separated out. For this reason, I argue that the Form N-400 operates as an ideologically laden configuration that persuades applicants to accept one version of reality over another. Therefore the guiding question of inquiry for this chapter is: *How does the visual rhetoric of the form (N-400) construct and persuade it users?* To answer this question, I use critical (visual) rhetoric (infused with design theory) as a frame.

### **5.3 Forming a Persuasive Argument and the N-400**

I stated earlier that I use Salina’s concept of configuration and his strategic questions to guide the analysis of the N-400. Salina stated that technical rhetoricians should infuse graphic design theory in visual rhetoric. I apply Robin William’s design and typographic principles as a frame for “looking” at the N-400. This analysis incorporates global issues of the design of the

form and then elaborates on “Part 5 (Information for Criminal Records Search).” The analysis begins with a discussion of the Form in general terms.

The N-400 is divided into 14 parts and the titles to each “part” as they appear in the are reproduced below.

1. Your Name
2. Information About Your Eligibility
3. Information About You
4. Information About Contacting You
5. Information for Criminal Records Search
6. Information About Your Residence and Employment.
7. Time Outside the United States (*including trips to Canada, Mexico, and the Caribbean*)
8. Information About Your Marital History
9. Information About Your Children
10. Additional Questions
11. Your Signature
12. Signature of Person Who Prepared the Form for You
13. Signature at Interview
14. Oath of Allegiance

Applicants fill out parts 1-11 and also 12 if someone else prepares the form for them. The N-400 is designed to be used throughout the citizenship application process and is forwarded to the immigration official who will conduct the interview and test the applicant on his/her knowledge of English, U.S. history, and government (Part 13). Once the applicant passes these, he/she then is scheduled to attend an oath of allegiance ceremony and becomes a U.S. citizen once the oath is taken (Part 14). The application process takes approximately one year from the date the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service receives the application.



Applicants can choose to fill out the forms without any help, but seeking help is ideal since fees associated with the application are high (\$595.00 in 2011), and the application will be returned if it is filled out incorrectly, thus delaying the applicant's path to citizenship. In addition, this analysis will show how having help, whether through a non-profit like the Diocesan for Migrant or Refugee Services or by someone else knowledgeable about the application process, can make applicants aware of the "danger zones" in the form. For example, "Part 2" pertains to information about the applicant's eligibility for application for naturalization. Yet, the applicant is essentially arguing for his/her eligibility in every "part" of the form. The applicant may overlook that the answers provided in this application form the overall argument that he/she is eligible for citizenship. Therefore, the potential citizen is obliged to answer all questions, and this is stated unequivocally in the instructions that the applicant must "answer all questions fully and accurately." If an item does not apply, the applicant must answer with not applicable "N/A" or, if the answer is none, "write none" (See instructions to N-400 in Appendix A).

In this section, I examine each part of the Form, and explore the hidden "danger zones." In "Part 1," applicants declare information about their name. Far from a simple question, applicants must provide their legal name, given name, the name on the permanent resident card, and any other names used previously. Although not explicitly stated, this information will be used for the criminal records search. "Part 2" requires applicants to check the box that most applies to them and is based on the residency requirements for their specific circumstances. For example, permanent residents must have resided legally in the U.S. for a period of five years before being eligible for citizenship. If the applicant is married to a U.S. citizen, that

requirement is shorter, a period of three years. “Part 3” is information about the applicant such as social security number, date of birth, date he/she became a permanent resident, country of birth, country of nationality, citizenship of parents, marital status, and any disability waivers or accommodations. Although the applicant declares in “Part 2” that he/she is eligible for citizenship, in this section the applicant is asked his or her date of permanent residency. This is the date that counts. It does not matter if the applicant has lived for thirty years in the U.S.; if the permanent residency date does not reflect at least five years of residency, the applicant is ineligible. In addition, many applicants are not knowledgeable about the immigration system in the U.S. The quotas by country are no longer the standard to admittance to this country, but in its place is a tiered system of preference, and the answers on this form determine where applicants stand in that system. The higher the tier, the faster an application will be processed. In general the highest “preference” category is immediate relatives of U.S. citizens, followed by other family-related categories, then employment-based categories (Congressional Budget Office 6). In “Part 4,” the applicant provides information about his/her address and phone number so that the USCIS can contact the applicant, but this information is also important to the application process—and is not stated as such in the application instructions. The applicant must reside at the current address for at least three months prior to applying for citizenship regardless of how many years of permanent residency. This information is given again in “Part 6” where the applicant must provide a residency and work history for the last five years. Tucked in between these questions is “Part 5 (Information for Criminal Records Check)” where applicants provide information such as sex, race, hair color, and eye color to be used to determine whether or not the applicant has a criminal history. This, combined with “Part 6”

residency and work history, is important to conducting a background check of the individual to determine an applicant's desirability as a U.S. citizen. In "Part 7," applicants must list all of the times they have left the U.S. Applicants must count every trip that has lasted more than twenty-four hours. Again, this is a "dangerous" question if an applicant does not know the rules—more than 180 days outside of the country in a calendar year means that permanent resident status was interrupted and that year did not count. It also means the applicant did not comply with the requirements of continuous residency. Applicants must have resided in the U.S. for at least 30 out of the 60 months in the last five years.<sup>73</sup>

"Parts 8" and "9" are questions regarding marital status and children. The number one priority for immigration policy is to reunite families. Here, the applicant provides information regarding the citizenship of immediate family members. Applicants who are married to U.S. citizens or have children that are U.S. citizens are in a more favorable position to earn citizenship since they already have lasting ties to the U.S.

"Part 10 Additional Questions" seems like an innocent section but is, perhaps, the most controversial since the questions indirectly provide a definition of what a "good" U.S. citizen is. Based on the questions, a "good" citizen is law-abiding, tax-paying, honest, and loyal to the U.S. Of particular interest are the questions regarding obeying the law; specifically, an applicant is asked whether he/she is a drunkard, drug addict, polygamist, terrorist, or prostitute and, if the applicant is male, whether or not he complied with the law to register with the Selective Service. Finally, the last section asks applicants if they understand and agree to the parts of the

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<sup>73</sup> In this discussion, I refer to the requirements for a legal permanent resident who does not qualify for any special exemptions or special categories. Under this schema, the LPR must have 5 years as a legal resident to apply for citizenship (See USCIS Publication M-476- Guide to Naturalization).

“Oath of Allegiance.” The Oath requires applicants to swear loyalty to the U.S. and agree to military or civilian service to the country if required by law.

As this short explanation of the Form N-400 demonstrates, each “part” constitutes a persuasive argument as to the applicant’s eligibility to become a citizen. This argument is integral to the determination of whether the applicant has “established eligibility for the requested benefit” (See Instructions). If an applicant does not establish a basis for eligibility, “USCIS will deny your Form N-400.” Becoming a citizen is part complying with the minimum requirements and part persuasive argument as constructed through the applicant’s answers on the Form N-400. Although applicants must construct a persuasive argument for eligibility, the Form also constructs its readers, and this is examined in the following section using design principles.

#### **5.4 The N-400 and C.A.R.P**

I frame the analysis of the Form N-400 using the design principles of Robin Williams as taken from *The Non-Designers Design Book*. She is perhaps one of the most well known graphic designers; she is a prolific writer/designer and has published over sixty books, many of which deal with graphic design, typography, and web design, and her books have won many awards. In this book, William’s states that there are four basic principles of design and that “every well-designed piece of work” uses these principles (13):

##### **Contrast**

The idea behind contrast is to avoid elements on the page that are merely *similar*. If the elements (type, color, size, line-thickness, shape, space, etc.) are not the *same* then make them **very different**. Contrast is often the most important visual attraction on a page...

### **Repetition**

Repeat visual elements of the design throughout the piece. ... This develops the organization and strengthens the unity.

### **Alignment**

Nothing should be placed on the page arbitrarily. Every element should have some visual connection with another element on the page. This creates a clean, sophisticated, fresh look.

### **Proximity**

Items relating to each other should be grouped together. When several items are in close proximity to each other, they become one visual unit rather than several separate units. This helps organize information, reduces clutter, and gives the reader a clearer structure. (13)

These four principles will be used to “look” at the N-400. Williams notes that these four principles are interconnected (13); for the purpose of this dissertation, I center the analysis on three of these four principles: contrast, repetition, and proximity. By using the lens of visual rhetoric infused with Williams’ basic design theory and principles, it becomes clear how the design of the Form N-400 influences its readers as potential new citizens.

Under the principle of **contrast**, items that are different should be noticeably different. In the N-400, this is established through the use of boxing, shading, **bold** and *italics*. Each “part” is written in bold and contained within a gray-filled box. Bold is used to contrast these titles and subsequent question identifiers (alphabetical and numerical) are also in bold to cue the reader to the hierarchy embedded in the Form (see Figure 5.3, for example).

Department of Homeland Security U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services		OMB No. 1615-0052 <b>N-400 Application for Naturalization</b>							
Print clearly or type your answers using CAPITAL letters. Failure to print clearly may delay your application. Use black ink.									
<b>Part 1. Your Name (Person applying for naturalization)</b>		Write your USCIS A-Number here: A <input style="width: 150px;" type="text"/>							
A. Your current legal name.		<b>For USCIS Use Only</b>							
Family Name (Last Name) <input style="width: 250px;" type="text"/>		<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; padding: 5px;">Bar Code</td> <td style="width: 50%; padding: 5px;">Date Stamp</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="height: 100px;"></td> <td style="height: 100px;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="padding: 5px;">Remarks</td> </tr> </table>		Bar Code	Date Stamp			Remarks	
Bar Code	Date Stamp								
Remarks									
Given Name (First Name) <input style="width: 150px;" type="text"/>		Full Middle Name (If applicable) <input style="width: 150px;" type="text"/>							
B. Your name <b>exactly</b> as it appears on your Permanent Resident Card.									
Family Name (Last Name) <input style="width: 250px;" type="text"/>									

**Figure 5.2** Contrast in the Form N-400

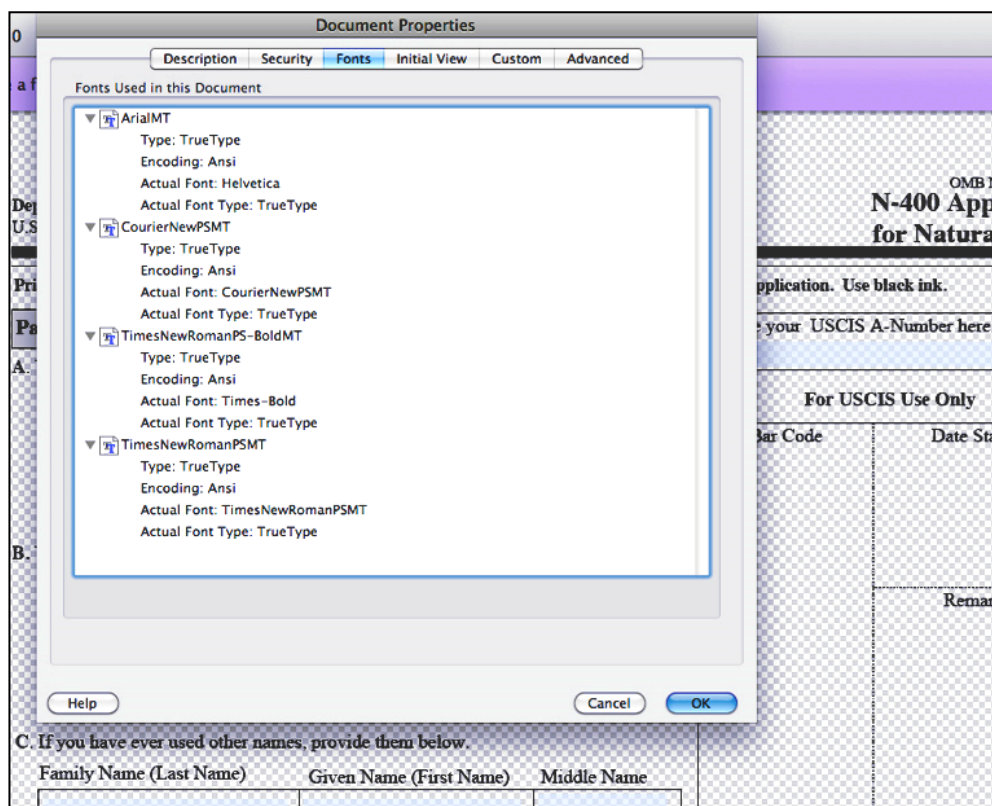
According to Williams, bold is the most effective way to organize information and this allows the reader to instantly recognize the structure and relationship of the information (150).

<p><b>Part 1. The form uses a standard format. (<i>number, letter, number</i>)</b></p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;"><b>A.</b> It also uses a standard hierarchy to organize the information.</p> <p style="margin-left: 80px;"><b>1.</b> The reader understands the relationship between parts.</p> <p style="margin-left: 80px;"><b>2.</b> The reader understands the relationship of the question/answer.</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;"><b>B.</b> It is not original.</p> <p style="margin-left: 80px;"><b>1.</b> It is effective.</p>
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**Figure 5.3** Structure of the Form

Italics are used to clarify points throughout the document. For example, next to “Your Name” is *person applying for naturalization* and next to “Given Name” is *First Name* (see Figure 5.2). The form also has strong **alignment**, and the whole document is left justified giving the document a professional and sophisticated feel. Indenting along with bold letters and numbers provides the contrast needed to understand what questions/answers belong to each section. This creates a formal look that is reinforced also through the **repetition** of the type or font. The fonts used in this document are Arial, Helvetica, Courier New, and Times New Roman. Arial, Helvetica, and

Courier New are used in the title of the document, as well as the author of the document, and the instructions at the top of the page.



**Figure 5.4** Contrast with Type

Most of the elements on the page are written in Times New Roman or have the same quality as that typeface (i.e., written in bold or italics). Thus, this document can be said to have a concordant design (Williams 124). Times New Roman is a noteworthy font since it is classified as “humanist” or “old style” (See Williams or Lupton). This typeface was based on “human” writing: the type is angled and made with thick/thin transitions to mimic the “pen” (Williams 132). It was designed to imitate the writing of scribes and was meant to invoke humanity, but now has become, through the proliferation of digital technologies, the default font on many programs thereby erasing the “humanity” behind the pen. This font along with the genre of

writing (the blank form) appears to neutralize the ideology present in the Form N-400 and creates the idea that there is no author/designer behind it.

One other element that sustains the formality and weight of this Form is the focal point created on each page through the prominence of the USCIS A-Number in the top right hand corner. This is the one element of the document that is dominant and constant, i.e., “dominant in the same way” (Williams 96) on every page. The request for applicants to write the USCIS A-Number (Alien Number) on every page serves as a constant indication of the official nature of this form and also, indirectly, reinforces the position of the applicants as non-citizens.



<b>Part 10. Additional Questions</b> <i>(continued)</i>  <b>D. Good Moral Character.</b>	Write your USCIS A-Number here: A
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**Figure 5.5** Creating a Focal Point

Another important element of **repetition** is the formulation of the questions on the form. The grammatical structures create relationships between participants, the USCIS and the legal resident, and this is accomplished through four different constructions: declarative sentence, grammatical question, nominalization, and imperative. These processes are important because they can position the applicant differently. Declarative sentences are constructed using, at a minimum, a subject and verb and can also have a direct or indirect object (S V O). The use of “I” as the subject positions the applicant as the “giver” of information. See Figure 5.6. In this sentence “I am at least 18 years old...,” the applicant has choices (although limited) as to the formation of the sentence.



<b>Part 2. Information About Your Eligibility</b> <i>(Check only one)</i>		
I am at least 18 years old AND		
A.	<input type="checkbox"/> I have been a lawful permanent resident of the United States for at least five years.	
B.	<input type="checkbox"/> I have been a lawful permanent resident of the United States for at least three years, and I have been married to and living with the same U.S. citizen for the last three years, and my spouse has been a U.S. citizen for the last three years.	
C.	<input type="checkbox"/> I am applying on the basis of qualifying military service.	
D.	<input type="checkbox"/> Other <i>(Explain)</i>	

**Figure 5.6** Declarative sentence

The applicant affirms first that he/she meets the age requirement and is eligible to apply based on the additional information provided. Grammatical questions, also known as “wh-questions” can also position the applicant as the provider of information as in Figure 5.7 below.

<b>Part 3. Information About You</b>			Write your USCIS A-Number here: A	
A. U.S. Social Security Number	B. Date of Birth <i>(mm/dd/yyyy)</i>	C. Date You Became a Permanent Resident <i>(mm/dd/yyyy)</i>		
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>		
D. Country of Birth	E. Country of Nationality			
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>			
F. Are either of your parents U.S. citizens? <i>(If yes, see instructions)</i>		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	
G. What is your current marital status?	<input type="checkbox"/> Single, Never Married	<input type="checkbox"/> Married	<input type="checkbox"/> Divorced	<input type="checkbox"/> Widowed
<input type="checkbox"/> Marriage Annulled or Other <i>(Explain)</i> _____				
H. Are you requesting a waiver of the English and/or U.S. History and Government requirements based on a disability or impairment and attaching Form N-648 with your application?			<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No

**Figure 5.7** Grammatical Questions

For example, question “H” incorporates the subject “you:” Are you requesting a waiver...?

However, grammatical questions like “G” incorporate a wh-question, but do not position the applicant equally since there is an avoidance of a subject position. Note how the question “What is your marital status?” does not use the “I” or “you” construction. This question could have easily been phrased as “Are you married?” but instead the agent is absent.

The third type of construction used in the form is nominalization. This construction takes a “process” and converts it into a noun (Fairclough *Language and Power* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 103). In essence, the meaning is missing. There is no verb, no tense, no modality, and no agent. This construction is prevalent as the answer format in the Form (see Figure 5.7 question G for example). The answers to the question about marital status are converted into nominalizations. Although the subject and verb is omitted, it is understood from the question that the applicant is answering: “I am..” single, married, divorced, etc.” Notice, however, in figure 5.8 the question is a nominalization, and there is no agent in either the question or answers; the applicant becomes a compliant actor. This construction takes on the force of an imperative that the applicant must answer.

<b>Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search</b>		Write your USCIS A-Number here: A
NOTE: The categories below are those required by the FBI. See instructions for more information.		
<b>A. Gender</b>	<b>B. Height</b>	<b>C. Weight</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	<div>Feet</div> <div>Inches</div>	<div>Pounds</div>

**Figure 5.8** Nominalizations

A final process used in the form is the imperative, and it is formed using the construction “If..., imperative...” (See Figure 5.9). In this example the applicant is asked “If you are married, *give* the following information.” Like nominalizations, this construction omits the subject and takes on a more urgent tone that the information must be acted upon, and the applicant is relegated again to a compliant actor in the citizenship process.

<b>Part 8. Information About Your Marital History (Continued)</b>		Write your USCIS A-Number here: A
C. Is your spouse a U.S. citizen? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		
D. If your spouse is a U.S. citizen, give the following information:		
1. When did your spouse become a U.S. citizen?		<input type="checkbox"/> At Birth <input type="checkbox"/> Other
If "Other," give the following information:		

**Figure 5.9** Imperative

Related to the grammatical processes in this document are the verbal modes used to solicit information. Overwhelmingly, the document is written in the simple present tense: I am, you are, I have, and the present perfect: I have been. According to Norman Fairclough, the prevalence of these forms (which can be called non-modals) signals “a view of the world as transparent” (*Language and Power* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 107). It also sets up a categorical commitment of the producer to the truth of the enunciation (see Fairclough *Language and Power* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 107). In other words, the document presents information as “categorical truths—facts” (Fairclough *Language and Power* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 107). Although it can be argued that the simple present tense predominates on the Form N-400 because it was designed with second language learners in mind, this assumption falls apart when we examine modality further. Modality is significant because it has to do with authority and power. Consider how most questions begin with verbs (in the present tense): Are you..? Do you? Have you? This construction allows the author of the document to control the applicant through yes/no responses. There is no need for interpretation or explanation. This point is even clearer when we consider the nominalizations in the Form. For example, all biographical data is solicited through nominalizations such as “Family Name,” “Address,” “Date of Birth,” and “Social Security Number” (See Parts 1, 3, and 5 in the N-400). The nominalizations emphasize the view of the world as transparent and the

language on this form as neutral. After all, these categories (name, social security number, address) do not seem messy or ideologically laden. However, when “Part 5” is examined (see Figure 5.10), the nominalizations present the information as matter of fact and disguise their contested nature.

In my opinion, B. and C. (height and weight) are the only questions that are straightforward in nature, and these questions are separated visually from the others through the use of boxing. The other declarations of gender, ethnicity, race, hair and eye color are subjective and open to various and conflicting interpretations.<sup>74</sup>

Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search				Write your USCIS A-Number here: A	
NOTE: The categories below are those required by the FBI. See instructions for more information.					
A. Gender		B. Height		C. Weight	
<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female		<div>Feet</div> <div>Inches</div>		<div>Pounds</div>	
D. Are you Hispanic or Latino?		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No			
E. Race (Select one or more)					
<input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Asian <input type="checkbox"/> Black or African American <input type="checkbox"/> American Indian or Alaskan Native <input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander					
F. Hair color					
<input type="checkbox"/> Black <input type="checkbox"/> Brown <input type="checkbox"/> Blonde <input type="checkbox"/> Gray <input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Red <input type="checkbox"/> Sandy <input type="checkbox"/> Bald (No Hair)					
G. Eye color					
<input type="checkbox"/> Brown <input type="checkbox"/> Blue <input type="checkbox"/> Green <input type="checkbox"/> Hazel <input type="checkbox"/> Gray <input type="checkbox"/> Black <input type="checkbox"/> Pink <input type="checkbox"/> Maroon <input type="checkbox"/> Other					

**Figure 5.10** Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search

Nominalizations hide the ideological assumptions behind them—it presents the world as static, predictable, and knowable. This Form presents race and ethnicity as fixed and knowable

<sup>74</sup> Gender, hair and eye color are also categories that are contextual and constructed through language. For example, English only has two gender categories even though we know that it is much more complicated than this. Biologists such as Ann Fausto-Sterling argue that sex is a continuum where she identifies at least five positions. Likewise hair and eye color are subjective. For example, I would identify myself as having light brown hair, but the participants in this study would say that I am “rubia” or blonde.

categories. First, it presents Hispanic and Latino as “real”<sup>75</sup> and as categories that are separate but related to race. It also presents race as a fixed reality that can neatly be divided into five categories (or combinations of these five): White, Asian, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander.

Applicants must choose among these five subject positions or negotiate these subject positions to choose a combination of them. Notice how the Form presents these categories on the same line with equal “white” space to seemingly evade a hierarchical relationship (refer to question 5.E. in Figure 5.10. Regardless of the linear formation, there is an embedded hierarchy that positions “White” as first in relation to all of the other possibilities for racial identity on the form. The most logical way to avoid this hierarchy would be to place these contested terms in alphabetical order, but this renders “White” at the bottom as depicted on the right in the table. At first glance, there does not seem to be any logical reason for the current order of

**Table 5.1** Reordering the Racial Categories on the N-400

Race on the N-400	Race in Alphabetical Order <sup>76</sup>
White	American Indian or Alaskan Native
Asian	Asian
Black or African American	Black or African American
American Indian or Alaskan Native	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	White

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<sup>76</sup> I recently answered a survey from the National Science Foundation and the race question had these five options or combinations of them in alphabetical order. Also, Directive 15 (Rev. 1997), which establishes these five options has them listed in alphabetical order.

racial categories on the Form N-400. One valid assumption would be that the formation of the categories reflects the racial identity of the U.S. since the 2000 Census finds that the majority of the persons living in the U.S. report their race as “White.” But this assumption does not hold up to scrutiny because, according to that same report (U.S. Census 2000), the second highest racial category is Black or African American, but this category is not the second option on the form. Based on the previous chapter’s historical analysis of race and citizenship, the order of the categories represent their ranking based on world population. However, it is interesting to note that the names of the categories reflect a distinctly “American” lens regarding race with “African American,” “American Indian,” “Native Alaskan” and “Native Hawaiian” as options, especially since one would assume that anyone who chooses categories such as American Indian, Native Alaskan, or Native Hawaiian are already U.S. citizens. This was also the observation of Dr. Folkmar who noted in the entry for “Hawaiian or Sandwich Islander” that this group was “not counted among immigrants on arriving in the United States” (73).

Even more can be gleaned from an analysis of questions D and E by understanding their relationship to the other elements through the design principle of **proximity**. Under the design principle of proximity, items relating to each other should be grouped together. Thus the answers to question E (race) are grouped together on one line evenly spaced apart with a box to check in front of each element. Therefore, the racial categories become one visual unit rather than several separate units (see Figure 5.11).

D. Are you Hispanic or Latino?					<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
E. Race ( <i>Select one or more</i> )						
<input type="checkbox"/> White	<input type="checkbox"/> Asian	<input type="checkbox"/> Black or African American	<input type="checkbox"/> American Indian or Alaskan Native	<input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander		

**Figure 5.11** Questions D. and E.

Although the categories form one visual unit (possible answers to the question), the categories are different, and this is depicted through spatial alignment. The reader knows that “White” is different from “Black or African American” because one is separate from the other. Conversely, the lack of separation between the options that are joined by the connector “or” such as American Indian or Alaskan Native indicates a relationship and that these two elements are somehow joined in meaning and can imply sameness. Because of these proximal relationships, there are only five subject positions available even though there are eight racial identifiers listed. The implications of the “or” applies to the question D: “Are you Hispanic or Latino?” This question connects both Hispanic and Latino and only allows the applicant to answer yes or no. If the applicant understands these terms to be two conceptually different items, it does not matter because if the applicant can answer either one in the affirmative, the answer is “yes.”

Note also the relationship of questions D and E. Their proximity indicates an intellectual connection. Obviously, Hispanic and Latino have “something” to do with racial identity. However, its relationship is not transparent; there is nothing in the question that indicates that Hispanic or Latino are ethnic or racial categories. It is clear, however, that these categories are separated spatially and silently denote that Hispanic and Latino are not races. The placement of this question *before* (as opposed to after) the question on racial identity is common on many official documents, such as the census and is used to minimize confusion over whether Hispanic and Latino are racial categories.<sup>77</sup> The 2010 census clearly states in the instructions to the questions on identity that, for the purposes of the census, Hispanic and Latino are not races.

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<sup>77</sup> See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this.

This, however, is not necessary on the Form N-400 because there is not an option for applicants to write in their own race. The separation of questions D and E signals that Hispanic and Latino are not valid racial categories for the purpose of the N-400.

In chapter two, I noted that critical race theorists express frustration that despite consensus by scholars (and the U.S. government) that race is socially constructed; the biological view of race persists in society. The principle of proximity states that items relating to each other should be grouped together. If this lens of analysis is extended to the neighboring questions, it illustrates that questions of ethno-racial identity appear alongside biological data such as sex, eye color, and hair color. The positioning of questions D and E (See Figure 5.10) reinforces that race is biological. Even more striking, however, is that race precedes questions related to color, namely hair and eye color. This foments the ideological assumption that race has to do with skin color. This is supported by Clara Rodríguez who argues that questions of racial identity for much of U.S. history has served to group people in the “overarching dual racial structure (of white and nonwhite)” (39). Furthermore, the answers to question E position White as the first option available, and the other racial identifiers are situated in response to this category. The questions on the N-400 reinforce an overarching dual racial structure of White and non-White (see Figure 5.11). It is clear from the analysis in chapter four that the racial categories on the current N-400 as established by the Office of Management and Budget (Directive 15), are almost the equivalent of the five grand divisions of mankind as proposed by Dr. Folkmar in *The Dictionary of Races and Peoples* (1911). These categories, according to Folkmar correspond to the five color groups: white, yellow, black, red, brown.



## 5.5 Agency, Resistance, and the Form N-400<sup>78</sup>

In the discussion of grammatical structure and modality, I argued that the Form limits applicants' agency and, in "Part 5," the questions are framed as nominalizations and take on the weight of a command thereby further constraining the applicant's opportunity to action. However, question E (racial self-identity) allows the applicants to pick more than one option since they can choose "one or more" race. Yet, when this question is compared to other documents with the same question, the Form N-400 severely constrains the applicant's answers. For example, the 2010 census has fourteen different race options plus the option to not choose any of them and write in one's own race. As the data will demonstrate in chapter six, not one of the participants in this study chose more than one racial category despite expressing doubt as to claiming just one category. This fact has to do with two design features in the application. First, although applicants can choose more than one race, this is the *only* question (out of a possible 66) where they can choose more than one answer. Thus, the repetitive construction of only one option is silently echoed in this question regardless of the instructions to choose more than one. Second, the pairing of the racial identifiers such as Black or African American confuses applicants because they understand the two to be very different. In addition, of the five options, three seem more complicated—the response is longer and includes the pairing of two racial or ethnic groups. So where they may have answered both White and Black, for example, they opt not to because they are not African American and do

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<sup>78</sup> In chapter four, I examined the historical context of racialization and the citizen and found that the current categories on the N-400 are the same as the categories used one hundred years ago from the *Dictionary*. See chapter four for discussion of the "five" color system.

not identify with that culture. This comes to light more in detail in the interviews with applicants in chapter six.

Although the Form N-400 does not provide for meaningful agentive action on the part of the applicant, there is, however, the opportunity to resist racial classification. Question E. states “choose one or more;” this allows the applicant to choose all five options, thereby resisting to some extent the embedded racial ideology. A riskier option would be to leave the question blank, but the instructions that accompany the N-400 state unequivocally that all questions must be answered fully (and accurately). Also, where an applicant may be tempted not to answer questions D and E, they are reminded to do so by the “NOTE” at the top of part 5 (see Figure 5.12). This “NOTE” projects a certain ethos. First, the word is written in all capital letters, and second, it states that the FBI requires this information. This note sets the tone for this section as official and also legitimizes the information and the content of the information requested.

<b>Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search</b>	Write your USCIS A-Number here: A
<b>NOTE:</b> The categories below are those required by the FBI. See instructions for more information.	

**Figure 5.12** Ethos and Part 5

Failure to answer all questions begets consequences; the application and fees will be returned, causing further delays in the processing of the petition to become a U.S. citizen. Resistance is futile; if an applicant chooses all five boxes for race, the likelihood that the application will be returned is also high. If it is not returned, the applicant must be ready to explain his/her answers in the interview.

## 5.6 Conclusion

The N-400 at face value is a “simple,” “blank” form that is digitized and distributed to legal residents to effectively and efficiently petition citizenship. However, the N-400 as “configuration” creates “big picture ideas” of our world. It provides a set of symbols that define the citizen and designates what races are legitimate while rejecting others (Hispanic or Latino). Using the design principles of contrast, repetition, and proximity, this analysis reveals the ideologies inscribed in the Form. An overall analysis of the Form demonstrates that applicants are constructing an eleven-part persuasive argument that they are worthy to become U.S. citizens. The complexity of the Form is disguised through its normative structure. It presents itself as a straightforward and formal through the hierarchy embedded in it and the typeface used throughout the document. As such, it appears void of ideology. Yet, through the repetition of various elements, the Form constructs reality as well as constructs its user. Immigrants filling out the Form are reminded of their position in the system through the rewriting of their Alien Number at the top of every page. The grammatical structures limit the applicant’s agency to that of a compliant actor. The verbal forms in the document, as well as the nominalizations, present the world as transparent and the information as categorical facts. This is important when examining the questions about race; as a configuration, the Form communicates that races can be easily identified and separated. More importantly, the structuring of the question conceals the embedded ideology about race that has plagued the U.S. for centuries. It reinforces the overarching binary racial structure of White vs. non-White as well as the notion that race is biological and can be reduced to the color of a person’s skin. If applicants are not satisfied with the options to self-identify on the Form, they are discouraged from resisting.

First, they cannot leave a question blank, or they risk rejection of their N-400. In “Part 5” the risks are even higher, as applicants are told that the FBI requires the racial information. Invoking the FBI also legitimizes the options provided for the answers to “race” and is a mechanism of hegemonic coercions. Finally, the Form influences the applicant to choose only one race. This is accomplished through the repetition of only one valid response per question and through the combination of the racial categories. In the following chapter, I investigate how legal residents of Mexican descent answer the “race” questions. I ask participants to consider how they would self-identify and compare this to their answers on the N-400. Through questionnaires and video interviews, respondents discuss the options to racially self-identify on the N-400 and explain whether or not the structure of the Form influenced their answers. They also consider the lasting affects of this Form on their personal and group racial identities.

## Chapter 6

### ATTENDING TO THE MICRO: THE NEW CITIZEN

*A written text's meaning or implications both as text and as act—are always larger than its immediate purpose and situation. Written texts have, and create, their own worlds in which their writers and readers may enlarge and interpret cultural contexts. (Miller 46)*

*The questions we face might be put this way: Who represents what to whom, for what reasons, through what institutions, to what effect, to whose benefit, at what costs? (Jay 10)*

This chapter continues with a critical rhetorical approach to understanding race and the new citizen. Chapters four and five dealt with the ideologies embedded in the discourse of citizenship and racial identity. However, discourse alone does not sustain the dominant ideologies; they are reproduced through discourse. Social institutions often mediate the dominant ideologies about race, and chapter four demonstrated that much of this discourse is hidden in the document as configuration and contains traces of the historic racial projects that have shaped the citizen. Applicants are often unaware of the hidden power of this discourse and as such are not aware of the consequences of the writing act. Their responses can legitimize or delegitimize the existing power relations and how they negotiate this Form has social impact. In this chapter, I explore the relationship between discourse, power, and representation and explain that the embedded ideologies become “socially operative” as sites of struggle over representation. It is at the moment a box is chosen on the Form, that race becomes “real” categories. Thus, this chapter explores what happens when the applicants, legal residents of Mexican ancestry, are faced with the dominant discourse. The question of inquiry for this chapter is: *How do applicants negotiate racial identity in the Form N-400?*

The discussion begins first with an overview of the subjects of this study and my position as researcher to this project. Then, I outline the methodology and the process of collecting data. I present the empirical data from the questionnaire and integrate these with observations and video recorded interviews.

### **6.1 Finding the “Subjects”**

The purpose of this micro-level research was to collect information about the attitudes and behaviors regarding race from the sample population. This required a method that studied the relation between discourse and society in context: ethnography of communication. According to Gumperz and Hymes, the aim of ethnography of communication is to study the patterns of language use to uncover social systematization. Although Gumperz and Hymes’ model focuses on “speech” acts (rather than “writing”), they advocate the investigation of language in its situational context in order to find patterns that have escaped separate studies. In this chapter, I study writing and the writing subject to understand and explain patterns of racial self-identity. While the goal of ethnography is descriptive, it is an essential first step in any investigation that attempts to understand acts of writing within a community. The scope of the ethnography was limited to non-participant observation, a questionnaire, and follow-up interviews. The sample population for this research was permanent legal residents of Mexican origin living in the El Paso area who were in the various stages of applying for naturalization.

One of the most difficult tasks in designing this dissertation was gaining access to this sample population since it was not feasible to have access to immigration records in order to administer a questionnaire to potential new citizens. I explained in chapter three that I approached a local non-profit, the Diocesan for Migrant and Refugees Service (DMRS) because

it has a dedicated citizenship section and a grant through SHINE<sup>79</sup> to coordinate citizenship classes in the El Paso area. DMRS is responsible for assigning instructors and providing course materials, training, and assistance as needed. I obtained a current list of citizenship classes in the area with the goal of meeting my objective of seventy-five participants.

## 6.2 The Researcher

It is at this point that I deviate from the methodology to discuss my role in this research project. This is essential since my positionality and subjectivity affect the research outcomes. I grew up in New England, and my native language is English. I am fluent in Spanish and graduated from the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras. I am not Hispanic or Latina; I am White. In the past few years, I have preferred to check the “Other” box because everything else seems to erase who I am.<sup>80</sup>



**Video 6.1** Crystal

This sentiment was also echoed by some of the participants. Crystal, age 24 and a legal resident from the age of two, relates in Video 6.1 that she often feels like her identity is not located in the choices on the forms. My background is relevant to this research because although ethnographic methods are founded on positivistic assumptions, i.e., that the world can be observed and that the researcher is detached and objective; this is no longer true for postmodern ethnography. Therefore, I approach this study and the reporting of the data as

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<sup>79</sup> Project SHINE is a national program called Students Helping In the Naturalization of Elders.

<sup>80</sup> I understand that the option of highlighting an ethnic identity such as French or Irish is a privilege of whiteness since other groups, such as African Americans, may not have this option. Mary Jane Collier discusses the options to conceal or enact identities in “Researching Cultural Identity.”

“confessional.” John Van Maanen characterizes confessional ethnography as personalized that focuses on the researcher’s learning as much as the subject of study (73-74). Therefore, my “voice” will be present in the research findings. Brenton Faber argues that the researcher’s presence “should not take away from the adequacy or findings of the work,” but rather enhances the reliability of the research (9). In this study, I have tried to foreground the voices and views of the participants. I did this through supplementing the data from the questionnaires with their comments and video interviews. Where relevant, these videos are interwoven in the chapter. I have also chosen not to translate participants’ comments in the body of the dissertation. The translation is provided in the keys (🔑) that accompany the text. I acknowledge that as a researcher I had to “make sense” of the story-based responses from the questionnaire and the videos. I have chosen comments that typify the responses from other participants and have edited minimally the video.

### **6.3 Data Collection**

At the time of collecting data, I was also eight-months pregnant. Truth be told, I thought I had two things in my favor: I spoke Spanish, and, well, I was noticeably pregnant! I was quite surprised that after I visited the first ten citizenship class sites, I was not close to my goal of seventy-five participants. Many of the class sites had an average of eight to ten students, and I was lucky if half agreed to volunteer to answer the questionnaire. One class site had almost fifty students, and I thought my prayers had been answered. To my dismay, only ten filled out the questionnaire. This was due to many factors, which I discuss in the course of describing the administering of the questionnaire and the interviews, but in general, I realized



that my outsider status made the students distrustful of me, and this was only worsened by the current immigration climate in the U.S. At one site, a student asked me in a roundabout way if I was an immigration official. This prompted me to redesign the questionnaire and assign everyone a number rather than ask if they wanted their real name used in the study.

By the end of the fall semester of 2010, I had approximately forty-five questionnaires. Although I had ties to this community through my volunteer effort at the non-profit, and I had attended the instructor orientations, I really did not know the people in this study. As a result, very few volunteered for the interview portion. As I began to call those who expressed interest in the interview and schedule the recording, an unexpected thing happened: my son was born almost a month early. By the time I recuperated, the semester was over. This was also true for the students in the citizenship classes as the classes run on a semester schedule, and, for the most part, the instructors and pupils change every semester. It suddenly became difficult to contact students who had expressed interest in the interview. This change also led to a modification in my role as ethnographer. I originally envisioned my role as a passive observer gathering descriptive data by way of the questionnaire and then following up with interviews. This was not working, and I realized that if I did not take a more active role in the community, I might not have any prospects for the video interview. As a result, my research took on a more hands-on approach. I noticed that on the far Westside of El Paso citizenship classes were not offered. I volunteered to teach a citizenship class once a week on Fridays at *Rey de Reyes* (King of Kings), an Evangelical church. The class was open to the general public. Although this involvement stops short of activism, I nonetheless take on a more active role in the ethnography. Many researchers see ethnography as more observation than action, but others

such as Ralph Cintrón and Brenton Faber take on a more direct role in the communities they study: Cintrón as activist, and Faber as academic consultant. My new role as teacher gave me weekly access to a group of legal residents seeking citizenship, and in turn, these students volunteered without reservation to complete a video interview.

During the 2010-2011 academic year, there were twenty-three classes offered at seventeen different locations (See Appendix C for the Master Schedule). Classes were offered in different parts of town (east, west, central) and at different types of locations (libraries, churches, community centers). I randomly chose the classes to attend but ensured a proper distribution of the different parts of town and types of locations as per the master schedule (refer to Appendix C for information regarding the distribution by type of site/location).<sup>81</sup> The sites I visited are listed below in Table 6.1 with information as to meeting times, location<sup>82</sup> and type.

Prior to visiting the classes, I made every attempt to communicate with the instructors to ask permission to visit the class and administer the questionnaire. If I did not reach the instructor, or the instructor did not return my calls or e-mail, I would stop by on the day of the scheduled class with questionnaires in hand to distribute. Since I had already attended the instructor orientations at the beginning of the semesters, and the coordinating party (Diocesan for Migrant and Refugee Services) had approved of my visits, I did not encounter any issues if I showed up unannounced.

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<sup>81</sup> The majority of the classes I visited were located in central El Paso. This reflects the distribution of the classes citywide. Fourteen of the twenty-two classes were located in central El Paso.

<sup>82</sup> I classified locations by central, west, and east. The master schedule reflects a different schema, I chose to simplify this.

**Table 6.1** Citizenship Classes in Study

Meeting Place	Meeting Times	Location	Type
Main Downtown Library	Mon. 4:00-5:30 p.m.	Central	Library
La Fe Cultural & Technology Center	Mon. 3:00-5:00 p.m.	Central	Community Center
Project Bravo	Tues. 3:00-5:00 p.m.	Central	Community Center
Doris Van Doren Library	Tues. 6:00-8:00 p.m.	West	Library
Burgess Branch Library	Tues. 5:00-7:00 p.m.	East	Library
Diocesan Migrant & Refugee Services <sup>83</sup>	Weds. 3:00-5:00 p.m.	Central	Non-profit/Community Center
Centro Mujeres de la Esperanza	Weds. 6:00-8:00 p.m.	Central	Faith-based Community Center
Esperanza Moreno Library	Thurs. 5:30-7:30 p.m.	East	Library
Armijo Library	Sat. 10:00 a.m.-12:00 p.m.	Central	Library
Sacred Heart	Sat. 9:00-11:30 a.m.	Central	Church
Rey de Reyes	Fri. 6:00-7:00p.m.	West	Church

The instructor allowed me to administer the questionnaire at the beginning of class. As an outsider to this community, I usually began with a short introduction about the study and my background. I preferred to explain that I was a graduate student and, as part of the requirements for my degree, I needed to conduct a study, and that I had chosen the area of race and citizenship because of my prior volunteer work with DMRS. At that point, I distributed the consent form and questionnaire to the students and explained that the university required the consent form. I would read the consent form aloud and answer any questions or doubts as I read. I explained to the students that the study was voluntary and tried to minimize their fears of completing a very “legal” sounding consent form. In fact, the consent form was five-pages

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<sup>83</sup> I visited DMRS twice: once in the fall, and once in the spring.

long and the questionnaire was two (refer to Appendix B). I also copied the questionnaire on color paper so that participants (and I) could easily distinguish it from the consent form. For the first three classes, I brought the forms in both English and Spanish because I had assumed that because the citizenship test is in English,<sup>84</sup> and legal residents also have to pass a basic reading/writing test in English, that perhaps there would be residents who preferred the forms in English. After the third class, I did not bring copies in English; most of the students were older and would not have to take the tests in English, and those that would, only had a basic knowledge of English.

### *The Questionnaire*

In chapter three, methodology, I stated that a participatory and an undeclared pretest of the questionnaire were conducted. The participatory pretest was conducted with a class of international graduate student in a writing seminar dedicated to working in writing groups on our respective projects. There were twelve participants in this pretest: nine from Mexico, one from India, one from Iraq, and one from Iran. I asked my peers to review the questionnaire and make comments on content and structure as well as answer the questions. From this pretest, no significant changes to the questionnaire were made.

The first citizenship class I visited, I conducted an undeclared pretest. I did not announce beforehand that it was a pretest; these participants were not included in the overall study. From this pretest, I realized that I needed to redesign the questionnaire. My goal for the

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<sup>84</sup> Legal residents are required to take the citizenship test and pass a reading/writing test in English unless they qualify for an exemption based on age and length of residency in the U.S.

questionnaire was to solicit how participants prefer to self identify versus the choices for racial self-identification on the N-400. Originally, the questionnaire was two-pages in length with very few close-ended questions. This questionnaire consisted of a reproduction of the ethno-racial questions on the N-400. The second part of the questionnaire asked respondents to be self-reflexive about their answers. Participants also had to recall how they had self-identified previously on official documents. Finally, participants were asked to fill in a “blank” regarding race. In the pretest, the open-ended questions were overwhelmingly left blank. Faced with the task of redesigning the questionnaire, and seeking IRB approval again, I decided to use this questionnaire at one more class before making a final decision. At the second class, again, students did not answer the open-ended questions. I had to find a new way to solicit information on racial self-identity. I decided to incorporate the questions from the 2010 census regarding race and ethnicity since the census has more options to self-identify and also has the option to “write in your race.” One other important change occurred to the questionnaire: I had placed the “fill in the blank” about race at the end of the original questionnaire, thereby leaving participants influenced by the previous race questions when they wrote in their own race; hence this came first on the questionnaire redesign. The final questionnaire consisted of four parts:

**Part I:** Profile. Included basic information such as name, age, gender, time of residency in the U.S., country of origin, and languages spoken.

**Part II:** Racial Identity Questions. Included a “fill in the blank” question as well as a reproduction (image) of the 2010 census questions on race, and a reproduction of the N-400 questions on race.

**Part III.** Self-reflexive questions. Included open-ended questions about how the participants felt about the options on the N-400, how likely they were to self-identify as they did on the N-400 and the census.

**Part IV.** Interview. Included a question about participating in the video interview and contact information to communicate with the participant at a later date.

(See Appendix B for the consent form, questionnaire, and interview questions.)

Overall, the consent form and questionnaire took participants thirty to forty minutes to complete. This was about double the time I had originally estimated and was due to discussions that took place while participants answered the questionnaire.

#### *Non-participant Observation*

At every citizenship class site I visited, when applicants began to review the questionnaire, a discussion would ensue. Someone would ask: “Am I Hispanic or Latino?” This provoked a class discussion of the definitions of Hispanic or Latino or other racial terms. Since I did not want to influence their answers, I did not help with the questions except to state that the application for citizenship and the accompanying instructions do not define the terms or for that matter instruct applicants on how to answer these questions. In Video 6.2, Maité also struggles with these terms; she explains in the interview that she really doesn’t know what they



**Video 6.2** Maité

are, but that Mexicans are Hispanic. As a researcher, the discussions that took place while the participants answered the questionnaire were the most telling.

Since I did not have permission to video record these interactions, I made field notes of the discussion during the sessions. The notes consisted of a short

analysis of the rhetorical situation: who, when, where, how many participants and the comment or question that was posed by the participant. I was, in a sense, a rhetorical eavesdropper.<sup>85</sup> The observation yielded some very interesting comments to add to the qualitative research because inevitably an open conversation ensued at every citizenship class I visited. For ease of note taking, I used a preset format based loosely on Gumperz and Hymes framework for the communicative event. The format included six categories:

1. Date/Time
2. Location
3. Speaker or Speakers (This could be a rough description rather than a name)
4. Speech Act
5. Reference
6. Other Participants Present.

These notes reveal the limitations of the questionnaire and will be discussed after presenting the data from the questionnaire.

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<sup>85</sup> See Krista Ratcliffe's *Rhetorical Listening*

### *Video Interviews*

Of the sample population (55), I proposed as a goal of fifteen percent (or 8) of this population to conduct a follow-up interview. I asked participants to indicate on the questionnaire whether they were willing to conduct an interview based on their responses to the questionnaire and to provide their contact information. I contacted the interested participants and arranged to meet at their convenience. The meeting place was the kitchen table. Most participants generously invited me into their homes, a few chose the location of their citizenship class as this was a neutral and public place that the participant and researcher were comfortable with. Participants first signed an additional consent form for the video interview (See Appendix B). The interviews were approximately twenty to thirty minutes in length and began with a review of the questionnaire to encourage dialogue (see proposed questions in Appendix B). The purpose of the interview was to capture how the participant answered the questions, the processes that were involved in self-identification, and how they understood the racial terms in the forms. I used a personal digital recorder and downloaded the video on a personal computer to edit the video for clips to be integrated into this dissertation. The video files are formatted for the Adobe Acrobat Pro X and use the file extension MPEG-4 or .M4V. When necessary, I translated the video in this dissertation. There were eight legal residents who participated in the video interview. These interviews are used throughout this chapter to support the empirical data and expound upon specific points.

First, I turn to the participants in this study. It is important to note that the information provided in the next section is largely descriptive. The intention of this study is to understand



how this group of people, legal residents of Mexican ancestry, negotiate the N-400 rather than understand the social differences in how this group of people self-identify.

#### 6.4 Participant Profiles

In the course of collecting data, I administered sixty-five questionnaires; ten were discarded, of which, nine were not answered completely and one was a legal resident from Honduras. The total participants were fifty-five. In Appendix D, there is a table that illustrates the composition of the sample and is sorted according to the sixth column, or the applicant's answer to the first question in the questionnaire (Fill in the blank on race). The names have been changed, but the categories reflect on gender, age, country of origin, and length of residency in the U.S. Below, I provide a summary of the data. The corpus was 67% female and 33% male. All of the participants entered the U.S. from Mexico. The youngest participant was 24 and the oldest, 83 (three chose not to respond). Table 6.2 illustrates the ages of the applicants divided into four generations. The majority of the participants (70%) were over the age of fifty with a median age of fifty-four.

**Table 6.2** Age Distribution of Sample

Age Range	Number
18-35	3
36-50	11
51-75	33
76- and over	5
No Response	3
Total	55

I asked participants to report their length of residency in the U.S. to the closest year. The question does not ask for legal residency, just overall residency in the U.S. The shortest

residency in the U.S. was five years; the longest, forty-eight (six chose not to respond). Table 6.3 illustrates the distribution of length of residency. The majority of the legal permanent residents have lived in the U.S. for an average of 11-20 years with the median length of residency 17 years.

**Table 6.3** Length of Residency

Length of Residency	Number
5-10	10
11-20	20
21-30	14
31 –over	5
No Response	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>

In Part II of the questionnaire, I ask participants to answer three separate racial identity questions. In the first question, immigrants must fill in a response to the prompt “Race.” The majority of the respondents (35%) wrote in Hispanic, followed by Mexican (32%), White (20%), and Latino (7%). One person wrote in “Mexican/Hispanic.”

**Table 6.4** Preferred Self Identification

Race	Number
Hispanic	21
Latino	4
Mexican	18
White	11
Mexican/Hispano	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>

In the second set of questions for racial identity, participants were asked to respond to the 2010 U.S. Census questions (See Figure 6.1). The Census also provides a translated version of these questions in Spanish. I used their official translation on the questionnaire (See Appendix B).

→ **NOTE: Please answer BOTH Question 8 about Hispanic origin and Question 9 about race. For this census, Hispanic origins are not races.**

**8. Is Person 1 of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?**

☐ No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin

☐ Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano

☐ Yes, Puerto Rican

☐ Yes, Cuban

☐ Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin — *Print origin, for example, Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.* ↗

**9. What is Person 1's race? Mark ☒ one or more boxes.**

☐ White

☐ Black, African Am., or Negro

☐ American Indian or Alaska Native — *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.* ↗

<input type="checkbox"/> Asian Indian	<input type="checkbox"/> Japanese	<input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian
<input type="checkbox"/> Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/> Korean	<input type="checkbox"/> Guamanian or Chamorro
<input type="checkbox"/> Filipino	<input type="checkbox"/> Vietnamese	<input type="checkbox"/> Samoan
<input type="checkbox"/> Other Asian — <i>Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.</i> ↗	<input type="checkbox"/> Other Pacific Islander — <i>Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on.</i> ↗	

☐ Some other race — *Print race.* ↗

**Figure 6.1** 2010 U.S. Census Questions regarding Race

Preceding the questions on race, the census instructs participants that “Hispanic origins” are not races (See “NOTE”). Participants answered only questions eight and nine. Question “8” concerns Hispanic, Latino, or other Spanish origin. Next, participants must racially identify in question “9,” and have fourteen different options to choose or they can select “Some other race” and write in a response. All of the participants answered yes to question “8” and chose

the option of “Mexican, Mexican-Am., or Chicano.” For question “9,” I counted a total of seven different responses for racial identity and these are reported below in Table 6.5. The top three answers to this question were White (49%), Mexican (18%), and Hispanic (12%). The chart illustrates that eleven percent chose to write in some other response and ten percent chose not to answer the question.

**Table 6.5** Racial Identity per Census

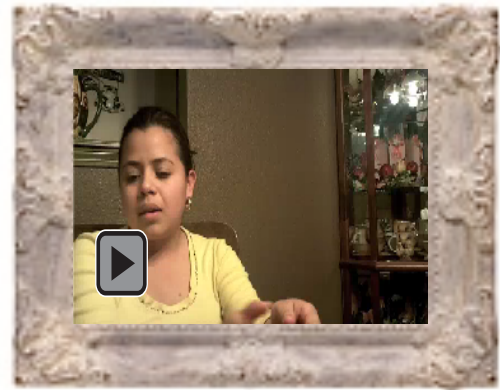
<b>Race</b>	<b>Number</b>
Hispanic	7
Latino	2
Mexican	10
Mestiza <sup>86</sup>	2
Mex./Hispanic	1
Mex./White	2
White	27
No Response	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>

The results from the census compared to the “fill in the blank” are inverted; whereas the top three answers to the first question were (in order) Hispanic, Mexican, and White, the top answers to the census question are White, Mexican, Hispanic. It is my opinion that the design of the questions on the census influences their readers, especially those of Hispanic origin. First, the note at the top informs readers that Hispanic origin is not a race, so they are not as inclined to write it in as a response below. Second, the “some other race” response is positioned last. Most do not realize that that response is an option until after they have already marked a box. Finally, respondents have already answered a question about Hispanic origin; writing that in on the option for “some other race” appears redundant. This was confirmed in the interviews. Crystal, who self identifies as Latina, discusses her response to the questions from the census

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<sup>86</sup> Literally “mixed” of two or more races.

(refer to Video 6.3). Other participants also echoed Crystal’s observations; they stated that since they had already answered that they were of Hispanic origin, they could not write that in the “some other race” response.



**Video 6.3** Crystal and “some other race”

In the third set of questions regarding race, participants were asked to answer the questions as they appear on the Form N-400. I published an image of “Part 5 Information for Criminal Records Search” in the questionnaire and then translated questions “D” and “E” (See Figure 6.2 below).

Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search				Write your USCIS A-Number here: A	
NOTE: The categories below are those required by the FBI. See instructions for more information.					
A. Gender		B. Height		C. Weight	
<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female		<input type="text"/> Feet <input type="text"/> Inches		<input type="text"/> Pounds	
D. Are you Hispanic or Latino?		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No			
E. Race (Select one or more)					
<input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Asian		<input type="checkbox"/> Black or African American		<input type="checkbox"/> American Indian or Alaskan Native <input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	
F. Hair color					
<input type="checkbox"/> Black <input type="checkbox"/> Brown <input type="checkbox"/> Blonde		<input type="checkbox"/> Gray <input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Red		<input type="checkbox"/> Sandy <input type="checkbox"/> Bald (No Hair)	
G. Eye color					
<input type="checkbox"/> Brown <input type="checkbox"/> Blue <input type="checkbox"/> Green		<input type="checkbox"/> Hazel <input type="checkbox"/> Gray <input type="checkbox"/> Black		<input type="checkbox"/> Pink <input type="checkbox"/> Maroon <input type="checkbox"/> Other	

**Figure 6.2** Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Check

Question “D” of Part 5 on the N-400 asks respondents if they are Hispanic or Latino. In comparison with the census questions, there is no explanation that Hispanic and Latino are not races. This is not necessary since the Form does not allow applicants to choose “some other

race” and write in their own response. Applicants are limited to five options: White, Asian, Black or African American, Native American or Alaskan Native, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. Table 6.6 illustrates the results of question E. Despite the fact that there was the option to choose more than one race, no one did. Ninety-three percent of the participants chose White as a racial identifier, and one person, Rosalia, chose American Indian.

**Table 6.6** N-400 Responses

Race	Number
White	51
American Indian	1
No Response	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>

Although I do not recall Rosalia, I do know that she was an elderly woman who had lived in the U.S. for the past eleven years. In her answers to the first two questions, she chose to self-identify as “*mexicana*.” I visited Rosalia’s citizenship class early on in the data collection and as I noted earlier, because of issues of confidentiality, I opted to assign a number to all of the participants. I also did not ask them to provide any contact information unless they had volunteered to participate in the video interview. When I changed the questionnaire, I became aware, because of Rosalia’s response, that my translation of American Indian—*indígena de America*<sup>87</sup> (for the N-400) was not the same as the “official” translation by the U.S. Census Bureau: *india americana*. I realized that my translation would be more appropriate for Native American, but this term is complex because it includes within it natives of all of the Americas. Before this, I was not aware of the implications of word choice. It is my opinion that American

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<sup>87</sup> The application for naturalization, Form N-400, is only printed in English. I translated the questions regarding race. The census, on the contrary, has a Spanish translation.

Indian is used because it corresponds only to indigenous peoples of North America and this subtle difference discourages people who are from Central or South America who may identify as *indígena* (indigenous) from choosing this as a racial identifier. Because of the census translation, I decided to change the translation for the N-400 to *india americana*.

Unfortunately, Rosalia did not participate in the video interviews, and I did not have further contact with her regarding her response.

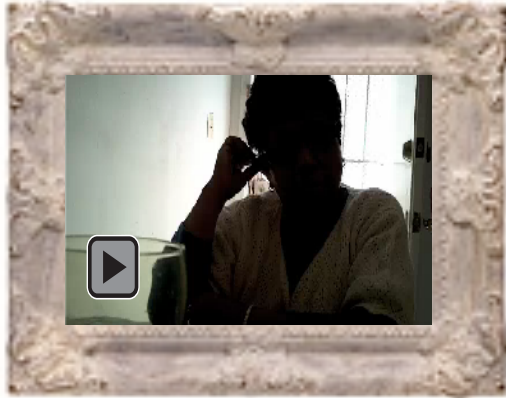
Lastly, there were three participants who did not answer the question for racial identity on the Form N-400 (Table 6.7). While administering the questionnaire, I stressed the importance of answering the questions on the N-400 since the US Customs and Immigration Service instructions state that all questions must be answered “fully and accurately.”

**Table 6.7** No Response/ N-400

NAME	AGE	GENDER	COUNTRY	RESIDENCE	BLANK	CENSUS	N-400
DAMASO	60	M	MEX.	30	MEX.	HISPANO	N/A
LUIS	64	M	MEX.	41	LATINO	MEX.	N/A
ROSENDA	48	F	MEX.	10	HISPANO	N/A	N/A

Luis and Rosenda answered “yes” to question D: “Are you Hispanic or Latino?” And both underlined the word “Hispano.” It is my understanding that the question was left blank because the participants did not find an option that they felt reflected their racial self-identity.

Consuelo, who originally left this question blank, confirms this. In her interview, Consuelo and I discuss why she did not answer the question about race. Consuelo answers that the only option available to her is White, but according to her, she is not “White” (See Video 6.4). This is also the case with Victoria who writes on her questionnaire: “*Para mi el inciso (E) no es claro ni*



**Video 6.4.** Consuelo negotiates race on the N-400

*conciso para definir realmente mi raza. No me identifico en ninguna de las opciones.”* On her questionnaire, Victoria wrote in her race as *hispana* and for the census she chose “some other race” and wrote in *mexicana* but chose White for the Form N-400. Eighty year-old Betty, who identifies herself as *mexicana* and *india mexicana*,

finds herself in the same predicament. Betty writes “*No soy blanca pero pienso que es la única opción.*”

In chapter five, I analyzed the Form N-400 and discovered that question 5.E. (race) was the *only* question on the Form that allowed applicants to choose more than one option. I was curious whether the Form influenced legal residents in their answers to this question, and if legal residents, like Victoria or Consuelo, were aware that they could choose more than one “race.” In response to this question, (whether they were aware they could “select one or more” race), seventy-five percent responded “yes” (See Table 6.8).

**Table 6.8** Race (Select one or more)

Response	Number
Yes	41
No	8
No response	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>

Finally, I wanted to know what applicants thought of the options on the N-400. This question was open-ended and participants could write in any response regarding questions D and E.



Almost half of the participants wrote that the options for racial identification were “Good,” “Correct,” or “Adequate,” while thirty-three percent wrote in that the options were “Confusing,” “Inadequate,” or “Not specific enough.” Twenty percent did not answer this question (See Table 6.9).

**Table 6.9** Opinions regarding the options on the Form N-400

Response	Number
Good/Correct/Adequate	26
Not Good/Confusing/Not Specific	18
No Response	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>

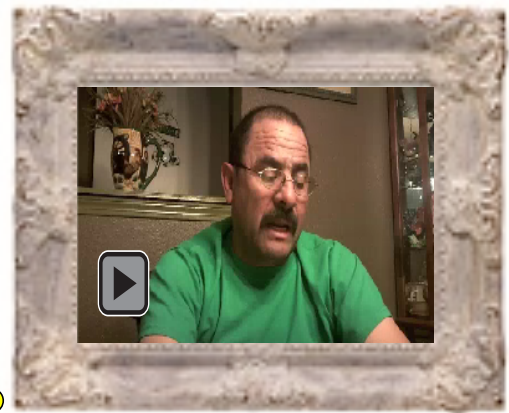
For purposes of simplification, I classified each response according to the schema in Table 6.9.

In some cases, participants did not overtly express positive or negative opinions of the responses per se, but wrote in, for example, “*Son difíciles, pero necesarias*” (Josefa); or “*Son fáciles de contestar*” (Raquel), and I had to determine whether to count the response as positive, negative, or if it was too ambiguous, classify it as “no response.”

## 6.5 Data Analysis

In the previous section, I presented the data collected from the questionnaire. Based on this data, I now return to the question of inquiry for discussion: *How do applicants negotiate race as presented in the application for naturalization?* In the response to the first question on the questionnaire, “Fill in the blank” regarding race, the majority of the participants wrote in Hispanic or Latino; on the Census, White, and the N-400, White (See Table 6.10). Therefore, when given the option to fill in the blank, applicants identify as Hispanic or Latino. I had assumed that “Mexican” would have a higher response rate than Hispanic or Latino. There was

not a correlation between length of residency in the U.S. and the responses to these questions. I had initially (and naively) worded this research question: *If given full agency, how do legal residents self-identify?* Is there ever such a thing as full agency? Social actors are continuously exposed to categorization by society, and the Form N-400 is not the first time Permanent Legal Residents have come in contact with categories sanctioned by society to differentiate people by race. This is particularly salient when we consider that 2010 was a census year, and there was a campaign in force to “be counted.” More than half of the budgeted advertising was targeted to media consumed by minority and ethnic audiences (U.S. Census). This message was reiterated by Franco, who wrote on his questionnaire that it was important to identify as Hispanic or Latino for political power and the majority of this sample population chose to identify as Hispanic or Latino as a racial category. After years of residing in the U.S., legal residents accept that they are Hispanic or Latino and choose to identify as such over their country of origin; even though they are not sure what these terms mean, they understand that they are the acceptable terms by the government. I asked participants what Hispanic and Latino meant. The answers varied from ethnic origins (Spain) or Spanish-speaking peoples, but forty-six year-old Antonio explains that Hispanic is what Mexicans are in the U.S. and that they are Latinos everywhere else. In this video (Video 6.5), he links Hispanic with language, as did other participants.



**Video 6.5** Antonio

In contrast to the responses to the prompt “fill in the blank” on race, participants chose to identify as White on the Form N-400. This, however, is not enough to determine whether the Form influenced the applicants’ responses. First, one could assume because of the data (See Appendix D) that Hispanic, Mexican, and Latino are White. Therefore, these affirmations are not in conflict but given the choices available legal residents are asserting another subject position. In postmodernity, individuals have multiple subjectivities to choose from and the choice is often shaped by social context.

**Table 6.10** Comparison of the Responses for Racial Identity

<b>RACE</b>	<b>BLANK</b>	<b>CENSUS</b>	<b>N-400</b>
<b>Mexican<sup>88</sup></b>	18	10	N/A
<b>Hispanic/Latino</b>	25	9	N/A
<b>White</b>	11	27	51
<b>American Indian</b>	0	0	1
<b>Other</b>	1	4	0
<b>No Response</b>	0	5	3

The structures of the three racial identity questions represent three different rhetorical situations, and legal residents are bound by the interactional constraints of each question. I noted previously that most applicants were aware that the question on the Form N-400 allowed for them to choose more than one race, and almost half of the sample deemed the options as adequate or better. Therefore, the questionnaire data alone indicates that legal residents are not asserting conflicting racial identities, but given the rhetorical situation are choosing among a node in their network of available subjectivities.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Mexican, Hispanic, or Latino are not listed as races on the census, but the applicant can write in “Some other race.”

<sup>89</sup> See Foster *Networked Process*

Although most participants classified the options as “good,” this seemed disparate with observations made as a volunteer helping legal residents fill out the Form and when I administered the questionnaire to this sample population. Walt Wolfram and Ralph Fasold have noted that this is a typical limitation of questionnaires; there can be incongruence in the answers in the questionnaire and actuality (69). To underscore this point, I turn to my “field” notes (Table 6.11).

**Table 6.11** Observational Notes

Format	Observational Notes
1. Date/Time	1. 6 Nov. 2011/9:00 a.m.
2. Location	2. <i>Sagrado Corazón</i> Church meeting room
3. Speaker or Speakers	3. Josué
4. Speech Act	4. What is race? Race... race... animals have
5. Reference	racas. Humans don’t have race. I cross the
6. Other Participants Present.	bridge and the immigration official asks did
	you cross on foot; “ <i>en patas</i> .” Animals have
	“ <i>patas</i> <sup>90</sup> .” I’m <i>latino-moreno</i> , but I don’t know
	what to put on this form.
	5. Discussion of race before answering the
	questionnaire
	6. 48 classmates/ 1 instructor

In this exchange, I visited the citizenship class at the *Sagrado Corazón* Church located in central El Paso. As participants began to answer the questionnaire, various questions were

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<sup>90</sup> The word “*pata*” refers to legs, but is not used for humans (only animals and inanimate objects such as “*las patas de la mesa*,” the table’s leg).

raised on the definitions of Hispanic and Latino. In particular, one gentleman, Josué, commented to the class that “race was for animals not humans,” and he considered himself to be “*latino-moreno*”<sup>91</sup> not any of the options available. But even after these comments and further discussion, Josué identified as Hispano in the first two questions, and as White on the N-400. His response to the options on the N-400 was “*Están bien, pero un poco confusos.*” 🔑

In another exchange at another citizenship class location, Maria exclaimed out loud, 🔑 “*¿Quiero saber qué significan hispano y latino?*” The class began to dissect the terms. One gentleman offered definitions; others opined. Another woman (Isabela) in the same class asked



**Video 6.6** Elena 🔑

me, “*¿Soy blanca?*” 🔑 Both Maria and Isabela did not comment on the options on the N-400 even though their questions indicate that they were not sure of the categories. In the end, Maria and Isabela chose White on the N-400. Although there *is* overt struggle over representation, this is not manifest in the

questionnaire. Given the observations, the interviews, and my previous experience volunteering at the non-profit, I argue that the legal residents who did *not* identify as White on the previous questions of race, did so on the N-400 because it was the only subject position that was, according to the participants, available. This is evident in Consuelo’s video (6.4) and in this exchange with Elena (Video 6.6). Their initial trepidation in understanding the categories and where they may “fit” in this scheme demonstrates that these categories do not reflect their

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<sup>91</sup> *Latino-moreno* roughly translates to dark-skinned Latino. *Moreno*, however, can also be considered another term for Black.

descriptions and perceptions. My concern is not how these choices for racial identity contribute to the identity formation of legal residents (this is a complex issue that cannot be solved here) but to call attention to the implications of these choices at the individual and societal level.

## **6.6 Writing, Consequences**

In this section, I return to my overarching question of inquiry for this dissertation: *How does the application for naturalization construct the citizen, and how does this community disrupt or reify this construct?*

In chapter four, I traced the *historically situated racial projects* (Omi and Winant) that established race as the determinant for citizenship and naturalization. When the source of immigration shifted in the late 1800s to other parts of Europe, the need to classify by race became imperative and was mandated by Congress. This was the period that the “List of Races and Peoples” was created and solidified with the objective to differentiate among the different classes of White. The original “List” used by immigration officials at Ellis Island in 1898 contained 46 different “races and peoples.” Mexicans seeking naturalization during this period were at the mercy of the local courts, which determined whether the applicant was White by the court of law. Although Mexicans residing in the territories that were ceded to the U.S. as part of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo were granted citizenship, the issue of whiteness and Mexican immigrants continued to be a source of conflict.

In 1897, the Supreme Court heard a case regarding the petition for naturalization by the defendant Rodríguez, a Mexican immigrant. The judge ruled that Rodríguez was White by law (perhaps alluding to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo) but not by the anthropologist. This case allowed Rodríguez to naturalize, but was not a victory for all Mexicans. This is evident by the

1911 *Dictionary of Races and Peoples* that defined Mexican, for immigration purposes, as only those of pure European blood (Folkmar 96). Mexicans who were Negro or Indian were to be listed as such, and according to Dr. Folkmar, author of the *Dictionary*, approximately seventy percent of Mexicans would be classified as Negro or Indian (138). Folkmar divides mankind into five “grand” races: Caucasian, Mongol, Malay, Negro, and American (referring to the American Indians) and only Mexicans of “pure” European blood were classified as Caucasian.

In the period from 1898-1937, the “List of Races and Peoples” was altered; some races were added (Manx), some were deleted (African), or changed (Italian North and Italian South became one category). In 1917, there was another move to limit immigration and citizenship of Mexicans. The Act of 1917 had a provision to deny immigration to contract workers. After a petition by U.S. farmers, Mexicans were excluded from this Act. After this and with pressure by the Mexican government, there is a move to classify Mexicans as White in the 1920 census.<sup>92</sup> By the 1930 census, Mexicans are listed again as a separate race. In the 1930s, perhaps because of confusion with the U.S. Census and racial eligibility requirements, Marian Smith, Historian for the U.S. Customs and Immigration Service Historical Library in D.C. reports that the USCIS released a circular reaffirming the whiteness of Mexicans. It is also at this time that the Bureau of Immigration and the Bureau of Naturalization merge into one agency: the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The merging of the two brings about questions of the racial categories, and by the 1940s, the races are changed on naturalization forms to only include the eligible races: White, African or African Descent, and Filipino. The forms were revised again, however,

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<sup>92</sup> Before 1980, census takers recorded race.

with the passage of the Nationality Act of 1940.<sup>93</sup> The Nationality Act of 1940 extended eligibility for citizenship to “descendents of races indigenous to the Western Hemisphere”<sup>94</sup> (section 303). After passage of this act, naturalization forms were revised and included five choices: White, Negro, Japanese, Chinese, and Other. Although there is no apparent reason for the five choices on the application for naturalization (Smith 101), this is the first time that the N-400 has five options.

With the passing of The Act of 1952, race is eliminated as a requirement for naturalization, and race is removed from the petition for naturalization. However, racial data is still collected through the criminal records check. Applicants must declare a race, and on the Form FD-258 (Fingerprints); there were five options: American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, Black, White, or Unknown. The Form FD-258 has changed little over time, but it is not clear how these categories were altered. The FD-258 does not list the options for race since each answer is assigned a code and this is found in the instructions (see chapter five for further discussion of this). The changes to racial categories after 1952 were strongly influenced by the U.S. Census Bureau. For example, in the 1970s, after periods of major influxes of Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Mexicans, the government introduced the Spanish ethnic identifier, which later became, in the Office of Management and Budget’s revised Directive 15 (1997), “Hispanic or Latino” and “Not Hispanic or Latino.” This revised directive also changed the racial categories to five: American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Black or African

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<sup>93</sup> It is important to note that the List did not go away. It was still used by the “immigration” side of the INS. Further changes to the list occurred after 1940: Spanish American was changed to Latin American in 1942 and Hebrew was deleted in 1943 (See Weil and Smith).

<sup>94</sup> Like much of the previous laws regarding immigration and naturalization, the term “races indigenous to the Western Hemisphere” lacked clarity. The Immigration and Nationality Manual of 1945 made clear who was not eligible: “native Samoans or Polynesian inhabitants of American Samoa, and Maoris (members of the Polynesian family) born in New Zealand” (Sec. 722.1).



American, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander and White. Race is added to the Form N-400 in 2002, and the responses to this question are the categories as listed in the revised directive. The analysis of a comparison of the entries in the 1911 Dictionary demonstrate that Folkmar's five "grand" divisions of mankind are embedded in the new directive, and the revised Directive 15 is still in effect in 2011.

This analysis uncovers the power "behind"<sup>95</sup> the discourse of race as presented in the current Form N-400. Although there was a diversity of ideologies in conflict regarding the definition of Mexican, this dominant ideology is sustained through repeated attempts to reassert the non-whiteness of Mexican immigrants through laws such as the Act of 1917 (barring immigration to contract workers) and the changing definitions with each decennial census. This "unstable equilibrium"<sup>96</sup> reveals the hidden relations of power in the orders of discourse of race in U.S. society. Although race is no longer a category of struggle over access to U.S. society via citizenship, it still remains a struggle around assimilation as immigrants threaten the grand narrative of a "White America." In "Biracial Identity—Asset or Handicap," Elaine Prinderhughes explains how "the very clear racial boundaries...in the interest of White domination are seriously threatened by the presence of a biracial person" (76). (See also Root; Parker and Song). This is also the case with the majority of immigrants of "Spanish origin." Clara Rodríguez reports in a study of racial identity and the Puerto Rican community that Puerto Ricans present an enigma in U.S. society because they are both an ethnic group and more than one racial group: they were both Black and White, but as an ethnic group they were neither

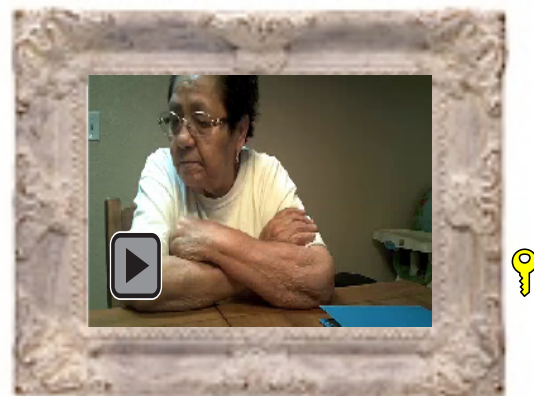
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<sup>95</sup> Fairclough uses the terms power "behind" and power "in" discourse. See *Language and Power* 1989/2001

<sup>96</sup> Hegemony is domination across different levels or domains of society but it is never complete domination; "it is never achieved more than partially and temporarily." Gramsci terms this an "unstable equilibrium" (Fairclough *Critical Discourse Analysis* 76).

Black nor White (*Puerto Ricans: Born in the U.S.A* 47). Angel Falcón argues that Rodríguez' observations can be applied to the experiences of Latinos in general and cites a privately funded social survey completed by the Latino National Political Survey in 1989 that examined the attitudes and behaviors of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans in the U.S. One significant part of the study was that participants had to place themselves in the U.S. system of racial classification. Falcón notes that there was an inconsistency between how the interviewer labeled the respondent by phenotype and how the respondent self-identified (Falcón 199-200).

Of note is that prior to the 1980s the enigma of Latino racial identity was probably not an issue; individuals did not answer the question directly, census takers did, and for naturalization, the authorized agent (FBI, Police, USCIS official) recorded race on the



**Video 6.7** Elena defines *morena*.

form FD-258. Prior to the 1990s, only one race could be declared. For many Mexicans in this study, they are (like Rodríguez' conclusions) both Black and White, but neither Black nor White. (Elena explains in Video 6.7 that she is neither Black nor White). Until 1990, they would have had to choose between the two, thereby maintaining the binary of Black/White in the U.S.

This struggle for representation is a symbol of the process of becoming part of the racial discourse as defined by U.S society. In chapter five, I explained how the dominant control the social actors, legal residents, who are applying for naturalization. The analysis of the Form N-400 reveals how the grammatical structuring of the Form constrains applicants and the subject positions one can occupy. The applicant is relegated to the giver of information or compliant

actor while filling out the “blank” form. This is accomplished through four types of constructions: declaratives, grammatical questions, nominalizations, and imperatives. In particular, nominalizations take a process and convert it to a noun. Instead of “What race are you?” the question is stated only as “Race.” This process removes the subject/agent, verb form, and modality and presents the world as fixed and knowable. I noted that it was only on the section for criminal records search that nominalizations were used to frame the questions. Using the design principles of Robin Williams, I evaluated the Form N-400 as configuration (Salinas, Sosnoski). Under the principle of proximity, (like objects should be positioned together), I uncover how this configuration maintains, to varying degrees, the power relations of the dominant ideology. First, the racial categories are presented on the same line with White listed first. This positions White in relation to all of the other races and sustains the ideology that the U.S. racial system has at its foundation an overarching dual structure of White vs. non-White (See Rodríguez “Counting Latinos” also). In addition, the five racial categories and the ethnic identifiers are presented as common sense. There is no need to define them and definitions are not provided in the instructions for the N-400. The meanings of the words depend, then, on its relation (proximity) to others. In question E, the spatial alignment of the race categories marks the boundaries between them. It is understood that White is different from Asian and Asian from Black or African American because of the spatial divisions. Likewise, the proximal relation of “Black or African American” denotes that these categories are similar. This inevitably leads to the overwhelming majority of permanent legal residents of Mexican origin in this study to reject this category and assert a White racial identity.

Preceding the question on race is Spanish origin. Applicants understand that this question has “something” to do with race because of its proximal relationship, but the question does not state that Hispanic or Latino are ethnic or racial identifiers (nor do the instructions). Regardless of the applicant’s perception of these categories (Hispanic and Latino) as racial or ethnic, they are separated from the subsequent race question. Cobas, Duany and Feagin argue that the Spanish origin identifier was established by the government in the 1970s to erase differences among Spanish speakers and collapses diversity into two groups: Hispanic or Latino (9). The question on the Form N-400 goes one-step further, its construction of “Are you Hispanic or Latino?” erases any distinction between these two terms. If applicants understand that they are distinct, it does not matter, if they can answer yes to one or the other, the answer on the Form is “yes” (See Figure 6.3).

D. Are you Hispanic or Latino?		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
E. Race (Select one or more)			
<input type="checkbox"/> White	<input type="checkbox"/> Asian	<input type="checkbox"/> Black or African American	<input type="checkbox"/> American Indian or Alaskan Native
			<input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

**Figure 6.3** Part 5. D and E

In my opinion, the Spanish ethnic identifier eliminates any “confusion” over race. The broad label of “Hispanic or Latino” does more than erase differences among Spanish speakers; it also accomplishes what the 1911 classification did: separate all Spanish speakers or people of Spanish/Latino origin from other Whites. This new ethnic identifier becomes a strategy to maintain these racial boundaries. Chen argues in “(De)hyphenated Identity,” that the “hyphen is a metaphor which highlights the boundary between Americans and white Americans” (9). The separate question functions as a hyphenated designation Hispanic-White or Hispanic-American.

Permanent legal residents,<sup>97</sup> however, are unaware of the power “in” the discursive elements in the application. The Form N-400 “reads” as void of ideology and this is due to many factors. First, as a written document, the participants are separated spatially. There is a feeling of one-sidedness to the communication, and this makes it unclear as to the nature of the power relations manifest in the Form. Since this Form is also created with a broad audience in mind, it is written with an *ideal* audience in mind. Applicants negotiate this “ideal” citizen. Although, I understand that a single piece of discourse (one interaction) is not enough to render claims about the effects of this discourse or its impact on identity formation at the individual or national level, nonetheless potential new citizens do negotiate their relationship to the ideal subject/citizen. This ideal citizen is the product of the articulation of politics, economics, ideology, and history that sanctioned whiteness. According to the question on the N-400, racially, this ideal citizen subject can only be a combination of the five categories as designated by the Office of Management and Budget’s revised Directive 15 (1997): American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Black, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. These categories represent the pre-existing categories of race as understood from the U.S. perspective. The difficulty that permanent legal residents encountered with the racial identity question on the Form N-400 point to a rupture in the way they perceive themselves and the way the Form N-400 constructs the potential new citizen. This Form, which is used by immigrants from other countries, must assimilate to these sanctioned categories of self-definition. The racial terms used in this question makes evident that permanent legal residents are reproducing social

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<sup>97</sup> Since I am referring to filling out the N-400, I limit the discussion to this group of people, but I would stress that in general terms, most people are not self-reflexive when filling out “blank” forms.

structures when responding to this question since the categories do not welcome diversity, but asks immigrants to choose among U.S. defined subject positions.

Applicants who are self-reflexive could strategically and creatively negotiate race on the N-400 since the instructions to question E are “choose one or more.” The data shows, however, that *no one* chose more than one race. This was due to many factors, but I argue that the design of the form was instrumental. Applicants were only allowed to choose one response on all of the other questions structured like question E. I speculate that the repetition of “one” answer (65 times) subconsciously confines immigrants to choose only one. So although the questions regarding race on the census and the application for naturalization allowed for respondents to choose more than one category after 1990, on the naturalization form, the traces of “one” race only are present.

Finally, the position of White as the first answer to question E also sustains the dominant ideology that Americans are White. Sherrow Pinder argues in *The Politics of Race and Ethnicity in the U.S.* that “even though nonwhites have been in America since the very beginning of America’s founding, nonwhites are always viewed as foreigners, alien to America’s cultural oneness/homogeneity” (1). In a study of African Americans, Asian Americans and

whiteness, Thierry Devos and Mahzarin R. Banaji found that there is a predisposition to view Whites as Americans. This is also true for some of the participants in this study such as Maité and Consuelo who state that Americans are White (refer to Video 6.8). The construction of these




**Video 6.8** Consuelo, Maité and “Americanness”

questions (D and E) certainly reinforces this ideology. The power masked in this Form is not surprising since Pinder argues that “in the United States, all major institutions are intended to support those who have habitually been in power, or the groups that are perceived to be dominant”—white, heterosexual male (3). This begs the question as to what effect, if any, this group of immigrants has in disrupting or reifying the dominant ideology.

The second part of the question of inquiry addresses the role or roles that this community has in maintaining or disrupting the existing power relations. I noted in the previous sections that 51 out of 52 legal residents chose White as their race when responding to the questions from the Form N-400 in comparison to only twenty-percent who chose White as their answer to the “fill in the blank” on race. The observations and videos illustrate that the majority of the sample population did not previously consider themselves White but when faced with the options on the Form N-400, chose White. Based on the studies by Falcón, Rodríguez, and De Fina, I believe that the findings in this study can also be applied to Hispanics and Latinos in general. Consider the ramifications of this population: Mexicans comprise the largest source of immigrants to the U.S. in the last ten years (U.S. Office of Immigration Statistics) and Hispanics and Latinos in general are the largest source of immigrants to the U.S. (Customs and Immigration Service). Given this, their answers to race on this important Form for citizenship takes on new meaning—White is no longer required by law to become a citizen, but nonetheless the idea of the American citizen as White is.

The consequences of this one act of writing is not assessable, but I argue that because applicants must “write in” a response, the force of subjection is more extensive in contrast to other discourses that are consumed such as the newspaper, magazines, or television. The

applicant takes on two roles; he/she alternates between the interpreters and producers of a text. Fairclough identifies this as a feature of face-to-face interactions (*Language and Power* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 41) but filling out a form also requires applicants to “read” the images and then “write” in their answers. Although they may be limited in their production, as chapter five demonstrates, there is not a sharp divide between interpreter and producer once the applicant begins to answer the questions. Thus there is some action on the part of the applicant in constructing their identity as well as the identity of American citizens. At the moment the “pen” hits the paper, the macro, meso, and macro levels of racial formation are enacted as applicants are presented a version of reality that sustains the power relations of the dominant class. This ideology hails us (Althusser) and unfairly devalues minorities of Spanish origin. The sample population, after years of residency in the U.S., has accepted the labels Hispanic or Latino. This socialization occurred a priori to the naturalization process. These labels erase diversity, and the applicant becomes complicit in this subject reformation in the act of writing. This reformation continues with “racial” identity. As immigrants navigate this Form (and other governmental forms), they must think of themselves in racial terms, even if they did not before.<sup>98</sup> These racial terms do not reproduce race as understood from the immigrant perspective, the “writer” of the Form. Many Hispanic or Latinos would prefer an intermediate category of “brown” (*moreno/a*), and this was expressed by half of the participants in the video interview. Faced with the options on the Form N-400, they identify as White. This is also the observation of De Genova and Ramos-Zayas who note that because of the options on the U.S. Census, Latinos “readily identify as ‘white’ (even if many may never do so on virtually any other

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<sup>98</sup> This is not to say that race is not a category of importance in other countries, but a national identity may take precedence over race.



occasion)” and an equal number of Latinos “opt instead for the nondescript ‘none of the above’ category of ‘Some other race’” (16-17). The N-400, however, presents a totalizing ideology; the applicant does not have the option to choose “none of the above,” “some other race,” or to write in a category.

Foucault recognizes that where there is power there can also be resistance, but applicants must answer the ethno-racial questions if they want to become U.S. citizens. Refusal to answer will result in the return of the application for failure to answer all of the questions as stated in the instructions. If the applicant does not answer the questions regarding race and ethnicity, there are *real* consequences. The application will be returned and the applicant will be asked to complete all answers and resubmit, thus causing a delay in processing. This adds another layer to racial subjection; resistance is not an option. Agency, however, sometimes, is born out of creativity. If an applicant wanted to, he or she could check *all* of the boxes on the Form. In the interview, Crystal, a permanent legal resident since the age of 3, explains her desire to check all of the boxes for race, but given the seriousness of the application, fears that the risk is too high to do so. This act of resistance, an act of deroutinization (Giddens *Modernity* 13), cannot be realized.

These papers that grant citizenship determine “how and where immigrants exist and loom large in their lives” (Maira 122). It determines full access to U.S. society and the possibility of petitioning residency on behalf of other family members. Given this, the applicant must racially identify and consume the orders of discourse of race according to the dominant ideology. The legal resident from Mexico struggles with discourse about race that positions the applicant in a binary structure of White and Non-White in the U.S., but this struggle is also over

assimilation—the dominant discourse does not take into account the culturally diverse understandings of race but strives to standardize race to some extent in U.S. society. This is central to the workings of hegemony. The dominant ideology attempts to erase the cultural context and replace it with discourse that benefits the dominant group. In a study of “everyday racism” in the U.S. and the Netherlands, Philomena Essed explains that the strategies used to achieve hegemony are aimed at “cultural control” and that the “tendency to control the influence of other cultures is not just a policy issue; it pervades the everyday practices by which the dominant group secures the status quo of race and ethnic relations” (6). The application for naturalization is a manifestation of the macro level projects of society where groups of people are allowed (or denied) access to full rights as a citizen. *They are also denied (or limited) to the way they can define themselves. Thus, racial categories are defined in the relationship of struggle over language and are rhetorical: “They are about how groups of people feel, talk, and think about other groups of people; about the assumptions and judgments groups make about other groups; about how these assumptions and judgments ‘compose’ society—how they influence philosophy, determine policy, and incite action” (West Signs of Struggle 1).*

The writers (permanent legal residents) become co-constructors of the American citizen through their struggle over representation. The naturalization application, however, presents a sort of hegemonic coercion: applicants must accept (even if temporarily) ethnic and racial categorizations. Although identity is context driven and variable as the different responses to the three sets of race questions exemplify, in the context of citizenship, White reigns. Although this is only one writing act, Susan Miller recognizes that “a written text’s meaning or implications both as text and as act—are always larger than its immediate purpose and

situation" (46). This "text" speaks to immigrants and does ideological work; it determines what is correct. Applicants check a box (or more) and this act determines their place and space in a given hierarchy. White then "crowds out"<sup>99</sup> the "other." Although there is no singular identity, acts of writing are dialogic and members of society are constantly engaging in the "process of becoming"<sup>100</sup> a "good" citizen subject. This process creates, through repetition, a society where people come "to know" that they are White, Asian, Hispanic or Latino etc.:

Through repetition, we come to "recognize" ourselves as the persons hailed and so act as if we were "really" those persons. Because ideology has taught us that we are unified subjects with free will, we do not imagine our identities to have been created this way. Our actions and our choices seem to be the result of some fixed character or unfettered choice rather than the product of ideology.

(Jamieson 157-158)

According to Utz McKnight, the major sources of racialization in U.S. society are the product of "social encounters when very young, and the idea of racial difference as phenotype is initially explained or justified as a social value of importance" (46). So, who supplies the major sources for racial subjection for the new citizen? This happens, in part, by their interaction with the meso-level institutions of U.S. society and particularly the U.S. Customs and Immigration Service. Yet subjection does not happen alone; writing has a role in this. At least momentarily, in the process of becoming U.S. citizens, the permanent legal residents in this study have

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<sup>99</sup> In her discussion of literacy, Patricia Bizzell wonders whether academic literacy will "crowd out" other cultural literacies that students bring to school (134)

<sup>100</sup> In discussing the use of autobiographical essays in the classroom, Cindy Hesford argues that "the autobiographical writing process can be construed, then, as intrinsically dialogic, and the autobiographical subject can be read as always in the process of becoming" (61).

reproduced and co-authored the status quo: “the heterogeneous origin of the population”<sup>101</sup> (Gimenez qtd. in De Fina 144). Whether or not these acts of writing continue to sustain the idea of the American citizen as White remains to be seen. I can only speculate that what emerged as a habit of whiteness (racial categorization) will continue to assert itself through a myriad of different social practices. Its hegemony rests upon the racial subjection of Hispanics and Latinos and the willingness of individuals, everyday, to reassert these ideologies through checking a box.

## 6.7 Conclusion

This dissertation examined acts of writing in the construction of race in the United States. The research question was born out of my initial curiosity of the ways permanent legal residents of Mexican origin identified racially on the application for naturalization and the implications of this racial schema. This research emphasized a critical rhetorical approach that emphasized writing’s role in the construction of racial identity for this sample population. I examined three levels of “writing” in the making of the U.S. citizen. The design of this three-level approach (macro, meso, micro) integrated different theories and methodologies, such as discourse analysis, visual rhetoric, graphic design, and ethnography.

At the macro-level, I investigated the laws, policies, lists, manuals, and *Dictionary* (the historical racial projects) that created our present racial classification as used in the current Form N-400. The research in this chapter, focused also on the affects of these racial projects on this target group: Mexicans. At the meso-level, I examined how the Form N-400 constructs its

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<sup>101</sup> Gimenez notes that “ethnic categorizations are central in the social and political landscape of the United States since in this country the existence of social classes and class struggles are neither recognized, nor discussed, while race and ethnicity are obsessively placed in the center of political life. Such emphasis is the result of the interaction of many factors, among which one of the most important is the heterogeneous origin of the population” (qtd in De Fina 143-144).

user at the “text” level and as a configuration. The text-level analysis demonstrated how users were constrained by the grammatical constructions of the questions. The Form as configuration exposes, through the use of graphic design principles, the ideologies embedded in this pivotal form for naturalization. Finally, at the micro-level, I integrated the responses, observations, and interviews of legal residents of Mexican origin to understand how they negotiate the Form, the racial categories contained within, and the role this act of writing has in constituting the subject.

It is apparent from the historical analysis that the racial categories in the Form N-400 maintain the dual structure of White/Non-White that is now a century old. It also presents race from a U.S. perspective (with categories such as Native Hawaiian, American Indian), thereby erasing the other—the foreign. If racism “involves the subordination of people of color by white people” (Rothenberg “Defining Racism and Sexism” 6), this Form accomplishes just that: White is positioned first, and the “other” is defined in relation to it. For this sample population, the options available to self-identify are Black or White or a combination of these two. However, the overwhelming majority rejects a combination of Black and White even if, like Elena, (see Video 6.7) they define themselves as *morena* (Fifty-one out of fifty-two respondents chose White on the N-400). The decision to not choose Black was due to various factors, but namely the design of the question influenced their answers. Participants also related to me that they may have African heritage or Indian heritage, but that this was in the distant past, so they did not identify with the culture. Consuelo, José, Elena, and Maité explain in their videos that they are not that color (Black) or that race (African American) so the best option for them was to choose only White. For most of these participants, this was their initiation into race in U.S.

society, as they had not answered questions like this before (not even for the application for permanent residency). The consequence, at least momentarily, is the reassertion of a White America. Whiteness is no longer a requirement by law for naturalization, but if the majority of immigrants who identify as Hispanic or Latino answer like this population, then White is reaffirmed as the de facto racial identity in America. At the same time, however, this community is further subjected to another level of categorization (“ethnic”) through the question of Spanish origin. This question separates this community from all other Whites. This was also the purpose of the 1911 *Dictionary*: to make distinctions among peoples of the Caucasian race.

Population projections of the U.S. predict that by 2050, the Hispanic and Latino population will “make up 29% of the U.S. population” and “whites will become a minority” (Pew Hispanic Center). The Hispanic and Latino community, with the promise of more political clout, look upon this prediction favorably. Others, like critical race scholar Ian Haney López, believe that the declining percentage of Whites<sup>102</sup> is cause for concern because it “imperils domination” and “change often brings conflict” (“Race and the U.S. Census” 43). Contrary to Haney López, I believe that racial categorization is a key example of how “whiteness persists in the form of habitual action” (MacMullan 72). Although the forms may change from governmental office, department, or agency, racial categorization persists because it reaffirms

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<sup>102</sup>Haney López clarifies that this depends upon how we count Latinos. If they are counted as White then the census projections will change considerably (“Race on the 2010 Census” 43).

whiteness. If the results of this study are any indicator, as this population, much like the Irish,<sup>103</sup> for example, transitions to Mexican American, they will become White Americans.

This study did not aim to solve the complex issue of identity, but to problematize how writing and specifically the naturalization process contribute to the construction of the new citizen. More studies, ethnographic in nature that focus on ethnic populations are needed to understand how people come to understand themselves in particular ways and the effects of such from a local perspective. Although much of the current research focuses on the state's construction of immigrants, none have looked at the ways immigrants (or minority groups in the U.S.) participate in their subject formation through acts of writing. These acts of writing can reinforce racial subjection or disrupt the dominant ideology. This is an area that Ellen Cushman says rhetoricians can bridge the gap between the university and the community as "agents of change." Researchers can "contribute resources" to help people "disrupt the status quo of their lives with language and literacy" (Cushman 13). The disruption of the status quo is achieved, in part, through the individual reflecting on his/her actions (See Giddens). I would like to think that this project encouraged change because it required applicants to reflect on the version of racial reality that is presented, but the analysis demonstrated that institutions could be self-reflexive as well; they can also adapt, resist, and restructure (Côté and Levine 43). This is where I predict there will be conflict—the institutional level, as ethno-racial categories will be restructured to maintain the status quo. The status quo, however, depends upon the

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<sup>103</sup>"As immigrants made the transition from Irish to Irish American, they also became white Americans." (Roediger 333)

“micropolitics of power”<sup>104</sup>: the repetitive assertion of race through a collection of writing events that continuously form and reform notions of self and society everyday.

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<sup>104</sup> See Flores and Moon 183



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## Appendix A

### APPLICATION FOR NATURALIZATION WITH INSTRUCTIONS

OMB No. 1615-0052

Department of Homeland Security  
U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services

#### Instructions for N-400, Application for Naturalization

#### Instructions

Read these instructions carefully to properly complete this form. If you need more space to complete an answer, use a separate sheet of paper. Write your name and Alien Registration Number (A-Number), if any, at the top of each sheet of paper and indicate the part and number of the item to which the answer refers.

#### What Is the Purpose of This Form?

Form N-400 is an application for U.S. citizenship (naturalization). For more information about the naturalization process and eligibility requirements, read *A Guide to Naturalization* (M-476). If you do not already have a copy of the *Guide*, you can get a copy from:

1. USCIS Web site ([www.uscis.gov](http://www.uscis.gov));
2. USCIS toll-free forms line at 1-800-870-3676; or
3. USCIS National Customer Service Center (NCSC) at 1-800-375-5283 (TTY: 1-800-767-1833).

#### When Should I Use Form N-400?

You may apply for naturalization when you meet **all** the requirements to become a U.S. citizen. The section of the *Guide* called "Who is Eligible for Naturalization" and the Eligibility Worksheet found in the back of the *Guide* are tools to help you determine whether you are eligible to apply for naturalization. You should complete the worksheet before filling out Form N-400.

If you are applying based on five years as a lawful permanent resident or based on three years as a lawful permanent resident married to a U.S. citizen, you may apply for naturalization up to 90 days before you meet the "continuous residence" requirement. You must meet all other requirements at the time that you file your application with USCIS.

Certain applicants have different English and civics testing requirements based on their age and length of lawful permanent residence **at the time of filing**. If you are over 50 years of age and have lived in the United States as a lawful permanent resident for periods totaling at least 20 years, or if you are over 55 years of age and have lived in the United States as a lawful permanent resident for periods totaling at least 15 years, you do not have to take the English test, but you do have to take the civics test in the language of your choice.

If you are over 65 years of age and have lived in the United States as a lawful permanent resident for periods totaling at least 20 years, you do not have to take the English test, but you do have to take a simpler version of the civics test in the language of your choice.

#### Who May File Form N-400?

To use this form you must be **ONE** of the following:

1. A lawful permanent resident for at least five years and at least 18 years old;
2. A lawful permanent resident for at least three years and at least 18 years old;

**AND**

You have been married to and living with the same U.S. citizen for the last three years;

**AND**

Your spouse has been a U.S. citizen for the last three years.

3. A member of one of several other groups eligible to apply for naturalization (for example, persons who are nationals but not citizens of the United States) and at least 18 years old. For more information about these groups, see the *Guide*.
4. A person who has served honorably in the U.S. Armed Forces;

**AND**

If you are at least 18 years old, a lawful permanent resident with at least one year of U.S. Armed Forces service, and you are filing your application for naturalization while still in the service or within six months after the termination of such service;

**OR**

You served honorably as a member of the Selected Reserve of the Ready Reserve or in active-duty status during a designated period of hostilities. You then may apply for naturalization without having been physically present in the United States for any specified period.

For more information, go to the USCIS Web site at [www.uscis.gov](http://www.uscis.gov).

**NOTE:** If you are married to a U.S. citizen who is employed or deployed abroad, in some circumstances you may be eligible for expedited naturalization under section 319(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA). For further assistance, see the *Guide*.

Form N-400 Instructions (Rev. 01/18/11) Y

### Who May Not File Form N-400?

In certain cases, a person who was born outside of the United States to U.S. citizen parents is already a citizen and does not need to apply for naturalization. To find out more information about this type of citizenship and whether you should file Form N-600, Application for Certificate of Citizenship, read the *Guide*.

Other permanent residents under 18 years of age may be eligible for U.S. citizenship if their U.S. citizen parent or parents file Form N-600 application on their behalf. For more information, see "Frequently Asked Questions" in the *Guide*.

### General Instructions

#### Step 1. Fill Out Form N-400

1. Type or print legibly in black ink.
2. If extra space is needed to complete any item, attach a continuation sheet, indicate the item number, and date and sign each sheet.
3. Answer all questions fully and accurately. State that an item is not applicable with "N/A." If the answer is none, write "None."
4. Write your USCIS (or former INS) A-number on the top right hand corner of each page. Use your A-number on your Permanent Resident Card (formerly known as the Alien Registration or "Green" Card). To locate your A-number, see the sample Permanent Resident Cards in the *Guide*. The A-number on your card consists of seven to nine numbers, depending on when your record was created. If the A-number on your card has fewer than nine numbers, place enough zeros before the first number to make a total of nine numbers on the application. For example, write card number A1234567 as A001234567, but write card number A12345678 as A012345678.
5. Answer all questions fully and accurately.

#### Step-by-Step Instructions

This form is divided into 14 parts. The information below will help you fill out the form.

#### Part 1. Your Name (the person applying for naturalization)

- A. **Your current legal name** - Your current legal name is the name on your birth certificate unless it has been changed after birth by a legal action such as a marriage or court order.

- B. **Your name exactly as it appears on your Permanent Resident Card** (if different from above) - Write your name exactly as it appears on your card, even if it is misspelled.

- C. **Other names you have used** - If you have used any other names, write them in this section. If you need more space, use a separate sheet of paper.

If you have never used a different name, write "N/A" in the space for "Family Name (Last Name)."

- D. **Name change (optional)** - A court can allow a change in your name when you are being naturalized. A name change does not become final until a court naturalizes you. For more information regarding a name change, see the *Guide*.

If you want a court to change your name at a naturalization oath ceremony, check "Yes" and complete this section. If you do not want to change your name, check "No" and go to Part 2.

#### Part 2. Information About Your Eligibility

Check the box that shows why you are eligible to apply for naturalization. If the basis for your eligibility is not described in one of the first three boxes, check "Other" and briefly write the basis for your application on the lines provided.

#### Part 3. Information About You

- A. **U.S. Social Security Number** - Print your U.S. Social Security Number. If you do not have one, write "N/A" in the space provided.
- B. **Date of birth** - Always use eight numbers to show your date of birth. Write the date in this order: Month, Day, Year. For example, write May 1, 1958, as 05/01/1958.
- C. **Date you became a permanent resident** - Write the official date when your lawful permanent residence began, as shown on your Permanent Resident Card. To help locate the date on your card, see the sample Permanent Resident Cards in the *Guide*. Write the date in this order: Month, Day, Year. For example, write August 9, 1988, as 08/09/1988.
- D. **Country of birth** - Write the name of the country where you were born. Write the name of the country even if it no longer exists.
- E. **Country of Nationality** - Write the name of the country (or countries) where you are currently a citizen or national.
  - I. If you are stateless, write the name of the country where you were last a citizen or national.



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2. If you are a citizen or national of more than one country, write the name of the foreign country that issued your last passport.

**F. Citizenship of parents** - Check "Yes" if either of your parents is a U.S. citizen. If you answer "Yes," you may already be a citizen. For more information, see "Frequently Asked Questions" in the *Guide*.

**G. Current marital status** - Check the marital status you have on the date you are filing this application. If you are currently not married, but had a prior marriage that was annulled or otherwise legally terminated, check "Other" and explain it.

**H. Request for disability waiver** - If you have a medical disability or impairment that you believe qualifies you for a waiver of the tests of English and/or U.S. Government and history, check "Yes" and attach a properly completed Form N-648, Medical Certification for Disability Exceptions. If you ask for this waiver, it does not guarantee that you will be excused from the testing requirements. For more information about this waiver, see the *Guide*.

**I. Request for disability accommodations** - We will make every reasonable effort to help applicants with disabilities complete the naturalization process. For example, if you use a wheelchair, we will make sure that you can be fingerprinted and interviewed, and can attend a naturalization ceremony at a location that is wheelchair accessible. If you are deaf or hearing impaired and need a sign language interpreter, we will make arrangements with you to have one at your interview.

If you believe you will need us to modify or change the naturalization process for you, check the box or write in the space the kind of accommodation you need. If you need more space, use a separate sheet of paper. You do not need to send us Form N-648 to request an accommodation. You only need to send Form N-648 to request a waiver of the test of English and/or civics.

We consider requests for accommodations on a case-by-case basis. Asking for an accommodation will not affect your eligibility for citizenship.

#### Part 4. Information About Contacting You

**A. Home address** - Give the address where you now live. Do not put post office (P.O.) box numbers here.

**B. Mailing address** - If your mailing address is the same as your home address, write "Same." If your mailing address is different from your home address, write it in this part.

**C. Telephone numbers** - By giving us your telephone numbers and e-mail address, we can contact you about your application more quickly. If you are hearing impaired and use a TTY telephone connection, please indicate this by writing (TTY) after the telephone number.

#### Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) will use the information in this section, together with your fingerprints, to search for criminal records. Although the results of this search may affect your eligibility, we do not make naturalization decisions based on your gender, race, or physical description.

For each item, check the box or boxes that best describes you. The categories are those used by the FBI. You can select one or more.

**NOTE:** As part of the USCIS biometrics service requirement, you must be fingerprinted after you file this application. If necessary, USCIS may also take your photograph and signature.

#### Part 6. Information About Your Residence and Employment

**A. Write every address where you have lived during the last five years (including in other countries).**

Begin with where you live now. Include the dates you lived in those places. For example, write May 1998 to June 1999 as 05/1998 to 06/1999.

If you need separate sheets of paper to complete section A or B or any other questions on this application, be sure to follow the instructions under "Step 1. Fill Out Form N-400" on Page 2.

**B. List where you have worked (or, if you were a student, the schools you have attended) during the last five years. Include military service. If you worked for yourself, write "Self employed." Begin with your most recent job. Also, write the dates when you worked or studied in each place.**

#### Part 7. Time Outside the United States (including trips to Canada, Mexico, and the Caribbean)

**A. Write the total number of days you spent outside of the United States (including military service) during the last five years. Count the days of every trip that lasted 24 hours or longer.**

**B. Write the number of trips you have taken outside the United States during the last five years. Count every trip that lasted 24 hours or longer.**

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- C. Provide the requested information for every trip that you have taken outside the United States since you became a lawful permanent resident. Begin with your most recent trip.

**Part 8. Information About Your Marital History**

- A. Write the number of times you have been married. Include any annulled marriages. If you were married to the same spouse more than one time, count each time as a separate marriage.
- B. If you are now married, provide information about your current spouse.
- C. Check the box to indicate whether your current spouse is a U.S. citizen.
- D. If your spouse is a citizen through naturalization, give the date and place of naturalization. If your spouse regained U.S. citizenship, write the date and place the citizenship was regained.
- E. If your spouse is not a U.S. citizen, complete this section.
- F. If you were married before, give information about your former spouse or spouses. In question F.2, check the box showing the immigration status your former spouse had during your marriage. If the spouse was not a U.S. citizen or a lawful permanent resident at that time, check "Other" and explain. For question F.5, if your marriage was annulled, check "Other" and explain. If you were married to the same spouse more than one time, write about each marriage separately.
- G. For any prior marriages of your current spouse, follow the instructions in section F above.

**NOTE:** If you or your present spouse had more than one prior marriage, provide the same information required by section F and section G about every additional marriage on a separate sheet of paper.

**Part 9. Information About Your Children**

- A. Write the total number of sons and daughters you have had. Count all of your children, regardless of whether they are:
1. Alive, missing, or dead;
  2. Born in other countries or in the United States;
  3. Under 18 years old or adults;
  4. Married or unmarried;
  5. Living with you or elsewhere;
  6. Stepsons or stepdaughters or legally adopted; or

7. Born when you were not married.

- B. Write information about all your sons and daughters. In the last column (Location), write:

1. "With me" - if the son or daughter is currently living with you;
2. The street address and state or country where the son or daughter lives - if the son or daughter is **not** currently living with you; or
3. "Missing" or "Dead" - if that son or daughter is missing or dead.

If you need space to list information about additional sons and daughters, attach a separate sheet of paper.

**Part 10. Additional Questions**

Answer each question by checking "Yes" or "No." If any part of a question applies to you, you must answer "Yes." For example, if you were never arrested but *were* once detained by a police officer, check "Yes" to the question "Have you ever been arrested or detained by a law enforcement officer?" and attach a written explanation.

We will use this information to determine your eligibility for citizenship. Answer every question honestly and accurately. If you do not, we may deny your application for lack of good moral character. Answering "Yes" to one of these questions does not always cause an application to be denied. For more information on eligibility, see the *Guide*.

**Part 11. Your Signature**

After reading the statement in Part 11, you must sign and date it. You should sign your full name without abbreviating it or using initials. The signature must be legible. Your application will be rejected if it is not signed.

If you cannot sign your name in English, sign in your native language. If you are unable to write in any language, sign your name with an "X."

**NOTE:** A designated representative may sign this section on behalf of an applicant who qualifies for a waiver of the Oath of Allegiance because of a developmental or physical impairment (see the *Guide* for more information). In such a case, the designated representative should write the name of the applicant and then sign his or her own name followed by the words "Designated Representative." The information attested to by the Designated Representative is subject to the same penalties discussed on Page 7 of these instructions.

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## Part 12. Signature of Person Who Prepared the Form for You

If someone filled out this form for you, he or she must complete this section.

## Part 13. Signature at Interview

Do not complete this part. You will be asked to complete this part at your interview.

## Part 14. Oath of Allegiance

Do not complete this part. You will be asked to complete this part at your interview.

If we approve your application, you must take this Oath of Allegiance to become a citizen. In limited cases, you can take a modified oath. The oath requirement cannot be waived unless you are unable to understand its meaning because of a physical or developmental disability or mental impairment. For more information, see the *Guide*. Your signature on this form only indicates that you have no objections to taking the Oath of Allegiance. **It does not mean that you have taken the oath or that you are naturalized.** If USCIS approves your application for naturalization, you must attend an oath ceremony and take the Oath of Allegiance to the United States.

## Step 2. General Requirements

**Photographs.** You must submit two identical passport-style color photographs of yourself taken within 30 days of the filing of this application. The photos must have a white to off-white background, be printed on thin paper with a glossy finish, and be unmounted and unretouched.

The photos must be 2" x 2" and must be in color with full face, frontal view on a white to off-white background. Head height should measure 1" to 1 3/8" from top of hair to bottom of chin, and eye height is between 1 1/8" to 1 3/8" from bottom of photo. Your head must be bare unless you are wearing a headdress as required by a religious order of which you are a member; however, your face must be visible. Using pencil or felt pen, lightly print your name and Alien Registration Number on the back of each photo.

**NOTE:** Any digital photo submitted needs to be produced from a high-resolution camera with at least 3.5 mega pixels of resolution.

**Copy of Permanent Resident Card.** Applicants who are lawful permanent residents of the United States must submit photocopies (front and back) of Form I-551 (Permanent Resident Card). If you have lost your Form I-551, attach a copy of any other entry document or a photocopy of a receipt showing that you have filed Form I-90, Application to Replace Permanent Resident Card.

**Other Documents.** Depending on the circumstances, some applicants must send certain documents with their application.

For example, if you have been arrested or convicted of a crime, you must send a certified copy of the arrest report, court disposition, sentencing, and any other relevant documents, including any countervailing evidence concerning the circumstances of your arrest or conviction that you would like USCIS to consider. Note that unless a traffic incident was alcohol or drug related, you do not need to submit documentation for traffic fines and incidents that did not involve an actual arrest if the only penalty was a fine of less than \$500 or points on your driver's license.

For more information on the documents you must send with your application, see the Document Checklist in the *Guide*.

**Translations.** Any document containing foreign language submitted to USCIS must be accompanied by a full English language translation which the translator has certified as complete and accurate, and by the translator's certification that he or she is competent to translate from the foreign language into English.

**Copies.** Unless specifically required that an original document be filed with an application or petition, an ordinary legible photocopy may be submitted. Original documents submitted when not required will remain a part of the record, even if the submission was not required.

## Where To File?

### 1. Applications from Current or Former Members of the Military, Spouses of a Current Member of the Military, and Close Relatives of a Deceased Member of the Military.

All naturalization applications filed under the military provisions, section 328 or 329 of the INA, must send your application to the Nebraska Service Center, (NSC) regardless of where you live and whether you are filing from within the United States or abroad. If you are the spouse of a current member of the military, or are the close relative of a deceased member of the military (319(d)), send your application for naturalization to the NSC regardless of where you live and whether you are filing from within the United States or abroad. Send your application to:

Nebraska Service Center  
P.O. Box 87426  
Lincoln, NE 68501-7426

For express/courier deliveries, use the following address:

Nebraska Service Center  
850 S. Street  
Lincoln, NE 68508



## 2. For All Other Applicants

If you reside in Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Territory of Guam, or the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, send your application to the USCIS Phoenix Lockbox Facility at the following address:

USCIS  
P.O. Box 21251  
Phoenix, AZ 85036

For express/courier deliveries, use the following address:

USCIS  
Attn: N-400  
1820 E. Skyharbor Circle S,  
Suite 100  
Phoenix, AZ 85034

If you are the applicant and you reside in Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, or the U.S. Virgin Islands, send your application to the USCIS Dallas Lockbox Facility at the following address:

USCIS  
P.O. Box 660060  
Dallas, TX 75266

For express/courier deliveries, use the following address:

USCIS  
Attn: N-400  
2501 S. State Hwy 121 Business  
Suite 400  
Lewisville, TX 75067

### E-Notification

If you are filing your Form N-400 at one of the USCIS Lockbox facilities, you may elect to receive an e-mail and/or text message notifying you that your application has been accepted. You must complete Form G-1145, E-Notification of Application/Petition Acceptance, and clip it to the first page of your application. To download a copy of Form G-1145, including the instructions, click on the link [www.uscis.gov](http://www.uscis.gov) "FORMS".

For further information on where to file, including if you are currently overseas, read the section in the *Guide* titled "Completing Your Application and Getting Photographed" or call the NCSC at 1-800-375-5283 (TTY: 1-800-767-1833) or visit our Web site at [www.uscis.gov](http://www.uscis.gov) and click on "FORMS."

### What Is the Filing Fee?

The filing fee for Form N-400 is \$595.

An additional biometric fee of \$85 is required when filing Form N-400. After you submit Form N-400, USCIS will notify you about when and where to go for biometric services.

**NOTE:** All naturalization applicants filing under the military provisions, section 328 or 329 of the INA, do not require a filing fee.

Applicants 75 years of age or older are exempt from the biometric fee. Individuals who require fingerprinting and who reside outside of the United States at the time of filing an application or petition for immigration benefits are exempt from biometric fees.

You may submit one check or money order for both the application and biometric fees, for a total of \$680.

Use the following guidelines when you prepare your check or money order for Form N-400 and the biometric fee:

1. The check or money order must be drawn on a bank or other financial institution located in the United States and must be payable in U.S. currency; and
2. Make the check or money order payable to U.S. Department of Homeland Security, unless:
  - A. If you live in Guam, make it payable to Treasurer, Guam.
  - B. If you live in the U.S. Virgin Islands, make it payable to Commissioner of Finance of the Virgin Islands.

**NOTE:** Spell out U.S. Department of Homeland Security; do not use the initials "USDHS" or "DHS."

**Notice to Those Making Payment by Check.** If you send us a check, it will be converted into an electronic funds transfer (EFT). This means we will copy your check and use the account information on it to electronically debit your account for the amount of the check. The debit from your account will usually take 24 hours and will be shown on your regular account statement.

You will not receive your original check back. We will destroy your original check, but we will keep a copy of it. If the EFT cannot be processed for technical reasons, you authorize us to process the copy in place of your original check. If the EFT cannot be completed because of insufficient funds, we may try to make the transfer up to two times.

### How to Check If the Fees Are Correct

The form and biometric fees on this form are current as of the edition date appearing in the lower right corner of this page. However, because USCIS fees change periodically, you can verify if the fees are correct by following one of the steps below:

1. Visit our Web site at [www.uscis.gov](http://www.uscis.gov), select "FORMS," and check the appropriate fee;

2. Review the fee schedule included in your form package, if you called USCIS to request the form; or

3. Telephone our National Customer Service Center at 1-800-375-5283 and ask for the fee information.

**NOTE:** If your Form N-400 requires payment of a biometric fee for USCIS to take your fingerprints, photograph, or signature, you can use the same procedure to obtain the correct biometric fee.

### Address Changes

If you change your address and you have an application or petition pending with USCIS, you may change your address online at [www.uscis.gov](http://www.uscis.gov), click on "Online Change of Address," and follow the prompts. You may also complete and mail Form AR-11, Alien's Change of Address Card, to:

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services  
Change of Address  
P.O. Box 7134  
London, KY 40742-7134

For commercial overnight or fast freight services only, mail to:

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services  
Change of Address  
1084-I South Laurel Road  
London, KY 40744

### Processing Information

Any Form N-400 that is not signed or accompanied by the correct fee will be rejected. Any application that is not completed in accordance with these instructions, is missing pages or otherwise not executed in its entirety, or is not accompanied by the required initial evidence may also be rejected. If your Form N-400 is rejected, the form and any fees will be returned to you and you will be notified why the form is considered deficient. You may correct the deficiency and resubmit Form N-400. An application or petition is not considered properly filed until accepted by USCIS.

**Requests for more information or interview.** USCIS may request more information or evidence, or request that you appear at a USCIS office for an interview. USCIS may also request that you submit the originals of any copy. USCIS will return these originals when they are no longer required.

**Decision.** The decision on Form N-400 involves a determination of whether you have established eligibility for the requested benefit. If you do not establish a basis for eligibility, USCIS will deny your Form N-400. You will be notified of the decision in writing.

### USCIS Forms and Information

To order USCIS forms, call our toll-free number at 1-800-870-3676. You can also get USCIS forms and information on immigration laws, regulations, and procedures by telephoning our National Customer Service Center at 1-800-375-5283 or visiting our Internet Web site at [www.uscis.gov](http://www.uscis.gov).

As an alternative to waiting in line for assistance at your local USCIS office, you can now schedule an appointment through our Internet-based system, **InfoPass**. To access the system, visit our Web site. Use the **InfoPass** appointment scheduler and follow the screen prompts to set up your appointment. **InfoPass** generates an electronic appointment notice that appears on the screen.

### Penalties

If you knowingly and willfully falsify or conceal a material fact or submit a false document with this Form N-400, we will deny your Form N-400 and may deny any other immigration benefit.

In addition, you will face severe penalties provided by law and may be subject to criminal prosecution.

### Privacy Act Notice

We ask for the information on this form, and associated evidence, to determine if you have established eligibility for the immigration benefit for which you are filing. Our legal right to ask for this information can be found in the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended. We may provide this information to other government agencies. Failure to provide this information, and any requested evidence, may delay a final decision or result in denial of your Form N-400.

### Paperwork Reduction Act

An agency may not conduct or sponsor an information collection, and a person is not required to respond to a collection of information unless it displays a currently valid OMB control number. The public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated at 6 hours and 8 minutes per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, and completing and submitting the form. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to: U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, Regulatory Products Division, Office of the Executive Secretariat, 20 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20529-2020. OMB No. 1615-0052; Expires 01/31/2012. **Do not mail your application to this address.**

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Print clearly or type your answers using CAPITAL letters. Failure to print clearly may delay your application. Use black ink.

**Part 1. Your Name (Person applying for naturalization)**

Write your USCIS A-Number here:

A

**A. Your current legal name.**

Family Name (Last Name)

Given Name (First Name)

Full Middle Name (If applicable)

**B. Your name exactly as it appears on your Permanent Resident Card.**

Family Name (Last Name)

Given Name (First Name)

Full Middle Name (If applicable)

**C. If you have ever used other names, provide them below.**

Family Name (Last Name)

Given Name (First Name)

Middle Name

**D. Name change (optional)**

Read the Instructions before you decide whether to change your name.

1. Would you like to legally change your name? ☐ Yes ☐ No

2. If "Yes," print the new name you would like to use. Do not use initials or abbreviations when writing your new name.

Family Name (Last Name)

Given Name (First Name)

Full Middle Name

**For USCIS Use Only**

Bar Code

Date Stamp

Remarks

Action Block

**Part 2. Information About Your Eligibility (Check only one)**

I am at least 18 years old AND

- A. ☐ I have been a lawful permanent resident of the United States for at least five years.
- B. ☐ I have been a lawful permanent resident of the United States for at least three years, and I have been married to and living with the same U.S. citizen for the last three years, and my spouse has been a U.S. citizen for the last three years.
- C. ☐ I am applying on the basis of qualifying military service.
- D. ☐ Other (Explain)



**Part 3. Information About You**Write your USCIS A-Number here:  
A \_\_\_\_\_

A. U.S. Social Security Number

B. Date of Birth (mm/dd/yyyy)

C. Date You Became a Permanent Resident (mm/dd/yyyy)

D. Country of Birth

E. Country of Nationality

F. Are either of your parents U.S. citizens? (If yes, see instructions)

☐ Yes☐ No

G. What is your current marital status?

☐ Single, Never Married☐ Married☐ Divorced☐ Widowed☐ Marriage Annulled or Other (Explain) \_\_\_\_\_

H. Are you requesting a waiver of the English and/or U.S. History and Government requirements based on a disability or impairment and attaching Form N-648 with your application?

☐ Yes☐ No

I. Are you requesting an accommodation to the naturalization process because of a disability or impairment? (See instructions for some examples of accommodations.)

☐ Yes☐ No

If you answered "Yes," check the box below that applies:

☐ I am deaf or hearing impaired and need a sign language interpreter who uses the following language: \_\_\_\_\_☐ I use a wheelchair.☐ I am blind or sight impaired.☐ I will need another type of accommodation. Explain: \_\_\_\_\_**Part 4. Addresses and Telephone Numbers**

A. Home Address - Street Number and Name (Do not write a P.O. Box in this space.)

Apartment Number

City

County

State

ZIP Code

Country

B. Care of

Mailing Address - Street Number and Name (If different from home address)

Apartment Number

City

State

ZIP Code

Country

C. Daytime Phone Number (If any)

Evening Phone Number (If any)

E-Mail Address (If any)

**Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search**Write your USCIS A-Number here:  
A

NOTE: The categories below are those required by the FBI. See instructions for more information.

**A. Gender**☐ Male ☐ Female**B. Height**

Feet	Inches
------	--------

**C. Weight**

Pounds
--------

**D. Are you Hispanic or Latino?**☐ Yes ☐ No**E. Race (Select one or more)**☐ White ☐ Asian ☐ Black or African American ☐ American Indian or Alaskan Native ☐ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander**F. Hair color**☐ Black ☐ Brown ☐ Blonde ☐ Gray ☐ White ☐ Red ☐ Sandy ☐ Bald (No Hair)**G. Eye color**☐ Brown ☐ Blue ☐ Green ☐ Hazel ☐ Gray ☐ Black ☐ Pink ☐ Maroon ☐ Other**Part 6. Information About Your Residence and Employment****A.** Where have you lived during the last five years? Begin with where you live now and then list every place you lived for the last five years. If you need more space, use a separate sheet of paper.

Street Number and Name, Apartment Number, City, State, Zip Code, and Country	Dates (mm/dd/yyyy)	
	From	To
Current Home Address - Same as Part 4.A		Present

**B.** Where have you worked (or, if you were a student, what schools did you attend) during the last five years? Include military service. Begin with your current or latest employer and then list every place you have worked or studied for the last five years. If you need more space, use a separate sheet of paper.

Employer or School Name	Employer or School Address (Street, City, and State)	Dates (mm/dd/yyyy)		Your Occupation
		From	To	



**Part 7. Time Outside the United States**  
(Including Trips to Canada, Mexico and the Caribbean Islands)

Write your USCIS A-Number here:  
A

- A. How many total days did you spend outside of the United States during the past five years?  days
- B. How many trips of 24 hours or more have you taken outside of the United States during the past five years?  trips
- C. List below all the trips of 24 hours or more that you have taken outside of the United States since becoming a lawful permanent resident. Begin with your most recent trip. If you need more space, use a separate sheet of paper.

Date You Left the United States (mm/dd/yyyy)	Date You Returned to the United States (mm/dd/yyyy)	Did Trip Last Six Months or More?		Countries to Which You Traveled	Total Days Out of the United States
		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No		
		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No		
		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No		
		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No		
		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No		
		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No		
		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No		
		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No		
		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No		
		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No		
		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No		

**Part 8. Information About Your Marital History**

- A. How many times have you been married (including annulled marriages)?  If you have **never** been married, go to Part 9.

- B. If you are now married, give the following information about your spouse:

1. Spouse's Family Name (Last Name)	Given Name (First Name)	Full Middle Name (If applicable)
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2. Date of Birth (mm/dd/yyyy)	3. Date of Marriage (mm/dd/yyyy)	4. Spouse's U.S. Social Security #
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
5. Home Address - Street Number and Name		Apartment Number
<input type="text"/>		<input type="text"/>
City	State	Zip Code
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

**Part 8. Information About Your Marital History (Continued)**Write your USCIS A-Number here:  
AC. Is your spouse a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No

D. If your spouse is a U.S. citizen, give the following information:

1. When did your spouse become a U.S. citizen?

☐ At Birth☐ Other

If "Other," give the following information:

2. Date your spouse became a U.S. citizen

3. Place your spouse became a U.S. citizen (See instructions)

City and State

E. If your spouse is **not** a U.S. citizen, give the following information :

1. Spouse's Country of Citizenship

2. Spouse's USCIS A- Number (If applicable)

A

3. Spouse's Immigration Status

☐ Lawful Permanent Resident☐ Other

F. If you were married before, provide the following information about your prior spouse. If you have more than one previous marriage, use a separate sheet of paper to provide the information requested in Questions 1-5 below.

1. Prior Spouse's Family Name (Last Name)

Given Name (First Name)

Full Middle Name (If applicable)

2. Prior Spouse's Immigration Status

☐ U.S. Citizen☐ Lawful Permanent Resident☐ Other

3. Date of Marriage (mm/dd/yyyy)

4. Date Marriage Ended (mm/dd/yyyy)

5. How Marriage Ended

☐ Divorce☐ Spouse Died☐ Other

G. How many times has your current spouse been married (including annulled marriages)?

If your spouse has **ever** been married before, give the following information about **your spouse's** prior marriage.

If your spouse has more than one previous marriage, use a separate sheet(s) of paper to provide the information requested in Questions 1 - 5 below.

1. Prior Spouse's Family Name (Last Name)

Given Name (First Name)

Full Middle Name (If applicable)

2. Prior Spouse's Immigration Status

☐ U.S. Citizen☐ Lawful Permanent Resident☐ Other

3. Date of Marriage (mm/dd/yyyy)

4. Date Marriage Ended (mm/dd/yyyy)

5. How Marriage Ended

☐ Divorce☐ Spouse Died☐ Other

**Part 9. Information About Your Children**Write your USCIS A-Number here:  
A

A. How many sons and daughters have you had? For more information on which sons and daughters you should include and how to complete this section, see the Instructions.

B. Provide the following information about all of your sons and daughters. If you need more space, use a separate sheet of paper.

Full Name of Son or Daughter	Date of Birth (mm/dd/yyyy)	USCIS A- number (if child has one)	Country of Birth	Current Address (Street, City, State and Country)
		A		
		A		
		A		
		A		
		A		
		A		
		A		

Add Children

Go to continuation page

**Part 10. Additional Questions**

Answer Questions 1 through 14. If you answer "Yes" to any of these questions, include a written explanation with this form. Your written explanation should (1) explain why your answer was "Yes" and (2) provide any additional information that helps to explain your answer.

**A. General Questions.**

1. Have you ever claimed to be a U.S. citizen (in writing or any other way)? ☐ Yes ☐ No
2. Have you ever registered to vote in any Federal, State, or local election in the United States? ☐ Yes ☐ No
3. Have you ever voted in any Federal, State, or local election in the United States? ☐ Yes ☐ No
4. Since becoming a lawful permanent resident, have you ever failed to file a required Federal, State, or local tax return? ☐ Yes ☐ No
5. Do you owe any Federal, State, or local taxes that are overdue? ☐ Yes ☐ No
6. Do you have any title of nobility in any foreign country? ☐ Yes ☐ No
7. Have you ever been declared legally incompetent or been confined to a mental institution within the last five years? ☐ Yes ☐ No

**Part 10. Additional Questions (Continued)**Write your USCIS A-Number here:  
A**B. Affiliations.**

8. a. Have you ever been a member of or associated with any organization, association, fund foundation, party, club, society, or similar group in the United States or in any other place? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- b. If you answered "Yes," list the name of each group below. If you need more space, attach the names of the other group(s) on a separate sheet of paper.

Name of Group	Name of Group
1.	6.
2.	7.
3.	8.
4.	9.
5.	10.

9. Have you ever been a member of or in any way associated (*either directly or indirectly*) with:
- a. The Communist Party? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- b. Any other totalitarian party? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- c. A terrorist organization? ☐ Yes ☐ No
10. Have you ever advocated (*either directly or indirectly*) the overthrow of any government by force or violence? ☐ Yes ☐ No
11. Have you ever persecuted (*either directly or indirectly*) any person because of race, religion, national origin, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion? ☐ Yes ☐ No
12. Between March 23, 1933, and May 8, 1945, did you work for or associate in any way (*either directly or indirectly*) with:
- a. The Nazi government of Germany? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- b. Any government in any area (1) occupied by, (2) allied with, or (3) established with the help of the Nazi government of Germany? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- c. Any German, Nazi, or S.S. military unit, paramilitary unit, self-defense unit, vigilante unit, citizen unit, police unit, government agency or office, extermination camp, concentration camp, prisoner of war camp, prison, labor camp, or transit camp? ☐ Yes ☐ No

**C. Continuous Residence.**

Since becoming a lawful permanent resident of the United States:

13. Have you ever called yourself a "nonresident" on a Federal, State, or local tax return? ☐ Yes ☐ No
14. Have you ever failed to file a Federal, State, or local tax return because you considered yourself to be a "nonresident"? ☐ Yes ☐ No

**Part 10. Additional Questions (continued)**Write your USCIS A-Number here:  
A**D. Good Moral Character.**

For the purposes of this application, you must answer "Yes" to the following questions, if applicable, even if your records were sealed or otherwise cleared or if anyone, including a judge, law enforcement officer, or attorney, told you that you no longer have a record.

15. Have you ever committed a crime or offense for which you were **not** arrested? ☐ Yes ☐ No
16. Have you ever been arrested, cited, or detained by any law enforcement officer (including USCIS or former INS and military officers) for any reason? ☐ Yes ☐ No
17. Have you ever been charged with committing any crime or offense? ☐ Yes ☐ No
18. Have you ever been convicted of a crime or offense? ☐ Yes ☐ No
19. Have you ever been placed in an alternative sentencing or a rehabilitative program (for example: diversion, deferred prosecution, withheld adjudication, deferred adjudication)? ☐ Yes ☐ No
20. Have you ever received a suspended sentence, been placed on probation, or been paroled? ☐ Yes ☐ No
21. Have you ever been in jail or prison? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "Yes" to any of Questions 15 through 21, complete the following table. If you need more space, use a separate sheet of paper to give the same information.

Why were you arrested, cited, detained, or charged?	Date arrested, cited, detained, or charged? (mm/dd/yyyy)	Where were you arrested, cited, detained, or charged? (City, State, Country)	Outcome or disposition of the arrest, citation, detention, or charge (No charges filed, charges dismissed, jail, probation, etc.)

Answer Questions 22 through 33. If you answer "Yes" to any of these questions, attach (1) your written explanation why your answer was "Yes" and (2) any additional information or documentation that helps explain your answer.

22. Have you ever:
- a. Been a habitual drunkard? ☐ Yes ☐ No
  - b. Been a prostitute, or procured anyone for prostitution? ☐ Yes ☐ No
  - c. Sold or smuggled controlled substances, illegal drugs, or narcotics? ☐ Yes ☐ No
  - d. Been married to more than one person at the same time? ☐ Yes ☐ No
  - e. Helped anyone enter or try to enter the United States illegally? ☐ Yes ☐ No
  - f. Gambled illegally or received income from illegal gambling? ☐ Yes ☐ No
  - g. Failed to support your dependents or to pay alimony? ☐ Yes ☐ No
23. Have you ever given false or misleading information to any U.S. Government official while applying for any immigration benefit or to prevent deportation, exclusion, or removal? ☐ Yes ☐ No
24. Have you ever lied to any U.S. Government official to gain entry or admission into the United States? ☐ Yes ☐ No

**Part 10. Additional Questions (Continued)**Write your USCIS A-Number here:  
A**E. Removal, Exclusion, and Deportation Proceedings.**

25. Are removal, exclusion, rescission, or deportation proceedings pending against you? ☐ Yes ☐ No
26. Have you ever been removed, excluded, or deported from the United States? ☐ Yes ☐ No
27. Have you ever been ordered to be removed, excluded, or deported from the United States? ☐ Yes ☐ No
28. Have you ever applied for any kind of relief from removal, exclusion, or deportation? ☐ Yes ☐ No

**F. Military Service.**

29. Have you ever served in the U.S. Armed Forces? ☐ Yes ☐ No
30. Have you ever left the United States to avoid being drafted into the U.S. Armed Forces? ☐ Yes ☐ No
31. Have you ever applied for any kind of exemption from military service in the U.S. Armed Forces? ☐ Yes ☐ No
32. Have you ever deserted from the U.S. Armed Forces? ☐ Yes ☐ No

**G. Selective Service Registration.**

33. Are you a male who lived in the United States at any time between your 18th and 26th birthdays in any status except as a lawful nonimmigrant? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If you answered "NO," go on to question 34.

If you answered "YES," provide the information below.

If you answered "YES," but you did not register with the Selective Service System and are still under 26 years of age, you must register before you apply for naturalization, so that you can complete the information below:

Date Registered (mm/dd/yyyy)  Selective Service Number 

If you answered "YES," but you did not register with the Selective Service and you are now 26 years old or older, attach a statement explaining why you did not register.

**H. Oath Requirements. (See Part 14 for the text of the oath)**

Answer Questions 34 through 39. If you answer "No" to any of these questions, attach (1) your written explanation why the answer was "No" and (2) any additional information or documentation that helps to explain your answer.

34. Do you support the Constitution and form of government of the United States? ☐ Yes ☐ No
35. Do you understand the full Oath of Allegiance to the United States? ☐ Yes ☐ No
36. Are you willing to take the full Oath of Allegiance to the United States? ☐ Yes ☐ No
37. If the law requires it, are you willing to bear arms on behalf of the United States? ☐ Yes ☐ No
38. If the law requires it, are you willing to perform noncombatant services in the U.S. Armed Forces? ☐ Yes ☐ No
39. If the law requires it, are you willing to perform work of national importance under civilian direction? ☐ Yes ☐ No

**Part 11. Your Signature**Write your USCIS A-Number here:  
A

I certify, under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America, that this application, and the evidence submitted with it, are all true and correct. I authorize the release of any information that the USCIS needs to determine my eligibility for naturalization.

Your Signature

Date (mm/dd/yyyy)

**Part 12. Signature of Person Who Prepared This Application for You (If applicable)**

I declare under penalty of perjury that I prepared this application at the request of the above person. The answers provided are based on information of which I have personal knowledge and/or were provided to me by the above named person in response to the *exact* questions contained on this form.

Preparer's Printed Name

Preparer's Signature

Date (mm/dd/yyyy)

Preparer's Firm or Organization Name (If applicable)

Preparer's Daytime Phone Number

Preparer's Address - Street Number and Name

City

State

Zip Code

**NOTE: Do not complete Parts 13 and 14 until a USCIS Officer instructs you to do so.****Part 13. Signature at Interview**

I swear (affirm) and certify under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that I know that the contents of this application for naturalization subscribed by me, including corrections numbered 1 through \_\_\_\_\_ and the evidence submitted by me numbered pages 1 through \_\_\_\_\_, are true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Subscribed to and sworn to (affirmed) before me

Officer's Printed Name or Stamp

Date (mm/dd/yyyy)

Complete Signature of Applicant

Officer's Signature

**Part 14. Oath of Allegiance**

If your application is approved, you will be scheduled for a public oath ceremony at which time you will be required to take the following Oath of Allegiance immediately prior to becoming a naturalized citizen. By signing, you acknowledge your willingness and ability to take this oath:

I hereby declare, on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen;

that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic;

that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same;

that I will bear arms on behalf of the United States when required by the law;

that I will perform noncombatant service in the Armed Forces of the United States when required by the law;

that I will perform work of national importance under civilian direction when required by the law; and

that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, so help me God.

Printed Name of Applicant

Complete Signature of Applicant

Form N-400 (Rev. 01/18/11) Y Page 10

## Appendix B

### CONSENT FORMS AND INSTRUMENTS IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

**University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP) Institutional Review Board  
Informed Consent Form for Research Involving Human Subjects**

---

**Protocol Title:** Race and Citizenship

**Principal Investigator:** Theresa L. Donovan

**UTEP English Department**

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In this consent form, “you” always means the study subject.

#### **1. Introduction**

---

You are being asked to take part voluntarily in the research project described below. Please take your time making a decision and feel free to ask questions regarding the nature of this study. Before agreeing to take part in this research study, it is important that you read the consent form that describes the study. Please ask the study researcher to explain any words or information that you do not clearly understand.

#### **2. Why is this study being done?**

---

You have been asked to take part in a research study that looks at how people self-identify on the N-400, Application for Naturalization. Approximately 75 people will be participating in this study in locations off the UTEP campus, typically at the Citizenship Class meeting place.

You are being asked to be in the study because you have applied for or are in the process of applying for naturalization. If you decide to enroll in this study, your involvement will last about 2 weeks. The first step is to complete a written survey, which will take about 10-15 minutes to complete. The second step will involve a follow-up videotaped interview based on your responses from the survey; this will take between 25-40 minutes.



### **3. What is involved in the study?**

---

If you agree to take part in this study, the research team will ask you to do the following:

1. Fill out the necessary consent forms. 2. Fill out a survey. 3. If you are selected, to participate in a videotaped interview that asks you follow up questions from the survey you fill out.

### **4. What are the risks and discomforts of the study?**

---

There are no known risks associated with this research

### **5. What will happen if I am injured in this study?**

---

The University of Texas at El Paso and its affiliates do not offer to pay for or cover the cost of medical treatment for research related illness or injury. No funds have been set aside to pay or reimburse you in the event of such injury or illness. You will not give up any of your legal rights by signing this consent form. You should report any such injury to Theresa L. Donovan and to the UTEP Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (915-747-8841) or [irb.orsp@utep.edu](mailto:irb.orsp@utep.edu).

### **6. Are there benefits to taking part in this study?**

---

There will be no direct benefits to you for taking part in this study. This research may help us to understand the impact of the racial categories on the N-400 in identity formation.

### **7. What other options are there?**

You have the option not to take part in this study. There will be no penalties involved if you choose not to take part in this study.

### **8. Who is paying for this study?**

---

Internal Funding:

None

External funding:

None

---

**9. What are my costs?**

---

There are no direct costs. You will be responsible for travel to and from the research site and any other incidental expenses.

---

**10. Will I be paid to participate in this study?**

---

You will not be paid for taking part in this research study.

---

**11. What if I want to withdraw, or am asked to withdraw from this study?**

---

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You have the right to choose not to take part in this study. If you do not take part in the study, there will be no penalty.

If you choose to take part, you have the right to stop at any time. Please let the researcher know the reasons why you no longer want to be part of the study. If there are any new findings during the study that may affect whether you want to continue to take part, you will be told about them.

The researcher may decide to stop your participation without your permission, if he or she thinks that being in the study may cause you harm.

---

**12. Who do I call if I have questions or problems?**

---

You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may call Theresa L. Donovan at 915-877-xxxx or e-mail her at [tldonovan@utep.edu](mailto:tldonovan@utep.edu).

If you have questions or concerns about your participation as a research subject, please contact the UTEP Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (915-747-8841) or [irb.orsp@utep.edu](mailto:irb.orsp@utep.edu).

---

**13. What about confidentiality?**

---

1. Your part in the survey is confidential. None of the information will identify you by name if you indicate this preference. You also have the option to allow the researcher to use your real name. If you agree to a follow up video interview, you will be identifiable in the video. You will have the choice to have the researcher use your real name or a fake name.
2. All records--surveys and videos—will be kept in the lead researcher's locked office.
3. Your responses on the survey and in the video interview may be used for the researcher's, and possible co-authors', publications. This may be in the form of an academic publication, including electronic publication, and for conference or workshop presentations.
4. Organizations that may inspect and/or copy your research records (survey and video tape interview) for quality assurance and data analysis include, but are not necessarily limited to:
  - A sponsor or an agent for the sponsor
  - UTEP Institutional Review Board

#### **14. Authorization Statements**

---

On the following page, I ask that you sign to certify that you understood this consent form, and you are willing to participate in the study. Also, by signing, you authorize the use of the responses from this research study to be used for educational purposes. I may wish to present some of the survey results and video interview tapes from this study at academic conferences, as demonstrations in classrooms, or as hard copy or digital publications. Please sign below if you are willing to allow us to do so with the survey responses.

Please note that if you participate in a videotaped interview, you will be asked at that time to sign an additional consent form for use of the videotape for educational purposes. On both the questionnaire and the consent form for the video, you will be asked whether you would like to use your real name or have a fake name provided for you.

## 15. AUTHORIZATION FOR QUESTIONNAIRE

---

I have read each page of this paper about the study (or it was read to me). I know that being in this study is voluntary and I choose to be in this study. I know I can stop being in this study without penalty. I will get a copy of this consent form and can get information on results of the study later if I wish. I also hereby give permission for the questionnaire responses made for this research study to be used for educational purposes.

(Please note: You will be asked whether you want to use your real name or not on the actual questionnaire)

Participant Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Participant Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Time: \_\_\_\_\_

Explained by/Witnessed by \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

## 16. AUTHORIZATION FOR VIDEO TAPED INTERVIEW

---

I have read each page of this paper about the study (or it was read to me). I know that being in this study is voluntary and I choose to be in this study. I know I can stop being in this study without penalty. I will get a copy of this consent form and can get information on results of the study later if I wish. I also hereby give permission for the videotape responses made for this research study to be used for educational purposes.

Participant Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**I consent to letting the researcher use my real name in the video recording**

**Yes**

**No**

Participant Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Time: \_\_\_\_\_

Explained by/Witnessed by \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

## QUESTIONNAIRE

### I. General Information

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

I consent to letting the researcher use my real name from my responses to the survey:

Yes

No

(Circle your choice above; if you circle "no" the researcher will invent a fake name for you)

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Sex: M F

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_ E-mail: \_\_\_\_\_

Country of Origin: \_\_\_\_\_ Length of time in U.S.: \_\_\_\_\_

Languages you speak: \_\_\_\_\_

### II. Questions pertaining to Racial Identity

1. Race \_\_\_\_\_ How would you identify yourself if you were told to fill in the blank.
2. Below is a reproduction of the racial identity questions for the 2010 U.S. Census. Please fill out the form:

→ NOTE: Please answer BOTH Question 8 about Hispanic origin and Question 9 about race. For this census, Hispanic origins are not races.

**8. Is Person 1 of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?**

☐ No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin

☐ Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano

☐ Yes, Puerto Rican

☐ Yes, Cuban

☐ Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin — Print origin, for example, Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on. ↗

\_\_\_\_\_

**9. What is Person 1's race? Mark ☒ one or more boxes.**

☐ White

☐ Black, African Am., or Negro

☐ American Indian or Alaska Native — Print name of enrolled or principal tribe. ↗

\_\_\_\_\_

<input type="checkbox"/> Asian Indian	<input type="checkbox"/> Japanese	<input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian
<input type="checkbox"/> Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/> Korean	<input type="checkbox"/> Guamanian or Chamorro
<input type="checkbox"/> Filipino	<input type="checkbox"/> Vietnamese	<input type="checkbox"/> Samoan
<input type="checkbox"/> Other Asian — Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on. ↗	<input type="checkbox"/> Other Pacific Islander — Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on. ↗	

\_\_\_\_\_

☐ Some other race — Print race. ↗

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Below is a reproduction of the racial identity questions on the application for naturalization. **Please answer 5D and 5E.**

Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search			Write your USCIS A-Number here: A	
<b>NOTE:</b> The categories below are those required by the FBI. See instructions for more information.				
<b>A. Gender</b>		<b>B. Height</b>		<b>C. Weight</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female		<input type="text"/> Feet <input type="text"/> Inches		<input type="text"/> Pounds
<b>D. Are you Hispanic or Latino?</b>		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		
<b>E. Race (Select one or more)</b>				
<input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Asian <input type="checkbox"/> Black or African American <input type="checkbox"/> American Indian or Alaskan Native <input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander				
<b>F. Hair color</b>				
<input type="checkbox"/> Black <input type="checkbox"/> Brown <input type="checkbox"/> Blonde <input type="checkbox"/> Gray <input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Red <input type="checkbox"/> Sandy <input type="checkbox"/> Bald (No Hair)				
<b>G. Eye color</b>				
<input type="checkbox"/> Brown <input type="checkbox"/> Blue <input type="checkbox"/> Green <input type="checkbox"/> Hazel <input type="checkbox"/> Gray <input type="checkbox"/> Black <input type="checkbox"/> Pink <input type="checkbox"/> Maroon <input type="checkbox"/> Other				

4. What are your thoughts on the choices available to you in both documents?
5. Were you aware that you could choose more than one race in both documents?
6. On a scale of 1-3, does your answer on an official government form influence how you will answer this question in other official documents ? (Please circle one)
- Are you            1. very likely            2.likely            3. not likely            to answer the same on future forms?

**Proposed Interview Questions**

1. How did you answer questions 5D and 5E on the N-400?
2. Take me through the things you thought about as you were answering the question?
3. Have you been required to supply race information on other forms?
4. What types of forms?
5. What types of contexts? Formal, informal?
6. What do you think about question 5D and 5E?
7. How would you identify yourself?
8. Given your answer on the form, how likely are you to answer that way again?  
in what contexts?



**University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP) Institutional Review Board  
Informed Consent Form for Research Involving Human Subjects**

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**Protocol Title:** Race and Citizenship

**Principal Investigator:** Theresa L. Donovan

**UTEP English Department**

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En este formulario, "Ud." significa el sujeto de este estudio.

**1. Introducción**

---

Estoy pidiendo su participación voluntaria en un proyecto académico; más información sobre este proyecto se encuentra abajo. Por favor toma su tiempo en tomar una decisión, en cualquier momento puede hacer preguntas acerca de este estudio. Antes de participar en este estudio, es importante que lea el formulario (consent form) que lo describe. Por favor, pregunta la investigadora sobre cualquier palabra o información que Ud. no se entiende.

**2. ¿Por qué se hace este tipo de estudio?**

---

Se necesita su participación en este estudio porque este estudio investiga como individuos se identifica en la solicitud para naturalización o ciudadanía. Aproximadamente 75 personas participará en este estudio en varios locales en el área de El Paso, típicamente en las clases de ciudadanía.

Le pido su participación porque Ud. solicitó ciudadanía o está en el proceso de solicitarla. Si Ud. decide participar en este estudio, su participación consiste en un cuestionario que tomará 10-15 minutos para contestar. Según sus respuestas en el cuestionario, la segunda etapa es una entrevista grabada; este puede tomar 25 hasta 40 minutos. La duración máxima de su participación en este estudio es dos semanas.

**3. ¿Qué necesito hacer como participante en este estudio?**

---

Si participas en este estudio, la investigadora le va a pedir que:

1. Llene un formulario de consentimiento. 2. Llene un cuestionario. 3. Haga una entrevista grabada que consiste de preguntas basadas en sus contestaciones en el cuestionario.

---

**4. ¿Cuáles son los riesgos o incomodidades en el estudio?**

---

No hay riesgos asociados con esta investigación.

---

**5. ¿Qué pasará si sufro de una enfermedad o herida mientras participo en el estudio?**

---

La universidad de Texas de El Paso y sus afiliados no toman responsabilidad para cualquier tratamiento o gasto médico para cualquier enfermedad o herida relacionada con esta investigación. No hay fondos para pagar sus gastos o reembolsarle para sus gastos. Al firmar este formulario, Ud. no pierde sus derechos legales. Por favor, reporte cualquier herida a la investigadora principal, Theresa Donovan, y a la Universidad de Texas de El Paso, Institutional Review Board (IRB) al (915-747-8841) o por correo electrónico: [irb.orsp@utep.edu](mailto:irb.orsp@utep.edu).

---

**6. ¿Hay beneficios de participar en este estudio?**

---

Ud. no recibirá ningún beneficio directo por participar en este estudio. El objetivo de esta investigación es entender el impacto de las preguntas de etnicidad y raza en la solicitud de naturalización, N-400 para la población de inmigrantes de países hispanohablantes.

---

**7. ¿Hay otras opciones?**

---

Ud. tiene la opción de no participar en este estudio. No hay ninguna penalidad si Ud. decide no participar en la investigación.

---

**8. ¿Quién paga por este estudio?**

---

Los gastos de este estudio son la responsabilidad de la investigadora principal.

Fondos Internos:

Ninguno

Fondos externos:

Ninguno

### **9. ¿Puedo incurrir gastos por participar en este estudio?**

---

No hay ningún costo directo por participar en el estudio. Sin embargo, Ud. puede ser responsable para los gastos incurridos para viajar al sitio de la investigación si se consiente a una entrevista grabada.

### **10. ¿Me pagará por participar en el estudio?**

---

No recibirá ningún tipo de paga por ser participante en este estudio.

### **11. ¿Qué va a pasar si decido terminar mi participación o si termina mi participación en el estudio?**

---

Participando en el estudio es voluntario. Ud. tiene el derecho de terminar su participación en cualquier momento. Si Ud. no participa, no hay penalidad.

Si Ud. decide participar, Ud. puede terminar su participación en cualquier momento. Por favor, informe a la investigadora principal de sus razones por no seguir en el estudio. Cualquier información nueva que se encuentre sobre este estudio que pueda afectar su participación, será divulgada.

La investigadora tiene el derecho de terminar su participación sin su permiso si piensa que el estudio le puede causar sufrimiento.

### **12. ¿A quién llamo si tengo alguna duda, pregunta, o problema?**

---

Ud. puede hacer cualquier pregunta que tenga ahora o si tiene preguntas más tarde, puede llamar a la investigadora principal, Theresa L. Donovan , al 915-877-xxxx o enviar un correo electrónico a tldonovan@utep.edu.

Si Ud. tiene dudas o preguntas sobre su participación como “sujeto” en este estudio, por favor comunique con UTEP Institutional Review Board (IRB) al (915-747-8841) o por correo electrónico a [irb.orsp@utep.edu](mailto:irb.orsp@utep.edu).

---

### **13. ¿Es mi participación confidencial?**

---

Su participación en el estudio es confidencial. Ud. tiene el derecho de indicar en este formulario que no quiere que la investigadora utilice información que pueda identificarle como participante en el estudio. Ud. también tiene la opción de utilizar su nombre real o un nombre falso. Si Ud. participa en una entrevista grabada, Ud. puede ser identificada en el video.

Todos los cuestionarios y videos estarán en la oficina de la investigadora principal bajo llave. Sus respuestas –en el cuestionario y en el video—podrán ser utilizadas en publicaciones hechas por la investigadora principal y/o co-autores. Este puede ser en forma de publicación académico o presentaciones académicos.

Las organizaciones que pueden inspeccionar y/o copiar los cuestionarios o las entrevistas para asegurar cualidad (Quality Assurance), y análisis de data, incluye (pero no son limitadas) a: un auspiciador o agente por un auspiciador de UTEP Institutional Review Board

---

### **14. Declaraciones de autorización**

---

Me gustaría presentar los resultados de este estudio (con data de los cuestionarios y las entrevistas grabadas) en conferencias académicas, demostraciones en clase, o para publicación. Por favor, firme abajo si Ud. da permiso a la investigadora para utilizar el cuestionario y las grabaciones para estos fines. Véase la siguiente sección para certificar que Ud. leyó el documento (Consent Form) y autoriza su participación en el estudio.

Si Ud. desea participar en una entrevista grabada, Ud. firmará otra hoja de consentimiento antes de la grabación.

En el cuestionario y también al consentir a una grabación, Ud. podrá elegir utilizar su nombre real o un nombre falso para este estudio.

## 15. CERTIFICACIÓN PARA EL CUESTIONARIO

---

Certifico que he leído cada página del formulario sobre el estudio (o fue leída a mí). Reconozco que este estudio es voluntario y participo de mi propia voluntad. Puedo pedir una copia de este documento en cualquier momento. Sé que en cualquier momento puedo terminar mi participación sin penalidad. También tengo derecho de pedir información sobre los resultados de esta investigación más tarde. Al firmar este documento, también entiendo que autorizo el uso de los resultados del cuestionario para fines académicos (conferencias académicas, demostraciones en clase, o para publicación).

(Ud. tendrá la opción de pedir que la investigadora no utilice su nombre verdadero en el cuestionario)

Nombre de participante: \_\_\_\_\_ Fecha: \_\_\_\_\_

Firma de participante: \_\_\_\_\_ Hora: \_\_\_\_\_

Testigo \_\_\_\_\_ Fecha \_\_\_\_\_

Firma \_\_\_\_\_

¡GRACIAS!

## 16. CERTIFICACIÓN PARA LA ENTREVISTA GRABADA

---

Certifico que he leído cada página del formulario sobre el estudio (o fue leída a mí). Reconozco que este estudio es voluntario y participo de mi propia voluntad. Puedo pedir una copia de este documento en cualquier momento. Sé que en cualquier momento puedo terminar mi participación sin penalidad. También tengo derecho de pedir información sobre los resultados de esta investigación más tarde. Al firmar este documento, también entiendo que autorizo el uso de los resultados de la entrevista para fines académicos (conferencias académicas, demostraciones en clase, o para publicación).

Nombre de participante: \_\_\_\_\_ Fecha: \_\_\_\_\_

**Yo autorizo el uso de mi nombre real para la entrevista grabada:**

**Sí**

**No**

Firma de participante: \_\_\_\_\_ Hora: \_\_\_\_\_

Leído por/Testigo \_\_\_\_\_ Fecha \_\_\_\_\_

Firma \_\_\_\_\_

## CUESTIONARIO

### I. Información general

Nombre: \_\_\_\_\_

**Yo autorizo el uso de mi nombre real para este cuestionario:**

**Sí**

**No**

(Escoge uno. Si Ud. escoge "No" la investigadora inventara un nombre falso para Ud. )

Edad: \_\_\_\_\_ Género:      Hombre      Mujer

Dirección postal \_\_\_\_\_

Teléfono: \_\_\_\_\_ Correo electrónico \_\_\_\_\_

País de origen \_\_\_\_\_ Duración de residencia en los EEUU \_\_\_\_\_

Idiomas habladas \_\_\_\_\_

### II. Preguntas acerca de identidad racial

1. Raza \_\_\_\_\_ ¿Cómo te identificarías si encontraste esa pregunta con un blanco?
2. Abajo se encuentra una copia de las preguntas sobre raza del censo de 2010. Por favor, contestalas.

→ **NOTE: Please answer BOTH Question 8 about Hispanic origin and Question 9 about race. For this census, Hispanic origins are not races.**

**8. Is Person 1 of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?**

☐ No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin

☐ Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano

☐ Yes, Puerto Rican

☐ Yes, Cuban

☐ Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin — *Print origin, for example, Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.* ↗

\_\_\_\_\_

**9. What is Person 1's race? Mark ☒ one or more boxes.**

☐ White

☐ Black, African Am., or Negro

☐ American Indian or Alaska Native — *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.* ↗

\_\_\_\_\_

<input type="checkbox"/> Asian Indian	<input type="checkbox"/> Japanese	<input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian
<input type="checkbox"/> Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/> Korean	<input type="checkbox"/> Guamanian or Chamorro
<input type="checkbox"/> Filipino	<input type="checkbox"/> Vietnamese	<input type="checkbox"/> Samoan
<input type="checkbox"/> Other Asian — <i>Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.</i> ↗	<input type="checkbox"/> Other Pacific Islander — <i>Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on.</i> ↗	

\_\_\_\_\_

☐ Some other race — *Print race.* ↗

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Abajo se encuentra una copia de parte 5, del N-400. Por favor, contesta preguntas D y E.

Part 5. Information for Criminal Records Search			Write your USCIS A- number here: A	
<b>NOTE:</b> The categories below are those required by the FBI. See instructions for more information.				
<b>A. Gender</b>		<b>B. Height</b>		<b>C. Weight</b>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female		6 Feet 1 Inches		220 Pounds
<b>D. Are you Hispanic or Latino?</b>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		
<b>E. Race (Select one or more)</b>				
<input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Asian <input type="checkbox"/> Black or African American <input type="checkbox"/> American Indian or Alaskan Native <input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander				
<b>F. Hair color</b>				
<input type="checkbox"/> Black <input type="checkbox"/> Brown <input type="checkbox"/> Blonde <input type="checkbox"/> Gray <input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Red <input type="checkbox"/> Sandy <input type="checkbox"/> Bald (No Hair)				
<b>G. Eye color</b>				
<input type="checkbox"/> Brown <input type="checkbox"/> Blue <input type="checkbox"/> Green <input type="checkbox"/> Hazel <input type="checkbox"/> Gray <input type="checkbox"/> Black <input type="checkbox"/> Pink <input type="checkbox"/> Maroon <input type="checkbox"/> Other				

D. ¿Es Ud. Hispano/a o Latino/a? Sí o No

E. Raza. (Escoge una o más)

\_\_\_\_\_ Blanco    \_\_\_\_\_ Asiático    \_\_\_\_\_ Negro o Afro-Americano    \_\_\_ Indía americana o de Alaska  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Indígena de Hawái o de otra isla pacifica

4. ¿Qué piensas de las opciones disponibles en los dos documentos?

5. En cada documento, había la opción de escoger una raza o más. ¿Te diste cuenta de eso?

6. Pensando en tus respuestas en los dos documentos (el censo y en la solicitud de naturalización), ¿Contestarías de igual manera en otro documento oficial del gobierno?    Sí    Quizás    No



**Preguntas para la entrevista grabada**

1. ¿Cómo Ud. contestó las preguntas 5D y 5E el el N-400?
2. Por favor, guíeme por los pensamientos que Ud. tuvo mientras contestaba la pregunta.
3. ¿Ha tenido Ud. que contestar preguntas acerca de su identidad racial antes?
4. ¿En qué tipo de documentos?
5. ¿En qué contextos? ¿Formales, informales?
6. ¿Qué piensas acerca de estas preguntas?
7. ¿Cómo te identificas?
8. ¿Contestarías igual en otros documentos? Sí o No? ¿Por qué?

## Appendix C

### CITIZENSHIP CLASS MASTER SCHEDULE



### CITIZENSHIP CLASSES / CLASES DE CIUDADANIA El Paso Area ~FALL 2010 MASTER SCHEDULE WITH INSTRUCTOR INFORMATION

#### MONDAY/LUNES

- **St. Pius X Catholic Church** 6:30-8:30pm  
1050 Clark, East Side (915) 566-5435  
Contact person & Permanent Instructor: Elvia Snow, 566-5435
  - **Main Downtown Library** 4-5:30pm  
501 N. Oregon, Central (915) 543-5480  
Contact person: Martha Toscano, [toscanoma@elpasotexas.gov](mailto:toscanoma@elpasotexas.gov) 543-5480  
Permanent instructor: Jorge Torres (no contact information currently available)
  - **La Fe Cultural & Technology Center** 3-5pm  
Rear-721 S. Ochoa, Central (915) 545-7090  
Contact person: Victor Rodriguez, [victor.rodriguez@lafe-ep.org](mailto:victor.rodriguez@lafe-ep.org) 545-7220  
Permanent instructors Josie Campos & Jose Alvarado (no contact info currently available)
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#### TUESDAY/MARTES

- **Project Bravo** 3-5pm  
716 E. Paisano, Central/West Side (915) 544-0336  
Contact person: Mary Fernandez 544-0336 & (915) 562-4100  
Current SHINE instructors: Patricia Olvera 449-4590 & Mercedes Guevara
- **Yselta Library** 5:30-7:30pm  
9321 Alameda, Far East/Lower Valley (915) 858-0905  
Contact person: manager Amy Camp, [campaj@elpasotexas.gov](mailto:campaj@elpasotexas.gov) 858-0905  
Permanent Instructor: Claudia Esparza
- **Doris Van Doren Library** 6-8pm  
551 Redd Rd., Central/West Side (915) 875-0700

Contact person: Norma Martinez, [martineznp@elpasotexas.gov](mailto:martineznp@elpasotexas.gov) (915) 875-0700 ext. 8502  
Current SHINE instructors: Jose Hernandez 613-6980 & Janet Paull (747-7644)

• **Burgess Branch Library** 5-7pm  
9600 Dyer (915) 588-2907  
Permanent Instructor: Alberto Lopez [alopez@dmrs-ep.org](mailto:alopez@dmrs-ep.org) (915) 532-3975 ext. 226

• **La Fe Cultural & Technology Center** 3-5pm  
Rear-721 S. Ochoa, Central (915) 545-7090  
See above

• **Irving Shwartz Library** 5-7pm  
1865 Dean Martin, Far East (915) 857-0594  
Contact person: Martha Herrera, [herrarama@elpasotexas.gov](mailto:herrarama@elpasotexas.gov) (915) 857-0594  
Current SHINE instructors: Oswaldo Modesto 355-7226 & Angel Saenez  
WEDNESDAY/MIERCOLES

• **Centro Mujeres de la Esperanza** 6-8pm  
1101 Birch, Central (915) 545-1890  
Permanent Instructor: Adriaan Follansbee, [adriaan.follansbee@gmail.com](mailto:adriaan.follansbee@gmail.com) (915) 545-1890

• **Main Downtown Library** 4-5:30pm  
501 N. Oregon, Central (915) 543-5480  
See above

• **DMRS~Diocesan Migrant & Refugee Services** 3-5pm  
2400 E Yandell, Central (915) 532-3975  
Permanent Instructor: "Carolina" Colleen Kilbride (915) 532-3975 ext. 222 [ckilbride@dmrs-ep.org](mailto:ckilbride@dmrs-ep.org)

• **La Fe Cultural & Technology Center** 3-5pm  
Rear-721 S. Ochoa, Central (915) 545-7090  
See above

• **Rio Vista Community Center** 6-8pm  
901 N. Rio Vista, Far East/Lower Valley (915) 860-8615  
Contact persons: Rosa Maria Holguin, Maria Chaparro, 860-8615  
Current SHINE instructors: Tania Manjarrez 780-8322 & Mayra Ortega

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#### THURSDAY/JUEVES

• **Esperanza Moreno Library** 5:30-7:30pm  
12480 Pebble Hills, East Side (915) 921-7001  
Contact person: Ellen Eyberg, [eybergec@elpasotexas.gov](mailto:eybergec@elpasotexas.gov) 921-7001  
Current SHINE instructors: Mike Hamilton (342-7157) & Iris Martinez

• **La Fe Cultural & Technology Center** 3-5pm

Rear-721 S. Ochoa, Central (915) 545-7090

See above

• **San Elizario Catholic Church** 6-8pm

1556 San Elizario, Far East/Lower Valley (915) 851-2333

Contact person: Alicia or Fr. Ed Carpentar [carpentred@aol.com](mailto:carpentred@aol.com) (915) 851-2333

Current SHINE instructor: Efren Quijas [equijas2@miners.utep.edu](mailto:equijas2@miners.utep.edu) (915) 637 5764

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FRIDAY/VIERNES

• **La Fe Cultural & Technology Center** 3-5pm

Rear-721 S. Ochoa, Central (915) 545-7090

See above

SATURDAY/SABADOS

• **Armjio Library** 10am-12pm

620 E 7<sup>th</sup> St., Central/West Side (915) 532-7940

Contact persons: Diana Levya and Patricia Hernandez [leyvadc@elpasotexas.gov](mailto:leyvadc@elpasotexas.gov) 532-7940

Current SHINE instructors: Priscilla Benavente 731-1131 & Laura Estrada

• **Sacred Heart/Sagrado Corazón** 9-11:30am

602 S. Oregon, Central (915) 544-4970

Permanent Instructor: Sergio Encerrado, [sencerrado75@hotmail.com](mailto:sencerrado75@hotmail.com) 544-4970 (office), 820-5305 (cell)

• **La Fe Cultural & Technology Center** 9:30-11am

Rear-721 S. Ochoa, Central (915) 545-7090

See above

• **Judge Marquez Library** 10:30-12:30pm

610 N. Yarbrough Dr., East Side (915) 591-3391

Contact person: Fernando Racelis, [racelisfx@elpasotexas.gov](mailto:racelisfx@elpasotexas.gov) 591-3391

Current SHINE instructor: Paula Perales 867-4688

## Appendix D

### QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

NAME <sup>106</sup>	AGE	GENDER	COUNTRY	RESIDENCE	BLANK	CENSUS	N-400
JOSE	55	M	MEX.	22	HISPANO	MEX.	WHITE
DAMASO	60	M	MEX.	30	MEX.	HISPANO	N/A
MARIA	56	F	MEX.	16	MEX.	MEX./WHITE	WHITE
SOCORRO	70	F	MEX.	8	WHITE	WHITE	WHITE
CARLOS	57	F	MEX.	18	WHITE	WHITE	WHITE
RAQUEL	76	F	MEX.	13	MEX.	MEX.	WHITE
MAITE	54	F	MEX.	30	MEX.	WHITE	WHITE
ZULEMA	64	F	MEX.	13	WHITE	WHITE	WHITE
SERGIO	37	M	MEX.	9	HISPANO	MEX./HISPANO	WHITE
JOSEFA	56	F	MEX.	21	HISPANO	HISPANO/LATINO	WHITE
TOMASA	73	F	MEX.	5	LATINO	MEX.	WHITE
TEOFILA		F	MEX.	5	HISPANO	HISPANO/LATINO	WHITE
RAMON	48	M	MEX.	15	HISPANO	LATINO	WHITE
LUIS	64	M	MEX.	41	LATINO	MEX.	N/A
CARMEN	54	F	MEX.		HISPANO	HISPANO	WHITE
ELENA	53	M	MEX.	25	HISPANO	HISPANO	WHITE
CARMEN	61	F	MEX.	14	WHITE	N/A	WHITE
JOSE	55	M	MEX.	24	HISPANO	HISPANO	WHITE
MARIA T	57	F	MEX.	16	MEX	MEX./WHITE	WHITE
GUADALUPE	65	M	MEX.	25	MEX.	WHITE	WHITE
MARGARITA	56	F	MEX.	18	HISPANO	WHITE	WHITE

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<sup>106</sup> Names have been changed for confidentiality.

NAME	AGE	GENDER	COUNTRY	RESIDENCE	BLANK	CENSUS	N-400
REBECA	39	F	MEX.	13	MEX./HISPANA	WHITE	WHITE
LUCIA	35	F	MEX.	20	MEX	WHITE	WHITE
SYLVIA	37	F	MEX.	10	HISPANO	WHITE	WHITE
ISABELA		F	MEX.		WHITE	WHITE	WHITE
CONSUELO	57	F	MEX.	43	WHITE	WHITE	WHITE
LYDIA	56	F	MEX.	18	WHITE	WHITE	WHITE
JACOB	68	M	MEX.	14	WHITE	WHITE	WHITE
ANTONIO	46	M	MEX.	21	HISPANO	WHITE	WHITE
JOSEFINA	46	F	MEX.	21	HISPANA	WHITE	WHITE
CRYSTAL	24	F	MEX.	21	LATINA	LATINA	WHITE
MARCO	38	M	MEX.	17	MEX	WHITE	WHITE
ROSENDA	48	F	MEX.	10	HISPANO	N/A	N/A
HILDA	65	F	MEX.	25	MEX	HISPANA	WHITE
LOURDES	47	F	MEX.	20	HISPANO AMERICANO	MESTIZA- INDIA/ESP	WHITE
SOCORRO	72	F	MEX.	7	MEX.	MEX.	WHITE
VICTORIA	47	F	MEX.	5	HISPANA	MEXICANA	WHITE
ADRIANA	59	F	MEX.	9	HISPANO	N/A	WHITE
ALER	35	F	MEX.		HISPANA	WHITE	WHITE
ROBERTO	77	M	MEX.		HISPANO	WHITE	WHITE
FRANCO	56	M	MEX.	14	LATINO	WHITE	WHITE
BERTHA	38	F	MEX.	5	MEX.	WHITE	WHITE
JUAN	71	M	MEX.	20	MEX.	WHITE	WHITE
MARISOL	66	F	MEX.	26	MEX.	WHITE	WHITE
ISMAEL	76	M	MEX.	48	MEX.	WHITE	WHITE

NAME	AGE	GENDER	COUNTRY	RESIDENCE	BLANK	CENSUS	N-400
MARIA ELENA	74	F	MEX.	14	WHITE	WHITE	WHITE
JORGE	83	M	MEX.	14	WHITE	WHITE	WHITE
CRISTY	53	F	MEX.	32	HISPANA		WHITE
BETTY	80	F	MEX.		MEX.	INDIA MEXICANA	WHITE
MARIA J.	73	F	MEX.	15	MEX	WHITE	WHITE
ISMAEL	53	M	MEX.	25	HISPANO	WHITE	WHITE
CONSUELO	66	F	MEX.	40	MEX.	MEX.	WHITE
ROSALIA		F	MEX.	11	MEX.	MEX.	NATIVE AMERICAN
CARMELA	62	F	MEX.		HISPANO	MEXICANA	WHITE
ERNESTO	51	M	MEX.	30	WHITE	N/A	WHITE

## Appendix E

### VIDEO INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

NAME <sup>107</sup>	AGE	GENDER	COUNTRY	RESIDENCE	BLANK	CENSUS	N-400	OPTIONS
SOCORRO	70	F	MEX.	8	WHITE	WHITE	WHITE	NO
RAQUEL	76	F	MEX.	13	MEX.	MEX.	WHITE	NO
ZULEMA	64	F	MEX.	13	WHITE	WHITE	WHITE	NO
LUIS	68	M	MEX.	14	WHITE	WHITE	WHITE	YES
CRYSTAL	24	F	MEX.	21	LATINA	LATINA	WHITE	YES
ANTONIO	46	M	MEX.	21	HISPANO	WHITE	WHITE	YES
MAITE	54	F	MEX.	30	MEX.	WHITE	WHITE	NO
CONSUELO	66	F	MEX.	40	MEX.	MEX.	WHITE	

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<sup>107</sup> Names have been changed for confidentiality.



## **CURRICULM VITA**

Theresa Donovan was born in Amesbury, Massachusetts. The fifth daughter of Robert and Marion Donovan, she graduated from Exeter Area High School, Exeter, New Hampshire, in the spring of 1991 and entered the University of New Hampshire. While pursuing a bachelor's degree in English, she also earned a Reserve Officer Training Corp (ROTC) scholarship. She transferred to the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, and upon graduation, she entered active duty as an officer in the U.S. Army. In 2000, Ms. Donovan began graduate school in the Department of Linguistics, University of Puerto Rico. After receiving the M.A. in Linguistics, she moved to El Paso, Texas and began teaching English as a Second Language. In 2006, she entered the Ph.D. program in Rhetoric and Composition.

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