UCLA

UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

War Against Migrants, Racial Violence in the United States: A Critical Ethnography of Mexican and Latino Day Labor

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5km7s0p0

Author

Ponce, Albert

Publication Date

2013

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

War Against Migrants, Racial Violence in the United States: A Critical Ethnography of
Mexican and Latino Day Labor

by

Albert Ponce

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science
University of California, Los Angeles, 2013
Professor Raymond Rocco, Chair

Globalization is celebrated as connecting the world's population and linking once isolated economies with the rest of the world. Yet, this celebratory view conceals the role of nation-states in imposing violent measures against persons who transgress their territorial boundaries without authorization. While studies of the rise in violence along these areas has advanced our understanding of the effects for those who are not authorized to cross into or exist within the nation-state, this study attempts to link how and why race dictates the levels of violence within U.S. institutions and society. This problematic advances a critical examination of the relationship between race and violence at the foundation of the U.S. nation-state institutions and society. Specifically, this study will analyze how and why Mexican and Latino migrants have become contemporary targets of racial violence? Furthermore, how does racial violence function in establishing the commodified disposability of Mexican and Latino migrant labor? The goal is to establish a framework of racial violence which will provide the ability to investigate how and

why specific populations are constructed as targets of the U.S. nation-state and its citizens. This dissertation will provide the conceptual development of commodified disposability, that is, how and why Mexican and Latino migrants have been de-humanized and relegated to labor in itself. Conceptually, commodified disposability moves beyond labor as simply exploitable or replaceable, rather this becomes the embodiment of disciplined migrant labor. It is the space where racial violence is lived. This critical ethnography links the empirical reality of "illegal" day laborers to a theory of racial violence.

The dissertation of Albert Ponce is approved.

Mark Q. Sawyer

Anthony Pagden

Kelly Lytle Hernandez

Raymond Rocco, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles
2013

Dedication

Para mi madre, Maria Elena Ponce (1941-1996), and my daughter Maya Elena Ponce and lifepartner Yvette Villarreal who show me how to live

Table of Contents

Introduction: Race, Law and Objectivity	1
Chapter 1. Toward a Theory of Racial Violence	14
1.1. On Racial Violence	16
1.2. "Illegality" and Commodified Disposability	28
Chapter 2. Racial Violence and Migrant Resistance	41
2.1. Conceptualizing Racialization	47
2.2. On Resistance	51
2.3. Historical Racialization and Resistance	53
2.4. Contemporary Migrant Resistance	62
2.5. Conclusion	71
Chapter 3. Day Laborers and the Coloniality of Being	74
3.1. "Illegal" Day Laborers in the United States	79
3.2. Racial Violence and Day Labor	89
3.3. United States and the Coloniality of Power	90
3.4. Coloniality of Being	94
3.5. Conclusion	99
Chapter 4. Critical Ethnography of Mexican and Latino Day Labor	103
4.1. Day Labor Overview	105
4.2. Methodology	111
4.3. On "Illegality"	117
4.4. Racialization	119
4.5. Coloniality	120
4.6. Commodified Disposability	121
4.7. Racial Violence of Day Labor in West Los Angeles	122
4.8. Latinophobia	124
4.9. Conclusion	128
Epilogue	132
Appendix: Interview Questions	148
References	150

Acknowledgements

To all the migrant workers whose brave and heroic journey into the U.S. while struggling for a dignified humanity will continue to inspire my work. I attempt to do justice to their plight in this book.

I would like to thank the many people, institutions and foundations which have given me the inspiration, intellectual environment and funding at various periods of this dissertation. Much gratitude to the National Science Academies and the Ford Foundation Dissertation Year Fellowship. This award provided me the financial and communal support to complete my project. To UCLA Graduate Division for fellowship support and the UC Diversity Initiative for Graduate Study in the Social Sciences for also providing funding at crucial moments in graduate school and the Ronald E. McNair Scholar program for the support and mentorship which would prove invaluable in producing this book.

I wish to thank the members of my dissertation committee Mark Q. Sawyer, Anthony Pagden and Kelly Lytle Hernandez for their insight and support. I will always be indebted to the Chair of my dissertation committee Raymond Rocco for continuously pushing me to clarify my thoughts and challenging me to become a better scholar. Professor Rocco has shown me what it takes to develop students, which I will always carry and hope to pass on to my own students. To the late Victor Eugene Wolfenstein whose guidance early on was pivotal in ways beyond mention and I can only hope to be the dedicated educator he was. Jerry Brent Allen who believed in me early on, changing my life forever and supported every endeavor I've embarked upon. He opened my mind to critical thought and continues to be a great mentor and friend. William Jones and Raul Chavez, historians who taught me very early on that history matters, and it matters now. Mark Brilliant, although it was brief, left an indelible mark in the way to

approach research, but maybe more importantly how to inspire students. To David Montejano, as my McNair Scholar mentor supported my initial research at Berkeley. The late Norman Jacobson, who always gave me the time to discuss my ideas. Nelson Maldonado-Torres who greatly influenced my ideas as an undergraduate which were further developed in this book. His passion for teaching and unsettling the epistemological hegemony of the powerful is central to my project. To Abel Valenzuela for supporting my research of racialized day laborers. Alfonso Gonzales who mentored and taught me the ropes in my first year in the Ph.D. program at UCLA. Edmond Keller, Miguel Chavez, David Manuel Hernandez, Andres Garcia, Eric Avila, Otto Santa Ana, Alicia Gaspar de Alba, Leisy Abrejo, Maylei Blackwell, Ellie Hernandez, Elena Mohseni, and Joseph Brown, the best graduate advisor anywhere, all whose support and guidance I'm grateful for. I was fortunate upon meeting my friends and colleagues Parissa Majdi-Clark and Raul E. Moreno upon entering my Ph.D. program, they have been at my side throughout this project. The intellectual camaraderie we've established was pivotal in the creation of my ideas. Beyond what we engaged in seminars and throughout our program these two were central in developing my project, always taking the time to hear my thoughts and at times, my ramblings. Beyond colleagues, they are great friends who I am indebted to for assisting in clarifying my ideas in this book. From all above I have learned immensely, although, I take full credit for all errors and omissions in this book.

To my familia and my father Juan Lopez Ponce from Tijuana if not for him and my mother who crossed that very unnatural boundary I would not be writing this. To my sisters Lily, Sandra (RIP), Rita, Vickie and brother's Henry (RIP), Alex and little brother Johnny, brother's in-law Santiago Partida, Rick Brown, sister's in-law Orfa Ponce and Ruby Villarreal, the San Diego Ponce's, Chris Solano, the Partida's, my nieces, nephews, cousins, my in-laws the

Villarreals' and my entire extended familia who all were motivation to me in achieving my goals. Special thanks to my mother in-law Manuela Villarreal, without her this road would have been much more difficult. Her support and helping with our daughter has been crucial to completion of this project. She has taken care of me like her own son.

Ultimately, to my life partner and greatest friend, words could never measure her dedication and support. Yvette Villarreal, who continues to give everything to make sure I have what I needed to do this, listening, editing, critiquing everything I wrote since my first undergraduate course and always pushing me to go the extra mile. Always questioning my own critical writing and ideas, she always forced me to rethink, even when I thought I was done. Putting up with those nights when I would not stop reading aloud while she was trying to put our daughter to sleep, and she would still catch my errors. To her it is impossible to repay, her insight, skill, and support continue to be invaluable. She cleared my plate while handling her professional and our family's commitments. And to our daughter, Maya Elena Ponce who was born at the end of my first year in graduate school. She brought us such joy while transforming our lives and providing the extra motivation to complete this book. Having never known her grandma Maria Elena Ponce, this book will provide a part of the universal story of people struggling for survival while demanding their humanity. Maya this is for you!

Vita

2005 A.A., Transfer Studies/IGETC
Mount San Antonio College
 2007 B.A., Political Science
University of California, Berkeley
 2007 B.A., Chicano Studies
University of California, Berkeley
 2009 M.A., Political Science
University of California, Los Angeles

Born, Orange, California

1971

2011

PUBLICATIONS and PRESENTATIONS

2013. "War Against Migrants." University of California, Los Angeles. Department of Political Science Graduate Student Seminar Series.

Candidate of Philosophy, Political Science University of California, Los Angeles

- 2013. "Illegality' Lived, Day Labor and Racial Violence." Western Political Science Association Conference. Hollywood.
- 2013. "Race and American Politics." Scripps College. Department of Politics. Claremont.
- 2012. Racialization, Resistance and the Migrant Rights Movement, A Historical Analysis. *Critical Sociology*. December, 1-19.
- 2012. "Toward A Theory of Racial Violence." University of California, Santa Barbara. Department of Chican@ Studies Colloquium Series.
- 2012. "White Supremacy and State Violence." California State University, Northridge. Department of Urban Planning.
- 2012. "Theorizing Violence and Migration." University of California, Los Angeles. Feb Cesar E. Chavez Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies.
- 2012. "The Right to Not Have Rights, The Legal Production of Violence Against Migrants." Western Political Science Association Conference. Portland.

- 2011. "The Migrant Rights Movement in Historical Perspective." Western Political Science Association Conference. San Antonio.
- 2011. "Racialization and the Formation of Mexican and Latino Resistance in the United States." Midwest Political Science Association Conference. Chicago.
- 2010. Community Forum: Race, Class, and Gender: The 2010 Elections and Beyond. Mount San Antonio College, Department of Political Science.
- 2010. Racialization and Resistance, "The Migrant Rights Movement, A Historical Analysis." University of Nebraska-Lincoln. G.E. Hendricks Symposium, The Challenge of Inequality in the Age of Obama: Does Race Still Matter? Department of Political Science.
- 2010. "United States Imperialism and Latin America." University of California, Los Angeles. Cesar E. Chavez Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies.
- 2010. "State Violence and Migration in the United States." Midwest Political Science Association Conference. Chicago.
- 2010. "Illegal" Day Laborers, Violence and the Coloniality of Being." Western Political Science Association Conference. San Francisco.
- 2008. "Racialization of Undocumented Day Laborers: The Influence and Relationship of Structural and Individual Violence." American Studies Graduate Student Conference-Mongrel America. University of Texas, Austin-Department of American Studies.