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Finding a Moral Heart for U.S. Immigration Policy: An Anthropological Perspective.
JOSIAH MCC. HEYMAN. Arlington VA: American Anthropological Association. 1998; 120 pp.

Reviewed by SUSAN C.B. COUTIN
California State University, Los Angeles

In this short but complex monograph Heyman uses his expertise as an ethnographer of both borderlands and border enforcers to devise moral and practical improvements in U.S. immigration policy. Heyman argues persuasively that current U.S. immigration policies are both unjust and unworkable. They are unjust, he contends, because they are fueled by anti-immigrationism, a sentiment that fails to recognize the common humanity of others. They are unworkable, he notes, because numerical controls have not prevented the influx of immigrants who are not authorized to live and work in the United States. Heyman reasons that as a member of a profession that is dedicated to analyzing the human condition, he is ethically obligated to promote policies that are both realistic and moral. *Finding a moral heart for U.S. immigration policy* is devoted to this endeavor.

Heyman proposes that immigration to the United States be governed by compacts between the local communities where immigrants reside and employers or relatives who want to bring an immigrant into the country. Local communities would assess the improvements in housing, education, and public services that would be needed to accommodate new residents. Immigrant sponsors would then contribute to the costs of these improvements. According to this plan, immigration would be decentralized, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service would become a clearinghouse, illegality and law enforcement activities along U.S. borders would be reduced, immigrants could travel more freely, and all immigrants would be legal permanent residents entitled to live, work, receive public services, and even vote in local elections within the United States. There is much to commend about this proposal. Shifting the focus of the INS from enforcement to regulation would make crossings less hazardous, thus reducing death tolls along the U.S.-Mexico border. The current artificiality of the categories of kin who can sponsor immigrants would be replaced by a system that more realistically reflects individuals' actual relationships. Immigrants would be able to come and go legally, instead of being "trapped" within U.S. borders by a pending legalization case or by a fear

of being apprehended upon reentry. According immigrants greater (indeed almost all) legal rights would reduce discrimination. I do, however, have some doubts about the proposal. For instance, migration from one part of the United States to another also adds new residents to local communities, and could potentially burden local services. Why then should employers only have to contribute to local infrastructure if they hire individuals from outside of the country? Also, if employers face extra costs for hiring immigrant workers, immigrant workers may face job discrimination. It seems more equitable to hold the federal government responsible for allocating resources to local communities based on their population sizes and demographics. Financing such allocations through across-the-board taxes instead of through compact costs charged to immigrant sponsors would further reduce distinctions between permanent residents and citizens.

Heyman grounds his policy critique and proposal in what he characterizes as core anthropological values and the common characteristics of moral systems. I am not sure why he makes such universalistic claims. I was much more persuaded by his skillful socioeconomic analyses of immigration to the United States than by references to "the evolution of morality" (p. 6) or "biosocial bases of human morality" (p. 7). It seems to me that the "human tendency" to ignore "the similar humanity in other persons and groups" can be quite pronounced in small groups as well as in the "huge" modern nation (p. vi). It also seems to me that Heyman's account of the relationship between "moral behavior" and "the recognition of mutual personhood" is only one of several possibilities. While many unjust acts do entail dehumanizing the victim, recognizing common humanity will not necessarily promote moral behavior—though it would be nice if it did!

In advocating policy changes, Heyman favors what he calls "constructive" over "critical" writing. He defines the latter as writing that "knows what it is against, but not what it is for" (p. 3), and he complains about representational analyses that create "a sense that proper language is a good deed" (p.

15). Heyman instead favors approaches that not only critique but also articulate visions of a moral order. Heyman acknowledges that some anthropologists have tried to engage in direct action through social movements, but he points out that such direct intervention often has limited effects. While I agree that theory for theory's sake can be frustrating and that scholars should not overestimate the effects of their interventions, I also see the contributions of critical theorists as socially significant. Critiques implicitly identify criteria that can be used to develop models of more just orders, and when critical scholars join social movements, they probably accomplish about as much as other participants. Heyman is right that it can be socially beneficial for anthropologists to use their professional expertise to suggest policy directions, but I do not see this as a novel idea. In-

deed, there are historical examples, such as the role anthropologists played within the internment of Japanese Americans, in which anthropological expertise was implicated in an injustice.

Despite my misgivings about the way that Heyman frames his project, *Finding a moral heart* is an important work. It deftly summarizes the complicated history of U.S. immigration, skillfully interweaves immigration literature from a variety of disciplines, and effectively utilizes the author's extensive knowledge of how immigration and the INS actually work. Heyman's suggestions for reformulating the U.S. immigration system are thought-provoking and insightful, and deserve serious consideration by policy-makers, scholars, and the public. Both immigration experts and novices will benefit from reading this monograph.

Rituals of National Loyalty: An Anthropology of the State and the Village Scout Movement in Thailand. KATHERINE A. BOWIE. New York: Columbia University Press; 1997; 393 pp.

Reviewed by SUSAN M. DARLINGTON
Hampshire College

Bowie's book fills a gap in our comprehension of a significant and turbulent period in recent Thai history. She also contributes theoretically to understanding the use of ritual in promoting political goals. In a detailed, thorough, and engaging work, Bowie examines the evolution of the state-sponsored, right-wing Village Scout movement in Thailand during the 1970s and \$ 80s. While the most dramatic incident in Village Scout history was its involvement in the violent crackdown against student protesters in 1976, Bowie critically explores its creation in 1971, its growth in numbers and popularity, culminating in 2,387 initiation rituals for almost 2 million people in 1976, and its sudden decline in the late \$ 70s and \$ 80s. What is most impressive and valuable in Bowie's analysis of this movement is her consideration of class interests as they play out in urban-rural relations and national-level political ambitions. Most ethnographic and historical accounts of Thailand in this century separate rural and urban issues; even fewer deal in detail with class issues. Bowie takes this process a step further in her focus on the right, a perspective few dare to consider seriously in Thai studies. Yet as the twenty-fifth anniversary of the October 6, 1976, crackdown passed three years ago, more and more questions have been asked about the implications of that violence. Bowie offers a major contribution toward answering those questions.

Based on fieldwork carried out from 1974 to 1978, extensive use of Thai newspaper accounts and Village Scout records, and an in-depth interview with the founder of the Scouts, Bowie presents Scout history on multiple levels. The book is divided into two major sections: the first focuses on the state and the rapid rise in popularity of the Scout movement; the second reflects on peasant reactions to the movement at its height and as it faded. The cumulative result is an innovative consideration of a state-sponsored ritual within its changing historical and social contexts. The use of two approaches — historical and ethnographic — combines to build an effective and complex picture of the Scouts. Had she limited herself to analyzing the five-day initiation ritual she witnessed in 1977, Bowie would have missed the full significance of the Scout movement. Instead, her accounting of the movement through two decades of Thai history sheds light on several aspects of that country's political culture. Among these is a subtle analysis of what she refers to as "state factions and class fractions," the complex "divisions and debates both within the state and within each of the broader social classes" (p. 9). The distinctions within the three major classes in Thai society — the elite, the middle class, and the lower class (including the peasantry) — are nuanced through a detailed study of relations within each