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Decolonizing Migration Theory:
Korean Indentured Labor Migration to Mexico as Case Study

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I. Introduction

Contemporary debates on international migration tend to hover around perennial tensions between liberal values framed in binary oppositions. For example, 'mass migration' as a 'modern problem' is sometimes distilled as a conflict between rights: one person's right to enter a state even if they are not a citizen of that state, based on notions of equality, is often positioned against the right of others with citizenship in that state to exclude the noncitizen from entering, a right rooted in the ideal of self-determination. Alternatively, discussion might revolve around ethical concerns: moral claims supporting the noncitizen's freedom of movement, perhaps centered on distributive justice grounds due to the noncitizen's worse-off position in the global economic order, balanced against those hinging on national security or protection of culture within a particular state—namely, citizens' safety and cultural identity. Within this kind of framing, in which the interests of the citizen and noncitizen are situated against each other and the territorial borders of a particular state divide the two, determining who is inside and outside the boundary of concern or privilege, human migration is largely understood as an issue of border policy. This orientation takes for granted that a state has the right to control entry of noncitizens within its borders, that this right is an essential feature of its sovereignty and a foundational operating principle of international law, and thus an immutable fact for purposes of the discussion.

In fields attempting to theorize human migration in the abstract in order to illuminate political questions, extract overarching normative principles, consider policy prescriptions, or some combination of the above (e.g., politics, law, and philosophy), the belated imperial and postcolonial turn has invigorated such debates by historicizing

abstract notions of the modern nation-state and citizenship, laying bare their colonial and imperial legacies.[1] Political theorists, legal scholars, and philosophers have leveraged insights drawn from postcolonial studies to challenge the ways in which exclusion has been justified based on ahistorical analysis of concepts such as sovereignty and self-determination, providing a framework for reconceiving migrants themselves as decolonial agents. Reinterpreting these concepts in light of the realities of the imperial and colonial context allows these theorists to demonstrate how, on the contrary, the same justificatory principles used to exclude can buttress arguments in favor of an expanded right to enter for former colonial subjects. By highlighting the colonial legacies that structure global inequalities and their implications for debates on migration, decolonial theorists open up discursive space to consider what those whose mobility is impaired by background conditions and legal structures created to facilitate colonial extraction and domination might normatively claim against states that exclude them.[2]

As a lawyer trained in immigration and refugee law, I am inspired by the potential of decolonial migration theory. I left practice in part due to my disillusionment with the limits of the law as a tool for achieving migration justice on a broader scale, beyond success in individual cases. I was unsettled by the thought that legal advocates might end up doing more harm than good by zealously advocating for their clients' refugee status, against their characterization as economic migrants, thereby perpetuating the myth and reification of these categories. I was frustrated by how the law forces advocates to frame

[1] See, e.g., Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (2006) and *Boundaries of the International: Law and Empire*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press (2018); Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (2013); and Karuna Mantena, *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (2010).

[2] I cover recent theoretical accounts of colonialism and migration by political theorists, legal scholars, and political philosophers later in this introduction and engage with them more thoroughly in the analysis section of this thesis.

people as passive subjects that are 'sent' and 'received' by countries, whose movements are largely determined or otherwise controlled by 'push' and 'pull' factors. Examining any individual case in detail makes clear that human migration—even in the seemingly most clear-cut cases of forced migration, such as when people are fleeing terrorism and state violence—is motivated and compelled by a host of factors and a complex calculus that cannot and should not be so easily reduced. I am persuaded that the postcolonial orientation's attention and responsiveness to the legacy of colonialism and how it marks the present context—taking human agency, worth, and struggle seriously when attempting to understand the dynamics of human movement—is the right approach. The postcolonial turn in migration theory is a hopeful and promising step towards reckoning with such elements that have been abstracted out of the equation in earlier legal and theoretical accounts.

While I am drawn to such decolonial approaches towards theorizing migration justice, at times I am also puzzled by their formulations. This is especially so when I attempt to apply them to the case study at the center of my current research project: the story of a forgotten colonial-era migration, of the 1,033 Korean indentured laborers who left Japan-occupied Korea for the settler-colonial henequén plantations of the Yucatán Peninsula in 1905—called the 애니깽 (aenikkaeng) in Korean. There is an uneasy fit between the theoretical framework and claims advanced within this emerging body of scholarship and the facts of the history I am recounting. For example, decolonial migration theory tends to focus on migration of people between countries with formal colonial status relations with each other. It has also generally assumed that settler colonialism should be treated separately, as migration patterns seem to differ between the

former and latter when tracking relations of domination and exclusion. These frameworks do not account for a migration dynamic in which Korean indentured laborers left a Japanese colonial state for a Spanish/European settler colony in the Americas. Japan/Korea and Spain/Mexico did not have a formal colonial relationship with each other; in fact, Korea and Mexico had no diplomatic relations at all prior to this migration. Yet, the circumstances of the migration itself should surely be considered colonial, considering Korea's status as a Japanese colony and Mexico's settler colonial history. It should therefore also merit study through a decolonial lens.

Working through this puzzle has brought me back to the binaries categorizing contemporary migration debates, noted in the beginning of this introduction, which decolonial theory attempts to disrupt. I hypothesize that disciplinary political theorists, philosophers, and legal scholars have generally engaged with a narrow view of human mobility in the binary frame of sending and receiving countries. Postcolonial theory attempts to bring to bear the colonial legacies that structure the migration field. In doing so, it has taken up this binary framing, recasting the binary as unequal freedom of movement between the colony and metropole: free movement by citizens of former colonial powers between the metropole and colony on one hand and, on the other, unfree movement or forced stasis by citizens of colonized states vis-à-vis the metropole both historically and in the present. To both account for the historical wrongs perpetrated through migration policy and correct the present injustices perpetuated by the legal and political structures erected on colonial logics, decolonial migration thus asserts that immigration policy between sending and receiving countries with formal colonial status relations must be revised.

This framing excludes the specific colonial migration I am attempting to recover, in which the colonial context and relations conditioned human movement between states without a strict colonial relationship—in fact, without any direct legal or diplomatic relations at all. This exclusion within theory might be explained in several ways: perhaps there are particular harms and injustices that arise in the context of movement of peoples between states with formal colonial status relations that are particularly urgent for theory; similarly, human migration between the colony and metropole could capture something salient about colonialism itself, and how its legacy should be understood and treated. The history of Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico in 1905 thus may fall outside of the specific dynamics of injustice with which decolonial theorists are generally concerned.

This posture may also assume that migration outside of a strict, colonial binary did not occur at all, or that migration outside of this binary is not properly considered as colonial, despite its colonial context and periodization. This assumption seems to function as both a cause and effect of how these theorists take certain geographical and time-bound categories for granted when conceptualizing colonialism itself: as a European phenomenon that has evolved into a neoliberal system that benefits Euro-American interests at the expense of the Global South. This becomes clear when examining the examples and illustrations of migration that these theorists employ and the limited nature of their engagement with Asian colonialism or migration. To the extent they do touch on the Asian experience, Asian colonialism or migration is often incorporated as a counterpoint and external to the colonial dynamics with which they are concerned.

This assumption neglects the contributions of entire fields of study, including those touching on Asian regional histories in general and the rise of transpacific Asian indentured labor migration in particular, which are critical to understanding the development of central political concepts such as agency, citizenship, and sovereignty today. The importance of recognizing such specificity within seemingly neutral and universal abstractions cannot be underestimated, as it is necessary to disentangle preoccupations from political values and understand them in their social, historical, and cultural environments, bringing to light the questions and experiences that are obscured by utilizing particular frames. By assuming migration between colony and metropole categorizes colonial migration generally, current iterations of decolonial migration theory fall short of capturing colonial dynamics and wrongs and how colonialism and migration relate universally. In particular, equating colonial migration with human movement between metropoles and colonies universalizes patterns that are more prevalent under certain iterations of colonialism, such as structures of extractive colonialism in particular regions of the world or during specific periods in history.[3]

Further engagement with historical and empirical studies would help shed light on whether migration between states with formal colonial status relations dominated colonial-era human movement, making the case of Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico an anomalous event, or vice versa. On the other hand, such empirical and comparative study may also demonstrate the difficulty of such abstraction due to the

[3] Attention to the Filipino experience under U.S. colonialism also sheds light on how colonial subject status may have enhanced mobility for certain categories of migrants, such as the case of Filipino indentured labor migration to Hawai'i when Chinese indentured labor migration was halted due to the application of Chinese exclusion laws after Hawai'i's annexation. See, e.g., Adrian De Leon, Sugarcane *Sakadas*: The Corporate Production of the Filipino on a Hawai'i Plantation. *Amerasia Journal* Vol. 45, Issue 1 (2019): 50-67.

variegated, contingent, and context-specific forms of colonialism and related migration patterns. They may reveal that postcolonial theorists are deriving an abstract form of colonialism based on studies of European colonialism in the Global South alone, earlier in history, as opposed to, say, Japanese colonialism in East Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such that the decolonial critique offered is also somewhat limited in scope and application.[4]

In addition to what this specific framing excludes, I am also concerned with what it might elide. My main wager is that the binary framing of migration theory elides the transnational dimensions of empire or capitalism that were instrumental in shaping the movement of peoples across the globe, both within and beyond the boundaries of states with recognized relationships based on colonial subjugation. Focusing solely on European/Western colonialism and the binary relationship between colony and metropole may also fragment our understanding of colonialism and empire as processes, thereby leaving theory ill equipped to fully engage in the project of decolonization in the present and imagine a truly decolonized future.

In the case of Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico, the few studies on this migration have generally focused on the binational context: Korea under Japanese colonialism, and settler colonialism in the Yucatán region as well as its tensions throughout the history of Mexico's consolidation into a unitary, independent state. One of

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[4] "The Japanese colonial empire, arguably the only non-Western empire of modern times, began with the cession of Taiwan in 1895 after Japan's success in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). Later victories in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) and the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) saw the Japanese empire expand dramatically to include Karafuto (the southern half of Sakhalin, colonized 1905), Korea (colonized 1914), German Micronesia (colonized 1914), and Manchuria, also known as Manchukuo (colonized 1931). Japan's initial success in the Pacific War would also see Hong Kong, Indonesia, Singapore, and British Malaya come under Japanese rule" [citations omitted]. Kate E. Taylor, "Japan: colonization and settlement" in *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration*, Immanuel Ness, ed. (2013), Hoboken: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2.

my interventions in reconstructing this migration history has been to broaden the scope of inquiry, connecting the existing literature segregated in distinct disciplinary silos: the economic histories of the Yucatecan henequén industry in the context of Mexico's trade relations with other Anglo-European states and its political economy; regional histories on settler colonialism and indentured labor migration alongside Asian studies research on Japanese colonialism and Korean history; and legal studies insights on the development of U.S. domestic as well as international immigration law. Approaching this specific, deceptively simple case study of a single migration event as a node through which to thread different theoretical and contextual strands has allowed me to weave a fuller narrative of how transpacific migration was entangled with the rise of U.S. empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: the importance of henequén fibers to mechanizing U.S. agriculture during the industrial age; the attempts by U.S. financial interests to obtain a cheaper substitute good in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War and the subsequent Philippine-American War; the henequén industry's eventual capture by U.S. agricultural and financial interests; and the U.S. role in opening Korea's borders to transpacific migration in order to facilitate the movement of Korean laborers to U.S. settler colonial sugar plantations in Hawai'i, the precursor for Korean migration to Mexico within the greater context of the West's penetration of the East throughout the nineteenth century. Further illuminating the historical backdrop of how state power over border control was formalized as a feature of national sovereignty through the Chinese Exclusion Cases and development of the plenary power doctrine demonstrates how the story of Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico exceeds its binary categorization.

The rise and operation of U.S. imperialism within a shifting yet undeniably colonial context that is rendered legible through this interpretive approach cannot be ignored.

This is not to say that binaries don't matter, or that looking at sending and receiving countries within the prevailing binary framework of migration studies should be rejected wholesale. The classical theoretical approach is useful in isolating the factors associated with sending and receiving countries that certainly do play a role in migration. Rather, the goal of this project, if it has critical purchase, is to assert the need to look beyond binaries and the border to get to the root of colonialism and migration justice—to understand that these binaries exist within a larger system, of which the colonial is a part and perhaps a specific iteration, and account for these system dynamics within theory. A transnational approach is also necessary to appreciate the ways in which relations of domination and exclusion that preoccupy postcolonial theorists have evolved within the international system from the early colonial period, operating today through neoliberal economic structures and international legal frameworks that solidify historical inequalities and close off avenues for systemic recompense and relief.

Postcolonial philosophical and legal theories that conceptualize problems and solutions within strict national, binary frames may fail to fully capture the historical wrongs and mechanics of colonialism and empire.[5] In fact, focusing on borders and

[5] Jonathan Levy's innovative definition of capital and capitalism, which theorizes capitalism as "any economic form of life in which the economic logic of the capital process—capitalization—has become both habitual and dominant, subordinating the production and distribution of wealth in large part to its pecuniary ends" helps us understand capital as a process, in which empire and colonialism may capture particular instantiations: "If capital is a process, historical time is implicit… the spatial indeterminacy of capital is a process. The materialist capital concept grew up along with national economies, when much capital value manifested in physical structures, within the territorial borders of nation-states…. Nonetheless, historians have lately focused upon a variety of non-national scales, including empires, contemporary and past globalization cycles, transnational histories of capital flows, urban and regional histories, and plural forms of territorial sovereignty. Capital as process leaves the question of spatial scale—and the possibility of

binaries may itself be a product of colonialism's conditioning and evidence of the theory's capture by a colonial framework. The development of border control as a key feature of sovereignty within the history of international law is bound up in struggles between the rise of the modern state system and the development of citizenship norms, against the racialized other in relation to the rise in Asian indentured labor migration.[6] Given this context, fixating on borders in binary frames may risk retrenching state primacy, potentially at the expense of alternative proposals that go beyond individual states to consider comprehensive and systemic reform or radical reimagining of the nature of sovereignty more suitably tailored as a corrective to past and presently continuing wrongs. In doing so, they may further perpetuate the injustices they diagnose. Such theories may also grasp but fall short of fully articulating the specific harms of colonial migration between the metropole and colony and its contemporary legacies due to overreliance on generalized and reductive understandings of colonialism itself.

I can only begin to touch on these themes in this thesis. Here, my aim is to offer a reconstructed account of Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico that can serve as a preliminary case study through which decolonial migration theory may be tested, then further amended and refined.[7] As a proof of concept, I engage with recent accounts treating theories of migration and colonialism within political theory, legal scholarship, and political philosophy. I examine each account, paying close attention to how they each characterize and define colonial relations as well as how the Asian experience is configured, both implicitly and explicitly. Based on this examination, I push these

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multiple scales—open dependent upon the purposes of analysis." Jonathan Levy, "Capital as Process and the History of Capitalism" in *Business History Review* 91 (Autumn 2017): 483-510, 503-504.

[6] See, e.g., Sarah Song, *Immigration and Democracy*, New York: Oxford University Press (2019) [hereinafter Song].

[7] I discuss my narrative history methodology in the next section of this thesis.

theoretical accounts on several points, including their exclusive focus on sending/receiving country and colony/metropole, ex-colony/colonizer binaries. I posit that these binaries themselves may be symptomatic of an undue focus on specific iterations of European colonialism and an attendant occlusion of the Asian colonial experience.[8] Centering specific histories of Western colonialism that excise the Asian experience can thus be understood as part and parcel of the same epistemological commitments that impoverish our understanding of the forces that structure migration: privileging the West and continuing to perpetuate the geographic designations that have already been thoroughly criticized as colonial cartographies that limit our ability to conceptualize the workings of colonialism itself.[9] I argue that we must also pay attention to these frameworks in order to theorize how to decolonize migration—and through migration—and guard against tendencies to denature the radical, transformative possibilities raised by a postcolonial approach.[10]

First, political theorists Sara Amighetti and Alasia Nuti, leveraging insights from postcolonial studies, find a right for migrants from ex-colonies to enter their former colonizing nations even within a liberal nationalist framework due to the "intertwined

[8] For purposes of this thesis, I exclude South Asia from the scope of the definition of Asia, as British colonialism in the region has not been neglected from theoretical accounts of colonialism and migration.
[9] Wendy Brown's analysis of how capitalism "slips into the background as an object of critique or political concern" within political theory is instructive. Wendy Brown, *Edgework: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Politics.* Princeton: Princeton University Press (2005).
[10] Political theorists working within the nascent subfield of comparative political theory have cautioned against the mainstream discipline's tendency to "accommodate" texts and theories from subaltern and nontraditional perspectives instead of engaging with them on equal terms, thereby precluding the possibility of true decolonization and transformation of the field: " [A]ccommodations of CPT's practice in political theory sometimes seem to amount to merely additive, canon-expanding exercises rather than the challenges to disciplinary hegemony it potentially invites—akin to processes in which neoliberalism embraces multiculturalism or settler societies recognize indigenous difference. In both cases, what results from recognition is a more resilient hegemony rather than hegemony's undoing." *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Political Theory,* Leigh K. Jenco, Murad Idris & Megan C. Thomas (eds.) Oxford: Oxford University Press (2020) [hereinafter Jenco et. al.], Introduction.

histories" between metropole and colony.[11] I focus on their reading of Edward Said's analysis of culture and imperialism, specifically through the role of the novel as genre, to discuss the ways in which the bilateral framing of metropole and colony limits their account as well as falls short of fully grasping the radical implications of Said's postcolonial insights. To supplement Amighetti and Nuti's account, I bring in Lea Ypi, Robert E. Goodin, and Christian Barry's account of the associative duties between peoples that do not share citizenship within the same state, putting their theory in conversation with Amighetti and Nuti's framework by raising the question of rights of entry former colonial subjects may hold towards former colonial states.[12] By applying Ypi et. al.'s incorporation of paramountcy arrangements as a colonial system to tributary relations in East Asian regional history and considering how Ypi et. al. analyze the global neoliberal order as a legacy of failed decolonization efforts, I demonstrate that their associative duties framework points to a much wider range of obligations than the ones based on formal colonial bonds to which they explicitly commit.

Second, legal scholar E. Tendayi Achiume posits that former colonial powers should be ethically required to grant citizens of their former colonies the same right to enter held by their own citizens, as the continuing exploitative relationship of neocolonial empire renders citizens of both states effectively co-sovereigns.[13] She targets the "political stranger exceptionalism" that undergirds the international legal framework for

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11 Sara Amighetti and Alasia Nuti, A Nation's Right to Exclude and the Colonies. *Political Theory*, Vol. 44 (4) (2016), 541-556 [hereinafter Amighetti & Nuti].

12 Lea Ypi, Robert E. Goodin and Christian Barry. Associative Duties, Global Justice, and the Colonies. Philosophy & Public Affairs, Vol. 37 (2) (2009), 103-135 [hereinafter Ypi et. al.]. Thanks to Jennifer Pitts for pointing me to this article.

13 E. Tendayi Achiume, Migration as Decolonization. *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 71 (Dec., 2019), 1509-1573 [hereinafter Achiume]. Achiume also serves as the United Nations special rapporteur on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance.

migration and notes her particular concern for so-called economic migrants who do not receive any protection within this structure. Achiume is the only theorist among my interlocutors who explicitly grapples with how to situate Chinese imperialism and Japanese colonialism within her decolonial migration framework. I question the easy bifurcation between the colonial and imperial as well as the First and Third World within her theory, suggesting that the connections between these distinct categories as well as the geographic regions that fall outside of the binary gesture towards a more radical critique, which Achiume (admittingly) domesticates within her own account.

Lastly, political philosopher Alison M. Jaggar calls for decolonization of the field of political philosophy as a whole, using philosophical accounts of migration justice as examples of how the discipline has neglected serious engagement with Euro-American colonialism and neo-colonialism.[14] She argues that philosophy must revise its methods and frameworks in order to correct for its systemic biases against taking up the question of colonialism's legacies.[15] While Jaggar's critique provides philosophers with important conceptual and methodological tools towards recognizing and revising the epistemological biases within their frameworks, I argue that her construction of migration and colonialism as a geographically specific and time-bound problem space comprised of Euro-American state-centric binaries fails to implement this decolonized philosophical approach in practice.

Finally, reflecting on this analysis, I suggest that theories of migration justice with a decolonial orientation should grapple with the neoliberal economic framework itself,

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[14] Alison M. Jaggar, Decolonizing Anglo-American Political Philosophy: The Case of Migration Justice. *The Aristotelian Society*, Supplementary Volume XCIV (2020) [hereinafter Jaggar], 87-113. Thanks to Matthew Landauer for pointing me to this article.

[15] Jaggar, 87.

instead of retreating towards asserting special obligations between colonizer and colonized while leaving the existing immigration structure intact. This seems to necessitate serious reconsideration of the strong linkage between state sovereignty and border control as its constituent feature. In terms of methodology, I propose that scholars of colonialism and migration consider utilizing a transnational lens, beyond the binaries characterizing current discourse, and engage more deeply with interdisciplinary scholarship when formulating normative accounts and policy suggestions. This will help ensure that theory truly reflects the radical implications a postcolonial orientation brings to light. While I am limited to presenting this as a proof of concept of sorts within this thesis, I endeavor to demonstrate its feasibility as a longer-term intellectual project.

II. Methodology

Insofar as I find the binary modes of thinking that structure migration theories to evidence insufficiently decolonized discourse and epistemological commitments within certain disciplines, I am also engaging in a methodological critique of the canon. I do so explicitly by applying different theoretical formulations of migration against the case study I present, questioning and coaxing out certain presuppositions regarding the nature of colonialism, migration, and colonial migration by setting them against certain empirical and historical episodes. But I also aim to perform a critique by utilizing an unexpected form and genre to present the case study itself: a work of creative nonfiction.

The creative nonfiction piece I present is a longform braided essay in three parts, in which I weave together four narrative strands: (1) a retelling of this migration that sets it in the context of the rise of the United States as a global power and ties it to other

patterns of colonial migration to the hemispheric Americas; (2) my family background as told to me by my father, spanning my grandparents' experience living through Japanese colonialism and the Korean War to my parents' immigration to the United States; (3) my personal journey to and through this research project as an immigration and human rights advocate who defected to corporate law, reflecting on my career decisions as I learn about these histories; and (4) my attempts to apply racial and systemic injustice paradigms to the parallel colonial language describing human ambitions in outer space. I link these seemingly disparate threads by drawing out the actors' aspirations for mobility in each—my Korean ancestors' and my shared migration dreams alongside humanity's dream to colonize other planets. Narrating these intertwined stories through my subjectivity as a Korean-American researcher, grappling with a flawed archive and my own epistemological blind spots while learning Yucatec Maya, allows me to shed light on how state-centric decolonial migration politics are themselves products of colonialism and incapable of fashioning a truly decolonized future. By demonstrating the neocolonial nature of human space settlement, fueled by historical structures of colonial subjugation and extraction in our present, I harness excitement for space travel in service of turning public attention back to migration and distributive justice issues on Earth today.

Following the migration dreams of people across time and space, from nineteenth century Korea to the global present, allows me to cover the historical breadth necessary to foreground the colonial and imperial context and also trace the genealogy of capitalism as a transnational, historical process structuring human movement. This dynamic reflects what critical Asian studies scholar Chen Kuan-Hsing describes as the "stratified hierarchical construction of neocolonial imperialism," in which colonization,

imperialization, and the cold war have fused into a singular historical process, with global capitalism as its present phase.[16] The fact that Korea and Mexico did not have an established diplomatic relationship with each other prior to the arrival of Korean indentured labor migrants invites contemplation of the occluded actors and larger context that facilitated this movement of people, as the typical explanations based on sending and receiving country relationships are unsatisfactory; a multigenerational account of the shifting tides of colonialism and imperialism on the Korean Peninsula gestures towards a complicated answer that implicates U.S. empire.

This creative nonfiction essay form may seem unusual in the context of a self-professed work of political theory, considering the law review articles and publications in academic journals and presses comprising typical sources within this particular intellectual discourse community. However, I believe the essay form is essential for the case study at the center of my thesis, which I present with the aim of illustrating the nature of colonial migration. The essay form provides space to present a unified narrative that restores the connections that are interrupted within the fragmented historical record, scattered across disciplinary boundaries and theoretical approaches, thereby allowing me to attempt to fill in the gaps created by "the politics of our lack of knowledge," to borrow Lowe's phrasing.[17] The form provides me with the freedom to endeavor to bridge different scales of time and distance and context, threading them together through my perspective and positionality as a researcher.

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[16] Chen, Kuan-Hsing (2010). *Asia as Method: Towards Deimperialization*. Durham: Duke University Press [hereinafter Chen], 18.

[17] Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents*, Durham: Duke University Press (2015) [hereinafter Lowe], 39.

This braided narrative technique allows me to attempt to hybridize the personal and political with coherency, in a way that connects the past, present, future through a singular theoretical lens—one that is grappling with understanding and rendering legible the systemic forces behind human movement. It is inspired by the work of interdisciplinary scholars across different departments and fields, including: Eve Ewing, who, writing within sociology on racism and school closures, pushes against the paradigm of the researcher as "objective observer" and asserts the importance of first-person accounts;[18] Maggie Nelson and Claudia Rankine, whose literary work fuses theory with the intimate and personal, bringing to light their relationship to the political;[19] and Lisa Wedeen, whose innovative work using ethnographic methods in political science shows how both might (and should) be productively fused, and the human stakes of their continued disengagement and resulting mutual impoverishment.[20] Her words warrant reproduction in full:

> [E]thnographers abdicate theoretical responsibility when they simply focus on the experiential dimensions of "native" testimony or the intersubjective agreement between the ethnographer and her subject out of which such a phenomenological account is fashioned. Political scientists who abjure intersubjective and phenomenological considerations, by contrast, run the risk of reproducing

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18 "I am not an objective observer, nor do I aspire to be. As critical race theorists have argued, claims to objectivity often serve as "camouflage for the self-interest, power, and privilege of dominant groups in U.S. society. What's more, such theorists would argue—and I would agree—that the experiential knowledge of people of color not only is a legitimate source of evidence, but is in fact critical to understanding the function of racism as a fundamental American social structure. So I cannot and do not aspire to tell an objective story; rather, I offer a story that is revelatory based on the experience of my own life and the lives of community members living in the shadow of history" (citations omitted). Eve L. Ewing, *Ghosts in the Schoolyard: Racism and School Closings on Chicago's South Side*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press (2018), 7.

19 See, e.g., Maggie Nelson, The Argonauts. Minneapolis: Gray Wolf Press (2016); Claudia Rankine, Citizen: An American Lyric. Minneapolis: Gray Wolf Press (2014).

20 "We need to tack back and forth (to use Geertz's metaphor) between the theoretical and the empirical, the abstract and the concrete, acknowledging the tensions and contradictions laid bare by fieldwork while maintaining analytic sovereignty over them…. By navigating between concrete details and conceptual abstractions, we can refine and undermine, negate and create novel explanations about politics." Lisa Wedeen, Reflections on Ethnographic Work in Political Science, *Annu. Rev. Political Sci.* 2010, 13:255-72 [hereinafter Wedeen], 264.

> arguments with little connection to politics on the ground—and with unexamined consequences for ordinary people.[21]

Attempting to understand and incorporate the thoughts and motivations of real human beings in theorizing decolonial migration seems like the right impulse. And in the context of a historical migration in which such material is unavailable and must be pieced together from the archive, rebuilding the context through multimodal historical research and narrative techniques helps approximate this data.

This move toward considering creative and experimental narrative in the context of academic discourse is not novel; rather, it follows and builds upon the current flowing in this direction within the social sciences. By way of illustration: in political science, Juliet Hooker incorporates Du Bois's speculative fiction within the corpus of work she examines in order to better understand race and racial mixture within his theoretical framework, utilizing hemispheric juxtaposition as methodology;[22] and Wendy Pearlman has published a "collective narrative" of the Syrian refugee crisis in which she curates and sequences excerpts from interviews she has collected while conducting fieldwork over the span of several years.[23] Social scientists are also utilizing creative narrative techniques in order to depict phenomena that traditional academic writing may fail to accommodate within its form. In anthropology, Jason De León incorporates "semifictionalized ethnography" in order to construct a realistic account of a U.S.-Mexico border crossing that brings to light the "hybrid collectif" of the desert, or the agency that is created by many human and nonhuman "actants" in the desert interacting

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21 Wedeen, 265.

22 Juliet Hooker, *Theorizing Race in the Americas: Douglass, Sarmiento, Du Bois, and Vasconcelos.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (2017).

23 Wendy Pearlman, *We Crossed a Bridge and It Trembled: Voices from Syria*. New York: Custom House (2017).

with each other, into a unitary narrative.[24] I have intended to take a similar creative narrative approach while also foregrounding myself as the narrator and my process as a researcher. This register allows me to honestly reflect on the types of evidence and archival material and the inherently speculative endeavor I am engaging in while attempting to reconstruct a colonial archive and make sense of the personal, political stakes involved.

Even the space travel narrative thread in my braided essay, seemingly the most bizarre in the context of a study on decolonial migration, has strong precedent. Scholars have invoked the perspective of extraterrestrial life forms in order to shed light on the unquestioned peculiarities of the present, from existing social structures to orthodox interpretations of archival materials, even within serious academic discourse: in nineteenth century England, Irish suffragist Frances Power Cobbe utilized the perspective of a being from outer space to highlight the absurdity of legal standards that dispossess married women of their property;[25] Korea historian Bruce Cumings narrates "an archaeology of the present and a genealogy of the past," speculating from the perspective of a space martian, in order to unsettle the reader's sedimented views on East Asian history and encounter the archive and material objects anew.[26] The arrival of the space age has also expanded the boundaries of political concern, beyond the utility of entertaining alien perspectives to contextualize and criticize epistemological errors and inconsistencies. Man's flight to the moon provided the context for Hannah Arendt's

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[24] Jason De León, The Land of Open Graves. Berkeley: University of California Press (2015).

[25] Frances Power Cobbe, Criminals, Idiots, Women, and Minors. *Fraser's magazine for town and country* (Dec. 1868), 78:468. Thanks to Jennifer Pitts for pointing me to this article.

[26] Bruce Cumings, *Parallax Visions: Making Sense of American-East Asian Relations*. Durham: Duke University Press (2002) [hereinafter Parallax Visions], 11-12.

meditation on modern science and the nature and meaning of human life,[27] and Alexander Wendt and Raymond Duvall have critically analyzed the scientific and political communities' silence on UFOs within an international relations framework to consider the implications of anthropocentrism in studies of sovereignty.[28] In thinking about the wrongs of colonialism and its mark upon migration in parallel with present day developments in the privatization of space travel and human ambitions to colonize other planets, I prompt readers to critically consider prevailing postcolonial discourse as well as its application to ostensibly humanistic and universal aspirations.[29] The lack of attention to present developments in the politics and economics of space travel, the next frontier for human settlement and sovereignty experiments in the national area, is perhaps what should be considered astonishing and meriting more attention from scholars. Aliens and space colonization and the wrongs of settlement and colonialism may not be too distant from each other after all.

I have attempted to utilize creative narrative techniques in order to advance a fairly modest claim: that, to understand how colonialism affected and effected migration in the past and how these forces are replicated and transformed vis-à-vis migration injustices in the present, we must look beyond binaries and pay attention to interconnectedness and how we are still trapped in the frameworks we are trying to move beyond. Only by doing so will we be able to anticipate how such dynamics may continue in the future and thus perceive the contours of the task at hand in order to truly do the

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[27] Hannah Arendt, "The Conquest of Space and the Stature of Man," in *Between Past and Future.* New York: Penguin Books (2006) [originally published in 1963].

[28] Alexander Wendt & Raymond Duvall, Sovereignty and the UFO. *Political Theory*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Aug., 2008), 607-633.

[29] Recent scholarly discussions on the ethical implications of space travel, in contrast, have focused on human relations with extraterrestrial life forms. See Ben Sachs, Humans, aliens and the big ethical questions. *Astronomy & Geophysics,* Vol. 59, Issue 3 (June 2018), pp. 3.41-3.42.

work of decolonizing through migration as well as migration itself. Reflecting on the natural evolution of this project towards the form in which it is presented here, I wonder whether political theorists may be particularly well positioned to engage in this type of reconstructive work, leveraging the insights and interventions in other fields and bringing them together to consider how they implicate or unsettle how we pose and answer political questions, such as those relating to migration and sovereignty and justice. Perhaps this might also be political theory's strength—to center the normative and theoretical when approaching a particular story, and to serve as a node between different academic disciplines, connecting insights and material thematically such that political phenomena may be better articulated, understood, and addressed.

III. Essay

[starts on the next page]

The Ethics of Space Travel

Michelle Ha

I

1.

1905, spring.

1,033 Koreans sail across the Pacific Ocean to work as indentured laborers on Mexico's henequén haciendas, dreaming of a better life.

1910, spring.

Their fixed-term labor contracts terminate, the same year the Mexican Revolution erupts and Japan formally annexes Korea as a colony.

2.

1987, winter.

An aerospace engineer woos an aspiring writer by declaring to her:

"You and I, we're not so different after all. Engineers need the imagination of writers. What you dream through stories, we turn into reality.

You dream. I will turn it into reality."

(Or something like that. They were speaking Korean. This is my best translation.)

1988, spring.

They get married. They move from South Korea to the United States, where they have two children: me, and then my brother, both natural-born U.S. citizens.

3.

2019, summer.

My dream is to recover the largely forgotten history of Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico in the early twentieth century. I quit my job as a corporate lawyer to pursue this dream, demolishing my parents' dreams for a stable financial future.

2020, spring.

I receive a grant to conduct in-country research. I make plans to arrive in Mexico by 2020, fall. This dream is dashed a few months before my planned departure, when international travel is suspended due to the global pandemic.

4.

2020, spring.

SpaceX launches Crew Dragon Endeavor to the International Space Station in partnership with NASA, the first American flight with American astronauts launched from American soil using American equipment in nearly a decade. It is hailed as a glimmer of hope for humanity during a bleak news cycle dominated by COVID-19. Elon Musk calls it “a dream come true.”

2020, summer.

Dragon Endeavor returns from a successful mission, splashing into the Gulf of Mexico.

II

Elon Musk dreams of "making humanity multiplanetary," a "spacefaring civilization." He tweets that he's aiming to launch the first spaceships to Mars by 2022.

***

My dad was always thinking about the stars and distant planets as a kid. His childhood dream was to work for NASA. During the sixties, the air was buzzing with excitement over the Apollo program and man's flight to the moon. Even in my dad's hometown, a small city at the southern tip of the Korean Peninsula, John F. Kennedy's charisma floated across the airwaves through the house my dad's truck driver father built from the ground up.

Both Koreas were poor back then. My grandparents were from farming families in the Korean countryside, married as the frontlines of the cold war shifted to their small nation, still adjusting to its newfound independence from Japanese colonial rule, now divided between the Soviet- and Chinese-backed North and U.S.-backed South. During what should have been their honeymoon period, military vehicles rolled into town, snatched the able-bodied men from their homes, and sent them off to fight the Reds. My grandfather was placed in an ordnance unit based on his experience driving trucks, transporting arms and ammunition. He recounted to my dad that, at one point, his unit pushed past the 38th parallel into present-day North Korea.

My dad grew up grateful for everything he had, even his capacity to dream.

"Your grandparents had no life," he tells me. "They were just trying to live."

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Sanity bike rides become a ritual during the lockdown in the spring of COVID-19. I adopt Jackson Park, a few blocks from my apartment, as my steady haunt.

I pedal through what were once the grounds for the 1893 World Columbian Exposition, commemorating the 400th anniversary of Columbus "discovering" the Americas. I finished *The Devil in the White City* before moving to Chicago, mesmerized by the serial killer plotline, and was unprepared for Chicago's obsession with the World's Fair itself. I was struck by how central this event was to Chicago's self-presentation. Its former glory from over a century ago, when it beat New York to clench the honor of hosting the exposition, was brought up everywhere: on the double-decker bus tour through Hyde Park and the Loop during orientation for my graduate program; the architectural boat tour on the Chicago River, a must for any visitor to the Windy City; and even the Joffrey Ballet production of the Nutcracker over the holidays. World's Fair, World's Fair, World's Fair, like an uncle waxing nostalgic about his high school varsity championship game at every family gathering.

I bike circles around the park, making a pit stop at the southern entrance of the Museum of Science and Industry, housed in what was once the Palace of Fine Arts, the only building from the Fair still standing on these grounds. There, behind my mask, I watch masked passersby with their dogs and observe the lagoon ripple against the concrete steps. Parts of the Japanese garden, on the site of the Japanese delegation's

exhibit at the Fair, are visible from this vantage point. The Midway Plaisance is not—the same Midway where the "barbarous" and "exotic races" played by "real imported natives" were showcased during the Fair, punctuating the whiteness within the walls of the White City against which Ida B. Wells and Frederick Douglass wrote *The Reason Why the Colored American is Not in the World's Columbian Exhibition*; the Midway dividing the safe from the dangerous and the rich from the poor and the white from the Black areas I was cautioned not to venture south of by well-meaning people.

I head to the path by Lake Michigan, across from the Lakefront Trail, which is closed due to the pandemic along with all of the Lake's beaches. Pedaling south towards 63rd Street Beach, if I go during the right time of day when the skies are clear and the light hits the water just so, the colors remind me of the pictures I have seen of Puerto Progreso, off the Gulf of Mexico. Sometimes I can trick myself into thinking that's where I'm headed, by focusing on the farthest point and cropping out what looks like an oilrig on the horizon.

***

In April, 1905, 1,033 Koreans sailed across the Pacific Ocean to Mexico aboard the S.S. Ilford. After the month-long boat journey, they disembarked in Puerto de Salina Cruz on the Oaxacan coast and boarded a train to the northern port city of Coatzalcoalcos. There, they transferred to another ship setting forth to Puerto Progreso, off the Gulf of Mexico, and were then transported inland to Mérida, Mexico's White City, the capital of Yucatán State. Upon arrival, they were divided among twenty-two henequén plantations.

A member of the agave family, henequén has leaves resembling gray-green swords lined with thorns, reaching towards the sky from a pineapple-like base, called the piña. They can grow up to six feet tall and are native to the Yucatán region. The Maya traditionally used fibers extracted from these plants to weave textiles, baskets, and rope.

U.S. manufacturers started using henequén fiber to make binder twine, an essential product for industrializing agriculture in the Midwest beginning in the late nineteenth century, the first American Gilded Age. Up until the 1830s, most U.S. farmers had used sickles and scythes to harvest crops by hand. The most significant innovation to these tools was the addition of a wooden cradle to the scythe, which gathered the stalks of grains together so they could be more easily bound into sheaves. The invention of automatic harvesting machines was a game changer for farming, lowering labor costs while dramatically increasing output: just one reaper could harvest as much grain as twenty men working with sickles, five with cradled scythes.

Two of the earliest reaper models were independently developed by the McCormick and Deering companies. They started replacing sickles and scythes and were progressively improved: a rake attachment added to neatly sweep the grains, a binder mount introduced to automate the process of binding grains into sheaves—jobs that used to require extra sets of hands.

The first binders used wire, but farmers complained about finding wire bits in animal feed and the wheat they were sending to the flour mills. Switching from wire to twine solved these problems and raised the demand for twine exponentially. By 1900, five years before the Koreans arrived in Mexico, Yucatecan henequén fibers comprised

85 percent of the world's binder twine market. More than 90 percent of Yucatán's henequén fibers was purchased by suppliers in the United States. The Yucatán region was gradually transformed into a henequén monocrop economy, and henequén became known as el oro verde, Yucatán's green gold. Thus began Yucatán's own Gilded Age.

The Koreans toiled in the henequén fields alongside the Maya, whose land and labor had been exploited by Spanish colonizers beginning centuries prior, under conditions many consider virtual slavery. The Koreans and the Maya worked by hand, using machetes to hack henequén leaves from their spikey pineapple trunks, blade by blade, thorns gashing human skin. The harvested henequén blades were carted off to the desfibradoras on the plantations, where they were crushed, fibers extracted, hung to dry, then shipped up north as raw material to U.S. cordage companies, like the Plymouth Cordage Company in Plymouth, Massachusetts. There, the fibers were spun into twine and sent to the Midwest to be used in the binders, which were used on the reapers, which were used to harvest wheat that would be milled into flour and baked into bread to feed everyday Americans.

The henequén fibers binding the Koreans who sailed across the Pacific Ocean to Mexico thus ran through the Yucatán's Maya ruins, winding around European colonial estates, wandering deep into the farmlands of the Midwest by way of factories built on the site of the first Mayflower colony, and brushed against the dining tables of ordinary people.

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During my weekly trips to Open Produce, the neighborhood grocery store, I wonder about the dreams that launched movements, hidden in my canvas tote-haul of consumables—milk from Fairbury, Illinois, Wisconsin cheese curds, El Milagro tortillas.

***

When I was around ten years old, my dad came back from an aerospace conference in Tokyo bearing gifts: packets of astronaut food for me, a Lego space shuttle set for my brother.

The astronaut food was freeze-dried ice cream. It was chalky on the tongue, but delicious to the imagination: to dream of a world in which food was flavored differently out of necessity, in support of exploratory missions on behalf of the human race. Humanity's survival on your shoulders, an adventure of unprecedented proportions—the galaxy as a wide, open space waiting to be discovered.

***

An Anglophone philosopher describes colonization as settlement, the story of the human species. People cross land and sea to build lives, to escape danger, in search of places to call home.

This philosopher distinguishes colonization from colonialism. Colonization is settling an empty land. Colonialism "subjugates the existing population for the benefit of the invaders."

I can't think of examples of people settling a truly empty land—when settlement wasn't invasion. Another Anglophone philosopher says this was only the case for Bermuda before 1609. We just use terms like 'discovery' and 'exploration' so we can pretend otherwise.

***

I enroll in an intensive Yucatec Maya summer language course, six hours a day via Zoom, while I wait for the grant foundation to decide whether they will green light travel clearance to Mexico.

On the first day of class, the head professor thanks our small group, all students at U.S. universities, for signing up to learn his maternal tongue. Without sustained interest in keeping the language alive, he predicts that Mayan will disappear within the next fifty years, with my generation.

I feel embarrassed as I revise my old thesis drafts, correcting each instance I used Mayan instead of Maya to refer to people.

The main language of instruction is Castilian Spanish. I am learning Spanish at the same time as Yucatec Maya, filling in the gaps between the scaffolding of my formal, structured language education, which ended in high school, and the words and phrases I intermittently picked up over the years from mini courses like "Spanish for Public Interest Lawyers" and a research stint in Spain.

Wo', pitahaya, dragon fruit.

Soots', murciélago, bat.

Ts'a'ay, colmillo, fang.

Xíik', axila, armpit.

The need to use Spanish to learn Mayan is a constant reminder of the history and violence of colonialism in the region. We learn that, starting in the 1500s, Spanish conquistadors and Franciscan friars tortured Maya scribes and burned their codices in fear of the anti-colonial, subversive messages the scribes wrote beautifully in glyphs, playing with form with an agility and dexterity the colonizers could not follow. The colonizers mistook Mayan glyphs to be pictographic script like Egyptian hieroglyphs when, in reality, the Mayan writing system had more in common with the phonetic and syllabic blocks of written Korean. Written Mayan today uses a modified Latin alphabet that standardizes and improves upon the colonial typography that was imposed to replace Mayan glyphs, the language of culture and resistance. This is the writing system we are learning.

***

Spanish may signal violence in the context of Mayan history, yet speaking Spanish as a Brown person in the United States can provoke violence, too. The mass shooting at a Walmart in El Paso, and run-of-the-mill tirades to "go back to where you came from," like the "go back to China" yelled at me ten years ago by a car full of drunk college kids, all white men, speeding by as I walked back to my dorm after another late night at the library on our Ivy League campus.

***

The first Koreans to engage in large-scale transpacific migration sailed to the sugar plantations of Hawai'i in 1903, two years before the S.S. Ilford set sail from Korea to Mexico. These Koreans were recruited by the Hawai'ian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA), founded by landholding white settlers who played a significant part in Hawai'i's annexation by the United States.

The HSPA had decided to contract Korean laborers to offset Japanese labor unrest on the plantations and Chinese labor flight from the islands to the U.S. mainland. One HSPA trustee was acquainted with a white businessman who had interests in a Korean gold mine. This businessman had acquired these interests through Horace Allen, a U.S. medical missionary who had gained favor with the Korean monarchy while treating an important government official wounded during an attempted coup.

Allen had been appointed U.S. Minister to Korea in 1897, thanks to another enterprising white man who pulled some strings for Allen in hopes that he would return the favor down the road. That man was David Deshler, whose stepfather was Governor of Ohio and friendly with then-President McKinley due to their shared Ohioan roots. At his stepson Deshler's suggestion, the governor wrote to the president on Allen's behalf, requesting Allen's appointment as Minister to Korea as a "great personal favor."

From his privileged position, Allen counseled the king to award concessions in Korean gold and coal mines, railroads, and water and electricity to various U.S. business contacts. The gold mining contact connected the HSPA with Allen, to whom they pitched the Korean migration venture.

Before immigration laws around the world were solidified into the regime we are familiar with today, where the freedom to leave your country of citizenship is considered a human right, citizens generally needed permission to leave their home countries. States were interested in controlling exit. This was the regime in Korea, a hermit kingdom with closed borders, without an organized government office dedicated to immigration. Royal approval of citizens' departure was key, so Allen convinced the king to permit emigration by promoting migration as one of national pride and glory. He informed the king that people from China were banned from entering the United States by an act of U.S. Congress, while Koreans were being courted because they were considered a superior race.

The king ate it up. Exit permission secured, Allen helped set up Korea's first emigration bureau, modeled on Japan's. He also repaid Deshler in kind, granting him a stake in the Korean emigration concession. Contract labor migration had recently been banned in the United States due to labor union pressure to restrict foreign competition. The interpreters contracted to sail with the first boat of Korean migrants in 1903 were

thus coached to lie to Hawai'ian immigration authorities that the Koreans were entering as free laborers, without indenture contracts offered by the sugar plantation owners prior.

Allen's scheme was successful. Within three years, the number of Korean immigrants in Hawai'i reached more than seven thousand. Word spread in Korea that Hawai'i was a paradise on earth, where one could escape Korea's harsh winters and get rich quickly through perseverance and hard work. Pictures of the tropical islands circulated in Korea and were imprinted in the Korean imaginary.

***

The McCormick and Deering companies of automatic reaper fame eventually merged to form the International Harvester Company (IHC) in 1902, the same year the Chinese Exclusion Act was made permanent in the United States and the sails were being hoisted for Korean indentured labor migration to Hawai'i, with Allen at the helm.

The IHC merger was financed by the same J.P. Morgan of U.S. Steel and General Electric merger fame, during what economic historians call the Great Merger Movement, laying the foundation for the development of the modern business corporation. This fueled the rise of auxiliary legal and consulting services, too—including the big corporate law firm where I worked as a junior capital markets and leveraged finance associate, one of the oldest law firms in the United States, whose named partners include Davis from John W. Davis, a former U.S. Solicitor General, Presidential Candidate, and Ambassador. He is perhaps best known for arguing on behalf of the southern states on the losing side of *Briggs v. Elliott*, one of the cases combined into *Brown v. Board of Education*, which we never spoke about within our Midtown offices by Grand Central Station.

A few months after I left to work on my research project, a former M&A associate filed a lawsuit against the firm. He had been a few years above me, the only Black associate in his entering class. His legal complaint alleged wrongful termination as retaliation for reporting racial discrimination within the white-shoe law firm.

***

My dad's dreams of exploring space were buoyed by my grandfather's booming business that rode the waves of South Korea's rapid post-war economic development. After returning from the war, despite his middle school education, my grandfather graduated from driving trucks to owning microbuses that were later expanded into the city's first municipal public transportation system. He became a shareholder in the corporation, and the dividends he received allowed my dad to focus on his studies and ace the national university entrance exam.

My dad moved north to Seoul and entered the aerospace engineering faculty at the top university in South Korea, but he didn't stop there. His next stop would be the United States, where he planned to launch his career with NASA all the way to the Earth's atmosphere and beyond.

In the end, my dad didn't make it to NASA, but his father's money brought him close: a doctoral degree from the United States with cutting-edge research experience in areas untouched by Korean academics, funded by Boeing. And my dad's pursuit of his dreams enabled my own: giving me the freedom to leave a lucrative career and move to

Chicago, where I am comfortably stuck during a global health pandemic, quietly researching the history of Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico and learning Yucatec Maya before I hopefully travel to the Yucatán Peninsula, all with grant money from the U.S. Government I received thanks to my U.S. citizenship.

***

These days, many Koreans are unfamiliar with the story of Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico. It was well known among my grandparents' generation, but the story they know says Koreans were tricked and sold into slavery on Mexico's sugar plantations by Japan or some other, white, colonizer.

This story's not right, but it doesn't seem exactly wrong, either. When I received my first law firm bonus, I told my grandmother I would take her on a trip to a warm place that winter. She suggested Hawai'i. I was surprised, since she had turned down my offer to fly her out to Madrid the year before, when I was spending a research term there. She's said the long flight would be too difficult for her, but flights from Seoul to Honolulu were even longer.

I brought this up with my mom while planning the Hawai'i trip, puzzled. She understood. She told me Hawai'i held a special place in the Korean cultural imaginary as an earthly paradise. It made sense that my grandmother would want to visit during her remaining time on this Earth, to step foot on its shores before parting, even if the journey there would be excruciating, possibly even her last. Spain held no such power.

Mexico, too, was largely unknown to Koreans of her generation and those before, too unfamiliar to even fantasize about. When Yucatecan hacendados needed more workers in the fields to keep up with increasing U.S. demand for henequén fiber, they hired a British labor recruiter to enlist Asian laborers willing to take a leap of faith and travel to a hitherto unknown land, dreaming of building a better life.

The British labor recruiter went to China and Japan first, only to be turned away by both. China and Japan had longer histories of transpacific indentured labor migration. They were aware that Asian coolies were subjected to slave-like treatment on the plantations, which tarnished their reputations abroad.

So the British labor recruiter turned to Korea. How do you persuade 1,033 people with strong ancestral ties to their homeland and a Confucian belief system grounding them in tradition to move to an alien territory more than ten thousand miles away? By appealing to familiar fantasies.

The British labor recruiter, on behalf of the settler colonial plantation owners, contracted the services of the Continental Colonization Company, a Japanese corporate entity in Korea, to place hiring ads in local newspapers. The ads compared Mexico, an unknown land, to the United States, a known one:

> "In North America, Mexico is a country equal to the United States in wealth and civilization, where the land and water are good, the weather is warm, and there is no typhus virus."

> "Mexico in North America is a highly civilized and wealthy country, comparing favorably with the United States and famous for its mild climate, like an earthly paradise, without any disease."

During a time when thousands were sending good news regarding the wages and weather from Hawai'i, it seems plausible that the Koreans dreamed of Hawai'i while reading these ads for contract work in Mexico. From how I understand the record, that was the point.

But the ads do not make fair comparisons. The tropical climate of the Yucatán Peninsula is harsher than that of more temperate Hawai'i, whose fertile earth is typically comprised of basaltic lava and volcanic ash. Yucatán's ecology is based on water-soluble limestone bedrock and marked by underground rivers and water-filled sinkholes called cenotes, from the Mayan ts'ono'ot, considered sacred sites. The Yucatán Peninsula's nutrient-poor, thin soil is generally inhospitable for intensive agriculture without resorting to the Maya's traditional slash and burn farming techniques. Henequén is a hardy, unwieldy plant that thrives in these conditions.

The Koreans who left for Mexico may have been dreaming of fields of grassy sugarcane stalks in the image of the verdant rice paddies of their homeland. They would have been confronted with the task of reaping rows of towering, spikey henequén sheaths from their stubborn, prickly stumps in the intense heat and humidity marking the region's impending hurricane season.

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Thunderstorms cause electricity cuts in Sucopo, Tizimín, where the head Yucatec Maya teacher lives. He has to move to his daughter's friend's house in a neighboring village in order to log back onto Zoom and continue classes.

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My small group teacher is absent one day, so I join the head teacher's section. I ask him where she went, and he says her son had started exhibiting flu-like symptoms. She had to rush him to the nearest community with a hospital that isn't overflowing, which is hours away.

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By April, 1905, 1,033 Korean men, women, and children had signed up to sail to Mexico. One month after departure, 1,031 arrived. Two boys died along the way.

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If colonization *is* settlement, there shouldn't be any disagreement in the scientific community over what to call human ambitions in space. Yet Neil deGrasse Tyson calls it space colonization. Bill Nye calls it space settlement.

I say we call it space colonialism if it "subjugates the existing population for the benefit of the invaders," following the Anglophone philosopher's taxonomy—with one clarification.

Old school colonialism looked like colonizers traversing land and sea and dominating those in their paths along the way. However, the terms "existing population" and "invaders" as applied to space colonialism exceed a state-centric analysis in our futuristic present. Capital in the hands of white men moved people across the Pacific Ocean, from one peninsula to another, between two countries with no diplomatic relations with each other. We miss these invisible forces by focusing on what seems immediately obvious, what international law makes visible: sending and receiving states, metropoles and colonies.

Poor and working class labor and capital is extracted by those in power and funneled into plans to forge new frontiers in outer space. It's not just about searching for intelligent nonhuman life. Space colonialism can also look like this: Earth-bound people subjugated for the benefit of those with the resources to invade other stars, planets, and galaxies, the ones we know of and the ones yet to be discovered.

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IHC, born from the Deering and McCormick merger, contracted with the export house and corporate extension of Olegario Molina, Yucatán's Governor and head of the region's henequén oligarchy, to secure a reliable supply of henequén fiber at a stable price. With the trade in substitute fibers from Manila disrupted by U.S. colonial struggles in the Philippines at the turn of the century—namely, the Spanish-American War followed by the Philippine Revolution and the Philippine-American War—maintaining reliable access to henequén fibers was imperative for U.S. agricultural interests. IHC provided Molina with the capital infusion he needed to amass a monopoly on henequén production through placing liens on the fiber produced by Yucatán's smaller producers. Molina also procured Yucatecan infrastructural concessions, thereby gaining control over key inputs like transportation and water.

A European settler corporation in Mexico, financed by a European settler corporation in the United States, gains control over the Yucatán Peninsula's natural resources, extracting life and labor from the Maya, the indigenous inhabitants of the land. European settler corporate interests in the United States, facilitated by European settler political brokers in the Korean Peninsula, gain control over some of the Korean Peninsula's natural resources, in competition with Japanese colonizers attempting to convert the Korean nation into a colony. Given these structural similarities, colonialism, settler colonialism, and imperialism don't seem to be fundamentally different from each other. Perhaps, rather than type, their categorization is a matter of time, circumstance, and degree.

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In the mid-nineteenth century, before rich white men orchestrated Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico and Hawai'i, Korea was a hermit kingdom, choosing an isolationist policy and closing its borders against the appetites of several

competing powers. It was the last in East Asia to be opened by Western states. In the 1860s, the French launched a punitive expedition against Korea for executing several French Catholic missionaries who had likely illegally crossed into Korea from China or the Yellow Sea. The Korean Kingdom was on edge after China's defeat by the West in the Opium Wars, and fearful of possible religious rebellions against its fragile monarchy. France largely retreated from the region after this episode, but others came in. Russian ships advanced into the Korean coastland, demanding that Korea open its seaports to trade and permit Russian consuls to install themselves inland. The United States sent warships to Korea in 1871 over a missed apology resulting from a miscommunication regarding U.S. vessels sailing on the Han River. This was in contravention of Korean law, but the United States wanted political and economic access. It claimed it was just trying to negotiate.

In the end, Japan was the one to succeed in enacting the imperial script of gunboat diplomacy it had been subjected to by the West earlier in its own history. Imperial Japan forced Korea to sign the Treaty of Ganghwa in 1876, which allowed Japan to install consuls and vessels by Korea's ports, which laid the first step towards Japan's full annexation of the Korean Peninsula in 1910.

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NASA, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Roscosmos, the Roscosmos State Corporation for State Activities. JAXA, the Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency. ESA, the European Space Agency. CSA, the Canadian Space Agency. All of the major national space programs with stakes in the International Space Station belong to former colonial and settler colonial states and empires. The International Space Station itself is cleaved along cold war lines: between ROS and USOS, the Russian and U.S. Orbital Segments. Like the 38th parallel dividing present-day North and South Korea and the north-south division during the Vietnam War.

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We read an excerpt from Pablo Neruda's posthumous poetry collection, El Libro de las Preguntas, in an online creative writing workshop on speculating futures. I love the excerpted poem, which meditates on the nature of space travel in a collection reflecting on the most salient political questions during Neruda's time, including colonialism and the Vietnam War.

But I hate the English translation. The Anglophone translator intrudes too much when transmuting Neruda's Spanish into English, riding roughshod over the original's deceptively simple yet subtle lines, carefully curated to create an open space for conjecture and wonder. The English renders them a series of flat, rhetorical statements.

I find out about a Korean translation of the collection by a South Korean poet. My dad mails me a copy from South Korea. I eagerly flip through it only to find, to my dismay, that the Korean poet has used the English translation as his original, presumably because he himself does not speak Spanish.

English is powerful, as well as those who wield it. Its power as the medium of knowledge and communication overwhelms. I can see this palpably in the Korean

translation. It is too faithful to, too reliant on, the English translation. So carefully does the Korean poet hew to the English rendition, the resulting Korean is clumsy, tripping over itself, even in its own linguistic register.

I start playing with my own drafts. I ask a Yucatec Maya classmate, a Hispanic literature doctoral student, for her advice, since I'm not fluent in Spanish. I feel vindicated when she generally agrees with my interpretation of the Spanish original.

This is my best translation—it's not perfect, but it's not wrong, either:

LVII

No será bueno prohibir los besos interplanetarios?	Wouldn't it be good to ban interplanetary kisses?	행성간의 입맞춤을 금하는게 좋지 않을까?
Porqué no analizar las cosas antes de habilitar planetas?	Why not analyze things before converting planets?	행성을 변환시키기 전 그런걸 왜 분석 안하지?
Y porqué no el ornitorrinco con su espacial indumentaria?	And why not the platypus with its spatial attire?	우주의류 갖춰입은 오리너구리는 왜 안하고?
Las herraduras no se hicieron para caballos de la luna?	Were horseshoes not made for horses of the moon?	말굽은 달의 말을 위해 만들어지지 않았나?

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Yucatáne' colonizarta'an tumen káastelan máako'ob.

Coreae' colonizarta'an tumen Japón.

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When Japan formally colonized Korea in 1910, the same year Mexico was in the throes of revolution, the possibility of return was forclosed for the Koreans in Mexico. Some of the stranded Koreans, without much savings or further in debt with the hacendados, crossed the Caribbean to work on Cuba's sugar plantations. Others attempted to enter the United States but were rejected at the border. Many settled in Mexico, intermarrying with the Maya with whom they had worked on the henequén haciendas side-by-side, blending families and cultures.

The history of this migration and the Korean-Maya hybrid identity of its descendants are celebrated by both South Korea and Mexico today: South Korea, in claiming its diasporic communities abroad, and Mexico, in celebrating its multicultural heritage. In 2019, 114 years after the first Koreans arrived in Mexico, Mexico proclaimed May 4 El Día del Inmigrante Coreano. The South Korean government provides birth right-like trips for Mexicans of Korean heritage to visit South Korea and learn the Korean language and about Korean culture.

But this bilateral focus creates its own violence and erasures. Perhaps the most popular account of this migration is a work of historical fiction by a prominent Korean writer. His imagination blows human life into a story whose retelling has been complicated by a fragmented archive, with parts missing and others scattered across languages and borders. However, the Maya characters in his story, integral to this history, are reduced to vehicles or adversaries without the faculty of speech, unintelligent and unintelligible. We see the same dynamics at play in a different telling of the history through film, which came out a few years before that book. It also centers on a nationalistic tale of Korean liberation and resistance in which the Maya are rendered mute, mere accessories to power.

What's missing from these bilateral accounts is the shared struggles, the forces that link genocide and subjugation of Indigenous peoples with enslavement of those with darker skin and unfree indentured labor movements by those who are lighter, but nonetheless alien: the transnational capitalist forces of colonialism and empire, which continue in a new guise and projects into the future.

We don't know what we don't know. It is difficult for Koreans to reach Spanish, let alone Yucatec Maya, without relying on Anglophone intermediaries. The world is structured that way, further augmenting the power that already crushes so much in its wake. This dynamic has consequences, limiting and destroying cultures, histories, and worlds. We need to find ways to communicate directly, unmediated by colonial language and modes of thinking.

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Koreans refer to this historical migration to Mexico as well as the migrants themselves as 애니깽—aenikkaeng, the Korean transliteration of the Spanish henequén. My Spanish-Mayan dictionary notes that the Mayan name for the henequén plant is kij.

The origin of the term "henequén" is disputed. Some sources say that European colonizers mistakenly took a Mayan word for clothes or cloth, something like "nequen," for the plant itself, but my Yucatec Maya teachers say there is no such word in the Mayan lexicon. They venture it might be Antillean in origin, like many words that have been incorrectly Hispanicized over the course of colonial history.

These mistranslations create confusion in the historical and academic record, which could have been avoided by paying careful attention to the Mayan terms. Kij refers to the agave plant in English, and the Maya differentiated between many varieties:

Sak kij, henequén blanco, white agave.

Ya'ax kij, henequén verde, green agave.

Kitam kij, henequén jabalí, wild boar agave.

Báab kij, henequén nadador, swimmer agave.

Some scholarly accounts use the name sisal to refer to agave fourcroydes, the scientific name of sak kij, Yucatán's green gold. This is in following the archival sources

themselves, including the internal communications of IHC regarding the fibers trade. But there is a separate plant called agave sisalana, what I think is ya'ax kij, which is distinct from agave fourcroydes. Some historians surmise that white traders may have misnamed sak kij, agave fourcroydes, as sisal, after the port of Sisal off the Gulf of Mexico, where the fibers were exported. There are accounts of white settler colonial hopefuls trying to cultivate sisal, not henequén, in Florida. The database managed by the USDA's Natural Resources Conservation Service provides support for this hypothesis. A search for agave sisalana pops up a map of the United States with the state of Florida colored in blue, signifying that this plant, introduced rather than native to the region, can still be found there. Agave fourcroydes, on the other hand, comes up blank.

Sisal might harbor its own human migration stories that have yet to be brought to light, one that draws the fibers trade closer to the Caribbean, the thick traffic of people and commodities to and from its white settler plantation economies—the genocide of Indigenous peoples, the transatlantic trade in enslaved peoples, then the imported indentured labor of alien peoples, among others.

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An Anglophone political economist analogizes the history of the hard fibers trade to rides on a Ferris Wheel, an invention first introduced at the 1893 World's Fair. In his account, Russian hemp hopped onto the Ferris Wheel first, with Manilan abaca following, and Yucatecan henequén after that. Efforts to cultivate fibrous plants in Louisiana also make an appearance. Tracing this history from its first ride reveals its early colonial roots, starting with the use of fibers to make shipping cordage for colonial maritime vessels.

I think international migration can be visualized in the same way, as a Ferris Wheel. Humans are always moving, so the Ferris Wheel is continuously in motion, but the carriage rules are changed from time to time by the powers that be. During the early colonial period, rich Europeans hopped onto the Ferris Wheel freely as they explored the world, invading, colonizing, and settling the land occupied by First Nation Peoples. Black people were enslaved and forced into the cars, and when slavery was formally legislated off the books, Brown and Yellow people were brought on under contracts of indenture, seemingly as freemen, although labor relations and conditions had not changed as dramatically as the new legal designation suggested.

As international immigration law hardened around a state's right to decide who comes in, the rules to ride changed yet again. Paradoxically, questions started to arise as to whether the Brown and Yellow free labor that was imported to replace Black enslaved labor were capable and worthy of citizenship as free men within a free country. Racial quotas, bans, and other restrictions based on public health and national security were introduced into domestic policy. In the U.S. context, these looked like Chinese exclusion, and later the politics of the Bracero Program, the Muslim ban, and family separation of asylum-seekers at the border. At the same time, the EB-5 Immigrant Investor Program continues to grant green cards to rich foreigners who can make qualifying business and real estate investments in the United States, an opportunity repeatedly extended since its enactment in 1990. The terms and conditions may differ but the dynamics are the same, reflecting the will to solidify, maintain, and project power into the future.

Race and color are certainly significant in who gets to ride the Ferris Wheel of mobility: freedom of movement is largely a white privilege. But money lightens, too. If you're rich, you can afford the visa fees, produce the paperwork demonstrating sizeable savings, which prove you are unlikely to become a public charge in your host country. You breeze through the entry procedures of most foreign countries—your right to enter is nearly unfettered. You can also invest in corporate ventures and purchase real estate in countries with golden visa programs, which provide residency with a path to citizenship if you meet their investment thresholds. With the privatization of space flight, you will have the chance to escape the global health pandemic-ridden, climate change-precarious, structurally violent, racist, and flawed human societies on Planet Earth and fly to new human settlements on the Moon and Mars, if you have several million dollars to spare.

It might be appealing to think of decolonization as rolling things back, but revising the colonial past requires more than simply running the Ferris Wheel backwards, in the opposite direction. It is impossible to turn back time, to rewind the changes history has wrought upon the current landscape. Fixing the system to bend towards the arc of justice requires changing the carriage rules starting now, going forward, across the board.

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I head to Open Produce to borrow the communal bike pump for my flat tire. A young Black man wearing a facemask and a NASA t-shirt is supervising the lines forming outside of the store to ensure people abide by social distancing guidelines. When I tell him I'm just here to use the pump, he kindly grabs it from the store for me so I don't have to wait in the growing line.

I wonder if he wears his NASA t-shirt because he dreams of space travel, to escape this dumpster fire on Earth. I think about him when Mayor Lightfoot announces that the Columbus statue in Grant Park will be temporarily removed. Activists had been violently attacked and teargassed by police while attempting to tear the Columbus statue down, at the heels of an earlier, peaceful Black Lives Matter and First Nations solidarity rally by Buckingham Fountain organized by Chicago-area youth.

I didn't know there was a Columbus statue in Grant Park to begin with. This is possibly a mark of my privilege—the ability to live blissfully unaware of certain colonial symbols that dot the landscape, hiding in plain sight. I understand as an intellectual matter that life on this planet is unbearable for some, overflowing with excess for others, and why, in this context, space travel promises a better, or at least different, future—asylum from the present injustices that are structurally embedded in our world, perhaps already too deeply, past the point of no return. I can see how the futurism of space travel brings hope, and may be necessary for survival.

But I am still troubled by it. Can our dreams but be mediated, articulated, structured by the mechanisms and language of hegemony, a power that crushes everything through and around it? Is the solution or alternative to the wrongs of colonialism really to further colonize space?

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When the Lakefront Trail reopens, my new sanity bike route starts in Hyde Park and goes to the Riverwalk and back, about eight miles each way. I head north from Promontory Point, passing McCormick Place of McCormick reaper fame, the largest convention center in North America, on my left. Adler Planetarium, at the tip of Northerly Island jutting out into Lake Michigan, shows up on my right. When the stars align, providing the perfect light conditions, I daresay it faintly resembles the Maya temple perched atop the Caribbean's coastal cliffs in the Tulum of my dreams.

From Museum Campus, I take a left towards the Field Museum, which houses many of the original artifacts from the 1893 World's Fair. I make another left to get to where the Columbus statue used to be. The base is all that's left, draped in torn plastic sheeting, surrounded by fences, tagged with a NO LOITERING NO TRESPASSING sign. I don't know what the statue looked like before, so I don't perceive anything in particular to be missing.

I then bike up Michigan Avenue towards the Loop, stopping at the Art Institute of Chicago, housed in what was the World's Congress Building during the Fair. It has recently reopened after its prolonged shutdown due to COVID-19. Today is the last free museum visit day for Illinois residents who snagged tickets in advance.

I think of the Deering Family Galleries at the Art Institute and the exquisite medieval and Renaissance altarpieces, jewelry, arms and armor displayed within—what used to be part of the Deering dynasty's private collection, purchased with the kind of money those who labored in Mexico's henequén fields never got to see.

Liquidating those assets might net us enough to send the man in the NASA t-shirt to space. But for the countless others yearning for a decolonized future, all of the Fair's relics in the whole City of Chicago won't be enough. A universal decolonial movement will require taking stock of racial capitalism and migration on a galactic, planetary scale.

III

4.

2020, summer.

The United Arab Emirates launches an unmanned Mars mission from Japan on a Japanese rocket, the first interplanetary mission in the Arab world, joining the U.S. and Chinese Mars missions launched earlier in the summer. All are scheduled to reach Mars by 2021, winter.

5.

2020, summer.

I ask my small group teacher about Mayan names during an elective cultural study session. She says that generally people in the Maya community still have Spanish names, but recently there has been a movement to bring Mayan names back. She is part of that movement. She named her son Itsam.

IV. Analysis

1. Migration theory's colonial trappings

The blunt reflections regarding language, translation, and power in my essay are my attempts to grapple with the ways in which the terms and frameworks we use to formulate and work through issues matter. They might inadvertently lead us astray or serve to further the harms we seek to diagnose and treat. They could also otherwise occlude alternatives by boxing us into certain interpretations and judgments regarding the matter at hand.

In this section, I will analyze the frameworks and arguments drawn from recent Anglophone publications dealing with migration issues within disciplinary political theory, legal studies, and political philosophy. These accounts aim to unsettle a dominant liberal framework structuring migration debates in our present by bridging analytical political theory and postcolonial theory,[30] confronting the implications of a historically and empirically contextual account of migration and sovereignty within international law,[31] and decolonizing the terms, methods, and frameworks used in political philosophy to theorize migration.[32] Applying them against the findings from my case study, attending to how each account formulates the problem and the critique, will show how even frameworks with a self-professed postcolonial/decolonial orientation may continue to engage in the types of discourse they are striving to correct—by theorizing colonial migration within the binary frame of sending and receiving countries, metropoles and colonies, and by excluding or ignoring Asian colonial and migration history. I will show

[30] Amighetti & Nuti, 557; Ypi et. al., 103.
[31] Achiume, 1519.
[32] Jaggar, 88.

how the Asian experience itself figures into (or is absent from) the theory and is connected to this deficiency.

i. Politics: "A Nation's Right to Exclude and the Colonies" & "Associative Duties, Global Justice, and the Colonies"

In "A Nation's Right to Exclude and the Colonies," political theorists Amighetti and Nuti contend that the same identity-based framework liberal nationalists use to argue for restricting non-members from freely entering a nation can be harnessed to justify a stance against such restrictions being placed on a specific category of migrants: those from nations formerly colonized by the receiving nation.[33] Amighetti and Nuti do so by borrowing Edward Said's account of the "intertwined histories" arising from the colonial relationship and applying this insight to the concept of national identity. They argue that "this relation [between former colonial power and ex-colony] is particularly strong and special because of the pervasive cultural impact of colonialism and national identity of the nation receiving its postcolonial migrants and their nation of origin."[34] This move allows them to reason that formerly colonized peoples are an integral part of their former colonizers' national identities such that their exclusion cannot be justified on the basis of a nation's right to preserve and maintain its identity within the liberal nationalist position.

Amighetti and Nuti state that their goal is neither to justify the liberal nationalist defense of a strong right to exclude on identity preservation and self-determination grounds, nor to convince readers that their modified liberal nationalist account holds a

[33] Amighetti and Nuti refer to nation instead of state or civilization in order to emphasize an enduring historical and cultural identity that is not contingent upon political developments in the formal structure in the case of states and is not over-inclusive in the case of civilization (e.g., European civilization encompassing all nations within the EU would be too broad, from their point of view. A postcolonial reading of the concept of nation and its uneasy fit within state borders is another line of inquiry I have set aside for purposes of focusing on the binary framing analysis.

[34] Amighetti & Nuti, 552.

desirable vision for migration justice. Rather, they maintain that their modest aim is to unsettle the politics of a dominant "hostile" position against certain forms of migration by demonstrating that that position's own framework allows for such migration.[35] They claim that their approach is distinct from other reparative and distributive justice accounts in that it focuses on the cultural element of colonialism in addition to its political and economic impact.[36] In addition, they engage in a methodological argument: they offer their account as a case study of "how a mainstream account in analytical political theory can be challenged, while at the same time enriched, by insights from postcolonial theory."[37] They lament the current "state of reciprocal neglect and hostility" between these two fields, and submit that more sustained engagement between political theory and postcolonial theory would be mutually beneficial: offering analytical political theorists with critical insights regarding the complexity of concepts that tend to be reified within analytical discourse, and providing postcolonial theorists with the tools to move beyond criticism and consider the constructive, normative, and policy dimensions of issues with which both fields are concerned.[38]

I agree with Amighetti and Nuti's methodological argument regarding the need for and desirability of such cross-pollination between disciplines. However, I believe their attempt to leverage postcolonial theory within a liberal nationalist framework falls short of delivering upon this collaborative promise. Their account imports the same kinds of reductive understandings they criticize in terms of theorizing colonialism, thereby domesticating the radical implications of their own conceptual move. In other words,

[35] Amighetti & Nuti, 555.
[36] Amighetti & Nuti, 551.
[37] Amighetti & Nuti, 558.
[38] Amighetti & Nuti, 559.

while their attention to a postcolonial account of nation and identity exposes the ahistorical nature of the reified concept of national identity assumed by liberal nationalists, they employ similarly blunt and contingent notions of culture and the colonial experience in their restatement.[39] Specifically, their account assumes too much about colonialism as a political system and its exceptional role in entangling history and identity between nations with formal colonial relations. I believe its orientation that takes European colonialism as the default and relegates the Asian experience outside of a colonial frame constitutes both a cause and effect of this posture. A more nuanced understanding of the cultural dimensions of colonialism applied to the liberal nationalist framework, taken to its logical conclusion, would explode the colonizer/colonized and sending/receiving nation binary Amighetti and Nuti impose within their formulation, delivering an even more pointed critique.

Amighetti and Nuti do not independently provide a definition of colonialism, but they do provide examples of colonial migration, which follows the sending (colony)/receiving (metropole) structure. They note that migration by citizens of previously colonized nations to former colonizer nation-states is a significant part of global migration today, pointing to Indian nationals migrating to the United Kingdom, Algerian nationals to France, and Brazilian nationals to Portugal. They state that the

[39] It is noteworthy that Wendy Brown's landmark critique of disciplinary boundaries and political theory as vocation illustrates political theory's reductive tendency and subsequent "impoverishment" through the particular example of how it has conceived of and used the concept of "culture": "The general intellectual impoverishment of political theory on these developments is apparent in a wide range of topics. For example, an anthropology graduate student remarked in a seminar I recently taught on political theories of tolerance that culture is more reified and less theorized in the work of most contemporary democratic theorists addressing multiculturalism than it was for anthropologists in the nineteenth century. Treated as a kind of primal, transhistorical, and subrational good, assumed to be especially cherished and valued by oppressed minorities, culture is generally counterposed to liberalism and cosmopolitanism, both of which are presumed to be relatively cultureless." Wendy Brown, At the Edge. *Political Theory*, Vol. 30(4) (Aug., 2002), 576.

inclusion of Portugal, a non-wealthy European state, among these examples demonstrate the salience of migration patterns following colonial trajectories, with ex-colonial migrants heading not only to the wealthiest states that were former colonial powers, thereby pushing against the monolithic characterization of such movement as primarily motivated by economic factors.[40]

Extrapolating from these examples shows a focus on European colonial powers and the movement of people from their former colonies. Amighetti and Nuti do not discuss Asian colonialism, but they do use Asian migration in two instances, both of which cast Asian migrants as a counterpoint to the postcolonial migrants described above. The first is in the context of differentiating their approach from preference-based immigration policies that prioritize particular migrant groups on the basis of assimilability.[41] They surmise that, in the context of postcolonial immigration, "Britain could prefer the entrance of migrants from India because the cultural connection and the mastery of the English language generally make the integration of Indians into British society easier than that of, say, Chinese migrants," but they distinguish their account by noting that it asserts a right to enter on behalf of nationals of former colonies "because of the *obligation* that stems from the special and enduring relation that colonialism established between them [emphasis in original]."[42] The second is in response to anticipated criticism that, by privileging colonial history in determining admissions criteria for immigration, their account would have "discriminatory effects against cultural

[40] Amighetti & Nuti, 542.
[41] Amighetti & Nuti, 552.
[42] Amighetti & Nuti, 552-553. Here and in the second example of Japanese nationals, Amighetti and Nuti seem to slide into a reparative or distributive justice kind of mode, as such a justification would undergird the charge of the existence of an obligation towards migrants from ex-colonies. I do not delve into this line of inquiry here, as it is outside of the scope of my focus on binary methodology.

minorities already present within the nation."[43] Amighetti and Nuti consider whether, for example, Britain recognizing Indian nationals' right to enter based on Britain and India's intertwined colonial histories would have expressive consequences on "British nationals with a Japanese culture"; they reject this on the basis that such a policy should be understood as "the fulfilment of an obligation of relational justice in the context of immigration… [that] does not imply that there is a hierarchy of cultural groups within the receiving nation, but only that the former colonizing nation recognizes and acts upon a duty of justice."[44]

While Amighetti and Nuti do not explicitly analyze the framing implicit within their examples, the structure suggests that Chinese and Japanese nationals do not stand in a historical colonial relationship with Britain and (therefore) do not have the degree of cultural interconnection required to trigger an obligation on behalf of the entering nation to grant the right to enter. Thinking beyond the formal, binary relationship of colonialism, the reasoning serving the basis for their argument—that the colonial past intertwines sending and receiving nations' culture such that the ex-colonized are an integral part of and therefore already internal to the ex-colonizing nation's identity—seems to respond just as much to other kinds of hierarchical relationships and cultural co-production that arise outside of a formal colonial relationship; these dynamics are certainly not limited to former colonial powers and their former colonies. Their own account of cultural production from the colonial encounter categorizes two modes: one borrows Albert Memmi and Aimé Césaire's term "thingification," explained as "the progressive de-humanization of the colonized," and they term the second "hybridization," following

[43] Amighetti & Nuti, 556.
[44] Amighetti & Nuti. 556-557.

Homi Bhabha's formulation, "where elements of the native culture were either maintained in new cultural *schemas* or significantly reconceptualized."[45] The forces of empire also operate by way of cultural imperialism, creating relations of subordination and hierarchy between nations that are used and reflected in identity formation. Accepting this wider operation outside of the colonial relationship would broaden the class of nations to whom receiving nations must recognize the right of entry to include a swath of the globe coextensive with the boundaries of imperial force.[46]

Even focusing on the specific example of Asians as outside of the scope of colonial concern due to the generally accepted position that Asia eluded the grasp of European colonialism,[47] a deeper appreciation of Said's analysis as well as closer attention to postcolonial scholarship on the subject of Asian migration demonstrates the problematic nature of Amighetti and Nuti's assumptions. Said's studies of orientalism include the insight that outsiders are constructed to determine the outer bounds of membership within a particular nation, and therefore that the construction of the outsider is critical to the development and narration of national identity/history and undergirds the colonial process.[48] In the U.S. context, the ambiguous status of Asian indentured migrants, originally brought in as a replacement for the labor of enslaved peoples when slavery was gradually being outlawed, was exploited in several ways: at times, the trade in indentured labor was justified on account of the migrants being free agents who autonomously entered into labor contracts; during others, Asian indentured laborers were

[45] Amighetti & Nuti, 546.
[46] Here, Amighetti and Nuti would likely respond that there would need to be an analysis as to harms done so as to trigger an obligation tantamount to that which arises from the colonial relationship. But, again, this is a conceptual move that departs from their original stated position that focuses on the nature of cultural production and identity formation to reform the liberal nationalist understanding of national identity.
[47] See Jenco et. al., which uses the same example from Said.
[48] See Edward Said, *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books (2003).

considered akin to enslaved peoples due to the treatment they received and the conditions under which they labored.[49] This construction of the Asian as other in order to demarcate the outer bounds of U.S. nationhood is emblemized in the Chinese Exclusion cases, in which the U.S. Supreme Court set forth what is now called the plenary power doctrine, interpreting the power to set immigration policy as one properly in the political domain of Congress and through the democratic process, subject to only constrained judicial scrutiny; it was the first case in which a nation's right to control its own borders was articulated as a fundamental part of sovereignty.[50] The fact that Amighetti and Nuti use the figure of the Chinese and the Japanese to connote such an outsider to the nation due to lack of colonial relation that would give rise to their notion of intertwined histories suggests, counter-intuitively, the Chinese and Japanese should also be considered nations with whom the receiving nation's identity is inextricably bound, and therefore entitled to inclusion by way of a right to enter.

Amighetti and Nuti's usage of the figure of the Asian national illustrates how importing an oversimplified version of postcolonial theory's insights on the cultural dimension of colonialism constricts the radical possibilities of one's own thesis. This is illustrative of Amighetti and Nuti's incomplete understanding of the aversion postcolonial theorists harbor towards disciplinary political theory. They note that postcolonial studies is wary of the Enlightenment legacy of analytical political theory, but that wariness is not exhaustive of postcolonial studies' aversion to disciplinary political

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[49] See, e.g. Moon-ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press (2006).

[50] Sarah Song contextualizes this history within a normative theoretical account; see Song, 17-25. For legal histories on U.S. immigration law, see, e.g., Hiroshi Motomura, *Americans in Waiting: The Lost Story of Immigration and Citizenship in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press (2007); Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (2004); and Gerald L. Neuman, *Strangers to the Constitution: Immigrants, Borders, and Fundamental Law*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (1996).

theory. Disciplines that have embraced the postcolonial turn earlier and more thoroughly than political theory are also critical of political theorists' methods of abstract and sometimes reductive reasoning and narrow, detached perspective due to lack of close engagement with texts, subjects, among other features related to its analytical posture.

Amighetti and Nuti's discussion of the role of the novel in the context of national identity formation is one example of this tendency. By taking the terms of Said's postcolonial orientation literally and transposing these terms within an analytical framework, they treat the novel as akin to a treatise, which misses the interpretive work sensitive to cultural specificity that is at the heart of Said's and other literary scholarship.[51] Said writes that novels provide a privileged window through which to examine nineteenth and twentieth century Western empires. He understands the novel as a cultural form that both reflects and supports ideologies of imperial conquest, thereby "contribut[ing] to the formation of imperial attitudes, references, and experiences."[52] Said defines culture as (1) the (often aesthetic) practice encompassing descriptive, communicative, and representational arts and specialized knowledge, as well as (2) a contested space—"a sort of theater"—in which political and ideological causes are put in

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[51] Cf. Said's own analysis: "One of the most difficult truths I discovered in working on this book is how very few of the British or French artists whom I admire took issue with the notion of "subject" or "inferior" races so prevalent among officials who practiced those ideas as a matter of course in ruling India or Algeria. They were widely accepted notions, and they helped fuel the imperial acquisition of territories in Africa throughout the nineteenth century…. Culture conceived in this way can become a protective enclosure…. [The] challenge is to connect [these novels under study]… also with the imperial process of which they were manifestly and unconcealedly a part; rather than condemning or ignoring their participation in what was an unquestioned reality in their societies, I suggest that what we learn about this hitherto ignored aspect actually and truly *enhances* our reading and understanding of them." Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books (1993) [hereinafter Said], xiv.

[52] Said also writes: "The main battle in imperialism is over land, of course; but when it came to who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going, who won it back, and who now plans its future--these issues were reflected, contested, and even for a time decided in narrative." Said, xiii.

dialogue with and tested against each other and are thus further elevated and refined.[53] The novel as an artistic, literary form is a cultural product and novel writing itself is a cultural practice in the first sense, but the narrative and narration within a novel can also be viewed as an account of and within a sphere of cultural contestation (with perhaps commentary or resolution as one of its goals) in the second sense.

Intellectuals in disciplines such as English and comparative literature engage in literary analysis, analyzing the novel's form, characters, grammatical mood, and historical and social references in order to grapple with its (and the novelist's) cultural politics. Approaching the novel as a political treatise—as Amighetti and Nuti write, a political statement with the intent "to narrate the nation"[54]—therefore incorrectly assumes the author has a singular purpose in writing the novel and that there is a monolithic, undisputed interpretation of the novel itself. These assumptions prevent the reader from appreciating the full scope of possibilities within the novel as a text and the complexity of questions and answers an alternative interpretive posture would bring to light.[55]

In fact, the connection between narrative and nation is more oblique and patchworked than the linear relationship Amighetti and Nuti assume. As Said writes: "Nations themselves are narrations. The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them."[56] Said thus points to the importance of

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[53] Ibid. This second sense of culture as a relation is how political theorists generally think of culture as a source of identity.
[54] Amighetti & Nuti, 548.
[55] It also ignores several important fields of thought, such as the psychoanalytic turn in linguistic and literary studies and therefore the contributions of thinkers such as Lacan, Derrida, and Deleuze, whose methods provide tools with which to consider subconscious elements of the author and text that may not be immediately present; and Barthes and Foucault's work on the author function and approaching a text with self-reflexivity, taking into account the distance between the author and reader's interpretive horizons.
[56] Said, xiii.

attending to absences within the canon as well as individual texts in order to understand how power and empire shape narrative possibilities and silences. This means that theorists need to understand these texts are themselves beneficiaries of political hierarchies and power dynamics and thus only provide a partial lens into cultural contestation as a process. In order to truly understand a nation's culture and identity, theorists should not limit themselves to superficially examining novels considered authoritative texts within a literary canon. Leveraging postcolonial insights requires more than a tokenistic gesture towards inclusion within the analytical frame of discourse; efforts to do so must self-reflexively consider the possibility that such an exercise might entail transforming the framework itself.

Amighetti and Nuti's approach toward leveraging postcolonial studies within an analytical theoretical framework raises important methodological considerations regarding this exercise, especially relating to theorizing a just migration regime. Before leaving discussion of the assumptions undergirding how political theorists have treated migration theory within a postcolonial frame, let us consider one more account of postcolonial political theory that aims to go beyond deconstructing the liberal nationalist position and offer a normative account of decolonial justice: Ypi et. al.'s "Associative Duties, Global Justice, and the Colonies.[57] Ypi et. al. do not explicitly take up migration within their account of associative duties between peoples that do not share citizenship within the same state. However, their postcolonial framing parallels that of Amighetti and Nuti's, as both accounts consider how the colonial experience transforms the relationship

[57] The publication is in *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, and I treat this account under the umbrella of political theory, as two of the three authors—including the lead author—are officially affiliated with the political theory sections of their institutions' political science/government departments. This example does show the proximity of political theory and political philosophy as disciplinary fields.

between the colonizer and colonized state such that citizens of each should be understood as something more than "political strangers" to each other.[58]

The associative duties Ypi et. al. focus on can be understood to grant rights of entry into the territories of former colonizing states to citizens of former colonized states. Similar to Amighetti and Nuti's account, however, Ypi et. al.'s analysis of the reasons for those with historical colonial relations maintaining associative duties should also apply to a wider range of hierarchical relationships based on domination and exclusion; it is not clear why only formalized colonial relations are considered. Ypi et. al.'s discussion of "paramountcy" arrangements as a form of colonial relation as well as the ways in which formal decolonization led to relations of economic dependency being solidified between former colonizing and colonized states, proving the enduring colonial relation even after formal colonial bonds are severed, suggest that a wider set of relations should be taken into account.

As Amighetti and Nuti engage with the liberal nationalist position that justifies exclusion of noncitizens from entry within a particular state's borders based on staid understandings of the concept of national identity, Ypi et. al. make a similar conceptual move that unsettles dominant arguments regarding differential treatment of noncitizens on the basis of "associative duties." Ypi et. al. distinguish between two strands of justifications: one, which they term the "cooperation account," frames associative duties as accruing to members who are "cooperating in some joint venture" with each other; and the second, termed the "coercion account," states that members who are "subject to the

[58] I borrow this framing from Achiume's account, which I will address in the next section. Achiume describes the prevailing acceptance of a state's right to exclude noncitizens from entry as a framework of "political stranger exceptionalism."

same coercive authority" owe associative duties to each other.[59] Ypi et. al. assert that colonial relations fall within both.

Within the coercion account, Ypi et. al. argue that the existence of intermediaries within the governance scheme should not discharge of obligations based on colonial bonds. They typologize several forms of colonial rule that nevertheless should lead to associative duties: "direct rule," which characterizes European colonial regimes such as those of the British in India, French in Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guiana and Reunion, and the Portuguese in Brazil; "indirect rule," which seems to roughly track extractive colonial regimes, such as that of the United Kingdom towards its African colonies; and "paramountcy" arrangements, in which a state maintains internal sovereignty but must accord external deference to the "Mother Country," as is the case of the "princely states of India during the British Raj."[60] The inclusion of paramountcy arrangements suggests Ypi et. al.'s framework should cover a much broader swathe of political relations than formalized ones between metropole and colony, as paramountcy arrangements track closer to the hierarchical relations familiar in the context of empire. In fact, scholars have described East Asian relations before Euro-American penetration generally in these terms.[61] Yet Ypi et. al. do not consider Asian relations at all within their account. Doing so would demand a much larger critique than the narrow focus on

[59] Ypi et. al., 105.
[60] Ypi et. al., 112-113.
[61] In his recent article, political scientist David Kang examines recent social science scholarship on East Asian international relations, noting how each centers "incomplete and flexible" tributary relations as an accepted and legitimate organizing principle for domestic and international politics in the region prior to the first Opium War. Kang also notes that he prefers the term "tribuatory" over the previously orthodox label "Sinocentric," as it "overemphasizes China's pervasiveness in the historical system" while neglecting other participants and actions outside of China's purview. David C. Kang, International Order in Historical East Asia: Tribute and Hierarchy Beyond Sinocentrism and Eurocentrism. *International Organization* 74, Winter 2020, 65-93.

what claims colonies may have against their "colonial masters" that structures Ypi et. al.'s intervention.

Ypi et. al.'s discussion of the enduring duties that pertain between metropole and colony even after formal decolonization is another part in their account that points to the necessity of a much larger critique that goes beyond states with historical colonial relationships. Ypi et. al. note that decolonization historically "has been engineered in such a way as to lock in . . . relations of economic dependency, by creating a new "comprador" class with a vested interest in those relations and then transferring formal power to those indigenous elites," using Kenya, one of the countries within their "indirect rule" category of colonialism, as an example.[62] As we shall see in the next section discussing legal scholar Achiume's account of neocolonial empire, both Ypi et. al. and Achiume are treating the neoliberal economic system within a colonial frame. Yet, their interventions are presented narrowly as between citizens of states with formal colonial relations.

Within the cooperation account, Ypi et. al. provide a very expansive notion of cooperation between groups that result in associative duties towards one another. "If the unique nature of their engagement in the constant reproduction of a political system is what creates a special presumption against allowing arbitrary inequalities among all (but only) fellow members of a political association, this principle also extends to people living in the colonies."[63] But it is not clear from Ypi et. al.'s account what exactly is special or unique about formal colonial relations that allows for this calculus. In fact, the way such a cooperative relation is described—"creat[ing] public goods that allow each

[62] Ypi et. al., 118.
[63] Ypi et. al., 121.

other to further independent life plans . . . such as the political system, fundamental economic institutions, the legal means protecting physical security and guaranteeing property rights"—seems to extend far beyond colonizer and colonized states towards an imperial formation.

This is not to say that formal colonial relations don't matter. But it does show that to the extent we are examining the harms of colonial relations and the particularity of that relationship, more specificity is exactly what is required. And for the purposes of thinking about colonialism and migration and migration justice within a postcolonial frame, this also supports the position that theory should also be looking beyond binaries. In the next section covering Achiume's account within legal studies, I will examine Achiume's more detailed treatment of colonialism and modern forms of neocolonial empire, and how this lens impacts her theory of decolonial migration.

ii. Law: "Migration as Decolonization"

In "Migration as Decolonization," Achiume is particularly concerned with the lack of protections for "so-called economic migrants" within the "political stranger exceptionalism" framework of international migration law, which casts all non-citizens as political strangers without a right to enter subject to limited exceptions, such as refugee status.[64] Reframing the 62 million or more Europeans who emigrated to different colonies around the world between the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as essentially economic migrants benefitting from an international and imperial regime that encouraged and facilitated their movement to while simultaneously extracting resources from these colonies, Achiume asserts that, even after formal decolonization, these

[64] Achiume, 1516.

exploitative relations remain in the form of neocolonial imperialism.[65] By characterizing this interconnection as creating a transnational political community of political and economic subordination that extends to the present through neocolonial empire, she asserts that citizens of the First and Third Worlds are "de facto co-sovereigns,"[66] from which follows that Third World citizens have a right to enter their former colonizing states in the First World on equal footing as First World citizens. Achiume asserts that, in fact, migrating may be one way for Third World persons to pursue political equality and assert their capacity to self-determine—in other words, to effect decolonization individually, in light of the historical failure of formal decolonization to dismantle relations of political and economic domination between former colonizers and ex-colonies.[67]

Achiume, like Amighetti and Nuti as well as Ypi et. al., takes issue with the prevailing liberal nationalist notion of state sovereignty justifying the state's strong right to control the entry of noncitizens within its borders. However, while Amighetti and Nuti develop an argument that cuts against the orthodox liberal nationalist stance within the liberal nationalist's own framework, and Ypi et. al. consider associative duties between former colonies and their metropoles, Achiume takes a much broader and ambitious approach, targeting the international legal regime that supports the present-day structure of neocolonial empire. Her interpretation of neocolonial empire and proposal of decolonial migration as antidote rests upon several binaries, including the framing of migration as implicating conditions within and relations between sending and receiving countries; the geopolitical binary of the Third and (European) First World; and colonial

[65] Achiume, 1518.
[66] Achiume, 1547.
[67] Achiume, 1552.

or political subjugation against that characterized as imperial or economic. Segmenting her analysis into these binary frames allows her to focus on a specific group of ex-colonial migrants and advance a neatly tailored revision to the existing international migration regime—one that simply expands the boundaries of particular First World political communities so Third World citizens who would otherwise be classified as economic migrants and denied entry privileges can enjoy a protected freedom of movement. However, this narrow focus also limits what she puts forward as a decolonial vision, rendering it a partial approach that perpetuates other continuing colonial harms and the very neocolonial system it takes as its object of criticism. This limitation is illustrated by her difficulty in positioning the United States within her framework; the exclusion of the Asian experience of colonialism as both colonizer and colonized within her theory is both cause and effect.

In her account, Achiume makes clear that she is concerned with Third World migration to the First World. She defines the Third World as the geopolitical and ideological category of territories and people under European colonialism primarily between the mid-eighteenth and twentieth centuries; the First World is defined in contrast as the corresponding European colonial powers and settler colonies that preserved their European identities after gaining independence, including the United States, Australia, and Canada.[68] She does not define the Second World, but she does define the Fourth World as First Nation communities. She draws a line from First World colonization of the Third World to the neocolonial present through the creation of international, multilateral organizations, and she includes within her purview settler colonial states like

[68] Achiume, 1514.

the United States that have taken strategic action to cement their hegemonic power post-WWII.[69]

Achiume admits that the example of the United States complicates the task of articulating distinct forms of "contemporaneous imperial interconnection," and reiterates that her project focuses on neocolonial empire, which privileges "imperial formations that fundamentally retain the imperial logic and priorities of European colonialism."[70] She situates her theory of decolonial migration as a subset of de-imperial migration defined as any form of migration that is responsive to informal imperial subordination and that offers a means of countering that subordination through individual (rather than structural) means of enhancing political equality."[71] Despite scholarship showing usage of the terms "imperial" and "colonial" in academia to be inconsistent, a theory built on the basis of these terms defined as discrete categories would do well to articulate in detail their constitutive elements and distinctions.[72]

Furthermore, to the extent such a logic applies to trigger an ethical obligation, it is not clear why such obligations should only accrue to the United States with regards to Third World nations that were formally colonized by First World nations. In fact, taking a

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[69] Achiume, 1564.
[70] Achiume, 1565.
[71] Achiume, 1565-1566. Achiume does note that de-imperial migration as a whole is "an urgent direction for international migration legal theory," which she has intended to discuss through using the example of neocolonial empire, as a fuller elaboration of de-imperial migration is outside the scope of her article. Achiume,1574.
[72] "A commonly drawn distinction between imperial and colonial territories marks colonial territories (following the Latin *colonus,* or farmer) as those that involve substantial settlement from the metropole, whereas the term imperial stresses extensive domination over others. But official, popular, and even scholarly usage is unstable, and the terms "colonies" and "postcolonial" are applied equally to spaces of significant settlement and to those without; indeed, the former now tend to be described as "settler colonies." "Colonial empire," then, often refers to "exploitative economic relations between an imperial core and a subject periphery" or to "the occupation and annexation of regions beyond the global core and the seizure of foreign sovereignty," as in British India. The term imperialism was, like most political –isms, a coinage of the mid-nineteenth century. Since its earliest usage it has tended to be a term of opprobium and one that emphasizes not only the extent but the unaccountability of the power exercised." Jennifer Pitts, Political Theory of Empire and Imperialism. *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 13 (2010), 214.

piecemeal approach to decolonization restricts our ability to fully perceive the problem of colonialism, its forms, causes and effects, such that only partial diagnosis is possible, which risks furthering the colonial harms she herself sets out to treat. Not only does a narrow focus on opening up a means through which a particular subset of ex-colonial subjects may migrate to specific former colonial states leave the system of neocolonial empire intact, it also threatens the further entrenchment of that system.[73] Again, Achiume's treatment of settler-colonial nations like the United States is instructive. While she writes that her decolonial migration theory "may be moot to the extent that they emphasize political inclusion and equality through First World citizenship," considering the inherently colonial nature of settler colonial states, it may be the case that her theory is doing much worse by failing to engage with decolonizing the very structure of the state and instead affirming its legitimacy through focusing on inclusion within it.[74]

Paying attention to Japanese colonialism and Asian migration gives a window into important questions that decolonial scholars must reckon with in order to fully understand the past, its application and manifestation in the present, and its projection into the future. Colonialism is not a static concept or category, especially if we focus on the harms of its operation across time and context, beyond specific divisions of geography and history. Examining how Achiume's account treats Asia, suggesting she assumes the Asian experience to be outside the purview of the dynamics of colonialism she treats as important for the purposes of theorizing colonial (and thus decolonial)

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[73] For another recent example that takes a similar piecemeal approach, see Christian Barry & Philip Gerrans, "Virtual Citizenship for Refugees: A Modest Proposal." *Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs,* January 20, 2017, available at: https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/ethics_online/0124 [last accessed: November 1, 2020].

[74] Achiume, 1563. See, e.g., Eve Tuck & K. Wayne Yang, Decolonization is not a metaphor, *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2012, 1-40.

migration, illustrates this lacuna. Due to her narrow focus on migrants from ex-colonies of European colonialism during a specific period in global history, Asia is elided entirely, including European gunboat diplomacy and U.S. military occupation and aggression in the region during the cold war, and regional histories of Japanese colonialism in addition to Chinese imperialism.

There are moments where Achiume explicitly considers Asian colonialism and empire, unlike Amighetti and Nuti's implicit treatment by example, but in each of these cases, Achiume sidesteps deeper theoretical engagement with their implications or excises them from her scope. For example, the question of whether "non-First World imperial powers such as China and Japan… also hold obligations of admission and inclusion to Third World migrants" prompts Achiume to present her heuristic for decolonial migration and subsequent discussion of the bilateral and multilateral accounts that can be derived from it. Using China as an example of a non-First World imperial power, Achiume asserts that China "does not have decolonial obligations within neocolonial empire," as "the structural allocation of benefit within neocolonial empire, which is largely in keeping with colonial logics of benefit and exploitation, does not favor non-First World countries."[75] She reiterates that her definition of "Third World" includes only "those places and peoples subjugated by the *European* colonial project [emphasis in original]," which does not pertain to Chinese colonial projects. [76] She allows for non-First World states that share in the spoils of neocolonial empire to be liable to decolonial migration claims. However, she asserts that China is not responsible under this

[75] Achiume, 1563. She does reserve the possibility of China having de-imperial obligations towards those subordinated under its "expanding, informal empire, including in the Third World" through Chinese investment in African countries. See footnote 226, 1566.
[76] Achiume, 1566.

rubric "because neocolonial empire does not accrue advantage to China nearly to the extent it does First World States."[77] This presents the issue of the threshold level of advantage a state participating in neocolonial empire must accrue for obligations towards decolonial migrants to attach, and how to measure whether the threshold level has been met.[78]

Setting aside these technical specifications, there is still a strong case for Japan to pass the threshold within Achiume's theoretical framework, requiring Japan to provide the right of entry to its former colonial subjects. Given her overt consideration of Japan earlier,[79] her subsequent silence on the implications of Japan's colonial legacy within her framework is surprising. According to her own definition, Japan seems aptly characterized as a non-First World *colonial*, rather than solely imperial, power. Japanese colonialism may have innovated upon or adapted European colonial logic to suit its own needs and context, but it should be generally uncontroversial to state that it was born of and modeled upon European colonialism.[80] The elision of the Japanese case enables Achiume to present a cleaner differentiation between the decolonial and the de-imperial; its recovery thus challenges the stability of these conceptual distinctions.

An intervention that is more in line with the spirit of her critique of the political stranger exceptionalist structure would find that neocolonial empires of the present have obligations towards the neocolonial imperial subjects of the present, outside of the colonizer/colonized binary, the First World/Third World binary, and the colonial/imperial

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[77] Ibid., 1566.
[78] In light of her own observation that China may have de-imperial obligations towards African migrants due to its projects in the continent, this argument seems like a stretch.
[79] Achiume, 1566.
[80] See, e.g., Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1910.* Berkeley: University of California Press (1995).

binary. This orientation would center the greater imperial structure in which certain groups benefit at the expense of the seemingly distant and therefore invisible suffering of others within that structure, acknowledging that all are inextricably part of the political community and should be afforded equal rights within. Focusing on a specific population or country can be useful when analyzing and articulating problems and venturing solutions—my research focus on the case study of Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico in the early twentieth century is based on this belief. And there may be good reasons for Achiume to privilege the obligations of the First World towards the Third World in her formulation of decolonial migration. A focus on the colonial injustices of a specifically defined region and time period may allow her to make a stronger claim regarding the bifurcation between the colonial and imperial within her theory.

However, it is important to proceed with caution when attempting to apply insights from a specific example generally. The presentation of her theory as a universally decolonial one, a subset and thus part and parcel of de-imperial migration, is challenged by the 애니깽 case study, which unsettles the distinction between the politics of the colonial from the imperial and privileging of the former by illustrating their mutual entanglement. Japanese colonialism in Korea, U.S. imperialism in Asia and Latin America, settler colonialism in Mexico and Hawai'i, and financial interests acting transnationally, were all part of the patchwork of background conditions that enabled and propelled Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico.[81] The elisions of Japanese

[81] Moreover, it is also unclear whether this distinction is tenable within Achiume's theoretical formulations. Achiume herself discusses the interconnection of colonialism and "capitalism," although she maintains that the political character of colonialism is her focus. "Colonialism and capitalism are, of course, related in important ways, and each is understood better in light of the other. My analysis has nevertheless privileged colonialism and its political commitments, even though a different, fruitful analysis could privilege the political economy of capitalism to unearth the de-imperial rather than decolonial obligations and ethics that

colonialism and Asian labor migration within Achiume's account appear to be symptoms of the analytic move Achiume makes: taking as her origin the concept of colonial domination, defined as a Eurocentric phenomenon, which then slides into the current and urgent problem of neocolonial empire. Achiume herself recognizes that the bilateral approach for decolonial migration derived from her framework is less desirable than the multilateral approach she endorses. However, the multilateral approach itself, with its focus on neocolonial empire as a joint enterprise, raises the question as to whether Achiume's geographical and temporal line-drawing to define the colonialisms that matter lead to or even originate from an overly reductive view of colonialism and its processes. Serious attention to Japanese colonialism and the migrations born out of the imbricated context of competing colonialisms and imperial movements, of which the 애니깽 are one example, could be an antidote to this tendency within her theory.

iii. Philosophy: "Decolonizing Anglo-American Political Philosophy: The Case of Migration Justice"

In "Decolonizing Anglo-American Political Philosophy: The Case of Migration Justice," Jaggar notes that Anglo-American political philosophers often fail to take into account the ways in which global migration is shaped by colonial histories and the neo-colonial context, thereby (re)producing colonialist biases and exclusions within their philosophical formulations. She proposes decolonizing philosophical thinking around migration issues by reframing the context, revising the methods, enlarging the ethical questions, and scrutinizing the liberalism structuring migration debates they are engaged

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attach to this form of imperial interconnection. B.S. Chimni has argued, for example, that "neocolonialism has been succeded by [the age] of global imperialism," in which "universalizing capitalism penetrates and integrates national economies more deeply, imposing serious constraints on the possibility of a Third World state pursuing an independent path of development. . . . Global capitalist imperial interconnection likely generates de-imperial migration ethics not fully captured by my decolonial analysis." Achiume, 1565.

in today. She builds on the work of Charles Mills and illustrates the ways in which transnational feminism has grappled with the structural, intersectional nature of gendered migration injustice within the neo-colonial present, using a "non-ideal, empirically informed, and [inclusive]" methodology and perspective.[82] Only by decolonizing Anglo-American political philosophy through building in self-reflexivity regarding neocolonial prejudices that may be latent within specific formulations and positions, Jaggar posits, can inconsistencies with "the core liberal values of universal equality and freedom" be observed and corrected."[83]

Jaggar's account shares many features with Achiume's theory of decolonial migration. Like Ypi et. al. and Achiume, Jaggar also focuses on the ways in which the European colonial order continues in the present in a neo-colonial form, leading to defective, nominal forms of sovereignty for newly independent ex-colonies in the postcolonial world. While Achiume focuses on political membership and international neoliberal organizations and institutions, Jaggar pays closer attention to sovereign debt and creditor arrangements that rendered previously formalized bonds of inequality between metropole and colony into less structured relations of economic dependence.[84] Jaggar also assumes "Euro-American colonialism" to constitute the main focus of

[82] Jaggar, 106.
[83] Jaggar, 104.
[84] Jaggar, 89. "'Decolonization' is a broad term whose meanings are both contested and context-dependent. Most Euro-American colonies gained political independence following the Second World War, but by the end of the twentieth century it was evident that formal independence did not bring full decolonization. After colonialism ended, former colonies and former colonizers were very differently situated. For instance, during the colonial period, most industrial manufacture had occurred in colonizing states, and the colonies were mainly suppliers of raw materials and markets for manufactured products. Former colonies therefore entered independence with limited infrastructure and human capital, and had to borrow heavily to finance development. As the price for renegotiating these debts, their creditors, often including former colonizers, frequently imposed harsh structural adjustment policies. This was one way in which the pre-existing structure of the global economy enabled wealthy states in the global North to build on the advantages that many of them gained through colonialism and to enmesh their former colonies in relationships of economic dependence. Such relationships are neo-colonial when they disable former colonies from exercising their nominal sovereignty."

decolonial studies, stating that "those exerting the most direct influence on today's world are the Euro-American empires that flourished from roughly 1500 to 1950."[85] However, Jaggar employs different definitions of colonialism and imperialism from Achiume, stating that "'colonialism' usually means that invaders settle permanently in a territory, whereas 'imperialism' typically characterizes external military-imposed rule over a territory in order to exploit it economically."[86] While whether this bifurcation itself and whether settlement and external military force are the most salient criteria for thinking about these categories is also disputable, what is clear is that non-Euro-American colonialism and imperialism are implicitly excluded from this postcolonial lens in much the same way as in Amighetti and Nuti, Ypi et. al., and Achiume's account, where they are explicitly excluded.

In addition, Jaggar's engagement with the Asian context is even more limited than that within these previous accounts. Jaggar does discuss Said's account of orientalism and how racial and cultural constructs of the non-Western Other colors ethno-nationalist positions against Muslim immigration, but the Asian experience of colonialism and imperialism, as both colonial/imperial power and subject, is not mentioned at all.[87] The elision of the Asian experience within Jaggar's decolonial critique of Anglo-American philosophy of migration suggests that the methods of her critique may also be insufficiently decolonized. While Jaggar herself discusses the ethno-nationalist narrative of "the West and the Rest" that seeks to police the boundaries between colonizers and the colonized through otherizing racial, cultural, and religious groups, she does not consider

[85] Jaggar, 88.
[86] Jaggar, 88.
[87] Said's Orientalism in mentioned on page 89; Trump's Muslim Ban and anti-Muslim immigration politics in Europe on pages 103-4.

the implications of a Euro-American West-focused decolonial critique using the same assumptions employed by the canon she criticizes.[88] As Lowe has argued, using Chinese indentured labor to the hemispheric Americas as an illustrative example, the privileging of a particular colonial experience itself can modally lead to erasures that rupture the connections that allow us to theorize coloniality and its process as a whole—for instance, the "displacement and elision of the coeval conditions of settler dispossession, slavery, and indentureship in the Americas."[89] Korean transpacific indentured labor migration illuminates an additional case of such elisions; the work of building out the connections that have been obscured through the prevailing discourse brings them back to the fore so that their implications may be confronted. Chen's theoretical insights on the layered histories of imperialism and colonialism in Asia—starting with the region's Sinocentric imperial structure, followed by Japan's ascension as a modern colonial and imperial power, later subsumed by Western domination and cold war politics—are helpful in understanding their fusion in the present. What Chen describes as the singular historical process of a "stratified hierarchical construction of neocolonial imperialism" helps to fill out the progression from formal colonialism to the neo-colonialist structure of the present that Jaggar and Achiume assume by focusing on specific geographic regions and institutional forms.[90]

Jaggar's criticism also follows the frames that are set out within such migration debates instead of offering an alternative perspective or mode of engagement. She centers the debates in the United States and Europe responding to migration "crises," pointing to the "surge in numbers of unaccompanied children and women seeking entry from Central

[88] Jaggar, 92.
[89] Lowe, 38-39
[90] Chen, 18.

America" to the United States in 2014 and the Mediterranean "migrant crisis" in Europe in 2015. She asserts that Anglo-American philosophy's focus on the state's right to exclude within such debates "implicitly situate[s the philosophers] as policy makers within wealthy states facing a problem of uninvited intruders."[91] But in adopting these frameworks, her proposal for decolonizing how Anglo-American philosophers approach migration issues reproduces the same occlusions she is attempting to bring to light. For example, she includes two empirical questions about contemporary migration flows that still fall into the colonized discourse framework she is attempting to unsettle: "Why Do 'They' Leave 'Their Homes'? What Are the 'Push' Factors for Contemporary Migration?" and "Why Do 'They' Come 'Here'? 'Pull' Factors."[92] Jaggar describes how a postcolonial framework for reasoning about who constitutes the 'they' within the us/them binary of migrants as well as the push/pull factors contributes to a better understanding of these dynamics. She includes the examples of modern European wealth being built upon extraction and enslavement of peoples in the Global South to show "the ways in which colonialism and neo-colonialism contribute to the push for people to leave former colonies and the pull for them to enter states that often have a colonial history."[93] However, she does not question why migration justice is theorized within these binary frames to begin with: why a decolonized theory of migration requires looking at sending and receiving countries and push/pull factors with a sensitivity towards those particular

[91] While sharing many of Achiume's perspective in spirit, Jaggar questions whether the type of work Achiume is doing is the best: "In my view, it is doubtful that special admission rights would be the best way of discharging moral debts accruing from colonial histories, in part because, as Higgins points out, open borders do not necessarily help impoverished sending states." Jaggar, 102
[92] Jaggar, 96-97.
[93] Jaggar, 98.

countries' histories and bilateral relationship rather than the transnational colonial context as a whole.

This is despite the fact that her critical posture includes the tools and language necessary to deconstruct the prevailing colonialist language used to set the scene for and engage in migration debates. She notes that the neo-liberal order is comprised of a "patterned network of social relationships within which the identities of the component parts are partially constituted by their interrelations with each other," which requires an "even-handed investigation of multiple inter- and intra-state relationships, both past and present, which may have a bearing on migration justice."[94] She also argues that the state-centric discourse should be reconsidered, as "[s]tates are not fixed, natural or self-contained entities that just happen to resemble or differ from each other; they are interconnected and shape-shifting participants in a global system whose structure was produced by human practices and which, crucially, may be altered by changing those practices"; she situates her own "schematic model" as one that "retains individuals, demographic groups, and states as possible categories of analysis, [but] conceptualizes them in non-essentialist, intersectional and dynamic terms."[95] The colonial context and dynamics she describes in the abstract and in a generalized manner fit patterns that fall outside of the strict colony/metropole binary she uses for purposes of theorizing decolonial migration, as can be seen in the 애니깽 case study. A decolonized theory of migration that responds to this outline should assume a transnational scope with a

[94] Jaggar, 99.
[95] Jaggar, 100.

comparative perspective, beyond the binaries employed by prevailing 'colonized' accounts of migration within political philosophy.

2. Towards a Decolonized Theory of Migration

The 애니깽 case study forces us to question the assumptions about migration we transpose into a colonial frame in our efforts to decolonize our thinking and imagine decolonized and decolonial alternatives—namely, the presupposition that understanding colonial-era migration and the relation between colonialism and migration requires examining sending and receiving countries, push and pull factors, and the relations between former colonies and metropoles. This case study unsettles this paradigm by requiring us to consider the multiple and overlapping dimensions of empire and colonialism, of power and opportunity, transcending the boundaries of any particular state or pair. It pushes theorists of migration engaging with the postcolonial turn closer to those working within transnational frames while addressing political questions such as sovereignty and justice, such as Inés Valdez, whose "creolized" readings of Kant and neo-Kantians with the writings of W.E.B. Du Bois shed light on the nature of imperial hierarchy and how Western democracies are predicated upon practices of domination both domestically and abroad; and Adom Getachew, whose careful engagement with Black Atlantic anticolonial intellectuals brings to light the transnational scope of their political projects, dismantling global structures of political and economic oppression, beyond decolonial nation-building.[96]

[96] Inés Valdez, *Transnational Cosmopolitanism: Kant, Du Bois, and Justice as a Political Craft.* New York: Cambridge University Press (2019); Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (2019).

But it also requires us to engage deeper with postcolonial studies as we aim to understand and theorize colonialism. Attention to the Asian experience in particular serves as a check against dominant tendencies towards reductive binary categorizations and an implicit (or explicit) centering of Anglo-European actors and epistemological frameworks in our theories of migration. The 애니깽 case study, as an instance of migration of subjugated citizens from a Japanese colony, facilitated by U.S. political and financial interests, to a settler colony in the Americas that was itself comprised of a racial, colonial hierarchy playing a subordinate role within the commodities market as an exporter of raw materials, demonstrates the layers and entanglements of power that comprised the setting. As Cumings writes, we need to understand Japanese colonialism in order to understand colonialism, and we need to look to Korea in order to understand Japanese colonialism; focusing on the experience of Japanese colonialism shows the imbrication of colonial domination within a competitive imperial setting, which in turn enabled and perhaps even necessitated it.[97] Examining Asian migration to the hemispheric Americas also unsettles the commonly accepted colonizer/colonized binary in theories of migration taking up the postcolonial frame by triangulating the relationship among the categories of alien/settler/Native membership.[98] This revised orientation is crucial for understanding the nature of settler colonialism and the co-development of legal and political structures surrounding migration and citizenship that animates our

[97] Cumings notes, in conversation with Akira Iriye, "the dean of diplomatic histories of East Asia," that the era of Japanese hegemony in East Asia was "the exception that proves the rule," as the region was dominated by alternating hegemons and alliances among the British, United States, and European powers, whose posture towards Japan's position in the region cooperatively and sometimes encouragingly, especially as long as Japan's imperial ambitions remained within bounds, targeted towards Korea and Manchuria. See *Parallax Visions*, 27-29.

[98] See, e.g., Iyko Day, *Alien Capital: Asian Racialization and the Logic of Settler Colonial Capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press (2016).

present.[99] Closer engagement with the Asian experience within the colonial and postcolonial context would also allow migration scholars working with a decolonial lens to leverage active and emerging scholarship in transpacific studies, inspired by transatlantic studies, critically evaluating the nationalist orientation of diaspora politics and considering how Asia is implicated in the complex web and traffic of people, culture, and commodities internally as well as across the Pacific.[100] It will also lead to a more nuanced understanding of Asian indentured migration alongside Asian settler colonialism, and the ways in which the Asian colonial experience does not lends itself to a uniform, simplistic narrative of mobility: colonial subjectivity at times entailed increased mobility, as was the case for Filipino migrants under U.S. colonialism against the Chinese and later Japanese and Koreans, who were banned under blanket racial exclusions from entering the United States; on the other hand, Korean transnational migration was at times encouraged and other times hampered by the competing interests of the colonial and imperial powers within East Asia. A turn to Asia within the imperial and postcolonial turn in theorizing migration would enable scholars to engage with a more holistic and nuanced understanding of the nature of colonialism and migration.

Articulating a full-fledged normative theory of migration is outside the scope of this thesis. However, its insights gesture towards a new direction in theories of migration

[99] As Robert Chao Romero notes, understanding Asian (specifically Chinese) immigration to Mexico challenges existing scholarship on mestizaje focusing on the European settler and indigenous binary: "Beyond presenting a social history of the Chinese in Mexico, this book challenges traditional notions of "mestizaje." "Despite the historical presence of tens of thousands of Chinese in Mexico, Mexican culture is most frequently depicted as resulting from the racial mixture, or mestizaje, of only two races—the indigenous and European. This limited view of Mexican mestizaje is prevalent within both popular and academic discourse, and is the dominant view articulated by scholars of Latin American studies and my own field of Chicana/o studies." Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 195.

[100] See, e.g., Janet Hoskins & Viet Thanh Nguyen, *Transpacific Studies: Framing an Emerging Field*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press (2014).

justice taking up a postcolonial orientation: one that confronts the reality of the transnational system, and how economic migration of the type that is criminalized under the current system is responsive to histories and structures of the neocolonial, imperial order.

V. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have attempted to sketch an outline of the largely forgotten history of Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico in 1905 and demonstrate its value as a case study that helps to illuminate some of the problematic assumptions undergirding extant theories of colonialism and migration justice. I have argued that the 애니깽 case study sheds light on how the transnational colonial and imperial context structured and conditioned migration, a dynamic that theories focusing on push/pull factors between sending/receiving countries with formal colonial relationships fail to capture. I have hypothesized that lack of attention to or a flattened understanding of the Asian experience of colonialism and empire—as colonial and imperial powers as well as subjects and indentured laborers—can be understood as both cause and effect of such tendencies towards these binaries even within theories utilizing a postcolonial lens. And I have suggested that scholars interested in migration and working within fields such as political theory, legal studies, and political philosophy, that are relatively late in experiencing the postcolonial turn, engage more closely with cognate disciplines that have embraced it earlier—going beyond surveys of canonical texts for purposes of instrumental application to practice a deep immersion in the fields, listening to the current conversations and appreciating the fresh and innovative scholarship and their methods.

For purposes of this thesis, my historical case study focused on drawing out the greater context of the migration, connecting the economic history literature surrounding the Yucatecan henequén industry with the development of immigration law and political histories of East Asia and the United States. There are other details that I hope to incorporate during the next stage of research, including the complex role Japanese state interests played as it attempted to balance its goal to maintain power over the Korean Peninsula against encroaching U.S. influence with those of its immigrant communities in Hawai'i and the continental United States, whose racial politics and fraught relationship between race and labor were always in the background. There are also other connections, both lyrical and important for theorizing global connectedness, I was not able to tie in, including: the history of the Manila trade in enslaved peoples beginning in the sixteenth century, when the Philippines was Spain's first Asian colony, whose racialization as free "Indians" and enslaved "chinos" further complicates the narrative of race, labor, and migration;[101] more details regarding the tiered nature of wealth transfer across these settler colonial contexts, lyrically tied to the fact that Mérida was called the Republic's "White City" due to its white, colonial buildings, just as Chicago earned its moniker following the white buildings built for the World's Fair;[102] the concurrent development and proliferation of mechanized raspadors within the Yucatecan context, in parallel with the reapers and binders in the Midwestern United States, which accelerated the process of

[101] Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians*. New York: Cambridge University Press (2014).
[102] G. M. Joseph. *Revolution from Without: Yucatán, Mexico, and the United States, 1880-1924*. New York: Cambridge University Press (1982), 15. According to tourists who have taken the Mérida city bus tour, the official guide version notes that the name "White City" may have come from the fact that only whites were allowed into the city during the colonial era.

fiber extraction and enabled the hacendados to meet demand;[103] that the U.S. investor in the Korean gold mines who laid the bridge for brokering Korean indentured labor migration to Hawai'i might have been part of "a group of right-wing Republicans, associated with Herbert Hoover in the 1920s, who also controlled the Homestake Gold Mine in Nevada, the Cerro de Pasco copper mines in Peru, and the Insular Lumber Company in the Philippines—all renowned symbols of American imperialism or untender mercies for labor," according to Cumings, who also notes that the "[Korean] mine used Mexican dollars as currency in this period [as did many foreign enterprises in China] along with guards on horseback wearing Pancho Villa bandoliers to guard the loot," for reasons I have yet to understand but hope to uncover in my future research.[104] Doing so will allow me to illustrate in greater detail the complex nature of global interconnection and competitive colonial and imperial relations framing migration trajectories.

In the future, I also hope to engage more with the social history of the Korean descendants in Mexico, which have been the focus of most scholarship on this topic, connecting it to and contextualizing it within Mexico's Indigenous history and settler colonial context. While the case study in its current version has focused on the Maya population and a snapshot of its colonial history of subjugation, the Maya were not the only Indigenous population to have been forced to labor under conditions of virtual slavery, nor were the Koreans the only foreign indentured labor force in the Yucatán

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103 "Despite growing demand for fibers in the second half of the nineteenth century, commercial production of henequen was unable to accelerate until the invention, in Yucatan in the late 1850's, of the decorticator, a device to extract the fiber efficiently. The decorticator replaced the less efficient hand- and animal-driven raspadors, also invented in the Yucatan in 1839 and 1851, respectively." Michael S. Yoder, "The Latin American Plantation Economy and the World-Economy: The Case of the Yucatecan Henequen Industry" in *Review (Fernand Braudel Center),* Vol. 16, No. 3 (Summer, 1993), 319-337.

104 Parallax Visions, 13-14.

Peninsula. Far from it: large numbers of Yaquis were deported to the region following various uprisings against settlers from New Spain, just as the Maya's land dispossession and labor subjugation was facilitated by the Caste Wars; and the number of Chinese and Lebanese immigrants in the region also dwarfed those of the 1,033 Koreans who arrived on a single trip. Continuing to build out these worlds through the lens of the 애니깽 will allow me to further draw out the connections and comparisons between Asia and the hemispheric Americas, adding to the growing cross-disciplinary scholarship focusing on race, colonialism, capitalism, and migration, providing us with the conceptual tools necessary to understand the politics of our present and work towards a truly decolonized theory of migration.

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VII. Notes on Sources

I note the sources I used during my research process and in writing my essay below, roughly tracking the four frames introduced in Part 1 as an organizing principle:

1. The history of Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico in 1905

Korean migration to Mexico / the Americas

Among Korean language sources, I based my account of the history of Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico in 1905 heavily on 한국인 멕시코 이민사 by 이자경, published in 1988, perhaps the most comprehensive source documenting this migration history to date. I also referenced 한국 멕시코 이민 80 주년: 유까딴의 첫 코리언, 제물포에서 유까딴까지 그 개척의 길, a collection edited by 이영숙, which was also published in 1988. Both of these sources refer to sisal and its use in maritime rope—perhaps reflecting lack of access to other source material focusing specifically on the plant and the surrounding political economy. Only 이자경 provides a source, which is Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States*. There is one discrepancy between the two regarding the name of the Japanese corporate entity in Korea involved in recruiting workers in Korea. What has been translated in "Continental Colonization Company" appears as 대륙식민합자회사 in the former account, 대륙척산주식회사 in the latter. I plan to look into this in more detail at a later date.

Alfredo Romero and Maria Elena Oto Mishima are foundational figures in the field of Korean studies and Asian immigration in Mexico, respectively. I consulted his article "Huellas del paso de los inmigrantes coreanos en tierras de Yucatan y su dispersion por el territorio mexicano [Traces of the passage of Korean immigrants in Yucatan's lands and their dispersion through Mexican territory]" in Mishima's edited volume *Destino México:*

Un estudio de las migraciones asiáticas a México, siglos XIX y XX [*Destination Mexico: A study of Asian migration to Mexico in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*], as well as the other material in the book.

In English, I was fortunate to have been able to access Pong Hyeon Paek's unpublished master's thesis at the University of Texas at Austin, entitled *The Koreans in Mexico: 1905-1911* and published in 1968. This is perhaps the first serious scholarly attempt to document the migration by a researcher uniquely placed to do so: Paek was a Japan-born Korean military officer with English language-training who pursued this research opportunity in the United States, engaging in archival and fieldwork in both South Korea and Mexico. Warren Y. Kim's *Koreans in America* (Seoul: Po Chin Chai, 1971) is also considered a fundamental text.

Wayne Patterson's pioneering research on Korean immigration to Hawai'i, starting with *The Korean Frontier in America: Immigration to Hawai'i, 1896-1910*—based on his doctoral dissertation, which contains even more detailed material—was incredibly helpful in order to understand the greater context. Romero and 이자경 have also cited his paper, "La inmigración Coreana al Yucatan al Turno de Siglo: Las Consecuencias Diplomáticas," presented at the conference 국제문화연구협회 제 2 차 총회 세미나 that was held from April 5-9 in 1983 in Mexico City. Patterson's article "The Early Years of Korean Immigration to Mexico: A View from Japanese and Korean Sources" in *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies*, Vol. 6 (1993) pp. 87-103 is based on this conference paper. I included Patterson's translation of the Korean labor recruitment advertisements, published in this article, in my essay. 이자경 also includes the Korean text on pp. 72-73.

There are some important discrepancies between the authoritative sources listed here. For example, Patterson writes that out of the 1,033 Koreans who migrated to Mexico, there were 702 men, 135 women, and 196 children, with occupations ranging from farmers, paupers, Christian converts, ex-government officials and military men, based on his reading of then-newly discovered archival material related to Japanese government ambitions to thwart Korean independence. For these statistics, Patterson relies on correspondence between Kato Motoshiro, Chargé d'Affaires, to Baron Komura Jutaro, Foreign Minister in the Japanese Foreign Ministry. On the other hand, Kim writes in *Koreans in America* that 802 were men, 207 women, and 24 children, and that only 1,031 Koreans arrived in Mexico, as two boys died during the voyage. While Kim's text is considered authoritative in research circles, it is difficult to corroborate the provided information due to Kim's sparse use of citations. I include the boys' death in my essay, as I believe there to be good reason for diplomatic correspondence to leave out these inconvenient details, or to not search for them to begin with. My research in the Yucatán Peninsula has also led me to some documents in the state archives that suggest that there may have been at least one other organized migration of Koreans to the henequén haciendas in or around 1915, although more research needs to be done to corroborate this finding.

Kim also notes that the Koreans departed Korea on March 6, 1905, while Patterson refers to the April 5, 1905 publication of the Korean newspaper Hansong Sinbo to pin down the

date of departure as April 5, 1905. Part of this discrepancy might be explained by Patterson's note that the voyage was delayed by two weeks due to a smallpox outbreak on the S.S. Ilford, requiring the Koreans to quarantine and the ship to be disinfected, according to Kato's letter to Komura.

The work of historical fiction by a prominent South Korean writer is Kim Young-ha's *Black Flower*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt (2012), translated into English by Charles La Shure. I also consulted the second edition of the Korean original 검은 꽃, published by Munhakdongne in 2010. Hannah Park, a history doctoral student at The University of Chicago, shared with me that the second edition is surprisingly different from the first edition published in 2003, although the second edition itself does not note any major revisions from the first. (It was thanks to Hannah that I learned about the "Migration Essays" creative writing workshop in winter 2020 offered by Rachel Cohen, whose instruction and guidance helped me work through the historical material and think about narrative technique.) I plan to obtain the first edition of 검은 꽃 and compare the two at a later date.

Rachel Lim, an ethnic studies doctoral candidate at UC Berkeley who is researching Korean migration to Mexico in the context of contemporary Korean diaspora and ethnic formation, has a journal article forthcoming based on *Black Flower*. In this article, she examines how a diaspora novel written by a non-diasporic writer tracks diaspora discourse in the nineties, in a sort of reversal of the desire of diasporics to speak for the homeland. Rachel's continued support, generosity, and insight has helped my project immensely. It was during a phone call with Rachel on February 23, 2020, before my Fulbright interview, where Rachel cautioned against using 애니깽 to refer to the migrants themselves unreflectively, without attention to how they might perceive being named after a plant that itself is misnamed. This conversation was a defining moment that prompted me to think more about my research orientation and the need for a more interdisciplinary and sensitive approach, which I hope to carry forward throughout my work.

The Korean film that presents a fictionalized account of Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico is 애니깽, or *Henequen,* directed by Kim Ho-sun and released on December 13, 1996 by Hap Dong Films Co., Ltd. The group Coreanos Mexicanos de Campeche AC, or Korean Mexicans of Campeche, has uploaded a copy of the film with Korean subtitles on Youtube:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VM9Jyupusg8&t=3059s).

One outstanding question regarding the development of Korea's immigration bureaucracy relates to the issue of passports for the Koreans who went to Mexico. Patterson notes in the aforementioned article, referring to Kim's book, that Myers, the British labor recruiting agent hired by the Yucatecan hacendados, enlisted the help of the British Minister to Korea when attempting to secure passports for the Korean migrants. As royal approval for mass migration had only been secured for Korean migration to Hawai'i, the Korean migration to Mexico was technically illegal. Kim and Patterson note that while the British Minister declined to intervene in this matter, Myers was ultimately

successful thanks to the French Minister to Korea, who convinced the Korean government to issue passports for Myers' recruits. However, Kim does not provide any sources or further explanation regarding the legal and diplomatic history surrounding this extraordinary puzzle.

Patterson thoroughly documents the history of the 유민원 (Yuminwon), Korea's immigration bureau, and the politics surrounding it in his book *The Korean Frontier in America: Immigration to Hawaii, 1896-1910*, historicizing and contextualizing the development of the global immigration regime by narrating Korea's entry into this developing system. According to Patterson's study, the 유민원 had been abolished by 1904/1905, when Myers was recruiting Koreans to go to Mexico, and that functionally the Foreign Ministry was in charge of passport matters, so ostensibly they would have been the office with whom the French Minister had corresponded and ultimately issued passports. However, it is possible that a private corporation may have been issuing passports at this time, as did Deshler's Continental Colonization Company during and after the 유민원's short existence to facilitate Korean migration to Hawai'i.

This question seems significant to at least one other researcher in the small but active community working on aspects of Korean migration to Mexico. Chaimun Lee, a South Korean sociologist researching historical Korean diaspora, discussed Korean migration to Mexico in comparative perspective alongside Japanese migration to Mexico during his presentation at the 2020 Institute of Social Sciences Research (ISSR) virtual symposium, "Migration and Adaptation of the Korean Diaspora in Latin America," hosted by Kyungpook University on October 23, 2020. In the interim draft of his symposium paper circulated prior to the conference, Dr. Lee noted that despite widespread acceptance among the Korean public that Korean migration to Mexico was illegal, the fact that the Korean migrants had passports when they arrived points to its legality. Patterson's historical work demonstrates that determining the migration's legality is more complicated than pointing to the existence of passports; in fact, conducting a close examination of the passports the Koreans presented upon their arrival to Mexico alongside the passports issued for earlier migrations to Hawai'i may yield important insights regarding this missing piece of the puzzle. While the conference organizers had noted some discrepancies in the circulated working drafts that would be corrected in the final versions to be sent out after the conference, as of my last communication with Dr. Lee on February 18, 2021, no such papers have been circulated and I have not received a response to repeated inquiries regarding these papers.

My 2020-2021 Fulbright Fellowship was awarded to fund archival research on the issue of arrival documents for these Korean migrants. COVID-19 travel restrictions delayed my grant start date by seven months, during which time I learned through El Círculo Mexicano de Estudios Coreanos (the Mexican Circle of Korean Studies) that a special group named El Comité de Investigación de la Migración Coreana (the Research Committee on Korean Migration) was formed in April 2019 as a cooperative effort between researchers and Korean descendants in Mexico to further scholarship on this history, with one initiative to digitize parts of the archive, including arrival and identity

documents. This project has been put on hold due to internal administrative reasons, but I hope this rich trove of information will be publicly available and accessible soon.

After navigating the new pandemic-related grant restrictions put in place, I managed to submit a revised research proposal with an updated institutional affiliation in order to gain travel clearance to Mexico and arrived in San Francisco de Campeche, Campeche in March 2021. While my activities have been limited by the evolving COVID-19 situation, I have been able to conduct research and access sources in the Yucatán Peninsula that may lead to revisions in future versions of this project. For example, based on several primary source documents provided to me by descendants of the Korean migration in 1905, there seems to be a strong case for the original work contracts offered to have been four rather than five years in duration, which would affect my assertion in the creative essay that the Koreans' labor contracts ended the same year the Mexican Revolution erupted and Japan formally annexed Korea as a colony. Another point I have been thinking about is the discrepancy between the number of Koreans who are recorded to have departed Korea and the number who are said to have arrived in Mexico: the general consensus is that 1,033 Koreans left, while official government documents note that 1,014 arrived. Informants among the Korean descendant community in Yucatán and Campeche have expressed frustration with the tendency of Korean researchers to focus on the number of those who departed rather than the number of those who actually arrived, which is a point I am still attempting to reflect on as I continue to research this history.

Henequén & economic history

Work by economic historians are pivotal to the story of Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico, and I am grateful for the robust, extant work in the field of agricultural history, industrialization, and commodities trade and context in the Americas, starting with *Revolution from Without: Yucatan, Mexico, and the United States 1880-1924* by G. M. Joseph (which notes the distinction between henequen and sisal as agave fourcroydes and agave sisalana, but does not probe further).

Allen Wells' *Yucatán's Gilded Age: Haciendas, Henequen, and International Harvester, 1860-1915* is one of the most influential texts on the subject, and uses henequen, sisal, hemp interchangeably, following the archival material. It charts out in great detail the economic landscape of the Yucatecan plantation economy and ties it the history of the modern business corporation, which was helpful for me as I reflected on this strand of the essay. See, e.g.,: "International Harvester's decision to establish an "informal empire" in Yucatan, and its preference for market control by funneling capital indirectly through local intermediaries recruited from the most powerful members of the regional elite, was overwhelmingly successful for both the corporation and its carefully chosen agents. This strategy of economic penetration has now become almost standard practice among modern corporations. Yet such mechanisms were apparently unique for North American

corporations prior to 1914."[105] J.P. Morgan's involvement in the merger financing is noted on page 11.

Allen Wells' chapter on henequén in *The Second Conquest of Latin America: Coffee, Henequen, and Oil during the Export Boom, 1850-1930* presents most comprehensive research on henequén in the context of the global hard fiber trades market. He is the Anglophone economic historian who uses the metaphor of the Ferris wheel to describe it (see "The Fickle Ferris Wheel" subheading in chapter, starting on page 88). Wells notes that *agave sisalana* is the true sisal (with *agave fourcroydes* fibers being misnamed as such by traders, taken from the name of the port the fibers were shipped from), and introduces yaxci and sakci for export versus hammocks in footnote 30 to this chapter (pp 120-121). This taxonomy is later replicated in Sterling Evans' *Bound in Twine: The History and Ecology of the Henequen-Wheat Complex for Mexico and the American and Canadian Plains, 1880-1950.* Table 2.1 on page 35 likewise presents sac-ci as henequen and yaxci as sisal, and also includes some theories as to the origins of the term "henequen." Since arriving in Campeche in March 2021, through collaborating with an ethnobotanist specializing in endemic species of the Yucatán Peninsula, Dr. William Cetzal-Ix, utilizing the resources available through el Jardín Botánico Regional "Roger Orellana," originally established to study regional agave plants, and conducting ethnographic fieldwork utilizing oral history methods, I am getting closer to formulating a more detailed narrative regarding the confusion surrounding the taxonomy and economic history of kij that explains these disruptures and discontinuities.

More explanation regarding the confused nomenclature of henequén versus sisal, as well as sisal's connection to Florida and global fiber exports is available in a publication by the Research Foundation of the State University of New York, for and on behalf of the Fernand Braudel Center, prepared by Michael S. Yoder, entitled "The Latin American Plantation Economy and the World-Economy: The Case of the Yucatecan Henequen Industry" in *Review (Fernand Braudel Center),* Vol. 16, No. 3 (Summer, 1993), pp. 319-337.

The McCormick-International Harvester McCormick Collection housed at the Wisconsin Historical Society provided a plethora of material relating to the history of industrializing agriculture in the United States—in particular, I relied on *History and Development of International Harvester* (1976, pp. 3-8) for information on the industrial revolution in agriculture leading to the IHC merger.

The moniker of "Great Merger Movement" comes from page 498 of economic historian Jonathan Levy's article "Capital as Process and the History of Capitalism" in *Business History Review* 91 (Autumn 2017): 483-510.

One outstanding question regarding Korean indentured labor migration to Mexico that arises from a closer look at sources relating to the economic aspects of the context is whether there was possibly another migration of Koreans to the Yucatecan haciendas.

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[105] Joseph and Wells, "Corporate Control of a Monocrop Economy" and Wilkins, *Emergence of Multinational Enterprise* pp. 115-34, 149-72.

Chapter 1 of John Kenneth Turner's muckraking journalistic account *Barbarous Mexico*, entitled "The Slaves of Yucatan," notes around "3,000 Koreans (Chinese)" working on the plantations during his undercover visit posing as a prospective investor. While I had initially considered this a factor of Turner's inability to distinguish between Koreans and Chinese people, Evans also notes Korea as "the origin of up to three thousand workers who came in two different waves," citing Roland Chardon's report to the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences in 1961. I did not find this information on the page cited, but I have been able to locate the citation Chardon relies upon in the Archivo General del Estado de Yucatán (AGEY)—Gonzalo Cámara Zavala's "Historia de la industria henenequenera hasta 1919" in Enciclopedia Yucatanense, published in 1947. Chardon notes a yellow fever outbreak that hit the Korean and Yaqui laborer the hardest in 1909; by combing through the citation at AGEY (Poder Ejecutivo 1909, file: Sanidad Box 642), I was able to contribute to the growing collection of Korean migration-related documents at AGEY that the Korean descendant community has been compiling by bringing to light official correspondence related to the outbreak that had not been examined by archivists and researchers prior to this date.

Global migration & immigration history

My first graduate-level course on global migration was a history seminar entitled "Migrations and Mobilities" and co-taught by historians Emily Osborn and Tara Zahra during the fall of 2019. I am greatly indebted to this course for guiding me towards contextualizing migration in historical perspective and dislodging the assumptions I had brought in from my legal training.

Among historical immigration scholarship generally: Adam McKeown's *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders*, is considered a seminal text that turned migration historians' attention, previously centered around the West, towards Asia. John Torpey's *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the States* is another groundbreaking text that studies the development of the administrative apparatus for migration in the context of changing notions of citizenship and property.

Legal scholars and historians who have written on the development of immigration law in the U.S. context include Mae Ngai, Hiroshi Motomura, and Gerald Neuman. Texts I consulted include *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*, *Americans in Waiting: The Lost Story of Immigration and Citizenship in the United States*, and *Strangers to the Constitution: Immigrants, Borders, and Fundamental Law* respectively.

Korean history & Japanese colonialism

For historical context of East Asia's borders being opened generally by Western imperialism, and specifically in the Korean context: Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History*. (Chapter Two: "The Interests, 1860-1904," particularly pp. 86-99) and Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1910.* Berkeley: University of California Press (1995).

The edited volume by Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* is still considered the authoritative collection examining Japanese colonialism in depth as well as in comparative perspective.

2: Modern Korean history through family narratives

The microhistories of my grandparents and parents stretching from colonial Korea to the present were collected from semi-structured interviews I conducted with my dad during April and May 2020, the height of the COVID-19 lockdown in Chicago. These conversations were motivated by my own curiosity as well as worry about my family's health during an intense period of uncertainty. They culminated in a creative nonfiction essay I wrote for the creative writing workshop I took with Lina Ferreira Cabeza-Vanegas in spring of 2020, entitled "The Great American Essay," when all classes were conducted virtually due to the pandemic. Writing in a creative nonfiction register about my family story while simultaneously researching and writing this MA thesis allowed me to appreciate the connections between them and attempt to leverage the essay form to hybridize these narratives.

3: My research process during COVID-19 and protests against structural racism

The auto-ethnography-like portion of the essay covers my time in Chicago in pursuit of my research project. I went on the Chicago Architecture Foundation Center's River Cruise on July 14, 2019; the double-decker bus tour covering Hyde Park and the downtown Loop area on September 26, 2019; and watched the Joffrey Ballet production of the Nutcracker on December 7, 2019.

The quotation "barbarous" "exotic races" and "real imported natives" is from the 1893 World Columbian Exposition Wikipedia page [last accessed September 28, 2020].

Rachel Cohen, my creative writing instructor, noted the significance of the Deering name by informing me of the Deering family galleries at the Art Institute of Chicago. I am grateful for her support and encouragement during my early attempts to wrestle with the narrative form for the historical case study.

Following reports of St. Patrick's Day celebrations drawing crowds winding out the doors of pubs and bars around the city despite news of COVID-19 infections rising in the United States, a state-wide shelter-in-place was instituted starting March 16, 2019. The Chicago Riverwalk and LakeFront Trail were closed soon thereafter, on March 26. Newspaper articles and announcements about LakeFront Trail closure, etc. are widely available through news outlets, including the Chicago Tribune.

The peaceful rally that led to Mayor Lightfoot's decision to temporarily remove the Columbus statue in Grant Park after clashes with police was held on July 17, 2020 at

Buckingham Fountain. I attended the event with a couple of friends after receiving a Facebook event invite. It was entitled "Defund CPD, Decolonize Zhigaagoong: Black, Indigenous Solidarity Rally" and was cosponsored by the Chi-Nations Youth Council, Black Lives Matter Chicago, BYP100, among others.

I enrolled in the Yucatec Maya Summer Institute through the Consortium in Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Duke University, with Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowship funding. Lectures by Dr. Fidencio Briceno Chel, one of the foremost linguists of Yucatec Maya, on Maya cosmovision and Dr. David Mora Marín, linguistic anthropologist specializing in Mesoamericanist linguistics, were extremely helpful as a primer for Maya cultural and linguistic history.

For privacy reasons, I decided to withhold the identity of my small group teacher, whose son's name I include at the end of the second part of the essay.

John G. Davis's biographical details are from *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality*, by Richard Kluger, widely considered the definitive account of *Brown v Board* history. It was strongly suggested pre-orientation reading by Ronald Sullivan, the professor leading the mock lecture I attended during my law school's Admitted Students Week program. I did not recognize the named partner in the law firm I ended up working at until after the fact. Some details noted in the book but not mentioned in my essay include the following passage:

> "[W]hile the partners and associates at Davis, Polk who honor his memory deny any insinuation of racism in the man, citing examples of his small kindnesses and private philanthropic acts he performed for several blacks, Davis was at best indifferent to the blacks and at worst a closet white-supremacist in certain habits of thought and manner. His biographer notes that, like many men of his generation, "Davis made mildly derogatory comments about Negroes in passing. ('I am busier than a n***** at election' was the most common.) His correspondence, too, discloses a strong hint that he believed the gulf between the races ran far beyond skin color and involved "differences in the intellectual processes, in tastes and in aptitudes" (p. 530).

4: Contemporary developments in space travel

All of the information related to this strand was culled from public news outlets and social media—Elon Musk's Twitter account in particular (@elonmusk).

The first Anglophone philosopher refers to Alison M. Jaggar and her work "Decolonizing Anglo-American Political Philosophy: The Case of Migration Justice" in *Aristotelian Society Supplementary Volume XCIV,* Migration Justice. The second Anglophone philosopher refers to Margaret Moore and her article, "The Taking of Territory and the

Wrongs of Colonialism" in *The Journal of Political Philosophy,* Vol. 27, No. 1 (2019), 87-106, where she mentions the Bermuda anecdote on page 98.

Discussion about the current focus on extraterrestrial, intelligent non-human life when considering ethics of space travel—and the absence of a critical perspective on our present migration debates—relates to the article "Humans, aliens and the big ethical questions" by Ben Sachs, published in *Astronomy & Geophysics,* Volume 59, Issue 3, June 2018, pp. 3.41-3.42 and also referenced within the methodology section of this thesis. ("What happens when an astro-biologist, a theologian, a political theorist, and a philosopher discuss the ethics of human-alien encounters?)

The creative writing workshop on speculating futures noted in my essay was led by poet and editor Tara Betts, entitled "Prison, Poetry, and the Pandemic: Speculating Joy and Futures" and sponsored by the Creative Writing Program at the University of Chicago. It was held virtually on July 1, 2020.

While reviewing my citations and references for the first draft of this thesis submitted for review, I came across an article online covering the controversy over the colonialist language used to articulate human ambitions in space from www.space.com, under the title "Bill Nye: It's Space Settlement, Not Colonization" (https://www.space.com/bill-nye-space-settlement-not-colonization.html), published on October 25, 2019. This article details the work of Lucianne Walkowicz, currently a resident astronomer at the Adler Planetarium, including the June, 2018 "unconference," "Decolonizing Mars," she organized during her term as Baruch S. Blumberg/NASA Chair of Astrobiology at the Kluge Center of the Library of Conference (https://www.decolonizemars.org) as well as her initiative, The JustSpace Alliance, which brings together an interdisciplinary group of researchers, artists, and activists to spark critical engagement on inclusion, equity, and justice issues related to space and Earth. I am excited to utilize these resources and learn from these projects as I continue to develop my own.