

The background of the slide features a close-up, slightly angled view of the American flag's red and white stripes. A solid blue vertical bar is positioned on the left side of the slide.

CONTESTED BOUNDARIES

THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE OF US CITIZENSHIP

A circular gold-colored logo for the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services is partially visible on the left side of the slide. It contains the text "U.S. CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION SERVICES" around the perimeter.

U.S. Citizenship
and Immigration
Services

October 1, 2021

American University Washington College of Law



AGENDA

8:30AM-9AM Breakfast & Welcome Remarks by Dean Roger Fairfax

9:10AM-9:30AM Opening Remarks by Mae Ngai (Columbia)

9:30AM-10:40AM Panel 1: Race, Sovereignty & Citizenship

(Discussion of the evolving racial boundaries of US citizenship and the significance of settler colonialism to US citizenship)

- **Christopher Bonner** (University of Maryland) *Go West, Black Man*
 - **Stephen Kantrowitz** (University of Wisconsin) *Settlers, Citizens, and Civilization: The Hoocak Confrontation with Colonialism, 1825-1881*
 - **Rachel Rosenbloom** (Northeastern) (Colloquium Steering Committee Member) *Citizenship and Soil: Race, Gender, and Settler Colonialism in Early-Twentieth-Century Efforts to Restrict Birthright Citizenship*
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10:40AM-10:55AM Break

10:55AM-12:20PM Panel 2: Citizenship and Empire

(Discussion of how, as the U.S. expanded its presence globally, it also worked to regulate citizenship using shifting conceptions of jurisdiction, territory, and family status)

- **Kristin Collins** (Boston University) (Colloquium Steering Committee Member) *Citizenship Without Borders*
 - **Rose Cuison-Villazor** (Rutgers) *Compelled Citizenship*
 - **Sam Erman** (University of Southern California) *The Invention of Jus Soli and Jus Sanguinis*
 - **Lucy Salyer** (University of New Hampshire) *Accidental Americans and the Troubled History of Expatriation*
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12:20PM-1:10PM Lunch

1:15PM-2:15PM Discussion

Discussion between **Martha Jones** (Johns Hopkins University) & **Erika Lee** (Minnesota) (moderated by **Amanda Frost**) (Discussion of the historical forces that have influenced US immigration and citizenship laws and policies, and how debates over that history have shaped public understanding and public policy)

2:20PM-3:45PM Panel 3: Creating New Citizens

(Discussion of the history, politics, and policy behind legalization and naturalization policies)

- **Atossa Abrahamian** (Journalist & Author) *Creating New Citizens*
 - **Amanda Frost** (American University) *Restorative Citizenship*
 - **Hiroshi Motomura** (UCLA) *Legalization and Creating New Citizens*
 - **Jayesh Rathod** (American University) *Fleeing the Land of the Free*
 - **Kelton Williams**, USCIS historian
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3:45PM-4:00PM Break

4:00PM-5:30PM Panel 4: Naturalization and Integration of New Citizens

(Discussion of laws, policies and programs designed to integrate immigrants on their way to citizenship)

- **George Escobar** (Board Member of National Partnership for New Americans & Chief of Programs and Services at CASA of Maryland)
- **Ming Hsu Chen** (University of Colorado) (Colloquium Steering Committee Member) *Citizenship for Essential Service*
- **Kelly Ryan** (USCIS) (Chair, Interagency Naturalization Working Group on Promoting Naturalization)
- **Emily Ryo** (University of Southern California) *The Importance of Race, Gender, and Religion in Naturalization Adjudication in the United States and Citizenship Lottery: Inequalities in Naturalization Adjudication*

BIOGRAPHIES

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Opening Remarks



Mae Ngai is the is Lung Family Professor of Asian American Studies and Professor of History at Columbia University, and Co-Director of the Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race. She is a U.S. legal and political historian interested in the histories of immigration, citizenship, nationalism, and the Chinese diaspora. She is author of the award winning *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (2004); *The Lucky Ones: One Family and the Extraordinary Invention of Chinese America* (2010); and *The Chinese Question: The Gold Rushes and Global Politics* (2021). Ngai has written on immigration history and policy for the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, the *Atlantic*, the *Nation*, and *Dissent*. Before becoming a historian she was a labor-union organizer and educator in New York City, working for District 65-UAW and the Consortium for Worker Education. She is now writing *Nation of Immigrants: A Short History of an Idea* (under contract with Princeton University Press).

Panel 1: Race, Sovereignty & Citizenship



Christopher Bonner specializes in African American history and the nineteenth-century United States. He published his first book, *Remaking the Republic: Black Politics and the Creation of American Citizenship*, in 2020 with the University of Pennsylvania Press. This book centers free black Americans in the legal transformations of the United States during the mid-nineteenth century. His work also appears in the collection *New Perspectives on the Black Intellectual Tradition* (Northwestern University Press, 2018). His research has been supported by the Library Company of Philadelphia and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Originally from Chesapeake, Virginia, he earned his B.A. from Howard University and Ph.D. from Yale University.



Stephen Kantrowitz is Plaenert-Bascom and Vilas Distinguished Achievement Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where he has taught since receiving his Ph.D. from Princeton in 1995. He is the author of *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy* (UNC, 2000), *More Than Freedom: Fighting for Black Citizenship in a White Republic, 1829-1889* (Penguin, 2012), and the forthcoming *Settlers, Citizens, and Civilization: The Hoocak Confrontation with Colonialism, 1825-1881*. He has been a Fulbright Distinguished Chair at the University of Southern Denmark and a fellow at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.



Rachel Rosenbloom is Professor of Law and Associate Dean for Experiential Education at Northeastern University School of Law. She has also taught as a visiting professor at Yale Law School and has been a visiting scholar at the University of Cadiz (Spain). Prior to joining the faculty at Northeastern, Professor Rosenbloom was a Human Rights Fellow at the Center for Human Rights and International Justice at Boston College, where she was the supervising attorney for the center's Post-Deportation Human Rights Project. She has been widely quoted in the media on the wrongful detention and deportation of US citizens and permanent residents, and testified on this subject at a 2008 congressional hearing before the House Subcommittee on Immigration. Professor Rosenbloom co-founded Northeastern's Immigrant Justice Clinic and served as co-director of the clinic from 2017 to 2020. In 2020-21, she was a Faculty Fellow at the Northeastern University Humanities Center. Her scholarship focuses on the intersection of criminal law and immigration law and the role of race and immigration enforcement in the construction of U.S. citizenship. She is currently writing a book about conflicts over American birthright citizenship since 1868.

Panel 2: Citizenship and Empire



Kristin Collins is Professor of Law at Boston University School of Law. Her research focuses on the history of American regulation of citizenship, immigration, and the family. She is currently working on a book provisionally titled *Blood and Nation: The Making of the Citizen Family in American Law*. In the last five years, Professor Collins' scholarship has been relied on by federal courts in the resolution of constitutional challenges to modern citizenship laws, including by the Supreme Court in *Sessions v. Morales-Santana* (2017). She has held visiting professorships at Yale Law School and the University of Chicago Law School, as well as fellowships at the Rothermere American Institute of Oxford University and the Massachusetts Historical Society.



Rose Cuison-Villazor is Interim Dean, Professor of Law and Chancellor's Social Justice Scholar at Rutgers University School of Law in Newark, New Jersey. Between 2019 and 2021, she served as Vice Dean. She is also Director of the Center for Immigration Law, Policy and Social Justice. Dean Cuison-Villazor teaches and writes in the areas of immigration and citizenship law, property law, critical race theory, Asian Americans and the law, and equal protection law. Dean Cuison-Villazor's scholarship has appeared in top law journals in the country, including *California Law Review*, *Columbia Law Review*, *Fordham Law Review*, *Harvard Law Review Forum*, *Minnesota Law Review*, *New York University Law Review*, *North Carolina Law Review*, *Southern California Law Review*, *Washington University Law Review*, and *University of California Davis Law Review*. Her books include *IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE LAW AND POLICY* (8th Ed.) (with Stephen Legomsky, Anil Kalhan and David Thronson) (forthcoming 2021); *PROPERTY AND IDENTITY* with Al Brophy and Kali Murray (forthcoming 2021); *RACE AND RACES, CASES AND RESOURCES FOR A DIVERSE AMERICA* (3rd Ed.) (with Juan Perea, Richard Delgado, and Osamudia James) (forthcoming 2022); *THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT OF 1965: LEGISLATING A NEW AMERICA* (with Gabriel "Jack" Chin) (Cambridge University Press) 2015) and *LOVING V. VIRGINIA IN A POST-RACIAL WORLD: RETHINKING RACE, SEX, AND MARRIAGE* (with Kevin Maillard) (Cambridge University Press 2012). Dean Cuison-Villazor obtained her LL.M from Columbia Law School and J.D. from American University.



Sam Erman is a Professor of Law at the University of Southern California. He is the author of *Almost Citizens: Puerto Rico, the U.S. Constitution, and Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), which won the American Society for Legal History's William Nelson Cromwell Book Prize for the best book in the field of American legal history by an early career scholar. He is currently at work with Nathan Perl-Rosenthal on a North Atlantic history of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* citizenship.



Lucy Salyer, a graduate of the Jurisprudence & Social Policy Program at UC Berkeley School of Law, is professor of history at the University of New Hampshire. Salyer's research focuses on the contentious history of American immigration and citizenship policies as well as the administrative structures created to enforce them. Since the publication of her first book, *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (UNC, 1995, awarded the Theodore Saloutos Prize for best book in immigration history), Salyer has been engaged in a history of US citizenship policy, tied together by the shifting meanings of allegiance. That long-term project has yielded several publications, including a history of the right of expatriation in *Under the Starry Flag: How a Band of Irish Americans Joined the Fenian Revolt and Sparked a Crisis in Citizenship* (Harvard University Press, 2018; recipient of the Myra F. Bernath Book Award for best book in foreign relations history) and articles exploring birthright citizenship in the Wong Kim Ark case, Asian American military service and racial barriers to naturalization in the World War I era, and naturalization reforms during Reconstruction.

Salyer's work has been supported by fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Council for Learned Societies, the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, and the National Science Foundation. She has shared her expertise in a variety of public forums – podcasts, documentaries, public radio interviews -- and has led numerous workshops on immigration history and immigration law for secondary school teachers.

Discussion



Professor Martha S. Jones is the Society of Black Alumni Presidential Professor and Professor of History at The Johns Hopkins University. She is a legal and cultural historian whose work examines how black Americans have shaped the story of American democracy.

Professor Jones is the author of *Vanguard: How Black Women Broke Barriers, Won the Vote, and Insisted on Equality for All* (2020), winner of the LATimes history prize for 2020, and *Birthright Citizens: A History of Race and Rights in Antebellum America* (2018), winner of the Organization of American Historians Liberty Legacy Award for the best book in civil rights history, the American Historical Association Littleton-Griswold Prize for the best book in American legal history, and the American Society for Legal History John Phillip Reid book award for the best book in Anglo-American legal history. Professor Jones is also author of *All Bound Up Together: The Woman Question in African American Public Culture 1830-1900* (2007) and a coeditor of *Toward an Intellectual History of Black Women* (University of North Carolina Press (2015), together with many important articles and essays.

Professor Jones is a public historian, frequently writing for broader audiences at the Washington Post, the Atlantic, USA Today, Public Books, the Chronicle of Higher Education, and Time, the curatorship of museum exhibitions including "Reframing the Color Line" and "Proclaiming Emancipation" in conjunction with the William L. Clements Library, and museum, film and video productions with the Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery, the Charles Wright Museum of African American History, PBS, The American Experience, the Southern Poverty Law Center, Netflix, and Arte (France.)

Professor Jones holds a Ph.D. in history from Columbia University and a J.D. from the CUNY School of Law. Prior to the start of her academic career, she was a public interest litigator in New York City, recognized for her work a Charles H. Revson Fellow on the Future of the City of New York at Columbia University.

Professor Jones currently serves as a Co-president of the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians, and on the Executive Board of the Society of American Historians.



Erika Lee is an award-winning historian and author, President-Elect of the Organization of American Historians, Regents Professor of History and Asian American Studies, and Director of the Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota. Lee's award-winning books include: *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (University of North Carolina Press, 2003), *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America* (co-authored with Judy Yung, Oxford University Press, 2010), *The Making of Asian America: A History* (Simon & Schuster, 2015; Chinese version, 2019, Korean version forthcoming) and the recently-published *America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States* (Basic Books, 2019), which won the American Book Award and the Asian/Pacific American Award for Literature, as well as other honors. Lee also directs three major digital humanities projects: *Immigrant Stories*, *#ImmigrationSyllabus*, and *Immigrants in COVID America* and regularly appears in the media, including featured appearances in the PBS film series "Asian Americans," the History Channel's "America: The Promised Land," PBS's "The Chinese Exclusion Act," and interviews with CNN, PBS NewsHour, National Public Radio, the BBC, the New York Times, and the Los Angeles Times.

Panel 3: Creating New Citizens

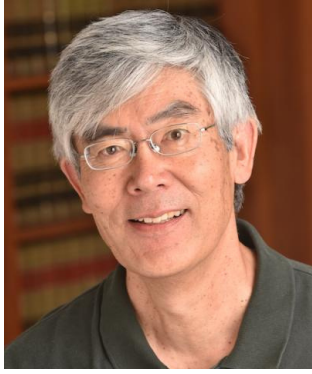


Atossa Araxia Abrahamian is the author of *The Cosmopolites: the Coming of the Global Citizen* (Columbia Global Reports, 2015) and a former editor at the Nation and Al Jazeera America. Her reporting, essays and criticism have appeared in the New York Times, the New York Review of Books, the London Review of Books, the Intercept, the Guardian, and many other publications. She is working on a second non-fiction book about free zones and extraterritorial jurisdictions for Riverhead. Atossa is the recipient of a 2021 Silvers Grant for Works in Progress and was a 2019 finalist for the Livingston award for young journalists. She lives in Brooklyn with her husband and son.



Amanda Frost is the Ann Loeb Bronfman Distinguished Professor of Law and Government. Professor Frost writes and teaches in the fields of constitutional law, immigration and citizenship law, federal courts and jurisdiction, and judicial ethics. Her scholarship has been cited by over a dozen federal and state courts, and she has been invited to testify on the topics of her articles before both the House and Senate Judiciary Committees. Her non-academic writing has been published in *The Atlantic*, *The New Republic*, *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Slate*, *USA Today*, and *The American Prospect* and she authors the "Academic round-up" column for SCOTUSblog. In 2019 she was awarded a fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies to complete her book, *You Are Not American: Citizenship Stripping from Dred Scott to the Dreamers* (2021), which was named as a "New & Noteworthy" Book by the New York Times Book Review.

Professor Frost is a member of the Editorial Board of Oxford University's *Border Criminologies*, an Academic Fellow at the Pound Civil Justice Institute, and a member of the National Constitution Center's Coalition of Freedom Advisory Board. Professor Frost has been a visiting professor at Harvard Law School, UCLA Law School, Université Paris X Nanterre, and the Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz, Germany.



Hiroshi Motomura is the Susan Westerberg Prager Distinguished Professor of Law at the UCLA School of Law, where he also serves as the Faculty Co-Director of the law school's Center for Immigration Law and Policy. Hiroshi is the author of *Immigration Outside the Law* (2014) and *Americans in Waiting* (2006); and the co-author of two law school casebooks: *Immigration and Citizenship: Process and Policy* (9th ed. 2021) and *Forced Migration: Law and Policy* (2d ed. 2013). Before joining the UCLA law faculty, Hiroshi taught at the University of Colorado Law School, where he was named President's Teaching Scholar in 1997, and at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, School of Law. He received the UNC Distinguished Teaching Award for Post-Baccalaureate Instruction in 2008, the UCLA Distinguished Teaching Award in 2014, and the UCLA School of Law's Rutter Award for Excellence in Teaching in 2021. He is one of 26 law professors in the United States profiled in *What the Best Law Teachers Do* (2013). Hiroshi is a founding director of the Rocky Mountain Immigrant Advocacy Network (RMIAN), and he was a director of the National Immigration Law Center from 2011 through 2020. He is now at work on a book on the future of migration law and policy, supported in part by a Guggenheim Fellowship. The first phase of this project appeared in 2020 in the *Cornell Law Review* as an article, *The New Migration Law: Migrants, Refugees, and Citizens in an Anxious Age*.



Jayesh Rathod is Professor of Law and Director of the Immigrant Justice Clinic at American University Washington College of Law. His areas of expertise and scholarly interests include immigration law, labor and employment law, and clinical legal education.

Professor Rathod has been recognized for his innovative teaching, including the use of technology and the promotion of bilingual education within U.S. law schools. His body of scholarship includes empirical, applied and theoretical work, and covers topics relating to immigration law, labor & employment law, and legal pedagogy. Professor Rathod's research appears in a variety of prominent journals, including the *Arizona Law Review*, *Houston Law Review*, *Michigan Journal of Law Reform*, and *U.C. Irvine Law Review*. In 2018, he received the Pauline Ruyle Moore Award for outstanding scholarship in the area of public law.

Professor Rathod has worked on cutting-edge cases and projects relating to immigration detention, removal defense (including criminal-immigration intersections), humanitarian relief, immigrant workers' rights, language access, and more. He has been invited to speak on immigration and workplace law topics at institutions across the United States, and has served as a commentator in local, national, and international media (including CNN, NBC News, and National Public Radio).

In 2016, Professor Rathod was a Fulbright Scholar at two universities in Brazil, where he taught courses on U.S. immigration law and comparative migration policy, and conducted research relating to the Brazilian immigration system. He is fluent in Spanish and proficient in Portuguese.

Over the course of his career, Professor Rathod has worked with numerous non-governmental organizations to advance the civil and human rights of communities in the United States and abroad. He currently serves on the Board of Directors of Ayuda, a non-profit organization based in the Washington, DC area.



Kelton Williams has served as an Education Program Specialist with the USCIS Office of Citizenship, Citizenship Education and Training Branch since 2015. Prior to joining USCIS, Kelton was an Assistant Professor of Educational Studies at Knox College in Galesburg, IL, where his research focused on the history of citizenship and civic education in the United States. He began his career teaching middle school and high school social studies in Texas while completing a M.Ed. and Ph.D. in Curriculum & Instruction at Texas A&M University. He received his BA in Political Science from Emory & Henry College in Emory, VA.

Panel 4: Naturalization and Integration of New Citizens



George Escobar, CASA is the Mid Atlantic Region's largest immigrant serving and advocacy organization with over 100,000 members in 3 states. George oversees CASA's service programming which includes legal assistance, naturalization support, workforce development, employment, adult education, case management, financial and health education initiatives. Programs within George's portfolio are charged with providing services that address disparities and create pathways to success for members while introducing them to CASA's power building and leadership development initiatives. George has over 20 years of experience working for both the public and non-profit sectors designing and leading a variety of programs targeting the Latino and immigrant community. George grew up in Los Angeles where his family moved from Mexico and was first introduced to community development work while serving in the Peace Corps in Tanzania, East Africa.



Ming Hsu Chen is a Professor at the University of Colorado. She holds appointments in law, political science, and ethnic studies, and she is the founding Faculty-Director of the Immigration and Citizenship Law Program. Professor Chen brings an interdisciplinary perspective to the study of race, immigration, and the administrative state. Her book, *Pursuing Citizenship in the Enforcement Era* (Stanford University Press 2020), uses theories of citizenship and first-person interviews to examine the pathway to citizenship for green card holders, international students, high tech workers, and DACA recipients in the contemporary US. Professor Chen has been with the University of Colorado Boulder since 2011 teaching courses on citizenship, immigration, administrative law, and Constitutional law. In 2021-2022, she is a visiting professor at U.C. Hastings College of Law. Professor Chen serves as co-editor for the Immigration Prof blog (@immprof), an executive committee member for the AALS Immigration Law section, and an active member in Law and Society Association Citizenship and Migration Collaborative Research Network.



Kelly Ryan is the Chair of the Interagency Working Group on Promotion of Naturalization and a Senior Advisor at USCIS. In October 2019, she returned to USCIS having concluded a 6-year international organization secondment as Coordinator of the Intergovernmental Consultations on Migration, Asylum and Refugees (IGC). She served as Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for Immigration in the DHS Office of Policy from 2010-2013. From 2002-2009, she was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration. She developed U.S. government policies on refugee assistance, admissions, migration, and population issues. During her tenure at DOS, she led inter-agency efforts to reform the United States refugee admissions program. She was a lead U.S. negotiator of the UN Convention on The Rights of Persons with Disabilities. From 1992-2002, Ms. Ryan practiced law, most recently as the chief of the Refugee and Asylum Division of the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) Office of the General Counsel. She directed the division responsible for advising the agency and the Department of Justice on issues involving immigration law and international protection under the U.S. legal system.

Ms. Ryan has advised United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as a member of its advisory group of eminent persons. Ms. Ryan was appointed by President Obama, and confirmed by the United States Senate on March 29, 2012, to be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Foundation, a U.S. development agency.



Emily Ryo is a professor of law and sociology at the USC Gould School of Law. She received a JD from Harvard Law School and a PhD in Sociology from Stanford University, where she was a National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellow. In 2021, she received the William A. Rutter Distinguished Teaching Award for excellence in law teaching. Her current research focuses on immigration law, criminal justice, legal attitudes, legal noncompliance, and access to justice. She approaches these issues through innovative interdisciplinary lenses, using both quantitative and qualitative methods. As an empirical legal scholar, she has published widely in both leading sociology and law journals. Her work on immigration detention, supported by the Russell Sage Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, among others, has focused on the causes, conditions, and consequences of immigration detention in the United States. Most recently, she served as the American Bar Foundation/JBP Foundation Access to Justice Faculty Fellow, investigating a variety of issues related to access to counsel and legal representation for immigrants in removal proceedings.