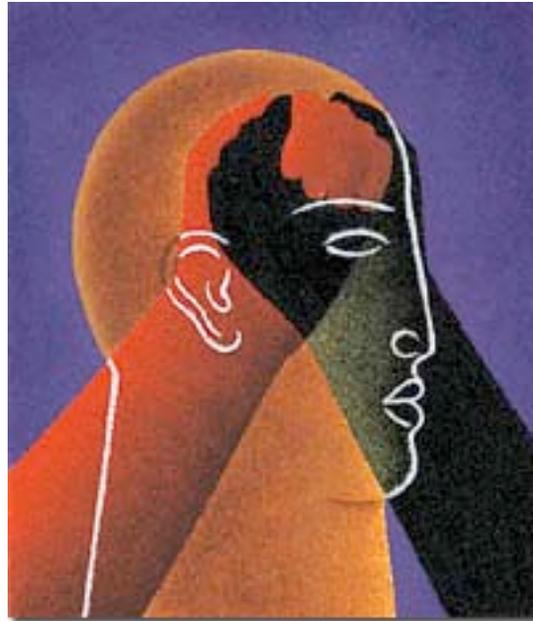


*Erasing Borders & Color Lines:
Contemporary Ethnic Relations in the U.S.*



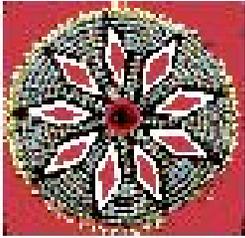
Dr. Gonzalo Santos, Sociology, CSU-Bakersfield

Presented at the 7th Annual Public Symposium on Race & Diversity

May 5th., 2006, Bakersfield California

This presentation is available at:

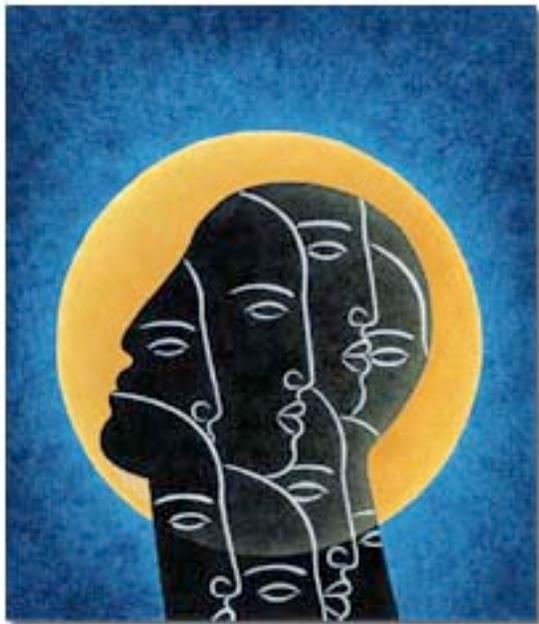
<http://www.csub.edu/~gsantos/publications.html> © 2005



What we will explore:

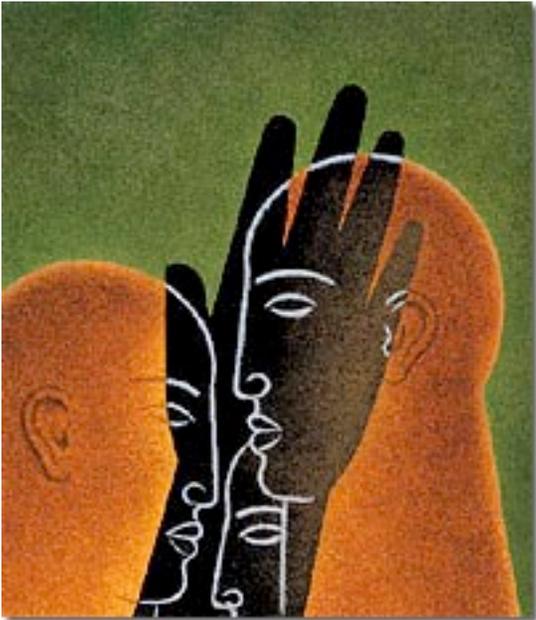
1. The specific nature of racist ideology in the modern capitalist world-system
2. Past and present racialization schemes in modern world history
3. The crisis of the national form of peoplehood in the 21 century, and the anti-immigrant racializing trends (and resistance to them) visible today in the world's rich North

Racism is an historically situated ideology of immanent difference



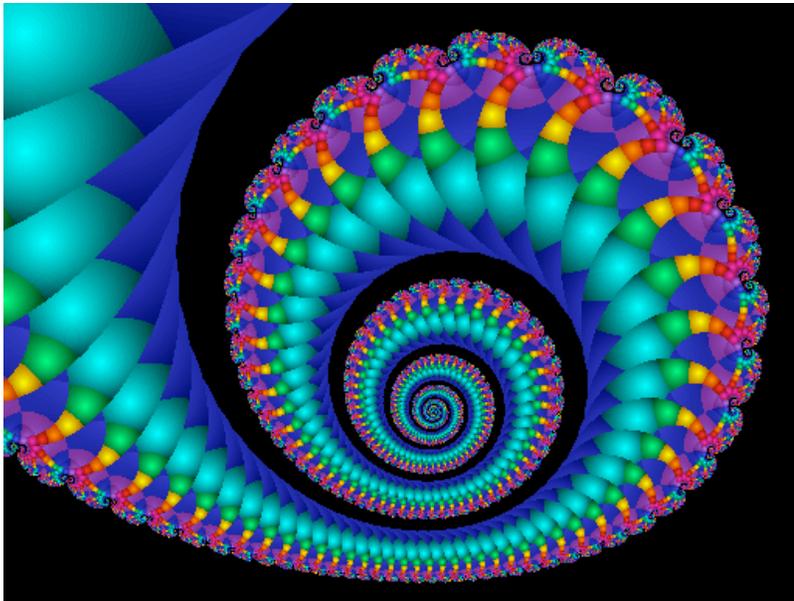
- Its defining characteristic is the claim of an *innate, indelible, immutable, and unbridgeable collective difference* that overrides all other differences and similitudes among human beings within any historical social system

Racism as a modern ideology



- Racism is different from xenophobia: racializers seek to *subordinate* and *exploit* the racialized; ancient xenophobes merely *feared* and sought to *expel* the stranger from their midst.
- The *logic of xenophobia* did become anachronistic, but *the logic of racism* can adapt to the changing historical conditions to remain “*rational*” & *legitimate vis-à-vis* the social system.
- Racist dynamics can nevertheless get out of hand, or are challenged, and thus can become “*irrational*” or *illegitimate*.

The Dilemma with Racism in the Modern Capitalist World-System



- On the one hand, it allows for greater exploitation of the racialized incorporated others, maximizing profits
- On the other hand, racial hatred can lead to genocide or expulsion, with the attendant loss of labor and profits

The zig zag ideological history of the capitalist modern world-system

- The rise of the modern world was accompanied by the simultaneous rise of *universalist* ideologies (the Enlightenment, the Protestant Reformation, democratic ideals) and *particularist* ideologies (racist, sexist, etc.)
- The “trick” has been to keep the “inferior others” close enough to super-exploit and hate, but not lose altogether to the detriment of the ever-richer, dominant “we”.
- Hence the zig-zag history of universalist/particularist ideologies in the modern world: racist extreme measures vs. the persistent refusal of the “racialized others” to accept their subordinate status and their relentless claims to extending the same universal values enjoyed and espoused by the dominant status groups.

Racism has adapted to changing historical circumstances

- The archetypal racist ideology in the history of the United States: anti-black & based on *skin color*.
- But *culture, religion, nationality, occupation, etc.*, can be reified and essentialized to the point they become the functional equivalent of “race” as a socially subordinating, exploitative category of laborers.
- In that sense, racism is a *scavenger ideology* that fastens on and gains its power from other sets of ideas and beliefs in specific socio-historical contexts, *racializing* some, while, upon meeting unsurmountable resistance, *de-racializing* others.

Examples of past racist ideologies

- **The anti-African** ideology of skin pigmentation, which arose during the centuries of the Atlantic slave trade and the proliferations of plantation colonial projects in the Americas, which eventually became bio-determinist in the US, class-based elsewhere (Brazil).
- **The anti-semitic** ideology of a religiously evil Jewish people, which arose in Christian Europe, was made official state doctrine by the Spanish Inquisition in the 16th century, and later led to the East European Pogroms (18th/19th centuries) and the 20th century Jewish Holocaust by the German Nazis.

Examples of past racist ideologies

- **The anti-indigenous** ideologies of cultural savagery that accompanied the European conquest & colonization of the Americas, Australia, etc., all of which led to genocide, relocations, enslavement, indentiture, etc.
- **The Apartheid and Jim Crow anti-black** legal segregationist ideologies of the *White Supremacist* Republics of South Africa (1948-1990) and post-Civil War USA (1877-1965), respectively, occupationally locking up nominally free but highly devalued labor.
- **The anti-Asian** imperialist ideologies of European cultural supremacy (*Orientalism*) and Japanese racial supremacy theories (vis-à-vis their newly colonial Asian subjects).

No wonder W.E.B. DuBois said in 1903, in the era of imperialism and “*scientific racism*:”



“The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line.”

Contemporary forms of racism

- **Anti-indigenous:** continued legal denial of cultural, political, and economic rights as peoples within the modern liberal national states; rampant discrimination, prejudice, and labor exploitation in Latin America against the “Indian.” Huge response in Bolivia, UN, etc.
- **Anti-black institutional racism in the USA:** profound inequalities left unresolved by the 1960s civil rights laws that dismantled legal discrimination and segregation; the rise of intolerance, neglect and abuse in the name of *individual merit* and the *color-blind* society: “legal” attacks against affirmative action; the culture wars; urban blight & poverty; dismantling of the liberal welfare state/New Deal social contract; criminalization of black youth & the Prison Industrial Complex.

Contemporary forms of racism

- **Anti-Arab/Muslim neo-imperialist ideology:**
 - The real target of the “Clash of Civilizations” thesis
 - Part of the US neoconservative geostrategic project to shore up declining US global hegemony by aggressive, unilateral military means, legitimized and launched after the attacks of September 11, 2001.
 - Already placed the Arab-American and Muslim American populations in a vulnerable “suspect” category subject to all sorts of state repressive activities and growing effects of stigmatization.
- **Ethnonationalist/inter-tribal “ethnic cleansing”** genocides in post-colonial Africa & post-socialist eastern European countries and former Soviet Union: Uganda, Rwanda, Bosnia, Chechnya, Nigeria, Darfur

Contemporary forms of racism

- **Anti-immigrant** *nativist* ideologies in all the rich, migrant receiving countries of the world:
 - Previously tempered by the Cold War Order and the universal pursuit of the “*national development project*” throughout the post-colonial Third World
 - Now a backlash to state regulated (Western Europe) and unregulated (US), past and present, massive guest worker/postcolonial flows to the North, greatly stimulated by the neoliberal economic globalization project known as the “*Washington Consensus*”.

“The problem of the 21 century is the problem of the border-line”

- The nation-state form of universal peoplehood is in profound crisis today: undermined from *above* by **globalization**, and from *below* by **unauthorized migration**
- But there is no recognition that the world, 60 years after the end of WW II, full decolonization, and the almost universal implementation of *national developmental projects* based on the US-led world economic and political institutions (IMF, WB, WTO, UN), increasingly failed after the mid-1970s to reach their set goals of universal economic prosperity & social development, and collapsed in the ‘80s!
- There is no acknowledgment that the remedy universally adopted since 1980 -the *Washington Consensus* reversion to 19th century neoliberal policies - exacerbated the situation, increasing the already vast gap between the North & South.

World Poverty: US \$1 & US \$2 a Day Income

(per capita, % of total populations)

Region	Income of US \$1 a day				Income of US \$2 a day			
	1980	1990	2003	2015	1980	1990	2003	2015
World	39.7	27.0	19.5	13.2	65.7	59.8	51.2	40.5
Latin America & Caribbean	11.3	12.1	10.4	8.9	29.9	29.6	25.4	22.2
East Asia	61.6	31.2	14.9	5.7	85.3	68.8	43.2	22.4
Southeast Asia	31.4	16.6	9.3	6.0	69.2	59.3	47.8	39.0
South Asia	52.3	40.9	28.4	14.4	89.0	85.4	75.7	60.1
Middle East & North Africa	3.2	2.5	2.0	1.7	26.5	21.8	20.8	17.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	42.6	44.1	45.7	44.6	73.0	75.8	76.4	75.5

Example: Mexico's employment and productivity by sector since NAFTA

Figura 9. Crecimiento medio del empleo anual por sector, antes y después del TLCAN

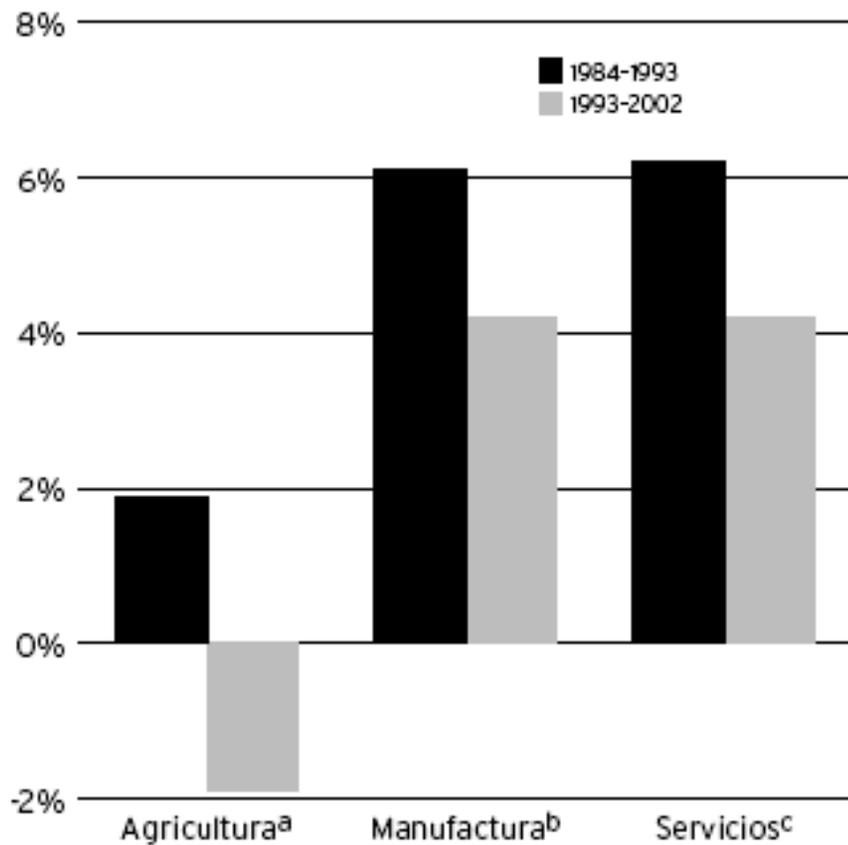
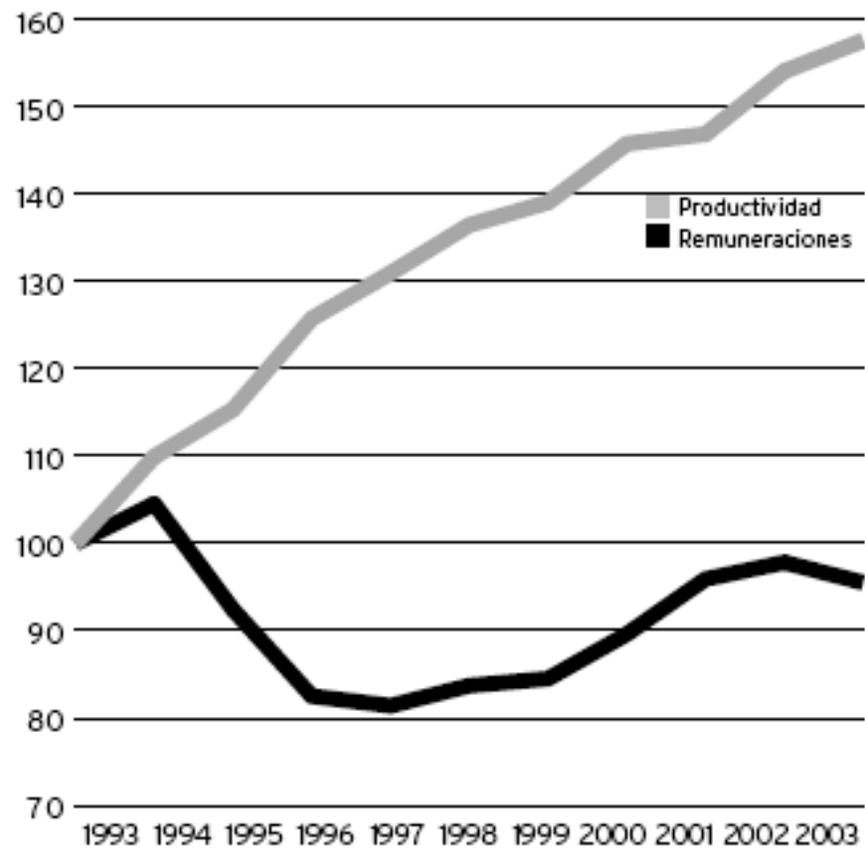
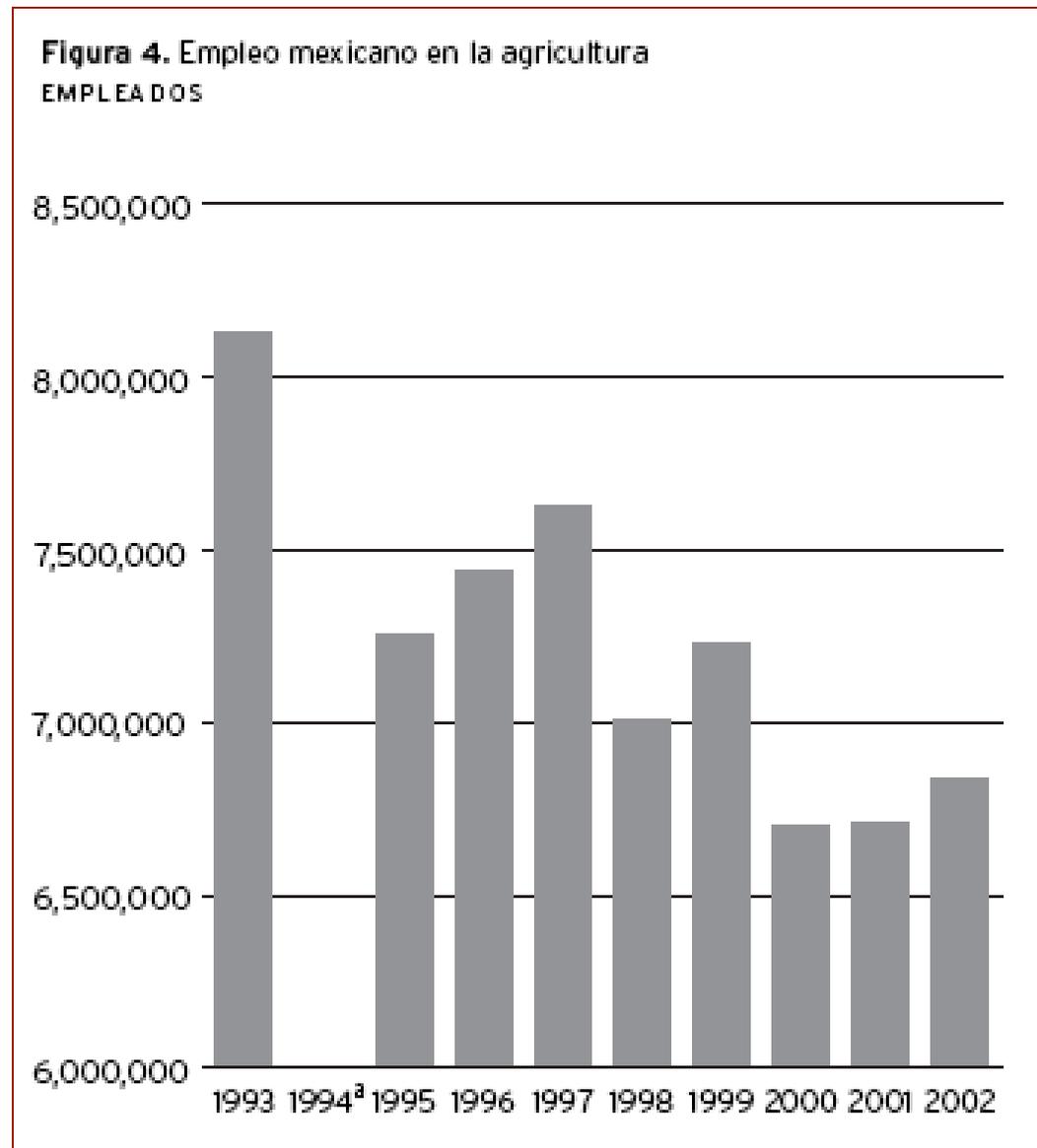


Figura 10. Productividad y remuneraciones en el sector de manufacturas en México
ÍNDICE: 1993=100



Mexico's agricultural employment since NAFTA



Trade balance and manufacturing employment in Mexico since NAFTA

Figura 1. Balanza comercial de México con Estados Unidos, por sector
MILLONES DE DÓLARES

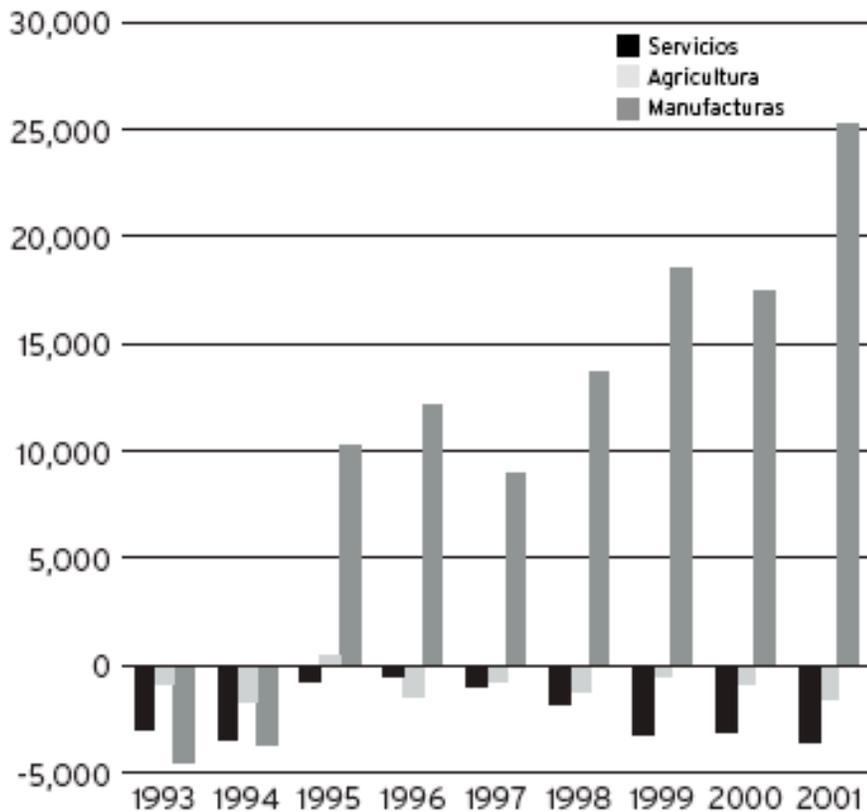
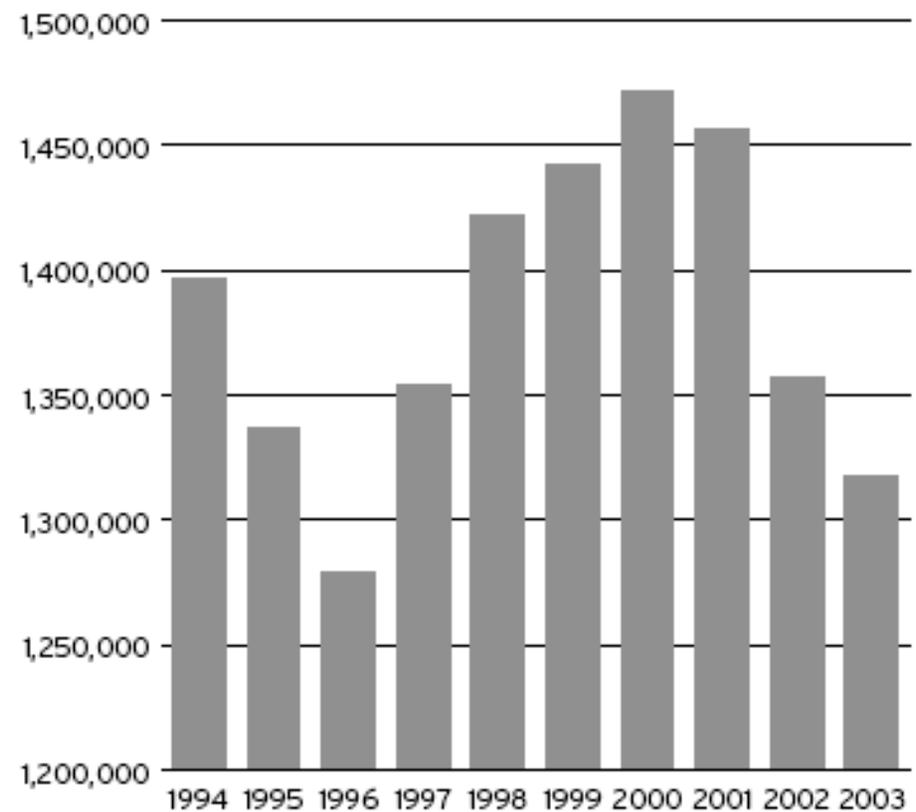


Figura 2. Sector de manufacturas sin inclusión de maquiladoras
EMPLEO TOTAL, 1 DE ENERO DE CADA AÑO



Result: Poverty in Mexico, 2000, 2004

<u>Mexicans (millions)</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2004</u>
National Population	97.7	104.1
Indigents	40.9	41.5
<u>Poor not indigents</u>	<u>38.3</u>	<u>43.6</u>
Total Poor	79.2	85.1
Non Poor	18.5	19.0

- Julio Boltvinik

ECONOMIA MORAL, *LA JORNADA*, 18 de noviembre de 2005

Over the last four decades, Mexico has experienced a massive exodus of its population to the United States

Figura 3. Crecimiento de la población nacida en México en los Estados Unidos
MILLONES

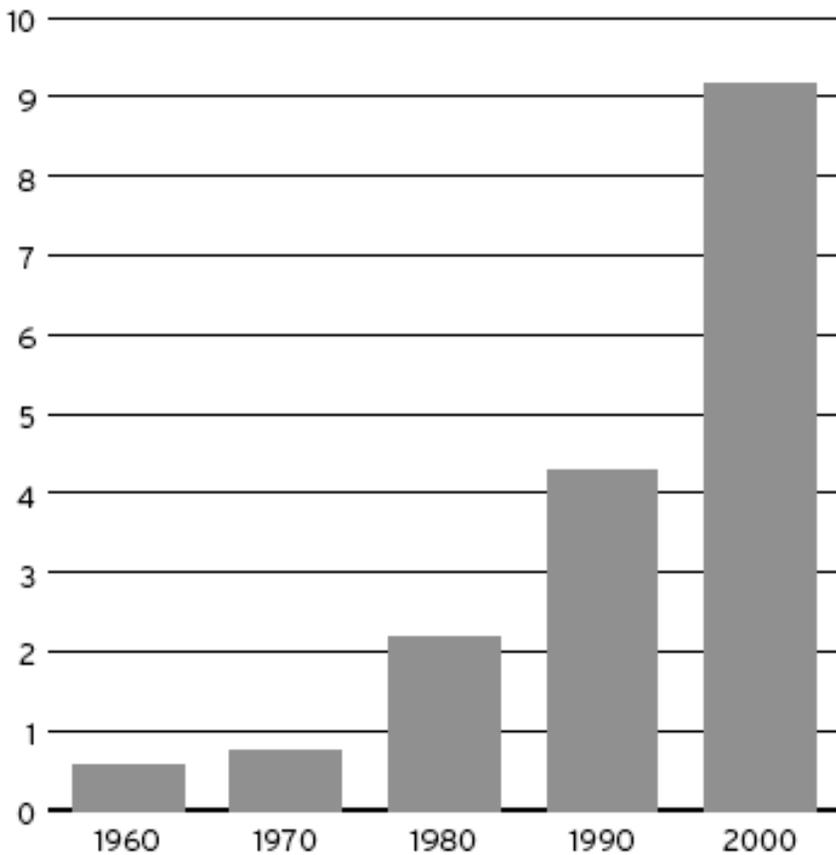
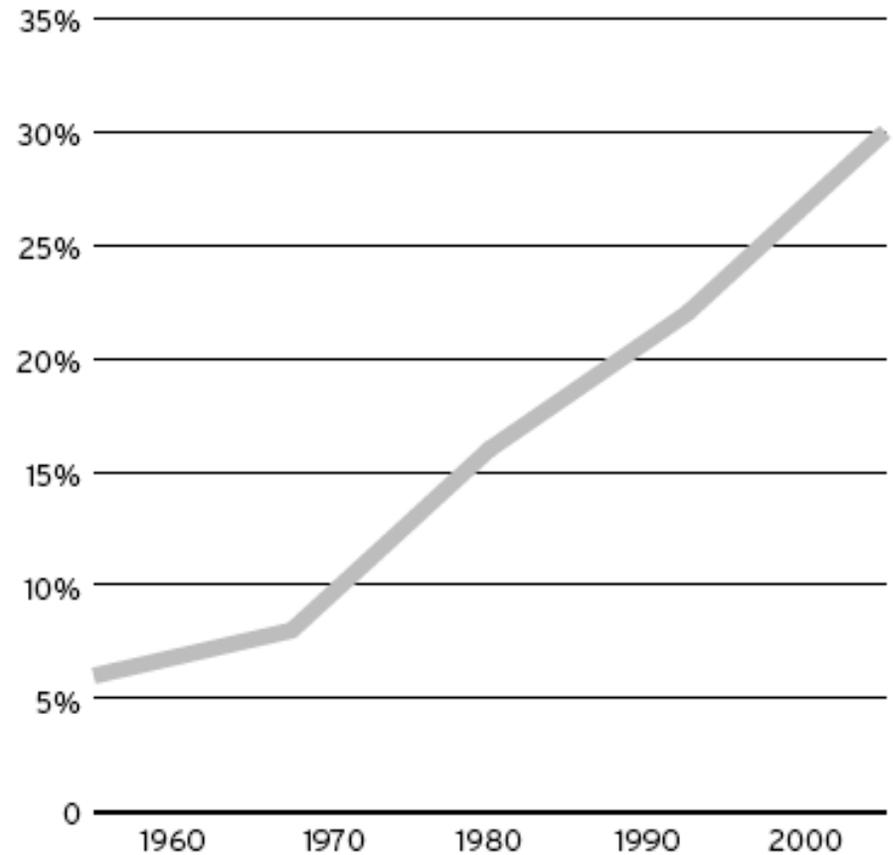


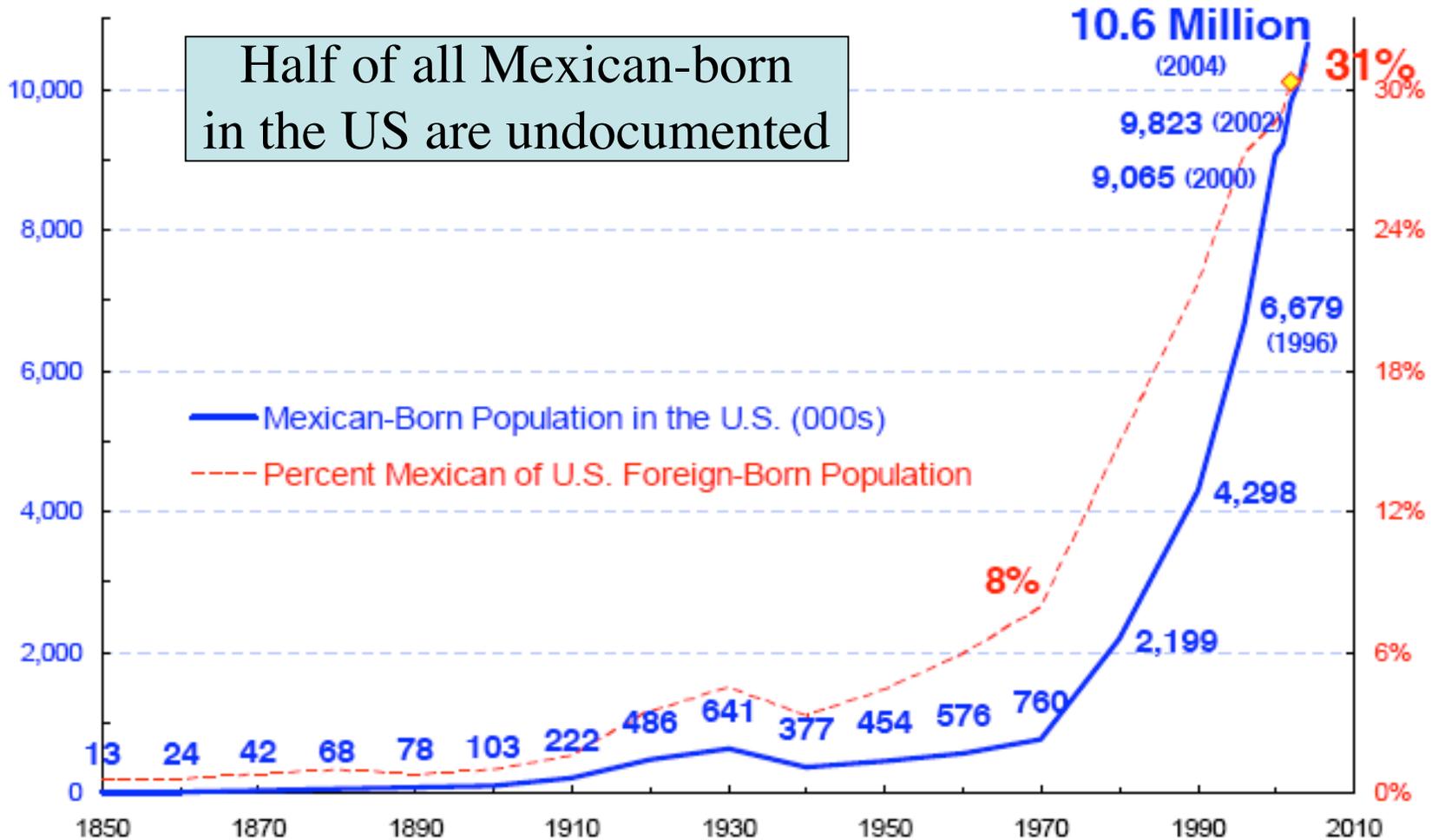
Figura 4. Porcentaje del crecimiento de la población nacida en México en los Estados Unidos



Rapid Growth of Mexicans in U.S.

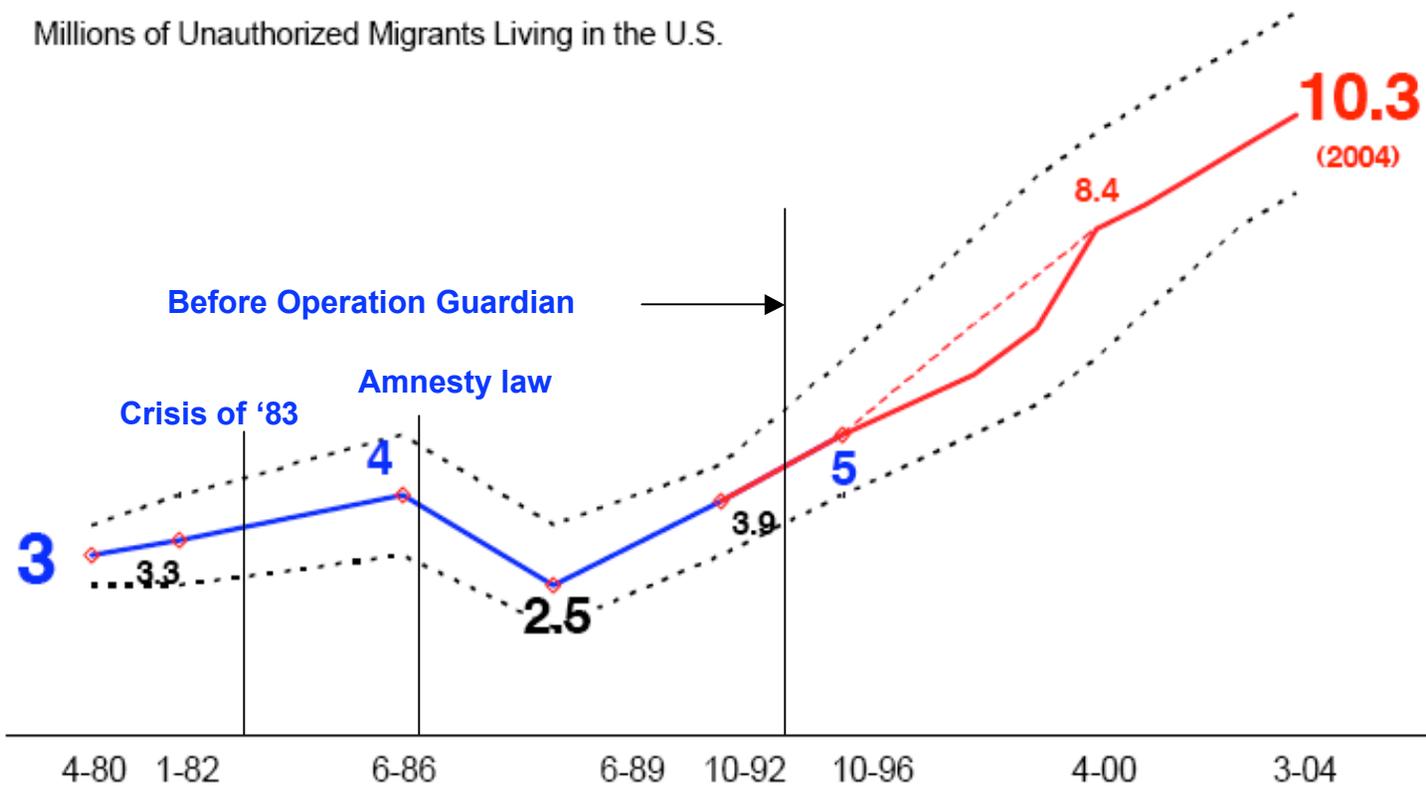
Thousands of Migrants in U.S.

Percent Mexican of Foreign-Born



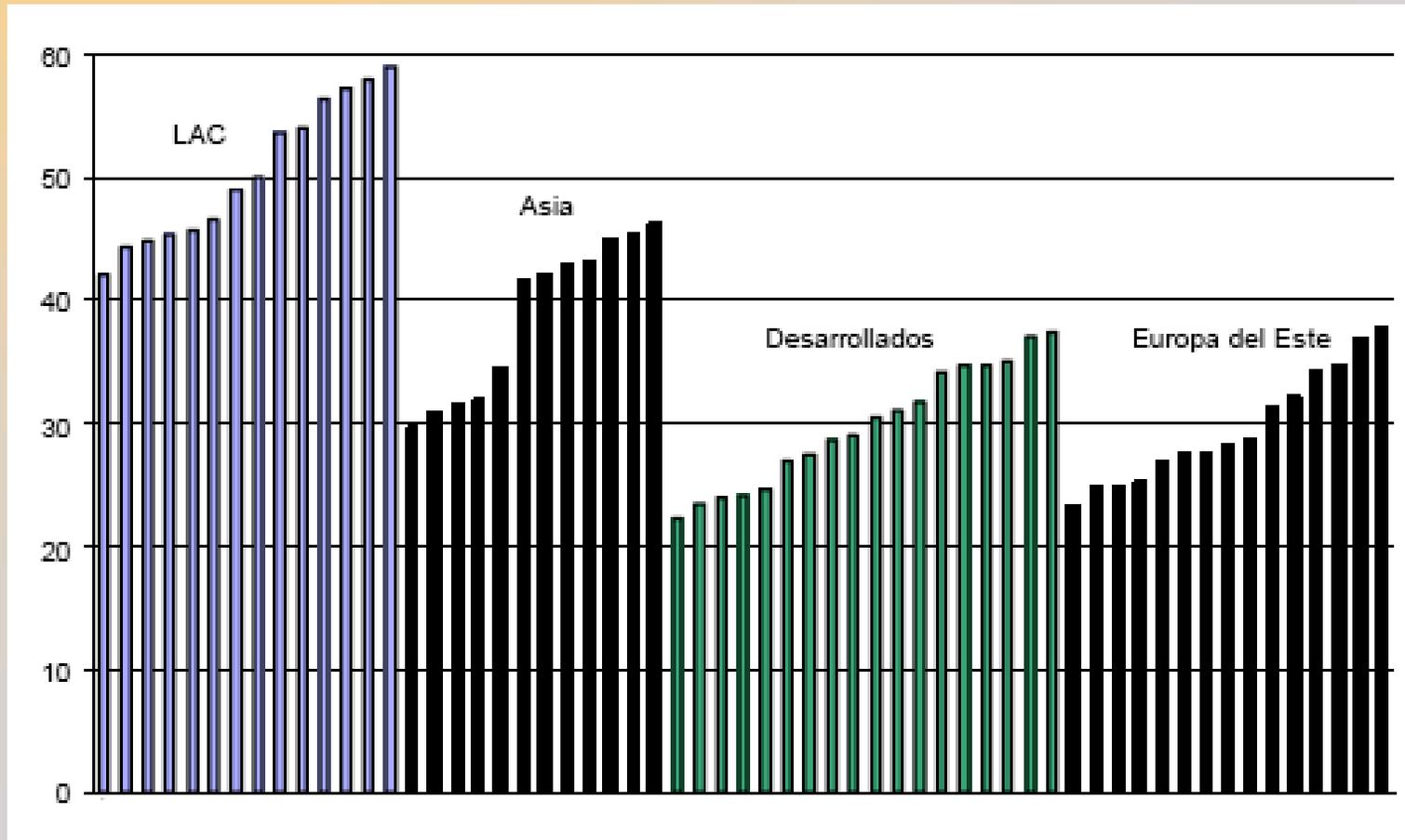
Unauthorized at New High — Details of Trend Uncertain

Millions of Unauthorized Migrants Living in the U.S.



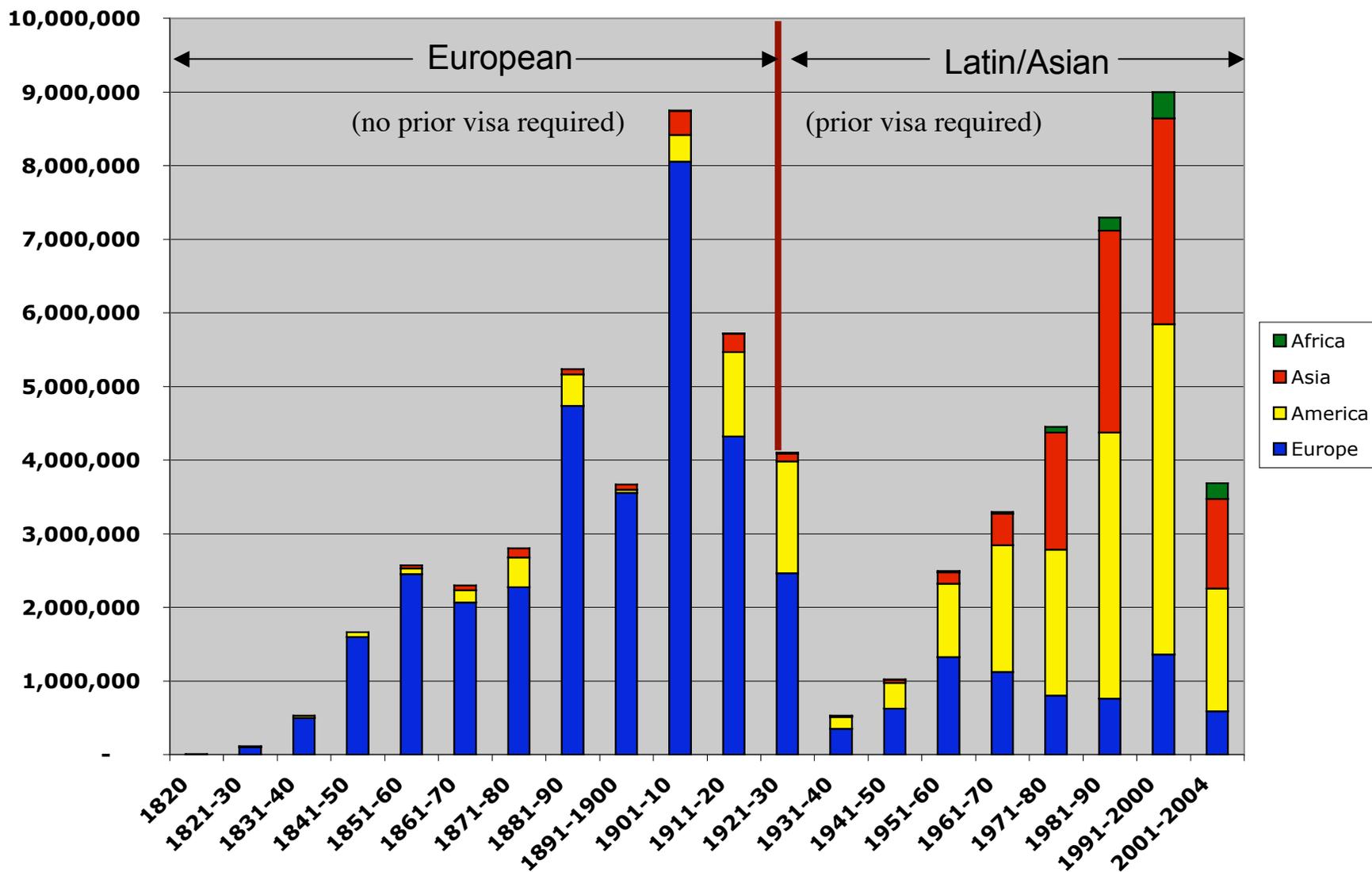
Latin American income inequality is the world's worst

Coefficiente Gini: distribución de hogares por ingreso per capita, regiones del mundo, 1990s

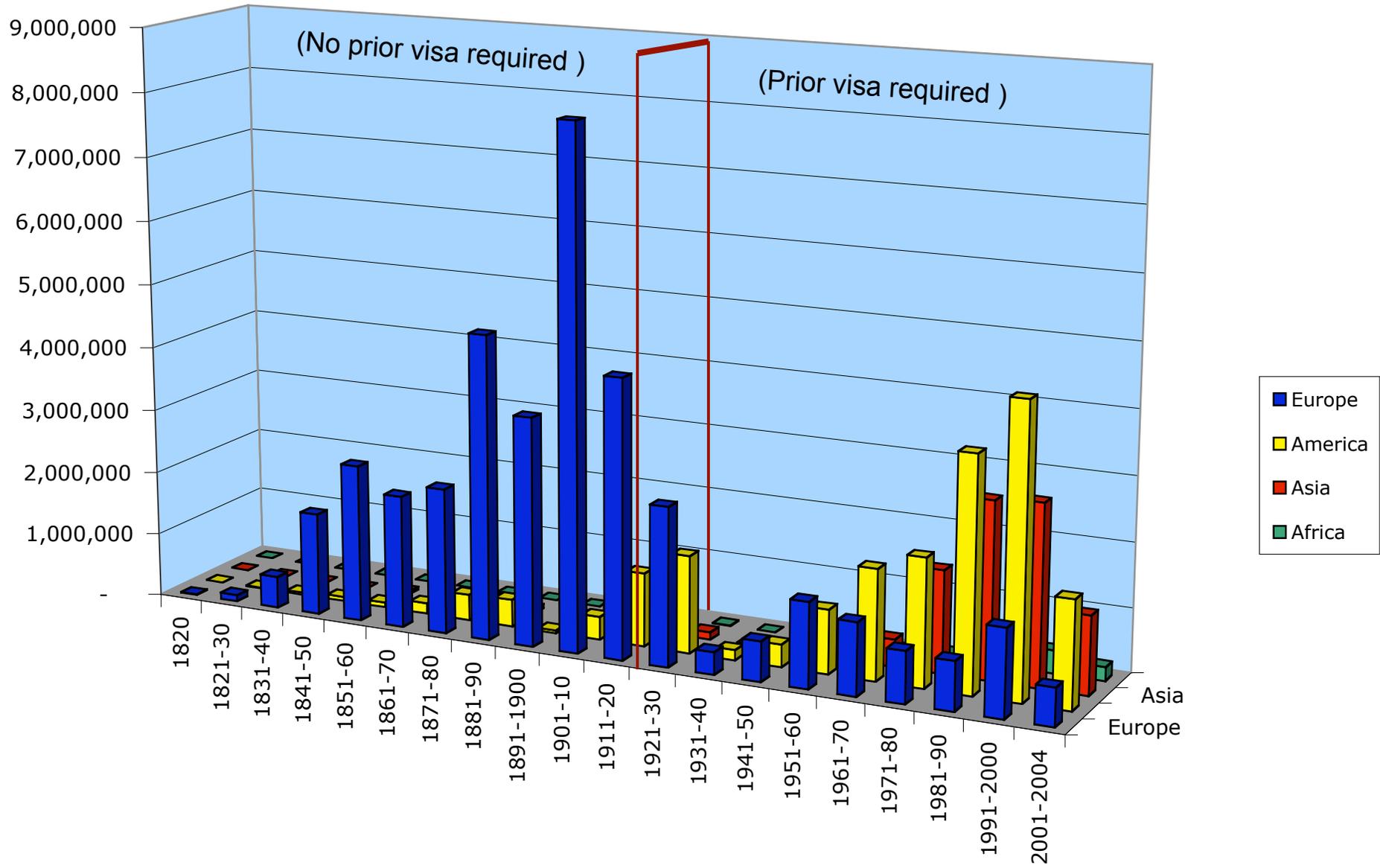


The US experienced two waves of immigration

Legal US immigration, 1820-2004

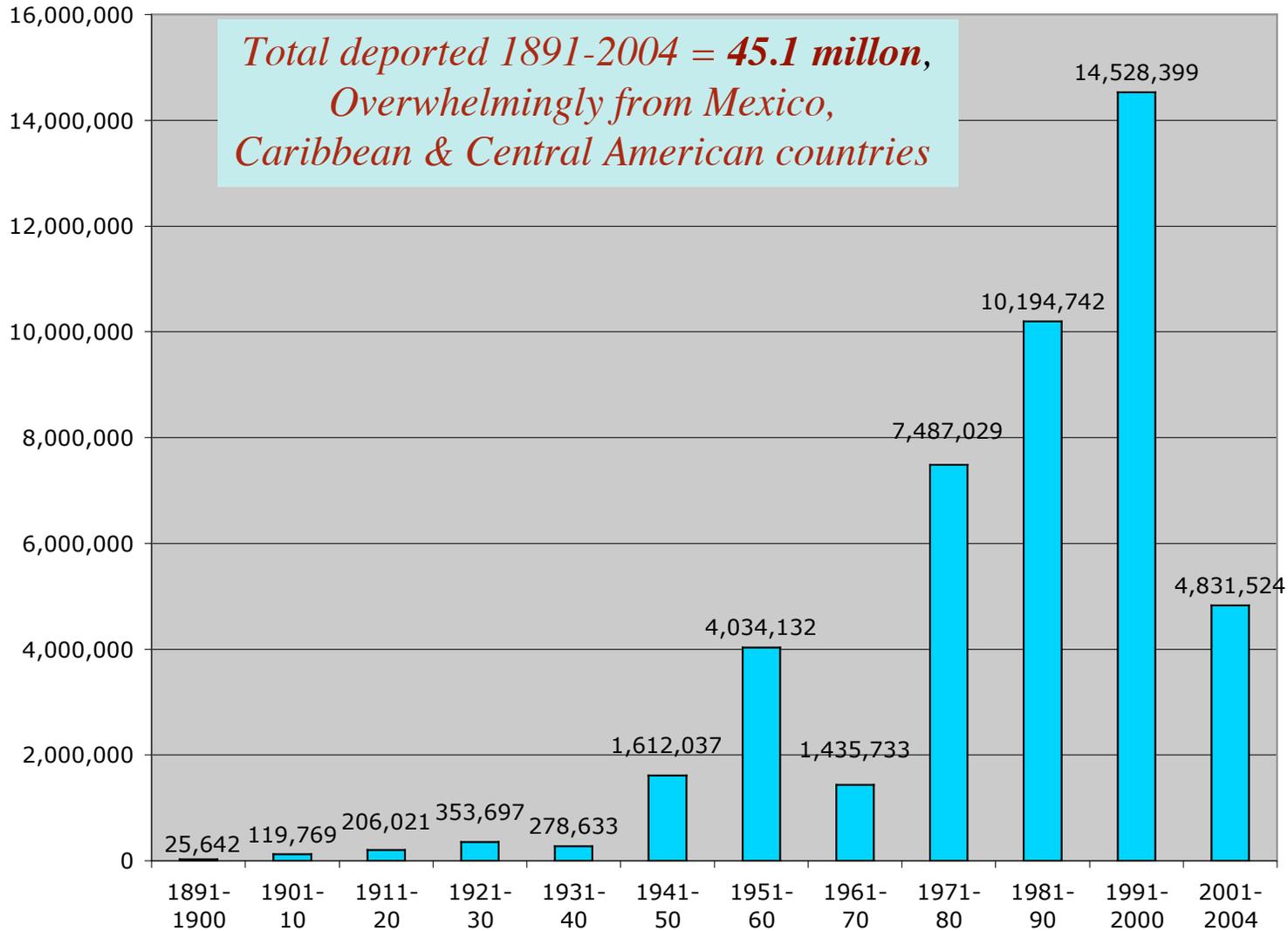


U.S. Immigration 1820-2004



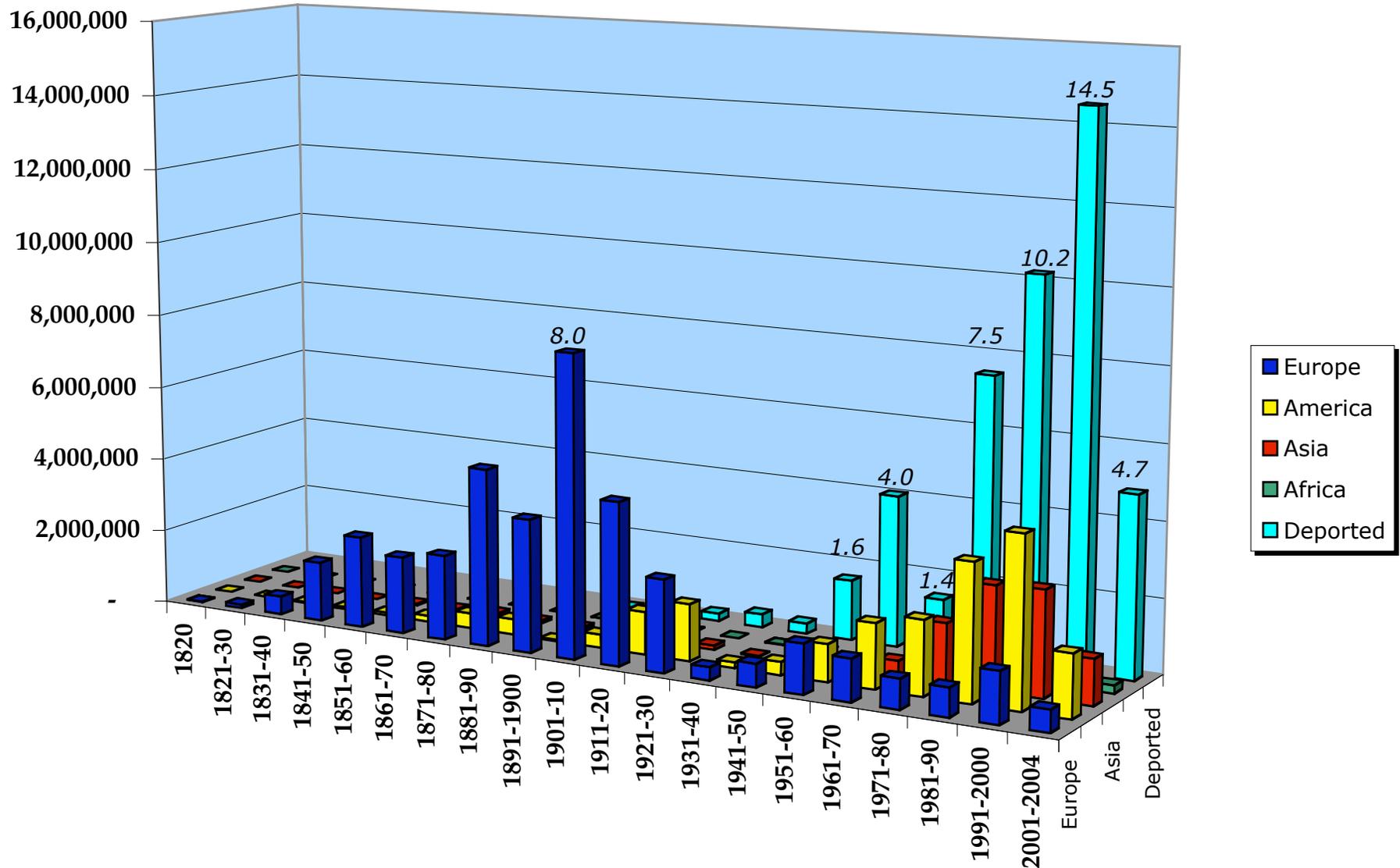
*But the 2nd. Wave was different than the 1st: overlapping the “legal” has been an even large, legally coded and socially stigmatized as “**illegal alien**”*

Aliens Expelled 1891-2004



Legal immigration and deportations, 1820-2004

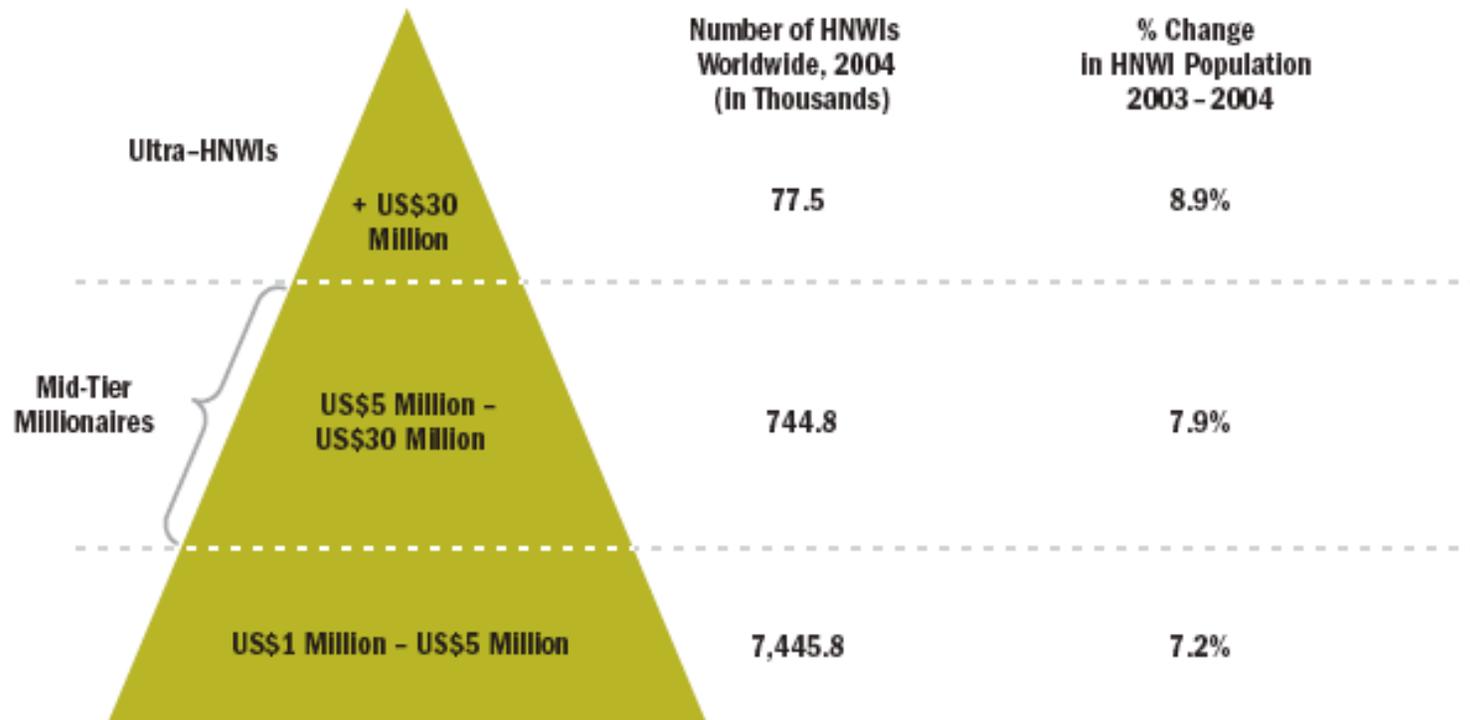
69.9 millions immigrated legally & there were 45.1 million deportations



The other side of the globalization coin: “High Net Wealth Individuals” or HNWI’s, World Wide, 2004

Figure 10. | **HNWI Population by Financial Assets, 2004**

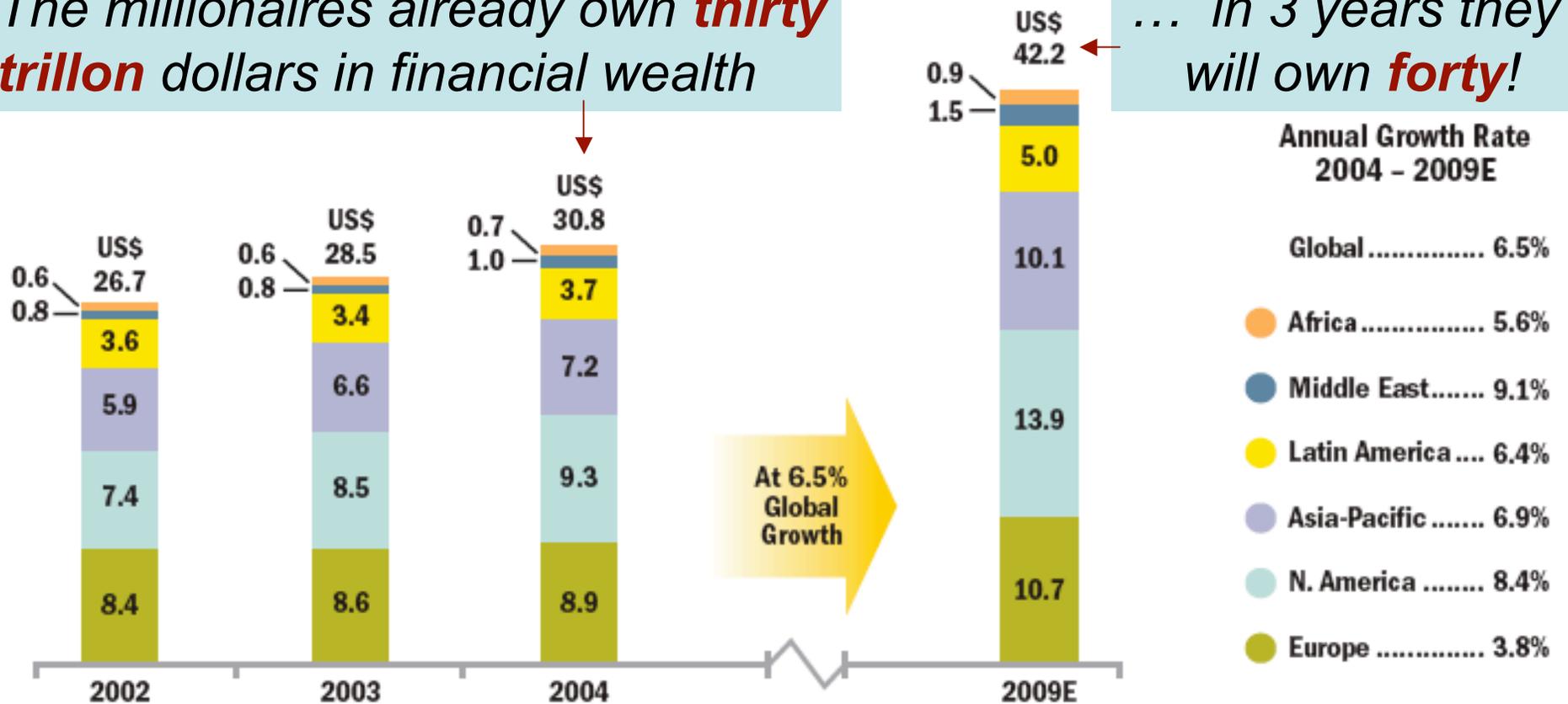
The pyramid of the world’s rich



While HNWI's concentrate more & more of the world's wealth...

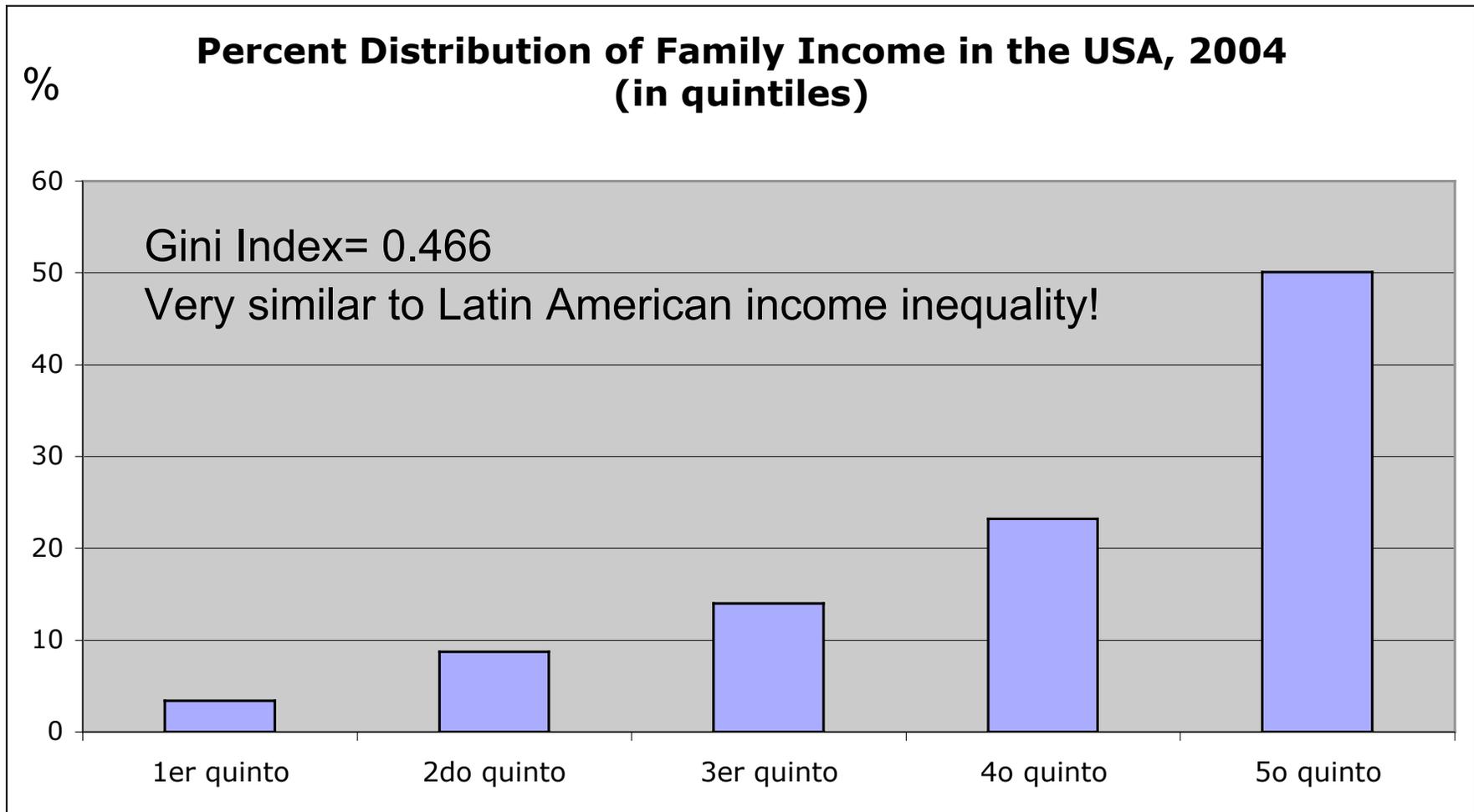
The millionaires already own **thirty trillion** dollars in financial wealth

... in 3 years they will own **forty!**



* A trillion = \$1,000,000,000,000

... Income inequality in the U.S.A., 2004
The worst of the rich developed countries of the North



Measures of Household Income Inequality

No statistical change in shares of aggregate income from 1999 to 2000

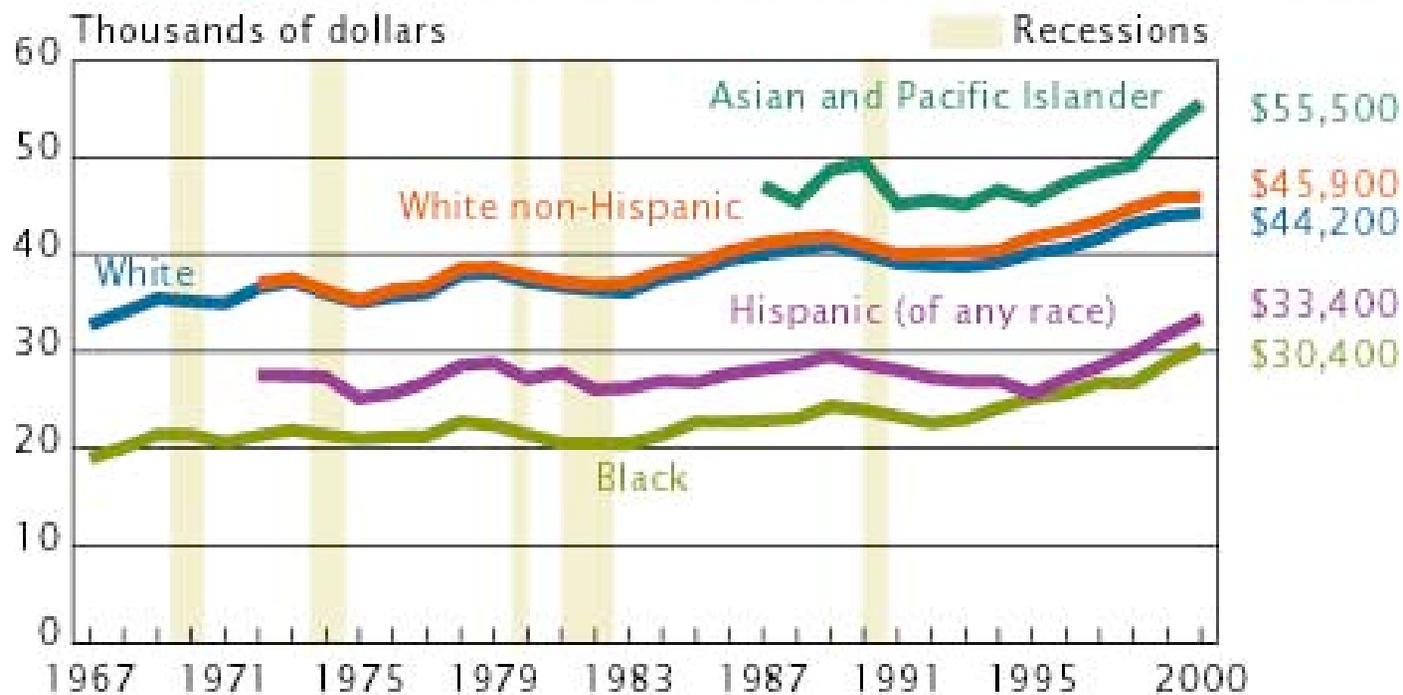


No statistical change in Gini Index from 1999 to 2000

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, March 2000 and 2001.

Median Household Income by Race and Hispanic Origin: 1967 to 2000

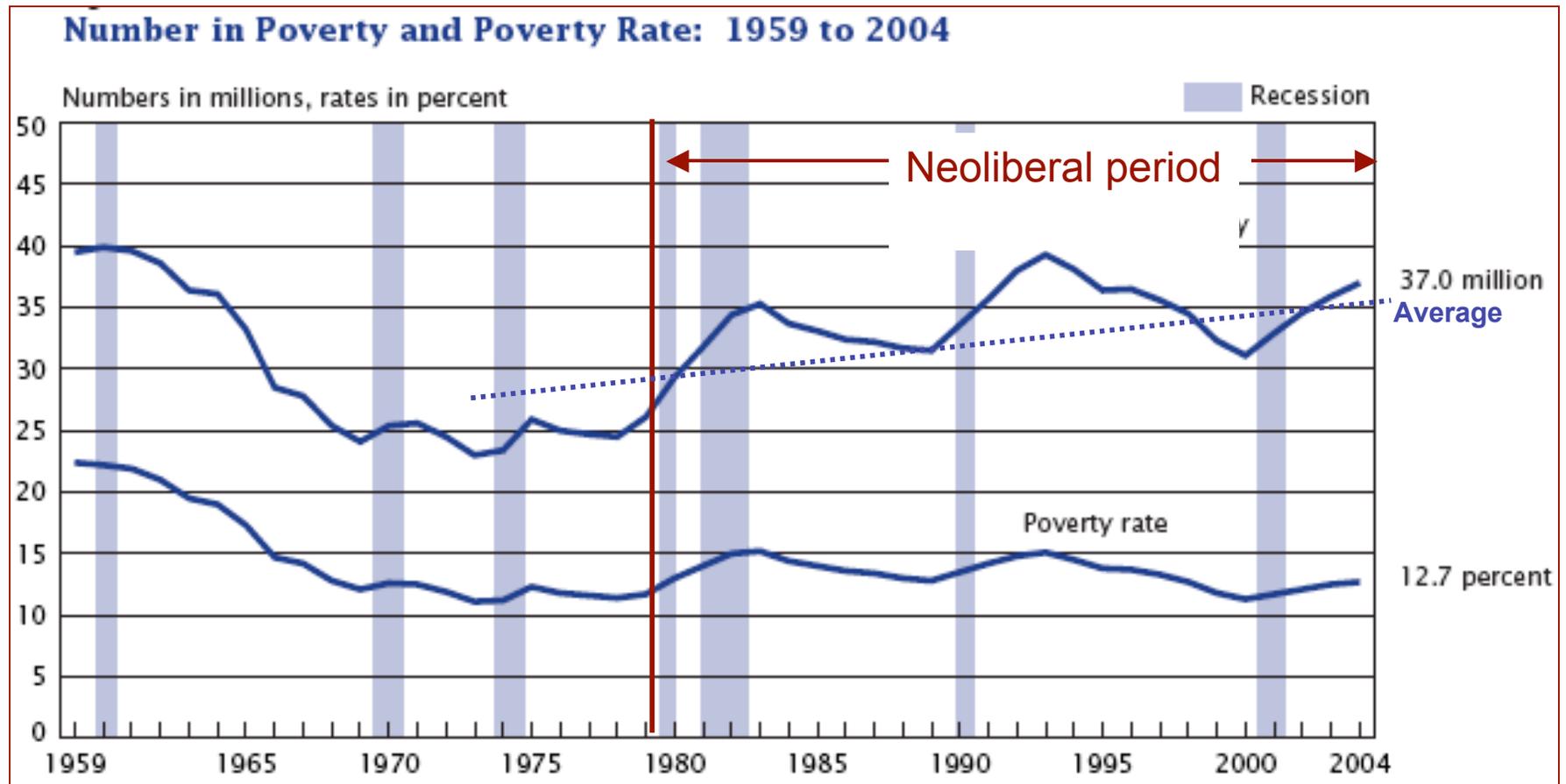
Income increased for Blacks and Hispanics;
all groups matched or exceeded highest level recorded



Note: Income rounded to the nearest \$100. Income in 2000 dollars.

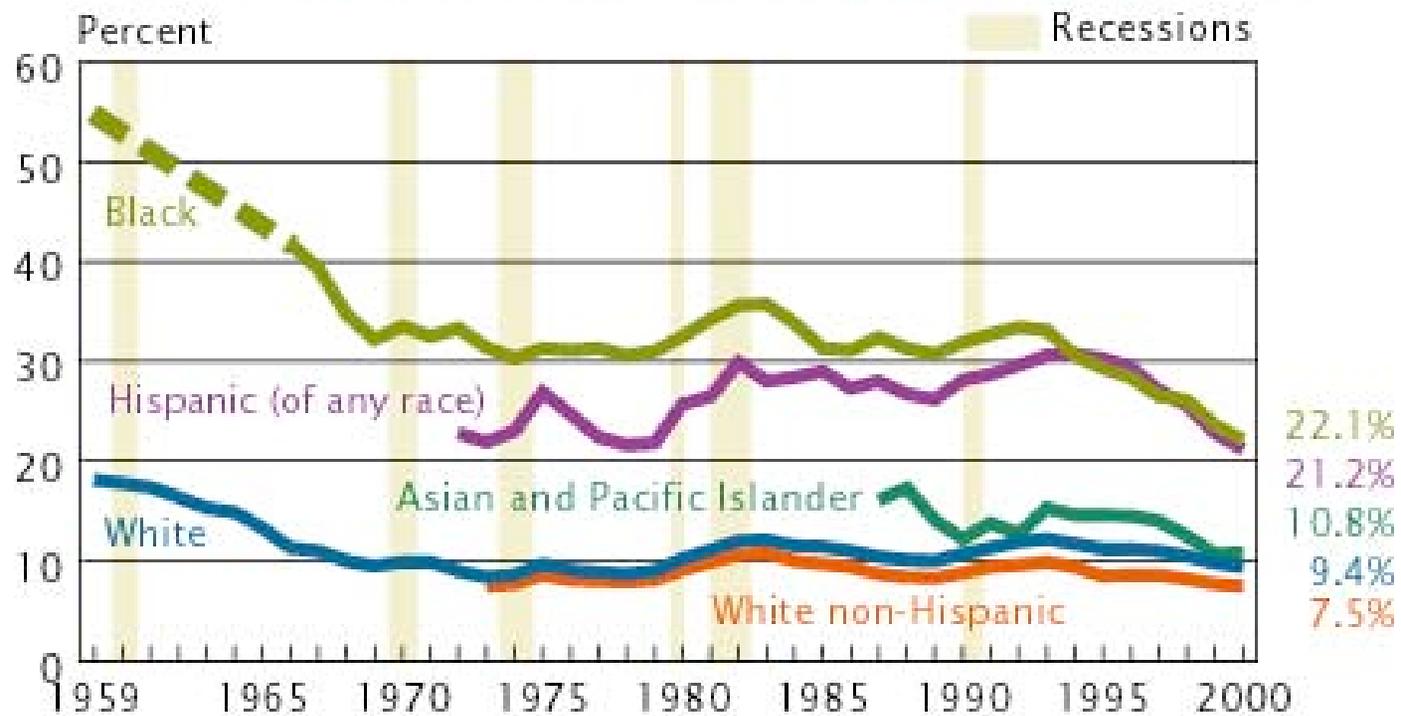
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, March 1968 to 2001.

Poverty has increased in the United States since 1980



Poverty Rates by Race and Hispanic Origin: 1959 to 2000

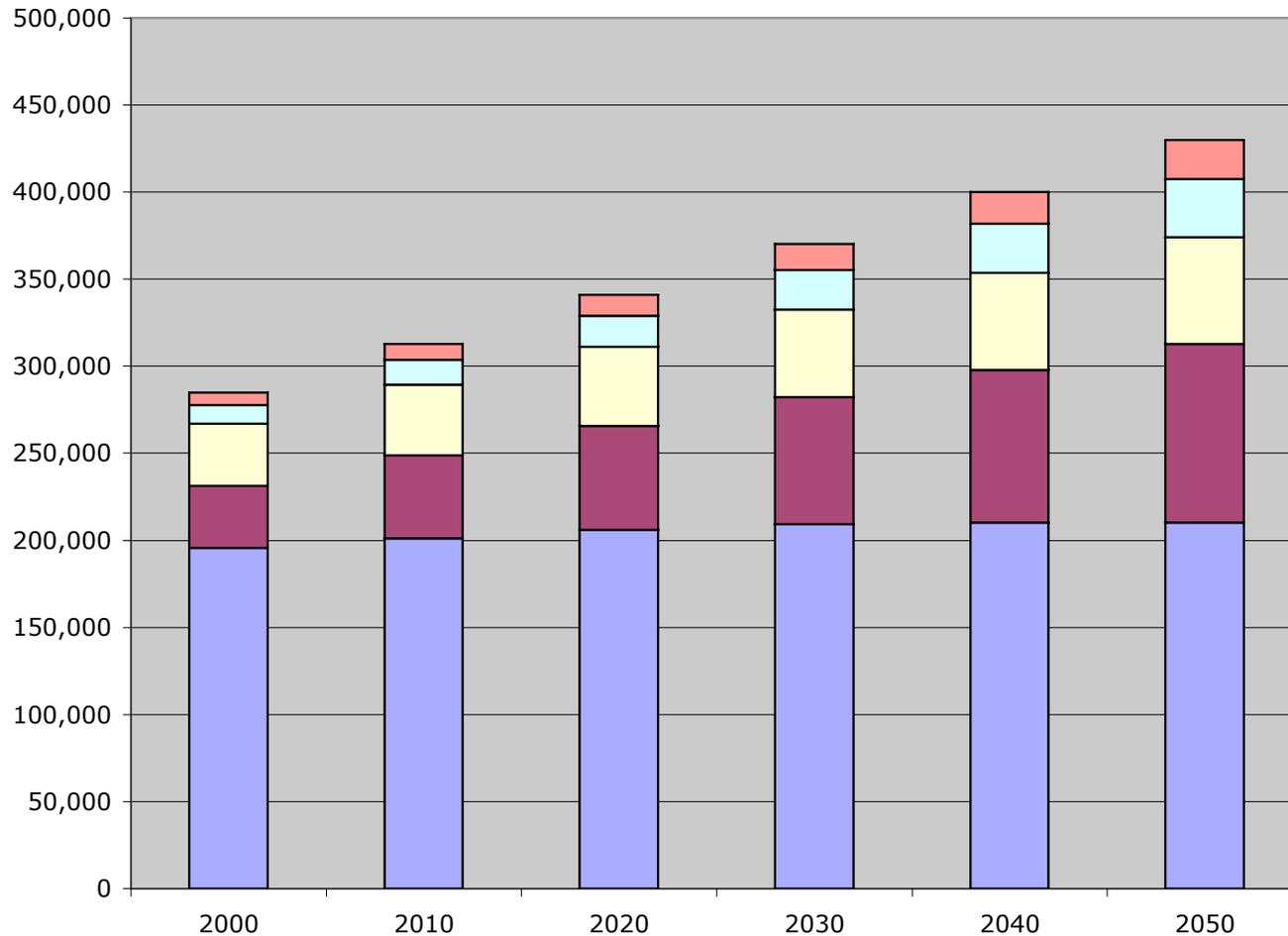
Poverty rates declined for Blacks and Hispanics; lows set or matched for all groups except Whites



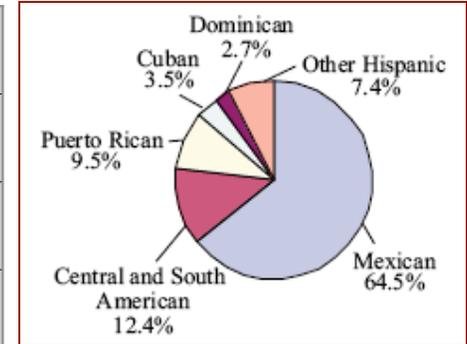
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, March 1960 to 2001.

Meanwhile Latin American and Asian immigration & fertility will account for most population growth of the United States in the future

U.S. Population, 2000 - 2050 (in thousands)



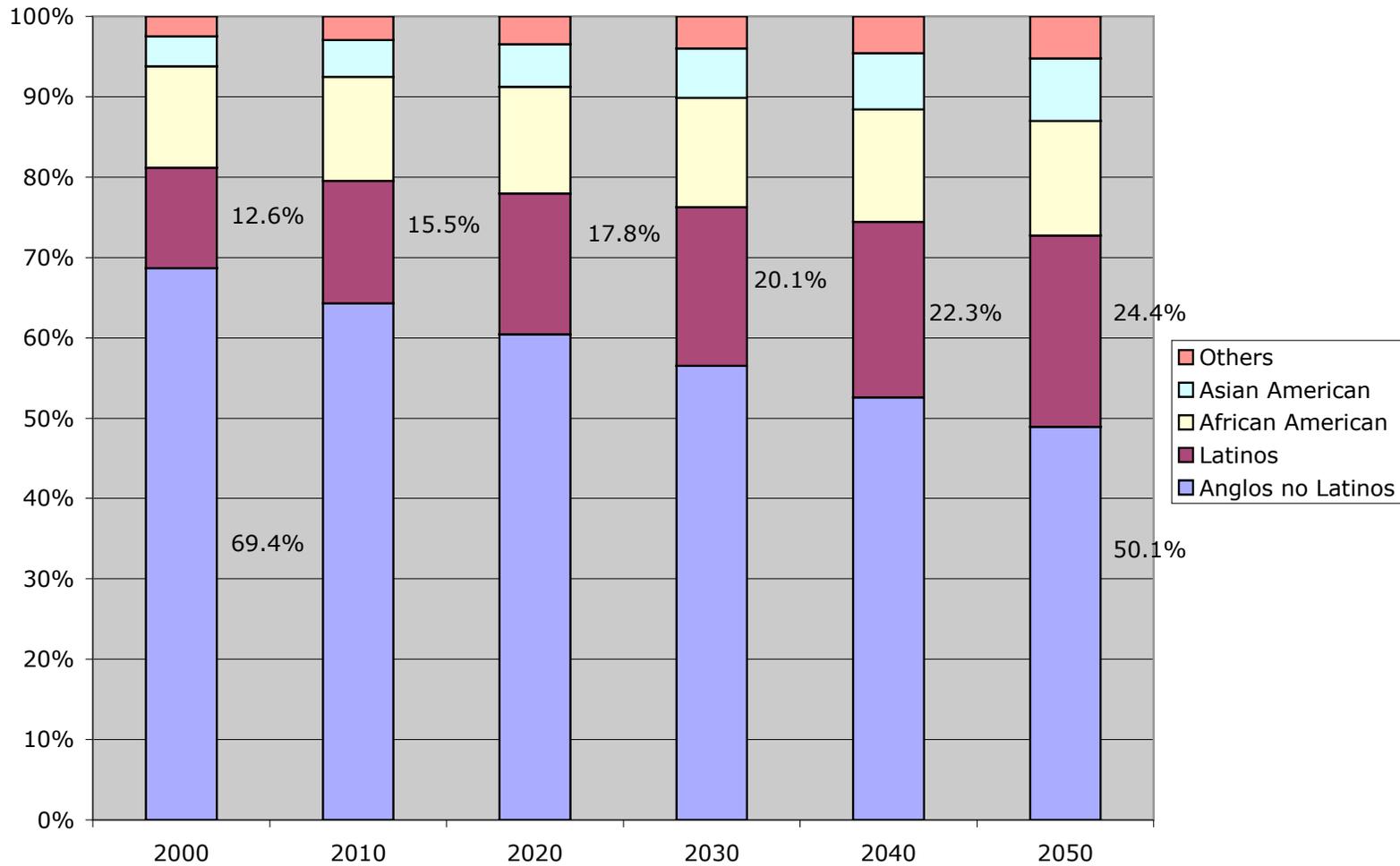
Distribution of US Latinos, 2003



- Others
- Asian American
- African American
- Latinos
- Anglo no Latinos

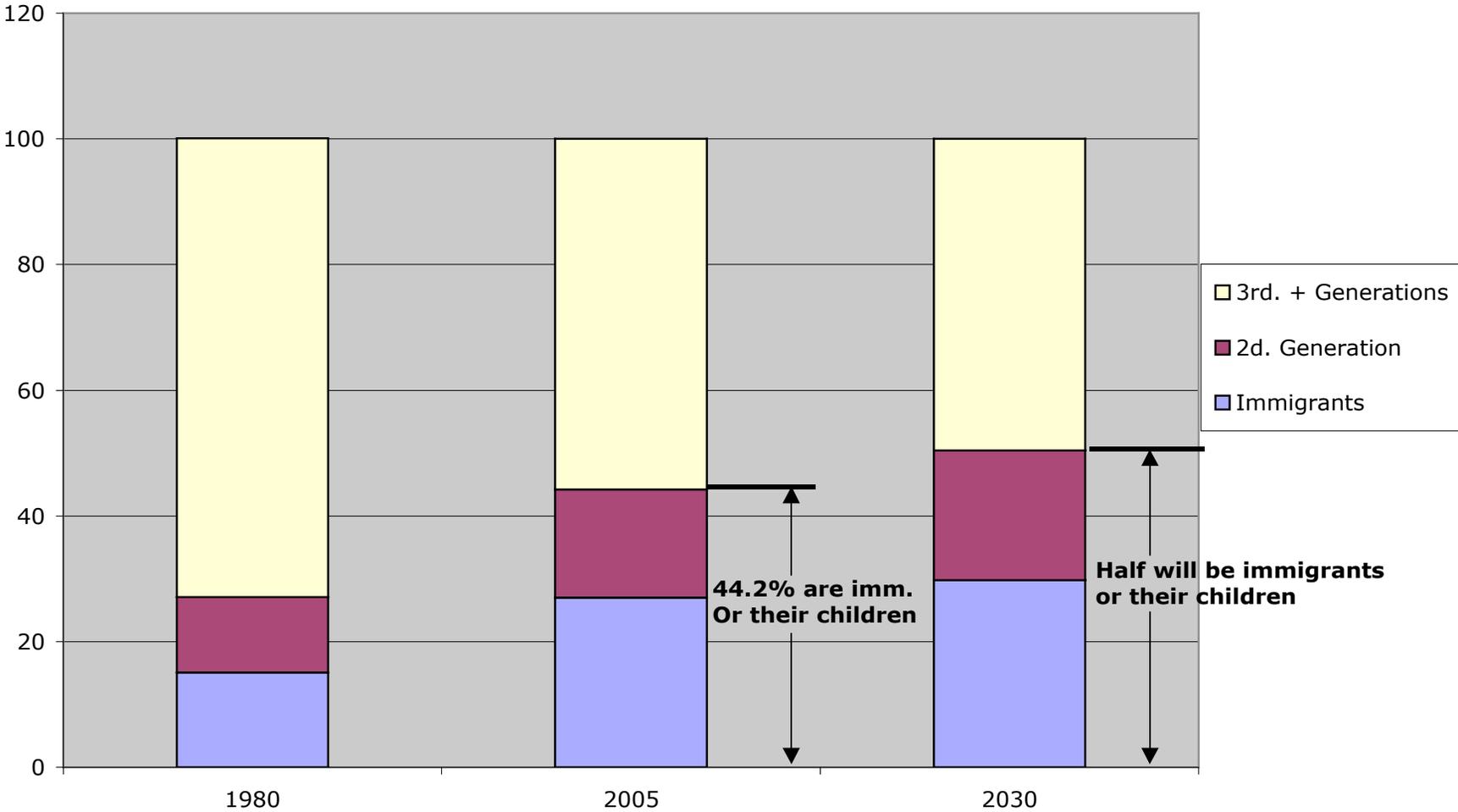
...which will continue to diversify the panethnic composition of the United States for the foreseeable future

US Population by Panethnicity, 2000 - 2050



For example, California will continue to exhibit a growing percent of immigrants, their children and grandchildren

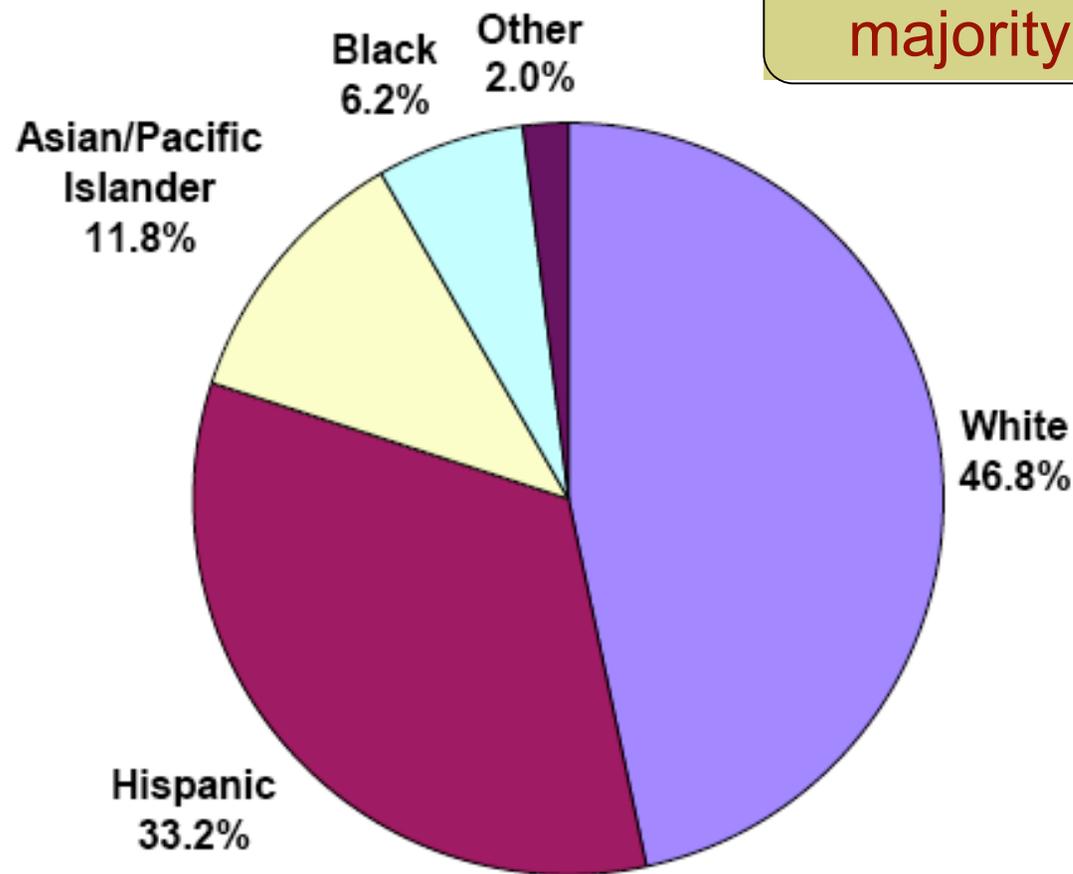
California's Population by immigrant cohort, 1980, 2005, 2030, percentages



... which has already transformed the ethnic composition of California and will continue to do so in the future...

California Population 2003

Latinos will be the majority by 2040



The source of anti-immigrant nativism in the Rich North

- The realities of globalization:
 - Off-shoring manufacturing & service jobs to the South
 - Downsizing at home the ever-larger transnational corporations: *the race to the bottom here.*
 - Class polarization within each society and the loss of the safety net of the liberal welfare state
 - Growing unregulated & unauthorized household immigration flows taxing scarce economic resources and challenging “national sovereignty” & the cultural understandings of building the “multicultural society,” painstakingly arrived at by “domestic minorities/majorities” in a prior era, both now being replaced by the “global society” (at least regionally defined in Europe, North America, and South Asia)

Anti-immigrant nativism deconstructed

- *Blames* the dependent sending countries for their economic conditions now “pushing” the immigrants to the rich ones, and avoids calling to account those global actors in the North actually responsible for running the global economy.
- Increasingly resorts to *draconian measures* designed to devalue immigrant labor - without truly ejecting it - to sustain the privileged, highly subsidized life-style of the wealthier domestic social strata at the expense of the poorest ones. This produces a tremendous stigma for the undocumented - the *illegals* in the US, the *san papiers* in Europe, meant to deny them any social rights and to make them shoulder all the costs of their own super-exploitation.
- Increasingly menaces fierce political *backlashes*, real mass deportation/exclusion measures, creating economic and social chaos - becoming *irrational* to the political economy.

The immigrants have now gone from *personal coping* strategies of social resistance to *collective political* ones...



Historical scenarios for North America in the 21st. Century

- The pursuit of the neoconservative (go it alone) project/ neoliberal (with the rest of the North) project to regulate the world economy and shore up US global hegemony
 - Immigration will become the main racialization process
- The step-by-step construction of a “Community of North American Nations” akin to the European Union
 - Immigration will become deracialized as a result of adopting an extended notion of regional citizenship
- The systemic chaos of the current era leads to a whole new global social system.