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Preface, by Howard Winant

This preface introduces *The Nation and Its Peoples*, as well as the *New Racial Studies* book series as an integral part of the systematic effort to develop a new approach to understanding race in the 21st century.

Acknowledgments

Race and Immigration: An Introduction, by John Park and Shannon Gleeson

Here the co-editors contrast the declining significance of racial exclusion in formal public law with the increasing importance of legal status as a tool for stratification and expulsion in the contemporary period in the U.S. They then situate the book's 13 chapters in this context: 1) History; 2) Race, Agency, and Identity; and 3) Institutions and Structures.

I. History

1. Victor Bascara, "The Filipinos Do Not Need Any Encouragement from Americans Now Living': On Dilemmas of Teaching and Being Taught Ethics Under Unethical Conditions."

Through an examination of Asian American cultural production alongside the discourse of US empire, this essay explores the meanings and contradictions of the civilizing mission, and in doing so argues that the continuities of conceptions of education across the American Century draw out what we would now call neoliberalism.

2. Jean-Paul de Guzman, "Race, Community, and Activism in Greater Los Angeles: Japanese Americans, African Americans, and the Contested Spaces of Southern California."

This chapter moves beyond celebrations of multiculturalism to investigate the circumstances that shaped the activism of the San Fernando Valley's post-World War II Japanese American and African American communities. Through histories of the Nikkei and Black community reveal the author reveals how militarism, migration, and the shifting social, economic, and physical environments informed strategies of visibility for two groups who were omitted from or marginalized within the popular consciousness and literal landscape of this region.

3. John Park, "Getting Around the Law: Asians, Whites, and Land Ownership."

In this essay, Park provides examples throughout U.S. history where Americans have broken the law to help people of color and others defined by law as “illegal,” “unlawful,” “fugitive,” and as “aliens ineligible for citizenship.” Drawing on examples where Americans refused to report fugitive slaves, resisted aiding the deportation of Chinese Americans and unlawful Asian immigrants, and sold land illicitly to Japanese Americans, this optimistic essay reveals how, under certain circumstances, justice might best be achieved by subverting the law.

4. *Dylan Rodríguez, “‘Allow One Photo’: Prison Strikes as Racial Archives.’”*

This essay challenges an emergent, hegemonic liberal racial optimism, which Rodriguez argues has become constitutive of institutionalized racial domination and violence, in both their state-sanctioned and extra-state forms. The author provides an account of imprisoned hunger strikers in Georgia (2010) and California (2011), arguing that their statements provide a living archive that testifies to the long historical continuities of racist state violence, a violence that has dehumanized and continues to dehumanize across multiple institutional levels.

II. Race, Agency, Identity

5. *Lisa Garcia Bedolla and Claire Jean Kim, “Beyond Whiteness: Asian Americans and Latinos in the U.S. Educational Discourse.”*

In this chapter the authors explore how Asian Americans and Latinos have been imagined and constructed in education discourse in the U.S. from 1980 to the present. Their constructions have been strongly rooted in how migration flows from Asia and Latin America have been understood, framed, and defined by U.S. immigration policy over the course of the 20th century.

6. *Irene Bloemraad, “‘Ascriptive’ Citizenship and Being American: Race, Birthplace, and Immigrants’ Membership in the United States.’”*

In this chapter, the author uses the notion of “ascription” as a starting point to interrogate the meaning of membership in the United States. Drawing on 182 interviews with U.S.-born youth and their immigrant parents born in Mexico, China, and Vietnam, Bloemraad finds that birthplace citizenship appears to provide—more than naturalization—a sense of legitimate belonging since it is a color-blind and class-blind path to membership.

7. *Jennifer Jones, “Making Minorities: Mexican Racialization in the New South.’”*

In this paper, Jones investigates how racialization unfolds in the New South through ethnographic fieldwork in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The author argues that Mexicans are at the forefront of a widespread racialization process that is driven by negative anti-Latino immigrant attitudes, resulting in a reactive shift in perceptions among Latinos regarding their position in the racial hierarchy. Stimulated by both social

and structural shifts in the local context, Mexican newcomers came to see themselves as racialized and as similar in racial standing to African Americans.

8. *Steve McKay, “Racializing the High Seas: Filipino Migrants and Global Shipping.”*

This chapter examines the interplay between colonialism, racialization and contemporary migration by tracing the emergence of a Filipino labor market niche in global shipping. McKay traces three key institutions from the American colonial period that influenced initial Filipino racialization and incorporation, then outlines the restructuring of the shipping industry and the globalization of the labor market, and finally details the Philippine state’s strategies to promote labor export by discursively constructing Filipinos as “naturally” having the attribute most sought by employers at the bottom of the labor market: subordination. McKay argues that colonial legacies and racialized reputations have helped create closure around a niche for Filipinos as lower-level crew, but they have also limited Filipino upward mobility into positions of leadership.

III. Institutions and Structures

9. *Shannon Gleeson, “Navigating Occupational Health Rights: The Function of Illegality, Language, and Class Inequality in Workers’ Compensation.”*

Drawing on critical race theory (CRT) and social stratification scholarship, this chapter argues for a more institutional understanding of how illegality shapes immigrant rights. Based on participant observation and in-depth interviews, Gleeson examines undocumented workers’ ability to navigate the California workers compensation system through 1) an immigrant’s precarious structural position in the labor market, 2) the challenges injured immigrant workers face as they attempt to navigate the workers’ compensation system, and 3) how undocumented workers’ near-complete disenfranchisement from the welfare state leaves them with few options following disability.

10. *Tanya Golash-Boza, “Tattoos, Stigma, and National Identity Among Guatemalan Deportees.”*

This essay contributes to the small but growing literature on post-deportation experiences through an analysis of interviews with 35 Guatemalan deportees, and a focus on those nine deportees who had prominent tattoos. The author finds that the Guatemalan deportees who have tattoos face specific challenges and employ particular survival strategies. Despite this, none of them were willing to remove their tattoos, as they consider their tattoos to be deep signifiers of their own stories and struggles. Though treated as scapegoats for rising crime in Guatemala City, these tattooed deportees’

bilingual and bicultural knowledge makes them ideal laborers in transnational call centers in Guatemala City – the only institutions willing to hire them.

11. Anna Joo Kim, “Informality at Work: Immigrant Employment and Flexible Jobs in Los Angeles.”

This chapter examines the Asian ethnic enclave economy of Koreatown in Los Angeles, which reflects a complex mix of formal and informal employment forms, in a way that allows for more flexibility and movement in-between two sectors that have been theorized in the extant literature as very distinct and segregated. The author’s findings call for the decriminalization of “informal” work and undocumented workers, even as they pursue incentives for employers and employees to seek protections in the formal sector.

12. Greg Prieto, “An Ethnographic Analysis of Mexican Immigrant Agency.”

In this chapter, Prieto examines the barriers and opportunities for undocumented immigrants who transition from adopting survival strategies of isolation and avoidance to participating in social movement organizing. Drawing on field research in two cities in Central California, the chapter examines 1) What are the structural barriers and risks associated with political participation among Mexican immigrants? 2) How do Mexican immigrants negotiate and manage these barriers and risks? 3) How are their strategies to mitigate risk in their everyday lives related to the potential for political participation and social movement

13. Tom Wong, “Nation of Immigrants, or Deportation Nation? Analyzing Deportation and Returns in the United States, 1892 to 2010.”

This chapter argues that while the United States has long been a country of immigration, we have also been a tenacious country of deportation and exclusion. Drawing on historical immigration enforcement data, Wong identifies Republican partisanship as the driving force behind deportation trends over the last century, which has had devastating effects on communities of color.

Contributor Biographies

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Preface

Howard Winant

The University of California Center for New Racial Studies is proud to present The Nation And Its Peoples: Citizens, Denizens, Migrants, the inaugural volume in its research publications series *New Racial Studies*.

The book could not appear at a more timely moment. Currently the US is wrestling once again with the politics of immigration. The country does this periodically, and always has. Nor is the US alone. Migration flows envelop the world, reflecting above all else the predatory practices that the wealthy nations and the planet's corporate overlords inflict on its poor and the various peripheries those poor inhabit. Every country on earth, and the US in particular, has a role in the planetary sweatshop that buys and sells human flesh, human labor, and the dark souls that inhabit it. This is a very recognizable phenomenon, a millennial pattern. Its racial dimensions are familiar as well.

Yes, "we" want your labor. The US and other wealthy countries cannot fulfill their demand for cheap labor by drawing on their own populations, their own citizens. Their dilemma is political: capital demands cheap labor, but the established citizens of most democratic countries will not submit to the lash, at least not to the extent required. They have been squeezed enough, they say; their wages have been flat or declining for decades. Jobs that pay a decent wage have fled to sweatshops overseas. So the core turns to the periphery; the metropole recruits in the hinterlands; the reproduction of the workers is itself "offshored."

“We” want your labor. But we don’t want you. Labor is not “abstract” enough to meet corporate needs. It comes in a body. It has a family. It has a mind and a soul. It wants to be recognized. It needs schooling, health care, housing, political and social rights. Immigration is not just a labor issue; it is an issue of belonging, membership, citizenship, and identity. Exclusion is a problematic and ultimately unmanageable policy response. But inclusion means reorienting political norms and alignments, as well as attenuating deeply embedded national and cultural values: advanced/backward, development/underdevelopment, whiteness and its “others.”

Race and racism structure all these dimensions of “the nation and its peoples.” Although this volume concentrates on present-day issues, the entire modern epoch has been shaped by some variety or other of these dynamics. Marx described the origins of modern capitalism as “primitive accumulation”:

The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signaled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation (Marx 1967, 351).

Those origins already included migration in the forms of conquest, settlement, and slavery, but they also gave rise to the mass migration already mentioned, and generated modern nation-states, empires, and anti-imperial movements as well. All of these phenomena generally correspond with racial demarcations, drawing boundaries not only in geographic space, but also among (and within) human beings, forging group identities along corporeal and phenomic (or if you prefer, “optical”) lines, and including or excluding folks from nation-states and indeed “peoplehood.”

Speaking of nation-states: take a moment to deconstruct that familiar term. The nation is not always linked to the state. That little hyphen is doing a great deal of ideological work. Do states legitimately speak for their nations: that is, the peoples (note plural) over whom they rule?

Linking nation and state is something of an ideological trick: it unduly legitimizes the state and begs the question of "peoplehood." The nation-state is often endowed with a racial identity when, as in the US, its origins and indeed present-day social structure, laws, and policies are grounded in racial oppression, in inclusion/exclusion. This claim will not come as news to people of color.

So bringing race back in is a key mission of The Nation and Its Peoples. Often in scholarly or political debate about the issues studied here, race is not highlighted. It is just there, taken for granted. Yet race has always been central to these issues, especially in the US but in many other countries as well. Immigrants have always been racialized and "taxed" by exclusion and discrimination. Immigration, citizenship, and national identity are quite conflictual and contradictory issues when addressed in depth with race and racism in mind. In the US context, consider for example the question of racial profiling, as applied to "driving while black" or to immigrants under "show me your papers" laws (Carbado 2002). Consider the linkage between immigration reform imperatives and voter affiliation by race: the striking consolidation of Latin@ and Asian American voting blocs in the Democratic Party column (Lazos 2012; Wong et al 2011). Or consider the cultural implications for US national identity and sense of "peoplehood" (the frequently invoked trope of "the American people" etc.) of the oncoming transition to a majority-minority US demographic pattern. Can we understand the US as a nonwhite nation? Can we imagine "the American people" as a "peoplehood" of color? These

are some of the key questions at stake in The Nation and Its Peoples: Citizens, Denizens, Migrants.

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The significant racial instabilities and contradictions that now beset both the US and the entire globe led to the foundation in 2010 of the University of California Center for New Racial Studies. Recognizing the disarray that pervaded race/racism-oriented research across the social scientific, cultural studies, legal studies, and to some extent natural scientific canons, and noting the lag between the racial conditions that prevailed when most of that canonical material was produced (roughly the last quarter of the 20th century) and 21st-century racial conditions, a group of faculty based at all ten UC campuses began reconceptualizing race and racism as a more networked, interdisciplinary field of study, a new racial studies. This group sought to build upon earlier research, particularly that which challenged racial inequalities and injustices. They wanted to systematize and reframe the vast range of racial studies across the disciplines. Most centrally, they demanded that the pressing conflicts and contradictions of post-civil rights and postcolonial racial dynamic be fully acknowledged and explored. This is the motivation shaping the work of the University of California Center for New Racial Studies, under whose auspices The Nation and Its Peoples, and the forthcoming *New Racial Studies* series of publications, is appearing.

So what's new about "new racial studies"?

In the present period race and racism have been rendered problematic and contradictory in unprecedented ways. The wave of social reform that swept much of the world in the second half of the 20th century discredited the old verities of race, especially taken-for-granted claims of racial hierarchy advanced under the rubrics of scientific racism and white supremacy. Still,

despite reform at the highest levels of the nation-state and interstate system – formal decolonization, supposed desegregation, and the end of apartheid – race remains an enduring axis of social inequality and a readily available modality for articulating and "naturalizing" a wide variety of conflicts. Decolonization did not mean autonomous national development, but rather a neo-imperial system of indirect rule. Desegregation did not really take place except for some socioeconomically privileged strata. The ending of formal apartheid in South Africa was an enormous accomplishment, but that "ignoble and unhappy regime's" *sequelae* remain highly stratified and racialized.

Indeed the reformed racial state – manifested in US "colorblindness," French "racial differentialism," South African "non-racialism," and numerous other varieties – places the category of race under erasure in the name of national cohesion and social peace, while instituting parallel (and piecemeal) programs of racial redress such as minority set-asides, voter redistricting, and affirmative action. Even these small gestures toward inclusion are stigmatized and subject to perverse recuperation by current racial regimes.

Thus after prolonged conflict and widespread upheaval, the sociopolitical significance of race remains in doubt. Fundamental questions persist, menacing even stable political systems, as such panics at "the disuniting of America" or "the challenges to American national identity" attest. Material conflicts over land and resources also tend towards ethnonational/racial framing: consider Kivu, Darfur, Urumqi, Palestine, Kashmir, water conflicts in South Asia and elsewhere, "petro" conflict in the Amazon. The "war on terror" has assumed distinctly racial dimensions with a resurgence of profiling, detention and interrogation practices that induce paranoia. In short, the racial genie is out of the bottle. One particular genie – Barack Obama – throws open

the "unstable racial equilibrium" in the US (and to some extent the world at large) with particular energy.

Yes, the reforms and reinterpretations of these concepts that took place after WWII led to the breakdown of many despotic racial practices, and to significant inclusive and democratizing shifts as well. Yet precisely because those racial transformations were contained, because they confronted various types of reaction and backlash, and because they were reframed as postracial, colorblind, and so on, racial uncertainty and anxiety, and racial injustice and inequality as well, have not really lessened. Indeed these conditions have been paradoxically fortified by some of the very same "moderate" reform measures adopted to ameliorate them. Thus we are more, not less, uncertain of the meanings of race and racism today: are you "colorblind" or "race-conscious"? Thus the racial state is simultaneously both more racially inclusive (consider the presidency) and more racially repressive (vastly escalated imprisonment of blacks and Latin@s, augmented deportations, etc.). Thus the racial dimensions of the US empire have been both heightened (Islamophobia) and rendered ambiguous. Thus "the American people" -- on the verge of becoming a majority-minority nation -- are immersed in what amounts to a chronic crisis of race. This extends from one's own (micro-level) experience: What is my racial identity? What racial attitudes do I want to have?" to the national and even global (macro-level): is the US still a "white republic"? Is immigration a "threat" or a "benefit" to American society?

The effort to create a new racial studies is framed by the belief that important transformations are currently underway in both social scientific and "commonsense" understandings of race at all scales from the intrapsychic and local to the national and global. Race remains a contested concept, generating competing claims about its relevance to such matters as individual capacity, legal and political rights, group identity and membership, and perhaps most important, about the

causes and consequences of social inequality, disparities in political power, and access to political, social, and even human rights. The uncertainty about what race means today poses significant challenges for both social theory and democratic politics.

What is new about the new racial studies approach is that it focuses on the shifting and contradictory meaning of race in the aftermath of the massive racial upheavals that followed WWII: civil rights, anti-apartheid, major demographic shifts, decolonization, significant inclusionary reforms and expansions of political rights on the one hand, combined with reinvented but still extremely well-entrenched patterns of structural racism, racial inequality, and "post-"imperial formations on the other hand. This general pattern has been identified in many important theoretical and analytical approaches: for example, racial formation theory, critical race theory, postcoloniality studies, and subalternity studies. Yet it has not yet been addressed in a systematic way. To network among the many faculty and graduate/professional students working primarily (i.e., not in passing but centrally) on race/racism issues within the UC system, is of course the primary mission of the UCCNRS. To reach out beyond the UC to the national and international web of progressive and critical race scholars is our long-term objective. The Nation and Its Peoples, as well as the *New Racial Studies* book series are an integral part of that effort.

Looking across the entire UC system, the UCCNRS has identified something like 1000 ladder-ranked faculty who are working centrally on topics of race/racism. Based in the social sciences and humanities, but also in the professional schools and to some extent even in the natural sciences (notably in biology and public health), this is a pool of race-studies scholars probably unequalled in any other single university in the world. Our mission is to link and network among these faculty and their many graduate students. Every year the UCCNRS develops a thematic

research focus that we carry forward from an initial request for proposals (RFP), to grant-making for research, through presentations of working papers at UCCNRS conferences and symposia, and culminating in the production of an edited collection of research papers. We are proud to present The Nation and Its Peoples, the inaugural volume in that New Racial Studies series of publications. We look forward to subsequent volumes. Welcome!¹

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¹ *For more information on the University of California Center for New Racial Studies, we invite you to visit our website: <http://www.uccnrs.ucsb.edu>*