

# University of California **CENTER FOR NEW RACIAL STUDIES (UCCNRS)**

A University of California Multi-Campus  
Research Program

## Toward a New Racial Studies

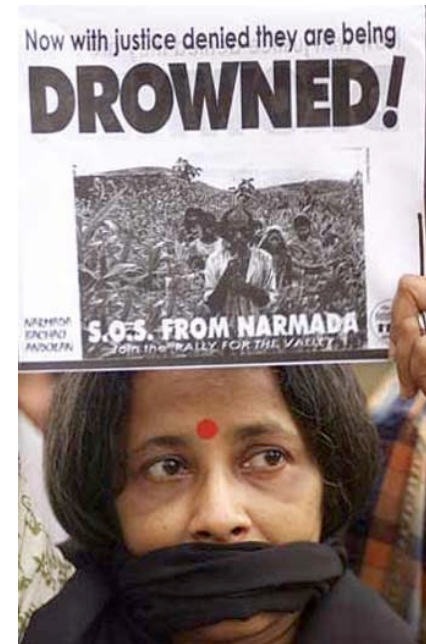
Howard Winant  
UC Santa Barbara  
2012



# Topics of Interest

- RACIAL "DISACCUMULATION" AND HEIGHTENING INEQUALITY
- "COLORBLIND" RACIAL IDEOLOGY
- MIXED-RACE IDENTITIES
- RACE/CLASS/GENDER INTERSECTIONALITY
- THE RACIALIZED BODY
- NORTH-SOUTH, WEST-EAST GLOBAL DYNAMICS
- ETHNIC CLEANSING AND GENOCIDE
- INDIGENEITY AND CULTURAL SURVIVAL
- RACIAL SCIENCE AND BIOLOGISTIC RACISM
- WHITENESS AS A RACIAL CATEGORY
- PATTERNS OF PROFILING
- INCARCERATION AND ITS CRISIS

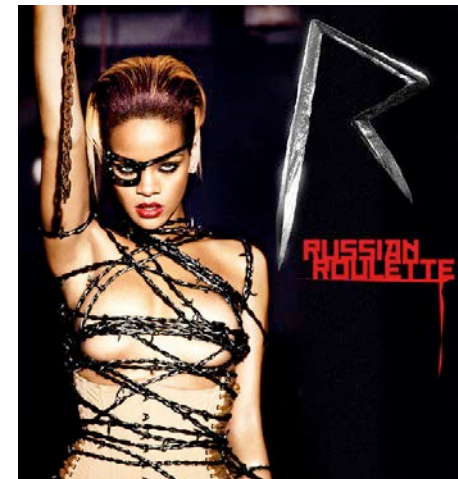
AND THAT LIST COULD GO ON...



Narmada Bachao Andolan (India) movement protest



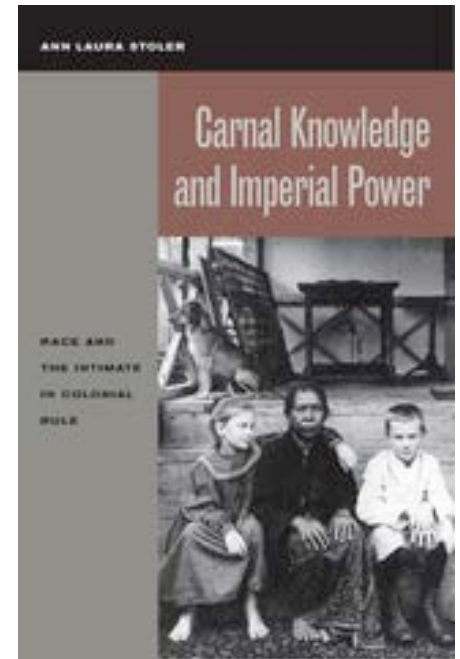
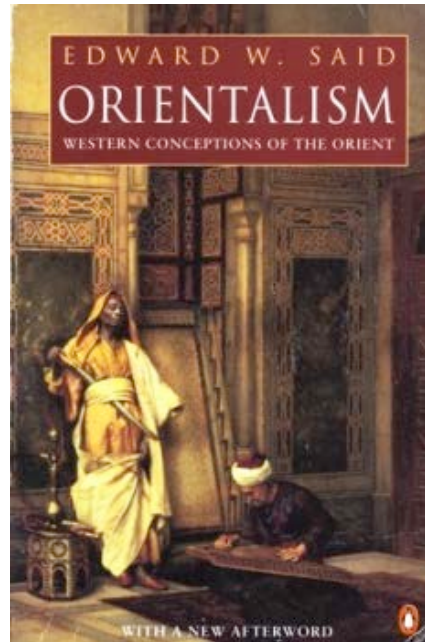
"US blacks see 'financial apartheid' in subprime crisis" (AFP – Jan 27, 2008)



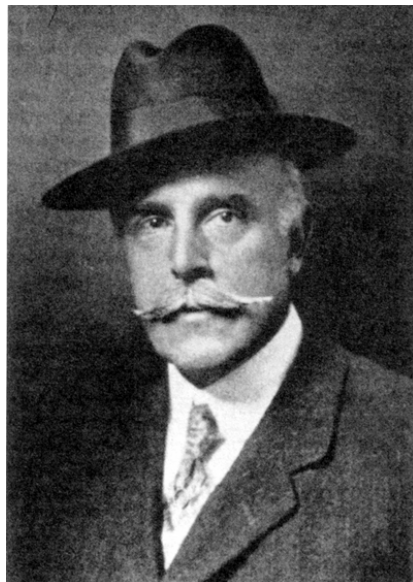


# So ... can there be anything new about race?

Homer Plessy  
(an “octoroon,”  
BTW)



Madison Grant, buddy of  
Theodore Roosevelt, one  
of the founders of the  
American Museum of  
Natural History, author of  
THE PASSING OF THE  
GREAT RACE;  
OR, THE RACIAL BASIS  
OF EUROPEAN  
HISTORY



There **IS** something new though: after WWII the racial regime officially **CHANGED SIDES** -- both nationally and globally:



From avowing white supremacy, or at least taking it for granted as normal and natural...  
--to disavowing it in the name of various explicitly egalitarian views of race.

This shift was multiply determined:

- enormous demographic transformations
- the consequences of WWII and the dynamics of Cold War rivalries

Perhaps most important, it was the product of numerous partial and contradictory – but nevertheless real and indeed vital – victories:

- the successes of the US civil rights movement,
- the achievements of anti-imperialist movements around the world,
- the triumph of the anti-apartheid movement in 1994



# University of California Center for New Racial Studies

<http://www.uccnrs.ucsb.edu>



University of California

## Center for New Racial Studies

A MULTI-CAMPUS RESEARCH PROGRAM

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## Race/Gender/Class “Intersectionality”

### -- Research Focus 2011-2012



"Intersectionality" is the name that is now given to the complex of reciprocal attachments and sometimes polarizing conflicts that confront both individuals and movements as they seek to "navigate" among the raced, gendered, and class-based dimensions of social and political life. Both as individuals seeking to make a socially just and fulfilling "everyday life," and as collectivities seeking to "make history" through political action and social movements, we struggle with the unstable connections between race, gender, and class. The methodological and explanatory framework for linking these three axes of identity and difference, of alliance and antagonism, remains elusive. Any serious comparative historical view suggests that demands for solidarity across race-, class-, or gender-lines are as likely to compete as to coalesce.

The UCCNRS encourages research that explores the concept of intersectionality, notably projects that investigate the instability in practice of intersectional situations. Pragmatist approaches to the politics of identity are especially welcome, including those that research intersectionality as a micro-macro linkage problem, and those that approach the issue in relation to specific social movements or in particular comparative and historical contexts.



2012-2013 UCCNRS  
Grants



2011 UCCNRS  
Conference  
View Highlights



Research Grants  
Awarded, 2011-12 and  
2010-11



**DEVON W. CARBADO**  
UC Los Angeles, Vice Dean,  
Professor, School of Law

#### UC CAMPUS ACTIVITIES AND LINKS



UCB



UCD



UCI



UCLA



UCM



UCR



UCSB



UCSC



UCSD



UCSF

# NOTES ON RESEARCH CLUSTERS:

## Race-Making, Race-Neutrality, and Race-Consciousness

This thematic cluster takes up the problem of “colorblindness,” which could be a whole talk all by itself

--Perhaps no single problem more comprehensively embodies the contradictory qualities of this shift or “break” in racial regime

“People tell me that I’m white and I believe them, but I don’t see color myself.”

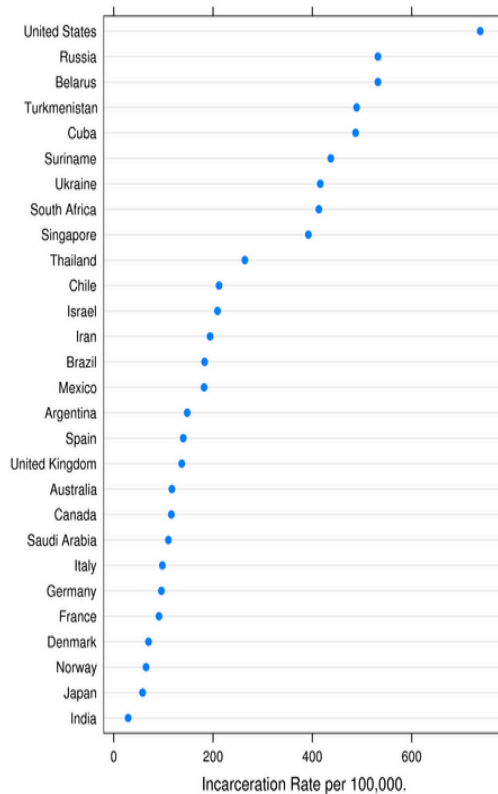


Stephan and Abigail Thernstrom

# "Colorblindness" offers no challenge to structural racism:

- No adequate explanation of why the median black family possesses about one-twentieth of the median white family's wealth (Kochar, Fry+Taylor ([Pew Research Center, 7/26/2011)
- Of the maintenance of more than 12 million (mainly Latin@s) undocumented denizens
- Of why an estimated four million cases of housing discrimination can occur every year
- Of why black unemployment rates are endemically double those of whites...

Incarceration Rates for Selected Countries



- Why do black college graduates earn about the same pay as white high school graduates?
- Why is 1 out of every 15 black men 18 or older behind bars? Why is 1 out of every 36 Latino men 18 or older behind bars?

--Comparable figure for white men: 1 out of 106

# So our effort is to explore the chronic racial contradiction we're in

From the most micro- to the most macro-social levels

--from how we identify ourselves and each other (even pre-cognitively: implicit bias studies-Eberhardt; Purdie-Vaughns)

--through how we understand politics and culture nationally and globally

\*\*\*

"[C]risis," Gramsci famously wrote, "consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born: in this interregnum, morbid phenomena of the most varied kind come to pass."





Why don't our heads **EXPLODE**  
under the pressures of such  
cognitive dissonance?



# The Nation and its Peoples: Citizens, Denizens, Migrants



Adoption of the Freedom Charter, Kliptown, South Africa, 1955 (Albie Sachs, standing in the center)

Here we want to explore the tensions within racial/ethnic notions of "peoplehood"

--Detaching nation from state: eg, "Who/what is the North American nation?"

We also invite exploration of critical and democratic approaches to nationalism as a political project,

--for example studies grounded in such concepts as "fictive universalism," "usable past," or "invented tradition."

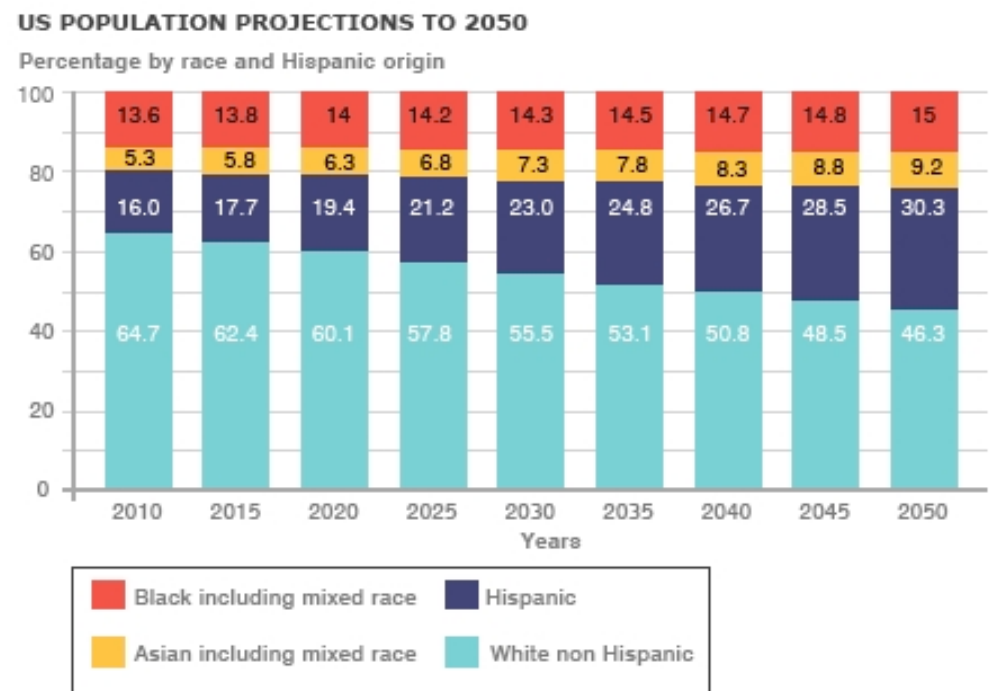
In this area we are particularly attuned to problems of integration and differentiation of the nation-state along racial lines, as well as the cultural bases of nationhood.



Broadway, Los Angeles, May 1, 2006

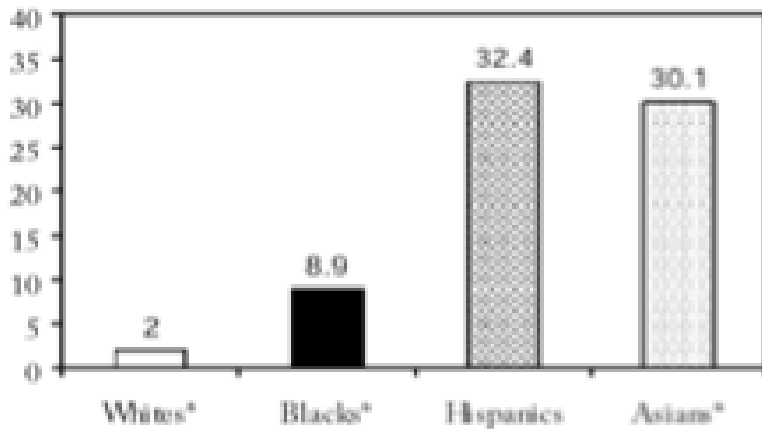
# Racial Realignment

What does the trend toward a “majority-minority” society mean?



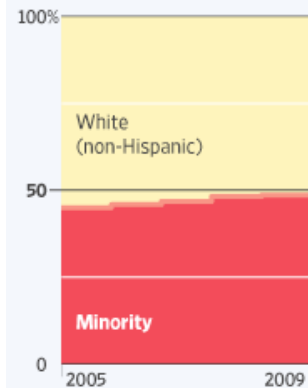
SOURCE: US Census Bureau

Figure 1. Growth in U.S. Minority Populations, 2000-2008

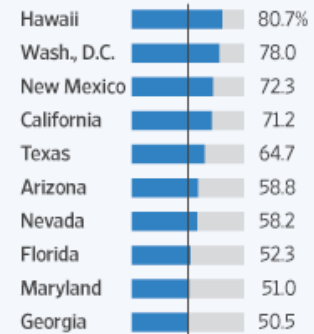


## A Diverse Generation

Percentage of births in the U.S.



Minorities as a percentage of the under-15 population, 2009



Sources: Census Bureau (births); William H. Frey analysis of Census data (states)

Tipping point for transition to a “majority-minority” US nation: 2042



# Race/Gender/Class "Intersectionality"



"Intersectionality" as something processual and practice-oriented, something very discursive: the complex of reciprocal attachments and sometimes polarizing conflicts between anti-racist, feminist, and workers' /anti-poverty movements.

The methodological and explanatory framework for linking race, gender and class, however, remains elusive.

Any serious comparative historical view suggests that demands for solidarity across race-, class-, or gender-lines sometimes compete and sometimes coalesce.



# The Racial State: Despotic and Democratic Dimensions

There are tremendous contradictions between state-based racial repression and democratic rights.

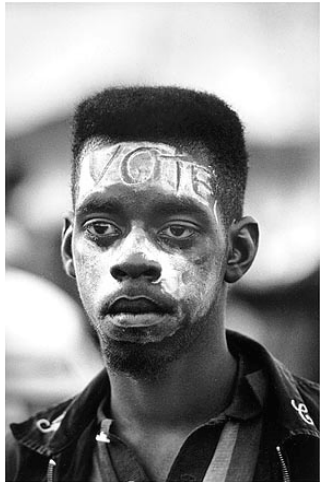
--Note how the state both operates racially and claims to be "race-neutral."

--Consider Katrina and its aftermath...

--I've already mentioned incarceration: rates and racial dimensions

We want to support research that explores these contradictions.

As well as MOVEMENTS FOR RACIAL DEMOCRACY



# Global Race: Empire, Post-Coloniality, and Identity on the World Stage



"We should never indulge in the condescending voices that allege that some people are not interested in freedom or aren't ready for freedom's responsibility. That view was wrong in 1963 in Birmingham, and it's wrong in 2004 in Baghdad."

\*\*\*

"Welcome to Injun country," neocon journalist Robert Kaplan (2005) quotes US officers telling him in Iraq.

What was Osama bin Laden's code name on May 2, 2011? Do you remember?

Race is always central to imperial rule.

The afterlife of empire does not operate only on the periphery: the townships and favelas, the "planet of slums."

--Empire's legacy inhabits the metropolises as well

--the Parisian *banlieues*, Leicester, Kreuzberg (Berlin)

--but also Dearborn, South Central L.A., Queens....

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# We Are Building a Network



- The UC Center for New Racial Studies is based at all ten UC campuses
- We have “inventoried” the entire UC race-oriented faculty
  - We have identified c. 1000 race and racism-focused, ladder-ranked faculty throughout the system
- The program Center was launched July 1, 2010. It has been funded for five years starting July 2010
- It's an ambitious effort; we welcome your ideas and support



Thanks very much...