

Globalization and Race: Structures of Inequality, New Sovereignties, and Citizenship in a Neoliberal Era

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Abstract

Over the past 20 years, there has been considerable anthropological investigation into the processes that many have come to label globalization. Although attempts within the social sciences have considered globalization processes in relation to articulations among ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, processes of racialization have only recently been taken up as central issues. In this article, we observe several new strategies of governance that emerged in the late twentieth century and onward and their implications for approaches to and understandings of race in the twenty-first century. These strategies have created new institutional spheres through which processes of racialization have proliferated, while still recalling earlier organizations of social division and classifications of human value. We reflect on significant spatial and temporal moments in an attempt to reanimate the way that economic and political processes not only have been managed through ideas about race but also have played out in relation to pre-existing social relations of inequality, poverty, and global exclusion. We are also interested in the ambiguities and challenges of racial meanings as they operate within multiple orders and different scales, especially in relation to contemporary intellectual silences.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past 20 years, considerable anthropological investigation has explored the processes that many have come to label globalization. Within the social sciences, attempts have been made to consider globalization processes in relation to articulations among ethnicity, gender, and sexuality within large-scale frames of analysis. However, race and processes of racialization have only recently been taken up as central issues in academic discussions of globalization and its economic and political transformations. What we understand today as globalization (as highly selective economic, social, and political macroprocesses of mobilization in time and space) has been facilitated by the reconfiguration of capitalism and by the transmission and reproduction of deeply embedded social hierarchies and prejudices rooted in a past characterized by territorial concepts of belonging and notions of civilization that both generated and were generated by racial inequalities. Thus, if we are to take seriously the relevance of contemporary macromobilizations of everyday life—making sense of those processes that dynamically reflect and shape globality, rather than function as simply effects of it—then mapping what scholars have come to mean by race in new social and global spaces and in a post-9/11 world is an important starting point. Such a focus turns our attention to articulations among political economy, symbolic and ideological phenomena, statecraft, and the imaginative and ambiguous dimensions of social life that have shaped writings on this topic.

Elsewhere, we have outlined some of the new significant directions in anthropological research on race and globalization, emphasizing generative links as they relate to meanings of blackness. This body of work has demonstrated the contingent and complex ways people understand, perform, or subvert racial identities by mobilizing knowledges gleaned both from the particularities of their local circumstances and from the range of ideas and practices that circulate within their public spheres (Clarke & Thomas 2006). In this essay, we want to take a somewhat different tack by observing several new strategies of governance that emerged or were given new life in the late twentieth century and onward. These strategies have created new institutional spheres through which processes of racialization have been simultaneously proliferated and managed, while still recalling earlier organizations of social division and classifications of human value. We do not seek to be encyclopedic, trotting around the globe to point out racial processes at work here and there, then and now. Instead, we reflect on significant and specific spatial and temporal moments in which economic and political processes have been generated and managed through ideas about race, whether explicitly conceptualized as such or implicitly rendered in relation to pre-existing social relations of inequality, poverty, and global exclusion. This essay thus focuses on mapping a number of new directions for exploring the articulations between race and globalization.

We thus begin with a discussion that emphasizes the importance of the Americas as a site of modern race making, with modernity recognized as a profoundly racialized process. We then survey recent trends in anthropological scholarship on globalization that illuminate the ways our postcolonial, post-Cold War, and, now, post-9/11 moment is steeped in the racial legacies not only of this inaugural period, but also of the later imperialist expansion in the nineteenth century. What has persisted are forms of social ordering and patterns of value that render particular social relations legible and other formations unintelligible as modern projects. We are especially interested in the fact that whereas racial distinctions are deeply embedded in social life throughout the world, analyses of these distinctions often remain analytically absent from scholarly explanations of inequality in regions beyond the Americas. Judith Butler (2004) has addressed these ambiguities through a discussion of new global reconfigurations of social inequality in which the public sphere is constituted by the limits of the sayable; it is shaped by what cannot be said or shown, but what still exists through the allocation of stigma to particular types of speech. In the case she explores,

the occupation practices and terms of exclusion of the Israeli state are at the heart of structuring the terms of legitimate public engagement. We see similar forms of public silencing at work in relation to the US “war on terror” where notions of “good Muslims and bad Muslims” also index racialized designations without using the language of race (Mamdani 2005).

Two other forms of silencing reflect ambiguities about what race is and when its psychic life (Ruti 2006) is at play. The first has to do with how discussions of globalization that silence the ways race operates in and through these processes often also serve to stifle robust analyses of marginality and inequality within the United States, particularly within urban areas. Explicit evocations of “race” in these settings, therefore, are sometimes dismissed as “paranoia” rather than engaged as the result of the same transformations affecting communities elsewhere (Jackson 2008). In the second, the silencing of race within discussions of neoliberal restructuring have sometimes prevented a more vigorous analysis of the ways US foreign policy—as well as within the spheres of development and humanitarian practice—has generated a form of “global apartheid” in which racial, class, and gendered disparities have been intensified (Harrison 2002). The crisis over the reliability of race as fully knowable, therefore, confronts us with complex challenges vis-à-vis shaping public engagement in relation to inequality and mobility.

These sorts of silences—where some formations are intelligible and acceptable, whereas others remain illegible in everyday life—shape our major questions: What are the qualitative shifts in forms of socioracial identification and subject formation that have been generated by contemporary global circulations, and how have ideologies regarding racial subjectivity circulated in scholarly and popular domains? What are the institutional spaces that have been conscripted or engaged (and sometimes both) to regulate expectations related to the relationship between race and rights, opportunities, possibilities, and limitations?

Unlike in the nineteenth and early- to mid-twentieth centuries, new forms of social democracy and rights claims are less tied to explicit articulations of race and more to determinants of citizenship connected to labor, mobility, and geographies of national birth. As such, the challenge related to the contemporary literature has been to make sense of new forms of explicitly racialized subject formation, while also attempting to understand how new patterns of inclusion, exclusion, and inequality are implicitly conceptualized in racial terms, even when the language of race is not mobilized. In this light, we argue that on one hand, the vestiges of racial hierarchy and social ordering that characterized mid-twentieth century models of liberal democracy are being challenged owing to new strategies of governance and forms of sovereignty. On the other hand, contemporary racialized publics are nevertheless “entangled” with these older hierarchies.¹ Thus, we seek to encourage an agenda for developing new analytic frames for considering the vexed relationships between race and global formations today. Our hope is that our brief review of some of the trends in this area will offer fresh considerations and useful guidance for understanding how subject making plays out on a terrain of social inequalities, articulations, and silences.

CLARIFYING GLOBALIZATION

In 2001, two articles were published that questioned conventional wisdom about what had come to be known as globalization. The first was Michel Rolph Trouillot’s (2001, p. 125) countering of the

¹Here, we are invoking Achille Mbembe’s (2001, p. 16) concept of “entanglement,” a layering of temporalities that creates “an *interlocking* of presents, pasts, and futures that retain their depths of other presents, pasts, and futures, each age bearing, altering, and maintaining the previous ones.” This kind of layering evokes what M. Jacqui Alexander (2005) (drawing from Ella Shohat) has called palimpsestic time, in which time is “neither vertically accumulated nor horizontally teleological” (p. 190), but instead reveals itself through a repetition, like overlapping parchments in which previous strata are always partially visible.

then-contemporary assertion of many scholars across the disciplines that “globalization renders the state irrelevant not only as an economic actor but also as a social and cultural container.” His emphasis in this essay was on how state power was being deployed differently and on how processes previously associated with states were now being carried out in tandem with national bodies but primarily through the auspices of infrastate, suprastate, and/or transnational institutions. Trouillot’s point here was that the internationalization of capital was not new and, moreover, that the world economy was not singularly integrated. Instead, what we were witnessing—and what we should therefore probe ethnographically—was a “fragmented globality” (Trouillot 2001, p. 129), an increased but selective flexibility of capital, principally within North America, Asia, and Western Europe, and a simultaneous intensified differentiation of labor markets within and across national boundaries as well as the uneven integration of worldwide consumer markets.

The second article was by historian Frederick Cooper, who similarly argued that common usage of the term globalization did not sufficiently account for the limits of interconnections, nor for the structures necessary to make these connections work. For him, the globalization concept is more discourse than reality, one that “emphasizes change over time but remains ahistorical, and which seems to be about space, but which ends up glossing over the mechanisms and limitations of spatial relationships” (Cooper 2001, p. 190). Both of these scholars encouraged us to think about economic, political, and sociocultural transformations through a more delimited spatial lens to focus on key moments and shifts. For Cooper, as for many anthropologists including Trouillot, Sidney Mintz, and others before him, this meant turning attention to earlier and more regionally specific mobilizations and, in particular, to the transformations in the relationships among racial ideologies, trade networks, capital mobility, and governance that characterized the European exploitation of the New World. These relationships, it was argued, profoundly shaped the spheres of power that order micro- and macrogovernance today.

The New World and Modern Ideologies of Race

The idea of race and the hierarchical institutionalization of racial difference emerged dialectically in relation to sixteenth-century economic transformations that ultimately created what we now know as the modern West (Holt 2000, Trouillot 1995, Whitten 2007). While notions of difference operated prior to this period, the expulsion of Muslims from Europe, the initial European voyages of exploration and discovery, and the development of mercantile capitalism generated a novel situation whereby, for the first time, racialized labor became central to the new plantation-based system of economic production. At the same time, within European religious, philosophical, scientific, and political discourses, hierarchies of human value were increasingly mapped onto gendered, racial, and civilizational differences (Trouillot 1995). In this way, early mercantilism inaugurated material and ideological processes that indelibly linked the “New World” and the “Old World” in a common project of defining modern subjectivity in racial terms. Among Native Americans, Pacific Islanders, and Africans, the designation of the “tribe” performed the same racialized meanings. Although “tribe” described people’s kinship groups, late-nineteenth-century anthropologists represented these groups as emblematic of a stage in the hierarchies of social evolution: “Tribes” were positioned on the lower end of racial development, and nations and citizens were on the higher end.

Because these racialized processes also generated the consolidation of both Old World and New World empires and nationalisms within Europe, this formulation of modernity conceptualizes the Atlantic Ocean as an integrated geohistorical unit where the structural transformations associated with early European expansion westward created what ultimately became a triangular web of political, economic, and sociocultural relations joining individuals, communities, and classes first on three and, by the mid-nineteenth century, on four continents in a single sphere of

interaction (Lowe 2006). European capitalist expansion via imperialism, indentureship, and slavery was crucial to the establishment of the first nearly global markets of exchange (of both bodies and commodities—or, more accurately, of the African body as one among several commodities) as well as the infrastructures these markets required. This early moment of globalization engendered a common language not only for an accepted wisdom regarding scales of humanity, but also for related notions of personal freedoms and political revolutions (Carnegie 2002, Palmié 2002).

Imperialism's Second Wave and the Solidification of Scientific Racism

The initial institutionalization (through labor regimes) of racialized notions of difference would be subsequently mobilized to serve the late-nineteenth-century British project of indirect imperial rule and the new imperialist project of the United States. These projects would ultimately result in the integration of capital markets on at least five continents and the subsequent intensification of labor migration; the development of technological innovations; the imagination of both political and social life beyond the territorial boundaries of the nation-state through visions of Ethiopianism, internationalism, and pan-Africanism; and the elaboration of science, through which we would see the emergence of various strands of social Darwinism that would shape the institutionalization of anthropological notions of racialized civilizational difference (Baker 1998).² These latter notions would be challenged by late-nineteenth-century antislavery struggles as well as mid-twentieth-century anticolonial and Native-self-determination struggles; later civil rights and Black Power movements; and the universal human rights mobilizations of the mid-century and beyond. Nevertheless, the two moments of European expansion to the New World and nineteenth-century indirect imperialism generated both the material and ideological frames for understanding late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century processes in the circum-Atlantic world and beyond.

NEW POST-1989 FORMS OF GOVERNANCE AND CITIZENSHIP

Since the critiques of Trouillot and Cooper, a range of other works have clarified the specificities of the globalization concept in which circulations of capital have intensified distinctions between the north and south. *Global Shadows* by James Ferguson (2006) attempts to clarify the ways capitalist flows from the north shaped outward migration as Africans attempted to claim membership within a world of northern exclusion. At the same time, Anna Tsing (2000) engaged in related discussions through an attempt to contemplate globalization through people's lived experience alongside larger socioeconomic processes. Her analysis highlights the importance of making sense of how ideas, histories, and infrastructures travel in nondeterminant ways, thereby providing a vocabulary for understanding how "places are made through their connections with each other" (Tsing 2000, p. 330). Finally, *Neoliberalism as Exception* by Aihwa Ong (2006) examines neoliberalism as a flexible technology of governance that is reconfiguring taken-for-granted relationships among sovereignty, territoriality, and citizenship.

All these authors demonstrate how the massive decentralization of capital accumulation worldwide over the past 30 years has resulted in the growth of new centers of economic expansion,

²There is a growing literature on molecular biology and population genetics and the ways they reflect (but are also distinct from) earlier scientific racism (see, for example, Abu el-Haj 2007, 2012; Fulwily 2011; Lee et al. 2008; Palmié 2007; Roberts 2011). Although we do not address the literature explicitly here, we agree with Abu el-Haj's (2007) position that genetic mapping has become a neoliberal technique of governance through which certainties about identity and descent are being generated and individuals are making claims about citizenship and rights. Modernist conceptions of racial biology have, therefore, been replaced by, or retooled through, new attachments of social value and measurements of human differentiation.

while older imperial centers and sites of power have declined. Simultaneously, rapid advances in information and transportation technology, as well as the circulation of new technologies of knowledge and communication, have changed the ways in which notions of space and place are both conceptualized and experienced. Concomitantly, the postcolonial and post-Cold War decline of particular models of empire and the subsequent remobilization of ethnic and nationalist identities have fundamentally reorganized global political spaces and economic configurations, while new institutional spheres have assumed governance roles. We are interested here in the ways older racialized models are being reinvigorated by these contemporary processes and in the new patterns of regulation that have emerged. In what remains of this essay, we focus on two related spheres: (a) mobility and the racialization of citizenship and (b) neoliberal multiculturalism and new juridical models of humanitarianism. Just as with the initial settling of the circum-Atlantic world and the subsequent establishment of new capitalist models, violence—structural, symbolic, material, and intimate—has been central to these processes.

THE RACIALIZATION OF CITIZENSHIP IN THE CONTEMPORARY ECONOMY: MOBILITY, MIGRATION, PLACE

One of the hallmarks of the contemporary moment is that, although capital has become increasingly flexible, this flexibility has primarily benefited the new regional centers of the global economy—North America, Asia, and Western Europe. Workers, meanwhile, have become increasingly differentiated across sectors and across national boundaries. Indeed, global economic restructuring, the liberalization of free trade, and the plunder and destruction of arable land as a result of mining and toxic spillage and dumping have resulted in the immiseration and displacement of huge numbers of people from Africa, Latin America, Asia, and the Caribbean who, in search of some degree of economic stability, have moved or been concentrated within formerly imperial European centers, the United States, or other regional cores. New transnational political economies in various regions have worked through the persistence of older racial orders organized through socially entrenched divisions of labor in which a global working class remains segmented along complexly racialized, gendered, ethnicized, and nationalized lines. Many scholars have used ethnographic methods to explore the (sometimes unexpected) links between migration, racial formation, processes of ethnic identification, the development of political consciousness, and cultural production. In this section, therefore, we focus on how thinking through processes of racialization in relation to labor migration and other forms of mobility also leads us to address discourses of nationalism and security; citizenship and rights; and the articulations among class, gender, sexuality, religion, ethnicity, and generation. In all these spheres, the domains of affect and place have become important theoretical rubrics through which to parse the relationships between the material and the intimate. Here, we use the term intimacy to refer not only to those areas of work normally thought of as caring labor, but also to the spheres of interiority, emotionality, and self-fashioning associated with the neoliberal project as well as to the dimensions of expectation and anxiety surrounding economic and political participation.

Karen Brodtkin's (2000) seminal essay articulates a framework for understanding the relationships among nation-building, citizenship-making, racialization, gendering, and labor under conditions of global capitalism (for early reviews of the enormous literature on nationalism and race-making, see Alonso 1994, Williams 1989). By charting how immigrants to the United States have been directed toward particular un- and deskilled industries and how this direction has been justified through argumentation about racial and ethnic differences, she showed that "job degradation and racial darkening were linked processes" (Brodtkin 2000, p. 241). Her broader arguments—that race and gender constitute capitalism's class relations of production and that

the gendered race-making necessary for the reproduction of those relations of production is also produced by state policy, civic discourse, and state-sanctioned nationalism—have proven to be effective tools for ethnographers interested in how particular bodies become associated with certain forms of work, how movement is racially calibrated, and how particular institutional spaces manage these processes.

Anthropologists, ethnographic sociologists, and critical legal scholars have taken up these issues within a range of urban migrant destinations within the United States and Europe, investigating nationalism as a process of racial formation within which labor markets, immigration law, and welfare policy work in tandem to generate notions of legitimate citizenship and criminality (Anderson 2000; Angel-Ajani 2002, 2003; Calavita 2005; De Genova 2005; Ong 2003; Padilla 2011; Small 1994; see also Silverstein 2005). Interestingly, though perhaps unsurprisingly, these processes of immigrant exclusion through racialization also obtain in contexts in which the “migrants” in question are actually citizens, as in the case of French Antilleans in Paris (Beriss 2004) and Puerto Ricans in the United States (Duany 2011; for both historical and contemporary accounts of the relationship between imperialism and racialization, also see Bonilla 2011, Wilder 2005).

A subset of this research has centered on the ways new migration patterns have been gendered, and this has resulted in a robust literature on migrant domestic workers (Constable 2007; Parreñas 2001, 2008) and women factory workers (Kim 2013, Pun 2005, Wright 2006). Both these dimensions of research on gender and globalization bring to mind earlier attention to migration among West Indians and others performing household service work (Aymer 1997, Brown 2011, Chaney & Castro 1989, Colen 1989, Sanjek & Colen 1990) and to women working in the transnational manufacturing sector (Bolles 1983, 1996; Enloe 1990; Harrison 1991; Mohanty 1997; Nash & Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Ong 1987; Safa 1981, 1995). They also reflect a more popular interest in women in “the new economy” (Chang 2000, Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2004, Kalocsai 2012). Whereas this earlier work tended to mobilize race more explicitly as an analytic framework for understanding transnational processes, newer scholarship on the gendered patterns of labor has been far more implicit about the relevance of race and/or social difference in the contemporary economy. This is true even among scholars writing about Asian migration who focus on urban-rural class distinctions and national hierarchies, where the status positions of migrants are also embedded in particular discourses that reference histories of conquest and related hierarchies of value, hierarchies that have also been formulated through the language of race (Kim 2008).

These articulations among mobility, racialization, and citizenship both generate and reproduce ideas about femininity, even as the materiality of women’s mobility also challenges some traditional notions of gender and place and sometimes produces new status distinctions (Freeman 2000) or new religious pieties (Ahmad 2010, Mahmood 2005). More recently, however, there has been greater attention to the ways contemporary labor circulations also materially and discursively produce new understandings of masculinity. For example, a 2010 special issue of *Men and Masculinities* focuses on migrated men in caring industries. In their introduction, Sarti & Scrinzi (2010) argue that a truly gendered analysis of contemporary global patterns of labor and mobility requires a relational analysis of men’s and women’s work. Additionally, *Stolen Honor* by Katherine Ewing (2008) explores the construction of the “dangerous Muslim man” in Germany, articulating race, ethnicity, and religion as analytic categories [for more on (especially Muslim) migrants as threats to national culture, see Vertovec 2011].

Ewing’s book raises an issue that has also been more broadly addressed among a range of area studies scholars working in the United States, Europe, Africa, and parts of Asia; especially in the final 20 years of the twentieth century, ethnicity came to also take on important analytic centrality in terms of understanding social organization and cultural and heritage distinctions influencing

citizenship claims. Where race is sometimes seen as an insufficient analytic for making sense of deeply cultural organizing mechanisms, ethnicity has been used as a popular analytic for making sense of the way people form alliances along national, ancestral, linguistic, and cultural beliefs. At the heart of these conceptualizations have been distinctions about the ways that societies reproduce themselves through various forms of descent or kinship conceptualizations. The scholarship on these formations has been significant and has spanned many regions. Among some scholars, especially political scientists, ethnicity and its patronage implications have been seen as major contributors to social conflict, violence, and the failure of democracy (Berman 1998, Berman et al. 2004, Chandra 2007, Cordell 2012, Cordell & Wolff 2011, Jackson & Ramirez 2009, Wimmer 2002). In addition, knowledge about the “Other” was understood first through conceptualizations of the “tribe,” whereas “ethnicity” was viewed as a way to index kinship (Cohen 1978, 1989; Fox 2011; Mudimbe 1997, 2010) and to think through particular practices involving the power to name in relation to cartographies of space (Eriksen 2004, Worby 1994). For some, ethnicity provided a newly conceptualized category to make sense of the way that colonial adumbrations complicated existing status hierarchies and produced new racial and ethnic hierarchies, thereby contributing to contemporary social problems (Mamdani 2001, Shaw 1995) or to boundary-maintenance practices among a range of communities (Barth 1998, Carnelli & Eriksen 1998, Eriksen 2010, Striffler 2007), including immigrant communities conscientious of their succession location (Brubaker 2004, Chavez 1991, Vega 2012, Williams 1989, Yuval-Davis et al. 2005). From colonial to postcolonial governments, ethnicity has been seen both as an instrument of state politics and a mechanism for social mobility and opportunism (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009). Where the scholarship out of Africa and Asia has also attempted to make sense of endogamy and exogamy and boundary maintenance, the ethnicity scholarship related to the north has been concerned with labor, mobility, and politics related to ethnic and racial succession.

The bulk of the research in the north examining labor, mobility, and the ethnicization/racialization of citizenship has been explicitly focused on the structural and historical dimensions of inequality and exclusion.³ One exception to this focus is the literature on sex tourism and sexual work, which encourages us to turn our attention to questions related to embodiment and therefore, to some degree, to affective expectations about the ways certain bodies labor (Brennan 2004, Faier 2009, Gregory 2006, Kempadoo 2004, Pardis 2011, Parreñas 2011, Roland 2010). Much of this work has been geared toward demonstrating how sexual labor (and migration to perform sexual labor) is one strategy through which principally women (though also men) become socioeconomically mobile and provide for families. At the same time, this work also draws from and reproduces gendered and racialized hierarchies and assumptions about (excessive) sexuality and desire, simultaneously producing racially segregated spaces of work. A subsidiary argument within some of this work regards the discourses of moral panic that have emerged from concerns about trafficking (Kempadoo 2004, Pardis 2011, Parreñas 2011). That research has demonstrated the ways antitrafficking policies have tended to work against those they are designed to protect because they do not take into account macrostructural forces that shape migrants’ individual decision-making processes. In these cases, racialized sexuality has become a language through which rights and citizenship are debated and enforced. This has also been true within certain European contexts where Muslims, assumed to be opposed to homosexuality, are

³This structural emphasis was also true of the earlier transnational migration literature, but these scholars also tended to focus on the ways migrants maintained public cultural practices and on how these practices transformed their new homes (see, for example, Glick Schiller et al. 1992, Sutton & Chaney 1987).

deemed illegitimate citizens owing to their lack of tolerance (Mepschen et al. 2010) and within the Caribbean where gay and transsexual black Cubans deploy American conceptions of blackness to make claims for the legitimacy of particular forms of sexuality (Allen 2011).⁴

The turn toward embodiment has encouraged a focus more broadly on affect, which is here seen as a central component of more general neoliberal processes by which “states and markets orchestrate racial projects through the regulation (and induced self-regulation) of affect” (Ramos-Zayas 2012, p. 319). As Ana Ramos-Zayas (2012, p. 4) demonstrates through her work with Latino and Latin American migrants in Newark, New Jersey, “urban neoliberalism has come to be influenced by the enforcement of an emotional common sense that heightens a process by which race is psychologized and affect is racialized.” Thus, a situation results in which a politics of respectability and notions of racial democracy are reactivated to make moral claims to citizenship. This kind of work represents another exception to more structural historical approaches to racialized mobility and provides promising interventions into our understandings of how materiality and interiority are linked in the contemporary neoliberal moment.

Another body of literature that has taken racialization as a central process through which citizenship is measured and mobilized within the context of neoliberalism is focused on the rubrics of place and security. This work examines how people are being corralled into certain kinds of spaces (and are, therefore, excluded from others) as well as the various ways people are “getting out of place” (and thus unsettling assumed hierarchies of race and belonging). The construction of security as a racialized discourse has been particularly evident in the post-9/11 period, and scholarship on Islam in America has examined the new race-ing of Islam and Muslims as a mechanism of criminalization.⁵ After 9/11, “Muslim” subjects, particularly those who are Arab and South Asian, were transformed into “national security threats” (rather than citizens) through political discourse, government policies, and media representations. Scholars such as Aisha Khan (2013), Andrew Shryock (2008, 2010; see also Howell & Shryock 2003), Leti Volpp (2003), Inderpal Grewal (2003), and Amaney Jamal & Nadine Naber (2008) have identified the ways in which religion, nationality, ethnicity, and color articulate into complex subject formations such as “the citizen” and “the terrorist” (Volpp 2003). By contrast, some scholars, such as Andrew Shryock (2010), suggest that the complexities of Arab-American racial formation are not best understood through racialization; they argue that a taxonomy of uncertainty suspends Arab Americans between zones of white, Otherness, and “color.” Nevertheless, the reality is that this taxonomy was produced by modern racial typologies that have generated a complex and lasting “common sense” about hierarchy and difference.

Other ethnographers have documented subjects struggling with the various forms of violence that have accompanied nationalisms and the increasing dominance of the neoliberal agenda over the past two decades (Besteman 1999, Schmidt Camacho 2005). However, many genocidal struggles have much deeper histories that are often rooted in the ways social and political difference maps onto a racio-religious sense of entitlement (e.g., Jackson 2013, Mamdani 2001). In some cases, this has directed our attention to uses of public space, processes of gentrification, and the

⁴This last example highlights the importance of how locally specific racial categories travel across national contexts. Other anthropologists have also addressed the strategic invocation of US blackness in relation to particular forms of political consciousness and solidarity, patterns of consumption, or notions of cosmopolitanism (Brown 2005, Camp 2004, Codrington 2006, Ramos-Zayas 2008).

⁵But see Breckenridge (2005) for a discussion of how the post-9/11 emphasis in the United States about the potential for biometric technology to create a mechanism for identifying potential and/or actual terrorists may be informed by an historical reading of how this kind of system was integral to the solidification of institutionalized racism during the colonial and Apartheid regimes in South Africa, despite its more contemporary use in the provision of welfare benefits.

effects of the more general governmental shift away from notions of the public good (Caldeira 2000; Davis & Dent 2001; Fine & Ruglis 2009; Gilmore 2007; Low 2000, 2009; Maskovsky 2006; Sudbury 2004; Wacquant 2009; Williams 2012) and, in other cases, to the ways natural disasters have exacerbated already-existing racialized disparities related to environment, access to social services, poverty, and security (Jackson 2011, James 2010, Schuller 2012). In Africa and Asia, as elsewhere, this violence has contributed to the militarization of everyday life as religious struggles, military takeovers, and the autocratic suppression of opposition movements have become commonplace. In addition, the discovery and extraction of natural resources such as oil, diamonds, and gas and the control of the spice, technology, and fabric industries have exacerbated already-existing inequalities. In part, these trends have been due to resources remaining in the control of various multinational companies, even in the postcolonial period, while the underdevelopment of institutions such as schools, hospitals, and public transportation infrastructure has been intensified. These processes have led to extensive and traumatic human capital flight, both to urban centers and to the global north (Clarke 2013).

In other cases, we are seeing how neoliberal processes of movement and mobility have also generated a situation whereby people have been able to reject the forms of class deference and paternalism they were previously (implicitly and customarily) forced to perform (Fikes 2009; Goldstein 2004, 2012; Holston 2008, 2009; Thomas 2004, 2011), thereby undermining mid-twentieth-century nationalist racial projects in complex ways. Researchers have shown that people experiencing these shifts often frame them in terms of an intensification of violence and incivility. Yet, the analyses of these researchers have tended to position this kind of violence as creative and productive: Such violence, they argue, is the result of forms of action that explicitly or implicitly challenge the dominant forms of racial hierarchy and social deference that characterized mid-twentieth-century models of political community and that, therefore, instantiate expressions of citizenship within both local and transnational spheres.

NEOLIBERAL MULTICULTURALISM AND NEW SOVEREIGNTIES

New configurations of labor and mobility have required that anthropologists analyze the relationships between racialization and citizenship. Likewise, additional contemporary shifts have raised questions regarding the ways race and sovereignty are linked. International adoption policies and practices, DNA testing and resultant descent categories, as well as the global war on terror and international attempts to manage violence are among the various forms of global restructuring that have directed attention to the functioning of emergent transnational institutions and their relationships to new strategies of governance.

One of the ways in which the relationship between sovereignty and citizenship is being managed in the contemporary period involves a reconfiguration of the links among states, populations, and global social movements. According to Norman Whitten (2007), the twin transformative processes of racial fixing (of diverse African peoples into *negros* and diverse indigenous New World populations into *indios*) and racial flexibility (the various configurations of creolization, transculturation, and hybridity) occurred during the fifteenth-century European settling of the New World. These processes then became institutionalized through particular extractive labor regimes and constellations of citizenship that excluded non-European groups. During the nineteenth- and twentieth-century nationalist movements throughout the Americas, and especially within Latin America, ideologies emerged that wedded citizenship to particular formulations of *mestizaje*; Ronald Stutzman (1981) famously called this the “all inclusive ideology of exclusion,” that is, a blended subjectivity that nevertheless privileged the contribution of the European part of the triad in the making of the nation (see also de la Cadena 2000, Graham 1990, Wade 1997).

During the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries, this ideology has been challenged in part by the migratory streams associated with globalization and political violence (Simmons 2009) as well as by the ways multilateral institutions have supported social movements. An important example of such is the emergence of multicultural governance throughout Latin America, whereby several states have changed their constitutions to recognize the sovereign rights of indigenous groups and, in some cases, Afro-descended populations.

These changes have prompted extensive interest in the contemporary politics of indigeneity, which has been the subject of several recent journal special issues: *Cultural Anthropology* in 2010, *Interventions* in 2011, and the *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* in 2007. Part of this interest has also been geared toward rethinking the relationships between indigeneity and race (de la Cadena 2010), particularly with respect to blackness (Hooker 2005, Jackson 2012, Rahier 2003, Rahier et al. 2010). These observers position recent constitutional changes not only in relation to worldwide indigenous mobilization and the pressures this activism has exerted on states—many of them only recently emerging from civil wars, genocide, and decades of autocratic rule—but also within the context of neoliberal imperatives (Burrell 2010, 2013). Indeed, Charles Hale (2005) has argued that the triumph of neoliberal ideology in these contexts works because a limited sense of cultural rights and intercultural equality is supported rather than suppressed. Accordingly, he has termed these transformations “neoliberal multiculturalism.”

Multicultural governance, then, is a way to rethink sovereignty that simultaneously calls into question the relationship between territory and race as well as the “currency of culture” (Cattelino 2008), i.e., the organizing categories of sovereignty and reparations claims. Yet, indigenous people “fail” at indigeneity (Povinelli 2002), in part because they can never live up to the expected cultural dimensions of distinctiveness or because they have become too successful at mobilizing cultural rights toward economic self-sufficiency (Cattelino 2010). The failure to assert cultural distinctiveness regularly also presents a challenge to Afro-descended populations seeking to mobilize rights through these new constitutional channels (Hooker 2005) and who have had far less success in this regard. Thus, we are faced with the continuity of popular and political understandings of the relationships among race, ethnicity, and cultural identity. Per such a continuity, only some groups have been able to gain a degree of sovereignty and autonomy through these new governance regimes.

A few scholars have also shown how claiming “indigeneity” outside of contexts of settler colonialism can cause tensions within an international movement making claims that are rooted in this context (for examples of African struggles, see Hodgson 2011, Obarrio 2010; for an analysis of Indonesian activists, see Li 2007). Although these may seem to be exceptional cases, other scholars have also shown how the claim to indigeneity in relation to land rights has often led to the solidification of racial hierarchies in ways that are spatialized, creating divisions within Afro-descended communities, as has been the case in Colombia (Castro 2013, Escobar 2008) and to some degree in Nicaragua and Honduras (Anderson 2007, Gordon 1998, Hale 2005). In all these contexts, however, we see the importance of having new movements embrace international law and multilateral humanitarian institutions such as the United Nations in an effort to claim rights and recognition.

HUMANITARIANISM AND NEW JURIDICAL MODELS

The development of international legal and human rights institutions since 1989 represents an additional domain in which we see changes in the articulation between racialization and citizenship, yet in this area, the particularities of racial bodies are present empirically but often absent analytically. A vast body of scholarship has followed the significant transformations in juridical and governance models, concerning itself with how shifts in law, crime, violence, and

humanitarianism have generated (and institutionally managed) new subject positions. Much of the focus on victimhood, crime, and suffering has emerged out of political and legal anthropology frameworks (Clarke 2009, Pandolfi 2008, Ticktin 2011) or out of work on humanitarianism within medical anthropology (Butt 2002; Farmer 2005; Fassin & D'Halluin 2005; Fassin & Rechtman 2009; Redfield 2005). This focus has also concerned the cultural politics of poverty as it relates to the global south, particularly Africa and Latin America. Here, postcolonial or post-Cold War realities have set the conditions for extreme forms of exclusion and marginalization, thereby setting the terms for the way that modernity and inequality are understood and materialized. By framing various subjects as being in need of "saving," the literature on humanitarianism has shown how new "industries" and forms of governance have been developed to accommodate this project.

Articulating Deep Structures of Inequality: Racial Presences and Silences

Scholars attuned to the social exclusions generated by globalization in Africa have tended to approach questions of power and inequality not in terms of race, but in relation to deep structures of violence and inequality. For example, *Global Shadows* by James Ferguson (2006) tackles vexed issues concerning the place of Africa and Africans in the international order. Rather than framing the discussion as one of crisis or failure, he made a case for examining African relationships to "the West" as requiring a conceptualization of globalization less in terms of transnational flows and more in relation to the selective processes of exclusion and marginalization that constitute globality today. Similarly, *Nostalgia For the Future: West Africa After the Cold War* by Charles Piot (2010) positions emigration from Togo to the global north as part of a new formation connected to the privatization of the state, neoliberal politics (including new NGO governance structures), the popularity of Pentecostalism, and the resurgence of witchcraft. As with Ferguson's (2006) work, Piot (2010) shows how a rethinking of global governance has required more robust analytic attention to how the reconstitutions of state sovereignty are exacerbating forms of inequality. Harry Englund (2006) also takes this perspective: He argues that some members of the Malawian poor are able to mobilize human rights discourses to distinguish themselves from others, but in the process of doing so, they actually hamper the workings of democratic choice and freedom by entering into relationships of debt and obligation. As a result, human rights activism and foreign aid actually reduce the possibilities of democratic citizenship.

Although leading scholars of global circulation and social inequality in Africa have engaged with these questions through case studies that examine the lives of mostly poor black Africans, their work does not consider questions related to the psychic life of race. For them, deep structures of colonial ordering, modernity, and capitalist extraction produce the exclusions that are their focus. Their contributions are critically important in developing the scaffolding for theorizing neoliberal transformations in complex social worlds, but the ambiguities concerning racial meaning and understanding, the presumptions about race and its limits, and the politics of desire and denial remain unaddressed. Thus, the relationships between the histories and forms of ordering that produced the hierarchies and forms of social disenfranchisement that are at the core of their texts are not analyzed in terms of their relation to the modernist genealogy of racialization. A further articulation of the working of race in terms of how affective and material relationships with the West are played out may tell us more about the complexities of racial ordering in the south, especially as it relates to the elaboration of structures of feeling, aspirations, disappointments, and claims to global membership. For example, *The Predicament of Blackness: Postcolonial Ghana and the Politics of Race* by Jemima Pierre (2012) demonstrates how analytically engaging global processes of racialization generates particular understandings of the imperial project of indirect rule that, through a process of nativization, served to consolidate arenas of blackness and whiteness through

institutionalized practices of residential and occupational segregation. Pierre (2012) shows how these patterns continued in the postcolonial period despite state and popular expressions of pan-Africanism and African racial self-determination. Thus, she performs a nuanced analysis of how the past lives in the present—politically, socially, culturally, and economically—by exploring the dynamics of skin bleaching, heritage tourism, and contemporary pan-African intellectual and political exchange. Though we make choices about our intellectual foci, this kind of engagement both helps to dislodge studies of the African diaspora from their New World bias and recasts Africa within the frame of the modern.

The Collapse of State Sovereignty, Humanitarianism, and the Responsibility to Protect

With the collapse of states in the global south following the Helsinki Accords and the dismantling of the Soviet Union (Grovogui 2011), a doctrine known as The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) emerged. R2P is a 2005 UN initiative designed to promote human solidarity in the face of the militarization of public life. Because R2P asserts that sovereignty is not a right but a responsibility, it demands that states protect their populations from mass violence and gives the “international community” the right to intervene through economic, coercive, and, as a final resort, military measures. This new articulation of sovereignty as membership in the “international community” saw a symbolic shift in discourses that articulated responsibilities to a global community as characteristic of a new era of moral and humanitarian protectionism. Not surprisingly, this discourse gained its power through the imagery of the victim—often an indigent brown or black figure, or a woman or child to be saved—rendering the new sovereignty as regionally raced and gendered in particular ways. Yet, this racialization is often silenced in these contexts. This reconceptualization of sovereignty as an international principle to which all states are expected to be held accountable is expressed, in practice, through the languages of morality and humanitarianism. Humanitarianism, however, does not exist beyond the realm of the political.

Scholars of political science, international relations, and the law have been quick to make sense of these moral and political-legal shifts in the humanitarian literature (Baker 2010, Barnett & Weiss 2008, Cook 2011, Grovogui 2011, Mamdani 2005). However, we have only begun to make sense of the ways that these new global reorganizations are becoming manifest. In the medical anthropology literature, the challenge has involved how to parse the ways in which protection is offered as a legitimate mitigation of human suffering. Several scholars of anthropology situate their analyses of humanitarianism and suffering in the body through experiences of physical and mental trauma (Fassin & Rechtman 2009, Good et al. 2008, James 2010), social suffering (Kleinman et al. 1997), “victimhood” and the “politics of proof” among asylum seekers (Feldman 2007b, 2008; Maalki 1996; Ticktin 2006; Fassin & Rechtman 2009), and the role of narratives of suffering and witness testimony in establishing legal eligibility for care (Fassin 2008, Fassin & D’Halluin 2005, Ticktin 2006). These studies highlight the emergence of complex subjects, such as “the suffering stranger” (Butt 2002), the “therapeutic citizen” (Petryna 2002), or the “morally legitimate suffering body” (Ticktin 2011), that result from relations among bodies, states, and various forms of international governance and humanitarian intervention.

Other studies critique the moral, ethical, and affective dimensions of humanitarianism and how these dimensions relate to political action and engagements (Fassin 2012, Feldman 2007a, Englund 2006, Pandolfi 2008, Redfield & Bornstein 2010, Ticktin 2011). In *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The Mobilization of Empathy*, Richard Wilson and Richard Brown view humanitarianism as “an ethos embedded in civil society” and one that “drives secular and religious social and cultural movements, not just legal and political institutions” (Wilson & Brown 2011). Didier Fassin (2012,

pp. 1–2) draws together “moral sentiments,” the emotions that compel us to be attentive to the suffering others, with contemporary politics in his expression “humanitarian government,” which he views as “the deployment of moral sentiments in contemporary politics.”

In *In the Name of Humanity: The Government of Threat and Care*, Ilana Feldman and Miriam Ticktin trace the emergence of “humanity” as a collective political actor that underlies contemporary forms of humanitarian governance and intervention and serves as both “an object of care and a source of anxiety” (Feldman & Ticktin 2010, p. 6). In her study of immigration policies in France, for example, Ticktin (2011) demonstrates how an “antipolitics of care” is grounded in a transnational moral imperative to intervene on behalf of those who are “morally legitimate suffering” subjects. Similarly, Sean Brotherton’s (2012) study of Fidel Castro’s “health crisis” and the deterioration of the national healthcare system highlights the ways in which “medicalized subjectivities” transformed into “pragmatic subjectivities” (p. 31) by resorting to unofficial medical care in the absence of state biomedical services. Finally, in *Contemporary States of Emergency*, Fassin & Pandolfi (2010) show the mandate to protect “humanity” is increasingly enacted through the merging of military and humanitarian action, resulting in new forms of humanitarian governance.

Within this body of literature, as within the violence and criminal law literature, the body being defended (and subjugated) is particularly racialized and serves to fuel a Western moral imperative for intervention (Clarke 2009). The specter of frailty of brown and black bodies, women, as well as gay and straight AIDS patients shapes the moral foundations of the new internationalism, one that indexes the demise of mid-twentieth-century notions of sovereignty and a new conception of membership in the world community. These new domains tell a story about social inequalities in the absence of explicit racial analysis, but the reality is that through their silences they are actually involved in the most powerful crafting of racial subjects—the reinforcement of the unsayable that produces a presence even through its absence. This reality of new trends in the state of globalization and race relations speaks to the challenges to the liberalist project today not only to choreograph the management of life for all, but also to create the conditions for the technical production and moral cultivation (Clarke 2009) of those whose lives are affected by unequal domains of power.

CONCLUSION

Not only has globalization not produced the new cosmopolitanisms some scholars expected (and still desire), but contemporary assertions of being postracial have also served only to mask the deep and ongoing structural inequalities—now viewed in terms of abjection or ethnicity—that were put into motion by modern processes of racialization. The challenge here is that this analytic slip-page undermines our ability to understand how structures and institutions still undergird particular racialist meanings and orders. And although there has been a decline in the hegemony of (Western) modernist narratives that were previously framed as universal, the celebration of a kind of contemporary cosmopolitanism has emerged simultaneous to the intensification of narrowly defined nationalisms, fundamentalisms, racism, and xenophobia. Today, labor mobility, rights claims, and creative reclassifications of belonging, as well as new exclusions and predictable marginalizations, have raised questions about how we understand the contemporary workings of race.

As we have shown, to understand contemporary processes of racial sociality in an age of economic global restructuring, and in light of the new humanitarian responsibilities that are reshaping the way we think about sovereignty and state responsibilities, it is critical to clarify the relationships between older imperial formations and contemporary configurations of power and knowledge. It is also critical to parse the ways that neoliberal racism has grown out of earlier patterns of social hierarchies, even in light of their discursive transformations or articulated absences (Harrison 1995,

Mullings 2005). To bring into productive relation the ways that subjectivity and global processes work in tandem, therefore, analyses of race and globalization must consider how these projects are coconstituted. This means recognizing the way that knowledge production is a racialized project, with particular areas and peoples made legible through discourses related to race and governance, whereas others are seen as existing outside these discourses. Contemporary anthropology could be better engaged to examine ethnographically the play of power and global subject making to produce insights into the ways inequality works in our contemporary world; this, we argue, is the necessary agenda ahead.

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