HK: “Referendum on black citizenship”

- 77% blacks (vs. 37% whites) rejected media term of “refugees”

- “A decade later, it’s worth wondering whether they were bothered by a fear that “refugee” not “citizen” had been the most apt description all along.”

  » Jelani Cobb, New Yorker, Aug. 24, 2015
This is what Black Lives *Don’t* Matter looks like...

**Marketization of Black Citizenship**

“Color-blind” and “merit-based” market-based criteria for moral worth grafted onto legacy of race-based legal and social exclusions

Perniciousness of color-blind market exclusion: *It cannot be outlawed*

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**Hurricane Katrina=3 Elements**

- “Failed” FEMA
- 134,000 “Left Behind”
- Paramilitary Occupation: “War zone” not a rescue zone

**FAILED FEMA**

- “Heckuva a job Brownie!”
THE SOCIAL STATE

- Social state = protection by government from full exposure to market forces.
  - Provides food, shelter, medical care, education, rescue from natural disaster

“Starve the beast”

- “Why is there No Money for Education?”
  - Rather than proposing unpopular spending cuts, Republicans would push through popular tax cuts, with the deliberate intention of worsening the government’s fiscal position. Spending cuts could then be sold as a necessity rather than a choice, the only way to eliminate an unsustainable budget deficit
  - Paul Krugman

Failed FEMA/Welfare

- Starving the Beast
  - Tax cuts for the rich
  - Bloated military budget
  - Huge deficits
  - No money for social programs
  - A Public investment deficit
  - Failed Government Agencies, crumbling infrastructure, rising tuitions at public universities

FEMA as Moral Hazard

- Government promises to rescue us from disaster/Or from poverty
- Creates perverse incentives to be irresponsible, to be lazy, to not work.
- Creates dependence on Government.
- Personal Responsibility Crusade
- Dismantle Social Programs and defund Public Goods
Public Goods Are Rights

• A Right is the name we use for universal access to public goods that are protected from the market by the state

• Whereas Commodities = privileges
• Public goods=RIGHTS!

Starving the beast → Demise of Social State > Internal statelessness

• Many inner-city Americans live without enforceable rights because, having been virtually abandoned by their government, they are virtually stateless.

• “We learned that if don’t have money or status in America you don’t have a government”, Hurricane Katrina survivor, Trouble the Water

The Left Behind

134,000 not evacuated
Unused abandoned busses

Marketization/Contractualization of citizenship

From
- from an ethos of citizenship rights based in of mutual reciprocities and shared fate
- from the individual as citizen with moral worth based on human recognition and membership
- from the dominance of sociology and social knowledge

To
- to rights and inclusion made conditional upon having adequate market value in a contract-like exchange
- to the individual as a measure of human capital whose worth is conditional on her market value
- to the rule of economics

De facto Citizenship= RIGHT TO HAVE RIGHTS

- Full membership is PRIMARY right,
- Membership=Social Inclusion
- Membership requires being morally recognizable by dominant others.

Rights are public goods; Public Goods are social rights and foundation of social citizenship; Necessary for social inclusion and moral recognition
From social provisioning to policing the social

- Statelessness means losing two kinds of rights: 
  1. Lose right to protection by the police/government 
  2. Lose right to protection from the police 

- A disabled state cannot protect personal liberties, such as the right not to be tortured by police officers and prison guards.

- “They were all about detention, as if it were Iraq, like we were foreigners and they were fighting a war. They implemented war-like conditions. They treated us worse than prisoners of war. Even prisoners of war have rights under the Geneva Convention.”
POLICING POVERTY: THE EXAGGERATION OF LAWLESSNESS AND CRIMINALITY

“These troops are fresh back from Iraq, well trained, experienced, battle tested, and under my orders to restore order in the streets. They have M-16s and they are locked and loaded. These troops know how to shoot and kill and they are more than willing to do so if necessary and I expect they will.”

– Louisiana Governor Kathleen Blanco, quoted in ABC News, Sept. 2, 2005

A Tale of Two Violent Bridges: Police vs African-Americans

1965 Selma, AL

2005 New Orleans, LA
Danziger Bridge 2005

"Former police officer pleads guilty to Danziger Bridge shooting cover-up of stunning breadth”

"Confrontation at the Bridge," 1975 Jacob Lawrence (1917-2000)

Police in Suburbs Blocked Evacuees, Witnesses Report

Danziger Bridge shooting
Sept 4th 2005
Gretna Bridge

- Police in Suburbs Blocked Evacuees, Witnesses Report,

Triumph of Dominant Narrative

The legacy of 'starving the state':

- Downsize public institutions so they can no longer be effective
- So: Privatize public institutions

Loss of social rights/Enhanced Police Occupation and Surveillance

Dominant Narrative (cont.)

- The Left Behind=Welfare Dependents
- Michael Brown, The American public needs to learn not to rely on the government to save them when a crisis hits. 8/27/15
  http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/08/katrina-ten-years-later-michael-brown-121782#ixzz3l6WCDXoT

- So: Further eliminate public goods
Dominant Narrative (cont.)

- Roaming gangs of lawless “thugs”

- So: Increase police surveillance and incarceration

- Privatize security forces

“An economy of exclusion,”
Pope Francis’ apostolic exhortation

- “no longer...about exploitation and oppression...those excluded are no longer society’s underside or its fringes or its disenfranchised [although they are also that]—they are no longer even a part of it.

- The excluded are ...the outcast, the ‘leftovers’.”

- “Such an economy [of exclusion] kills...not news when an elderly homeless person dies of exposure, but it is news when the stock market loses two points”

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