# When/How Black Lives <u>Don't</u> Matter: HURRICANE KATRINA @10 Citizenship, Statelessness & Losing the Right to have Rights: A Political Economy of Moral Worth



Margaret R. Somers University of Michigan

#### 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

## Why are we being called—and treated as—refugees? We're American citizens; where are our rights?



"We learned that if don't have money or status in America you don't have a government", Hurricane Katrina survivor, *Trouble the Water* 



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

#### 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

Market-driven governance's anti-government crusade

"My goal is to cut government in half in twenty-five years, to get it down to the size where we can drown it in the bathtub."

— Grover Norquist: 'Field Marshal' of the Bush Plan

New Orleans under water

Failed FEMA/Welfare • Starving the Beast FEMA as Moral Hazard Government promises to rescue us from disaster/ Tax cuts for the rich Or from poverty Bloated military budget Creates perverse incentives to be irresponsible, to be lazy, to not work. Huge deficits Creates dependence on No money for social programs Government. Personal Responsibility Crusade A Public investment deficit Dismantle Social Programs and Failed Government Agencies, defund Public Goods crumbling infrastructure, rising tuitions at public universities

### **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 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



#### De facto Citizenship= **RIGHT TO HAVE RIGHTS**

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

#### Marketization/Contractualization of citizenship

From from an ethos of citizenship rights based in of mutual reciprocities and shared fate

to rights and inclusion made conditional upon having adequate market value in a contract-like exchange

from the individual as citizen with moral worth based on human recognition and membership

to the individual as a measure of human capital whose worth is conditional on her market value;

from the dominance of sociology and social knowledge

to the rule of economics

• Membership requires being morally

Hurricane **Katrina** Rightlessness

#### Rightlessness:

- Social Exclusion
- Statelessness
- Losing "Right to have Rights/Public goods "

Rights are public goods; Public Goods are social rights and foundation of social citizenship; Necessary for social inclusion and moral recognition



Internal statelessness does not mean "small government"



# From social provisioning to policing the social

- Statelessness means losing two kinds of rights:
   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 lraq, 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."

WRITTEN TESTIMONY FOR THE RECORD
 By Leah Hodges Evacuee, New Orleans Lousiana
 Select Bipartisan Committee to Investigate the Preparation for and Response to Hurricane Katrina
 December 6 2005.

## 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

### Danziger Bridge shooting

Sept 4th 2005



26

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

1965 Selma, AL
"Bloody Sunday." March 7,
1965. Crossing Pettus Bridge

"Confrontation at the Bridge," 1975 Jacob Lawrence (1917-2000) 2005 New Orleans, LA

Danziger Bridge 2005

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



Police in Suburbs Blocked Evacuees, Witnesses Report

27

### **Gretna Bridge**

 Police in Suburbs Blocked Evacuees, Witnesses Report, Loss of social rights/Enhanced Police Occupation and Surveillance



**Triumph of Dominant Narrative** 

The legacy of 'starving the state':

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

#### **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

Я

#### **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"