
What does Race have to do with Security?

SocSci 311, Fall 2021
Lesson 14

(b)(6)



Critical Race Theory

- Definitions

A collection of critical stances against the **existing legal order** from a race-based point of view. (Brooks 1994)

A collection of **activists and scholars** interested in studying and transforming the **relationship among race, racism, and power**. (Delgado 2017)

The view that the **law and legal institutions are inherently racist** and that **race itself**, instead of being biologically grounded and natural, is a **socially constructed concept** that is used by white people to further their economic and political interests at the expense of people of colour. (Curry 2009)



Race as Social Construct?

Witherspoon, David J., Stephen Wooding, Alan R. Rogers, Elizabeth E. Marchani, W. Scott Watkins, Mark A. Batzer, and Lynn B. Jorde. "Genetic similarities within and between human populations." *Genetics* 176, no. 1 (2007): 351-359.

Abstract:

- The **proportion of human genetic variation due to differences between populations is modest.**
- **Individuals from different populations can be genetically more similar than individuals from the same population.**
- Yet sufficient genetic data can permit accurate classification of individuals into populations.
- This provides empirical justification for caution when using population labels in biomedical settings, with broad implications for personalized medicine, pharmacogenetics, and the meaning of race.



Power and Conflict





Historical Examples



Nazi propaganda often portrayed Jews as engaged in a conspiracy to provoke war. Here, a stereotyped Jew conspires behind the scenes to control the Allied powers, represented by the British, American, and Soviet flags. The caption reads, "Behind the enemy powers: the Jew." Circa 1942.



Advertising poster for the antisemitic film, Der ewige Jude (The Eternal Jew), directed by Fritz Hippler. Germany, ca. 1940.

Source: U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum - <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/nazi-propaganda>

Academic Success - Professional Engagement
Personal Growth



Historical Examples



Editorial cartoon in 1942 in the New York newspaper PM by children's author Dr. Seuss (Theodore Seuss Geisel) with the caption 'Waiting for the Signal From Home', portraying Japanese Americans in California, Oregon, and Washington as a fifth column loyal to Imperial Japan, receiving explosives, prepared to conduct sabotage against the United States when directed by their mother country.

Source: UCSD Special Collections. Originally published in PM newspaper, "Copyright 1942 by Marshall Field".

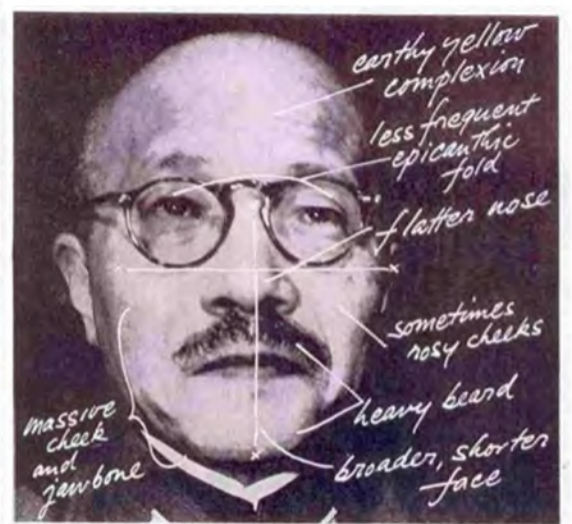


Historical Examples



Chinese public servant, Ong Wen-han, is representative of North Chinese anthropological group with long, fine-lined face and scant beard. Epicanthic fold of skin above eyelid is found in 85% of Chinese. Southern Chinese have round,

lined faces, not as massively lined as the Japanese. Except that their skin is darker, this description fits Filipinos who are often mistaken for Japs. Chinese sometimes pass for European, but Japs more often approach Western types.



Japanese warrior, General Hiroki Tojo, current Premier, is in general, closer in type of humble Jap than lightened relatives of Imperial Household. Typical are his heavy beard, massive cheek and jaw bones. Peasant Jap in squat Mongoloid, with flat, knob nose. An often sounder chin is facial expression, shaped by cultural, not anthropological, factors. Chinese wear rational calm of tolerant realists. Japs, like General Tojo, show humorless intensity of ruthless mystics.

Life Magazine article, "How to Tell Japs from The Chinese,"
22 December 1941.



Historical(?) Examples



Editorial Cartoon, *Los Angeles Times*, Fall 2002

Source: Jabbra, Nancy W. "Women, words and war: Explaining 9/11 and justifying US military action in Afghanistan and Iraq." *Journal of international women's studies* 8, no. 1 (2006): 236-255.



Take-Aways

- Regardless of whether we view race as biological or constructed...
 1. Racial categories have **functional impact**
 2. We see the use of racial categories to reinforce **power structures**
 3. We see the use of racial categories to motivate **conflict**
- If we ignore race, what are we missing?
 - Zvobgo and Loken, *Foreign Policy* article (2020)
 - Forbes, *Modern Diplomacy* article (2021)



What's Next?

- **Tues 21 Sep - Lesson 15**
 - Practice Simulation Day
 - **Constructivism/Critical Theories Quiz Due midnight Sun**
 - **Block 1 Capstone Essays Due midnight Mon**
- **Thurs 23 Sep - Lesson 16**
 - Restraint vs. Engagement
 - Read: A&G Chapter 21, pgs. 287-295
A&G Chapter 22, pgs. 296-304
- **Mon 27 Sep - Lessons 17 & 18**
 - Grand Strategy...Read: Drezner, Krebs & Schweller (2020)
 - National Interests...Read: Nuechterlein, Ch. 1, p. 15-29



UNITED STATES

Opinion: I'm a professor at a U.S. military academy. Here's why I teach critical race theory.

Today



Signs opposing the teaching of critical race theory line the entrance to the Loudoun County School Board headquarters, in Ashburn, Va., on June 22. (Evelyn Hockstein/Reuters)

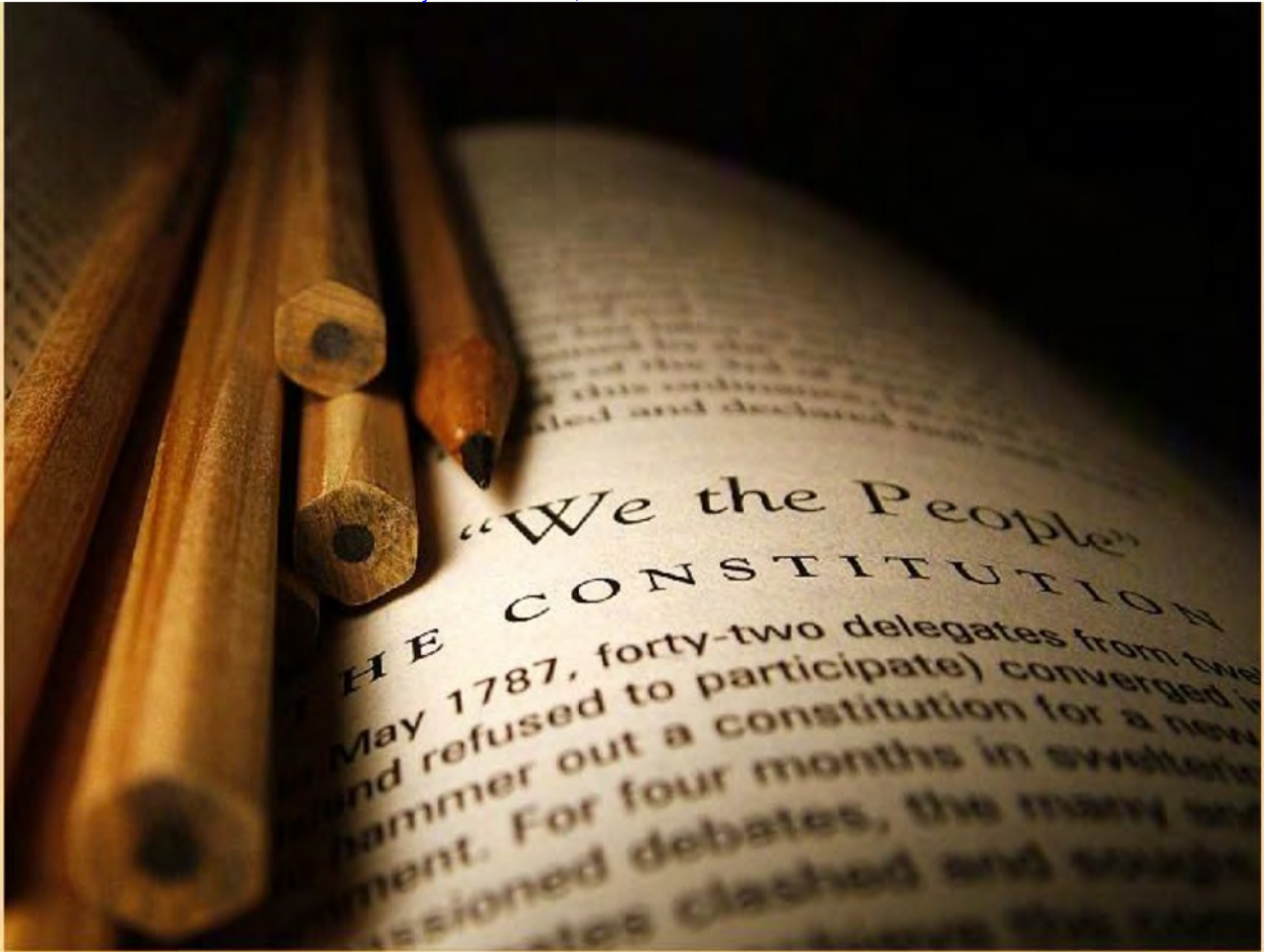
Opinion by Lynne Chandler Garcia
July 6, 2021 at 5:23 p.m. EDT

Lynne Chandler Garcia is an associate professor of political science at the U.S. Air Force Academy. The views expressed are the author's own.



The reality of the Constitution is that it upholds the rule of law and human rights, but once also allowed slavery and has been used to perpetuate legal discrimination. As Frederick Douglass pointed out, although the Declaration of Independence and Constitution espoused liberty and justice, enslaved people had no part of those virtues and no reason to celebrate a day like the Fourth of July.

I don't coddle my cadets out of fear that exposure to certain literatures might make them uncomfortable or test their existing beliefs. Cadets must learn to be brave on the literal battlefield, yes — but they must also be equipped to participate bravely on the battlefield of ideas.



<https://poweredtemplate.com/09325/0/index.html>



Lesson 10
Tocqueville and
Rogers Smith
Dr. Chandler Garcia



Alexis de Tocqueville

**French Diplomat
Political Scientist**

Travel extensively in the U.S.

**Wrote "Democracy in
America" about his
experience in the U.S.**

**In many ways he pegged us!
In some ways, he got it
wrong.**

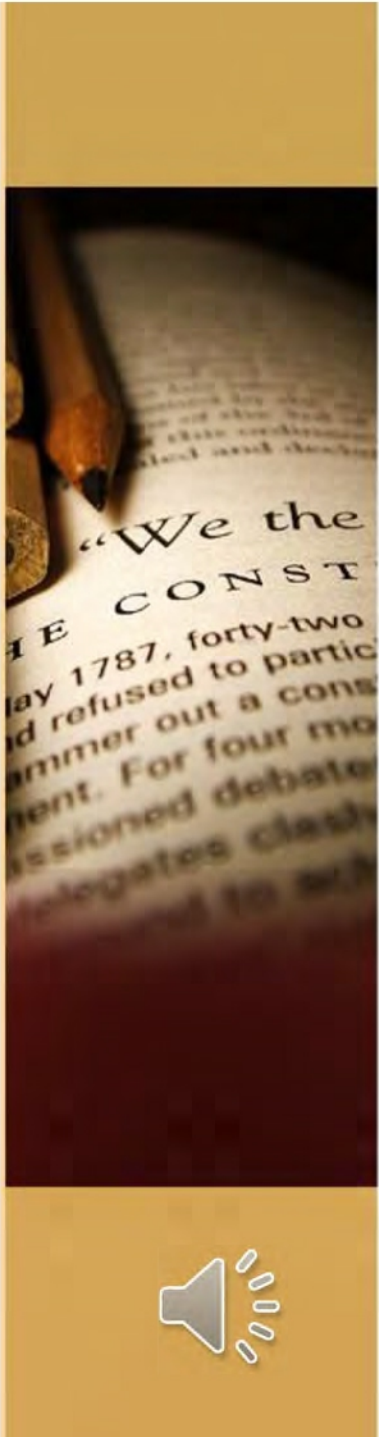


Introduction

“Among the new objects that attracted my attention during my stay in the United States, none struck me more vividly than the equality of conditions.”

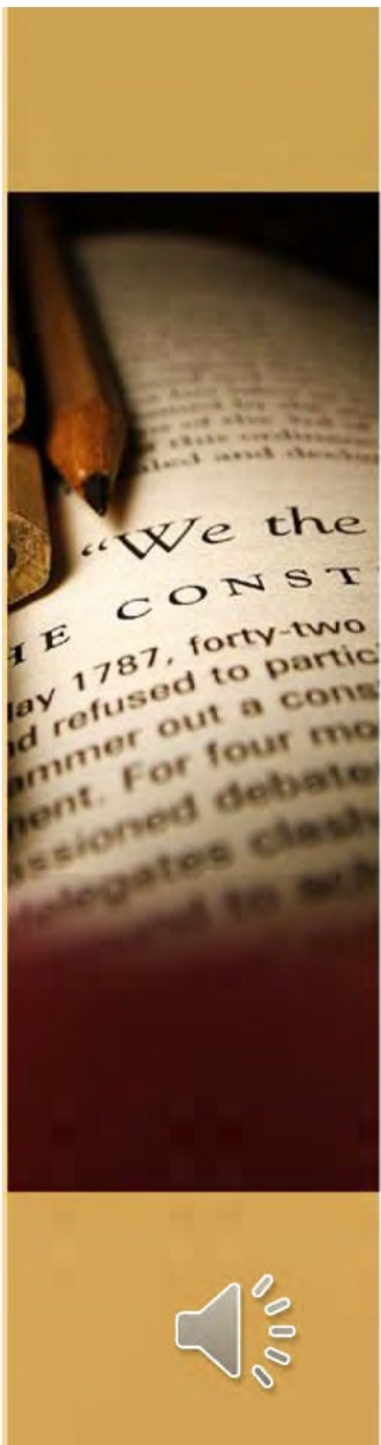
- Equality of Conditions – the reason for writing the book
 - Prominent in the New World, but he can see it in Europe as well
 - Inevitable
 - A little terrifying

Academic Success – Professional
Engagement – Personal Growth



Democratic Revolution

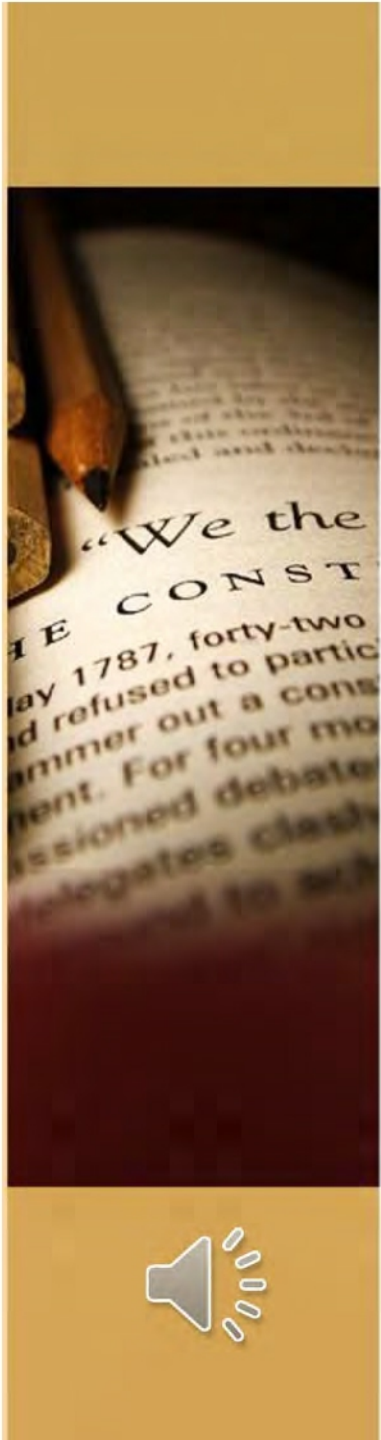
- There is a democratic revolution taking place:
 - After destroying feudalism and vanquishing kings, democracy is not going to retreat
- America has experienced the revolution, and we can learn from that
 - So far, democracy has grown in an untamed, wild manner
 - We need to tame it through studying it, putting in place orderly procedures, and laws



Changes toward Democracy

"But ranks are merging; barriers raised between men are falling; estates are being divided; power is being shared, enlightenment is spreading, intellects are becoming equal; the social state is becoming democratic, and the dominion of democracy is finally being established peacefully in institutions and in mores."

- Authority of state is respected as necessary rather than divine
- Love of the head of state is reasoned not passionate
- The power of the nobles is replaced by free association of all



Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

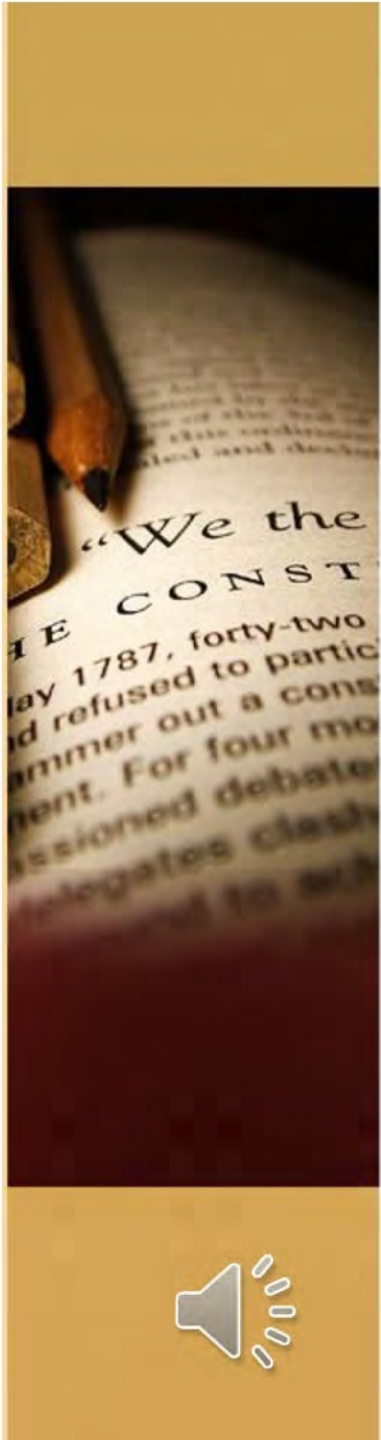
Chapter 3: The Social State of the Anglo Americans

- The social state is Democratic
 - Emigrants to the US were on an equal footing
 - The laws of inheritance furthered equality because it required equal sharing of wealth among children (as opposed to the oldest son inheriting everything)
 - Education is also largely equal with no one being highly educated and no one being completely uneducated.

Academic Success – Professional
Engagement – Personal Growth



Trend toward mediocrity



- There is a "middling standard"
- "The nation taken as a body will be less brilliant, less glorious, less strong perhaps; but the majority of citizens there will enjoy a more prosperous lot, and the people will appear untroubled, not because they despair of being better, but because they know they are well-off."
- "So America presents, in its social state, the strangest phenomenon. There, men appear more equal in fortune and in mind or, in other words, more equal in strength than they are in any other country in the world and have been in any century that history remembers."

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Pt 2 Chapter 5

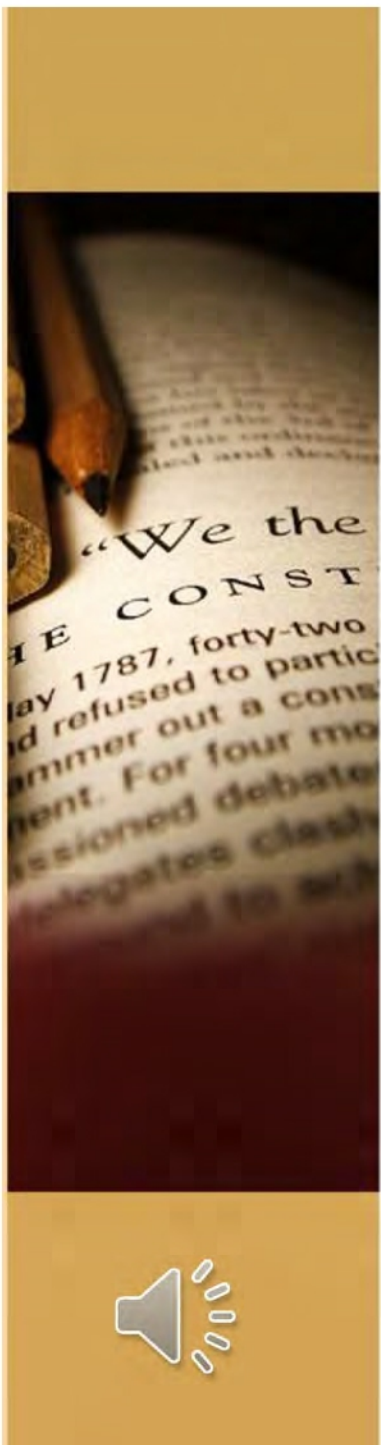
Use that Americans Make of Civic Life

- Americans love their civil and social associations!
- Associations are awesome because they combat individualism and promote community
- Are we Bowling Alone these days?



Pt 2 Ch 7

Relations Between Civil and Political Associations



- Civil associations are great because they prepare citizens to participate in politics
- Political associations draw people together from different social circles and there is an educational process that occurs



Rogers Smith



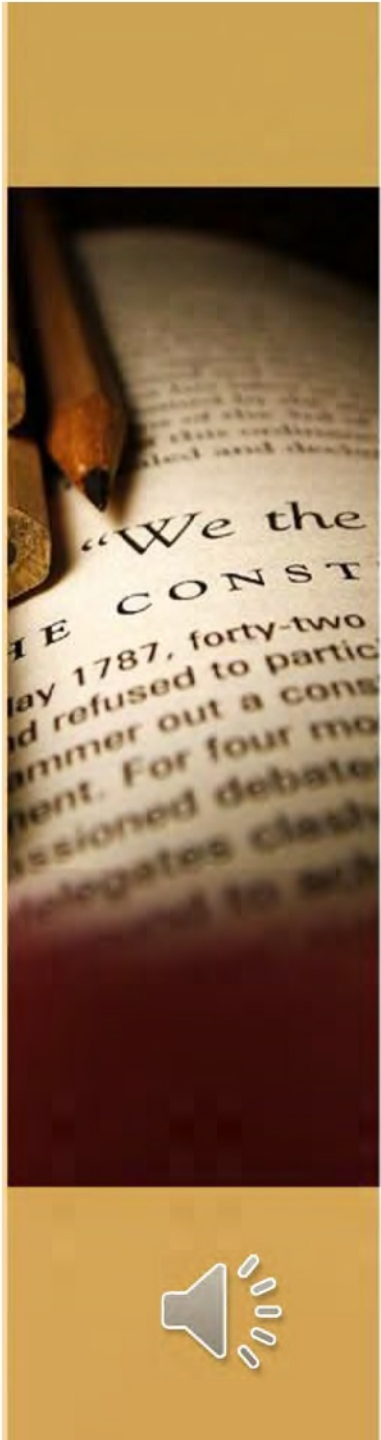
American political
scientist at University
of Pennsylvania
Political Philosopher
Known for work on
inequality
Very much alive!

Rogers Smith and Civic Ideals

- Article is a challenge to the idea that U.S. political thought and culture is dominated by liberal ideology such as espoused by Locke.
 - The founders followed Locke, but also adhered to illiberal tenets as well.
- Later it is the start of a book where he argues that U.S. citizenship was based on illiberal and undemocratic racial, ethnic, and gender hierarchies



Rogers Smith



- **He is not “anti-Tocqueville”**
 - Rather he is arguing that Tocqueville didn’t get it completely right.
 - Tocqueville over-emphasized the liberal, democratic aspects of American political culture.
 - This led to notable scholars (Hartz & Myrdal) building theories of American political thought based too heavily on the liberal democratic aspects
- **He credits Tocqueville**
 - He acknowledges that Tocqueville recognized that slavery was a stain on American ideals
 - Tocqueville abhorred how Native Americans were treated
 - Tocqueville was not willing to acknowledge the problems with gender rights, although Tocqueville did see a place for women in civic associations
- **He believes in liberal democracy**

Academic Success – Professional
 Engagement – Personal Growth

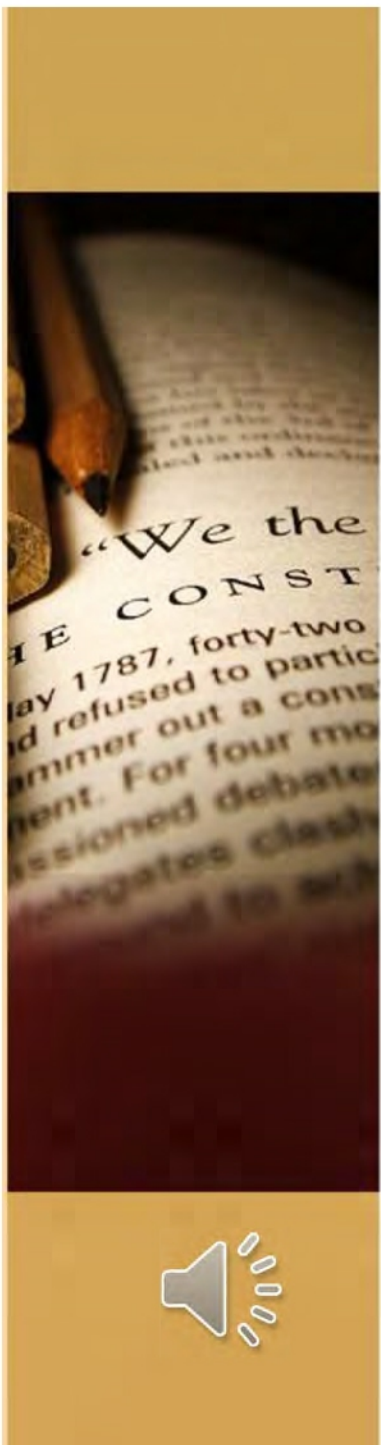
Duality of U.S. Political Culture

- There is indeed basis in republicanism, liberalism, equality, and rights
- There is also a basis in inequality, ascriptive inegalitarianism, second-class citizenship with limited rights



Tug of War

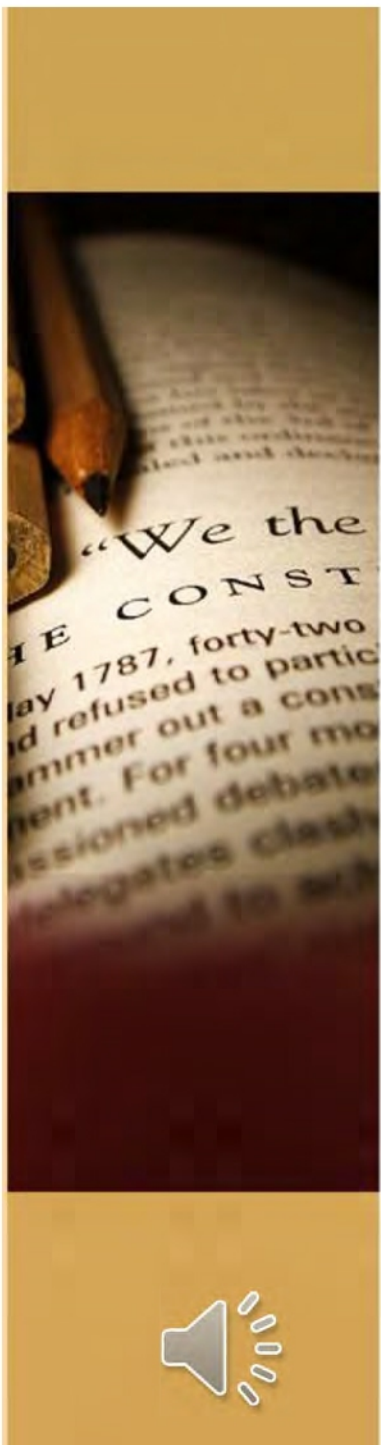
- U.S. history has been typified by a back and forth
- Sometimes liberal and democratic reforms are possible
- Sometimes ascriptive, inegalitarianism holds sway
- Reforms are usually met with push back from the other direction



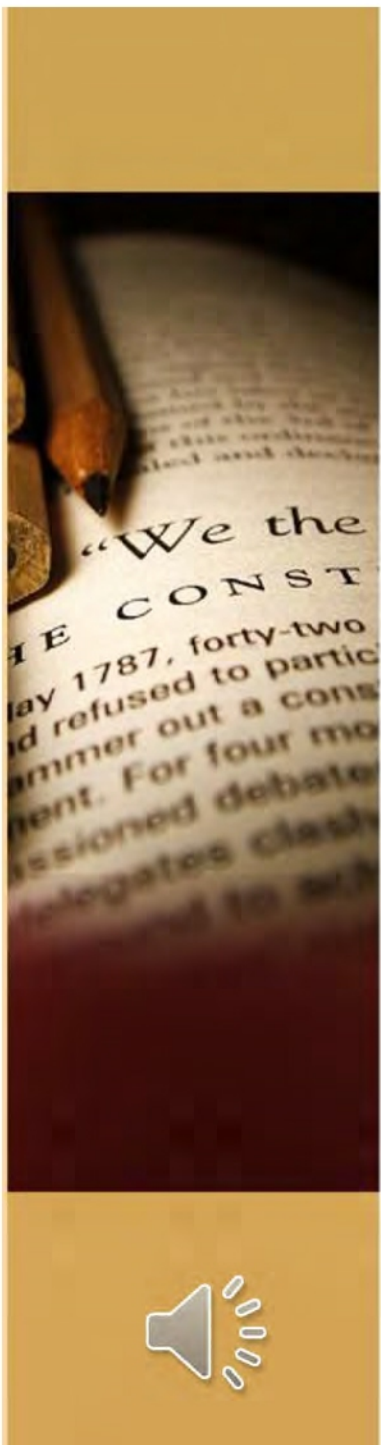
Creating "A People"

Smith argues:

- Political leaders require a population to lead that imagines itself to be a "people"
- Creating political communities is necessary – but it can also be dangerous
- This myth of peoplehood often requires creating a "chosen", superior class. In the U.S., this myth was based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexual identity, and religion



“Myth” of American Peoplehood



- In philosophy, we study Plato’s myth of the metals which is a creation myth.
 - The U.S. too has a creation myth.
 - The Declaration of Independence declares that all men have rights endowed by their Creator
 - Ideas of social contracts forged in a state of nature
 - Parts of the myth are based in truth
 - There is a love of liberty, freedom, democracy and equality
 - Parts are a fiction
 - Popular sovereignty where citizens engage in politics in an egalitarian fashion. Reality is that most people don’t actively participate and elite bargaining dominates decision-making
- Academic Success – Professional
Engagement – Personal Growth

Multiple Traditions Theory

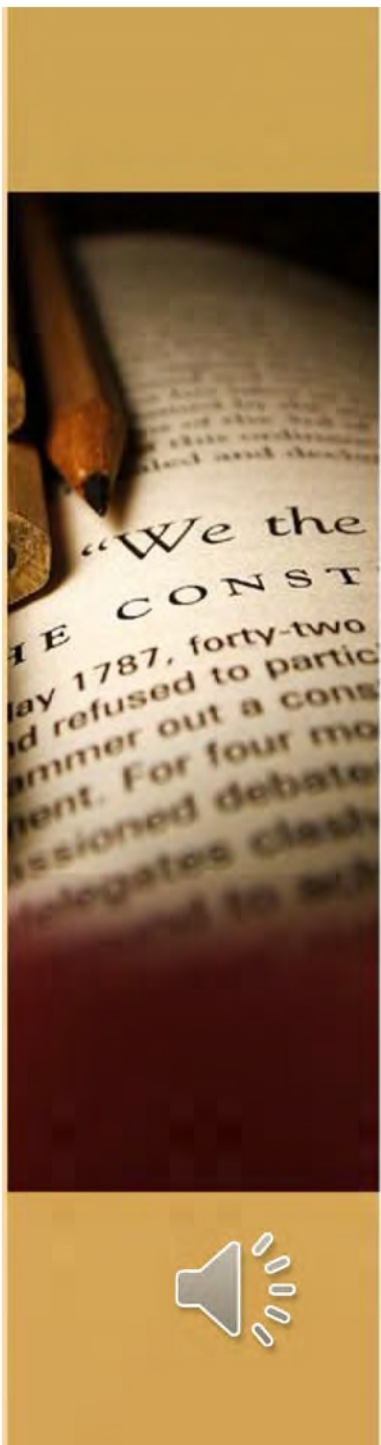
- “Political parties and actors will offer varying civic conceptions blending liberal, republican, and ascriptive elements in different combinations, and important conflicts will occur over all these contrasting elements.”
 - President Jackson era – Democrats supported agrarian republicanism and white supremacy
 - Whigs supported government promotion of economic growth, property rights, and Protestant cultural superiority

- Pure liberalism and Republicanism in a Lockean tradition threatened white, Christian, heterosexual, patriarchal Anglo-Saxon beliefs



Liberalism is Hard!

- liberal norms assume people to be rational, industrious, self reliant, and respectful of others. However, it offers little sense of distinctive membership in a larger group.
- ascriptive norms offer people the prospect that, "regardless of their personal achievements and economic status, their inborn characteristics make them part of a special community" that is "distinctively and permanently worthy" (p. 38).



Who is an “American”?

- There is a view that anyone committed to the notions of democracy, equality, and liberty can be an American
- At the same time, for 2/3 of U.S. history, the majority of the adult population was ineligible for citizenship based on race, gender, or original nationality



Problem with Tocqueville

- Equality of conditions was not a fact in the U.S.
- He largely based his analysis on his interactions with white men of European descent
- He used an aristocratic lens to view the U.S.
- Tocqueville marvels that the U.S. has no ascriptive hierarchy – no aristocracy, no hereditary monarchy, no nobility
 - This was indeed noteworthy
 - It was very different than Europe and comparatively more egalitarian
 - But in the midst of this, there was racial, gender, sexual orientation, & religious hierarchies that were not challenged by our founders.



Are you overwhelmed by all the things you need to do? Then stop needing to do all of them and start actually doing one of them.

Daily Motivation

Lesson 16: Black Lives Matter – Causes and Context

(b)(6)



If we all agree that all lives matter...

What's the point?



“...the movement is called Black Lives Matter because historically, Black lives have not mattered...”



CHAINSAWSUIT.COM







White privilege
doesn't mean your life
hasn't been hard;
it means that your skin
color isn't one of the
things making it **harder.**

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Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.



Emalee Short played with her dog outside her grandparents' home in Hensley, W.Va., in long-struggling McDowell County. Credit...Travis Dove for The New York Times



“It is also dedicated to affirming black people’s contributions to society, our humanity, and our resilience in the face of deadly oppression...”

“The Black Lives Matter movement begin with a commitment to ending police brutality and state-sanctioned violence and injustice against black people”





How about
Police/Society
Relations?

Local or National?





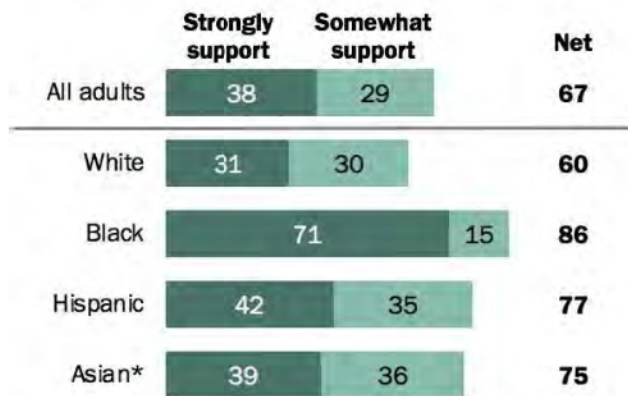
“The Movement for Black Lives, a collective of more than 50 organizations, advances a platform covering six areas of domestic-policy reform, including economic justice and investment in equitable education and health care instead of criminalization and incarceration.”

“...BLM bears some noteworthy distinctions from the civil rights movement, namely the acknowledgement of women (particularly as leaders), the decentralization of power and the fact that BLM’s women leaders self-identify as queer.”



Most Americans express support for the Black Lives Matter movement

% saying they ___ the Black Lives Matter movement



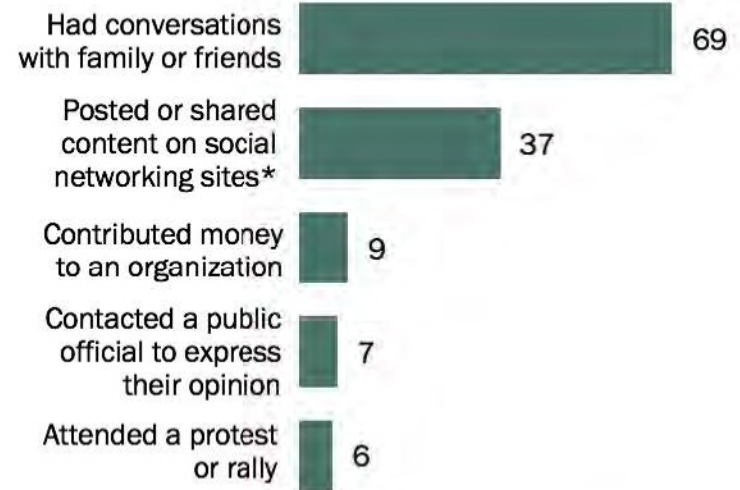
*Asian adults were interviewed in English only.
 Note: Figures may not add to subtotals due to rounding. White, black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are non-Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.
 Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 4-10, 2020.
 "Amid Protests, Majorities Across Racial and Ethnic Groups Express Support for the Black Lives Matter Movement"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

“When the civil rights movement was actually going, it was denounced...Now that we have distance from it, people celebrate it. It was not celebrated in the 1960s at all.”

About seven-in-ten Americans say they’ve had conversations about race in the past month

% saying they have ___ about/focused on race or racial equality in the last month



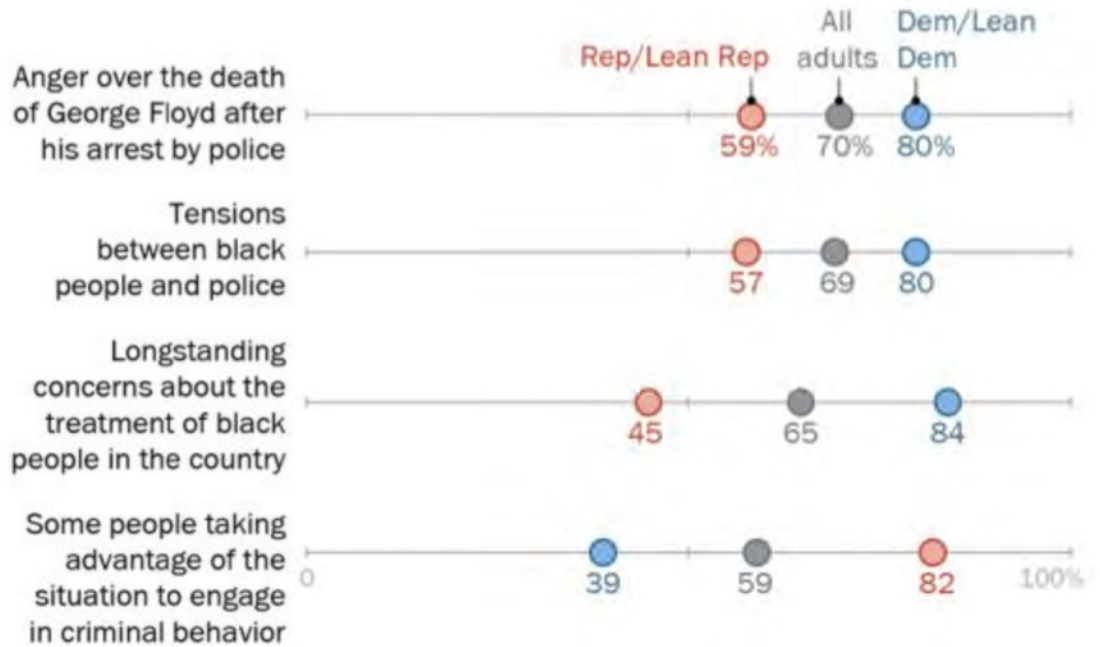
*Based on social media users.
 Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 4-10, 2020.
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Public sees a mix of factors underlying recent protests; views differ widely by party

% saying each factor contributed a great deal to the demonstrations to protest the death of George Floyd

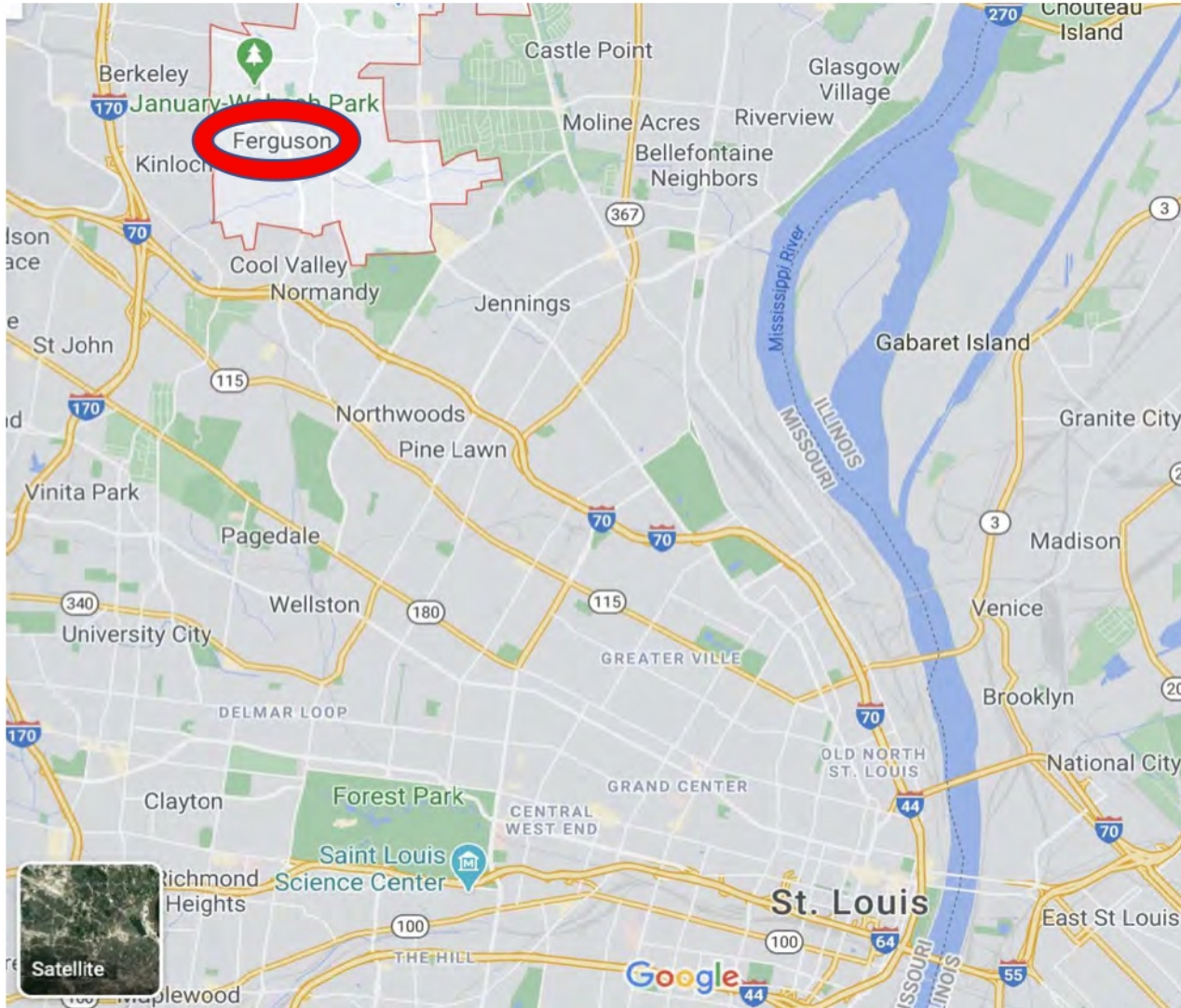


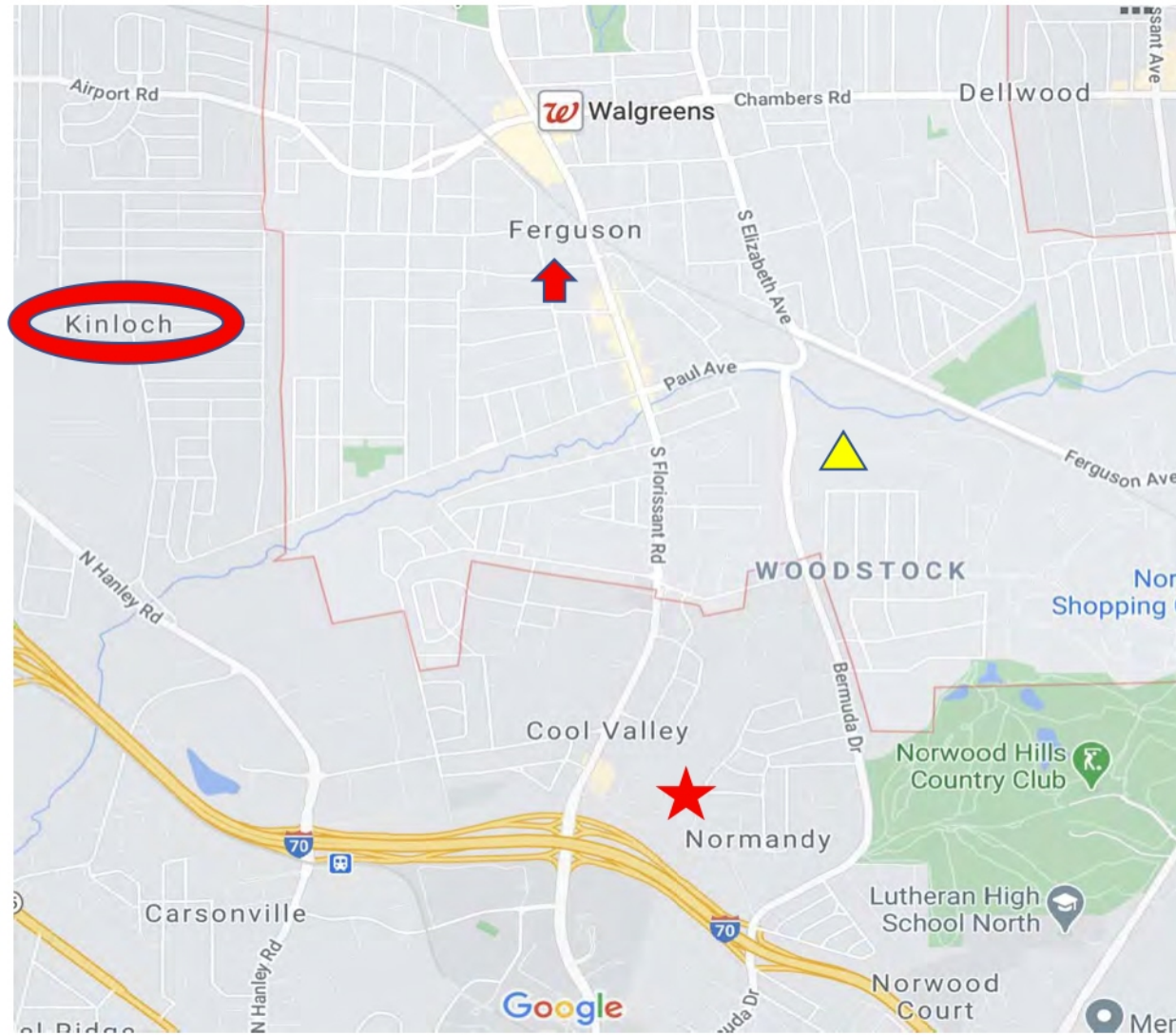
Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.





Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.





“Ferguson's law enforcement practices are shaped by the City’s focus on revenue rather than by public safety needs. This emphasis on revenue has compromised the institutional character of Ferguson’s police department, contributing to a pattern of unconstitutional policing...”



There is an altercation between Officer Wilson and Mr. Brown, who is standing at the window of the vehicle. Officer Wilson fires two shots from inside the vehicle, one likely grazing Mr. Brown’s thumb, and the other missing him.

Mr. Brown runs east. Officer Wilson pursues him on foot. Mr. Brown stops and turns toward Officer Wilson, who also stops. Mr. Brown moves toward Officer Wilson, who fires several more shots. Mr. Brown is fatally wounded.

“Nearly 90% of documented force used by FPD officers was used against African Americans.”

“Our investigation indicates that this disproportionate burden on African Americans cannot be explained by any difference in the rate at which people of different races violate the law.”

“Rather, our investigation has revealed that these disparities occur, at least in part, because of unlawful bias against and stereotypes about African Americans.”

