



Towards a Critical Global Race Theory

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Abstract

The meanings attached to “race” across the globe are myriad, particularly as anti-Islamic discourse once again links race and religion. Yet scholars lack a common terminology to discuss this phenomenon. This article hopes to expand critical race theory and scholarship across national lines. This critical examination of recent race-related scholarship provides scholars with empirical suggestions to uncover and document the different processes, mechanisms, trajectories and outcomes of potentially racialized practices that essentialize, dehumanize, “other,” and oppress minority groups while imbuing privileged groups with power and resources in nations across the globe. Ten empirical indicators will allow international researchers to assess the particular situation of different groups in different nations to determine whether, and the extent to which, they are subject to racialization. Specifically, this paper calls for a unified terminology that can accurately account for and address race when and where it occurs and a global broadening of a critical comparative dialogue of racial practices.

Introduction

Although Gilroy (2001) and Hollinger (2006) offer innovative intellectual programs for the “end of race,” globalization and nationalist resurgences have only entrenched the deeply embedded nature of race, the privileges available to powerful racial groups, and the devastating consequences for others (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002; Brubaker 2009; Macedo and Gounari 2006; Weiss 2006), making it unlikely to disappear anytime soon. Around the globe, in democracies and dictatorships, in nations as different as Sudan, Pakistan, China, Japan, Brazil, the US, the UK, France, or Iran, groups that are not part of the dominant ruling political group experience a range of mechanisms, from covert avoidance to social and economic isolation to violence and genocide, that highlight their non-belonging (Asgharzadeh 2007; Dikötter 1990, 1997; Feagin 2010; Fredrickson 1982; Gordon et al. 2010; Harcourt 2009; Jok 2001; Kürti 1997; Marx 1998; Mullick and Hrabá 2001; Telles 2006; Weiner 2009; Winant 2004; Wrench and Solomos 1993).

Though largely absent from European scholarship (Moschel 2007, 2011), with the notable exception of the UK (cf. Gillborn 2008; Hall 1996; Hylton et al. 2011), critical race theory offers a rich framework to address the multitude of global racial manifestations, and their consequences for all involved, while simultaneously expanding US-based race scholarship from a largely domestic, to a more international, endeavor (Stanfield 2008). Recognizing disciplinary and regional differences, this article advocates cross-national comparisons, research, and discussion (see also Brubaker 2009; Winant 2006) of both racial oppressive and resistance to racializing processes and practices. Central to critical race theory, and this critical review, is power (Lukes 1974); power of a dominant racial group to shape racial identities, knowledges, ideologies, and, thus, life chances and experiences of an oppressed racial group through coercion, violence, and ideology. In addition, this

power allows the dominant group to uphold their privilege by maintaining inequality through social practices, the law, and discourse, which often manifests today as a form of neo-liberal colorblindness (cf. Delgado and Stefancic 2001; Gallagher 2003; Harris 1993). Related to this, is a call for an explicit and global focus on “whiteness” (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002; Feagin 2009; Winant 2004),¹ and links between race, citizenship, and nationalism, through critical examinations of the ways in which majority groups maintain their power, privileges, and place in the racial hierarchy. Finally, the voices of the marginalized, must be considered both in research and in practice (Ladson-Billings 1998).

Contemporary definitions and manifestations of race

This piece defines race as ascribed physical, biological, and/or cultural differences that are essentialized and define resources, choices, and opportunities based on social representations of inferiority/superiority attached to these differences (Cornell and Hartmann 2002; Daynes and Lee 2008; Goldberg 1993; Omi and Winant 1994). Implicit in this critical definition is valuation, control over categories, and, thus, life chances of dominant and minority groups (Blumer 1958; Delgado and Stefancic 2001; Harris 1993). In this racialized social systems approach (Bonilla-Silva 1997), race is an organizing principle of society that persists on its own through its deep entrenchment in social structures and institutions, such that actors need not be conscious of their part in it to enjoy privileges allowing it to endure. However, as a mutable category, the specific meanings of, and consequences for, any given race at any given time reside in the culture and politics of that particular historical context (Jacobson 1998). Finally, race cannot be reduced to, but interacts in critical ways with, class, gender, and sexuality (Collins 2000, 2005; Glenn 2004; McClintock 1995; Nagel 2003; Stoler 2002) to affect citizens, subjects, immigrants, and indigenous peoples differently.

Race or ethnicity?

Race and ethnicity often appear in various public fora as interchangeable terms, with significantly different meanings depending on the particular national context. From a critical perspective, this paper argues that in many nations that define groups as ethnic, significant power differentials exist that are not captured in the traditional use of ethnicity that implies, at some level, a choice of identification rooted in shared history, culture, and traditions (Alba 1990; Cornell and Hartmann 2002; Hechter 1986; Nagel 1994). Without acknowledging power differentials, minority ethnic groups may be assumed to have equal power as dominant racial or ethnic groups. Lacking recognition of multiple variants of disadvantage, they are then blamed for their failure to socioeconomically assimilate, to generate educational and occupational attainment at rates similar to natives, or to avoid the criminal justice system or neighborhoods plagued by poor social services and health outcomes. Terminology failing to capture these important power differentials impedes understandings of racial mechanisms and processes. Therefore, regardless of the term used, power to both shape one's own identity and life outcomes and to control others, must be acknowledged. Avoiding “race” by calling groups “ethnic” does not diminish the consequences of racialization, exploitation, oppression, or essentializing dehumanization, particularly given the many ways in which ethnic groups can be racialized (Grosfoguel 2004b). Similarly, groups considered ethnic but subject to the indicators described below could then, for empirical consistency, be defined as racial groups locally, nationally, and/or globally.²

Racialization

The social process of “racialization,” (cf. Murji and Solomos 2005), like orientalism (Said 1979), though not without its definitional problems (Goldberg 2002), assigns groups to different hierarchical categories reflecting perceptions of inferiority and superiority based on perceived biological and/or cultural differences. These definitions may be subject to alteration when “big events” (Blumer 1958) occur. Social policies and practices maintain and enforce racial boundaries, power relations, and structurally embedded meanings (Bonilla-Silva 2009; Essed 1991; Feagin 2006; Omi and Winant 1994; Wacquant 1997). These social practices include actions intentionally or unintentionally perpetuating, justifying, or exacerbating the racial hierarchy.

Racism

Racism can exist in many forms. Malignant (oppressive and violent), benign (paternal and culturally ethnocentric), and benevolent (altruistic) racism (Jackman 1994; Mazrui 1998) often exist simultaneously. Although overt, malignant racism is either outlawed or socially unacceptable in many nations, benign, or “new racism,” based on culture, particularly the belief in white supremacy, persists (Balibar 1991; Bobo et al. 1997; Bonilla-Silva 2000; van Dijk 1993; Essed 1996; Grosfoguel 1999; Modood 2005; Winant 2001). Indeed, this cultural racism has become the new hallmark of the contemporary global era. Rather than overtly denying groups access to resources based on their race, as in apartheid South Africa or the Jim Crow South, covert practices reliant upon the language of cultural differences and colorblindness essentialize cultures, using discourses that often reference real or perceived physical characteristics and facilitate the dominant group’s retention of racially-informed ideologies. In doing so, racism is relegated to individual prejudices rather than systemic, structural and institutional racism. In this “new racism” paradigm, dominant groups often blame minorities’ (or immigrants’) “inferior cultures,” rather than structural inequalities, for their low socioeconomic, educational, occupational, health, and political statuses. Often operating as symbolic racism (Kinder and Sears 1981), this hegemonic ideology, featuring enduring stereotypes of minority inferiority, ensures that deeply embedded structures of racism go undetected and unchallenged and suggests racializing processes at work even when the term “race” is (often conspicuously) absent (Feagin 2009; Gramsci 1971; Winant 2001). This theoretical shift is apparent across the globe as scholars return to “culture of poverty” arguments to explain differences in achievement, incorporation, and assimilation, as Small et al. (2010) describe, rather than well-established global racial dynamics (Grosfoguel 2010).

While often described as “new racism,” links between cultural and biological racism are longstanding. Physical and biological characteristics have long been used to make visible perceived inferior cultures while cultural forms often create visible distinctions when insufficient physical differences exist to recognize racial differences, as the Hutu did to the Tutsi (Mamdani 2001). While ascribing real and imagined physiological differences, dominant groups often employ physical markers, e.g. passports, ID cards, and clothing, to differentiate between races. For example, in the latter case, since not all Jews in Germany and German-occupied territory during the Nazi occupation conformed to visual stereotypes of “Jewishness,” the mandatory six-pointed Star of David on the most external layer of clothing made visible cultural and racial difference. Scientific racism previously used to distinguish and categorize groups (cf. Gould 1996) threatens to return in the form of genetics, particularly as scientists dissect the human genome. This raises the specter of

reappearing assertions of true biological differences between culturally defined groups, even when data is faulty or misinterpreted (Brewer 2006; Duster 2003; Root 2010) and when scientists have repeatedly shown that there is more genetic variation within socially constructed races than across them (Graves 2001).

Racial meanings and identities are embedded in histories of colonialism rooted in economic and religious ventures, empire, and imperialism – both in the nations themselves and the historical relations and discourses within and between the nation's own and other nations' colonies. While the meanings of each race often change over time, by expanding, contracting, and reconstituting, the dominance of particular groups (i.e. whites and Europeans) usually does not. This suggests the power of racial meanings, ideologies, identities, and deeply embedded institutional processes that maintain racial distinctions. Therefore, scholars must contend with local, national, and global differences to discover mechanisms and processes that inhibit and impede access, create boundaries, enforce exclusion and facilitate the large-scale dehumanization and oppression of groups that are assigned to hierarchical and distinct categories based on real and/or perceived physical or cultural differences.

Race and nationalism

Five centuries of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism have inextricably linked race and nationalism (Brubaker 2009; Huggan 2009; Mignolo 2002; Mosse 1995; Nimako and Small 2009; Spencer 2009). In the racialized world system (Grosfoguel 2004a; Hopkins and Wallerstein 1996; Mielants 2009; Winant 2008; Zimmerman 2010), dominant nations developed and deployed ideas about particular groups' value to justify exploitation and genocide and finance their own economic supremacy. The nuances inherent in citizenship, belonging, and autochthony, make them highly contested, particularly during eras of real or perceived potential economic duress (Geschier 2009). Recent resurgences in nationalism, from Albania to Zimbabwe, are often based on perceptions of racial group membership and boundaries that inhibit immigration by, or forcibly and violently remove, members of groups lacking political power (e.g. the Roma who were recently removed from France). Thus, nationalism may not only perpetuate racialization but also statelessness, contrary to the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights (Gordon 2010; Gordon et al. 2010; Mielants 2010).

Like racial meanings and identities, nationalism is socially constructed and embodied in the daily lives of individuals (Anderson 1991; Brubaker 2009; Calhoun 2007; Hobswam 1983; Smith 1998, 1999). As such, the boundaries are permanently mutable and often include different groups at different historical eras, both legally and in practice. During formal colonialism and contemporary neo-colonialism, coloniality of power informs imagery, knowledge, histories, and hierarchies resulting in continued domination of former colonies and their subjects by former colonizing nations within a capitalist world economy (Grosfoguel 2003, 2010; Nkrumah 1966; Quijano 2000). During the colonial era, many European nations developed conceptions of citizenship, and thus built racism, often based on religious differences, into their very foundations. Categories of "citizen" and "non-citizen" were (and still often are) designed to be mutually exclusive with true belonging impossible for members of dominated groups and their descendants given their oft objectified status as non-humans (Césaire 2001; Gerstle 2001; Helenon 2010; Memmi 1991; Scott-Childress 1999). While emancipating slaves arriving on their shores, many European nations restricted admission or altered laws when populations increased while they expropriated labor and resources both at home and in their colonies to enhance their

economic standings (Helenon 2010; Hondius 2009). Thus, historical events created precedents for contemporary racial policy.

Today, nationalist discourses and citizenship policies often reflect long-standing racialized perceptions of “them” and “us” rooted in colonialist and imperialist doctrines and discourses (Evans 1996). When nationalism limits options and opportunities for non-nationals based on real, perceived, or ascribed physical or cultural characteristics, racial nationalism may be manifest, both in actuality and epistemologically (Huntington 2005). Thus, racial nationalism need not be explicit if the terms of citizenship are structurally embedded to include or exclude particular groups, i.e. through language requirements (Seymour et al. 1996). Democratic nations espousing civic nationalism may exclude groups using essentialized or primordial physical or cultural differences that impede full social, political, and civic citizenship (Calhoun 2007; Geertz 1968; Glenn 2011; Marshall 1992). Limiting the rights, privileges, and resources available to members of particular racial groups often results in “ambiguous citizens” (Cain 2010), “colonized citizens” (Helenon 2010) and “limited citizenship” for those who are legally full citizens but lack complete equality of opportunity (Román 2010). Deeply embedded racial ideologies and practices often find racism enduring even when explicitly racially inclusive policies are enacted, as in Tanzania (Aminzade 2000). Similarly, legacies of racialization can manifest centuries later, as in Rwanda, where the removal of colonial chains culminated in devastating violence nearly a century after racial classification was imposed (Mamdani 2001) revealing the potential for violence in many nations currently experiencing nationalist resurgences.

Colorblindness, whiteness, and citizenship

In many nations, whiteness or the (perceived) lightness of one’s skin color, and thus race, and citizenship have been inextricably bound together (van den Berghe 1967; Gerstle 2001; Goldberg 2006, 2008; Mills 1997; Morrison 1993; Nimako and Small 2009; Takaki 2000; Telles 2006). For centuries, white supremacy, the belief that whites (of either American or European background) are culturally superior, justified invasion, resource appropriation, and exploitation, including military and political interventions today. To ensure “white privilege would not be threatened,” whites have historically created “quarantine lines” (Helenon 2010, 98) while non-Western nations, such as China, shifted their symbolic meanings of blackness and whiteness when they came into contact with Africans and Europeans to privilege lightness, for both themselves and racial others (Dikötter 1990). Today, whiteness often appears in the form of “an unwillingness to name the contours of racism,” “the avoidance of identifying with a racial experience or groups,” and “minimization of racist legacy” (Gillborn 2005; Leonardo 2002, 32). By conferring privilege to members, an exclusive white identity (real or created) cements dominant groups’ power while constraining minority groups’ access to resources and opportunities (Frankenberg 1993; McIntosh 1997).

As critical race scholars argue, the contemporary global imperial sovereignty of color-blind, neo-liberal discourse argues that individual failures within meritocratic societies are responsible for persistent racial inequality, thereby obscuring structural inequality to uphold racial segregation, oppression, and inequality (Barlow 2003; Bonilla-Silva 2001, 2002; Brown et al. 2005; Doane and Bonilla-Silva 2003; Gallagher 2003; Guinier and Torres 2003; Zimmerman 2010). Policies created in political climates shaped by laissez-faire individualism often ignore histories of inequality and perpetuate white dominance by inhibiting minority access to important social resources such as political power, jobs,

education, quality housing stock, healthy neighborhoods, and accurate group representation in the media while simultaneously promoting whiteness as the “normal” identity to which all others should conform. When faced with challenges, dominant groups deploy their power to ensure these privileges remain intact (Katznelson 2005; Lipsitz 1998; Weiner 2010).

Empirics/indicators of racialization

When examining race, racial differences, and racializing mechanisms empirically, important differences exist between personal, national, and global racism. All of them impact the others, but result in different manifestations of consequences dependent on the particular social, political, and historical context of each nation. Below are ten indicators of racialization that scholars can employ to determine whether, and assess how, racialization manifests in particular locations. They are neither mutually exclusive nor extricable but interlocking and mutually reinforcing.

Citizenship laws. In many nations, institutional barriers, laws and social practices exclude individuals or groups, implicitly or explicitly, on the basis of race (Bonilla-Silva 2000; Cohen 2009; Koopmans and Statham 2000; Koopmans et al. 2005; Mitchell and Russell 1996; Román 2010). Doing so limits excluded groups’ access to power, resources, opportunities, elements of civic, social, and political citizenship (Marshall 1992), and results in multiple citizenship categories existing simultaneously (Román 2010). Nations adhering to citizenship laws of *jus solis* (right of soil), i.e. in the United States and Ireland until 2004 (Brandt 2007), consider all those born on their soil citizens. In these nations, history exams and language requirements often exclude many immigrants from becoming citizens while those who do not physically conform to the dominant group are often considered foreigners (Ngai 2005; Tuan 1999) and ensure the nation’s racial exclusivity. Nations adhering to *jus sanguinis* (right of blood), e.g. Germany, until recently, and Italy (Vasta 1993; Wilpert 1993), often use racially inclusive laws making it nearly impossible for even second and third generation immigrants to acquire citizenship. Lacking easy access to citizenship rights, immigrants often encounter multiple exclusionary mechanisms that facilitate their racialization through impediments to jobs, education, housing, health care and other forms of social welfare. However, immigrants who conform physically to, and may be assumed to be members of, the dominant group often receive benefits in employment, housing, and education though they may lack formal citizenship (Essed and Trienekens 2008; Stewart and Dixon 2010).

Immigrant groups’ location within the colonial relationship (Grosfoguel 2004a) must be examined to determine whether they exist as internal colonial subjects (Gilroy 1993; Ture and Hamilton 1992), “ambiguous citizens” (Cain 2010), or another form of non-wholly incorporated group subject to differential treatment and diminished life chances. Centuries of global transnational migration have produced multiple categories of immigrants – immigrants, colonial immigrants, and colonial subjects of empire (Grosfoguel 2010). While immigrants can often racially, and thus, structurally assimilate into the host nation, colonial immigrants (those from former colonized nations traveling to nations other than that which colonized their country), and colonial subjects of empire (traveling to their home country’s colonizer), and their descendants often cannot. Migrants from former colonial territories often face negative consequences upon arrival to former colonizing nations due to both socioeconomic factors structured by historical racist domination and ideologies that justified earlier exploits that shape contemporary sentiments of policy makers and public perceptions of these immigrants in the destination nation.

Historical examples include the Irish in America, Moluccans who emigrated to the Netherlands after fighting alongside them to maintain Indonesia as a Dutch colony, and Algerians and French Caribbeans in France (Dalstra 1983; Roediger 2007; Silverstein 2004; Stovall 2009). Thus, examining the laws and practices that promote or inhibit citizenship, and the ways in which they are racially informed, is critical to discerning modern racialization practices.

State control. Dominant groups often manage difference through state control of particular populations (Goldberg 2002) which finds them more likely to be surveilled (i.e. racially profiled), controlled, contained, and subject to perform actions in which they would otherwise not choose to participate (i.e. random searches of vehicles, presentation of passports, or other documentation, or the wearing of certain clothing) by members of the dominant group. Due to covert politics and restrictions, such as the use of expensive voter I.D. cards, literacy requirements, the changing of polling stations or voter intimidation, racial groups are less likely to exert political power through voting or act as representatives (Brown et al. 2005; Grofman et al. 1994) in shaping laws pertaining to both themselves and other groups. State sanctioned violence and laws regarding, and the frequency of, hate crimes are also important indicators of racialization (Goldberg 2002).

External Ascription and Boundary Permeability. Examining exactly who exerts power to categorize and enforce this categorization is of essential import given official censuses' tendency to create or reify racial groups (James 2009). The homogenization of heterogeneous groups obscures group and individual differences, suggests that all are interchangeable, and dehumanizes members therein. When this occurs, each individual becomes representative of the entire group, to either bear their sins or serve as an example of opportunities available to "all citizens." Power differentials impeding groups' ability to either choose or rearticulate their own identity, locally, regionally, and globally, to gain access to full and equal citizenship in the social, political and civil realms reveal the existence, stability, and/or intensity of racial boundaries. Lawsuits brought by groups challenging their identity and subsequent court decisions, are also important sites in which to examine the rigidity of boundaries and resources available to those within particular racial categories.

The affects of external ascription, particularly the ascription of whiteness, rather than citizenship, are of essential import for access to important social resources. While some groups, such as the Irish in the US, have successfully claimed whiteness to gain access to jobs, housing, and the franchise (Roediger 2007), many have been unable to do so. Lacking a claim to whiteness, based on the dominant group's perception of their physiological skin color, legal decisions at the highest level denied Native Americans, Chinese, Japanese, and Puerto Ricans citizenship rights and, in some cases, their citizenship (Anzaldúa 1987; Davis 2001; Haney-López 2006; Ngai 2005; Román 2010; Takaki 2000). African American citizens' abandonment by multiple levels of the government in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, highlights the inherent links between race and citizenship (Hartman and Squires 2006; Somers 2008) in the United States. Scholars might consider examining the ways in which racial categories, whiteness or lightness of skin color in particular, impacts access to resources in nations across the globe.

Criminalization. Attending to which groups are most closely policed, targets of searches and arrests, upon being arrested, receive fair trials, overrepresented as prisoners, and sentenced to death often reveals much about racial hierarchies and racialization within particular nations (Bosworth et al. 2008; Brown et al. 2005; Goldberg 2002; Palidda 2011; Welch and Schuster 2005).

Geography and/or Spatial Segregation. Dominant groups often racialize public and private spaces, such that those considered “outsiders” are othered, accepted but not embraced, incorporated, or engaged in white spaces, while minority space, or those considered affiliated with that space, is/are considered deviant (Anderson 2011; Essed 2002; Neely and Samura 2011; Peake and Schein 2000; Price 2009). Important insights into racializing mechanisms can be generated by considering the extent to which residential segregation and apartheid (in the form of ghettos, banlieues, reservations, suburbs, internment/concentration camps, homelands, or prisons) limit minority access to important social resources, such as clean drinking water, sewer systems, social services (trash collection, mail delivery and responsive policing), jobs, education, and livable housing, isolates groups from national social and cultural institutions and resources, or deports them altogether (Biolsi 2010; Herbert and Brown 2006; Loewen 2006; Massey and Denton 1993; Price 2009).

Socioeconomic status. Unequal access to power and social resources structure racial groups’ opportunities and often produce durable inequality in the areas of health, education, income, wealth, and occupational attainment (Brown et al. 2005; Kao and Thompson 2003; Rumbaut 2005; Rumbaut and Portes 2001; Shapiro 2005; Tilly 1998; Williams et al. 2008). Therefore, scholars must explore differences in these and other quality of life factors and the ways in which dominant groups *maintain* their privileges and minority group disadvantage through treatment, opportunities, and outcomes in related institutions, particularly the economy and education. Distinctions between horizontal (relations across race within a similar social class) and vertical (cross-racial and cross-class relations) equality in nations that espouse racial democracy, and have high rates of intermarriage, such as Brazil and the Netherlands, are important when unequal access to important social resources persist (Telles 2006; Reichmann 1999; Vasta 2007; Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) 2003; Winant 1999). Thus, while race may not be a liability within similar class locations, structures and discourses may disproportionately relegate particular racial groups to certain social classes (Cox 2000), invalidating claims of racial or ethnic democracy.

Popular and Political Discourse and Images. Ideologies represented in popular and political discourse and images, which are often deployed as racial master narratives, shape how individuals think about the world, the people in it, and treatment of different groups in daily life and institutional policies (van Dijk 1984; Entman and Rojecki 2001; Fredrickson 1987; Gabriel 1998; Goldberg 1993; Pieterse 1995; Pride 2008; West 2002; Winant 2001). These discourses also impact racialized subjects’ ability to challenge the system (Fanon 1967). Today, popular discourse frequently deploys rhetorics of invasion, infestation, flooding, and threats of being overrun by morally or culturally deficient groups endangering the culture, values, and security of the host society and thus necessitating enhanced policing of internal communities and national borders (van Dijk 2000; Goldberg 2002). Examining discourses and images allows scholars to address dominant ideologies within populations, institutions, and communities regarding racial meanings attached to each group historically and today.

Which groups’ histories and cultures are included in that of the nation, both historically and today, offer important insights into conceptions of belonging and racial difference (Hall 2000). Examining whether histories of exploitation by the dominant group or struggles by subordinate groups are recognized, articulated as valuable or experience degradation offers scholars a variety of sites to consider which groups are “othered,” which are privileged and these phenomena’s potential effects on all groups. Of particular interest to scholars might be the examination of these phenomena in public holidays, statues,

portraits, media productions (television, movies, radio, magazines, books, toys, etc.), and educational curriculum. Whereas dominant groups, particularly in Western nations, or the European Union, are often described homogeneously as modern, Christian, civilized, capitalist, or democratic (or other particular descriptors based on local histories), others, when they are considered, appear as foreign, tribal, terrorist, or culturally backward. These stereotypes facilitate discourses of “good” and “bad” that essentialize difference, inferiority, and superiority. This discourse is of critical import in societies claiming to be democratic given modern racism’s emphasis on culture that often finds members of minority groups acceptable only when they lose their “inferior culture” and assimilate to the dominant culture.

Knowledge production and dissemination often facilitates narratives inhibiting social integration of groups historically subjected to colonialism and slavery. For example, a lack of critical interrogation of slavery’s lasting effects on contemporary descendants of both slaves and non-slaves may inhibit policies redressing past oppression (Horton and Kardux 2004; Nimako and Small 2010). Similarly, centuries’ old discourses regarding African inferiority, even in nations without significant Black populations such as China and Japan (Dikötter 1990, 1997; Weiner 2009), shaped knowledges and perceptions of these groups while established social policies and practices simultaneously oppressed internal groups, such as Jews and Gypsies (Coxhead 2007; Goldberg 2006; Mosse 1995). Thus, immigrants from the African diaspora often arrive in nations saturated with pre-existing perceptions, attitudes, and images that impact contemporary social policies and practices toward them which subsequently effect their socioeconomic success and integration.

Daily interactions, experiences, and cognition. Racial ideas have become so deeply embedded in understandings of the world, that some argue that race continues to be real because individuals *want* it to be real (Daynes and Lee 2008). As a result, prejudice and discrimination persists (Pearson et al. 2009). Deploying a white racial frame (Feagin 2009), the dominant group often subjects minorities to particular lines of questioning (i.e. where are you from?), subtle and not so subtle actions (i.e. whites who clutch their pocketbook when approached by an African American), or poor treatment in public spaces (Bush 2011; Feagin 1991, 2009; Tuan 1999). In many professional settings, racial preferences for one’s own group exclude qualified individuals from advanced degree programs, jobs, housing, and bank loans. Subordinate groups are often subject to different expectations, humiliation (Essed 1991, 2009) in the form of racist “jokes” or commentary, limited options, paternalism, condescension, and/or treatment. Members of the dominant groups often speak differently about and around minorities, couch racist sentiments in stutters and stammers, or use “happy talk” regarding diversity that overlooks persistent racial inequalities (Bell & Hartmann 2007; Bonilla-Silva 2002; Feagin 2009; Picca and Feagin 2007). Among peers on the playground and in classrooms, children recognize and act on racial differences, and know when they have been subject to discriminatory behavior, from a very young age (Dulin-Keita et al. 2011; Van Ausdale and Feagin 2001). To withstand these pressures, minorities often develop double consciousnesses, wherein they struggle to be both members of a subordinate racial group within the national culture of a dominant group (Anzaldúa 1987; DuBois 1995; Fanon 1967). These micro-level phenomena are central to understanding how both dominant and minority groups understand their position in the racial hierarchy.

International Racialized Relationships. Within the contemporary world system, colonizing imperialist core Western nations racialized groups in peripheral nations, including those in the global south (Africa, South and Central America), Asia, and the Middle East by exploiting and consuming their natural and human resources (i.e. their labor). The global

racialization of Muslims post-September 11, 2001 (Dunn et al. 2007; Grosfoguel and Mielants 2006; Modood 2005), has manifest in ways strikingly similar to anti-Semitism historically. Global sanctions by international organizations perpetuate poverty and inequality for those in the global South (Minear 1998) and discourses that result in richer nations' (both the nation at-large and people in it) unwillingness to help those in poverty in non-European nations (Harrison 2008; Ignatieff 1999). Therefore, scholars might examine a nation's current position in the world system relative to exploitation, enslavement, genocide of racialized others, whether this history is acknowledged and/or its victims have been compensated, whether they continue to generate benefits for dominant groups and nations, and/or whether these nations are subject to invasion or resource appropriation or control by other nations (Bhattacharyya et al. 2002). Examining global race relations from a micro-perspective, yet accounting for racial hierarchies in the US and Korea, Kim's (2008) study of identity construction from immigrants' perspectives, is exemplary.

Anti-racist efforts. Around the globe, dominated groups' efforts to cast off (neo-) colonial chains of oppression and racial injustice by seeking access to rights and resources often explicitly acknowledge deeply rooted racial structures and practices (Bowser 1995; Lentin 2004; Marable and Agard-Jones 2008; Warren 2005). By disrupting local, regional, and global racist systems, groups challenge the meanings and stability of five centuries of globalized colonial and neocolonial racialized identities and practices, including the privileges imbued in whiteness and stigmatized conceptions of minority identities. Acquiring citizenship and equal access to resources, such as education, jobs, housing, health care, would not only democratize life chances but rearticulate racialized identities and liberate them from their stigmatized meanings (Omi and Winant 1994).

Examining anti-racist efforts locally, nationally, and globally offers important insights into activists' conceptions of their own identities vis a vis race, oppositional consciousnesses and knowledges and strategies used to resist racializing mechanisms, which are often passed from generation to generation (Kelley 1996; Mansbridge and Morris 2001; Naples 1992; Scott 1990; Weiner 2010). Interested scholars should examine why movements do or do not develop in particular locations and, when they do, activists' movement demands, their links to existing racializing structures and knowledges, and the target's reaction to them. For example, African, Pan-African and Black nationalism challenge imperialism, neo-colonialism, and the dominant structures of race by identifying the specific institutional, cultural, and social mechanisms constraining individual and national opportunities (Césaire 2001; Fanon 1963; James 1995; Nimako 2010; Nkrumah 1973; Ogbar 2004; Ture and Hamilton 1992; Von Eschen 1997). Nations' condemnation or outright rejection of these demands and the designation of activists in these movements as terrorists highlights both the existence of, and desires to maintain, racial structures privileging the dominant group. Nations lacking a discourse of race, experience difficulties in mobilizing along racial lines due to a dearth of strong group identification (Simon 2008), thereby suggesting the dual nature of racial definitions – as both a constraint and a potentially mobilizing resource (Marx 1998). However, not all resistance is anti-racist. Passing, forged documents, and skin whitening retrench, maintain, and validate, rather than contest, contemporary racial structures and discourses by leaving racial meanings, privileges attached to whiteness, and the global racial hierarchy uncritiqued and intact.

Toward a critical global race theory-based research agenda

The indicators above can be used by experts in their respective substantive and empirical fields and global locations to examine a range of social phenomena, including but not

limited to the situation in former Soviet nations now excluding Russians, Middle Eastern and European nations with restrictions on particular religious groups, and, more broadly, South American and Asian nations receiving immigrants from across the globe, and indigenous peoples whose claims of belonging pre-date the particular nation in which they live. Identifying these phenomena's nuances, differences, and interactions in different locations, particularly the absence of some indicators but presence of others, will generate important cross-national research addressing race, racialization, and racism even when alternative words (i.e. ethnic groups, refugees, allochtonen, foreigners, xenophobia, Islamophobia, nativism, etc.) appear in popular and political discourse.

Close examination of multiple levels of social and institutional racialization and racially differentiated experiences are essential, as are assessments of interactions between empirical categories. For example, individual achievement of economic success or acceptance within a peer group may not necessarily mean that the entire group has access to similar opportunities, that this individual does not experience discrimination in public places, or sees him or herself represented accurately within popular culture. Highly visible successful individuals (such as President Barack Obama or talk show host Oprah Winfrey) may facilitate discourses of racial democracy while ignoring persistent structural inequalities. Similarly, these phenomena can be multiple and overlapping, particularly given the overlapping context of race and religion. For example, a person with both a different skin color and religion from the dominant group may face compounded consequences compared to those with only one or the other.

Summary and conclusion

Racial hierarchies and the resulting resource inequalities are inescapable in today's globalized world. For those interested in documenting and alleviating these conditions, scholars must address the persistent othering, oppression, and exclusion of groups based on perceived and essentialized physical and cultural differences. "Whiteness," its invisibility and privileges in neo-colonial globalizing multicultural discourse (Sharma 2009), must be kept clearly in sight. Attending to links between racism and nationalism, scholars examining which groups may be subject to racialization within particular nations should consider each nation's history within the colonial world system. They must also attend to conceptions of colonized subjects, where and when particular group categories arose, who chose them, and whether or not they have been, historically or contemporaneously, challenged, and contemporary citizenship laws and social practices.

Linked to international understandings of race, chances for global cosmopolitanism (Benhabib 2008; Modood 2005) will be impossible without a critical form of multiculturalism (McLaren 1994; Modood 1997, 2007; Weiner 2010) recognizing the links between racial identity and resources. Failing to redress inequalities, racial structures, ideologies, and discourses only impedes, rather than expands, racialized minority groups' status as equal citizens. Only groups with equal power and resources can truly participate in a global cosmopolitan community or ethnic or multicultural democracies (van den Berghe 2002; Smith 1996; Smootha 2002). Furthermore, without critical acknowledgement of racial differences, multiculturalism becomes a new way to manage difference in a globalized world that holistically incorporates privileged imagined communities along racial/ethnic configurations but excludes others by integrating them within national boundaries while simultaneously maintaining tight social control over their daily lives and opportunities (Hall 2000; Hardt and Negri 2000; Hesse 2000). Although it may be politically difficult to even use the word race in some nations or transpose the term from

one location to the next (Essed and Nimako 2006), the use of “race” when it empirically exists, a holistic understanding of global racialized practices, and their consequences are essential for the desistence of racial inequalities and, perhaps one day, race itself.

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Short Biography

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Notes

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¹ Although not exactly the same, due to different histories of and experiences of colonialism, both whiteness and Europeaness rely on privileges and discourses of superiority to maintain hierarchical arrangements vis a vis power and opportunity.

² The author recognizes that this may be more difficult in some countries than in others, particularly those where using the word “race” may have consequences for scholars’ ability to secure and maintain positions in higher educational settings (Essed and Nimako 2006).

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