

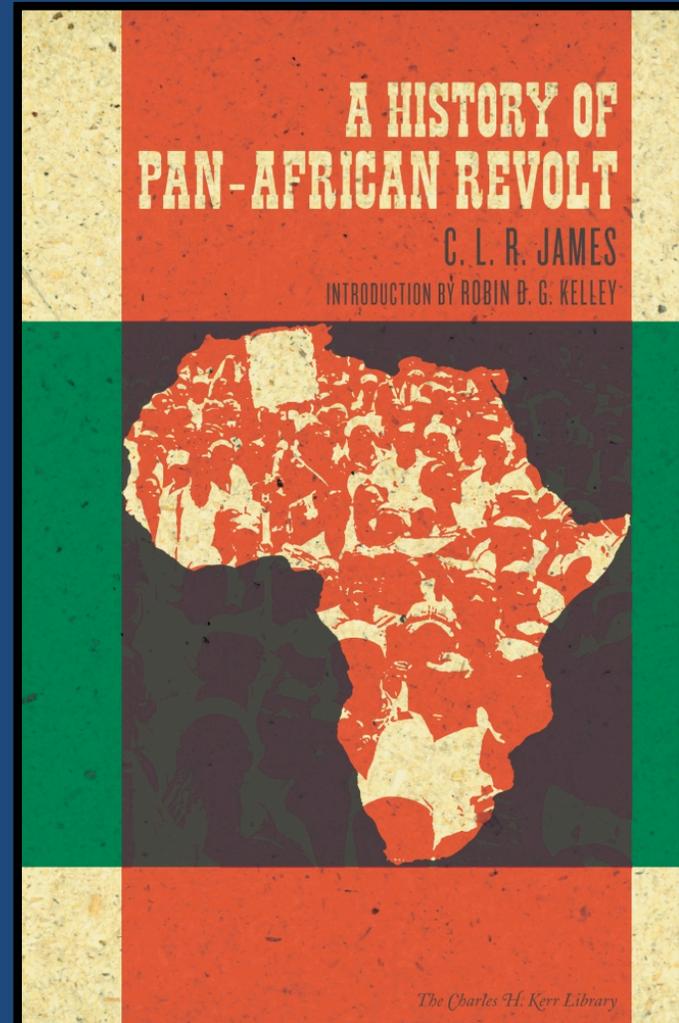


# A Wider Type of Freedom: Reimagining Racial Justice

Daniel Martinez HoSang

June 13, 2017

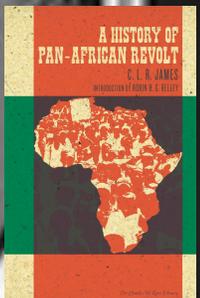
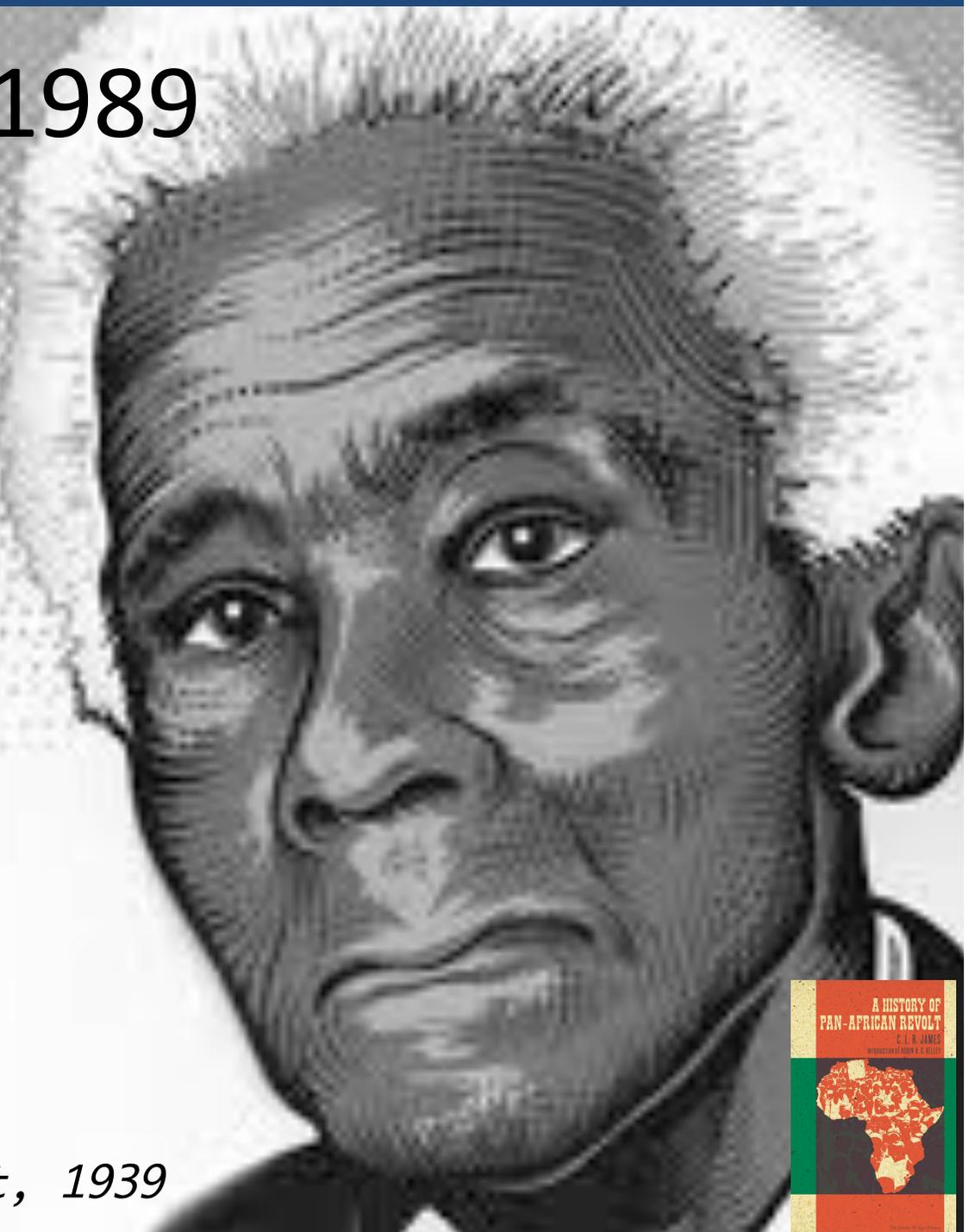
# CLR James, 1901-1989



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“The African  
bruises and  
breaks himself  
against his  
bars in the  
interest of  
freedom wider  
than his own.”

*A History of Pan-Africa Revolt, 1939*



# Ella Baker, 1903-1986

“Even if segregation is gone, we will still need to be free; we will still have to see that everyone has a job. Even if we can all vote, if people are still hungry, we will not be free ...



# Ella Baker, 1903-1986

“Remember, we are not fighting for the freedom of the Negro alone, but for the freedom of the human spirit, a larger freedom that encompasses all mankind.”

- Ella Baker, 1964



# Standing Rock Sioux Tribe/No DAPL







JAMIE  
BARELA



MONICA  
CANDELARIA



VICTORIA  
CHAVEZ



VIRGINIA  
CLOVEN



SYLLANIA  
EDWARDS



CINNAMON  
ELKS



DOREEN  
MARQUEZ



JULIE  
NIETO



VERONICA  
ROMERO

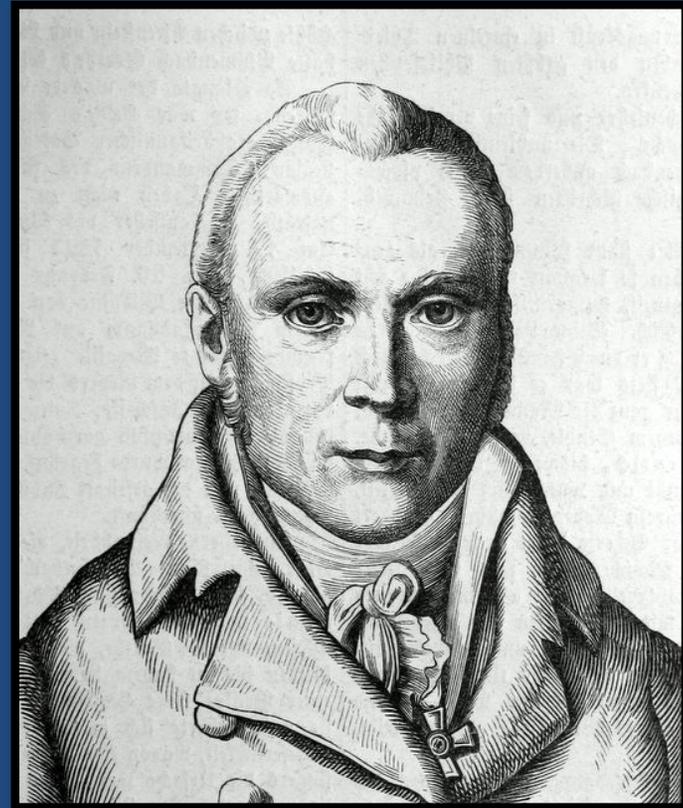


EVELYN  
SALAZAR



MICHELLE  
VALDEZ

# The racialized body: Abstraction, hierarchy, & degradation



Johan Blumenbach, 1752-1840

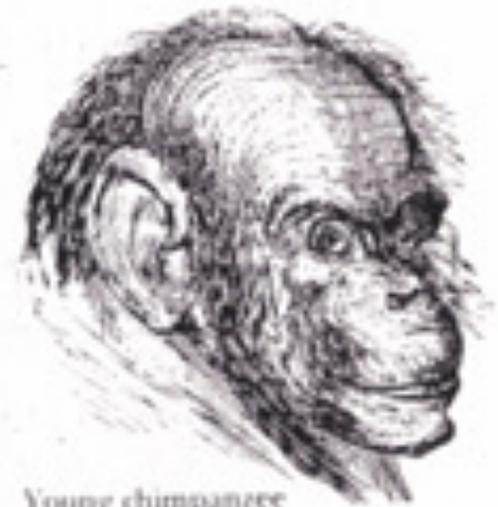
# “The Descent of Man” (1871)



Apollo Belvidere



Negro



Young chimpanzee



Greek



Creole Negro

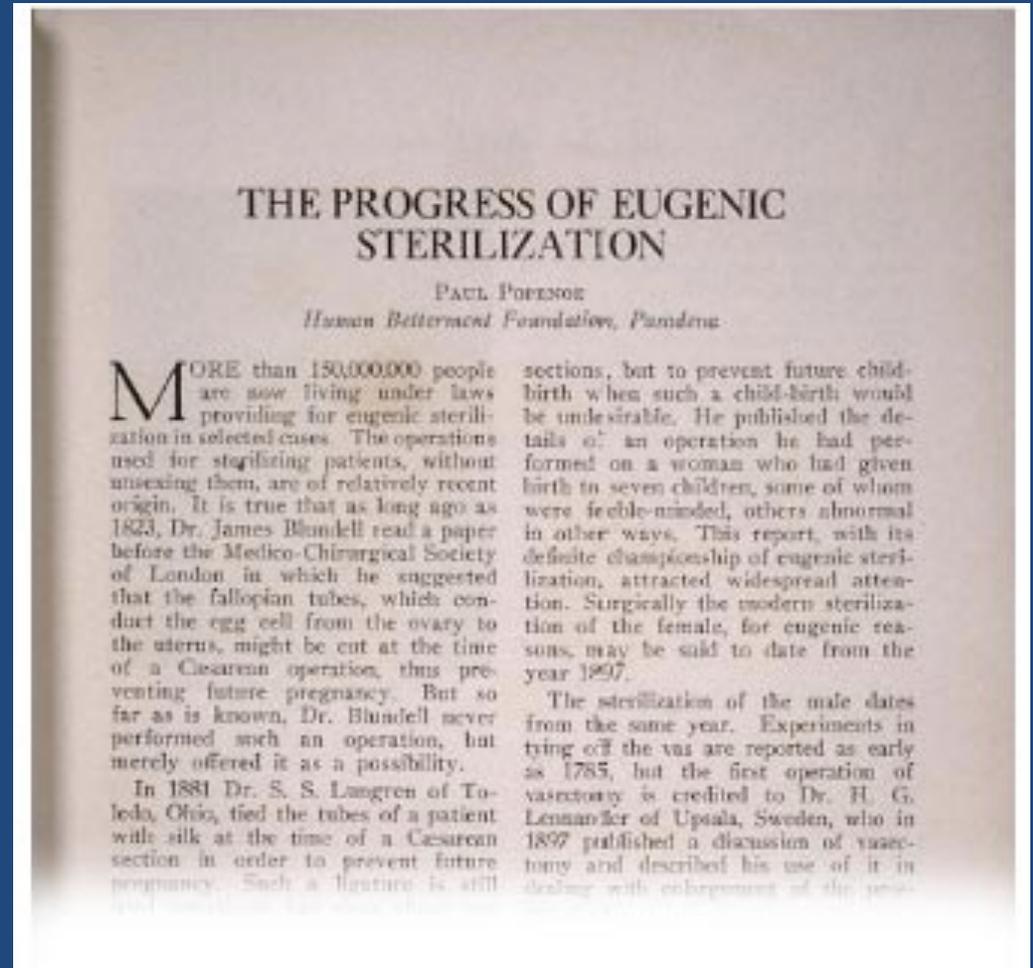


Young chimpanzee

# Fitter Family Contests & Eugenics



# Eugenics & Compulsory sterilization



**M**ORE than 150,000,000 people are now living under laws providing for eugenic sterilization in selected cases. The operations used for sterilizing patients, without unsexing them, are of relatively recent origin. It is true that as long ago as 1823, Dr. James Blundell read a paper before the Medico-Chirurgical Society of London in which he suggested that the fallopian tubes, which conduct the egg cell from the ovary to the uterus, might be cut at the time of a Caesarean operation, thus preventing future pregnancy. But so far as is known, Dr. Blundell never performed such an operation, but merely offered it as a possibility.

In 1881 Dr. S. S. Langren of Toledo, Ohio, tied the tubes of a patient with silk at the time of a Caesarean section in order to prevent future pregnancy. Such a feature is still used occasionally for sterilization

sections, but to prevent future child-birth when such a child-birth would be undesirable. He published the details of an operation he had performed on a woman who had given birth to seven children, some of whom were feeble-minded, others abnormal in other ways. This report, with its definite disavowal of eugenic sterilization, attracted widespread attention. Surgically the modern sterilization of the female, for eugenic reasons, may be said to date from the year 1897.

The sterilization of the male dates from the same year. Experiments in tying off the vas are reported as early as 1785, but the first operation of vasectomy is credited to Dr. H. G. Lennander of Upsala, Sweden, who in 1897 published a discussion of vasectomy and described his use of it in dealing with enlargement of the pro-

# The racialized body: Abstraction, hierarchy, & degradation



# YOUNG WOMEN UNITED



# YOUNG WOMEN UNITED



# Racial Justice & the body

“I want America to be as good as these women needed it to be. Let’s live up to their dreams, that this could be a country where you can be born without much, but live a life that is safe, and full of promise. Where you can get a good education, a job, a home. Where if you stray from the path, there are nets to catch you. Where you are never found dead, dismembered, and alone on a mesa.”



-Adriann Barboa, Young Women United

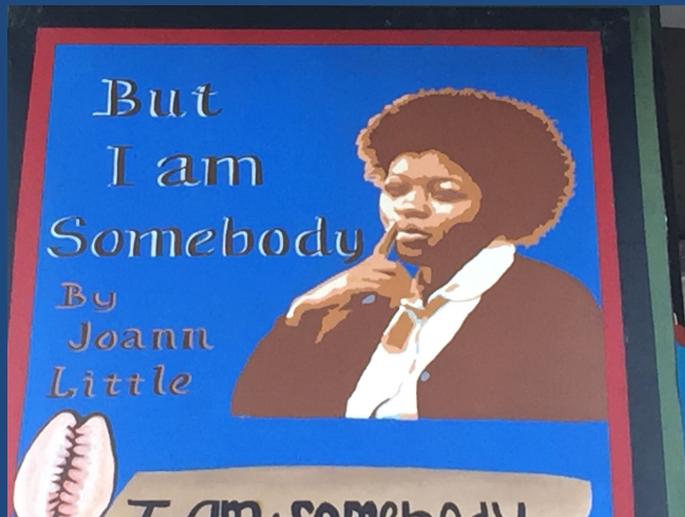
# The Interdependent Body: Relational, Vulnerability, Difference



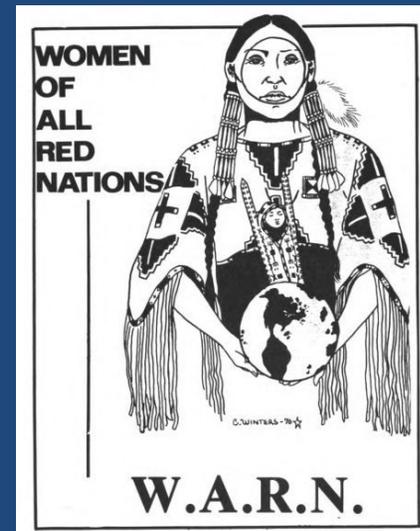
Young Women United (2010)



Ida B Wells (1890)

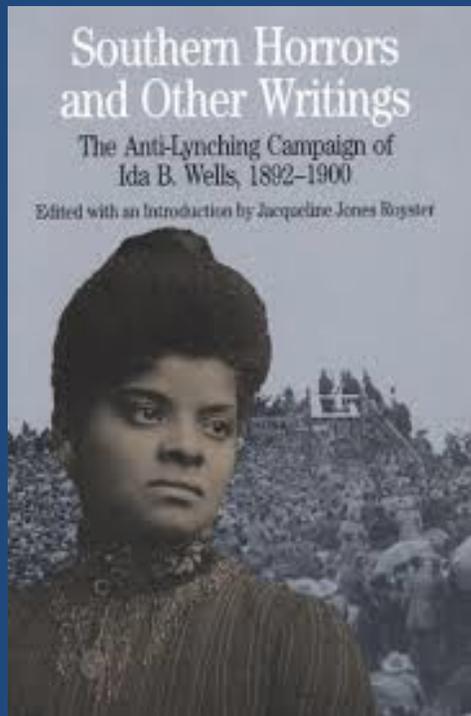


Free Joan Little Campaign (1975)



W.A.R.N. (1978)

# The Interdependent Body: Relational, Vulnerability, Difference



# Racial Equality: “Sameness in Treatment”

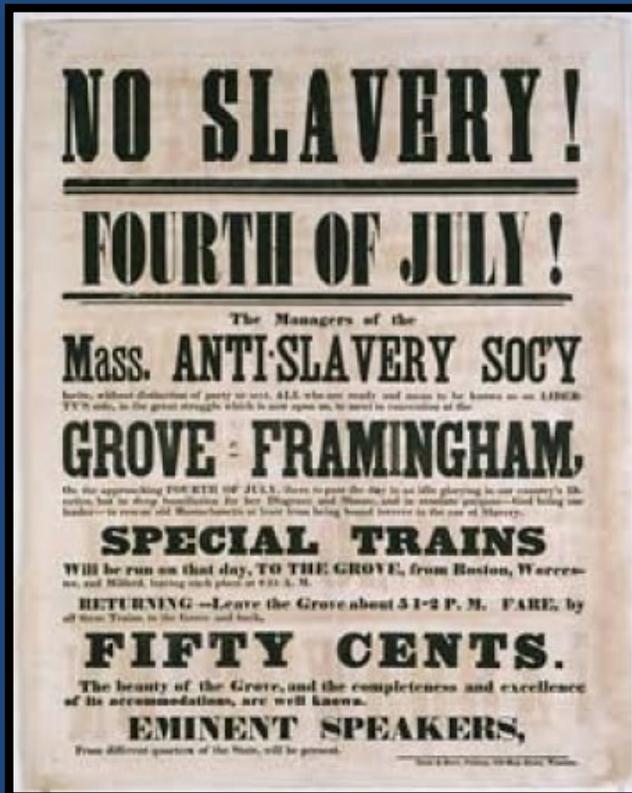
## -Equal Protection



# Equal Rights?

**ABOLITION:** An equal right to own another human being as property?

**ANTI-LYNCHING:** An equal right to commit murder?



# WEB Du Bois, 1868-1963

“This whole phantasmagoria has been built on the most miserable of human fictions. That in addition to manifest differences between men there is a deep, awful and ineradicable cleft which condemns most men to eternal degradation. It is a cheap inheritance of the world’s infancy, unworthy of grown folk: My rise does not involve your fall. No superior has interest in inferiority. Humanity is one and its vast variety is its glory and not its condemnation.”

*-Black Reconstruction in American (1935)*



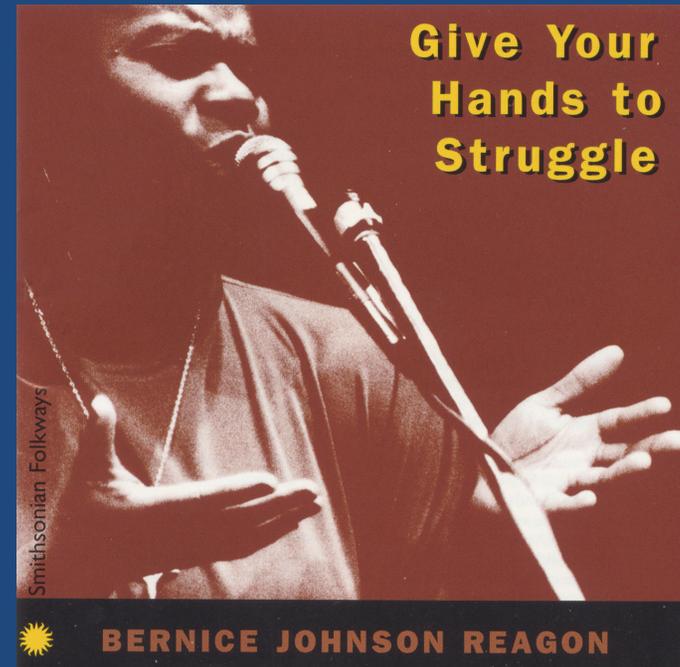
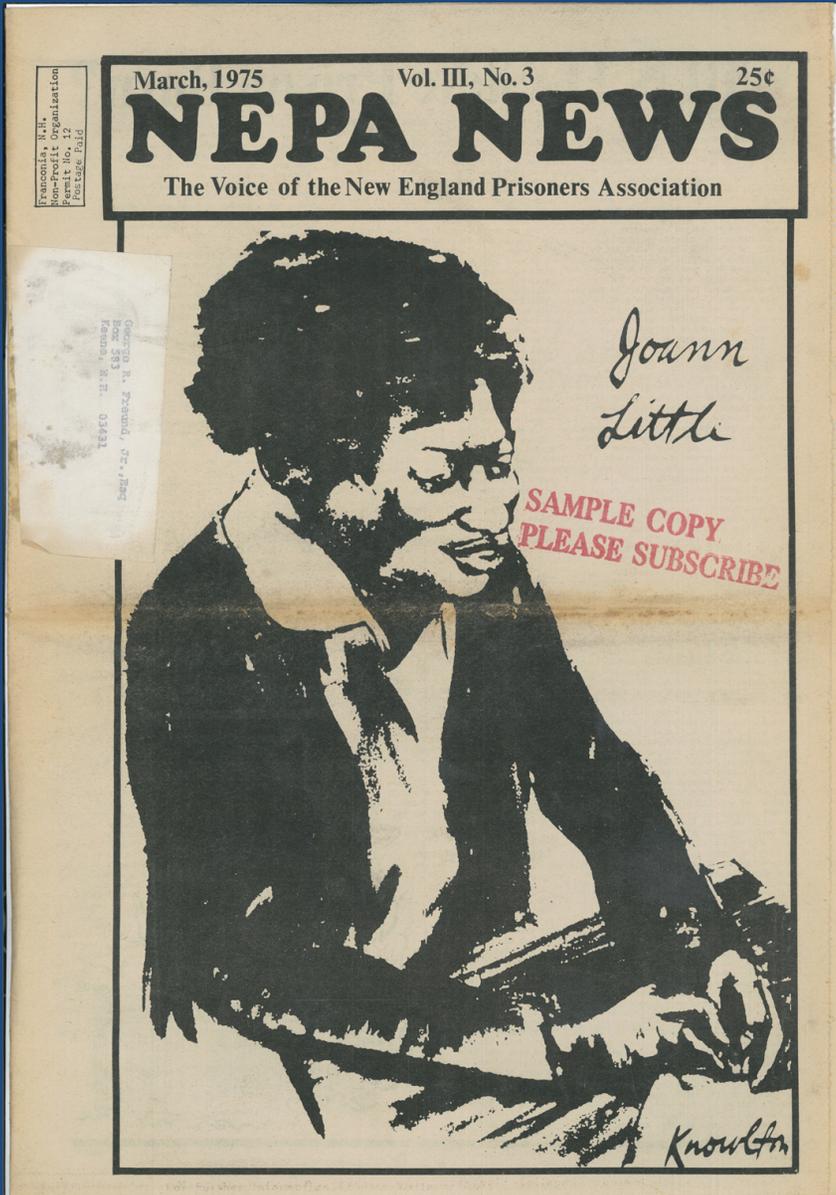
# Committee to End Forced Sterilizations

Los Angeles, 1975



“The racism of the sterilizations goes further than who is actually sterilized. White workers are told that the reason taxes take so much out of their salaries is because they are supporting all those non-white people and their kids on welfare. Minority people are told that the reason they are poor is not because of job and education discrimination but because they have too many children. This helps direct the anger of these people towards poor people or towards themselves instead of against the corporations and the government of the rich.”

# Free Joann Little, 1975





# “Joanne Little” (1975), Sweet Honey in the Rock

Joanne Little, she's my sister  
Joanne Little, she's our mama  
Joanne Little, she's your lover  
Joanne the woman who's gonna carry your child.

I've always been told since the day I was born  
Leave those no good women alone  
Child you better keep your nose clean  
keep your butt off the street  
You gonna be judged by the company you keep  
Said I always walked by the golden rule  
Steered clear of controversy I stayed real cool  
Till along come this woman little over five feet tall  
Charged and jailed with breaking the law  
And the next thing I heard as it came over  
the news  
First degree murder she was on the loose

Now I ain't talking bout the roaring west  
This is 1975 at its most oppressive best  
North Carolina state the pride of this land  
Made her an outlaw hunted on everyhand  
Tell me what she did to deserve this name  
Killed a man who thought she was fair game  
When I heard the news I screamed inside  
Lost all my cool my anger I could not hide  
Cause now Joanne is you and Joanne is me  
Our prison is the whole society  
Cause we live in a land that'll bring all pressure  
to bear on the head of a woman whose  
position we share  
Tell me who is this Girl –  
and who is she to you?



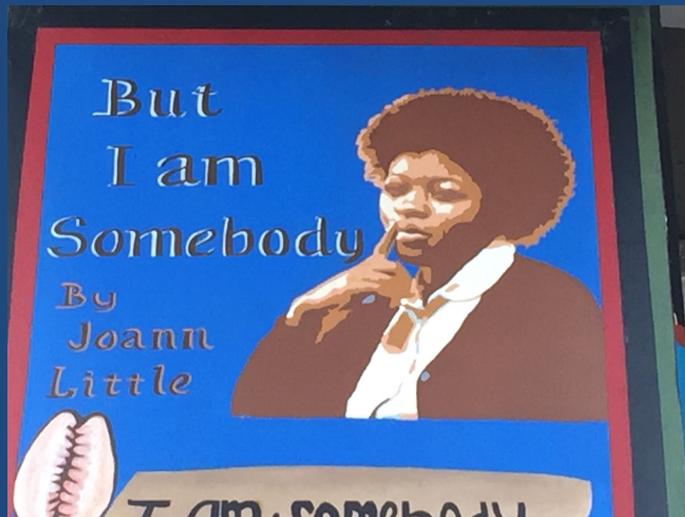
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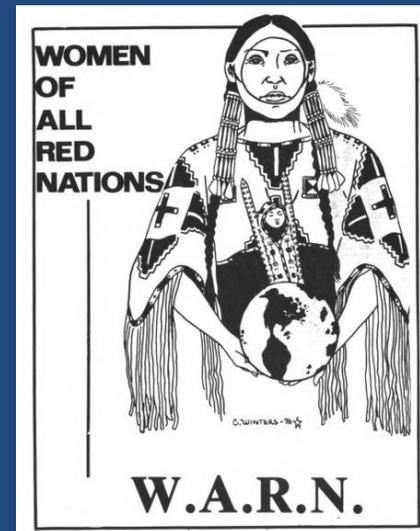
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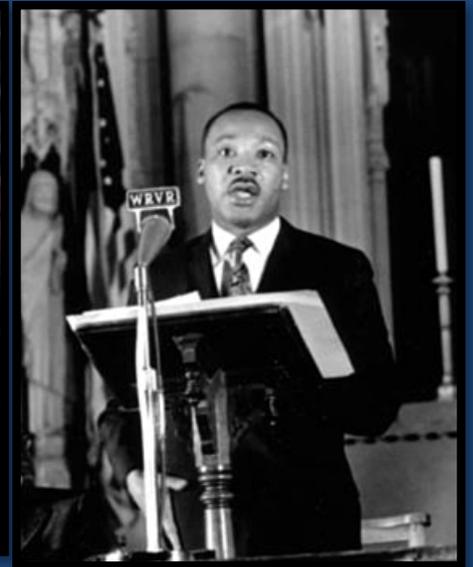


Free Joan Little Campaign (1975)



W.A.R.N. (1978)

# Anti-militarism: Beyond the Dream of Safety



# Racial Equity

“Equitable impacts and outcomes across race is the evidence of racial justice.”

APPLIED RESEARCH CENTER

Advancing racial justice through research, advocacy and journalism



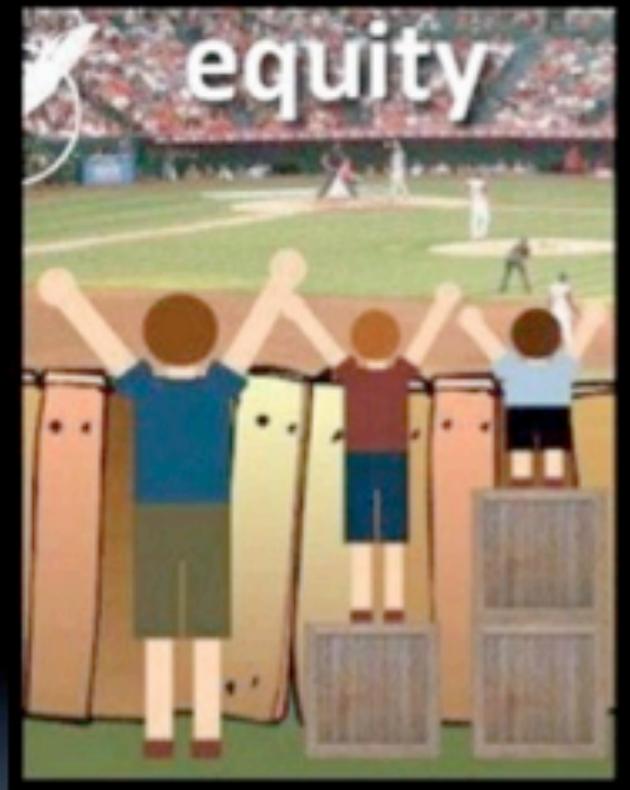
“Tools and Concepts for Strengthening Racial Equity,”  
Terry Keleher, Applied Research Center

# Equality vs. Equity



**EQUALITY=SAMENESS**

**GIVING EVERYONE THE SAME THING** → It only works if everyone starts from the same place



**EQUITY=FAIRNESS**

**ACCESS to SAME OPPORTUNITIES** → We must first ensure equity before we can enjoy equality

# Racial equity in the military?



# Racially equitable misery?

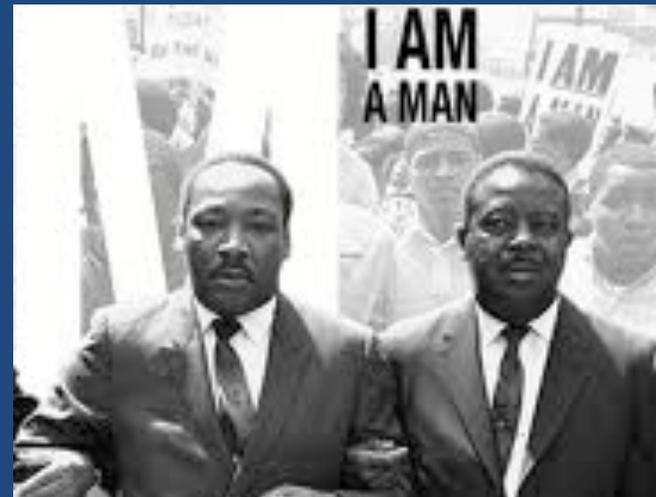


# What is the meaning of Racial Justice?



“Racism is a philosophy based on a contempt for life.”

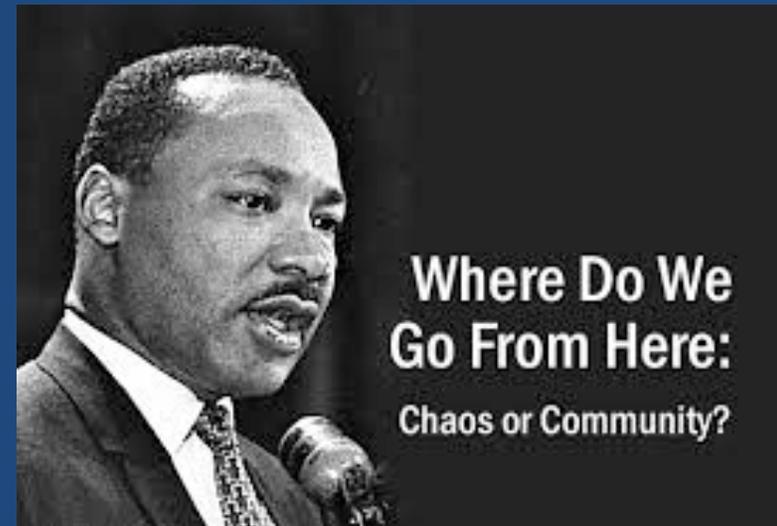
- Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, *Where Do We Go From Here?* (1967)



# Dr. King, "Where do we go from here?" (Atlanta, 1967)

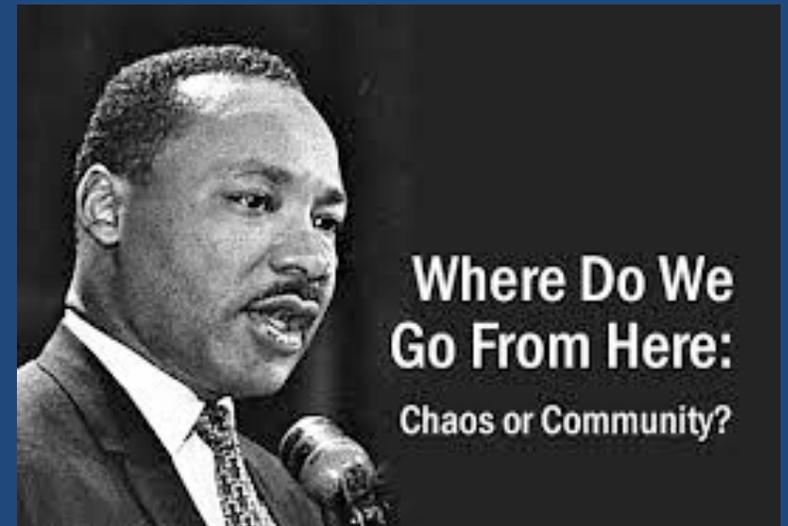
"We must honestly face the fact that the movement must address itself to the question of restructuring the whole of American society.

"Your whole structure must be changed...A nation that will keep people in slavery for 244 years will "thingify" them and make them things.



# Dr. King, "Where do we go from here?" (Atlanta, 1967)

“And therefore, they will exploit them and poor people generally economically. And a nation that will exploit economically will have to have foreign investments and everything else, and it will have to use its military might to protect them. All of these problems are tied together.”



# James Baldwin

“I don’t want to  
be integrated into  
a burning house”



# Racial Justice— What is the antithesis of a philosophy based on contempt for life?



# Toward Racial Justice

## 1. Particularism & universalism



# Toward Racial Justice

## 2. Reform & Transformation



**INDIGENOUS**  
**ENVIRONMENTAL NETWORK**



# Toward Racial Justice

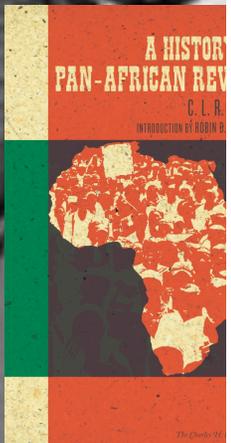
## 3. Current conditions & new imaginaries



CLR James, 1901-1989

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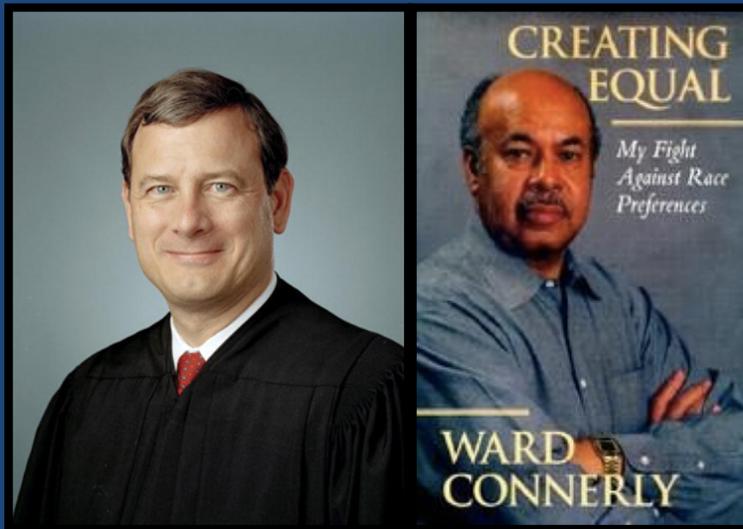
## Chapter Structure

Preface/Introduction

1. The Body/Interdependence
2. Militarism/Vulnerability
3. Commodity/Labor
4. Governance/Freedom
5. Education/Cultivation
6. Conclusion: Leadership/Transformation



Neoliberal Multiculturalism



Colorblind conservatism



Liberal/Left universalism