SYSTEMIC INDIFFERENCE AS THE NEW SYSTEMIC XENOPHOBIA AND SYSTEMIC RACISM. (IM)MIGRANTS CATCH-22

Ana María López Narbona, Universidad de Málaga, Spain alopeznarbona@uma.es

ESA Congress. Manchester, August, 2019

Christian Davenport, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor christiandavenport@mac.com

INDEX

1. MAIN CONCEPTS

2. THE CATCH-22

3. CONCRETIZING THE CATCH-22

MAIN OBJECTIVES

- 1. THE CONCEPTS: Reflection about the concept of SYSTEMIC INDIFFERENCE (SI) as the new "Systemic Xenophobia", SX, in (mainly Western/democratic) nation-states (our reference: Systemic Racism, SR, in the US).
- THE CAUSES: Identification of (democratic) nation-states internal contradictions which explain SI, SX, SR.
- 3. THE IMPLICATIONS: SI, SX, SR produce social order/social control Catch-22 (systemic aversion/hatress/fear; which elicit, at the end, violence on immigrants/foreigners in the form of a social order/social control Catch-22).
- 4. THE CONSEQUENCES: Analysis of areas of SI, SX, SR (i) outside nation-states: necropolitics, permanent state of exception, border outsourcing, (ii) inside nation-states: labor market, culture, religion, economy, endogamy, legal status, citizenship

1.1. SYSTEMIC INDIFFERENCE AS THE NEW SYSTEMIC XENOPHOBIA/RACISM

Scholars/intellectuals in the US: SR.

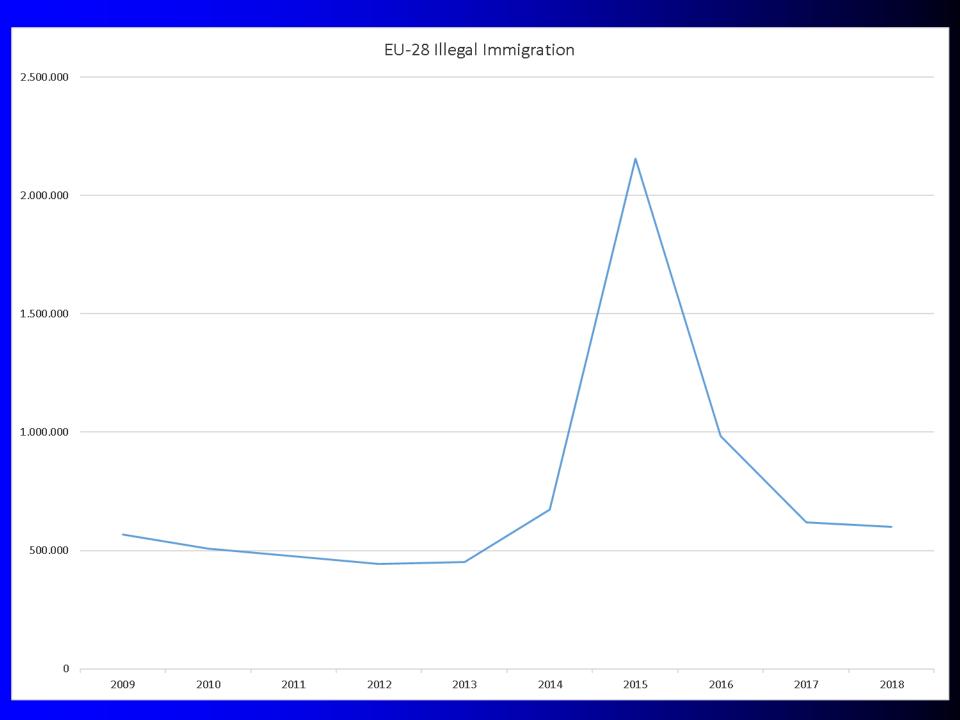
- Internal contradictions of nation-states which explains SI, SX, SR.
- GOVERNING (IM)MIGRATIONS THROUGH SI, SX, SR in Western nation-states.

1.1. SYSTEMIC INDIFFERENCE AS THE NEW SYSTEMIC XENOPHOBIA/RACISM

- Internal contradictions of nation-states which explains SI, SX, SR:
 - Violent origin of nation-states. State monopoly vs. sharing legal violence
 - 2. Ius sanguini vs. Ius soli
 - 3. Contradictory coexistence within nation-states of internal laws (laws of the land) and of international community laws (mainly related to human rights)
 - 4. Citizens vs. non-citizens (denizens)
 - 5. Bio-power vs necropolitics
 - 6. Mobility-enclosure continuum
 - 7. Immigrants needed but not wanted nor welcome (aging societies)
 - 8. Criminalization of (im)migrants as an oppressive and repressive social control.

1.1. SYSTEMIC INDIFFERENCE AS THE NEW SYSTEMIC XENOPHOBIA/RACISM

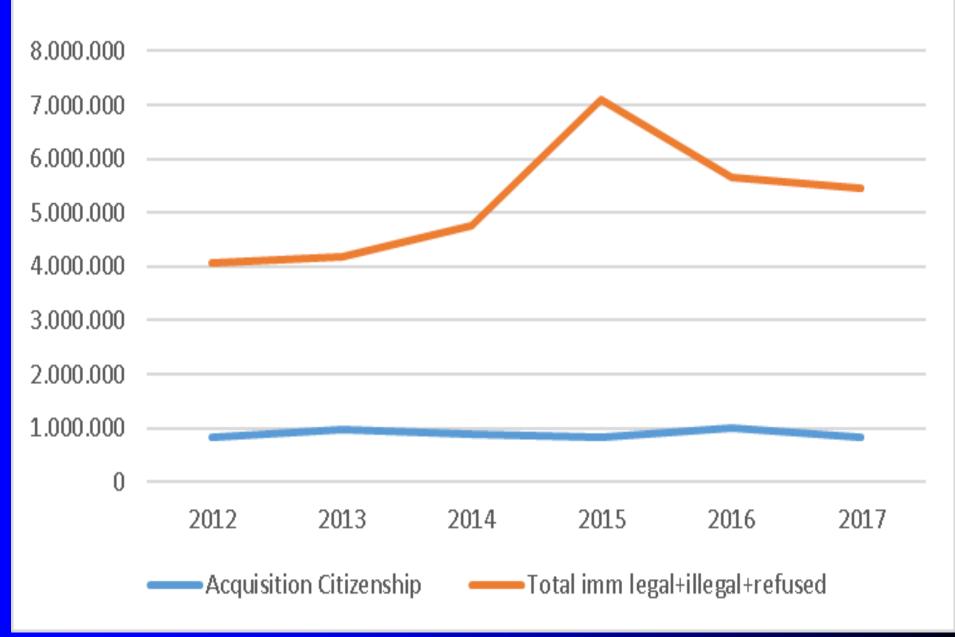
- •GOVERNING (IM)MIGRATIONSTHROUGH SI, SX, SR in Western nationstates.
 - Eurostat
 - EUROBAROMETER



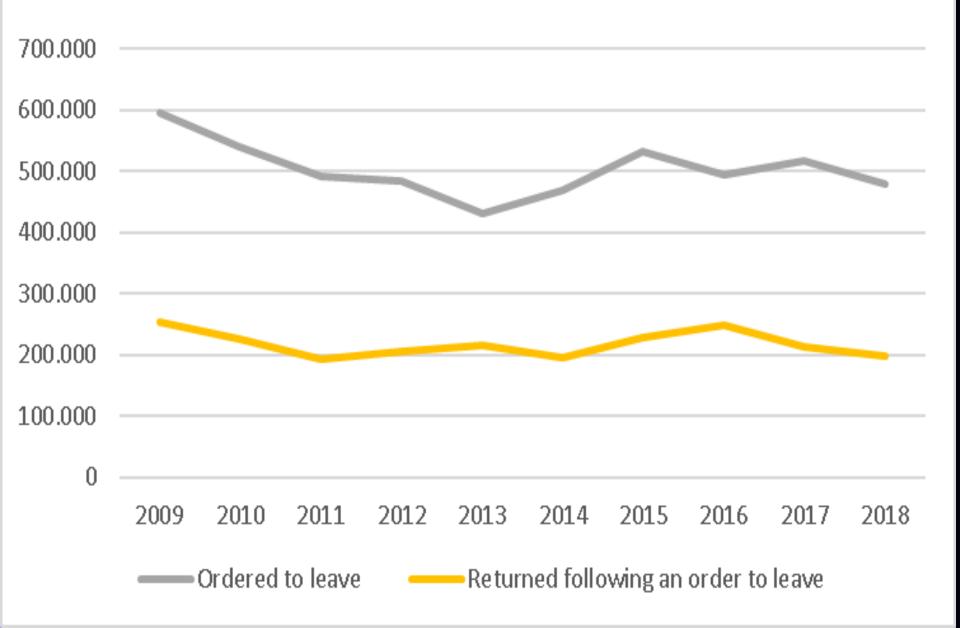


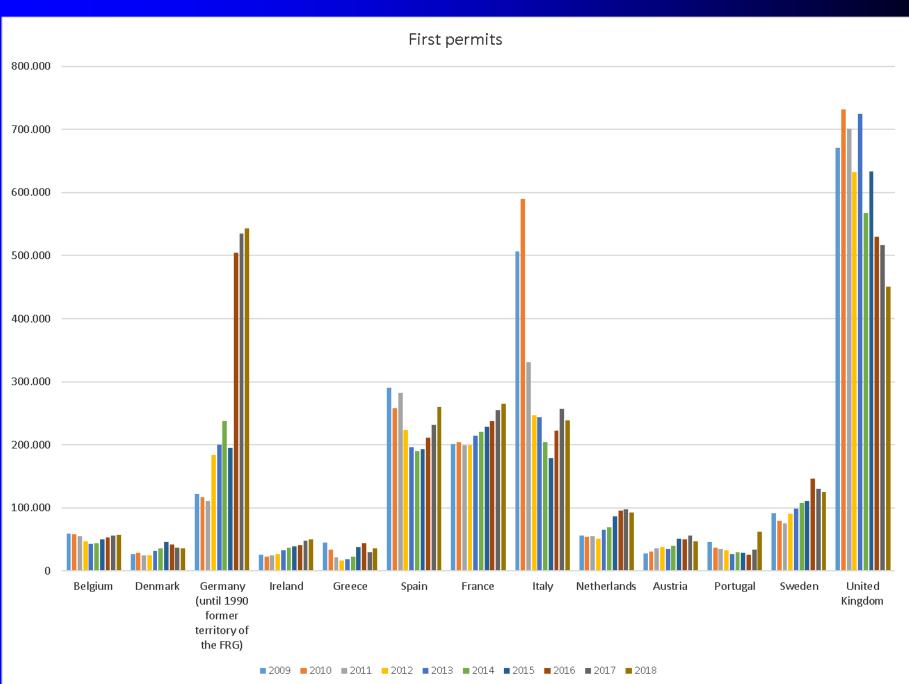


EUROSTAT

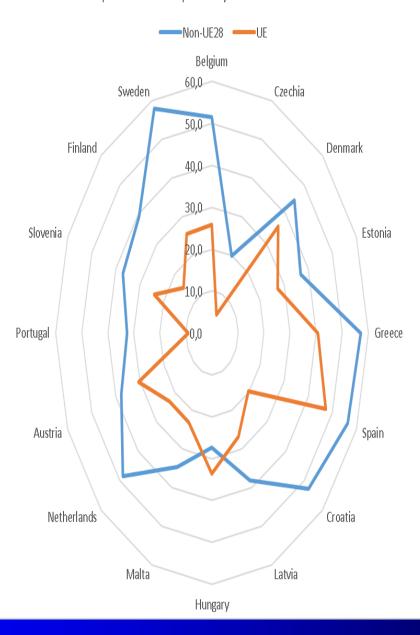


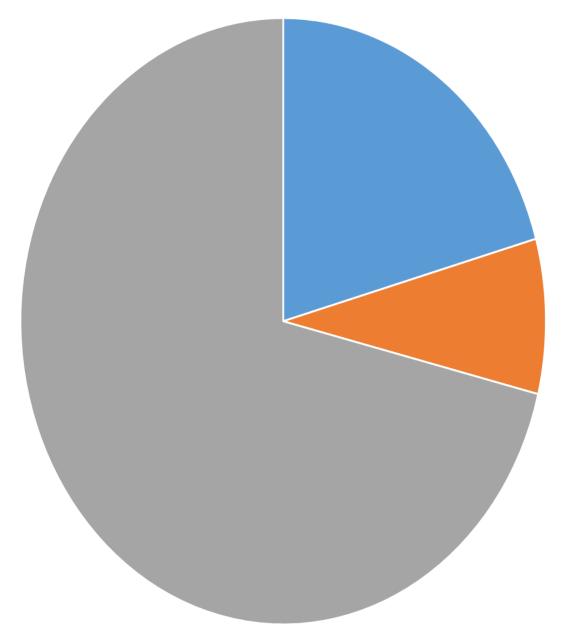
UE-28. EUROSTAT





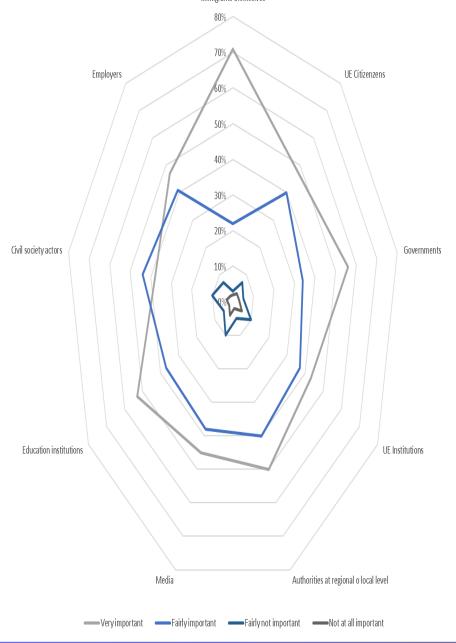
People at riks of poverty or social exclusion





Role of each of the following actors for the successful integration of immigrants. EUROBAROMETER 469. 2017

Immigrants themselves



1.2. SOCIAL ORDER/SOCIAL CONTROL CATCH-22

- Catch-22. Why?
- Social order. Which one? Majority self-aware ethnic group
- Social control. How? Repressive, Oppressive and Regressive

2. THE CATCH-22

- Why do we talk about THE CATCH-22?
- Immigration (legal and illegal) in Western countries.

• GOVERNING (IM)MIGRATIONS THROUGH SI, SX, SR is a symptom of weakness of Western democratic nation-states.

·Cavafy, The Barbarians.

3. CONCRETIZING THE CATCH-22

Necropolitics

Border outsourcing: torture, violence, death

Permanent state of exception in borders:
 Open Arms, Sea-Watch 3...

• Internal Free (hopeless) Wandering: XXI century slavery, misery.

3. CONCRETIZING THE CATCH-22

Immigrants may challenge (unintentionally and inadvertently) the social order:

- (i) labor market order, immigrants are lazy and/or distortion the labor market,
- (ii) cultural and value system order, the purest culture and values are those of the nationals,
- •(iii) religious order, immigrants are not real or pure Christians, or, worst, they are Muslims,
- (iv) patriarchal order, immigrants have the aspiration of being treated like free adults, with authority and power,
- (v) capitalistic order, poor immigrants cannot consume enough (aporophobia)
- (vi) legal order, immigrants are in essence violent and more prone to crime than nationals (criminalization)
 - 19

3. CONCRETIZING THE CATCH-22

- The social order/social control Catch-22 (SX).
- The inescapable vicious circle.
- Labor market order, if immigrants are working, they are stealing jobs from nationals and pushing down salaries; if unemployed, they are lazy and enjoying public benefits without contributing to society; if unemployed, but not enjoying public benefits, they are making society unsafe and poor, for all of which they are to blame. Immigrants are irremediably condemned to the margins of society.

CONCLUSIONS

- Western democratic nation-states are governing (im)migrations through SI, SX, SR, which show weaknesses of nation-states.
 - EUROSTAT
 - EUROBAROMETER
- SI, SX, SR are evidence of internal contradictions of nation-states.
- •SI, SX, SR, produce a Catch-22 for (im)migrants: necropolitics, permanent state of exception in borders, border outsourcing, hopeless free wandering in which immigrants may challenge (unintentionally and inadvertently) the social order.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agamben, G.
 - (1995). Homo sacer: sovereign power and bare life. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
 - (2005). State of Exception. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ambrosini, M. (1999). Utili Invasori. Milan: Franco Angeli.
- Brubaker, R. (1992). Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Calavita, K. (2007). "The Immigration Conundrum in Italy and Spain Laws and policies in Italy and Spain reveal ambivalence about immigration". America Immigration, Law& American Identity. Insights on Law & Society 7.2, pp. 7-10.
- Cavafy, C.P. (1975). Collected Poems. Princeton University Press.
- Davenport, C. (2000). "Introduction". In Paths to State Repression. Human Rights Violations and Contentious Politics, Christian Davenport (Ed.). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Mbembé, J. A. (2003). "Necropolitics". Public Culture, Volume 15, Number 1, Winter 2003, pp. 11-40.
- Wulf, H. (2007). Challenging the Weberian Concept of the State. The Future of the Monopoly of Violence. The Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies ACPACS Occasional Paper Number 9.

MUCHAS GRACIAS