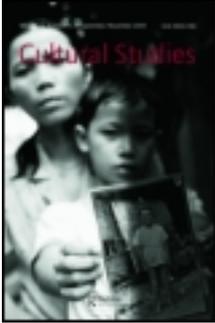


This article was downloaded by: [Kaiser Permanente], [Sang Hea Kil]
On: 26 April 2013, At: 07:30
Publisher: Routledge
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954
Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH,
UK



Cultural Studies

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rcus20>

A DISEASED BODY POLITIC

Sang Hea Kil

Version of record first published: 22 Apr 2013.

To cite this article: Sang Hea Kil (2013): A DISEASED BODY POLITIC, Cultural Studies, DOI:10.1080/09502386.2013.789068

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.789068>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae, and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand, or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Sang Hea Kil

A DISEASED BODY POLITIC

Nativist discourse and the imagined whiteness of the USA

This article is an interdisciplinary attempt to theorize how racism functions in the most recent wave of nativist discourse to produce whiteness and the nation. First, I begin with a review of the current scholarship on the nativist debate about immigration. Second, I show how 'racist dirt fixations' work in a new colour-blind racist manner with the geographic scales to make sense of the wide range of dissimilar images in nativist discourse. Finally, I argue that nativist discourse creates a naturalized portrait of a white national body in danger from the criminal immigrant who represents dirt, disgust, abjection and disorder and produces racial tensions, anxieties and nightmares about borders and crossings at each scale.

Keywords Nativism; whiteness; discourse; body; scale; dirt

Introduction

The most recent wave of nativism, heralded by Proposition 187, continued with the militarization of the border, and recently escalated with the legal struggle over Arizona's SB1070 and its copy cat legislations in other states, contributes to a new racist discourse that is extremely anti-immigrant but not deemed racist by the media, politicians and general public alike. This new rise of nativism attempts to formalize an apartheid system by driving immigrants further underground. The need to counter this escalating force of new racism is critical in uncovering the 'post-racial' power of nativist discourse.

This article is an interdisciplinary attempt to theorize how racism functions in recent nativist discourse. I do so by making innovative connections between the research in cultural studies, geography, race theory, anthropology, feminist theory and immigration discourse. My theoretical framework attempts to better make sense of how racist conceptualizations can be communicated without overtly racist rhetoric through the deployment of spatially suggestive and embodied imagery. I build my theoretical analysis in three parts: First, I

Cultural Studies, 2013

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.789068>

© 2013 Taylor & Francis

begin with an overview of the research on recent immigration and nativist discourse. Second, I show how 'racist dirt fixations' work in a new colour-blind racist manner with the geographic scales to make sense of the wide range of dissimilar images in nativist discourse. I begin with the work of Cornel West (1988) on white racist logics and apply it to the work of Mary Douglas (1966) on dirt fixations in order to develop a 'racist dirt fixations' framework. This framework draws on West's genealogies and justifications for racism that are historically suggestive and derive from religious, scientific and sexual ordered systems and Douglas' 'dirt' which ontologically represents disorder and breaches each logic's system in a racialized way. These fixations work with the geographic scale of the physical body that 'nest' within larger scales, like a house, locality and the nation, with each scale possessing embodied qualities. Finally, I argue that nativist discourse, nested in the scale of the four bodies, creates a naturalized portrait of a white national body in danger from the criminal immigrant who represents dirt, disgust, abjection and disorder in a variety of symbolic ways depending on the scale. These four scales that undergird nativist discourse possess powerful material, metaphoric and ideological meanings that have been under-analysed in the current scholarship on nativist discourse, race theory and whiteness studies. I offer an analysis of how each of these bodily scales (the body, house, locality and nation) insinuate 'dirt' or disorder through negative images of race, class, gender, sexuality and disability. This novel theoretical framework explains how immigration and particularly the worries over the USA-Mexican Border factor into the production of nested scales and produces racial tensions, anxieties and nightmares about borders and crossings at each level of representation.

Contemporary nativist discourse

Since the early 1990s, scholars with an interest in the public debate and discourse about immigration have paid increasing attention to the variety of ways nativist discourse contribute to the social construction of immigrants. Many of these studies focus on the debate over California's 1994 voter-approved ballot initiative called Proposition 187, or the 'Save our State' or 'SOS' initiative, while others focus on the increased militarization of the border and its effect on public discourse. Proposition 187 is a watershed moment in the nation's post-civil rights history. Its racialized intent to exclude immigrants from vital and basic services like emergency health services and education heralded a new nativist wave that continues today against brown people of colour.

Each nativist wave in US American history had different targets ranging from Catholics and Chinese immigrants to political radicals and immigrant strike-breakers (Higham 1955, Calavita 1996). Leo Chavez (2001) argues that

the recent discursive patterns used to describe Mexican immigrants are 'overwhelmingly alarmist' (p. 215), which breaks from the historical pattern of immigration discourse that uses both positive and alarmist imagery. A review of the literature on contemporary nativist discourse shows the media and public use three general discursive frames to criminalize immigrants as: (1) an economic drain, (2) unlawful and (3) invaders (i.e. war). These discursive frames are not mutually exclusive and overlap with each other in use and conceptualization.

The perceived economic downturn that heralded Proposition 187 and the new wave of nativism targets immigrants as an economic threat (Alvarez and Butterfield 2000). Calavita (1996) describes the proposition as a symbolic expression of law that reflects a 'balanced budget nativism'. This fiscal focus on the recent cycle of nativism deflects attention away from major economic transformations (post-Fordist crisis, the effects of de-industrialization on native workers and the diminishing welfare state) and towards minimizing budget deficits and government spending. The public blames both immigrants (who are perceived as the most undeserving of social service benefits because of their non-citizen status) and government overspending for the budget crisis (Calavita 1996). Santa Ana *et al.* (1998) also note the fiscal focus of Prop 187 in the news media. He notes how the *Los Angeles Times* displayed an editorial emphasis of the theme 'immigrants as commodity'. These arguments attempted to be pro-immigrant but nevertheless relied upon perceiving immigrants as a labour resource or a thing rather than focusing on the damage to the rights and dignity of humans as a result of the proposition's implementation. Suárez-Orozco (1996) uses a psycho-cultural perspective to analyse the economic worries and social anxieties experienced by Californians during the 1990s, from the recession, to earthquakes, and to urban race riots, which helped to craft the immigrant 'Other' image. Immigrants as the 'Other' help contain anxieties that otherwise could not be easily controlled. The result is the fantasy of immigrants as 'parasites draining the economy or as criminals taking our limited and diminishing resources' (p. 157) that affect the public discourse with anxiety, envy (in relation to racial group competition) and paranoia.

The accusation of immigrant criminality stems from the perception that new immigrants arrive to the USA with a lawless intent. The public imagines the criminality of immigrants in a variety of disparate and seemingly unrelated ways. Cacho (2000) describes an ideology of white injury in the 'colour-blind' language of Prop 187 that helps to sustain and conceal inequalities by depicting the people of California as 'victims' who suffer personal and economic injury caused by immigrants. In addition, she argues that this white injury ideology conceals the economic reliance on immigrant labour, denies its racism and foists an additional economic crisis onto immigrant workers and their children by legally, culturally and socially disenfranchising them. Peter Brimlow's (1995) *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster* popularizes the notion of white victimhood. Scholars also note the use of

water and animal imagery to suggest immigrant criminality during the Proposition 187's debate. The media uses water imagery to describe immigration as a large and uncontrollable phenomenon (Chavez 2001), much like a crime wave, that overlooks an individual immigrant's humanity by focusing on the deadly fantasy of floods or '*inundating surges of brown faces*' (Santa Ana *et al.* 1998, p. 153 original emphasis). The media uses animal imagery to show that 'immigrants correspond to citizens as animals correspond to humans' (Santa Ana 1999, p. 203). This reinforces a racial hierarchy where citizens are human beings and immigrants are animals who are unmanageable, sneaky or lawless.

In addition to the economic and crime frame, Mehan (1997) also argues that these immigrants have become our new, post-cold war enemy in an 'Us vs. Them' war frame. In addition, official political frameworks like the 'War on drugs' and 'War on the Border' not only help to see immigrants as street criminals but also as symbolic national enemies. Santa Ana (2002), in his book *Brown Tide Rising*, analyses metaphors of Latinos in contemporary news discourse and found that they are imagined as 'invaders' and 'outsiders', as well as 'burdens', 'parasites', 'diseases', 'animals', and 'weeds'. Michelle Malkin's (2002) *Invasion: How America Still Welcomes Terrorists Criminals & Other Foreign Menaces to Our Shores* popularizes this 'war with immigrants' framework.

Many of these scholars not only analyse the nativist constructions of immigrants but also analyse the images and symbols used to imagine the nation as well. Gabriel (1998) argues that the construction of immigrants as 'pollutants' leads to paranoias around the physical body as well as the imagined body of the nation where metaphors freely exchange between these two scales to the benefit of both. Cisneros (2008) also notes that the media represented 'immigrants as pollutants' which serves a unifying, nationalistic function that normalizes US American identity as 'pure' which bolster additional national characteristics like normal, healthy and civilized. Santa Ana (2002) writes that the 'Nation as body' has a long history as political metaphor and it allows the nation to possess characteristics of a body because of the shared quality of bounded, finite spaces, except that the biological body encourages meanings of the nation in distinctly corporal and emotional ways. His study also demonstrates that public discourse on immigration constructs the nation like a house, castle or ship (e.g. 'SOS' as distress signal used in Prop 187) but also larger constructs like a city. The whiteness of the national body remains in large part invisible and de-centred because whiteness conflates with nationality (Nakayama and Krizek, 1995), where discourse about the nation is also tacitly about whiteness.

Suffice it to say, the new nativist rhetoric is alarmist but somehow not considered racist by public and the news media that actively deploy these negative images. On the surface, the rhetoric seems to have little pattern or cohesiveness in the imagery generated, outside of its negativity because immigrants cannot be both weeds and waves or invaders and diseases all at

once. It seems like a *blitzkrieg* of alarmist ideas with little rhyme or reason. However, it is my contention that below the surface of these nativist constructions is an emerging structure about the nation in relation to whiteness. Crenshaw (1997) urges scholars to resist whiteness' rhetorical silence by locating those connections that allude to unspoken issues of race, discursive spaces where whiteness's power is invoked but its identity is not, and how these racialized constructions intersect with gender, class, sexuality and other categories of difference. It is through an analysis of dirt and scale that the discursive dimensions of whiteness and nation are revealed to show the deeply racist constructions of immigrants' intentions and place vis-à-vis the whiteness of the nation.

Racist dirt fixations and nested scales

Within this new nativist discourse, two additional concepts help make greater sense of how nativism produces whiteness in veiled ways: (1) white racist logics in relation to 'dirt' fixations and (2) nested scales. I build upon West's (1998) postulations about white racist logics and apply the work of Douglas (1966) on dirt fixations by ordered systems to make more sense of how racist logics function within nativist discourse. For simplicity, I refer to my nexus of West's and Douglas' concepts as 'racist dirt fixations'. These 'racist dirt fixations' are a form of new colour-blind racism (NCBR) and allow older forms of racist logics to be re-packaged in a new colour-blind way. The nested scales of the four bodies provide details on how these 'racist dirt fixations' move and 'jump scales' (Smith 1992) to create powerful, persuasive discourses that link the body to the nation, nation to the house, house to a region or locality to help make sense of the seemingly random imagery used by nativist discourse. The discursive jumps among nested scales allow racism to avoid overt racial terminology, making racist intentions invisible. I engage both these concepts to theorize how discursive racism covertly functions in public discourse about immigration.

Cornel West (1988) explains that there are three modes of European domination that are based on white supremacy. These logics are discursive and derive from a genealogical condition. The first is the:

Judeo-Christian racist logic [that] emanates from the biblical account of Ham looking upon and failing to cover his father Noah's nakedness and thereby receiving divine punishment in the form of blackening his progeny . . . The scientific racist logic rests upon a modern philosophical discourse . . . that promote and encourage the activities of observing, comparing, measuring, and ordering physical characteristics of human bodies . . . The psychosexual racist logic arises from the phallic obsessions,

Oedipal projections, and anal-sadistic orientations in European culture that see non-‘white’ people as sexual, frivolous, passive, and dirty. Generally, the psychosexual racist logic is concerned with acts of bodily violation and impurities and sees the potential of non-‘whites’ as dangerous transgressors of these actual and metaphorical bodily boundaries (pp. 22–23).

These three discursive logics provide a way to rearticulate the justifications of historical racism into contemporary discourse and practice. But instead of using direct and clear rationalizations, these logics now work inferentially.

I elaborate on West’s racist logics, by applying the work of Mary Douglas (1966) who analyses social pollutions and taboos. My attempt here is to expose a commonality among the three white racist logics West puts forth. Douglas (1966) argues that violations of ordered systems create ‘dirt’ and if West’s white racist logics are ordered systems, then symbols of dirt contribute to the racialization of the ‘Other’ as a breach of each logic’s order. Douglas (1966) writes that ‘dirt’ is a:

matter out of place. This is a very suggestive approach. It implies two conditions: a set of ordered relations and a contravention of that order. Dirt then, is never a unique, isolated event. Where there is dirt there is a system. Dirt is a by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements. This idea of dirt takes us straight into the field of symbolism and promises a link-up with more obviously symbolic systems of purity (p. 48).

For Douglas, ‘dirt is essentially disorder’ (p. 2). However, dirt is a less hygienic concept and more an ontological one. Direct and racist accusations that a group of people is dirty, either morally, physically or sexually is generally no longer acceptable in public discourse because of its more obvious link to historical racism. But insinuations that a group of people are ontologically dirty in that they violate ordered systems allow historical racism to reappear in more suggestive and imaginative forms.

Given Douglas’s analysis on dirt then West’s three logics can be perceived to be ‘pure’ or eternal systems threatened by danger. For example, non-whites violate religious rules and systems as reflected by the story of Ham and his progeny who are cursed, supposedly with darkened skin, for violating Noah’s dignity. Non-whites violate scientific precepts when they demand political privileges equal to that of whites when sciences continually support inferiority and deficiency among people of colour. And the impure, non-white body (usually imagined as male) threatens the controlled and ordered sexual purity of the white body (imagined as female) in a psychological projection of a racialized sexual fantasy that implies the brutality of rape. Each of these logics reflects a symbolized fear of ‘matter out of place’ that threatens physical and

social order. Thus, I argue that racial logics are essentially a fixation on disorder. Religion, science and sexual purity are then 'ordered relations' or systems that fear and reject dirt. In addition, the dirt, disorder or 'matter out of place' for each system helps to reify dichotomies within each of the three logics. For example, the biblical logic demarcates the sacred/profane or the graced/damned. Scientific logic defines order/disorder or normal/pathological. And the sexual logic of purity rejects dirt, pollution and bodily violations. Eliminating the ontological dirt for each racialized ordered system is a constitutive effort towards 'purity'.

Today, these 'racist dirt fixations' function under the cloak of colour-blindness, which allows for the reproduction of deeply racist ideas to flourish in new forms without much challenge. Bonilla-Silva (2003) outlines five dimensions of NCBR that I will use to help to explain how 'racist dirt fixations' function in new nativist discourse: (1) new racism is increasingly covert, (2) it avoids racial terminology (i.e. colour-blindness), (3) the mechanism that produces racism is invisible, (4) new racism uses model minorities to help deny its racism and (5) new racism functions through rearticulations of historical racism like qualities of the Jim Crow racism (p. 272). NCBR perpetuates racism as it denies the recognition of racial inequalities and explains these inequalities in non-racial ways. For example, whereas Jim Crow pointed to the biological inferiority of blacks to justify apartheid, the NCBR protects white dominance by viewing minorities' current status as a product of economic markets or cultural limitations and differences, thereby avoiding racial terminology and mystifying the actual process of racial exclusion (Bonilla Silva 2006, p. 2). For a nativist example, Fox's journalist Lou Dobbs (formerly of CNN) and border vigilante groups like the Minutemen Project both share and express views that immigrants are here to conquer the nation but regularly deny having any racist motivations. Colour-blindness has euphemized discussions about race to the point that whites can easily dismiss non-white concerns as a type of 'racial paranoia' (Jackson 2010). Thus, 'racist dirt fixations' are a form of NCBR that subtly rearticulate qualities of old school racism in a manner that is covert and avoids overt racist terminology. A key mechanism that helps 'racist dirt fixations' to remain invisible is the discursive use geographic scale.

The scale is very simple but highly complex idea about levels of representation. Scale is as simple as representing a mile on a map and as complex as talking about the nation as a 'diseased body politic' that suffers immigrants. Discursive racism colludes with the social construction of scale because scale utilizes metaphors and images that enable it to inhabit cartographic, material, spatial, literary and ideological dimensions at once. Smith (1992) writes that the power of metaphor greatly enhances 'our understanding of material space – physical space, territory – just as our spatial practices and conceptions of material space are fecund raw material for metaphor' (p. 62).

In the past three decades, human geographers have shown an interest in how the production of scale is related to the production of space. Generally, human geographers have taken a constructionist perspective with a focus on capitalistic production, social reproduction, and at times social consumption in attempting to understand the ways of socio-spatial re-structuring through scale (Marston 2000). As Brady (2002) explains:

[s]caling' is the name given to the process by which space is divided, organized, categorized . . . By demarcating spaces, by establishing limits and thus contents, and by fixing spaces within a framework of spatial relations, or 'nested hierarchies,' scale narrates and thereby helps to organize and produce space (pp. 173–174).

Marston (2000) adds that scale is not merely a product of geographic relations. Like space, place or environment, scale factors 'in the construction and dynamics of geographical totalities' (as cited in Howitt 1998, p. 56). Thus, scaled places are 'the embodiment of social relations of empowerment and disempowerment and the arena through and in which they operate' (as cited in Swyngedouw, 1997, p. 169).

Conceptualizations of geographic scale tend to begin with the physical body and then link to larger scales (Smith 1992, Brady 2002). For example, Smith (1992) discusses how a political art piece in the form of a 'homeless vehicle', which functions like a scaled down house built on the platform of a shopping cart, can express the contestation for spatial access to the urban landscape by converting 'spaces of exclusion [like homelessness] into the known, the made, and constructed [like the homeless vehicle] . . . redefining the scale of everyday life for homeless people' (p. 60). Scale in this sense becomes important at the level of the physical body. And the scale of the body is socially constructed with social differences like gender, race, age, ability and class inscribed onto that body. In his examination of the homeless vehicle as a geographic production of scale, he also explores other scales that start with the body, then extend to the home and continue in larger scales like the community, urban, region, nation and global in a nested but not necessarily hierarchical fashion. His purpose is to provide a framework for thinking and theorizing about spatial difference through scale that 'defines boundaries and bounds the identities around which control is exerted and contested' (Smith 1992, p. 66). Smith (1992) adds that scale is both the location and container for social activity and is also the site where social activity takes place. Thus, geographic scale possesses the significant ability to control social processes and define boundaries of identities.

'Racist dirt fixations' work first on the scale of the body. Beginning with the religious racist logic, the ontological 'dirt' for the Christian system that bears greatly on systems of racism is the invention of the savage whose body was socially constructed with dark skin and a libidinous nature. Religion is an

old purveyor of racialized and sexualized logics (West 1988, Smedley 1993). Science like religion also makes race an object of systematic investigation with a focus on physical differences. Science communicates a qualitative difference between the 'normal' and 'pathological' (Canguilhem 1989), distinct from the 'graced or damned' model of the Christian tradition, where 'dirt' is pathology or abnormality. Much scientific knowledge has been dedicated to justifying the physical and mental inferiority of non-whites (Graves 2001). Unfortunately, this type of scientific inquiry is still popular today as reflected in the *New York Times* bestseller by Herrnstein and Murray's (1994) titled the *Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*, which states that intelligence dictates social standing rather than race, class or social inequality and that IQ is genetic, which supports the notion that IQ is racially correlated. The psycho-sexual logic codes the scale of the physical body in interesting ways in relation to dirt. It fixates on threats to an imagined purity of the white body. This 'pure/impure' logic also crosscuts with other bodily binaries like human/animal and mind/body (Haraway 1989). And these binaries contribute to the social construction of whiteness that emphasizes purity, humanity and the mind. '[W]hite is a color code for bodies ascribed the attribute of the mind, and thus symbolic power, not to mention other forms of power, in social practices like 'intelligence' tests. The body is coded darker, denser, less warm and light . . .' (Haraway 1989, p. 153). Hence, the popularity of the *Bell Curve* again reinforces the association of whiteness with the mind and non-whiteness with the body. Indeed, the white body is almost a 'pure spirit' (Dyer 1997, p. 39). These three racist dirt logics can reverberate to other, larger geographic scales like the nation. It allows the body politic to suffer from the profane, the deviant, or the impure in ways inspired by the physical body. And there is a 'continual exchange of meanings between the two kinds of bodily experiences so that each reinforces the categories of the other' (Douglas 1970, p. 93).

White body (politic) and danger

Geographic scale helps 'racist dirt fixations' remain covert and hidden and it does so in three ways. First, because a sense of scale begins with the body and 'jumps' towards other, larger scales, the scale can inspire borders in various embodied ways, point to what threatens those borders, and link them all back to the personal and political in a manner that is material and ideological. Second, scale helps to discursively hide the historical re-articulation of white racist logics in a contemporary, colour-blind manner through a metaphoric and geographic process that obscures direct racism through the comparative use of neutral, non-racialized scales. Third, because scale seems like fixed space that is divided, ordered, categorized and bounded, controlling social processes and defining boundaries of identities within a scale becomes an active process of

excluding dirt. Thus, geographic scale helps 'racist dirt fixations' produce and reproduce whiteness as the nation and immigrants as the disorder through the literary imagination of scales.

As mentioned earlier, scaling typically begins with the physical body. And the physical body possesses a basic and constant desire to maintain boundaries between the self and the other (or non-self). Douglas (1966) argues that, 'boundaries can represent any boundaries which are threatened or precarious. The body is a complex structure. The functions of its different parts and their relation afford a source of symbols for other complex structures' (Douglas 1966, p. 116). Bodily fluids like faeces, urine, spit, blood and other discharges become 'dirt' and a dangerous pollutant to the system. Bodily excretions are anomalous because they were once a part of the self before they transformed into non-self upon exiting the body. What the body expels is symbolized in societal ways as powerful and perilous. 'Danger lies in transitional states, simply because transition is neither one state nor the next, it is indefinable' (Douglas 1966, p. 97).

Typical reactions to danger come in emotional forms like disgust. Generally, animal, food and bodily waste can illicit disgust. Disgust accentuates that boundary between animal and human. Rozin and Fallon (1987) note that when people feel disgust it tends to be related to animals, parts of animals, animal products or objects that have touched these animal items or resemble them. Disgust is also a food-related emotion. Disgust objects tend to be repulsing because of the link to an animal origin, the idea of taking that object into the body as food, and the irrational belief that people take on the properties of the disgust object through contact or ingestion. Bodily wastes of animals, even human animals, are disgusting because they are essentially expelled animal products. The one exception would be tears, which is understood to be a human ability that accentuates the difference between human and animal since animals do not shed tears emotionally (Rozin and Fallon 1987, as cited in Ortner 1973).

Another form of emotional reaction to danger is abjection. Kristeva (1982) builds upon Douglas's anthropological notion of dirt and danger with her feminist, post-Lacanian analysis of abjection. She (1982) writes that:

[i]t is thus not lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection but what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite. The traitor, the liar, the criminal with a good conscience, the shameless rapist, the killer who claims he is a savior... Any crime, because it draws attention to the fragility of the law, is abject, ... immoral, sinister, scheming, and shady: a terror that dissembles... (p. 4).

Kristeva agrees with Douglas's argument that danger comes from system violations but Kristeva's focus is on abjection. Like Douglas, Kristeva agrees

that borders represent dangerous ambiguity. However, Kristeva advances Douglas' argument beyond beliefs about pollution, taboo, dirt and danger into a more complex moral realm where crime is abject, for example, because it causes terror by dissembling the identity of the moral order. Kristeva grounds her argument in the psychology of the individual self and accounts for the psychic mechanisms of disgust that stem from the experience of borderlessness between the self and other/non-self. Abjection can range from food loathing to corpse avoidance but the basic underlying principle is that abjection challenges and disturbs bodily integrity by emphasizing the reality of death and decay through bodily fluids and functions. Like Douglas, she also claims that the abject can also have a double meaning and existence because it can affect the self as well as society in helping to create rituals and symbols of exclusion at both levels of representation. For example, she agrees with Douglas that pollution rituals reflect abjection and disgust towards women's bodies that correspond to sexual taboos intended to divide men from women and insure the dominance of the former over the latter. However, unlike Douglas, Kristeva (1982) emphasizes the psychological need of the abject by society because the process of abjection functions much like a 'security blanket' (pp. 136–137). Abjection safely removes humans and humanity from the territory of nature by marking out an area of human culture removed from the threat of nature and animals, which are 'imagined as representatives of sex and murder' (Kristeva 1982, p. 13).

What is common among the work of West, Douglas and Kristeva is the division between culture and nature. However, while West solely focuses on race, Douglas and Kristeva's work can also help in the understanding of the association of the culture with whiteness and the nature with the gendered, racial other. For West, his racist logics stem from the valuing of western religion, science and white bodies, which are institutions and symbols of culture, over the heathen savage, the degenerate or black bodies, respectively, which are associated with nature. For Douglas, the body as a symbol of society divides what is ordered and dangerous. Bodily fluids and processes represent nature and control over the body associates with culture. This resonates with Ortner's (1972) classic feminist argument that culture is associated with men and nature with women because a woman's body and its functions keep her symbolically closer to nature (pregnancy, lactation and menstruation) in contrast to a male physiology whose functions permit him more freedom to contribute to culture. Kristeva extends Ortner and Douglas' arguments. For Kristeva, animalness, which is psycho-socially represented in pregnant or menstruating women, is abject and challenges the border between self/society, human/animal and culture/nature. For example, nativists fear that immigrant women's bodies contribute to an 'invasion' through reproduction (Chavez 2008). I explain more on this fear of immigrant women's bodies later on in this article. So no matter if it is racist logics, dirt or abjection, the underlying principle that relates all three methodologies together is that systems (culture,

whiteness, men) find danger in disorder (nature, racial other, women's bodily functions and fluids). The continued marginalization of immigrants based on their race or non-citizen status reflects this tradition that associates the other with nature, dirt and disorder.

In addition, emotional reactions to boundary violations that lead to disgust and abjection also lead to fantasies of geographic contagion based on racialized fears that the other is taking over. In relation to disgust, Rozin *et al.* (1986) study the operation of the laws of sympathetic magic in disgust (citing Frazer, 1890, Mauss. 1902). The first law deals with contagion and proposes that once an object or thing has had contact with another object that properties or traces can transfer and linger long after the initial contact. This allows for magical action to be applied, for example, to a fingernail or hair clipping that can affect the original source or person to whom the clipping belonged. The second law deals with similarity and holds that things that look alike share essential properties. Thus, a resemblance equals the source. For example, people who like chocolate tend to avoid eating it if it is shaped like dog faeces. Rozin *et al.*'s (1986) study is important because it demonstrates that patterns of thinking normally ascribed to developing or traditional societies also occur in thinking patterns of modern western societies.

I believe that a type of sympathetic magic in relation to moral disgust occurs in relation to nativist concerns about immigrant takeovers. There is an anxiety about immigration in relation to geographic contagion in that immigrants are seen as invaders. This relates to the first law of sympathetic magic. Since immigrants reside and work in the nation, magical thinking permits contagion to spread through this contact with the discursive image of a national assault by immigrants. This train of thought is best illustrated by Samuel Huntington's (2004) book titled, '*Who are We?: The Challenge to America's National Identity*', where he sees immigration from Mexico contributing to a demographic *reconquista* of the southwest region as well as generally undermining the national 'Anglo-Protestant' identity. Nativist rhetoric also conveys geographic contagion by extending the invasion image to immigrant women. Chavez (2001) points out that women are featured in news media as an 'insidious invasion, one that includes the capacity of the invaders to reproduce themselves' (p. 233). Immigrant women suggest the formation of families and communities that lead to racial conquest. Many conservative political figures like Pat Buchanan (2002) promote the idea that immigrant women give birth to more children than native white women. His book title reveals much of his line of thought: *The Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization*. Finally, the French racial riots of 2005 sparked alarmist worries in the USA about the contagion of racial unrest affecting Mexican immigrants in a similar manner (Koff 2009). While no riots manifested, the following year, the immigrant rights movement marched nationally in the largest protest ever seen across many cities in almost every region. In 2007, immigrant students and activist

participated in the largest walkout to protest the criminalization policies that affect them.

Moreover, racial dynamics are changing as the white–black racial binary transforms into a more complicated racial reality. Bonilla Silva (2006) contends that the USA is moving towards a tri-racial structure of white, honorary white and collective black categories similar to countries in Latin America. This racial transformation relates to the second law of sympathetic magic in that magical thinking allows racialized groups to share essential racial properties with the source. This works in two ways: those with darker skin whether they are black, brown, or Pilipino are in the ‘collective black’ category and those non-whites with lighter skin who uphold white values occupy the ‘honorary white’ category. Thus, resemblance equals the source for the former and resemblance equals an ‘honorary’ status to the source for the latter. Note that resemblance to a white source does not make those who occupy this honorary white category necessarily white. This serves two functions: first, model minorities’ occupation of an ‘honorary white’ category helps to deny white racism (fourth dimension of NCBR) and second, the ‘honorary white’ category disciplines the ‘collective black’ population by undermining the latter’s claims of a racially unjust society. This reality is best illustrated by Francis Fukuyama (1995), a former student of Samuel Huntington, who argues that Asians possess model cultural and civic values and that poor, inner-city blacks create their own marginalize circumstances. In addition, Carbado and Gulati (2004) claim that as model minorities gain economic success and become more agreeable for whites, then there is little incentive to share this economic success with minorities at the bottom of the racial hierarchy through either racial reforms or ‘door-opening’ opportunities. In fact, there is a strong urge for some minorities to race to the top to occupy an honorary white status and ‘lift the latter up behind them when they get there’ (Carbado and Gulati 2004, p. 1645). So while race is a socio-historical process that is context specific in its formations (Omi and Winant 1986), the emotional reaction to the racial other, even as group composition changes, expresses magical and suspicious thinking about racial powers from the margins. Consequently, the racialized fear of geographic contagion collaborates with a win/lose narrative that characterizes nativism. If you lose you are taken over by racial pollution or infection that threatens the imagined whiteness of the nation.

Fear about geographic contagion and its threat to the whiteness of nation takes on dramatic symbolic and material form with the militarization of the USA-Mexico border. The militarization of the border attempts to prevent drug smuggling, human trafficking and terrorist breaches. The militarization of the border began when President Nixon declared a ‘war on crime’, with each subsequent Presidential Administration contributing to the militarized spectacle. In particular, the Clinton administration escalated this trajectory with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) offensive-border strategy called ‘prevention through deterrence’ (Andreas 2000, p. 92).

This strategy began with 'Operation Hold the Line' (in El Paso, Texas in 1993), and continued with 'Operation Gatekeeper' (in San Diego, California in 1994), 'Operation Safeguard' (in Nogales, Arizona in 1994) and 'Operation Rio Grande' (in the Brownsville corridor that extends from the Lower Rio Grande Valley to Laredo, Texas in 1997). Each operation involved building walls and installing stadium-style lighting, while increasing border patrol staffing dramatically with the help of military support, training and paradigms. The overall goal of all these 'operations' was to push the migration path towards more remote mountain and desert terrain, in an effort to deter people from crossing, as well as make apprehension easier in these remote areas. To date, thousands of people have died in an attempt to cross and their bodies recovered on the US American side of the border and this number does not include those deaths whose remains were ravaged by animals or scattered by the elements (<http://www.derechoshumanosaz.net/projects/arizona-recovered-bodies-project/>). In addition, the dissolution of the INS and the creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to oversee immigration in the wake of 9/11 shifted enforcement from a citizenship/residency matter to a terrorist concern. Haney-Lopez (1996) argues that early immigration laws helped to shape the current racial demographic of the USA by permitting certain groups citizenship based on their successful claims to whiteness. It is also arguable that current militarization policies do much the same in attempting to shape the current racial demographic through the material defence of borders and the symbolic protection of whiteness. The effects of how racism is co-constituted with nationalism (Miles 1987) take on deadly dimensions in the border region.

The crime of violating the nation's borders is met with moral disgust and abjection and the nativist discourse about immigrant crime is a new colour-blind racist way of talking about race. Thus, nativist discourse is not directly and honestly racist. The covert, invisible, non-racial articulations of NCBR that occur in nativist discourse allow whiteness to reproduce itself without much challenge. If NCBR is the method of nativist discourse, then whiteness is the result. And the discourse about crime allows 'racist dirt fixations' to resurface within nativist discourse. The symbolic and metaphoric fixations on dirt by the three modes of religion, science and sexual fixations influence the four discursive scales: body, house, locality and nation. These logics work to create constructions of the profane, deviant and danger in relation to immigration. It is an exercise in imaginative geography (Said 1978) that helps to socially construct the nation as sacred, normal, pure and white. Moreover, religious, scientific and sexual logics work at each level of representation to communicate racialized danger in specific ways. Scale becomes the vehicle in which older forms of racist logic make reasonable sense in a newer, more colour-blind form. Scale permits deeply racist logics to become referential and metaphoric instead of direct and blatant.

I contend that new nativist discourse socially constructs the white body politic through four scales. Each scale has its own internal rationale that provides coherency. Each scale also has its own internal differences; for example, the parts of a house differ greatly from parts of a body. These scales share borders and overlap in meanings. For instance, the meaning of a fence surrounding a house can overlap in meaning with the border walls of a nation. And each scale can convey religious, scientific and sexual racist logics through images, symbols, metaphors, intimations, metonyms and other rhetorical devices, which also help to minimize and deny racism.

Body. There exists a poetic process to the making of the body that leads to the making of dramatic bodily boundaries that influence images of the body politic. While the new nativist discourse makes use of all three ‘racist dirt fixations’ when it comes to the scale of the body, the most notable logic is scientific, especially in regard to medical science. Medical discourses have historically been used to marginalize immigrants and associate them, their living spaces, habits, culture and genetics with disease causation rather than seeing immigrants as victims of social inequality that contributes to disease (Kraut 1994). The scientific racist logic’s fixation on dirt contributes to the discursive construction of immigrants as medical disorders such as diseases, parasites and other illnesses. This racist dirt fixation plays upon uneasiness around disability. The crime frame, that also evokes economic burden and warfare frame, works with the ‘Immigrant as Disease’ frame because illness and parasites take away from the body, whether it is health, blood or vigour. This image then takes on additional meanings. If the nation is a body that is susceptible to illness, then the border becomes its skin that is porous and permeable. Inda’s (2000) research on the rhetoric of proposition 187 reveals the hidden nativist logic that constructed immigrants as an illness, particularly the image of the parasite, to describe immigrants’ role in relation to its ‘host.’ Suarez-Orozco (1996) also noted the use of parasitic images in describing immigrants’ use of social services. While Inda (2009) notes there was some resurgent discourse that turned the tables on this host–parasite relationship by describing the nation as a parasite taking advantage of marginalized immigrants and their labour, the continued strength of nativist discourse is clearly winning over any resurgent discourse, allowing any conception of a ‘Nation as Parasite’ configuration to fade in comparison. Instead, this new colour-blind nativist discourse insists on bio-medical frameworks that capitalize on the intersection of law enforcement, war and medicine in making its racist justifications. For example, Kil’s (2006) study on the news media’s border discourse reveals the frequent use of the word ‘operations’ in describing border policies as a product of this intersection, which helps to evoke images of medical precision with military execution in relation to border enforcement. In addition, Kil (2006) demonstrates the various ways embodied discourse expresses itself in news media reporting. Generally, three categories emerge that relate to embodied

discourse: body aches, body function and body parts in the media coverage of the border. 'Aches' are characterized by rhetorical devices that show how immigration is a 'danger', 'strain' or 'burden' to name the most frequently used aches. 'Functions' were characterized by the repeated use of the word 'fear'. 'Parts' demonstrate that the organs of the body politic, like the heart for instance, can be threaten by immigrants, especially if immigrants desire to immigrate 'to the very heart' of the USA which suggests a capacity to defile an important, almost sacred place that serves a central and vital function (Kil 2011).

House. Nativist discourses use the scale of the house to create the psycho-sexual racist nightmare of a 'Home Invasion' where the immigrant is the intruder. This is further reinforced by the creation of the DHS, where 'home' figures as a vulnerable abode. The use of the concept of 'homeland' by the DHS echoes a familial and genealogical strain in the national imagination, where solidarity is based in common blood and shared territory. The home is an idealized, private space that provides safety and shelter from the forces of nature exemplifying the binary between culture and nature. Because of its idealization, 'home' can convey a variety of meanings that speak to its importance for the family as a paradigm of the intersection of race, class, gender, sexuality and age (Collins 1998). House and home conveys both unity and hierarchy. The home is gendered place where women are still associated with feminine, interior spaces in contrast to men who are associated with public life outside the home. In addition, patriarchal norms dictate that men defend their home and family from natural forces and social dangers. The home is also a racialized space where home is an absence of otherness and represents white racial purity (Garner 2007), where white men defend white women's sexual purity against racialized intruders by closing and reinforcing gates or doorways into the home. Similarly, the nation's border is commonly imagined as a 'gate' and border enforcement as 'gatekeeping' as reflected in the iconic militarization efforts along the Tijuana-San Diego border called 'Operation Gatekeeper'. The border is imagined as a thin, fragile and permeable line between pure and impure, harmony and hostilities, calm weather and cataclysm. Thus, both home and nation are imagined as 'sacred' which helped to reify the purity of white women and the white bloodline that resides in the home as well as the purity of the nation's whiteness which is the genealogical strain that occupies the homeland. It is in this sense that the house is a home and the family within it are not only raced and gendered but also issues of economic class and the constructions of the nation as white also figure into the idealization of home and family.

Locality. The white racist logic of religion features predominantly at the scale of locality contributing to the construction of 'Immigrants as biblical plagues'. Again, the culture/nature dichotomy is used in this 'dirt' fixation. Here, the

nation is imagined as an inhabited geographic area (culture) that suffers the immigrant as forces of nature like swarms and floods. This logic contributes to this construction of immigrants in two distinct ways: (1) immigrants are seen as destructive animals and (2) immigrants are seen as an unlimited force of nature. The reasoning of equating immigrants with animals includes a birth-placed, biological hierarchy that naturalizes greater power and privileges to some people over the rest, allowing superior beings to rule over inferior ones that echo the biblical edict found in Genesis (Santa Ana 2002, p. 88). The destructive aspect of this animal portrayal relates to the second point in that animals imagined as masses and swarms threaten whiteness and the nation. Chavez (2001) notes three ways that news media images construct immigrants visually as an unlimited and dangerous force. First, the news media's use of the infinity line that visually portrays a procession of immigrants that seems to never end. 'It is used to give the subtle but distinct impression that the flow of immigrants does not have a definitive end in sight, it simply goes on to infinity' (Chavez 2001, p. 69). In addition, news magazine covers also use the popular image of immigrant heads or bodies massed or huddled together to suggest large numbers of people (Chavez 2001). Finally, the dangerous limitlessness of immigration is also portrayed by the metaphor of water, specifically the flood. This image in particular evokes biblical anxieties of natural destruction by divine punishment. Fears of 'dangerous waters' indicate an implied takeover by immigrants of 'Anglo-American cultural dominance' (Santa Ana 2002, p. 78) as penalty for the failure to protect whiteness.

Nation. A sexual preoccupation shows up predominantly at the scale of the nation contributing to the racist dirt fixation of 'Immigrants as Invading Rapists'. Similar to the scale of the house, the scale of the nation is like a castle or fortress that is vulnerable to penetration imagined as sexual and profane. However, what is unusual about the scale of the nation that is not found in the scale of the house is an additional queer 'two spirit' construction where the nation is both a feminine victim of and a masculine defender against the act of rape. The latter is most found in the discourse of border militarization. On the one hand, the nation is imagined as a feminine white woman, a source of fecundity and the backbone of the national family within the vision of a prosperous country. Much like the scale of the house, a racialized male intruder sexually threatens this imagined scale. The suggestion of rape, of 'bestiality storming the citadel of civilization' and its potential of miscegenation, threatens the racial and gendered purity (Dyer 1997, p. 26) of the nation in this particular construction. This image is also class based, as the intention of the intruder is to rob and steal something treasured and valued as sacred. The foreign, dark and guilty invader threatens with a type of bodily invasion the innocence of whiteness and the nation. On the other hand, national territory and space then become a type of property 'whose perpetuation is secured by the state' (Alonso 1994, p. 383). This complements Harris' (1993) argument

that whiteness and property are deeply interrelated concepts since historically whiteness has been a prerequisite to the right to own property via the expropriation of Indian land and the reduction of black people to enslaved property. Harris argues that even today, whiteness has become a legally enforceable form of property that privileges all whites. Thus, if whiteness is a prerequisite to enforceable property rights, and the nation is a type of property, then the state secures the whiteness of the nation with militarized border enforcement. In keeping with the gender analysis, if the nation is a white woman, then the state is imagined as a white man. Where the nation by virtue is innocent and pure, the state by virtue is 'rough and ready', muscularly well-armed in protecting the nation from degradation and harm (Kil 2011).

Conclusion

Toni Morrison (1992) in her book *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* says it the best when she argues that:

Race has become metaphorical – a way of referring to and disguising forces, events, classes, and expressions of social decay and economic division far more threatening to the body politic than biological 'race' ever was. Expensively kept, economically unsound, a spurious and useless political asset in election campaigns, racism is as healthy today as it was during the Enlightenment. It seems that it has a utility far beyond economy, beyond the sequestering of classes from one another, and has assumed a metaphorical life so completely embedded in daily discourse that it is perhaps more necessary and more on display than ever before (p. 63).

Racism *is* on display, more than ever before. And the need to uncover the 'post-racial' power of nativist discourse is greater than ever as social movements (Minutemen), political platforms (Tea Party) and legislations (SB1070) increasingly take a bigoted position towards immigrants while claiming innocence when accused of racism. 'Racist dirt fixations' offer symbolic ways in which new racism draws on old racist ideologies and mystifies the process through binary dichotomies and symbolisms. Geographic scale helps 'racist dirt fixations' elide and hide in public discourse through its seeming neutral, nested scales that actually inspire borders and threats in personal and embodied ways, which give meaning to social processes and defining boundaries of identities through an active process of excluding dirt or 'matter out of place'. This framework of 'racist dirt fixations' and the nested scales offer a novel theoretical argument that: (1) expands our knowledge of race and its metaphoric and geographic dimensions, (2) shows how old racism can still express itself in new racism albeit in more stealthy, colour-blind ways

and (3) reveals that discourse about crime on a national scale goes beyond mere reporting and public debate and points to the imagined racial identity of the nation. From the physical body that experiences disgust and abjection projected symbolically onto the nation in a sexualized nightmare about crime, to the nation where the militarization of the border protects the imagined line between pure and impure, harmony and hostility, calm weather and cataclysm, nativist discourse maximizes the use of 'racist dirt fixations' and the nested scales in a veiled way to impose whiteness on the nation. However, by limiting scale to the nation, nativist discourse intentionally ignores the global scale. This makes invisible the global development of economic migration and the responsibilities that the USA possesses in stimulating that development. So the irony is that, as the Global North increasingly turns to and practices a 'gated globe' paradigm, where immigration is highly restricted and regulated (Cunningham 2004), this nativist discourse ignores this larger political and economic process that directly bears on immigration and the nation, and further bamboozles this situation by describing immigrants, who do the vital but least desired work, as a disease on the body politic.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the people who helped me in the process of writing this article: Cecilia Menjívar, Zeynep Kilic, Jane Hill, Thomas Nakayama, Claudio Vera Sanchez, Natalie Boero, and Alessandro De Giorgi.

Notes on contributor

Sang Hea Kil is an assistant professor in the Justice Studies Department at San José State University. Her research looks at the intersection of the criminalization of immigrants, militarization of the border, and anti-immigrant discourse in the media. She is also Board President of Free Speech Radio News.

References

- Alonso, A. M. (1994) 'The politics of space, time and substance: state formation, nationalism and ethnicity', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 23, pp. 379–405. doi:10.1146/annurev.an.23.100194.002115
- Alvarez, R. M. & Butterfield, T. L. (2000) 'The resurgence of nativism in California? The case of proposition 187 and illegal immigration', *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 81, no. 1, pp. 167–179.
- Andreas, P. (2000) *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide*, Ithaca, NY; London, Cornell UP.

- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2003) '“New racism,” color-blind racism, and the future of whiteness in America', in *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*, ed. A. W. Doane, New York, Routledge, pp. 271–284.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006) *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*, Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield Pub Inc.
- Brady, M. P. (2002) *Extinct Lands, Temporal Geographies: Chicana Literature and the Urgency of Space*, Raleigh, NC, Duke UP.
- Brimelow, P. (1995) *Alien Nation: Common Sense about America's Immigration Disaster*, 1st ed, New York, Random House.
- Buchanan, P. J. (2002) *The Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil our Country and Civilization*, 1st edn, New York, Thomas Dunne Books.
- Cacho, L. M. (2000) 'The people of California are suffering': the ideology of white injury in discourses of immigration', *Cultural Values*, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 389–418. doi:10.1080/14797580009367209
- Calavita, K. (1996) 'The new politics of immigration: 'balanced-budget conservatism' and the symbolism of proposition 187', *Social Problems*, vol. 43, no. 3, pp. 284–305.
- Canguilhem, G. (1989) *The Normal and the Pathological*, New York, Zone Books.
- Carbado, D. W. & Gulati, M. (2004) 'Race to the top of the corporate ladder: what minorities do when they get there', *Washington and Lee Law Review*, vol. 61, no. 4, pp. 1645–1693.
- Chavez, L. R. (2001) *Covering Immigration: Popular Images and the Politics of the Nation*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press.
- Chavez, L. (2008) *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation*, Palo Alto, Stanford University Press.
- Cisneros, D. (2008) 'Contaminated communities: the metaphor of “immigrants as pollutants” media representation of immigration', *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 569–602. doi:10.1353/rap.0.0068
- Collins, P. H. (1998) 'It's all in the family: intersections of gender, race, and nation', *Hypatia*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 62–82.
- Crenshaw, C. (1997) 'Resisting whiteness' rhetorical silence', *Western Journal of Communication*, vol. 61, no. 3, pp. 253–278.
- Cunningham, H. (2004) 'Nations rebound? Crossing borders in a gated globe', *Identities: Global Studies in Power and Culture*, vol. 11, pp. 329–350.
- Douglas, M. (1966) *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- Douglas, M. (1970) *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*, New York, NY, Pantheon Books.
- Dyer, R. (1997) *White: Essays on Race and Culture*, London; New York, NY, Routledge.
- Fukuyama, F. (1995) 'Social capital and the global economy', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 74, no. 5, pp. 89–103.

- Gabriel, J. (1998) *Whitewash: Racialized Politics and the Media*, New York, NY, Routledge.
- Garner, S. (2007) *Whiteness: An Introduction*, Oxford, Taylor and Francis.
- Graves, J. L. (2001) *The Emperor's New Clothes: Biological Theories of Race at the Millennium*, New Brunswick, NJ, Rutgers UP.
- Haney-Lopez, I. (1996) *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*, New York, New York University Press.
- Haraway, D. J. (1989) *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science*, New York, Routledge.
- Harris, C. (1993) 'Whiteness as property', *Harvard Law Review*, vol. 106 (June), pp. 1709–1791.
- Herrstein, R. J. & Murray, C. A. (1994) *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*, New York, Free Press.
- Higham, J. (1955) *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925*, New Brunswick, Rutgers UP.
- Howitt, R. (1998) 'Scale as relation: musical metaphors of geographical scale', *Area*, vol. 30, pp. 49–58.
- Huntington, S. P. (2004) *Who are we?: The Challenges to America's Identity*, New York, Simon & Schuster.
- Inda, J. X. (2000) 'Foreign bodies: migrants, parasites, and the pathological body politic', *Discourse*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 46–62.
- Jackson Jr, J. L. (2010) *Racial Paranoia: The Unintended Consequences of Political Correctness*, New York, Basic Civitas Books.
- Kil, S. H. (2006) *Covering the Border: How the News Media Creates Race, Crime Nation and the USA-Mexico Divide*. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Kil, S. H. (2011) 'Immigration and 'operations': the militarization and medicalization of the US-Mexico border', in *Traversing Transnationalism: The Horizons of Literary and Cultural Studies*, eds. P. P. Frassinelli, R. Frenkel, & D. Watson, Amsterdam, Rodopi, pp. 75–93.
- Koff, H. (2009) 'Understanding 'la contagion': power, exclusion and urban violence in France and the United States', *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*, vol. 35, no. 5, pp. 771–790. doi:10.1080/13691830902826178
- Kraut, A. M. (1994) *Silent Travelers: Germs, Genes, and the 'Immigrant Menace'*, New York, NY, Basic Books.
- Kristeva, J. (1982) *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, New York, Columbia UP.
- Malkin, M. (2002) *Invasion: How America Still Welcomes Terrorists, Criminals, and other Foreign Menaces to Our Shores*, Washington, DC, Regnery Pub.
- Marston, S. A. (2000) 'The social construction of scale'. *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 219–242. doi:10.1191/030913200674086272
- Mehan, H. (1997) 'The discourse of the illegal immigration debate: a case study in the politics of representation', *Discourse & Society*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 249–270. doi:10.1177/0957926597008002006

- Miles, R. (1987) 'Recent Marxist theories of nationalism and the issue of racism', *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 38, no. 1, pp. 24–43.
- Morrison, T. (1992) *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard UP.
- Nakayama, T. K. & Krizek, R. L. (1995) 'Whiteness: a strategic rhetoric', *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, vol. 81, no. 3, pp. 291–309.
- Omi, M. & Winant, H. (1986) *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s*, New York, NY, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Ortner, S. B. (1973) 'Sherpa purity', *American Anthropologist*, vol. 75, pp. 49–63.
- Rozin, P., & Fallon, A. E. (1987) 'A perspective on disgust', *Psychological Review*, vol. 94, no. 1, pp. 23–41. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.94.1.23
- Rozin, P., Millman, L., & Nemeroff, C. (1986) 'Operation of the laws of sympathetic magic in disgust and other domains', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 50, no. 4, pp. 703–712. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.50.4.703
- Said, E. W. (1978) *Orientalism*, New York, Pantheon Books.
- Santa Ana, O. (1999) "'Like an animal I was treated": Anti-immigrant metaphor in US public discourse', *Discourse & Society*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 191–224.
- Santa Ana, O. (2002) *Brown Tide Rising: Metaphors of Latinos in Contemporary American Public Discourse*, Austin, TX, University of Texas Press.
- Santa Ana, O., Morán, J. & Sanchez, C. (1998) 'Awash under a brown tide: immigration metaphors in California public and print media discourse', *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 137–176.
- Smedley, A. (1993) *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*, Boulder, CO, Westview.
- Smith, N. (1992) 'Contours of a spatialized politics: homeless vehicles and the production of geographical scale', *Social Text*, vol. 33, pp. 54–81. doi:10.2307/466434
- Suárez-Orozco, M. (1996) 'California dreaming: proposition 187 and the cultural psychology of racial and ethnic exclusion', *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 151–167.
- Swyngedouw, E. (1997) 'Excluding the other: the production of scale and scaled politics', in *Geographies of Economies*, eds. R. Lee & J. Wills, London, Arnold, pp. 167–176.
- West, C. (1988) 'Marxist theory and the specificity of Afro-American oppression', in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds. C. Nelson & L. Grossberg, Urbana, IL, University of Illinois Press, pp. 17–29.