### A. Link

#### [Wilson 1] The white labor movement will always perpetuate racism even if it is not beneficial for the strike.

**Wilson 1**: Wilson, Jake B. [A.A., Mount San Antonio College B.S. (magna cum laude), Conservation & Resource Studies, UC Berkeley M.A., Ph.D., Sociology, UC Riverside] “The Racialized Picket Line: White Workers and Racism in the Southern California Supermarket Strike” *SAGE Publications,* 2008, 10.1177/0896920507088163 EM

The racialized picket line can be thought of as a metaphorical dividing line of conflict influencing the way a strike unfolds. Part of this process occurs when labor (class) soli- darity becomes weakened and/or replaced with racial forms of solidarity (Martinot, 2003). **Racialized strikes arise within the context of capitalism, where exploitation is structured on the racial and gender divisions among workers which encourages differen- tial treatment and a wage tier system (Jackman, 1994).** Social inequality structurally determines varying degrees of exploitation particular groups of workers face based on a group’s race, gender, and/or citizenship status (Bonacich et al., forthcoming). These divi- sions allow capitalists to seek out labor forces that are most susceptible to higher degrees of exploitive labor practices while simultaneously lowering the wages of more privileged workers (Bonacich, 1972, 1975, 1976). Glenn (2002) develops a similar argument, tracing the ways in which capitalists utilize divisions of workers along lines of race and gender inequality. Owners of cap- ital sought to maximize their profits by paying the lowest possible wages while enact- ing maximum control over the production processes. Moreover, they took advantage of existing inequalities by using marginalized groups (people of color, immigrants, women, lesser skilled) that could be hired more cheaply. Free labor, as a Western institution, was not developed for people of color but instead for white people and white societies (Blauner, 2001). Citizenship rights, or the lack thereof, prove to be a pivotal signifier of defining class relations in the USA along racialized and gendered lines. Citizenship as it applies to labor thus plays a major role in linking racist eco- nomic doctrines that distinguish between forms of free labor and unfree labor (Almaguer, 1994; Glenn, 2002). **Since citizenship rights were historically given to free (white male) labor groups, white men were allowed a privileged position in the US labor market.** These privileges have allowed white men to join unions and increase their economic and social power in society (Royster, 2003). This also led to the for- mation of the ‘worker citizen’ ideal, which is constitutive of the dual attributes of whiteness and masculinity forming the ideal-type American worker (Glenn, 2002). Therefore, exclusion was a primary feature of the making of the white working class (Fletcher, 2002; Kimmel, 1996). **For white strikers participating in a multiracial labor struggle such as the grocery strike, this racial divide creates a host of practices that white strikers enact in order to maintain the racialized picket line. Although white workers ultimately stand to lose from a racially divided working class, many white workers continue to reinforce racial divisions. One of the reasons for this is that the ideological component of white supremacy becomes a site of influence beyond the sheer class location of the white working class (Martinot, 2003; Wellman, 1993).**

### B. Impact

#### [Wilson 2] First, white people otherize workers of color in the strike to create racial hierarchies.

**Wilson 4**: Wilson, Jake B. [A.A., Mount San Antonio College B.S. (magna cum laude), Conservation & Resource Studies, UC Berkeley M.A., Ph.D., Sociology, UC Riverside] “The Racialized Picket Line: White Workers and Racism in the Southern California Supermarket Strike” *SAGE Publications,* 2008, 10.1177/0896920507088163 EM

**Roediger’s (1991) analysis of the formation of the white working class offers a start- ing point for explaining how racial divisions operate in today’s labor conflicts. From the perspective of white workers during a strike, scabs are racialized and ‘othered’ as impediments to class victory. In this sense, white workers view workers of color as a threat and thus express their resentment toward workers of color as an act to protect white workers’ interests (Bonacich, 1972). The split labor market theory has been used to explain the underlying causes behind racialized labor and the divide among work- ing classes along racial lines (Bonacich, 1972, 1975, 1976; Boswell, 1986; Brown and Boswell, 1995; Brueggemann and Boswell, 1998). According to Bonacich (1972: 549),** **‘The central hypothesis [of the split labor theory] is that ethnic antagonism first germinates in a labor market split along ethnic lines.’ In a split labor market, the domi- nant racial/ethnic (i.e. white) group develops a racial caste system that confines lower-cost labor of color to lower-paying and lower-status jobs, thereby undermining multiracial class solidarity. This impacts the degree of solidarity across racial lines and often reinforces divisions among workers. In other words, split labor markets can aid in maintaining/producing racism and racial privilege along with other forms of inequality, such as patriarchy and sexism.**

#### [Wilson 3] This division strengthens capitalism.

**Wilson 5**: Wilson, Jake B. [A.A., Mount San Antonio College B.S. (magna cum laude), Conservation & Resource Studies, UC Berkeley M.A., Ph.D., Sociology, UC Riverside] “The Racialized Picket Line: White Workers and Racism in the Southern California Supermarket Strike” *SAGE Publications,* 2008, 10.1177/0896920507088163 EM

In the UFCW grocery strike, the union was not formally split along racial lines. **However, white workers still enacted racial divisions despite standing side-by-side with workers of color. By divided I am not referring to physical barriers, but more so along the lines of where (racial) solidarity is transmitted. People of color are marked as such by white workers, while white workers themselves remain racially un-marked, or race- less. This serves both to strengthen the power of the capitalist class while simultaneously weakening the power of the working class. In other words, this process produces tension among workers and deflects tension away from capital.** In strikes that have a public component, especially in the retail sector where there are workers and customers interacting on the picket line, a whole set of other actors (i.e. customers) become important in understanding the racialized picket line. Customers who enter the stores can act as a crucial determinant regarding the outcome of retail strikes/boycotts. **While white strikers generally disapprove of any person who breaks the picket line regardless of race, customers of color who cross the picket line face a racialized form of antagonism during the strike that white picket line crossers do not encounter.** This leads to a number of instances by which white workers racialize particular racial groups of color as either ‘pro’ or ‘anti’ labor. In the majority of cases, people of color are associated as being anti-labor by white strikers (although in distinct ways for each group), while their white counterparts who choose to continue to shop at the stores are only associated as anti-labor on an individual basis. **Since white workers do not view their racist practices as an implicit move of racial solidarity with (white) capital, the capitalist class continues to benefit from the racial divisions of workers.** There has been a tendency in the labor movement to only define solidarity solely in color-blind class specific terms.