SYSTEMIC RACISM AND ITS WHITE RACIAL FRAME Joe Feagin, Texas A&M University

(1) FIRST, CONSIDER THE *LONG* TIMELINE OF OUR HISTORY OF RACIAL OPPRESSION:

BLACK ENSLAVEMENT, c. 60 PERCENT OF US HISTORY

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1619	MIDDLE	1877	1969	
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1607	1814	1865		2020
JIM CROW SEGREGATION, c. 23 PERCENT OF HIST				

(2) NOTE THE SOCIETAL DEPTH OF FOUR CENTURIES OF SYSTEMIC RACISM:

Many layers of **foundational and systemic racism**: White-on-black oppression has been imbedded in our economic, political, educational, and other institutions -- during slavery and Jim Crow (resulting in an estimated \$20-30 trillion in just black economic losses), and **extensive** present-day discrimination. We live under a 1787 Constitution substantially made by slaveholders. Add-in other white oppression: genocidal oppression of Native Americans from 1600s; by 1830s-1850s, oppression of Mexican Americans & Chinese Americans; many other groups of color thereafter. Knowing our racialized history is essential.

(3) SERIOUS ANTI-RACIST WORK REQUIRES A SYSTEMIC RACISM PERSPECTIVE

Systemic racism in U.S. involves the deep structures and surface structures of racial oppression. It includes the complex array of white anti-other (e.g., anti-black) practices, the unjustly gained economic/political power of whites, the continuing economic and other resource inequalities along racial lines (unjust enrichment/unjust impoverishment), and the racial framing created by whites to rationalize privilege and power. This racism is a material, social, racially framed reality and is fully systemic -- manifested in all major institutions, now over four-plus centuries.

What is the dominant white racial frame?

The dominant white-created racial frame provides an **overarching worldview** extending across divisions of class, gender, age. Since the 1600s this powerful *white racial frame* has provided the white-generated vantagepoint from which whites and others have regularly viewed society. It includes these important dimensions: (1) racial stereotypes (verbal-cognitive aspect); (2) racial narratives & interpretations (integrating cognitive aspects); (3) racial images (visual aspects) & language accents (auditory aspect); (4) racialized emotions; (5) inclinations to discriminatory action. (Much more than "Prejudice") This strong framing has a very *positive orientation* to whites as *virtuous* and *a negative orientation* to the oppressed racial "others" viewed as *unvirtuous*. For most whites, this dominant racial frame is a *worldview* that routinely provides perspectives on everyday life. Additionally, Americans of all racial backgrounds are indoctrinated to some extent in this white racial frame.

ANTI-RACIST WORK REQUIRES KNOWING OUR SYSTEMICALLY RACIST HISTORY:

We Need to Be Very Reflective on Racial Matters: Francis Scott Key was a major wealthy slaveholder and back-to-Africa colonizationist. He wrote our national anthem, the Star Spangled Banner, during the U.S. War of 1812 with the British. He wrote in general terms in that frequently-sung anthem about the "land of the free," yet did not mean what he said, for he viewed the new nation as a slaveholding republic of free white men. Significantly, in the anthem's seldom-sung third verse, Key wished death upon formerly enslaved African Americans who, promised freedom by the British, had fled to British lines, with some fighting courageously with the British for real liberty. (Rockman) From viewpoint of enslaved African Americans, the British were defenders of real freedom; thousands migrated to freedom in the British lines. (Teaching such history, we can ask: Why do we often sing a morally corrupted slaveholder's song so unreflectively? How can "democracy" be founded on large-scale enslavement and a U.S. Constitution made by similar slaveholders? What does this say about our systemic racism and the white racial frame?)

More forgotten history, the fighters for real freedom and justice: About 210,000 African Americans served in the Union army and navy during the Civil War; another 200,000-300,000 served in civilian roles supportive of military efforts. Most of these men and women had been enslaved in 1861, but were fighting for their permanent liberty. During the first years of the war, the sentiments of most northern whites, including Lincoln, were that the union had to be restored, and abolition of slavery was not a principal goal. After the General Order to recruit black soldiers belatedly came down in May 1863, with the help of black abolitionist Frederick Douglass and white abolitionist George Stearns, large numbers were recruited. These courageous black soldiers/sailors provided the military strength needed at a time of serious manpower shortage--due in part to northern whites resisting the new draft law. Tens of thousands of enslaved (or formerly enslaved) men and women also spied for Union forces, destroyed Confederate facilities, or fled plantations to the North. The withdrawal of essential African American labor played a major role in the demise of the Confederacy. Without their abandonment of the southern economy and large-scale military service, the Union cause would likely not have seen victory--a point that Lincoln himself made late in the war. Obviously, without that Union victory, the U.S. would have had a dramatically different subsequent history than that which has taken place. ("The slaves freed the slaves.") The heroic efforts and many sacrifices of millions of enslaved and free African Americans made morally necessary and politically likely the pathbreaking and liberating Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Sadly for these African Americans and the United States, they never got the promised "40 acres and a mule," but were essentially reenslaved under Jim Crow's long years. (Why have they been forgotten? Why did they not get real freedom? What does understanding this history mean for our working on racism and reparations issues? What does this say about our systemic racism and the white racial frame?)

ANTI-RACIST WORK REQUIRES UNDERSTANDING CURRENT SYSTEMIC RACISM:

Continuing Data Portrait of Major Racial Inequalities (one measure of systemic racism):

Today employment segregation remains *high* in a great many employment settings. As sociologists K. Stainback & D. Tomaskovic-Devey, *Documenting Desegregation* (Russell Sage) demonstrate with recent data, "To produce integrated private-sector workplaces today would require that *more than half* of all workers to switch jobs. ..Little or no national aggregate progress is [now] being made in either [job] desegregation or access to good jobs." Black unemployment rate has been twice that of whites for decades. Black median household income was only 59% recently. School segregation very remains high. Why does such systemic racial inequality persist?

(a) Two examples of relatively new research on how systemic racism works: Because unnoted past discrimination becomes present racial inequality—By social reproduction of past unjust enrichment of whites & past unjust impoverishment of blacks and others of color. Recent research (Jenni Mueller) in a

southwestern area found *huge* racial differences in acquisition & intergenerational transfer of wealth & social capital over three-plus generations: "White families reported *more than six times as many transfers of monetary assets* across generations in these families histories.. Intergenerational *inheritances of land, homes & businesses were similarly disproportionate.*" Majority of white families secured significant assets in past from white "affirmative action" programs—e.g., large-scale federal/state Homestead (land) Acts (1860s-1930s) & major federal housing & veterans programs after World War II. Also, white family histories have *five times as many instances of these government-derived assets* as families of color. Great racial inequalities persist, usually by intent, because most whites oppose real systemic change & insist on keeping unjust enrichments they or their ancestors have secured over four centuries of systemic racism. (How do we best account for, and *repair* fully, current white-black and other racial inequalities today? What does this say about our systemic racism and the white racial frame?)

(b) Because of racialized network segregation, social-capital reproduction: Conducting hundreds of white interviews, sociologist Nancy DiTomaso has demonstrated how networking patterns reproduce systemic racial inequality. Most whites report using acquaintances, friends, family to find most jobs over lifetimes. This challenges colorblind view of great many people that jobs are secured mainly because of personal qualifications & merit. Most whites avoid real market competition, secure jobs using their racially segregated networks. Not one expressed concern about this white "opportunity hoarding." Most whites fear effective affirmative action programs weaken or end patterns of this institutionalized favoritism ("white affirmative action") for whites. (What does this say about our systemic racism and the white racial frame? About how to undertake effective reparations?)

Some Everyday Interactive-Racism-Countering Strategies: Racism is human-made and can thus be unmade. Areas of personal action: Study and know our racial history well. Teach ourselves and others strategies on how to respond to racist events. (Picca/Feagin; Westen; Aguilar): (1) Call it out. Show it hurts. "I know you meant well, but that comment hurts." Use pointed humor ("Rob, Did you learn that joke from the Klan?"). Show puzzlement ("Can you please explain that comment?"). Assertively call it out. (2) Reframe the event to accent positive framing. Where people have conflicting frames in their minds (for example, the justice/fairness frame versus a white racist frame), activate the positive justice/fairness frame. (3) Remind people of their faith or moral values if relevant ("We are all God's children; "Love thereby neighbor as thyself"). We need to regularly call out racist performances in the backstage and frontstage. Asked to record events, diarists were shocked by frequency of their & friends' racist performances. We need to encourage more people to "see" racism and to dissent often.

Areas of collective action: We need multiracial organizations calling out racism and teaching how to eradicate/ respond to everyday racism. We need many Stereotyping 101 and Racism 101 courses in media, and from kindergarten to graduate school. We need to teach about reparations and how that could be implemented.

Some Sources: Joe Feagin, Racist America, 3ed., Routledge, 2014; The White Racial Frame, 2nd ed., Routledge, 2013; Louwanda Evans, Cabin Pressure, Rowman & Littlefield, 2013; Seth Rockman, Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2011); Jennifer Mueller, "The Social Reproduction of Systemic Racial Inequality" unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Texas A&M, 2013; Nancy DiTomaso, The American Non-Dilemma (Russell Sage, 2013). L. H. Picca & J. R. Feagin, Two-Faced Racism (Routledge). See also J. Feagin, The White Racial Frame; D. Westen, The Political Brain; Aguilar website: Ouchthatstereotypehurts.com email: jrfeagin@yahoo.com; our sociology expert blog: www.racismreview.com (Please do not copy without permission.)