

A Timeline of the “Racialization” of United States



Josh, a three-year old toddler—dressed by, presumably, the parents in the characteristic KKK garb (the style of which was originally inherited, tellingly, from the Spanish Inquisition)—traces an outline of his reflection in the State Patrol trooper’s riot shield at a KKK rally in Gainesville, Georgia as the trooper looks on amused. (The ironies this image so serendipitously captures are self-evident for those even vaguely familiar with the broadest outlines of U.S. history.

On a different note, a reminder: for genetic reasons, human beings begin their lives, generally, in the arms of love; but for cultural reasons, as they grow up they are taught to hate.) Photographer: Todd Robertson of *Gainesville Times*; State Trooper, Allen Campbell.

Introduction

The racialization of United States (meaning almost all aspects of private and public life are permeated by issues of race), has taken different forms; depending upon time period—one can identify at least six:

(i) Genocidal racism (Targeted at Native Americans. It is not possible to grab other people's lands without violating the *Natural Law of Prior Claim* and that in turn requires some form of genocidal racism—and the degree to which it is implemented will depend upon population ratios between the inhabitants and the invading foreign squatters. Simply put, the United States could not have been founded without genocidal racism!).

(ii) Dominative racism (E.g. slavery, targeted at African Americans).

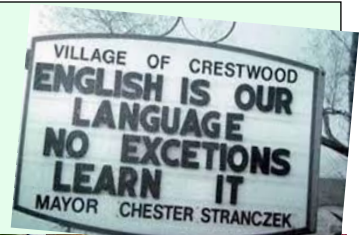
(iii) Juridical racism (E.g. Jim Crow, targeted at all racial minorities).

(iv) Aversive racism (E.g. residential segregation, targeted at all racial minorities. To get a sense of how aversive racism is expressed in daily life today observe which skin color makes you “uncomfortable” when talking to a person in public (but not in private), or when sitting in a cafeteria, or when riding an elevator, or when sitting next to a person on a bus, or when keeping a door open for someone, or when introducing someone to your parents, and so on).

(v) Institutional racism (e.g. “colorblind” racism, targeted at all racial minorities).

(vi) Internalized racism (a form of self-loathing or self-hatred among the racially oppressed themselves where they have internalized the racism or ethnicism of the racist/ethnicist majority as a consequence of the power of the mass media against a backdrop of a long history of racial/ethnicist oppression.)

Note also, however, that the common thread binding all these different forms has been what some sociologists term as “whiteness” (referring to the belief in the supremacy of Euro-Americans as “white” people, and its corollary: unjustified entitlement). Today, the dominant forms of racism that hold sway in United States in the post-Civil Rights era (1964 to the present) are aversive racism at the interpersonal level and institutional racism at the societal level—even though racist discrimination in public life is supposedly illegal (unlike in the case of the first three forms that were not only legal but brutally enforced)—coupled with internalized racism among people of color themselves. It is important to observe that in these various incarnations that the racialization of U.S. political economy has been mani-



fest, law has always been used in support of these incarnations (and this holds true even today in the post-Civil Rights era). That is, from the perspective of race, law has never been neutral in United States; it has a long history of being used against racial minorities to exploit/oppress them.

The *racialization of U.S. political economy* has been legitimated through law from the very beginning of the founding of United States as a European colonial intrusion in the Americas—the drivers of this legislation have been, depending upon time period, surplus appropriation and/or the congenital sense of *entitlement* rooted in the ideology of anglo-whiteness. (Note: In the post-Civil Rights era—1964 to the present—the gimmick that conservatives have relied upon to maintain the status quo, a *racialized* society in which the ideology of anglo-whiteness dominates, has been *color-blind racism* based on the notion of “color-blindness,” a euphemistically-dubbed bogus concept which essentially argues that you cannot vanquish racial discrimination by invoking race since there is no such thing as institutionalized racism in the post-Civil Rights era.) A brief chronology of relevant *determinative* legislation and court decisions would include:

Around **1660/1661** (exact year unknown): The Virginia House of Burgesses moves to legislatively recognize the legality of enslaving Africans in the newly established colony.

**ATTENTION!
INDIAN
FIGHTERS**

Having been authorized by the Governor to raise a Company of 100 day

WANTED



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

GRAND THEFT, GENOCIDE, RACISM
INITIATING THE DESTRUCTION OF A CULTURE
RAPE, TORTURE, AND MAIMING OF
INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND INSTIGATOR OF THE BIG LIE.

500 YEARS OF TOURISM

THANKSGIVING IS A TIME TO
REMEMBER ALL THAT WE HAVE...

AND THE GENOCIDE THAT
IT TOOK TO GET IT.



One of the foundational elements of a modern democracy is the establishment of the *rule under law* (or “rule of law;” or as inscribed on the main portico of the U.S. Supreme Court building “equal justice under law;” or quoting John Adams “a government of laws, and not of men.” However, when law is inherently unjust because it unfairly

targets a particular group of people not for anything they have done but for simply who they are by dint of birth (not to mention such other factors as under- or no representation in the legislature or the justice system) then clearly democracy has not been established. Consequently, the law must be resisted “by any means necessary” (to quote Malcolm X) until it is abrogated. This is the circumstance that has faced racial minorities in United States for

1662: Virginia legislatively adopts the doctrine of *Partus sequitur ventrem* (from Roman civil law) establishing the rule that if a mother was an enslaved person then so were all her children.



1680-1682: Virginia adopts the “slaved codes” (rules governing the conduct of the enslaved) that would be the

template for slave codes to come in other

states.

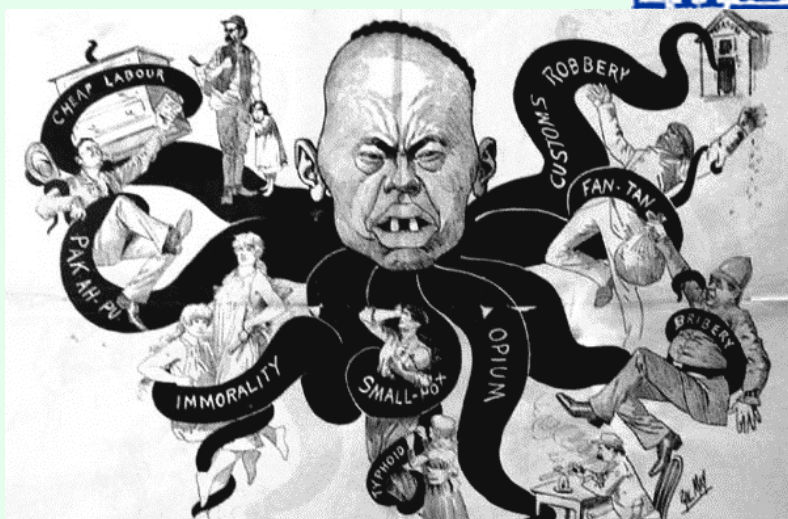
1790: The *Naturalization Act of 1790* is passed by the First Congress restricting citizenship by naturalization only to foreigners of good character who are “free white persons;” Everyone else was excluded.



1793: *Fugitive Slave Act* passed by Congress (mandated the capture and return of escaped slaves from anywhere in the country) in support of the “Fugitive Slave Clause” of the U.S. Constitution.



1823: The infamous *Johnson v. M'Intosh* [McIntosh] case is decided by the Supreme Court



much of its history ever since the first European colonists set up a permanent settlement in Jamestown, Virginia on May 14, 1607. And even today, in the post-Civil Rights era, one can discern a distinct absence of the principle of “rule under law” given how the justice system treats racial minorities (as evidenced by police brutality, differential prison sentences, etc.). In mentioning police brutality, it is especially important to direct your attention to the long and sordid U.S. history of the brutal murders of people

in public, by violent Euro-American mobs hell bent on blood-thirsty rampages, from the late 1700s to the 1960s. (In fact, the lynchings at times served as mass entertainment for EuroAmericans.) Needless to say, many of those murdered (but not all) were members of racial minorities—in the U.S. South, it was very often African



in which it establishes the bogus principle of “Doctrine of Discovery” (which held that all Native American lands belonged to the Federal government as the representative of the European colonists who had “discovered” these lands—regardless of the fact that the original inhabitants, Native Americans, were still living there.)



1830: *Indian [Native American] Removal Act* passed by Congress—leads to the infamous ethnic cleansing of 1838-39 known as the “Trail of Tears.”

1850: California legislates the *Indenture Act* (euphemistically titled *An Act for the Government and Protection of the Indian*) that allows for the semi-enslavement of Native American children for a period up to the age of eighteen.

1850: *Fugitive Slave Act* adopted by Congress (it strengthened the original 1793 Act).

1851: Congress adopts the *Appropriation Bill for Indian [Native American] Affairs* that mandates the transfer of Native Americans on to reservations on an unprecedented scale.

1854: California Supreme Court decides *The People of the State of California v. George W. Hall*, an appealed murder case, ruling that Chinese Americans and Immigrants could not testify against Euro-Americans. (This case involved the murder of a Chinese American by a Euro-American—the decision would effectively legitimate Euro-American race riots targeting Asian Americans.)

1857: Supreme Court issues its *Dred Scott v. Sandford* deci-

Americans. It should also be noted that at election time this form of terrorism was used in support of the return to power in the South of the former slave-holding class—at that time repre-

sented by the Democratic Party— following the period of *Reconstruction* (the brief post-Civil War interregnum, 1873-1877, when there was a meaningful effort made, under the direction of the self-named “Radical Republicans” in Congress, to return to the freed enslaved African Americans their human/civil rights—as their birth-right as human beings and as citizens of the United States). Once back in power, they quickly erected the semi-fascist political economic system that came to be known as **Jim Crow**, and which would later necessitate the launch of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s.

¶ Hypodescent here refers to what is also known as the “one drop rule” whereby any person with a colored ancestry (Africans, Native Americans, ect.) was designated as colored—



sion which rules that African Americans were not U.S. citizens.

1862: Congress passes the *Homestead Act* that further dispossessed Native Americans of their lands to allow settlement (at almost no cost) to outsiders—at about 160 acres (65 hectares) a piece.

1870: The *Naturalization Act* of 1870 updates the exclusionary provisions of previous legislation to now also include African Americans, besides Euro-Americans, but all others are excluded.

1871: *Indian [Native American] Appropriation Act* passed by Congress that strips the Native Americans of claims to any form of sovereignty that required signing treaties with them; henceforth they were no longer an “independent nation, tribe, or power,” but mere wards of the Federal government.

1876: The Supreme Court issues its decision in *United States v. Reese* stating that the 15th Amendment that had granted voting rights to all males in United States regardless of their color, or whether they had been former slaves, etc. did not automatically confer the right to vote. Through this judicial skullduggery, the Court opened the sluice-gates of racially-motivated voter-suppression of minority voters that would only be closed via the 1965 *Voting Rights Act*.

1879: A federally-funded off-reservation *boarding school* is established in Pennsylvania by the so-called “Indian fighter” Captain Henry Richard Pratt in Carlisle, Pennsylvania,

even if she/he could by physical looks pass for white. ¶ The “Doctrine of Discovery” held that



all Native American lands belonged to the Federal government as the representative of the European colonists who had

“discovered” these lands—regardless of the fact that the original inhabitants, Native Americans, were still living there. ¶ In presenting this chronology, it is necessary to highlight the special role of the U.S. Supreme Court in legitimating not only the surplus appropriation activities of the capitalist class but the racialization of the U.S. political system. This, perhaps, is not surprising because while the Court likes to project itself as an institution above politics, it is very much a political institution given the modality of its constitution—since nominations (or to be correct “appointments” since Congress very rarely fails

known as the *United States Indian Training and Industrial School*, that would be the model for many other similar schools established for Native American children and to which Congress would mandate compulsory attendance—very often, understandably, against the most trenchant and heart-wrenching wishes of their parents. The primary purpose of the schools was to forcibly “civilize” the Native Americans; in the words of Pratt “kill the Indian, save the man” (implying the complete erasure of their entire culture: language, religion, child-rearing practices, clothing, cuisine, and so on).

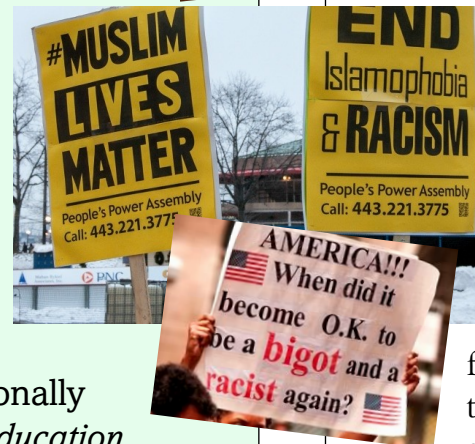
1882: The *Chinese Exclusion Act* is adopted by Congress prohibiting Chinese immigration and retained Chinese exclusion from U.S. citizenship for those who were already living in United States.

1896: In its *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, the Court agrees with the plaintiff that racial segregation was permissible under Jim Crow; it rationalized its decision on the basis of the bogus doctrine of “separate but equal” that would eventually be shown to be a constitutionally false doctrine in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case. (In practice, of course, social amenities and services, including schools, hospitals, etc., were never equal but they were certainly separate.)

1923: In *United States v. Thind* the Supreme Court defines who a “white” person is and proceeds to overturn the lower court’s ruling that Bhagat Singh Thind, an East Asian from India, could be classified as “white” for naturalization purposes.

1924: Virginia passes the *Racial Integrity Act* that creates only two racial classifications: “white” and “colored” and establishes the princi-

to confirm the nominations) to the Court is the



prerogative of the president. (This is one of the reasons why voting in a U.S. presidential election can have a very meaningful impact long into the future—sadly, many among the lower classes appear to be unaware of this fact.) Yes, it is true that the Court has also been responsible,

at certain moments in its history, in the effort to de-legitimize institutional racism (as well as

support the class struggle to expand authentic democracy), but the record here has usually been of one

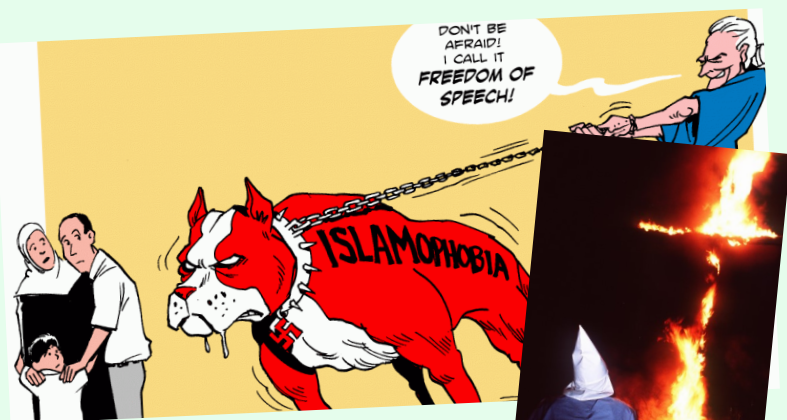
step forward, two steps back. Here is an example: the appointment by

the conservative president George H. W. Bush in 1991 of the relatively unknown



ple of *hypodescent*; it would be a template for similar legislation adopted by other states.

1924: *Indian [Native American] Citizenship Act* is passed graciously and magnanimously giving citizenship and voting rights to all Native Americans in the land of their birth! (The 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that had granted citizenship to all born in the United States had left out Native Americans on grounds that they were citizens of tribal nations. Some decades later, in another similar gesture, Congress would pass the 1968 *Indian Civil Rights Act* that would extend many of the Bill of



Rights provisions of the U.S. Constitution to Native Americans.)

1924: The *Immigration Act of 1924* is legislated that specifically added Arabs and other Asians (East Indians, Japanese, Vietnamese, etc.) to the exclusionary provisions of earlier legislation, such as the *Immigration Act of 1917*, regarding immigration and citizenship—that is they were barred from immigrating to the United States or being eligible for citizenship. (Note: the *1965 Immigration and Nationality Act*, adopted in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement, swept away all *race-based* restrictions of earlier legislation on immigration and citizenship.)

1927: In *Gong Lum v. Rice*, the Supreme Court moved to undermine the intent of the 14th Amendment by stat-

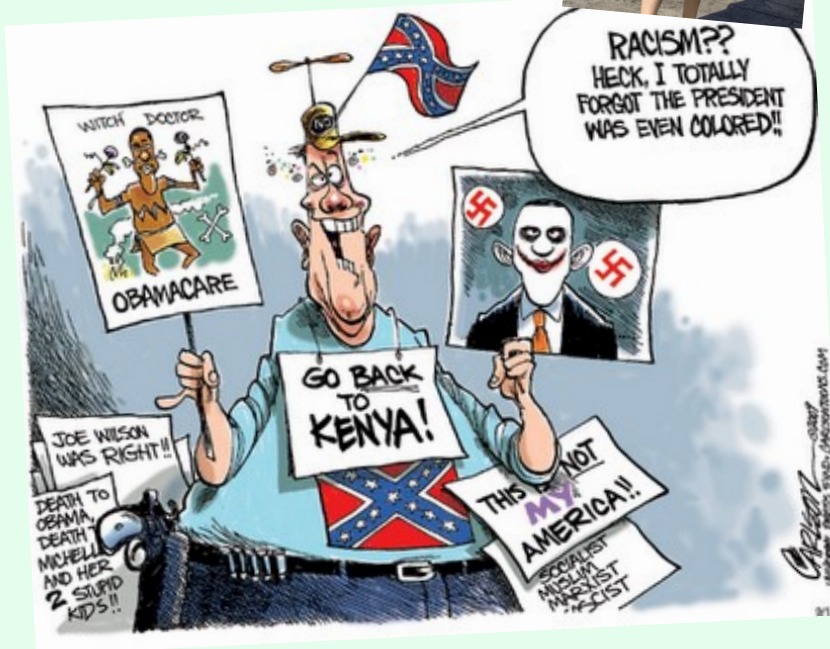
and inexperienced African American by the name of Clarence Thomas—to replace a fellow African American (that brilliant intellectual and indefatigable champion of civil rights, Justice Thurgood Marshall, who was retiring from the Court)—amidst a scandalous charge against Thomas of sexual-harassment that grew out of a leaked FBI report on him, and who, most tellingly, had at one time worked for that giant U.S. agro-business with pernicious tentacles all across the planet called *Monsanto*, has been a tremendous boon to both the bourgeoisie and those conservatives opposed to civil rights for racial minorities and other marginalized groups. To date, his record has been, with rarest of exceptions, full and complete support of their interests; saying that it is a most shameful record would be a gross understatement. In almost every case he has ever sat on that involves a plaintiff petitioning for redress in matters of civil/human rights (and authentic democracy in general) you will find that his vote in the case is against the plaintiff. Without a doubt, he has firmly secured himself a seat in that pantheon of misguided right-wing African American luminaries (others include Ward Connerly, Stanley Crouch, Alan Keyes, Colin Powell, Condoleeza Rice,



ing that children of racial minorities (in this case a Chinese American, Martha Lum) could be excluded on racial grounds from schools designated by their localities for Euro-Americans.

1934: As in an earlier effort (the 1922 *Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill*), the U.S. Senate fails to pass the *Wagner-Connally Anti-Lynching Bill* because of opposition from some conservative Senators (the murder by lynch-mobs of persons of color, and some Euro-Americans too, would continue without fear of prosecution).

1944: The Supreme Court issues its decision in *Korematsu v. United States* siding with the government in its blatantly racist and unconstitutional strategy of rounding up thousands



of Japanese American citizens and immigrants and imprisoning them in concentration camps—popularly supported by the Euro-American citizenry, especially on the West Coast—during the Second World War; note, however, that this fate did not befall Italian Americans or German Americans whose ancestral

Shelby Steele, and so on) who while personally reaping the benefits accruing from the legacy of the struggles of countless people in the Civil Rights Movement, hypocritically turned their backs on carrying that struggle forward. And as if that has not been enough, they have actively championed (probably unknowingly through their ignorance of the difference between structural or institutional racism and interpersonal aversive racism—if not racial/ethnic “self-hate,” a universal byproduct of a long history of marginalization and oppression confronting any group of people, and/or simply crass Uncle Tomist opportunism) the maintenance of institutional racism and a deeper level of surplus appropriation by the bourgeoisie.



countries were also at war with United States. (Question to ponder: who among the masses would have opposed a decision, if it had been made, to simply murder the Japanese Americans after they had been rounded up?)



1974: The Supreme Court decides the *Milliken v. Bradley* case; its decision begins the process of *reversing* the intent of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case to desegregate public schooling, by stating that the creation of segregated school districts was legal so long as the intent was not deliberate segregation. The decision reflected the ongoing process of Euro-American flight from inner cities to what were effectively white suburbs, in part to escape school integration efforts in the cities.



1978: The Supreme Court, in its decision in the *University of California Regents v. Bakke* sides with the Euro-American plaintiff Alan P. Bakke that he was a victim of an affirmative action policy aimed at encouraging the enrollment of historically discriminated applicants. (In other words, Bakke argued that he was a victim of something called "reverse discrimination" and the Court tragically agreed with him, even though reverse discrimination can only apply in circumstances where there is at least relative equality of power among those involved.)



1977: The Supreme Court, in its *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp.* decision sides with the village in preventing the construction of an apartment complex in an area zoned for single-family houses that would have allowed families of different races/ethnicities to move in. The Court based its decision on the argument that an intention to racially discriminate had not been proven in the decision to maintain the zoning.



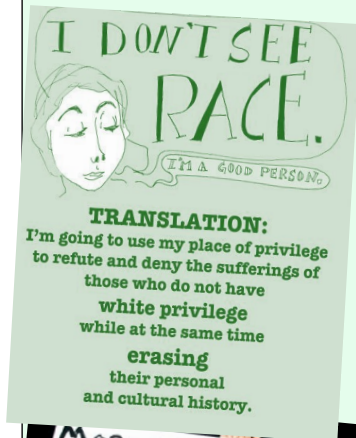
1987: In *McCleskey v. Kemp* decision the Supreme Court rules that in the absence of proof of intention to discriminate, demonstration by means of bona fide research that there was a severe racial bias (against racial minorities) in who got the death-penalty in murder cases was irrelevant! (Obviously, the Court in its eternal

wisdom failed to recognize that those who engage in racial discrimination of any kind, overtly or subconsciously, do not always announce their intention to discriminate. The Court, however, would recognize this fact in a different case, involving residential segregation, in its 2015 *Texas Department of Housing v. Inclusive Communities Project, Inc.* decision—



not surprisingly, among the dissenting Justices was Clarence Thomas.)

1988: The Supreme Court in *Wards Cove Packing Co. v. Atonio* sides with the packing company stating that the company was not guilty of discriminating against minority workers (in this instance mainly Alaskan Native Americans) because it was not intentional; its how the labor market worked.



1988: The decision in *Patterson v. McLean Credit Union* case is issued by the Supreme Court in favor of the employer, the credit union, whom the petitioner, Brenda Patterson, had accused of racial harassment, lack of promotion, and eventually her firing from her job. The Court's outrageous reasoning was that even if an employer engages in discriminatory conduct there is no remedy for it under existing law because an employee could choose to terminate her employment and find a job elsewhere.



1989: In the *City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co.* the Supreme Court's decision overturns the city's affirmative action policy of attempting to increase the representation of businesses owned by racial minorities within the total universe of businesses awarded contracts by the city (over fifty percent of whose population comprised African Americans) by setting aside a percentage of the awards for that purpose. Its spurious reasoning was that "To accept Richmond's claim that past societal discrimination alone can serve as the basis for rigid racial preferences would be to open the door to competing claims for "remedial relief" for every disadvantaged group. The dream of a Nation of equal citizens in a society where race is irrelevant to personal opportunity and achievement would be lost in a mosaic of shifting preferences based on inherently unmeasurable claims of past wrongs." In other words, the Court recycled the myth of building a color-blind society *by ignoring race* in a circumstance where affirmative action for Euro-Americans has always been (and continues to be) the rule ever since European colonial settlement began in United States.

2005: The U.S. Senate issues an apology for not passing anti-lynching laws (e.g. the 1922



Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill) when it had the opportunity to do so in the 1920s and 30s (however, quite a few of the conservatives were unwilling to avail themselves of even this most modest of opportunities decades later—after all words are cheap—to indicate their abhorrence of racism).

2007: The majority of the U.S. Supreme Court in a case titled *Parents Involved in Community*

What is Affirmative Action?

"You cannot fight racism with racism, or ethnicism with ethnicism or sexism with sexism or classism with classism! That, however, is *not* what affirmative action policies are about. By prying open historically-determined systems of privilege, affirmative action policies aim to create fairness in society by helping to correct the racist, ethnicist, sexist, classist, etc. inequalities of the past that continue to plague society today. Opposition to affirmative action implies that the present must continue to mirror the iniquitous past; in other words, the name of the game is plain hypocrisy: unfair historically-determined privileges enjoyed by one social group are retained by that group by *ideologically* perverting the true purpose of affirmative action in order to delegitimize it.



Affirmative action corrects some of our racist history.

- 65% of African Americans were excluded from benefits when Social Security began.
- Of the first 67,000 GI Bill mortgages in New York and New Jersey, **fewer than 100** were for nonwhite people.

But there's more to do.

- The median white household has **13x** as much wealth as the median black household.
- And **10x** as much as the median Hispanic household.
- Even with a college education:**
 - The median white person has **7.2x** the wealth of a similarly educated black person.
 - And **3.9x** the wealth of a similarly educated Hispanic person.

Sources: The Urban Institute, "When Affirmative Action Was White" 2002 data from the Federal Reserve's "Survey of Consumer Finances" 2002 Census report

2007 infographic: Tracy Martin Loeffelholz

Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1, 551 U.S. 701 (2007), combined with another case, *Crystal D. Meredith, Custodial Parent and Next Friend of Joshua Ryan McDonald v. Jefferson County Board of Education, et al.*, effectively rules in support of extant racialization by stating that it was not permissible for the school districts to use race as a sole factor in their effort to dismantle racial segregation among their schools, *even though this effort was undertaken voluntarily*. The decision, in effect, refused to recognize the continuing existence of historically-determined institutionalized racism, as manifest by residential segregation with its spillover effect in schooling. (Note: interestingly, Justice Clarence Thomas sided with this decision.)

2013: The U.S. Supreme Court decides the *Shelby County v. Holder*, 570 U.S. 529 (2013) case, siding with those conservatives bent on weakening the 1965 *Voting Rights Act* by ruling that states that had historically undermined the voting rights of racial minorities (via "Jim

Crow” laws, regulations, and practices) no longer needed to get federal preclearance, as required by the Voting Rights Act, for any laws, regulations, and practices they enacted with respect to the voting rights of racial minorities. In other words, what the majority on the Court was really saying, in effect, via this decision, was that institutionalized racism (as manifest, in this instance, by strategies of voter-suppression), with respect to voting rights of racial minorities no longer existed. (Note: interestingly, Justice Clarence Thomas sided with this decision; and in fact wanted to go even further--proving that the brotherhood and/or sisterhood of race does not always apply in the struggle for racial justice.)

2023: In two combined cases, *Admissions v. Harvard*, 600 U.S. *Students for Fair Admissions v. Carolina*, the majority on the U.S. Supreme Court renders racial policies in colleges and universities as illegal, thereby refusing to acknowledge the existence of determined institutional racism in student admissions. (Note: interestingly, Justice Clarence Thomas sided

Students for Fair Admissions v. University of North Carolina (2023), and the majority on the U.S. Supreme Court renders racial policies in colleges and universities as illegal, thereby refusing to acknowledge the existence of determined institutional racism in student admissions. (Note: Justice Clarence Thomas sided



2026: By means of two combined cases, *Appellant v. Phillip Callais, et al. Press Robinson, et al., Appellants v. 608 U.S. ____ (2026)*, the majority on the U.S. Supreme Court rules against the equal political representation (mandated, in effect, by one of the landmark civil rights cases, the *Voting Rights Act* of 1965) by ruling that the effort of the State of Louisiana to redraw electoral district lines in a manner that would allow a *modicum* of African American political representation in the U.S. Congress in a state where they constitute one third of the population, was still illegal. (Note: interestingly, Clarence Thomas sided with this decision.) This case marks the last nail in the coffin to effectively gut the intent of the *Voting Rights Act* which was aimed at restoring the voting rights of racial minorities enshrined in the 14th, 15th, and 19th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution and which the racist Jim Crow laws and practices had for the most part illegally reversed.



What is Institutional Racism?

Institutional racism, also known variously as “structural racism,” or “systemic racism,” or “color-blind racism,” (or even “modern-day racism”), in contrast to interpersonal “individualized” racism, refers to overt and/or covert racist discriminatory practices that may be part of deliberate policy or simply be motivated by ignorance, prejudice, stereotypes, and the like in the operation of socio-economic, cultural, and political institutions of society (ranging from the courts to schools, from the entertainment industry to hospitals, from prisons to the military, from the police to news media, from state legislatures to churches, from banks to city governments, from shopping malls to the real estate industry, from not-for-profit organizations to the hospitality industry, from urban planning to transportation services, from corporations to university campuses, and so on, and so on) where the targets of discriminatory practices are entire groups of people rather than specific individuals against the backdrop of a long tradition of *sub-humanization* of people of color (e.g. in United States) as a pestilence rather than as fellow human beings. Institutional racism is historically determined in that it originates from a past where juridical racism was the order of the day. **Note:** the presence of institutional racism (in contrast, for example, to *interpersonal racism*) can be quantitatively proven—a fact that, in public discourse, is captured by such colloquial expressions in, for example, United States as “seeking justice while black,” “job-seeking while black,” “driving while black,” “eating while black” (in restaurants and cafeterias), “shopping while black,” “management promotion while Asian,” “traveling while black,” “walking while black,” “buying real estate while black,” “flying while Muslim,” and even “living while black” (when whites attempt to push back against what they perceive as black encroachment in “whites-only” public spaces).

Interpersonal “individualized” racism refers to the quotidian racism found in interpersonal encounters between specific individuals that may or may not be legitimated by the relevant institutional culture and which, most ironically, can include racist behavior on the part of individuals who themselves may be victims of institutional racism. At the individual level, racism comes in all shapes and colors.



What is Aversive Racism?

Aversive racism is racist discrimination that works primarily at the individual level (but which may also be manifest, aggregatively, at the societal level) where, in contrast to traditional forms of racism, there is an **aversion** to associating with the target of the discrimination, the **racial Other**, but the perpetrator all the while claiming that he/she is not a racist and in fact firmly believes in such progressive values as: all persons are created equal; racist discrimination is inherently wrong; racial/ethnic diversity everywhere should be the natural state of affairs; and so on. While this dissonance between belief and actual behavior may, at first, appear to be a case of nothing less than blatant hypocrisy, it is not really so because the belief may be quite genuine given the subjection from infancy to adulthood to the socializational imperatives of a socio-cultural-political environment that *ostensibly* (repeat, ostensibly) champions these values, as in the case of Western capitalist democracies. What, then, is the source of this dissonance, which for the racial Other can be just as injurious as dominative racism? To put it very concisely: the historically determined persistence of institutional racism against the backdrop of a legislative environment that attempts to prohibit it.

A Few Examples of Aversive Racism

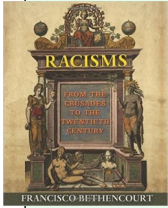
- Not objecting to attending a multiracially diverse educational institution, yet always avoiding interacting with the racial other (in the classroom, in the cafeteria, in the dorms, in hallways, on commuter busses, etc.).
- Avoiding eye-contact while speaking to the racial other in the workplace, and other similar interpersonal behaviors.
- Supporting the prohibition of racist discrimination in housing while all the while—in practice—accepting, and participating in residential segregation (a pervasive phenomenon, for example, in United States).
- Rationalizing racially discriminatory conduct in employment *in terms other than obvious racism*.
- Subjecting the racial other to different and hence debilitating standards of evaluation in places where evaluations are a norm (e.g. for purposes of promotions in the workplace, when grading coursework in educational settings, when determining pay rates, and so on).

Aversive racists genuinely believe in racial equality and justice but are unwilling to work to abandon their subconscious racist behavior because of growing up in a society that continues to be plagued by *institutional racism*.



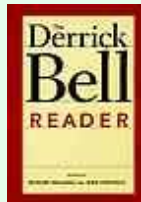
MATERIALS FOR FURTHER READING

If you would like to explore further the themes/issues presented in this chronology, you are encouraged to consult some of the materials listed below.



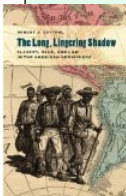
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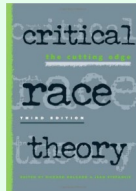
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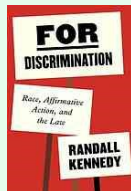
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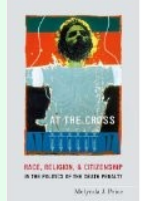
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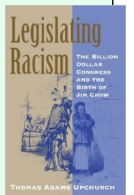
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NOTE: This document is part of a larger document titled *Race, Class, and Law in a Capitalist Democracy* (also available on www.slideshare.net at this address: <http://bit.ly/classrace>)

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