Fromm USF
Urgent Issues, Extraordinary Politics
September 21, 2020

Racial Injustice in 21st Century America: Time for a Long Overdue Reckoning

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Today’s Lecture: A Quick Overview of an Immensely Complex Topic

Topic 1: The Immediate Catalyst for a New Moment of Mobilization: The Death of George Floyd in the Broader Context of Mass Incarceration & Racial Subordination in 21st Century America

Topic 2: Understanding the Hold of Race on American Social Order in the 21st Century: How the Law Generated and Psychology and Geography Reproduce Racial Inequality

Topic 3: Justice Requires Reparations: The Future of Race and American Democracy

Something is Happening Here: The Prevalence of Protests Against Police Violence and Racial Injustice in the US Since the Death of George Floyd

A Map to Contemporary Racial Power Relations: Hierarchy, Subordination, & How They are Maintained in One Brutal Image
Racial Skew in Coronavirus Infections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cases per 10,000 people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Black people make up a larger share of US Covid-19 deaths

13% of population 23% of Covid-19 deaths


Black people are most likely to be killed by police

3X more likely to be killed by police than white people
1.3X more likely to be unarmed compared to white people

Source: [https://mappingpoliceviolence.org/](https://mappingpoliceviolence.org/)
We Have a Crisis of Mass-Incarceration that Extends Far Beyond Police Violence

The Trade-Off Between Mass Incarceration and Education I: Higher Education
Same Crime, Different Times

The Function of the Stark Racial Disparities
In the Criminal Justice System for
Maintaining 21st Century American Racial Order

Drilling Down on the Wealth Gap:
Where It Doesn’t Come From

It Isn’t Disparity in Education or Employment
That’s Driving Racial Wealth Inequalities
...Or Income...

(Olfenbuhr, Gunia, et al., “What We Get Wrong About Closing the Racial Wealth Gap,” Annual Duke Carse Center on Social Equity, April 2018)

...Or Home Ownership...

(Source: https://amp.cnn.com/cnn/2020/06/03/politics/black-white-us-financial-inequality/index.html)

...etc....

(Source: http://www.census.gov/acs/www/data.html)

White families typically have higher incomes than black families

(The median income for black households is a third less than 40% of that of white households)

(Source: http://www.census.gov/acs/www/data.html#black-white-us-financial-inequality)
Drilling Down on Income Inequality


A Persistent Wage Gap

Black male earnings for every $1 earned by white men

Note: Data shown in the chart is for all black men. Sources: Patrick Dyer and Kevin Kuhl-Donald, "Earnings" - By The New York Times

A larger share of black population lives in poverty

The poverty rate for black Americans is more than double that of whites.

The Mass Incarceration Crises Cannot Be Separated from the Broader Problem of Racial Inequality in 21st Century America

- Differences in Rates of Conviction and Sentencing Reflect Disparities in Wealth and Their Implications for Effective Legal Representation
- What Happens when a Social Group Becomes Increasingly Economically Disposable
- The Function of the Stark Racial Disparities in the Criminal Justice System for Maintaining 21st Century American Racial Order

**Topic 2: Understanding the Hold of Race on American Social Order in the 21st Century: How the Law Generated and Psychology and Geography Reproduce Racial Inequality**

**Three Main Racial Orders in American History**

A. The Racial Order of Slavery
B. The Racial Order of Jim Crow
C. The Racial Order of the Post-Civil Rights Era
Central Conclusions from Literature on Race and Social Policy in 20th Century America

1. From 1930 to 2020 the absolute position of African Americans has improved both socially (better income, jobs and wealth) and legally (rights and social protections); but
2. Their relative position, measured in terms of wealth, income, health, education and other metrics of social wellbeing, as well as their degree of social isolation (measured in terms of segregation in major institutional contexts like residential housing or schooling) has in fact worsened.
3. This is because the social well-being of whites has increased more rapidly and overall relative to blacks. And
4. This increase in relative inequality is not merely the product of stubborn social forces but the product of law and policy much of which was engineered to have racially disparate impacts.
5. Legally generated inequality has also been reinforced and amplified by persistent private discrimination by the suppliers of economic opportunity (e.g. banks, employers, real estate agents, colleges, etc.) and broadly-based cultural attitudes, creating a self-reinforcing structure of racial inequality.
6. This increase in relative inequality violates basic principle of justice and American Constitutional Law.
7. Until very recently the vast majority of white Americans have remained both ignorant of this history and apathetic about its consequences for Black life chances and overall race relations.

The Racist Implementation of The Central Elements of American Wealth Creation Policy In the New & Fair Deals & Beyond

A. Welfare (e.g. Social Security Act of 1935 and “Policy Apartheid”)
B. Work (Race and the Southern Democrats, From the National Labor Relations Act to Taft-Hartley)
C. War
D. Veterans (The GI Bill—“For White Veterans Only”)
E. Housing (From Public Housing to Redlining)

Segregation by Intentional Government Action Produced America’s Contemporary Racial Geography

Until the last quarter of the twentieth century, racially explicit policies of federal, state and local governments defined where whites and African Americans should live. Today’s segregation in the North, South, Midwest, and West is not the unintended consequence of individual choices and of otherwise well-meaning law or regulation but of unhidden public policy that explicitly segregated every metropolitan area in the United States. The policy was so systematic and forceful that its effects endure to the present time. Without our government’s purposeful imposition or racial segregation, the other causes—private prejudice, white flight, real estate steering, bank redlining, income differences and self-segregation—still could have existed but with far less opportunity for expression. (R. Rothstein, The Color of Law, pp.vii-viii)
Sources:

Some Basic Foundations: Why We Cannot Eliminate Stereotypes in Social Psychology

How Segregation Shapes Social Cognition

What Inequality & Segregation Do to Our Psychology & How: Turning To Contemporary Social Science
Social Geographic Impact of Segregation Overwhelms Contact

How Segregated Is the United States? Black-White Hyper-segregation in the 21st Century

What Hyper-Segregation Looks Like at the Municipal Level: e.g. Chicago

What Integration Might Look Like
Bringing Spatial Data on Race and Class Together

How Racial Categories Come Between Us: Jennifer Eberhardt’s Pioneering Work
1. The Difficulty of Perceiving the Humanity of the Other Across Racial Lines
2. The Nature and Content of Racial Prejudice in America in the 21st Century
3. The Harm of Prejudice in the First Person Perspective
4. Eberhardt’s Pioneering Public Policy Interventions

The Content of Racist Categorization In American History

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical oppositional dualities</th>
<th>WHITE IMAGES</th>
<th>BLACK IMAGES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inequalities</td>
<td>inferior</td>
<td>superior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intelligent</td>
<td>knowledgeable</td>
<td>uneducated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moral</td>
<td>moral</td>
<td>immoral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knowledgeable</td>
<td>knowledgeable</td>
<td>ignorant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enabling culture</td>
<td>enabling</td>
<td>disabling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law-abiding</td>
<td>law-abiding</td>
<td>criminal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responsible</td>
<td>responsible</td>
<td>shirking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>victimized</td>
<td>victimized</td>
<td>helpless</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Kimberle Williams Crenshaw, “Race, Reform and Retrenchment”)

Where Do These Stereotypes Come From and How Are They Transmitted?

(Source: Noble, Algorithms of Oppression)
And Then There’s Plain Old Fashioned Racism Alive and Well in 21st Century America

### Recent Evidence of a Specific Syndrome Behind Recent Erosion of Republican Support for Democracy and Growing Tolerance for Political Violence (Larry Bartels)

**Who faces discrimination?**

Percentage of respondents who said each group experiences "a great deal" or "a lot" of discrimination, by party identification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>ALL</th>
<th>DEMOCRATS</th>
<th>REPUBLICANS</th>
<th>GAP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>62.2%</td>
<td>77.5%</td>
<td>45.4%</td>
<td>+32.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>57.5%</td>
<td>70.0%</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
<td>+21.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>33.9%</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
<td>37.7%</td>
<td>+10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>58.1%</td>
<td>54.7%</td>
<td>+0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>+4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
<td>+11.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
<td>+16.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Survey conducted from May 21 to June 3. Democrats and Republicans refer to self-identified Democrats and self-identified Republicans.*

**More of the younger Republicans see discrimination**

Percentage of respondents who said each group experiences "a great deal" or "a lot" of discrimination, by age category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>ALL</th>
<th>UNDER 45</th>
<th>45 AND OLDER</th>
<th>GAP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>45.4%</td>
<td>56.2%</td>
<td>37.8%</td>
<td>+18.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>37.7%</td>
<td>35.4%</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
<td>+13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>28.3%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>+15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>+16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>+12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
<td>+8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
<td>38.7%</td>
<td>32.3%</td>
<td>+6.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Survey conducted from May 21 to June 3.*

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**White Democrats Can More Liberally accept White Republican’s Elected Budget**

![Diagram showing budget differences between White Democrats and White Republicans.](image)

**UNEQUAL DEMOCRACY**

The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age

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**Recent Evidence of a Specific Syndrome Behind Recent Erosion of Republican Support for Democracy and Growing Tolerance for Political Violence (Larry Bartels)**

![Image of Larry Bartels](image)
Topic 3: Justice Requires Reparations: For the Sake of The Future of Race and American Democracy

A. Reparation for What
B. Reparation’s Aims
C. Reparation’s Means
D. Reparations and the Full Equal Citizenship of African Americans
E. The Complexities of Reparations in 21st Century America: Targeted
The Basis for and Functions of Reparations

I. Three Phases of Racial Subordination of African Americans in American History
   A. Slavery
   B. Jim Crow
   C. Structural/Post Civil Rights

II. The Failure to Remedy the Damage Done, to Express Atonement, or to Include African Americans in Full and Equal Citizenship

III. The Functions of Reparations
   A. Acknowledgement and Atonement
   B. Restitution
   C. Reconciliation

Some Narrowly Economic Proposals for Reparation

1. Unpaid Wages During Slavery ($6-110 Trillion)
2. Present Value of Wealth Created by Slavery $(2-42 Trillion or $50,000-1,000,000 per person)
3. Compensation for Harm and Suffering, Including Punitive Damages
4. Present Value of Promised Land Distribution ($3-12 Trillion)
5. Recent and Present Economic Injustice (c. $16,000 per person per year)
Moving Away from a Purely Economic, Backward Facing Approach: The Goal of Reparations Should Be to Equalize Wealth Within a Generation

I. Present Wealth Disparity Reflects the Cumulative Effect of Racism on the Living Descendants of Slavery
II. Equalizing Wealth Also Establishes the Foundations for an Equal Multi-Racial Democracy
III. Allows for an Appropriate Mix Targeted and Universal Policies as well as Individualized and Community Benefits
IV. Politically Attainable?

Illustrations of How Wealth Equalizing Reparations Might Be Implemented

I. Creation of a Commission to Study Policy Initiatives and Funding Levels Required: Aim to Produce Public Reckoning and Norm Cascade in Addition to Specific Policy Ideas
II. Joint Public and Private Funding of Reparations Trust Fund and Other Administrative Infrastructure
III. Disbursement of Reparations Proper and Various Wealth Creation Grants
IV. A Multi-Faceted Approach to Wealth and Opportunity Equalization (Illustrative possible policy approaches)
A. Equalizing School Funding
B. Supplemental Funding for Inclusive School Districts
C. Restoring Progressivity to Income Taxation
D. A Wealth Tax
E. Universal Health Care
F. Economically and Socially Integrated Affordable Housing Projects
G. Racial-Environmental Justice Infrastructure Projects
H. Universal Basic Income
I. Systematic Criminal Justice Reform