

Dramaturgical Domination: The Genesis and Evolution of the Racialized Interaction Order

Humanity & Society
1-24

© The Author(s) 2015

Reprints and permission:

sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav

DOI: 10.1177/0160597615623042

has.sagepub.com



Michael L. Rosino¹

Abstract

The history of racial domination in the United States is multifaceted and therefore cannot be explained through simple reference to ideologies or institutional structures. At the microlevel, racial domination is reproduced through social interactions. In this article, I draw on Erving Goffman's dramaturgical approach to social interaction to illuminate the development of the racialized interaction order whereby actors racialized as white impose a set of implicit rules and underlying assumptions onto interracial interactions. I examine archetypal instances of racialized social interactions in America's history and present-day to reveal the role of social interactions in racially structuring social institutions and everyday lives. First, I discuss the development and racialization of chattel slavery and its routinization as an interaction order. Next, I explore the dramaturgical and symbolic significance of the postbellum emergence and spread of racial terrorism such as white lynch mobs. I then analyze the contemporary discursive and performative strategies of white racial dominance and aspects of the contemporary racialized interaction order such as the *de facto* racialization of spatial boundaries, mass media and the digital sphere, and police violence. I conclude by discussing the significance of interactional analysis for understanding the present racialized social system.

¹ Department of Sociology, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT, USA

Corresponding Author:

Michael L. Rosino, Department of Sociology, University of Connecticut, Unit 1068, 344 Mansfield Road, Storrs, CT 06269, USA.

Email: michael.rosino@uconn.edu

Keywords

race, social interaction, microsociology, history, domination, power

Personal Reflexive Statement

I am deeply indebted to the many sociological pioneers who have charted the terrain of racialized interactions. While standing on the shoulders of these giants, I have found that theory and research at the intersection of race and everyday social interactions retains a significant capacity for providing toolkits for antiracist praxis, deepening historical understandings, and exposing and combatting racial domination. Like many students exposed to the work of Erving Goffman and other microsociologists, I am continually fascinated by the ways that our everyday lives are shaped by the “unwritten rules” of social interaction. Simultaneously, as an advocate for racial justice and scholar of racial politics and discourse, I am inspired by sociology’s potential for illuminating and critiquing systemic racial inequalities. As an instructor, I often emphasize to students the ways in which the social fact of race has changed throughout history and continues to shape our interactions, experiences, realities, and identities. I wrote this article in an attempt to merge these aspects of my interests, passions, and scholarship and cultivate new ways of looking at the past and the present in regard to race, racism, and the domain of everyday interactions.

Introduction

The assertion that of all the hues of God whiteness alone is inherently and obviously better than brownness or tan leads to curious acts . . .

W. E. B. Du Bois (1921:30)

Performances of self within social interactions predicated on cultural schemas of difference, moral worth, and group position have played a fundamental and foundational role in the establishment and temporal and spatial spread of racialized institutional and social structures. The genesis of racialized schemata within interactional contexts can be traced back to the ancient world, exemplified in the Ancient Grecian dichotomization of nations and peoples into “civilized” and “barbarian” for the purpose of rationalizing military conquest and political and social domination (McCoskey 2012). More pertinently to the extant racial order, the racialized schemata of the white–black binary can be seen in the logic of difference and superiority deployed by the British in early contact with Africans. Notions of purity and morality were imputed on not only observations about skin

color, religion, language, and nationality but also perceptions of promiscuity and animality (Jordan 1968).

Without a doubt, the existence of racialized schemata is an essential element of the persistence and durability of racial inequality (cf. Hughey 2014). However, these categories, meanings, ideals, and interactional expectations are only so influential in shaping the modern world because they serve as a means for directing and rationalizing human social activities that perpetuate social hierarchies. Social interaction is therefore a primary mechanism through which social relations of domination are reproduced (cf. Essed 1991; Schwalbe 2000; Schwalbe et al. 2000). As Anne Warfield Rawls (2000:242) argues about the contemporary racial order, I contend that “important phenomena of inequality result from the Interaction Order effects of “race” as a social construction” throughout U.S. history. I thereby draw on an expansive conceptualization of Erving Goffman’s (1983) concept of the interaction order, as the unspoken rules and expectations that affect intersubjective processes and social practices within particular forms of interaction and (re)produce the structure of society.

The racialized interaction order, as I conceptualize it in this article, describes the domain of face-to-face interaction in which underlying assumptions and implicit rules of interracial interactions are imposed by actors racialized as white. Moreover, I argue that the consequences of the white-dominated, racialized interaction order are not simply misrecognition or discrimination, as described by Rawls (2000), but also in many cases racialized physical violence. I examine archetypal instances of racialized social interactions both in singular and ritualized and recursive forms to explore the role of social interactions in racially structuring America’s social institutions and the everyday lives of its inhabitants. In particular, I focus on events and patterns symbolic of micro-interactional processes of white racial domination, as they provide useful historical and contemporary snapshots of the constantly unfolding white-dominated, racialized interaction order.

I focus on several important historical and contemporary moments in which particular forms of racial categorization and inequality have congealed within the organization of everyday life. Beginning with the institution of chattel slavery in the United States, I analyze its genesis and the idealized expectations, processes of identity construction, and structural, symbolic, and corporeal violence entrenched within its everyday interaction order. As noted by Orlando Patterson (1982), it is essential to understand chattel slavery in the American South as not simply an abstract economic or sociopolitical system but rather as a set of often intimate and complex social relations knitted by the thread of routine, strategic, normative, and decisive social interactions. This particular historical framework of racialized chattel slavery lays the foundation for exploring more contemporary moments in which the racialized interaction order is shaped through contestations and shifts in the nature and operations of racial domination. Joe R. Feagin (2001:37) writes, the “grim historical reality” of the primacy of race-based slavery and genocide in the founding of America “must be understood well if we are to comprehend contemporary racism and interracial relations.”

While a micro-interactional or dramaturgical approach has been commonly applied to the contemporary world, it is not enough to posit the history of racial domination as simply the articulation of ideologies or the development of abstract systems and structural arrangements. At its core, the durability of racial domination throughout American history shares a dialectical relationship with everyday social interactions in an ongoing process of social reproduction. The social relations and symbolic meanings fostered by the existence of racial inequality influences interactions between racialized subjects while at the same time those very social relations and symbolic meanings are products of social interactions. Through exploring important moments and trends in U.S. history, I illustrate this feedback process including not only the determinacy of social context but also the strategic agency that interactional processes allow.¹

The remainder of this article is composed of six sections. First, I discuss the institutional development and racialization of chattel slavery. Then, I analyze the everyday social relations of racialized chattel slavery. Next, I explore the dramaturgical and symbolic significance of the postbellum emergence and spread of racial terrorism such as white lynch mobs. I then analyze the emergence of the contemporary discursive and performative logic of strategic white racial dominance enacted by political elites. I also examine aspects of the contemporary racialized interaction order such as the *de facto* racialization of spatial boundaries, the emergence of the digital sphere, and police violence. Finally, I conclude by discussing the significance of vignettes and forms of interaction for understanding the sociohistorical racial trajectory from which the present racial order emerges.

The Ossification of the Racialized Interaction Order

The historical transformation in the early life of colonial America from racism as a purely cognitive and cultural phenomenon to an institutional structure can be illustrated by the translation of racialized interactions into a racialized interaction order replete with the legitimating backing of a codified racial and disciplinary regime. This transformation can be thought of as “oppressive othering” wherein “one group seeks advantage by defining another group as morally and/or intellectually inferior” (Schwalbe et al. 2000:423) thus generating the dominant definitions of reality that underlie an interaction order. The extant material interests and particular notions of morality, difference, and hierarchy held by influential social actors who came to be racialized as white served as important elements of the transition from cultural ideals to interactional processes such as symbolic boundary formation and mistreatment.

From the early moments of European contact and colonization of black and brown people of various continents, social relations at the microlevel have played a large role in both legitimating and activating racial dominance. Connections between racial difference, intimate social interactions, and family formation may have comprised the earliest forms of racialized logic to become embedded within

the everyday life of colonial societies. This logic is illustrated by the earliest written accounts of racial boundaries in the region. In 1630, according to Virginia colony court documents, sexual contact between a white man, Hugh Davis, and a black woman in Virginia was condemned with the documents stating that Davis was guilty of “defiling his body in laying with a negro” (Gossett [1965] 1997:30) and that he was punished severely and publicly.² Likewise, around the same time, historians note that biracial children were regarded as *de facto* illegitimate and monstrous (Coates 2003; Gossett [1965] 1997). There is significant evidence that black–white social interactions in the early colonies were marked by the logic that phenotypical differences are essentially meaningful and the construction of such physical differences into a categorical binary of idealized whiteness and denigrated blackness (cf. Degler 1959).

According to Michael Schwalbe (2000), the acts of othering and exploitation are primary interactional mechanisms that (re)generate systems of social inequality. Othering is “the process whereby a dominant group defines into existence an inferior group” and entails “the invention of categories and of ideas about what marks people as belonging to these categories” (Schwalbe et al. 2000:422). Schwalbe (2000:777) defines exploitation as “the successful efforts of some people to gain psychic and/or material advantage for themselves at the expense of others.” Both of these micro-level processes are fundamental to the genesis and structuring of the racialized chattel system. That system, akin to Max Weber’s (1958) theorization of the “idealized interests” produced by Calvinist doctrine and industrial capitalism, melded together the socioeconomic interests of English elites and an emergent and escalating logic of difference and natural hierarchy.

The labor system in the colonies consisted of three tiers: wage labor, which enabled freedom of association and contract; indentured servitude, which entailed laboring as a servant to pay back debts or costs incurred to travel to America; and finally chattel slavery, which entailed a lifetime and/or intergenerational term of servitude under conditions marked by extreme toil and dishonor. Joe R. Feagin (2001:40) writes,

The enslavement of African women, men, and children not only stemmed from a desire for profit but also from a concern with developing a scheme of social control that maintained bond-labor against the resistance of those enslaved. The color and cultural differences of Africans made them easier for whites to identify for purposes of enslavement and control.

From this conceptualization, we can note that interactional processes of racialized othering and discriminatory exploitation fundamentally entail the strategic (mis)-construal of arbitrary human difference in the interest of accruing economic, social, and political power and the reinsertion of these racial meanings into social interactions. The linking of the labor system to racial categories emerged through the racialization of social relations in the colonies along with official decrees and

proclamations. The racial category of black African became merged with the social, symbolic, and economic category of slave within both the prevailing legal order and a new interactional order glued by shared meanings of race and social position (Coates 2003).

An important vignette that provides a snapshot of an early moment within the process wherein the interaction order of everyday life in colonial America became rooted in not simply religiously or ethnationally defined but deeply racialized asymmetrical social positions is the story of John Punch, the first chattel slave in North America. In Richmond, VA, in the summer of 1640, John Punch, a black indentured servant, along with two European servants named James Gregory and Victor, escaped from his place of servitude at the home of Col. Hugh Gwyn, a wealthy planter and a representative to the House of Burgesses (Coates 2003; Jordan 1968; *William and Mary College Quarterly* 1909). A search party, formed at the public expense, found and captured the three men in Maryland. While all three men received whippings and his Dutch and Scotch counterpart received lengthened terms of servitude to both their master and the colony of Virginia, John Punch was given the sentence of lifetime servitude for the same offense (Coates 2003).

The story of John Punch illustrates the interconnection between the interactional processes of othering and exploitation. Through the logic of racial difference, Punch was rendered as not merely a laborer but a form of property owned by either the already wealthy and powerful Col. Gwyn or the colony, a source of a lifetime worth of “unjust enrichment” (Feagin 2001) for both, and bound to this condition by law and the implicit threat of violence.

The symbolic and public punishment of white subjects for their social intimacy with blacks in the case of Hugh Davis illustrates the use of violence and other sanctions to define the limits of “acceptable” forms of racialized social interaction and thus entrench social distance and symbolic boundaries into the interaction order. The materially generative punishment of black subjects for their demoralized and marginalized racial category as in the case of John Punch demonstrates the use of racialized social space and moral symbolism for amassing profit. Thus, a racialized symbolic system became embedded into the logic used by white racial subjects in navigating racialized interactions. Through the generation of a racialized interaction order, the underlying expectations and the informal rules organizing social interaction became explicitly linked to racial categories and thus became formalized generating a system linking difference to social positions and social positions to economic relations.

However, the emergence of racial othering and exploitation as a codified system is only the first step in the process of the reproduction of racial dominance. The maintenance of a social system of racial domination also depends on the routinization and normalization that binds racial inequality and racialized forms of violence to the patterns of everyday life (cf. Essed 1991). In understanding how racial domination becomes normalized, Philomena Essed’s (1991:2) concept of “everyday racism” provides a useful analytical lens that “connects structural forces of racism

with routine situations in everyday life” and “links ideological dimensions of racism with daily attitudes and interprets the reproduction of racism in terms of the experience of it in everyday life.” We must shift then from a genetic or causal mode of investigation concerned with foundation and emergence to one concerned with racial domination as a normative social arrangement structuring everyday life for millions of people.

Everyday Performances of Domination

Chattel slavery in the American South does not merely describe a “peculiar institution” (Stampp 1965) but also the daily lived experience of those within its sociohistorical context marked by a specific interaction order, symbolic system, and situationally constructed identities. As noted by Essed (1991:38), systems of racism are maintained by the “role of routine and repetitive practices in the making of social structures.” Orlando Patterson (1982) characterizes everyday life within slavery as containing important symbolic elements of domination such as ritual and honor. From a dramaturgical perspective, Goffman’s (1959) notion of “ideal standards” is relevant to understanding these symbolic elements. Slave–master relationships, like all racialized social relations, involved expectations about how one should perform each status identity and idealized rules, often selected from extant social norms rather than created spontaneously, that became routinized and institutionalized. The forced overlay of white supremacist expectations onto the interaction order was maintained through the inclusion of both symbolic and physical violence within the practical repertoire of white social actors.

One way in which the symbolic system within interactions that reproduces domination operates is through the naturalization of socially and historically situated hierarchies (Bourdieu 2001; Goffman 1983). Thus, symbols, that is objects and signs used to enhance and legitimize performances of self within interactions (Goffman 1959), are an indispensable aspect of translating arbitrary social hierarchies into taken-for-granted assumptions undergirding the order of everyday life. On the development of a system of domination rooted in notions of honor and authority within slavery, Patterson (1982:37) writes that “those who exercise power, if they are able to transform it into a ‘right,’ a norm, a usual part of the order of things, must first control (or at least be in a position to manipulate) appropriate symbolic instruments.”

Everyday rituals in intimate space, social actions that take on symbolic meanings (cf. Durkheim [1912] 1995), play a large role in the maintenance of the racialized interaction order in chattel slavery. Rituals of humiliation and dishonor embedded within everything from terminology and styles of talk and the distribution of labor and leisure, to understandings of social space and styles of dress were powerful symbolic tools that reified the social positions of the master and slave within a hierarchy defined by notions of morality and authority (Hartman 1997; Patterson 1982). Slaves, and domestic slaves especially, were part of their master’s domestic sphere and thus loosely a part of the same kinship network. Yet, despite the “perverse

intimacy” (Patterson 1982) of these sociospatial dimensions, the relationship between master and slave was marked by powerful symbolic boundaries backed by the ever present threat of violence.

The slave–master relationship is a social space in which intersubjective cognitive processes play out such as the development of notions of self and other and the mapping of those notions onto hierarchies of authority, honor, and morality. Through the constant enactment of these cognitive processes into everyday social performances, the interactional dynamics of othering and exploitation became inscribed on the very routines of life. Saidiya V. Hartman (1997:49) writes that even activities with the ostensive purpose of pleasure and entertainment among chattel slaves were “ensnared in a web of domination, accumulation, abjection, resignation, and possibility” that uniquely shaped racialized performances of self.

Another ritualized social practice key to maintaining the symbolic order that infected interactional expectations in racialized chattel slavery is the use of whips, shackles, and other tools of violence and restraint by white slave owners against slaves accused of violating the racialized interaction order of the time. In his memoir, Frederick Douglass ([1845] 2002:318) recounts the following description of the everyday and normalized cruelty and brutality of chattel slavery enacted under the rubric of “discipline”:

Master [...] would at times seem to take great pleasure in whipping a slave. I have often been awakened at the dawn of day by the most heart-rending shrieks of an own aunt of mine, whom he used to tie up to a joist, and whip upon her naked back till she was literally covered with blood. [...] Not until overcome by fatigue, would he cease to swing the blood-clotted cowskin.

Douglass’s assertion that the master seems to “take great pleasure” in violence against his slave can be explained in the fact that it allows the master to engage in both the projection of his own inhumanity on to the “other” and engage in a ritual of dishonor enabling him to reaffirm a sense of self as socially and morally dominant. In another vignette, Douglass ([1845] 2002) recounts that his aunt at one point suffered this type of extreme and painful violence at the hands of their master for spending time with a male slave who she had been forbidden by the master to see. The master, by characterizing his brutality as a symbol of his own moral status as one in place to judge and discipline the slave, performs a paternalistic sense of self, one further aided by objects (i.e., cowskin and joist) and significations (i.e., “restraint,” discipline, and “honor”) culled from the extant spheres of domestic violence, animal slaughter, and patriarchy.

The slave’s performance of a dishonored and subjugated self in the presence of the master is not only upheld by the subtle and unspoken rules of interactional expectations but the threat of violence and even death. The ritualization of the performance of a dominated self as a matter of survival, combined with a total alienation from one’s own birth and background, leads to a condition of “social

death” which occurs when one only has subjectivity or a sense of personhood in relation to their own dominance (Patterson 1982). While the institution of chattel slavery was eventually outlawed after the American Civil War, the racialized interaction order remained pliable and intact, but it was altered by the loss of the interracial social intimacy that existed under slavery and the growth of more depersonalized systems of social control.

Following the end of the Civil War and emancipation, white-dominated public discourses constructed freed blacks as a “problem” in the United States and debates raged as to whether the “negro problem” could be solved with greater social and economic support and integration into white society, the maintenance of social and spatial segregation, expulsion to Africa, or even re-enslavement (Muhammad 2011). The cultural construction of free blacks rather than white racism or racial inequality as a social problem was both a strategy to protect the racialized interactional practices of othering and exploitation from the forces of social change and a catalyst for racialized moral panics, scapegoating, and mob violence. Freedman’s manuals, oriented toward newly freed blacks, constructed black freedom as a burden of personal responsibility and provided scripts for performances of deference and restraint within this emergent social theatre (Hartman 1997).

In the Post-Reconstruction Era, the racialization and spectacle of lynching illustrate how extant interactional practices of social control become tools for protecting the racialized interaction order and performances of racial identity translate white cognitive dissonance into racist projections.³ While lynching, “the malicious taking of an alleged criminal’s life without benefit of due process of law” (Sims 2010:5), has a long history disconnected from race, it became linked to race in the late nineteenth century. Lynching, often accompanied by bodily or genital mutilation, “functioned as intimidating symbols designed to control a labor pool of former slaves” (Sims 2010:5). The symbolic and physical violence of lynching was part of an overarching racialized “culture of terror” (Sims 2010:6) that, much like chattel slavery, most whites either endorsed or accepted as a status quo from which they could continue to draw the “psychic wages of whiteness” (Du Bois 1935).

The cultural schemata that inscribed white supremacist assumptions onto the interaction order of everyday life under the threat of violence during slavery did not diminish but instead was transformed by the emergence of greater social distance between blacks and whites in the South. Roberta Senechal De La Roche (1997:60) notes that “interaction between blacks and whites gradually lessened over time” during this period such that “intimate contacts, forged earlier under slavery, diminished as former masters and slaves died off and blacks and whites increasingly lived and worked in different settings.” The shift from “personal domination” (Patterson 1982) to racialized social and spatial boundaries led to the potential for feelings of transgression. Further, the escalation of social distance led to the increase of encountering racialized strangers, with the idea of the black stranger, in many white minds, then aligning with racialized fears and anxieties connected to cultural tropes of the “brute,” an evocation of black masculinity as innately criminal and aggressive.

Public exhibitions of torture and murder operated as a symbol of the potential violence that accompanied any perception of threatening the white-dominated interaction order (Arnold 2009). The story of Sam Hose, a black man accused of murder and rape in Georgia in 1899, later proved to have acted in self-defense and innocent of rape, illustrates the interactional and symbolic components of lynch mobs. Edwin T. Arnold (2009:2) writes,

After a ritualistic procession through the streets of Newnan, the growing throng marched Sam Hose into a field on the outskirts of town and there mocked and mutilated him before chaining him to a tree, stacking wood at his feet, soaking him in kerosene, and setting him afire. For an agonizing time he writhed miserably in the flames while the crowd cheered his desperate contortions. [...] Members of the horde then dismembered what remained of his cooked corpse for souvenirs, pieces of which still circulated in the region as late as the 1970s.

The ritual of dishonor and violence that maintained the implicit rules of the racialized interaction order in the private domain of slavery thereby morphed into a public spectacle replete with body parts and landmarks such as hanging trees as new signifying objects. Further, the emergence of racialized mob violence in replacement of racialized domestic violence as enforcement strategies of the racialized interaction order took on unique characteristics such as extreme escalation, a perverse sense of collective effervescence (Durkheim [1912] 1995), and the temporary suspension of extant moral and legal codes, often with the tacit acceptance of legal authorities and state officials (cf. R. Collins 2008).⁴

The social transformation from the intimate to the public domain as the primary space of the enactment of racial domination and the racialization of public space also opened up potentialities for contestation and resistance. As noted by scholars of social movements and black political thought, such as Aldon Morris (1986) and Patricia Hill Collins (2009), the emergence of spaces and institutions for people of color such as black churches allowed them to engage in practices of solidarity and organize against oppression. Further, exposing the overt nature of the spectacle of racial violence in the South was useful for the symbolic politics of Civil Rights pioneers such as Frederick Douglass, Ida B. Wells, and W. E. B. Du Bois, especially in terms of its reception among whites in the North whom espoused more subtle and aversive forms of racism (Brundage 1997; Sims 2010).⁵ However, despite the successes of the Civil Rights movement to generate social change, the pliability of the racialized interaction order has thwarted the toppling of white supremacy in America (cf. Bonilla-Silva 2014).

Strategic Racial Performances in the Contemporary Era

Sustained resistance to racial dominance and contestations over the boundaries and barriers of racialized social systems can and often do reverberate in ways that alter

both shared racial meanings and the structure of society (cf. Omi and Winant 1994). However, these alterations may not produce complete revolutions in the racial order but merely reforms, particularly in the symbolic aspects of the racialized interaction order or the meanings and logic that undergird the racialized expectations of everyday life. Central to understanding how durable racial domination operates through the interaction order is grasping that elite discursive and performative practices of the racial self and social position are both strategic and dynamic. Such practices enable elite actors to capitalize on discursive and performative forms of power (cf. Mast 2013; Reed 2013; van Dijk 2008). Further, these strategic and innovative modes of racial performance tend to take place in positions of influence and under the watch of the public eye.⁶ Thus, a plethora of social theorists (cf. Blumer 1958; Feagin 2001; van Dijk 2008) have argued that the racial discourses and performances of elites tend to influence the racial discourse and performances of nonelites, simultaneously transforming and maintaining the racialized interaction order.

The performative and discursive power marshalled by elites in post-Civil Rights America provides an instructive example of these dynamics. Due to the influence of racialized contestations, the post-Civil Rights era is marked by dramatic shifts in both the cultural and social meanings of race in the United States. For instance, while many whites are now sympathetic to the cause of racial justice (even if only in the abstract), a significant number of white Americans also resent the rapid pace of social and cultural transformation and the partial upheaval of the white-dominated social order (Bonilla-Silva 2014). At the same time, a major effect of the Civil Rights era was the stigmatization of overt racism and the proliferation of new racial discourses (Bonilla-Silva 2014). This particular sociocultural milieu was thus ripe for the emergence of a new racialized interaction order that reflected these new social, political, and symbolic dynamics.

From the beginning of the racialization of the interaction order in the United States, political elites have made strategic use of the dominant forms of animus, ideologies, and biases within their milieu including the logic of difference and social position provided by racial categorization and hierarchy (cf. Haney López 2014; Hughey and Parks 2014; Rosino and Hughey 2015). Alabama Governor George Wallace, previously a racial moderate for his time, was one of the first major politicians in the 1950s to realize that symbolic “overtures of racial resentment would resonate across the country” (Haney López 2014:16). Ian Haney López (2014:15) writes that after “*Brown vs the Board of Education*” rendered school segregation illegal, in the June of 1963, Wallace stood at the entrance of the University of Alabama as two black students attempted to enter under new integration policies and “from behind a podium, [...] read a seven-minute peroration that avoided the red-meat language of racial supremacy and instead emphasized ‘the illegal usurpation of power by the Central Government.’”⁷

The episode was “pure theater, even down to white lines chalked on the ground to show where the respective thespians should stand” (Haney López 2014:15). The power of Wallace’s dramaturgical practices lies in their ability to signal the

defense of a racialized interaction order rooted in spatial distinctions while simultaneously avoiding the overt signaling of racial animus. Rather than aiming his performance of resentment and self-righteous indignation at the black students who were entering the school, he focused it on the federal agents and officials attempting to aid and protect the students. He also discovered that using nonracial language was paramount to avoiding the stigmatizing and marginalizing classification of racist. Thus, the deployment of proxy terminology such as “states’ rights” and “big government” became a politically advantageous way to defend white supremacy. The vignette thus exemplifies the strategic component of the racialized interaction order via the “purposeful efforts to use racial animus [or bias] as leverage to gain material wealth, political power, or heightened social standing” (Haney López 2014:46).

Throughout American history, most whites have perceived racial inequality as not a social problem but rather an unpleasant fact of life. Challenging this “fact” therefore often creates cognitive discomfort. The cognitive process underlying strategic racism is one that has undergirded much of the history of racial domination—the avoidance of cognitive dissonance (Haney López 2014). However, the contemporary strategies for whites to avoid the acceptance that they benefit from racial domination have taken on particular forms that contort to avoid the stigmatized label of “racism.” Simultaneously, self-styled liberal politicians such as President Barack Obama who sought to resonate with voters in the post-Civil Rights era, adopted a new performative and discursive strategy symbolizing racial color blindness, race neutrality, or postraciality coopted from activists in the Civil Rights movement that sought to remove overt racial barriers from the social and legal structure (Bonilla-Silva 2014; Haney López 2014).

Performances of color-blind racism, which denies systemic racism as a contemporary cause of racial inequality (Bonilla-Silva 2014), or “dog whistle” racism, which employs proxies to signify racist ideologies (Haney López 2014), have allowed elites to gain and secure political power as a strategy that eases white cognitive dissonance and resonates with racial biases. Further, the logic embedded within the racialized interaction order of contemporary society reflects the pernicious and subtle racial stereotypes of dog whistle racism and the obfuscation and naturalization of racial domination and individualization of racial inequality of color-blind racism. These rhetorical and performative strategies have proliferated and served to mask the everyday violence of a contemporary racialized interaction order still marked by symbolic and spatial boundaries and racialized ideals and expectations within interactions (cf. Bonilla-Silva and Embrick 2007; Hughey 2012a; Rawls 2000).

The Performance of Boundary Maintenance

Richard Jenkins (2008:162) writes that as a necessity of embodied interaction, a “significant characteristic of the interaction order is that it is territorial: it occupies

space,” and this spatial component entails specific consequences including the capacity for the manipulation of communication and information through front and back stages, “actual or potential physical coercion,” and “psychological penetration.” The racialization of social space is an enduring aspect of the contemporary racialized interaction order that has outlived the removal of overt legal practices such as *de jure* segregation (Bonilla-Silva and Embrick 2007; Massey and Denton 1993). Thus, increasingly the social domain of most interracial social interactions is demarcated by not overt and legally codified boundaries but rather implicit and symbolically defined boundaries. Throughout these transformations, racialized ideals and expectations have remained deeply embedded within the symbolic meanings of social spaces as exemplified by more overt terms such as “ghetto” and “urban” and more covert terms such as “sketchy” or “bad neighborhood” (Anderson 2012, 2015; Hughey 2012a).

As noted by Matthew W. Hughey (2012a:114), the “white supremacist logic” that “cements the linkage of race and place as ‘natural’ and ‘common sense’” reflects the broader white defined system of racialized ideals and expectations. Due to residential and social segregation, whites are often socialized in racially homogeneous social settings producing racialized schemata of perception, speech, and action that both naturalize and reproduce the racialization of social space (Bonilla-Silva and Embrick 2007). Within the contemporary racialized interaction order, whites are also held accountable to idealized notions of whiteness that involve the maintenance of racialized symbolic and spatial boundaries and adherence to a concealed white supremacist *doxa* (Hughey 2012a; Lewis 2004).

Discrimination and poor treatment of blacks in public spaces persist in American life, even for those who have achieved higher-class status (Feagin 1991). Elijah Anderson’s (2012, 2015) descriptions of the contemporary interracial interactional dynamics of “white space,” social spaces dominated by whites wherein whiteness is normalized, and “iconic ghetto,” an imagined social space in the minds of whites that renders racial stereotypes about black and brown people as expectations about their origins and behaviors, are particularly illustrative of the racialization of space. Anderson (2015:13) writes that “in the absence of routine social contact between blacks and whites, stereotypes can rule perceptions, creating a situation that estranges blacks” and therefore “almost any unknown black person can experience social distance” because of “what black skin has come to mean as others in the white space associate it with the iconic ghetto.”

The relationship between idealized expectations and performances of self is the hallmark of the intersubjective processes enacted in face-to-face social interactions. The capacity held by whites in many situations to impose their “definition of the situation” (Thomas [1923] 2002) on to interracial interactions unreflexively and with the veneer of social legitimacy is a central component of the relationship between the racialized interaction order and the social fact of racial domination. Throughout the history of the racialized social system in the United States, social actors racialized as black have often had to engage in strategic performances for the sake of

impression management that resonate in particular ways with whites' definitions of the situation for their very survival and safety.

The racialized expectations imposed by whites onto interracial interactions that accompany the contemporary racialization of social spaces, real or imagined, are such that in order to navigate white spaces unscathed, people of color must disprove interactional expectations *qua* racial stereotypes through performances and presentations of self that signify and symbolize white notions of acceptability or servility (Anderson 2012, 2015). As throughout American history, the consequences of an inadequate performance in contemporary white spaces include hate speech, stigmatization, suspicion, surveillance, avoidance, and social marginalization.

Racialized physical violence is yet another mechanism maintaining the interaction order in contemporary society as seen in the cases of countless unarmed black men murdered by white men who perceived them as unfamiliar and thus driven by racialized schemata and anxiety concluded that they were therefore threatening. Noel Cazenave (2014) thus notes the echoes of the "mix of racist stereotypes and emotions, hyper-masculinity and entitlement" that fueled lynchings within contemporary instantiations of racialized lethal violence.

Along with white citizens, law enforcement officers often authoritatively enforce the racialization of social space and the maintenance of the racialized interaction order in contemporary American society through surveillance and physical force including deadly violence. American law enforcement officers, many of whom already have formal military backgrounds, experience militarized conditioning during their training producing interactional expectations relating to the use of physical and symbolic violence against a more or less abstract adversary. Within American culture, the collective mental image and set of idealized expectations corresponding to this abstract adversary is often that of a black or brown male (Hughey 2015; Welch 2007).

Racial profiling and mistreatment of individuals racialized as black or brown at the hands of police officers are routinized aspects of everyday life for both police and many people of color (Brunson 2007; Rios 2011). Victor Rios (2011) points out that police in communities of color often focus on surveilling, punishing (through symbolic and physical violence), and arresting young black and Latino men, whom, because of the racialized interaction order, they perceive as *de facto* criminals, rather than protecting them from victimization. The experience of Earl Sampson demonstrates the connection between the racialization of space and the routinization of surveillance and physical force within the contemporary racialized interaction order. Julie K. Brown (2013) writes that over the past four years,

Miami Gardens police have arrested Sampson 62 times for one offense: trespassing. Almost every citation was issued at the same place: the 207 Quickstop, a convenience store on 207th Street in Miami Gardens. But Sampson isn't loitering. He works as a clerk at the Quickstop.

The racialization of social space operates alongside the racialization of bodies within the interaction order. Amanda E. Lewis (2003), in her research on race in American schools, contributes two essential and interconnected insights on the relationship between bodies and spaces in the racialized interaction order. First, she notes, drawing on the work of Stuart Hall and others, that race is not simply about differentiation between bodies but also dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. Second, she notes that the racialization of bodies occurs through both external processes of “ascription” and internal processes of identity construction. Drawing these insights together, Lewis (2003:300) writes that “racial ascriptions are [...] not solely about deciding what categories individuals belong to but about the mapping of systems of meaning onto individuals” including social logics that individuals act upon in interactions.

Fay Wells (2015), in her description of an event in which her white neighbor misrecognized her entering her own home after being locked out, as a criminal committing a break in, provides a relevant example of such racialized social logics. Despite her advanced education, prestigious occupation, calm demeanor, and evidence that she was in fact the resident of the home, Wells (2015) writes that all that mattered was “that I was a woman of color trying to get into her apartment—in an almost entirely white apartment complex in a mostly white city—and a white man who lived in another building called the cops because he’d never seen me before.” Moreover, the ability of her white neighbor and the 19 police officers who arrived at the scene and pointed weapons at her to define the space as normatively white, the situation as a crime in progress, and Wells herself as violent and criminal illustrates the symbolic power dynamics of the racialized interaction order.

We can thus triangulate the relationship between the racial meanings of spaces, the racial meanings of bodies, and the role of meanings in motivating and influencing social (inter)actions to illustrate how the racialized interaction order produces outcomes and life experiences. For instance, the immense racial disparity in the distribution of resources at the institutional level such as wealth (cf. Oliver and Shapiro 1995) are often reproduced through interactional dynamics of micro-level decision making in institutional settings wherein dominant actors have power and influence (Roscigno 2007). Social dynamics of exclusion or exploitation within racialized interactions determine access to symbolic and material resources (cf. Lewis 2003; Schwalbe 2000). At the same time, the historical development of racial inequality in material and symbolic terms also shapes the racialized interaction order. For instance, extant symbolic or material inequalities shape the range of possibilities for recourse or resistance within racialized interactions marked by conflict or domination (cf. Feagin 1991).

A distinct outcome of interactional dynamics is thus a form of exclusion in racial discrimination that facilitates othering and exploitation (Feagin 1991; Schwalbe 2000; Roscigno 2007). Rawls (2000) notes that the interaction order is shaped by the relative consciousness of individuals racialized as white or black such that misrecognition is frequently an aspect of interracial communication that leads to racial

discrimination in institutional settings. Drawing on W. E. B. Du Bois, Rawls (2000) writes that there exists a “veil” separating the consciousness and perceptions of black and white Americans and that racialized economic and social conditions necessitate a “double consciousness” in which black Americans are aware of themselves as part of white-dominated society and part of a black community with concrete values and interests shaped by oppression and exclusion. As the black and white communities have differing cultural norms, values, goals, and approaches to social life (i.e., individualist vs. community oriented), within interracial communication, blacks are held to the standards of two communities (white and black) while whites are only held to the standards of one (white) (Rawls 2000).

Conflict between whites and blacks over economic and social life thus generates different moral orientations and self-performances and consequently differences in communicative practice (Rawls 2000). When blacks enter into conversations with whites, they are balancing the moral demands of individualism and community orientation. Misunderstandings result from differing communicative expectations between blacks and whites and either go unrecognized or are considered a result of deliberate actions. Racialized differences in communicatively signaling honesty, trust, and respect in interactions are key examples of the relationship between double consciousness and misrecognition in the racialized interaction order with significant implications for the racial distribution of symbolic and material goods.

In moments of racial (mis)recognition in interactions, stereotypical tropes and narratives about racial others often come to stand in for actual recognition and empathetic perspective taking. The racialization of spaces, bodies, and the interaction order itself relies on the existence of extant social meanings about race that once established and spread become interpretive lenses for defining situations. While cultural production has always been an aspect of collective human meaning making, contemporary society has undergone significant technological shifts that have generated a vast quantity of mass-mediated racial meanings that saturate and dye the fabric of everyday life. In contemporary society, social information about racial others comes not simply from previous interactions in face-to-face contexts but also from the racialized images and discourses produced and distributed through increasingly digital and global forms of media. Thus, the saliency of the media is an essential feature of the modern racialized interaction order.

The Mass Mediation of the Racialized Interaction Order

Media depictions of racial groups are entrenched within processes that both reflect and shape the racialized interaction order. Racial depictions in the media provide the public with racial stereotypes and ideologies. Travis L. Dixon (2007:271) notes that “exposure to mass media imagery may have an impact on viewers’ constructions of social reality.” In other words, audiences cultivate information from mass media and employ it to define and navigate the social world. Mass-mediated racial meanings thereby affect idealized expectations in interracial interactions. This process of

cultivation is also dependent on the social context of media audiences. For example, for whites who do not regularly interact with people of color, media depictions have a stronger influence in their perceptions and attitudes on racial issues (cf. Entman and Rojecki 2001). In their study of racialization in news media, Entman and Rojecki (2001:91) find that “the racial stereotyping of Blacks encouraged by the images and implicit comparisons to Whites on local news reduces the latter’s empathy and heightens animosity”.

As exemplified by the news media’s persistent fixation on the perceived pathology of people of color and innocence of whites, mass media engage in processes of framing that can leave out vital sources of context. The concept of media framing is akin to photographic framing and denotes not only those aspects of an event which are focused on but also those which are “outside of the frame” (Downing and Husband 2005). The exclusion of contextual imagery and discourses that remove “racial events” from the wider milieu of a historically embedded system of white racial domination and black oppression was recently and trenchantly articulated by Journalist Jeb Lund (2015) who observes, “it’s hard to get exciting and memorable footage of systems.” Additionally, mass media production, particularly in the case of news media, involves not only processes of framing but also the imposition of categories and discourses onto selected events (cf. Hall et al. 1978).

The criminalization of blackness provides an instructive example for exploring the relationship between mass-mediated symbols and the racialized interaction order. Both what constitutes a crime and who is considered a typical criminal is the product of social construction processes influenced largely by the media. For example, Dixon, Azacar, and Casas (2003) find that in network news crime stories, African Americans are underrepresented as victims and police officers and more likely to appear as perpetrators. And Entman and Rojecki (2001), in their analysis of national news stories, find that they “more heavily featured African Americans in stereotyped roles associated with crime and sports” (P. 66). Matthew Robinson (2000:140) thus writes that “media activity reinforces the myths that most crime is violent and that most people will be victimized by crime” and that “African Americans commit more crime than Whites is also reinforced by the media.”

The mythologies and moral panics constructed and amplified by mass media inform the racialized social logics of such controlling images as the “brute” or its modern counterpart the “thug,” the “iconic ghetto” (Anderson 2015), the “mammy,” the “welfare queen,” and the “jezebel” (P. H. Collins 2009). However, as noted by Stuart Hall (1980:119), mass media content can be understood in multiple ways ranging from critical to hegemonic forms of “decoding” the interpretations of the social world “encoded” within mass media and “it is this set of decoded meanings which ‘have an effect’” on audiences. In the case of “hegemonic/dominant” forms of decoding (Hall 1980), mass-mediated images and discourses are, at once, scaffoldings of the ideological structures mobilized during conscious rationalizations of the racial order and, simultaneously, social information that feeds into “nets of accountability” (Schwalbe et al. 2000) to which racialized

actors are held. Mass-mediated expectations enter into and shape everyday racialized interactions such as whites' avoidance of spaces racialized as black (cf. Bonilla-Silva and Embrick 2007) or orientations of fear, skepticism, and paternalistic protectiveness toward bodies racialized as black (cf. Hughey 2012a).

An attribute of the racialized interaction order of contemporary American society is therefore that interpretations of the social actions of racial others, particularly for those who occupy dominant/hegemonic social positions, reflect mass-mediated racial meanings. The mass mediation of the interaction order can be thought of as an effect of what Anthony Giddens (1993) calls "time-space distancing," an important aspect of modernity. Time-space distancing is the process whereby spatially or temporally distant interactions (such as those captured by mass media) have become more influential in everyday reality so as to generate connections between previously disconnected social entities ranging from dyadic face-to-face interactions to social institutions (Giddens 1993). Similarly, Herbert Blumer (1958) writes that racial group characterization in the media influences how dominant racial groups perceive racial others in terms of a "sense of group position" that affects such interactional dynamics as prejudice and discrimination.

The digitization of modern mass media has transfigured many aspects of the mass media by enabling, for instance, greater participation in the distribution and creation of content by audiences, which on its face seems a potentially democratizing force for modern society. However, the distribution of racist ideologies and discourses along with racialized mythological tropes and controlling images in contemporary digital media remains common in both covert and overt forms. For instance, Jessie Daniels (2009:17) argues, in her study of white supremacist groups' use of the Internet, "the presence of white supremacy online debunks the myth" that the Internet enables the transcendence of racial oppression and therefore "necessitates a critical inspection of race and the Internet from a sociological perspective."

Along with the overt example of white supremacist groups organizing and spreading racial hatred and misinformation through digital media, covert racial discourses permeate the digital realm in interactive spaces such as the comment sections of news articles. For instance, in a study on the racialization of conceptions of citizenship in relationship to the "birther" movement in America demanding that due to his seeming "otherness" President Barack Obama show his birth certificate, Matthew W. Hughey (2012b:180) finds that "by flocking to the commentary fields of flagship newspapers, people collectively contest and arrest the contradictory meanings and ambiguities of race in stable and seductive narratives" and that "such public discourse refines how people decide who belongs (and who does not) within their imagined racial and civic community."

Furthermore, advances in information and communication technologies have enabled the mass distribution of subjectively captured video evidence of racial violence, particularly acts of violence enacted by police officers. Within these videos, the recursive interactions between police officers and people of color are "habitual, patterned, scripted, governed by formal or informal rules," and thus generative of

“shared expectations or maps” (Hughey 2015:864). Moreover, the spread of this footage and its common accompaniment with venues of discursive articulation creates new digital spaces for various interpretations to become imposed upon these spatially and temporally distant racialized interactions. These scenes of violence thereby gain variously socially positioned audiences that engage in decoding these real life events. Dominant decoding practices then take place through the use of stereotypes, ideologies, and narratives to explain and justify the use of violence while instances of critical decoding catalyzing empathy, calls for justice, and mobilizations.

Even in “cyberspace,” a range of racial discourses are constructed and dispersed that contain symbolic connections between categories such as whiteness and citizenship or blackness and criminality. These discourses reinforce the logic of the contemporary racialized interaction order and through their impact on everyday interactions reproduce racially patterned structures of inequality and domination.

Conclusions

In this article, I have explored the role of social interaction in the reproduction of racial domination throughout U.S. history through vignettes representative of racialized performances of self and descriptions of sociohistorically situated racialized interaction orders. In doing so, I have demonstrated many interactional processes essential to the reproduction of racial domination such as othering and exploitation, routinization, honor rituals, strategic speech and action, the racialization of spaces and bodies, violence, and mass mediation. Tracing the place of race in key interactional dynamics through almost 400 years illustrates the durability and flexibility of racial domination and reveals important insights into why racial justice remains elusive.

The extensive and intricate history of racial domination in the United States cannot be explained through simple reference to ideology or institutional structures without understanding and elucidating the essential role of social interactions in the processes of social reproduction that sustain them (cf. Embrick and Henricks 2013; Essed 1991). Whether within the foundation of chattel slavery or the post-Civil Rights era, justificatory racial ideologies are products of the strategic manipulation of symbols and signs in social interactions in the interest of rationalizing or concealing racial domination. Likewise, racialized institutional structures, from Jim Crow to the modern prison industrial complex, are formed when patterns of racialized social interaction become sufficiently routinized and complexified.

Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank Matthew W. Hughey, Louise Seamster, Melissa F. Weiner, and Shirley A. Jackson for their insightful and supportive feedback.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Notes

1. In articulating the structural and practical implications of the interaction order, Erving Goffman (1983:11) writes that there exists, “a nonexclusive linkage—a loose coupling—between interactional practices and social structures [. . .], a set of transformation rules, or a membrane selecting how various externally relevant social distinctions will be managed within this interaction.”
2. This vignette also illustrates the role of sexual politics in the emergence and development of the racialized interaction order (see P. H. Collins [2005, 2009] for an in-depth analysis of this topic).
3. See Bonilla-Silva (2014) and Haney López (2006:186, 2014) for contemporary explorations of projection as a mechanism for avoiding the cognitive dissonance of “white guilt.” Kovel (1984) demonstrates a Freudian/Lacanian approach to white racism that also includes the notions of projection and cognitive dissonance within its framework.
4. On the microsociology of mob violence, see R. Collins (2008:120-21).
5. On the “aversive” qualities of Northern and postbellum racism, see Kovel (1984). Further, while beyond the scope of this article, the racialized interaction order of the American North also operated through symbolic and spatial boundaries, mob violence, and forms of racial stigma albeit in geographically, demographically, and culturally distinct ways. For instance, freed blacks who migrated to the urban North also experienced othering and exploitation in social, residential, economic, and political life (cf. Massey and Denton 1993; Sugrue 2005).
6. Reed (2013:203-4) writes “performative power [. . .] can often (if not always) magnify itself by becoming a public spectacle or drawing attention to itself.”
7. Notably, Wallace politically eclipsed fellow “Dixiecrat” John Barnett of Mississippi who campaigned on overt white supremacy (Carlson 1981).

References

- Anderson, Elijah. 2012. “The Iconic Ghetto.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 642:8-24.
- Anderson, Elijah. 2015. “The White Space.” *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1:10-21.
- Arnold, Edwin. 2009. *What Virtue There Is in Fire: Cultural Memory and the Lynching of Sam Hose*. Athens, GA: University of Virginia Press.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2014. *Racism without Racists: Color-blind Racism & Racial Inequality in Contemporary America*. 4th ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo and David G. Embrick. 2007. "‘Every Place Has a Ghetto . . .’: The Significance of Whites’ Social and Residential Segregation." *Symbolic Interaction* 30: 323-45.
- Blumer, Herbert. 1958. "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position." *The Pacific Sociological Review* 1:3-7.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 2001. *Masculine Domination*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Brown, Julie K. 2013. "In Miami Gardens, Store Video Catches Cops in the Act." *The Miami Herald*. Retrieved May 2, 2015 (<http://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/community/miami-dade/article1957716.html>).
- Brundage, W. Fitzhugh. 1997. "The Roar on the Other Side of Silence: Black Resistance and White Violence in the American South, 1880-1940." Pp. 271-92 in *Under Sentence of Death: Lynching in the South*, edited by W. Fitzhugh Brundage. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Brunson, Rod K. 2007. "‘Police Don’t Like Black People’: African-American Young Men’s Accumulated Police Experiences." *Criminology and Public Policy* 6:71-102.
- Carlson, Jody. 1981. *George C. Wallace and the Politics of Powerlessness: The Wallace Campaigns for the Presidency, 1964–1976*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Cazenave, Noel. 2014. "Understanding Our Many Fergusons: Kill Lines—The Will, the Right and the Need to Kill." *Truthout*. Retrieved May 2, 2015 (<http://www.truth-out.org/opinion/item/26484-understanding-our-many-fergusons-kill-lines-the-will-the-right-and-the-need-to-kill>).
- Coates, Rodney D. 2003. "Law and the Cultural Production of Race and Racialized Systems of Oppression: Early American Court Cases." *American Behavioral Scientist* 47:329-51.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 2005. *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism*. New York: Routledge.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 2009. *Black Feminist Thought*. New York: Routledge.
- Collins, Randal. 2008. *Violence: A Micro-sociological Theory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Daniels, Jessie. 2009. *Cyber Racism: White Supremacy Online and the New Attack on Civil Rights*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Degler, Carl. 1959. "Slavery and the Genesis of American Race Prejudice." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2:49-66.
- Dixon, Travis L. 2007. "Black Criminals and White Officers: The Effects of Racially Misrepresenting Law Breakers and Law Defenders on Television News." *Media Psychology* 10: 270-91.
- Dixon, Travis L., Cristina L. Azocar, and Michael Casas. 2003. "The Portrayal of Race and Crime on Television Network News." *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 47: 498-523.
- Douglass, Frederick. [1845] 2002. "Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave." Pp. 299-404 in *The Classic Slave Narratives*, edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. New York: Signet Classics.
- Downing, John D. H. and Charles Husband. 2005. *Representing Race: Racisms, Ethnicities, and Media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Du Bois, W. E. B. 1921. *Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil*. New York: Harcourt.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. 1935. *Black Reconstruction in America*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Durkheim, Emile. [1912] 1995. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Translated by Karen E. Fields. New York: The Free Press.
- Embrick, David G. and Kasey Henricks. 2013. "Discursive Colorlines at Work: How Epithets and Stereotypes Are Racially Unequal." *Symbolic Interaction* 36:197-215.
- Entman, Robert and Andrew Rojecki. 2001. *The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Essed, Philomena. 1991. *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Feagin, Joe R. 1991. "The Continuing Significance of Race: Antiblack Discrimination in Public Places." *American Sociological Review* 56(1):101-116.
- Feagin, Joe. 2001. *Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations*. New York: Routledge.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1993. *The Giddens Reader*. Edited by Phillip Cassell. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Goffman, Erving. 1983. "The Interaction Order: American Sociological Association, 1982 Presidential Address." *American Sociological Review* 48:1-17.
- Gossett, Thomas F. [1965] 1997. *Race: The History of an Idea in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, Stuart. 1980. "Encoding/Decoding." Pp. 117-27 in *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies 1972-1979*, edited by Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe, and Paul Willis. New York: Routledge.
- Hall, Stuart, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke, and Brian Roberts. 1978. *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. London, UK: Macmillan Press.
- Haney López, Ian F. 2006. *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*. New York: New York University Press.
- Haney López, Ian F. 2014. *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Hartman, Saidiya V. 1997. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self Making in Nineteenth Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hughey, Matthew W. 2012a. *White Bound: Nationalists, Antiracists, and the Shared Meaning of Race*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Hughey, Matthew W. 2012b. "'Show Me Your Papers!' Obama's Birth and the Whiteness of Belonging." *Qualitative Sociology* 35:163-81.
- Hughey, Matthew W. 2014. "Identity Isomorphism: Role Schemas and White Masculinity Formation." *Sociological Inquiry* 48:264-93.
- Hughey, Matthew W. 2015. "The Five I's of Five-O: Racial Ideologies, Institutions, Interests, Identities, and Interactions of Police Violence." *Critical Sociology* 41:857-71.
- Hughey, Matthew W. and Gregory S. Parks. 2014. *Wrongs of the Right: Language, Race, and the Republican Party in the Age of Obama*. New York: New York University Press.

- Jenkins, Richard. 2008. "Erving Goffman: A Major Theorist of Power?" *Journal of Power* 1: 157-68.
- Jordan, Winthrop D. 1968. *White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Kovel, Joel. 1984. *White Racism: A Psychohistory*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lewis, Amanda. 2003. "Everyday Race Making: Navigating Racial Boundaries in Schools." *American Behavioral Scientist* 47:283-305.
- Lewis, Amanda E. 2004. "What Group?" Studying Whites and Whiteness in the Era of "Color-Blindness" *Sociological Theory* 22(4):623-646.
- Lund, Jeb. 2015. "CNN and Baltimore: A Crossfire with 100 Percent Casualties." *Rolling Stone*. Retrieved May 2, 2015 (<http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/cnn-and-baltimore-a-crossfire-with-100-percent-casualties-20150429>).
- Massey, Douglass and Nancy Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Mast, Jason L. 2013. *The Performative Presidency: Crisis and Resurrection during the Clinton Years*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- McCoskey, Denise Eileen. 2012. *Race: Antiquity and Its Legacy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Morris, Aldon D. 1986. *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. New York: The Free Press.
- Muhammad, Khalil Gibran. 2011. *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Oliver, Melvin L. and Thomas M. Shapiro. 1995. *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality*. New York: Routledge.
- Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Patterson, Orlando. 1982. *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Rawls, Anne Warfield. 2000. "'Race' as an Interaction Order Phenomenon: WEB Du Bois's 'Double Consciousness' Thesis Revisited." *Sociological Theory* 18:241-74.
- Reed, Isaac Ariail. 2013. "Power: Relational, Discursive, and Performative Dimensions." *Sociological Theory* 31:193-218.
- Rios, Victor M. 2011. *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys*. New York: New York University Press.
- Robinson, Matthew. 2000. "The Construction and Reinforcement of Myths of Race and Crime." *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 16:133-56.
- Roscigno, Vincent J. 2007. *The Face of Discrimination: How Race and Gender Impact Work and Home Lives*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Rosino, Michael L. and Matthew W. Hughey. 2015. "Who's Invited to the (Political) Party: Race and Party Politics in the USA." *Ethnic and Racial Studies Review*. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2016.1096413.
- Schwalbe, Michael. 2000. "The Elements of Inequality." *Contemporary Sociology* 29: 775-81.

- Schwalbe, Michael, Sandra Godwin, Daphne Holden, Douglas Schrock, Shealy Thompson, and Michele Wolkomir. 2000. "Generic Processes in the Reproduction of Inequality: An Interactionist Analysis." *Social Forces* 79:419-25.
- Senechal De La Roche, Roberta. 1997. "The Sociogenesis of Lynching." Pp. 48-76 in *Under Sentence of Death: Lynching in the South*, edited by W. Fitzhugh Brundage. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Sims, Angela D. 2010. *Ethical Complications of Lynching: Ida B. Wells' Interrogation of American Terror*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Stampp, Kenneth. 1956. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Sugrue, Thomas J. 2005. *The Origins of Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Thomas, William I. [1923] 2002. "The Definition of the Situation." Pp. 103-15 in *Self, Symbols, and Society: Classic Readings in Social Psychology*, edited by Nathan Rousseau. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- van Dijk, Teun. 2008. *Discourse and Power*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Weber, Max. 1958. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Talcott Parsons. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Welch, Kelly. 2007. "Black Criminal Stereotypes and Racial Profiling." *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 23:276-88.
- Wells, Fay. 2015. "My White Neighbor Thought I Was Breaking into My Own Apartment. Nineteen Cops Showed up." *The Washington Post*, November 18, 2015. Retrieved November 18, 2015 (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2015/11/18/my-white-neighbor-thought-i-was-breaking-into-my-own-apartment-nineteen-cops-showed-up/>).
- William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*. 1909. "Historical and Genealogical Notes." *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* 18:59-67.