Alternative View of Modernity: The Subaltern Speaks

Aldon Morris[a]

Abstract

This article derives from my 2021 ASA presidential address. I examine how sociologists including Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and white American sociologists have omitted key determinants of modernity in their accounts of this pivotal development in world history. Those determinants are white supremacy, western empires, racial hierarchies, colonization, slavery, Jim Crow, patriarchy, and resistance movements. This article demonstrates that any accounts omitting these determinants will only produce an anemic and misleading analysis of modernity. The central argument maintains that the sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois developed a superior analysis of modernity by analytically centering these determinants. I conclude by making a case for the development of an emancipatory sociology in the tradition of Du Boisian critical sociological thought.

This article interrogates intersecting aspects of modernity ignored by standard sociological narratives. These omissions render such accounts incapable of explaining the origins and social contours of the modern world. For this article, modernity refers to the modern world that rose from numerous transformations triggered by the industrial revolution, capitalism, empire building, and global white domination. I argue that a matrix of factors—

[a]Northwestern University

Corresponding Author:
Aldon Morris, Northwestern University, 1812 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, IL 60208-1330
Email: amorris@northwestern.edu

white supremacy, western empires, racial hierarchies, colonization, slavery, Jim Crow, patriarchy, and resistance movements—was foundational in the development of modernity. Indeed, it is not possible to explain modernity with theories that exclude these social dynamics.

Classical and contemporary sociological theories have ignored and suppressed these intersecting determinants in their analyses of modernity. Rarely are white supremacy, western empires, racial hierarchies, colonization, slavery, Jim Crow, patriarchy, and resistance movements examined separately or collectively by sociological theorists as determinants of modernity. For example, in two seemingly comprehensive studies—Lewis Coser's *Masters of Sociological Thought* (1977) and Anthony Giddens's *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory* (1971)—that examine the theories of Marx, Durkheim, and Weber, these dynamics are not mentioned. They were not mentioned because classical social theorists did not theorize these factors as fundamental determinants of modernity. Moreover, scholars who have studied the works of classical analysts fail to question the absence of these factors in their theoretical frameworks addressing modernity. By suppressing these factors, the classical architects of sociology and their heirs failed to provide accounts of how modernity was shaped by systems of global white supremacy that made it possible for whites to almost succeed in their quest to rule the world. I will demonstrate how this suppressed matrix of factors was central to the production of modernity and the lived experiences of modern humanity. I argue that the sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois advanced understandings of modernity by centering this matrix of social factors as well as the lived experiences that flowed from them.

LIVED EXPERIENCES IN SEARCH OF SOCIOLOGICAL ANSWERS

Analyzing lived experiences is foundational to Du Boisian emancipatory sociology. Thus, I begin with my lived experiences.

- I am a product of the Jim Crow regime of racial terrorism in Mississippi, where I spent my first 12 years of life surviving this vicious system of southern racism.
- When I was 6, 14-year-old Emmett Till was lynched just 30 miles from my home. This murder caused me great sorrow, fear, nightmares, and helped shape my view of the social world.
- As children, my brother and I watched cowboy westerns on television. When we played cowboy and Indian, each of us fought to play the cowboy, for neither wanted to be the Indian.
- We embraced the Tarzan character, that is, the white actor on television portrayed as the ruler over Africa in the twentieth century. We identified with this "white conqueror," for we wished not to be identified with Black Africans.
- When I was 7, a white landowner rushed me in the hot Mississippi sun, shouting, "listen little Nigger, you better not chop down my good cotton." That incident caused my personhood to sink and my budding confidence to stagger.
- In 1962, I moved to Chicago, the city I fanaticized as a glorified northern Promised Land free of southern white racists. It did not take long, though, before I met oppressive northern Jane Crow on the Black side of Chicago.
- As a domestic worker, my mother supported five children. She aspired to own her home, but found it daunting given her meager income and a horrendous patriarchal system that made it impossible for a Black woman to sign for a home loan.
- In my predominantly white high school in Chicago, Black students encountered discrimination and were tracked into vocational careers. Outside of school, police patrolled and profiled us, especially young Black men, some of whom landed in jail.
- As I worked in factories, I discovered racial inequality divided Black and white workers. Once, I walked through the supervisor's office at International Harvester, full of white bosses, which prompted the senior one to yell, "You are never again to enter the managers'

office tracking in mud and grease." That admonition made me feel like deposits of mud and grease.

- As I entered community college hesitantly, I feared failure because no family member had ever attended college. Through a series of chances and coincidences, I eventually earned a doctorate at Stony Brook University, where I encountered racial bias. In retrospect, I came to realize that my education resulted from serendipity rather than careful planning.
- Before leaving Mississippi, I heard rumblings of the Negro revolt. I became aware of the Civil Rights Movement that changed me, as it was a powerful agency promising to deliver Black liberation.

This article will demonstrate that mainstream sociology offered no real explanations for my experiences. I will argue that the sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois developed such explanations, but at the time I hungered for knowledge to explain my world, his insights were inaccessible, having been erased from the discipline for over a century.

ERASURE OF W. E. B. DU BOIS

Du Bois, the pioneering Black sociologist, probed the lived experiences of the oppressed, providing explanations for their subjugation and agency. Yet, his erasure from sociology was stunning. To document the extent of Du Bois's erasure, I examined the entire corpus of 112 American Sociological Association (ASA) presidential addresses to determine how often these presidents mentioned Du Bois compared to Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber.

I discovered Marx was mentioned 91 times beginning in 1920, and Durkheim received 87 mentions beginning in 1911. Weber was mentioned 76 times beginning in 1943. In contrast, Du Bois was mentioned 45 times, but the first did not occur until 71 years after the founding of ASA, when Alfred McClung Lee referenced Du Bois in 1976 (Lee 1976). Du Bois was not mentioned again for a quarter of a century. The breakthrough came in 2000, when President Joe Feagin discussed Du Bois

12 times (Feagin 2001). Michael Burawoy followed in 2004, mentioning Du Bois five times (Burawoy 2005). Then came the watershed: in 2019, President Mary Romero centered Du Bois's work, discussing him 22 times (Romero 2020)! Thus, Du Bois was erased from sociology until his resurrection in the twenty-first century, nearly a century after ASA was founded (Morris 2015; Wright 2016). Unsurprisingly, during this period of erasure, sociology largely ignored subalterns' lived experiences and the macro and micro structures that shaped them.

SUPPRESSED DETERMINANTS OF MODERNITY AND LIVED EXPERIENCES

In 1903, Du Bois posed a profound question for subalterns and their oppressors: "How does it feel to be a problem?" Du Bois (1903:2) claimed, "To the real question, How does it feel to be a problem? I answer seldom a word." Yet, for six decades, Du Bois produced scholarship probing this perplexing question. Over a half century later in 1959, C. Wright Mills, a white sociologist born in Jim Crowed Waco, Texas, in 1916, grappled with similar questions regarding lived experiences. Mills (1959:3) argued, "Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both"; thus, one must develop an "awareness of the relationship between personal experience and the wider society." Du Bois and Mills advocated linking biographies with histories and social structures to understand people's lived experiences.

WHITE SUPREMACY AND RACIAL HIERARCHIES, EMPIRES AND COLONIZATION, SLAVERY AND JIM CROW, PATRIARCHY, AND RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS

To understand subalterns'—oppressed and disenfranchised peoples—lived experiences

over the past several centuries requires linking them to white supremacy, western empires, racial hierarchies, colonization, slavery, Jim Crow, patriarchy, and resistance movements that collectively constituted central formations of modernity. These formations comingled with class struggles, highly differentiated divisions of labor, and increased rationalization of modern societies in producing modernity. In western sociology, these latter dynamics have been privileged as the necessary and sufficient causes of modernity, while the former have been omitted and erased from accounts of modernization, as if these enduring features of modernity never existed.

White supremacy grew from and was nurtured by western social, economic, and political systems that enabled whites to rule those perceived as darker races. White supremacy valorized whiteness as an attribute that endowed its possessors with taken-for-granted natural rights and abilities to rule and exploit darker people across the globe (Du Bois 1920a; Mills 1997). In western countries claiming to be civilized democracies, a powerful belief system was developed to justify massive exploitation of darker people backed by naked violence and brute force (Fanon 1963). The role that global white violence played in producing modernity has been ignored and downplayed in standard sociological accounts. As Danns and Henry (forthcoming) argue, "The racism that birthed capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism was characterized not by class conflict in a Marxian sense but by savage violence and repression of people of color by white Europeans and white Americans." Thus, the ideology that the white race was inherently superior was developed meticulously by elite whites and intellectuals to justify brutal white rule. By the twentieth century, white supremacist structures and associated ideologies stretched the globe, engulfing Africa, Asia, South America, the Caribbean, and the United States.

Alongside this racist ideology, white empires grew and imposed political control over people of color (Steinmetz 2013b).

These empires were achieved through violence, murder, torture, ruthless exploitation, and cultural disruption. Empire building reached its zenith when European nations agreed to divide Africa between themselves at the 1884 Berlin Conference, where white leaders from Europe and the United States collectively organized to take control of the continent. This effort was extremely successful: only Ethiopia and Liberia escaped European colonialization. By the turn of the twentieth century, nearly all African lands were under European control, and the construction of empires through colonization became foundational to the modernizing process. As Adebajo (2010:16) notes, "Berlin had fired the starting gun for the imperial partition, and in the next two decades, almost the entire landmass of Africa would be parcelled out among European powers." Justifying this domination, white ideology proclaimed Africans deserved to serve whites because they were uncivilized.

Racial hierarchies constituted a crucial property of modernity (Treitler and Morris 2019). They were socially constructed systems of racial classifications enabling whites to exploit races perceived as inferior. As a result, racial hierarchies generated devastating consequences for billions of people. These hierarchies empowered whites to occupy the top rung while other races were arrayed according to their proximity to whiteness (Treitler 2013). Black skin relegated darker people to the bottom, rendering them victims of severe exploitation.

Colonization constituted another pillar of white domination. It occurred when a foreign power claimed sovereignty over other nations and annexed their territory (Steinmetz 2013a:11). Colonized rulership was achieved by controlling local leaders from afar, or by direct rule when Europeans settled in foreign countries and controlled local populations. Colonization permitted Europeans to expand the value of their empires through the seizure of indigenous diamonds, gold, coffee, silver, tobacco, sugar, and cotton, all extracted by exploited labor.

Settler colonialism was a distinctive form of colonialism. It emerged when indigenous people were removed from their lands and replaced by whites, who took those lands to exploit them for European empires (Wolfe 2006). Native Americans suffered devastating settler colonialism. English colonizers drove them from their lands, restricted them to reservations, and forced their children to attend propaganda schools to eliminate their so-called "primitive culture." The removal process was brutal: rebellious Indians murdered, agricultural fields seized, homes set ablaze, and graves robbed (Blackhawk 2006; Mooney 1975; Thornton 1987). British settlers gained complete control of indigenous lands owned by Native Americans and developed what became the United States, a crown jewel of modernity.

Modern slavery became a workhorse in service of European domination. It blossomed in South America, the Caribbean, and the United States, beginning in the sixteenth century (Du Bois 1941). Millions of Africans were forced into slavery that benefitted the economies of European countries and the U.S. colonies. Slavery solidified U.S. imperial power, enabling the United States to conquer the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and Hawaii, and annex portions of Mexico. Slavery shaped U.S. racial dynamics for centuries, rendering Native Americans exiles and African Americans serfs. Black skin came to be equated with subjugation, linking it to inferiority. That condition was slightly modified by colorism, where light-skin Blacks sometimes received symbolic and material privileges unavailable to darker-skin Blacks.

The Jim Crow regime that controlled Black individuals politically, economically, and socially replaced slavery as the new system of domination (Morris 1984). Jim Crow enabled southern aristocracies and northern capitalists to restore their profits. It persevered three quarters of a century because it was sustained by violence, especially lynching, murder, and intimidation. Thus, an entrenched Jim Crow regime shaped modernity in the United States under the banner of civilizing so-called "inferior" Black people.

Patriarchy overlapped and reinforced white supremacy. This oppression enabled men to dominate women and solidify the rule of white men over women and people of color (Du Bois 1920b). Under gender oppression, women were exploited economically and were controlled politically and in the family. As late as the 1960s, banks refused unmarried women credit cards, and husbands had to co-sign for wives to receive them. Women in the United States finally gained the right to secure credit cards on their own with the passage of the Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974 (Nemy 1974).

Whereas men of color experienced race and class oppression, Black women endured intersecting race, class, and gender oppressions (Collins and Bilge 2016; Crenshaw 1991; King 1988). Thus, even slave women's reproductive organs belonged to white slaveowners, causing them to produce children by rape and slave unions. Special inheritance rules underscored Black women's unique oppressions: inheritance flowed through female slaves, ensuring their children were slaves for life. The legal status of slave children was determined by "partus sequitur ventrem," a doctrine stipulating such children inherit the status of slave mothers rather than that of free white men who often fathered children appearing white (Morgan 2018). This doctrine empowered slave masters to breed slaves for economic and social exploitation. The practice led ASA's first Black President, E. Franklin Frazier (1939:24–25), to argue "there were masters who, without any regard for the preferences of their slaves, mated their human chattel as they did their stock." Black women thus shouldered a heavy burden in the reproduction of slavery that ruled over them. At the same time, patriarchy in general severely restricted life chances for all women. Patriarchal rule was justified through an ideology stressing physical differences, claiming women were the weaker sex. All these forms of oppression that ushered in modernity, including patriarchy, were contested by those whom they oppressed.

Despite its crippling effects, domination is always contested. Thus, subaltern agency constituted an enduring aspect of modernity. As European domination swept the colored world, so did resistance, including revolutions, rebellions, running away, sabotage, and suicide. In the United States, slavery was overthrown by the Civil War, in which without the participation of Black people, the Union would not have emerged victorious (Du Bois 1935 [2007]). In the mid-twentieth century, less than a century after the overthrow of slavery in the United States, liberation movements roared through the colored world: between 1957 and 1993, nearly 50 African states achieved independence through resistance movements. As Go (2013:102) argues, successful protests created the socioeconomic conditions "for anti-colonial protests across Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean." Thus, resistance to white domination constituted one of the core forces that shaped the modern world. Regarding patriarchy, women and their allies continued their fight to dismantle its pernicious effects affecting half of humanity. In the United States, organized resistance during the first decades of the twentieth century enabled women to seize the franchise in 1920.

MAINSTREAM SOCIOLOGY AND THE SUPPRESSED SIDE OF MODERNITY

Mainstream sociology failed to sufficiently analyze the lived experiences of subalterns. It could not explain Till's lynching, Black boys fighting to avoid playing the Indian, some Blacks identifying with white Tarzan, Blacks brainwashed into rejecting Blackness, southern landowners shouting derogatory accusations at Black children, and the development of the Civil Rights Movement. It also failed to explain the need for Black mothers to convince white male bosses to co-sign for loans, the deliberate neglect of education for the Black masses, factory bosses insulting Black workers, and the systematic oppression of urban Black people. In sum, as

progeny of European and American empires, white sociologists felt superior as members of a perceived advanced white civilization, while viewing people of color as uncivilized. Mainstream white sociologists could not adequately address subaltern realities because they conceptualized them as inferior people incapable of exercising history-making agency.

Marx, Weber, and Durkheim were white men nurtured in European empires. Their analyses were anchored in imperial realities; their analytic categories—primitive accumulation, mechanical versus organic solidarities, gemeinschaft versus gesellschaft, and irrationality versus rationality—were embraced beyond the academy, in empires that assigned superiority to Europeans. At the outset, sociology could not escape faulty assumptions that plagued the discipline: the scholarship emerged from western scholars who from birth imbibed racial and ethnic biases situated in white empires and through their socialization experiences, which declared whites were superior. From the beginning, sociologists have been trapped in a theoretical prison because "our predicament is to inherit scholarly tools born out of [white] empires" (Kurasawa 2013:207).

Sociologists have not fully appreciated how demographic and personal background factors affect scholarship and create analytic blind spots. As Connell (2013:491) writes, "The literature of the sociology of empires, like sociology in general, has mostly been written by white middle-class men in the global North. To make this observation is not a denunciation or a guilt trip. In my view we should welcome contributions to these issues from any direction, including white middle-class men from the global North. But as sociologists, we should be willing to raise sociology-of-knowledge questions about our formation of knowledge."

Rather than addressing analytic shortcomings of white male sociologists, sociology has embraced their accounts of modernity as universal knowledge applicable to all humanity (Go 2016). Yet, as we will see, the cultural

blind spots of classical and contemporary white sociological theorists have prevented them from probing the lived experiences of the subaltern and harnessing the sociological insights such experiences illuminate. To be sure, the blind spots of Marx, Weber, and Durkheim colored their analyses of modernity.

Marx (1965:753–54) understood European exploitation, pointing out that "treasures captured outside Europe by undisguised looting, enslavement, and murder floated back to the mother-country and were turned into capital there." Yet, Marx theorized that western capitalist societies were advanced, and slavery, colonialisms, and feudalism were outdated relics of a bygone past suffering under the weight of a primitive accumulation mode of production. This conceptual straitjacket prevented Marx from analyzing how subalterns functioning as slaves and captives of colonialism were modern actors who actively shaped modernity. Durkheim's scholarship fared worse, because it ignored French colonization altogether. Moreover, he and his intellectual disciples viewed colonized people as undeveloped possessors of inferior cultures. As Kurasawa (2013:193) argues, "What is striking is that, for the Durkheimians, the global political and economics dynamics that fueled European imperialism existed for the most part at the margin of their work, a structural context that was unspoken and thereby apparently taken as self-evident rather than problematized." Durkheim ignored the social fact that European domination was omnipresent during the period when he labored to establish such facts as the exclusive domain of the emerging discipline of sociology.

Weber fervently supported German colonialization and viewed it as necessary for his fatherland to achieve dominancy in the modern world. He argued that imperialist capitalism, utilizing force and compulsory labor, offered the greatest profits for the German empire (McAuley 2019:113). Weber, a staunch believer in the superiority of the west, viewed African Americans as inferior, dividing them into categories and viewing those closest to whites phenotypically as superior. He perceived the African American masses he encountered during his 1904 visit to southern plantations and the Negro huts of the "Cotton Belt" as "semi-apes" (Zimmerman 2006:56). In this stance, Weber followed his German intellectual mentor, Gustav Schmoller, who "offered his students an overview of the 'lowest races', beginning with the 'Negro' of Africa and America" (Zimmerman 2013:175). Overall, like Durkheim, Weber's scholarship was "largely indifferent to overseas colonialism" (Steinmetz 2013a:19). Yet, Weber was not indifferent to attaining the spoils that white domination yielded to Europe, especially Germany.

The trinity—Marx, Durkheim, and Weber—did not adequately address the subaltern's lived experiences because they did not analyze racial domination. Thus, they failed to formulate analyses addressing how white supremacy toxified internal relations among people of color. They fashioned no social psychological analyses to understand the long-term effects of psychic wounds inflicted on subalterns by dominant whites. As to colorism, Weber reinforced its significance by concocting gradations of Blackness; among those whom he referred to as "semi-apes" on the plantation stood proudly two young Black sharecroppers who became my grandparents, and who maintained their dignity despite dehumanizing insults.

The trinity did not anticipate Black freedom movements to overthrow slavery, colonialism, Jim Crow, and patriarchy because they did not interrogate the subaltern's agency. Regarding patriarchy, Durkheim and Weber did not construct analyses of how it affected women generally and Black women specifically. Engels (1909) came closer, but his analysis of the family under modern capitalism centered class dynamics rather than race and class realities. Nor did the trinity bother explaining why education was systematically unavailable to subalterns, because they did not analyze their restricted life chances on the periphery of white supremacy.

Most white American sociologists fared no better in the analysis of subalterns' lived experiences. These sociologists were of European ancestry and deeply influenced by German

scholars. Like their European counterparts, they wrote under the influence of imperialism: during their era, the United States had become an empire imposing colonialism on Native Americans, enslaving Africans, and seizing territories occupied by colored people. Moreover, most white sociologists embraced the ideology of white superiority, viewing people of color as a distinct species. Robert Park (1967:43) articulated this cultural vision: "The differences between one culture and another is not very great as long as both are European . . . it is difficult to conceive two races farther removed from each other in temperament and tradition than the Anglo-Saxon and the Negro."

Most American sociologists promoted white imperialism. For Franklin H. Giddings, the future of imperialism was certain: Americans and Britons were to rule the world, thus "creating a global democratic empire" (Go 2013:100–101). Praising white domination, Edward Ross prophesied "nothing can check its triumphant expansion over the planet" (Go 2013:99). Park (1950:16) embraced the civilizing myth: "Civilization is built up by the absorption of foreign ethnic groups, by undermining them, and by secularizing their cult and sacred order." These mainstream views erased Black agency because they espoused Black inferiority, which they believed made agency impossible for this defective segment of humanity. Finally, white sociologists failed to analyze crucial aspects of the subaltern's inner subjectivities because they theorized only the existence of a universal subjectivity unmediated by society and its webs of power (Cooley 1902; Mead 1934). At best, for white sociologists, the only choice for people of color was to imperfectly imitate white consciousness (Myrdal 1944).

Most white sociologists did not develop a sociological explanation for racist lynching, such as the one that befell Emmitt Till. Such analyses did not materialize because white sociologists conceptualized racial violence as isolated instances of white prejudice rather than structured patterns of racial domination. Viewing racial domination as "race relations" and "minority relations," they failed to develop a political sociology of racial domination that interrogated race-specific terrorist practices. Additionally, they offered no explanation of why some Black boys fought desperately to be the cowboy, because they did not problematize Native American genocide resulting from white settler-colonialism. This genocide manufactured a group image of "Indians" that so severely stigmatized Native Americans that even many descendants of slaves wished not to be associated with a people portrayed as "savages."

Because most white sociologists lacked an internationalist perspective centering white domination and the global demonization of Blacks, they were incapable of explaining why U.S. Blacks distanced themselves from Africans. In the same vein, they did not problematize why some Blacks preferred light skin, because they themselves embraced whiteness as the gold standard of human beauty. Similarly, white sociologists were unfazed by white adults threating and shouting derogatory accusations at Black children, viewing those responses as necessary training for a vague eventual assimilation of Black people on white people's terms.

White American sociological scholarship failed to anticipate the Civil Rights Movement (McKee 1993). This was hardly surprising, as white sociologists viewed Black people as agentless and thus unable to initiate a powerful movement given their inferior social organization and leadership. Nor could they explain why Black mothers relied on white bosses to co-sign loans, because they did not develop analyses of patriarchy and its negative effects on women, Black women specifically. White male sociologists were so oblivious to gender oppression that as late as 1964, ASA President George Homans titled his presidential address "Bringing Men Back In" (Homans 1964).

Regarding education for African Americans, white sociologists completely ignored it while obsessing over white male upward-mobility prospects between fathers and sons (Blau and Duncan 1967). Given the

assumption that all Black people were inferior, including students, white sociologists did not concern themselves with the lack of patterned pathways to education for the Black masses. Finally, racial oppression in cities, including racial profiling and mass incarceration, were not problematized because most white sociologists theorized urban black degradation as the natural result of pathology and social disorganization (Moynihan 1965).

White sociology left unanalyzed the matrix of crucial historical, cultural, and structural formations that shaped the modern world. Their whitewashing of white domination and its devastating effects on people of color engendered a profound misunderstanding of modernity. Without analyses of those social formations—white supremacy, western empires, racial hierarchies, colonization, slavery, Jim Crow, patriarchy, and resistance movements—undergirding the modern world, modernity remains in analytic shadows, lost in a sociological wasteland. An alternative narrative centering the suppressed side of modernity is required to make the modern world comprehensible.

THE SUPPRESSED NARRATIVE CHALLENGED: DU BOIS'S ALTERNATIVE ANALYSES

For Du Bois (1903:1), Black people lived behind the veil of racial oppression, and he viewed the world through that veil: "I who speak here am bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of them that live within the Veil." Du Bois (1920a:29) also focused on the white world:

> I know many souls that toss and whirl and pass, but none there are that intrigue me more than the Souls of White Folk. . . . Of them I am singularly clairvoyant. I see in and through them. I view them from unusual points of vantage. Not as a foreigner do I come, for I am native, not foreign, bone of their thought and flesh of their language. Mine is not the knowledge of the traveler

or the colonial composite of dear memories, words and wonder. Nor yet is my knowledge that which servants have of masters, or mass of class, or capitalist of artisan. Rather I see these souls undressed and from the back and side. I see the working of their entrails. I know their thoughts and they know that I know.

From this vantage point, Du Bois viewed modernity as a product of the African slave trade, slavery, and colonialism. These systems generated exploitable labor forces and raw materials, enabling western elites to construct sprawling empires. Du Bois alone theorized the foundational interactions among racism, colonialism, slavery, western empire building, and capitalist development. Because white domination was paramount to the rise of capitalism, Du Bois went beyond claims that modernity materialized merely through class struggle, the Protestant ethic and rationalization, or a specialized division of labor. Rather, modernization sprang from racial domination that enabled capitalists to rule the globe:

> The Negro race has been the foundation upon which the capitalist system has been reared, the Industrial Revolution carried through, and imperial colonialism established. . . . America became through African labor the center of the sugar empire and the cotton kingdom and an integral part of that world industry and trade which caused the Industrial Revolution and the reign of capitalism. (Du Bois [1945/1947] 2007:144)

For Du Bois (1903:1), the color line constituted modernity's core: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line: the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea." The color line belted the world, allocating tremendous levels of inequality to darker peoples (King 2019). The architects of the color line invented modern races. Du Bois (1920a:29) conceptualized races as social constructions, arguing that "[t]he discovery of personal

whiteness among the world's peoples is a very modern thing—a nineteenth and twentieth century matter, indeed. . . . Today we have changed all that and the world in a sudden emotional conversion has discovered that it is white and by that token, wonderful!"

In this line of analysis, the color line structured identities. Human identity and selfhood were mediated by one's position within the social system. Black people's subjectivities were forged through the crucibles of slavery, Jim Crow, and lynching, which caused them to differ radically from whites who never experienced the same excruciating pain. Du Bois (1903) developed "double consciousness" theory to interrogate the duality within black selves, caused by conflictual and bothersome aims to be simultaneously Black and American. African Americans' double identities were lodged behind the racially imposed veil, severing the white and Black worlds, unleashing pain, suffering, and racism. Thus, considering the chasm between the Black and white experience, identities and inner worlds differ across multiple social formations because of varying levels of power and historical circumstances.

As Itzigsohn and Brown (2020) demonstrate, Du Bois's micro and macro analyses reveal that all aspects of modernity have been racialized, including the economy and the state. The central roles that slave and colonized labor played in the development of modernity testify to the racialization of capitalist economies. The capitalist state was racialized when it functioned as a military force through which white supremacy was coordinated and sustained (Robinson 2000). All modern social institutions have been ensconced in and affected by racial and class hierarchies, through which they have been sustained by racial prejudice, discrimination, and violence. It is in this sense that modernity itself is a racialized enterprise (Itzigsohn and Brown 2020).

Du Bois's analysis of class, race, and gender anticipated intersectionality, whiteness studies, and critical race theory (Gilkes 1996; Morris 2015; Rabaka 2021). Du Bois emphasized that racism divided the Black and white working classes. White and Black workers were further divided by race because "[i]t must be remembered that the white group of laborers, while they received a low wage, were compensated . . . by . . . a psychological wage" (Du Bois [1935] 2007:573). This wage of whiteness enabled poor white workers to identify with rich whites rather than with Black workers. Whiteness thus trumped class, nullifying the possibility of a unified working class.

A half century before gender studies was established, Du Bois (1915:29) analyzed the logic of patriarchy that led to humanity being divided into unequal gender categories: "The statement that woman is weaker than man is sheer rot: It is the same sort of thing that we hear about 'darker races' and 'lower classes.' . . . Difference, either physical or spiritual, does not argue weakness or inferiority." Du Bois (1920b:163) illuminated male privilege over women by specifying that women "existed not for themselves, but for men. They were named after the men to whom they were related and none after the fashion of their own souls."

Analyzing the unique and devastating forms of Black women's oppression, Du Bois (1920b:172) promised, "I shall forgive the white south much in its final judgment . . . day but one thing I shall never forgive, neither in this world nor the world to come: its wanton and continued and persistent insulting of black womanhood which it sought and seeks to prostitute to its lust." Du Bois's analysis of gender oppression insisted that all gender oppression was not the same: Black women's oppression differed from that of white women because it represented the sum of suffering produced by interlocking systems of race and class domination.

Because of the special nature of Black women's oppression, Du Bois (1920b:181) recognized the distinct quality of Black women's agency: "What is today the message of these black women to America and to the world? The uplift of women is, next to the problem of the color line and the peace

movement, our greatest modern cause. When now, two of these movements—women and color—combine in one, the combination has deep meaning." Analytically, Du Bois considered the significance of a co-joined racial and women's movement by highlighting the potential power of that combination.

In a classic analysis of agency, Du Bois ([1935] 2007) demonstrated that slaves freed themselves through combat and a general strike, enabling the Union to win the Civil War. He predicted the Civil Rights Movement in1903: "Someday the Awakening will come, when the pent-up vigor of ten million souls shall sweep irresistibly toward the Goal [attacking Jim Crow], marked 'For White People Only'" (Du Bois 1903:206). Martin Luther King, Jr. (1968), in a speech delivered one month before his assassination, honored Du Bois and confirmed the value of the Black agency Du Bois identified: "truths he revealed are not yet the property of all Americans, but they have been recorded and arm us for our contemporary battles." If slaves produced history-making agency, surely Blacks suffering Jim Crow in the middle of the twentieth century could follow suit.

Given Du Bois's interrogation of the subaltern's experiences, including his own encounter with the lynching of Sam Hose, he was able to understand a lynching like that of Emmett Till. In his view, lynching was a terrorist tactic, one of many routinely used to maintain white supremacy. Du Bois ([1945/1947] 2007:285) revealed why Black boys desired to play the cowboy: "The Indians of the Americas are for the most part disfranchised, landless, poverty-stricken, and illiterate and are achieving a degree of freedom only as by the death of individuality they become integrated into the blood and culture of the whites." Here Du Bois alludes to the strategy advocated by the Brigadier General of the American military, Richard Henry Pratt (1892), who declared, "Kill the Indian in him, and save the man." This speech helped launch the propagandistic boarding schools for Native American children, where their native culture was to be annihilated so Indians could become valuable to white America. Thus, Black people, due to white supremacy brainwashing, tended to shun oppressed Native Americans because they perceived them as even lower than themselves.

Du Bois's internationalist perspective shed light on why African Americans rejected Africans, because he centered global white domination and Black demonization (Itzigsohn and Brown 2020; Morris 2007, 2015; Rabaka 2021). The same racist ideology prevalent in Mississippi cottonfields justified exploitation of Africans: "[T]he theory of the innate and eternal inferiority of black folk was invented and diffused" (Du Bois 1975:128). By failing to recognize Africans as structurally oppressed kinfolk and ancestors, some African Americans identified with a white oppressor committed to blocking the entry of all people of color for fear of darkening whiteness.

An extension of Du Bois's wages of whiteness theory can account for why many Black people abhorred being called Black in the twentieth century. Recall Du Bois's argument that poor white workers were compensated by a psychological wage cushioning their degradation. Likewise, light-skinned people of color in many parts of the world have received small rewards from whites because they are "easy on their eyes" given their phenotypic proximity to whites. Moreover, in many regions, white elites used this "lightness" strategy as a mechanism to divide large Black populations for the purpose of economic and political exploitation (Telles 2014). Du Bois argued that different versions of this strategy were used in Latin America and the Caribbean to extract African Blackness out of the Americas.

Du Bois (1941:12) discussed what I conceptualize as the wage of lightness theory as it applied to the West Indies: "Manifestly, the white minority cannot absorb the black majority of West Indies. The partial absorption dating from the sixteenth century has established a powerful class of mulattoes who for the most part are distinctly white in mores and often white in color. Every

economic and social incentive drives these folk to escape into the white race." In the United States, lightness has paid dividends, allowing some Black people to cushion abject oppression and receive modest social toleration and meager economic rewards (Keith and Herring 1991). Thus, slaveowners' rape of Black women created colorism within the Black community that was sustained by a wage of lightness. Unlike Du Bois's wage of whiteness theory that privileged psychological rewards, the wage of lightness theoretical construct identifies the importance of both symbolic and material rewards attached to color gradations (Telles 2014).

In efforts to stem Black resistance, whites sought to prevent educational opportunities for Black people and to socialize them into cultures of subordination. They understood Woodson's (1933:xiii) dictum, "when you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions." For its own health, white supremacy required the oppressed to be trained in submissiveness from birth to death. Thus, against staggering odds, Black people had to strive on their own to be educated. Throughout his long career, Du Bois studied the nature of education for people of color and proposed multiple educational strategies he hoped would enable their liberation (Aldridge 2008). He was acutely aware that Blacks were often forced to rely on favorable chances and coincidences in their struggle to obtain quality education enabling critical thinking.

To maintain their domination, white people demeaned and threatened Black children and adults. Du Bois (1920b:32–33) was alive to this dehumanization:

> Have seen a man—an educated gentleman—grow livid with anger because a little, silent, black woman was sitting by herself in a Pullman car. He was a white man. I have seen a great, grown man curse a little child, who had wandered into the wrong waiting-room, searching for its mother: "Here, you damned black." He was white. . . . In Central Park I have seen the upper lip of a quiet, peaceful man curl back in a tigerish snarl of rage because black folk rode by in a motor car. He was a white man. We have seen, Merciful God! in these wild days and in the name of Civilization, Justice, and Motherhood, what have we not seen, right here in America, of orgy, cruelty, barbarism, and murder done to men and women of Negro descent.

Du Bois (1968:199) was not only aware of racist microaggressions; he experienced them personally, remarking "I know an insult when I see it."

Du Bois documented the widespread racism African Americans encountered in cities. Unlike white sociologists who tended to assume Blacks were at their core a rural southern folk, Du Bois argued they were becoming permanent city dwellers, given their increasing rates of migration to large cities to escape the horrors of southern Jim Crow. Yet, as city dwellers, they experienced systemic prejudice and discrimination emanating not from natural forces, as argued by white sociologists. Rather, Du Bois found that urban Blacks were trapped in an unequal criminal justice system that punished them through police profiling, incarceration, and biased courts. Additionally, racial discrimination produced urban Black communities where many residents could not escape poverty given the structural barriers that blocked them at every turn (Du Bois 1899). For Du Bois, no analogy of plant ecology or manifestations of nature could explain the wretched condition of Blacks in cities; only a sober analysis of structural racism could achieve that feat.

Du Bois provided a framework to explain Black single mothers' burden of convincing white male bosses to co-sign for home loans. Black women experienced greater difficulties than white women given they had to support families by working poorly paid and dangerous jobs while enduring persistent racism. In the case of my mother and other Black women like her, they exhibited herculean agency by saving enough money from domestic and other poorly paid labor to purchase a home. Yet, without the signature of a wealthy white

man, home ownership was an insurmountable dream. Given their unique challenges and resilience, Du Bois predicted Black women would organize and direct future emancipation struggles.

As a theorist of subalterns' agency and a prolific activist, Du Bois was a predictor and progenitor of the Civil Rights Movement when no white sociologists had an inkling that such a momentous development was close at hand. Du Bois's prediction was on target because he was a keen analyst of historic Black agency residing in communities of subalterns. Du Bois (1907:110) anticipated that independence movements would overthrow global white domination because the "man that has a grievance is supposed to speak for himself, no one can speak for him— no one knows the thing as well as he does."

Besides producing incisive scholarship on subaltern liberation struggles, Du Bois put his sociological insights into practice by organizing and leading many of the liberation struggles of his day. History attests to the soundness of Du Bois's emancipatory insights: slavery, Jim Crow, and colonialism have largely been overthrown and white empires have been undermined. Only sociological naïveté regarding the racist legacy of the United States could lead one to disagree with Du Bois (1941:10) that the United States established itself as "missionaries of white supremacy" enabling and nurturing racism to rear its ugly head across the modern world.

THE DU BOISIAN CHALLENGE

William Faulkner reminds us, "The past is never dead. It's not even past." The living legacies of the suppressed aspects of modernity continue to shape the modern world. It is a legacy largely unanticipated and ignored by Marx, Durkheim, and Weber and most white American sociologists. Fortunately, these concerns are being addressed by scholars of postcolonial studies (Bhambra 2007; Go 2016), historical comparativists (Steinmetz 2013a), whiteness studies analysts (Harris 1993; Roediger 1991), critical race theorists

(Crenshaw 1991; Mills 1997), global south analysts (Connell 2007), and decolonization of sociology scholars (Mangcu 2016; Meghji 2021).

A critical challenge Du Boisian sociology poses for the mainstream is the need to address the suppressed aspects of modernity. Without a critical integration of this perspective, understandings of modernity remain crippled. This integration requires sociology to incorporate historical analyses and cease relying on abstract speculations. Histories, trajectories, and interactions among white supremacy, empires, slavery, colonialism, patriarchy, legitimating ideologies, and resistance movements must be centered. Until this unanalyzed matrix of historical, cultural, and structural manifestations is centered analytically as much as the class struggle, specialized division of labor, the Protestant ethic, and rationalization, sociological knowledge of modernity will remain truncated.

A critical question confronting contemporary sociology concerns the historic color line. Namely, to what degree do white people, including sociologists, still believe in white superiority, even if subconsciously? Without probing the contemporary color line, we cannot understand the current voter restrictions movement against Black and Brown peoples, attacks on critical race theory, the January 2021 insurrection on the U.S. Capitol, brutal police killings of people of color, or the 2016 election to U.S. President of Donald Trump, who labeled colored nations as "shithole countries" without repercussions.

Penetrating analysis of global white supremacy is needed to explain why the holocaust perpetrated against Native Americans is not foregrounded in our collective memory. The same holds true for the holocaust of 12 million Congolese who were brutally murdered by Belgium under the colonial leadership of King Leopold. Additionally, we need to explore why Black athletes in Europe are attacked for allegedly losing sport matches, thus tarnishing the prestige of European nations. And sociologists should explore why white immigrants are desired while Black and Brown immigrants are driven from American

shores. Why were Haitian immigrants, whose ancestors in 1804 launched the first successful revolution to overthrow slavery, chased out of the United States in 2020 by white officials on horseback swinging whips? Clearly this assault is reminiscent of those initiated by slave patrols, thus punctuating the point that the past is still with us.

Sociological analyses are needed that focus on the racialized American state. Federal and local governments legalized slavery and Jim Crow, and the current U.S. Supreme Court rulings are upholding voting restrictions limiting the franchise for Black and Brown people. American and European states remain complicit in ensuring global white supremacy through the actions of governmental bodies, including the G7, which promotes the interests of "advanced white countries" while claiming to protect the interests of "less developed colored countries" without providing them a seat at the decision-making table.

Du Boisian sociology challenges the mainstream to identify modern transformative agency. Current movements, including Black Lives Matter, involve activism by women; various social classes, races, and ethnicities; and people of varying sexual orientations mobilizing for change. And, as Du Bois predicted, Black women are leading many of these struggles. A relevant sociology needs to account for and analyze these multiple sources of agency and what they portend for future change.

Finally, sociology must determine whether it is a science of human emancipation or continue pretending to be an aloof, objective, detached science. The Du Boisian challenge insists scientific sociology is at its best when it combines rigorous, critical scholarship and emancipatory activism. The challenge is this: will sociology provide cannon fodder for wolves of oppression or traction for freedom fighters seeking human freedom through social transformation?

Acknowledgments

References

Adebajo, Adekeye. 2010. *The Curse of Berlin: Africa After the Cold War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Aldridge, Derrick. 2008. *Educational Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois: An Intellectual History*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bhambra, Gurminder K. 2007. *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Blackhawk, Ned. 2006. *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Blau, Peter M., and Otis Dudley Duncan. 1967. *The American Occupational Structure*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Burawoy, Michael. 2005. "For Public Sociology." *American Sociological Review* 70(1):4–28.

Collins, Patricia Hill, and Sirma Bilge. 2016. *Intersectionality*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Connell, Raewyn. 2007. *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Connell, Raewyn. 2013. "Understanding Empire." Pp. 489–97 in *Sociology and Empire: The Imperial Entanglements of a Discipline*, edited by G. Steinmetz. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Cooley, Charles Horton. 1902. *Human Nature and the Social Order*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Coser, Lewis. 1971. *Masters of Sociological Thought*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6):1241–1300.

Danns, George K., and Paget Henry. Forthcoming. "Du Bois: Anti-Colonialist Activist and Theoretician." In *Handbook of W.E.B. Du Bois*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Du Bois, W.E.B. 1899. *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Du Bois, W.E.B. 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Company.

Du Bois, W.E.B. 1907. "The Value of Agitation." *Voice of the Negro* 4:109–10.

Du Bois, W.E.B. 1915. "Woman Suffrage." *The Crisis* pp. 29–30.

Du Bois, W.E.B. 1920a. "Souls of White Folk." *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil*, pp. 29–52. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.

Du Bois, W.E.B. 1920b. "The Damnation of Women." *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil*, pp. 163–86. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.

Du Bois, W.E.B. [1935] 2007. *Black Reconstruction in America*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Du Bois, W.E.B. 1941. "The Future of Africa in America." W.E.B. Du Bois papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts-Amherst Libraries.

Du Bois, W.E.B. [1945/1947] 2007. *The World and Africa* and *Color and Democracy*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Du Bois, W.E.B. 1968. *The Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century*. New York: International Publishers Co.

Du Bois, W.E.B. 1975. *Black Folk: Then and Now*. Millwood, NY: Kraus-Thomson Organization.

Engels, Friedrich. 1909. *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Translated by Ernest Untermann. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company.

Fanon, Franz. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Feagin, Joe. 2001. "Social Justice and Sociology: Agendas for the Twenty-First Century." *American Sociological Review* 66(1):1–20.

Frazier, E. Franklin. 1939. *The Negro Family in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1971. *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory: An Analysis of the Writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gilkes, Cheryl Townsend. 1996. "The Margin as the Center of a Theory of History: African-American Women, Social Change, and the Sociology of W.E.B. Du Bois." Pp. 111–39 in *W.E.B. Du Bois on Race and Culture*, edited by B. W. Bell, E. R. Grosholz, and J. B. Stewart. New York: Routledge.

Go, Julian. 2013. "Sociology's Imperial Unconscious: The Emergence of American Sociology in the Context of Empire." Pp. 83–105 in *Sociology and Empire: The Imperial Entanglements of a Discipline*, edited by G. Steinmetz. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Go, Julian. 2016. *Postcolonial Thought and Social Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Harris, Cheryl. 1993. "Whiteness as Property." *Harvard Law Review* 106(8):1707–91.

Homans, George C. 1964. "Bringing Men Back In." *American Sociological Review* 29(5):809–18.

Itzigsohn, José, and Karida L. Brown. 2020. *The Sociology of W.E.B. Du Bois: Racialized Modernity and the Global Color Line*. New York: New York Press.

Keith, Verna, and Cedric Herring. 1991. "Skin Tone and Stratification in the Black Community." *The American Journal of Sociology* 97(3):760–78.

King, Deborah K. 1988. "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology." *Signs* 14(1):42–72.

King, Martin Luther, Jr. 1968. "Honoring Dr. Du Bois." Speech delivered at Carnegie Hall in New York City, February 23.

King, Quisumbing Katrina. 2019. "Recentering U.S. Empire: A Structural Perspective on the Color Line." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 5(1):11–15.

Kurasawa, Fuyuki. 2013. "The Durkheimian School and Colonialism: Exploring the Constitutive Paradox." Pp. 188–209 in *Sociology & Empire: The Imperial Entanglements of a Discipline*, edited by G. Steinmetz. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Lee, Alfred McClung. 1976. "Sociology for Whom?" *American Sociological Review* 41(6):925–36.

Mangcu, Xolela. 2016. "Decolonizing South African Sociology: Building on a Shared 'Text of Blackness.'" *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 13(1):45–59.

Marx, Karl. 1965. *Capital*, Vol. 1. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

McAuley, Christopher A. 2019. *The Spirit vs. the Souls: Max Weber, W.E.B. Du Bois, and the Politics of Scholarship*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

McKee, James B. 1993. *Sociology and the Race Problem: The Failure of a Perspective*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.

Mead, George Herbert. 1934. *Mind, Self, and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Meghji, Ali. 2021. *Decolonizing Sociology: An Introduction*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Mills, C. Wright. 1959. *The Sociological Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mills, Charles. 1997. *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Mooney, James M. 1975. *Historical Sketch of the Cherokee*. Chicago: Aldine Transaction.

Morgan, Jennifer L. 2018. "*Partus sequitur ventrem*: Law, Race, and Reproduction in Colonial Slavery." *Small Axe* 22(1):1–17.

Morris, Aldon. 1984. *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. New York: The Free Press.

Morris, Aldon. 2007. "Sociology of Race and W. E. B. Du Bois: The Path Not Taken." Pp. 503–34 in *Sociology in America: A History*, edited by C. Calhoun. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Morris, Aldon. 2015. *The Scholar Denied: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Moynihan, Daniel. 1965. "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action." Washington, DC, Office of

Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor.

Myrdal, Gunnar. 1944. *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Nemy, Enid. 1974. "Congress Passes Bill Banning Bias Against Women on Credit." *New York Times*, October 11, p. 81.

Park, Robert. 1950. "Culture and Civilization." Pp. 15–23 in *Race and Culture*. New York: Free Press.

Park, Robert. 1967. "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment." Pp. 1–46 *in The City*, edited by R. E Park, E. W. Burgess, and R. D. McKenzie. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pratt, Richard H. 1892. "Kill the Indian and Save the Man." *Official Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction*, pp. 46–59.

Rabaka, Reiland. 2021. *Du Bois: A Critical Introduction (Key Contemporary Thinkers)*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Robinson, Cedric J. 2000. *Black Marxism: The Making of The Black Radical Tradition*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Roediger, David. 1991. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. New York: Verso.

Romero, Mary. 2020. "Sociology Engaged in Social Justice." *American Sociological Review* 85(1):1–30.

Steinmetz, George. 2013a. "Major Contributions to Sociological Theory and Research on Empire, 1830s–Present." Pp. 1–50 in *Sociology and Empire: The Imperial Entanglements of a Discipline*, edited by G. Steinmetz. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Steinmetz, George, ed. 2013b. *Sociology and Empire: The Imperial Entanglements of a Discipline*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Telles, Edward. 2014. *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, Race, and Color in Latin America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Thornton, Russel. 1987. *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History since 1492*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Treitler, Bash Vilna. 2013. *The Ethnic Project: Transforming Racial Fictions into Ethnic Factions*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Treitler, Bash Vilna, and Aldon Morris. 2019. "The Racial State of the Union: Racial Inequality and Struggle in the USA." *Caderno CRH (Journal of the Center for Human Resources)*; special issue on "social inequalities: new agenda for contemporary social theory," n. 85.

Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8(4):387–409.

Woodson, Carter G. 1933. *The Mis-Education of the Negro*. Washington, DC: Associated Press.

Wright, Earl II. 2016. *The First American School of Sociology: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory*. New York: Routledge / Ashgate Publishing Company.

Zimmerman, Andrew. 2006. "Decolonizing Weber." *Postcolonial Studies* 9(1):53–79.

Zimmerman, Andrew. 2013. "German Sociology and Empire: From Internal Colonization to Overseas Colonialization and Back Again." Pp. 166–87 in *Sociology and Empire: The Imperial Entanglements of a Discipline*, edited by G. Steinmetz. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Aldon Morris is the Leon Forrest Professor of Sociology and African American Studies at Northwestern University. Morris is author of *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, winner of the Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Award from the American Sociological Association. He is co-editor of *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory* and *Opposition Consciousness.* Morris's 2015 book, *The Scholar Denied: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology*, has won numerous awards. Morris's life and work were chronicled in the award-winning film, "Aldon Morris: The Scholar Affirmed." Morris has won awards for his scholarship, teaching, and mentoring. He is former Chair of Sociology, Director of Asian American Studies, and Interim Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Northwestern University. Morris is committed to an emancipatory sociology that addresses social inequality and points to solutions to achieve human freedom.