

RACIAL EQUITY WORKSHOP
PHASE 1

Foundations in Historical and Institutional Racism

October 2019

FOR MORE INFORMATION:

Racial Equity Institute: <https://www.racialequityinstitute.com>

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This workbook is intended as a learning guide for Racial Equity Institute Phase I workshop participants, providing references and additional resources to help make sense of the workshop concepts and overall analysis.

We and the racial equity movement owe much to other anti-racism trainers. Our understanding, analysis, and training builds on the work of many.

We want, however, to acknowledge all those who came before us, for as is often said, “We stand on the shoulders of giants.”

1 ABOUT THE RACIAL EQUITY INSTITUTE

The Racial Equity Institute (REI) is committed to bringing awareness and analysis to the root causes of disparities and disproportionality in order to create racially equitable organizations and systems. Even 50 years after significant civil rights' gains, the impact of race continues to shape the outcomes of all institutions.

REI trainers and organizers help individuals and organizations develop tools and processes to challenge patterns of institutional power and to grow institutional equity. Our approach has a movement orientation, always focused on organizing toward institutional change with equitable and just outcomes for people of color (See Parker Palmer, <http://www.couragerenewal.org/parker/writings/divided-no-more/>).

We recognize many intersecting oppressions, but our belief is that racism is the glue that connects all oppressions, and thus our focus is on race and the injustices that stem from racialized history and belief systems that are reflected in American culture and institutions.

Our training and consultation services include:

Phase 1 and Phase 2 Workshops

Phase 1

REI's two-day Phase 1 training is designed to develop the capacity of participants to better understand racism in its institutional and structural forms. Moving away from a focus on personal bigotry and bias, this workshop presents a historical, cultural, and structural analysis of racism. Topics covered include our fish/lake/groundwater analysis of structural racism; understanding and controlling implicit bias; race, poverty, and place; "markedness" theory; institutional power arrangements and power brokers; importance of definitions of race and racism; history and legacy of race in American economic and policy development; racial identity and its interaction with institutional culture. With shared language and a clearer understanding of how institutions and systems are producing unjust and inequitable outcomes, participants are better equipped to begin to work for change.

Phase 2

We bring who we are to the work of racial equity and paradoxically, who we are is profoundly shaped by the inequity of our world and our experience in it. Finding the inner freedom we need to take our place with those that seek justice and equity requires great intention and often guidance. We must seek to understand the structural, cultural and systemic forces that shape the environment in which we live and move and, therefore, shaped us.

Phase 2 helps participants identify their struggles within the framework provided by the expectations introduced in Phase 1. Those struggles and challenges, both personal and organizational, are examined in light of the racial equity analysis outlined in Phase 1. An in-depth review of Phase 1 concepts is offered to refresh and deepen that analysis.

Participants examine the manifestations of internalized oppression as it takes form in inferiority and superiority. The examination includes how racial identity develops and its stages. It further shows the specific ways that personal and organizational practice can be affected. The consistent and predictable outcomes of organizations and institutions find their roots in structures supported and maintained by individuals who have internalized narratives of inequity and injustice. "Diagnosis determines treatment" is a frequent statement in Phase 1 training. In Phase 2 participants practice looking at problems through an equity lens and develop an appreciation for the power of narrative.

The last and perhaps most important and challenging exercise of Phase 2 is developing a personal and organizational vision. No one alive today has ever lived a moment of their lives in an equitable world. We do not know what it looks like. REI believes in the power of vision and the imperative of a clear and common vision to approach the work of equity. Participants engage in much needed practice to develop a vision of their place equity work.

Groundwater Approach to Racial Equity

A Groundwater Approach to Racial Equity is an interactive presentation on the nature and impact of structural racism and what it looks like across institutions. We examine narratives around racial disproportionality and make use of compelling research data to illustrate the systemic nature of racism and the fallacy of typical explanations like poverty, education, social class, individual behavior, or cultural attributes that often get associated with particular racial groups. Before addressing racial inequity or perceived acts of discrimination or oppression it is critical to understand what institutional racism looks like and the devastating impact it wields on our nation's people, economy and social institutions. The Groundwater Approach teaches how to use data to measure the systemic impact of racism and to track institutional change.

Once grounded in what the problem of structural racism is, *and what it isn't*, participants are ready to move to Phase 1 training that introduces an analysis of how and why racism was created and how it has been embedded and maintained within and across America's institutions.

Latinx Challenges Toward Racial Justice

Latinx Challenges is a two-day workshop for people who live in or work with Latino communities interested in ending racial disparities in our institutions and working together for social justice. Participants engage in a critical analysis of how racism disempowers Latinos, hindering both individual well-being and community development. We examine how Latinos have been racialized in the US, as well as the cultural backdrop of race and racism in Latin America that shapes our identity and status today. At the same time, we explore how our particular cultures, identities and histories of struggle are vital sources of strength for individuals and families of Latin American origin in the United States. Further, we directly address how racism is used as a wedge between Latinx people and African Americans and undermines antiracism movement.

Youth Leadership Workshop for Racial Equity

This training is adapted for youth from our two-day Phase I workshop for adults. Many of the exercises are the same, but with more videos and opportunities for movement and interaction.

Racial Equity Organizational Development (Phase 3)

Our approach is different from that of organizational consultant in that we bring a process in which visions of change can grow and become real. We help organizations create structures for their work that allow for accountability and responsibility outside of the limits of their present roles and relationships. It is our belief that the work of organizing is central to organizational transformation. Individual problems, when put in an organizing context, can be translated into shared issues. Addressing shared issues creates opening for meaningful change.

Our Racial Equity Organizational Development consultation service (sometimes called Phase 3) offers the following:

- Assistance in assessing organizations to determine their progress on the journey to become racially equitable
- Assistance in developing an anti-racist vision and plan for change
- Assistance in creating structures that will guide and sustain institutional efforts towards racial equity
- Training in the basic skills of using a movement rather than organizational approach in planning, organizing and taking action for change;
- Assisting in the development of a plan for change, which will include specific goals as well as an action plan to reach those goals
- Ongoing reflection designed to both evaluate the group's progress and document lessons learned as the organization moves through the process

- Periodic, mutual evaluation and reflection to ensure that your organization is successful in reaching your goals.

Specialized presentations, forums, symposia

Bringing an institutional analysis and many years of experience, we believe that the goal of dismantling institutional racism and organizational reform cannot be achieved in one workshop or even a few workshops. Understanding and dismantling institutional racism requires a consistent and committed effort that includes the development of processes and tools to support the work.

We believe visions of change can grow and become real when organizations create structures for their racial equity work that allow for accountability and responsibility outside of the limits of present roles and relationships.

It is our belief that organizing is central to organizational and institutional transformation and we advocate a movement approach, as beautifully described by Parker Palmer in his seminal piece, *Divided No More: A Movement Approach to Educational Reform*.

<http://www.couragere renewal.org/parker/writings/divided-no-more/>.

According to Palmer a movement approach is characterized by the following:

- Isolated individuals decide to stop leading “divided lives.” This refers to the conflict that often exists between our most deeply held beliefs and the work we find ourselves doing.
- These people discover each other and form groups for mutual support.
- Empowered by community, they learn to translate “private problems” into public issues.
- Alternative rewards emerge to sustain the movement’s vision, which may force the conventional reward system to change.

And while people often think of movements as confrontational and organizational change as the more genial approach of steadily working for incremental change from within, Palmer describes how the opposite turns out to be true. People who take an organizational approach to problems often become obsessed with their unyielding “enemies” who after all are protecting the organization or institution to which they are accountable, while people who adopt a movement approach must begin by changing themselves, bringing others along with them. With clarity of belief, analysis and purpose, we, the community, can create a new vision, a new culture that finds ways to build an equitable and just future together, as one people.

2 EXPECTATIONS

The following expectations, adapted from Bryan Stevenson (*Just Mercy*), guide our training and organizing. We share them at the beginning of our workshops and often at the end too, because as Stevenson says, this is what we need to expect of ourselves and institutions if we are to be effective change agents addressing a societal injustice, like structural racism.

- 1. Get proximate to the problem.** In this case, the problem we are addressing is racism. We may have been involved in dialogues about racism but very few of us have ever been expected to study racism in any depth. We can't address a deep and complex problem like racism without on-going study and analysis. We can't work collectively on a problem unless we have a common understanding of what it is.
- 2. Change the narrative.** What are our narratives about race in America? How are these narratives played out in our systems and institutions? How have we internalized these narratives? What will it take for us to dismantle old narratives and create a new one?
- 3. Expect inconvenience and discomfort.** Creating new narratives, while learning new ways to understand and think about race and racism can create the discomfort of cognitive dissonance. Examining assumptions and practices with a racial lens can be uncomfortable, time-consuming, and conflict-ridden because it's not always easy to figure out. We can fall in the trap of wanting a quick fix. But there's no quick fix. Discomfort must become a part of the journey and something to be welcomed because it signals our growing edge.
- 4. We need to *stay committed and engaged.*** Dismantling the system of racism isn't a sprint but a journey, one that we need to engage with curiosity and commitment and persistent long-term work. In workshops and in the work, *we need to stay the whole time.*
- 5. Respect the process.** Engaging racial equity work requires a process that is often counter-cultural. Audre Lourde said "The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house." We need to cultivate a new way of seeing and working together that may seem cumbersome, puzzling, slow and even conflictual at times. We need to bring a racial equity "groundwater" analysis to the process and trust that study and analysis before action will lead to new steps forward, and that reflection on the results of our actions will inform the next steps.
- 6. Listen respectfully and respect confidentiality.** In our work we must also respect those we are working with by listening to each other deeply for meaning (as opposed

to response or retort) and respecting confidentiality of thoughts, ideas and experiences offered by individuals.

- 7. Maintain hope, even in the face of the brutal facts.** Hope is not the same as optimism. It is the ability to sense a deeper reality than what is visible. It is the sense that our efforts are meaningful and will lead us forward toward a desired outcome. It was hope, *despite the brutal facts*, that propelled Admiral James Stockdale and his colleagues to work consistently for the day they would be freed, after eight years of captivity in a Viet Cong prisoner-of-war camp. It is hope that has fueled all freedom movements (abolition of slavery, abolition of Jim Crow/ Civil Rights movement, Nelson Mandela and the abolition of apartheid in South Africa) and that will fuel our own freedom movement toward racial equity and justice.

3 WORKSHOP PURPOSE AND OUTLINE

Purpose:

To help participants shift their understanding of racism from personal experience and opinion to one based on fact-based / data-driven research and careful study and analysis of the racial advantage of white people throughout history (examining events, conditions, laws and public policy, social climate, cultural narratives, etc.)

Workshop Concepts and Outline:

I. Data show racial inequity in all systems.

Racial inequity is called by different names in different systems: e.g., racial disparities in health, the achievement gap, disproportionality, racial and ethnic disparities (RED), historically underutilized business, environmental racism. Yet all these names describe the same thing. While racial relationships have improved over time, systemic racial inequities have not, and in some cases, such as wealth, the disparity between white and black Americans continues to widen.

II. Fish, Lake, Groundwater

We use a “fish in the lake” analogy to illustrate our tendency to ascribe racially disparate outcomes to individual behaviors and decisions (a sick fish). If we locate the bad outcomes in the fish (the fish’s deficiencies, decisions, behaviors, culture) our remedy is going to be to try to “fix” the fish. We are a nation of “fish fixers.” Yet when we observe that all our institutional “lakes” are filled with fish (who look a lot the same) floating belly up, might it be time to examine the water? What would it mean to shift our attention from the deficiencies of individuals to the deficiencies of the systems and institutions they come into contact with. What would it mean to do a lake analysis?

To take the analogy deeper, we observe that every institutional lake is producing the same negative outcomes for people of color. What do they have in common? Where is this toxicity coming from? 94% of the fresh water on our planet is underground (not visible, so we don’t think about it much). It’s critically important for our health that this water be clean and pure because it feeds every lake and stream. Now we realize that we need a Groundwater Analysis of racial inequities in America. What is in the Groundwater that is polluting every lake? What would it mean to take a Groundwater Approach?

You may access our Groundwater Approach report at www.racialequityinstitute.com/groundwater

III. How our brain works/Where our biases come from

1. We think in the ways we have been socialized or conditioned to think. Brain science helps us understand how associations, patterns of behavior and belief systems develop. Our “fast” automatic brain, working from unconscious associations and beliefs (System 1) governs 95-97% of our behaviors and decisions. Our “System 2” thinking which is more deliberate and thoughtful is much slower and therefore activated more rarely. When patterns of association are disrupted we experience cognitive dissonance (as demonstrated by the Stroop Test, <http://www.math.unt.edu/~tam/SelfTests/StroopEffects.html>)

2. Implicit or unconscious bias reflects both human nature (“fight or flight”) and our socialization. It lives deep within our brains governing almost everything we do. Developing an understanding of the power of implicit bias enables us to develop practices to minimize the impact of our unconscious tendencies to categorize, generalize, stereotype and discriminate. We are more likely to do harm when we deny our racial biases. (*Thinking, Fast and Slow* by Daniel Kahneman provides an excellent description of how these two “systems” impact our decisions and actions, and how we can tap into the benefits of slow thinking, in order to control unintended stereotypes and biases.)

IV. The spatial organization of race and poverty

Black poverty is not like white poverty. All people struggle but the struggle is different.

Poverty, Race and Ethnicity: The Power of Place				
				# states with concentrated poverty for this population
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>	<i># in Pop</i>	<i># Poor</i>	<i>Poverty Rate</i>	
White	192 m	14 m	7%	0
Asian	18 m	1.7 m	9%	5
Hisp/Latinx	58m	9 m	15%	12
AI/Native	2 m	446 k	22%	18
Black/Af-Am	38 m	7.8m	20%	26

Concentrated poverty is the clustering of residential locations of people below the federal poverty level. Census tracts can be classified as having concentrated poverty, meaning high (20%) to very high (40%) poverty.

White people do not live in areas of concentrated poverty. Yet more than half of the nation’s states have Black Americans living in areas of concentrated poverty. It’s about a spacial arrangement and organization of poverty. This relates to issues of education, access and health care. It’s hard to maintain any access or support over generations. (See *Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barrios and the American City* and other writings by Paul Jargowsky)

V. It’s hard to separate race and poverty, given this 400-year history.

<i>Time span</i>	<i># years</i>	<i>% of national history</i>	<i>Citizenship status</i>
1619-1865	246	62%	Chattel Slavery
1865-1965	100	25%	Jim Crow/no citizenship rights
1965-2019	54	13%	Civil rights with: Vast wealth inequality Achievement gap Disproportionality (CPS) MWBE DMC/RED

VI. The power relationship between systems, institutions and communities

Poor communities and communities of color are under siege by systems and institutions that offer goods, services and programs, but deprive them of power. In work with communities, it is important to always assess who has the power. Who is deciding what programs and services are needed? Who is creating these programs? To whom are these programs accountable?

Consider ways in which you are a “power broker” authorized to buy, sell, offer, negotiate, trade, arrange goods, services and programs for others.

VII. Examining Lakes/ “Diagnosis Determines Treatment”

As we look at the services and programs provided by our organizations and institutions, are they addressing problems at the fish, lake or groundwater level? Fish often need services. Hungry people need to be fed. Homeless people need to be housed. Sick people need healing. But if we diagnose the problem of racial inequity as being something wrong with the people who are adversely impacted, then we will spend our efforts and resources trying to “fix” them in some way. Like epidemiologist Leonard Syme said, “If we took everyone at risk of disease and cured them...it would do virtually nothing to solve our problem because new people would continue to enter the at risk population at an unaffected rate forever” (from “Bad Sugar,” *Unnatural Causes: Is Inequality Making Us Sick?*) If we want to really address the problem of racial inequity we need to understand what is causing the problem. What happens to people of color when they enter the lakes of our systems? To what extent are we examining our lakes and their culture, structures, policies and the practices of their power brokers? What would it look like to do a “lake analysis?” How does the Groundwater feed all institutional lakes to produce cultures of inequity?

VIII. The on-going construction of race in America: fallacies and realities

1. In terms of biology, race is not real. Those of us in the human race are 99.9% alike. There is more genetic variation within “race” than across race. But the idea of race,

as it has been constructed, is socially and politically very real and shapes the institutional outcomes of all who live in this country.

2. The concept of “a white race” was constructed in the colony of Jamestown in the 1680s. The Virginia House of Burgesses began to use the term “white men” rather than “Englishmen” or “Christian” to describe the class of people who would have access to certain rights, privileges and property. It was understood that “white” does not describe residents who have Indian, African, Negro, or slave parentage.
3. The definition they seemed to settle upon was: A white man is one with no Negro or Indian blood, with the exception of the descendants of John Rolfe and Pocahontas (“The Pocahontas Exception” described in the Racial Integrity Act of 1924). In this act, *self-designated* “white” people gave themselves the power to construct and define “white race” and this has continued throughout the history of the US.
4. Even before the construction of white race, powerful English colonists in Virginia began drawing lines to separate those of African descent from those of European descent, especially among the poorest people (example: the John Punch story). Poor whites no longer see it in their self-interest to align with others of the same social class, but to cling to the small privileges given to them because they are considered “white.” This “divide and conquer” strategy continues to be used to this day, to provide a powerful disincentive for poor white people to challenge the powerful white elite. (See *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process the Colonial Period* by A. Leon Higginbotham).
5. The construction of race has continued throughout US history and has been central to US economic development, including the development of wealth and power as we have exploited those, not classified as white, in order to advance agriculture, ranching, railroads, mining, manufacturing, etc. The story of race is the story of labor. We have “let” folks into the family of “white” as we need their electoral influence and no longer need to exploit their labor.

IX. Definitions of race and racism

1. **Race** can be defined as “a specious classification of human beings, created during a period of worldwide colonial expansion, by Europeans (whites), using themselves as the model for humanity for the purpose of assigning and maintaining white skin access to power and privilege.”
2. **Racism** is defined as social and institutional power combined with race prejudice. It is a system of advantage for those considered white, and of oppression for those who are not considered white. It is a white supremacy system supported by an all-class collaboration called “white” created to end cross-racial labor solidarity.

X. The legacy of our racial history

1. A historical review of policies that have contributed to white power and wealth in the United States, beginning with “50 acres, 30 shillings, 10 bushels of corn and one musket” and moving forward in time to highlight 20th century policies like the Social Security Act, the GI Bill and Proposition 13.
2. The Monopoly Game story: “When the Rules are Fair, But the Game Isn’t”; <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ727803.pdf>
3. Documentary excerpt from “The House We Live In”, *Race: The Power of an Illusion*.
4. United States history is characterized by policies that have benefited some people more than others because of their race. We have more than 400 years of affirmative action benefiting people classified as white. (See *When Affirmative Action Was White* by Ira Katznelson or *The Color of Law*)
5. Our history of practices and policies that have benefited white people and disadvantaged people of color has had an enormous impact in terms of the ability to accumulate wealth and accounts for the wealth disparities we see today. Wealth disparities, in turn, contribute to other disparities. (See *The Color of Wealth: The Story Behind the U.S. Racial Wealth Divide* by Meizhu Lui, and others)

XI. Internalized racial oppression

1. Internalized racial inferiority among people of color is manifested in multiple ways that include, but are not limited to, internalized negative messages about self and other people of color, distancing, exaggerated visibility, and protection of white people.
2. Internalized racial superiority among white people is manifested in multiple ways that include, but are not limited to, seeing white standards and norms as universal; assuming that one’s comfort, wealth, success and privilege has been earned by merits and hard work; individualism and competition; distancing; perfectionism; and binary (either/or) thinking.
3. The stress, oppression and internalized inferiority experienced by people of color have had devastating impacts. Yet we all (white people and people of color) are harmed by racialized conditioning and the distorted internalizations that it has generated.
4. Discussions about racist conditioning and internalized racial oppression can be effective and healing when undertaken in affinity groups or caucuses that are organized by race. People of color and white people have their own work to do in understanding and addressing racism. When such groups are formed it is also

important for them to meet jointly to develop relationships that deepen awareness and support mutual anti-racism efforts.

XII. The anti-racism legacy: The moving sidewalk from overt racism to anti-racism

1. “An organized lie is more powerful than a disorganized truth.” Racism is so well organized and normative in the US that if we fail to recognize and push against it, we are allowing ourselves to be moved along on the continuum of structural racism, without any effort on our parts. Throughout history, many people of color and white people have “moved” against racism, often at great sacrifice. White anti-racists must raise awareness about structural and institutional racism among other white people lest they continue to be complicit and supportive (often unwittingly) of institutionalized and structural racism.
2. Undoing racism is not a quick fix. It is a journey that we must travel every day. It calls for preparation and careful action and we must be prepared to “stay the whole time.”
3. We cannot be effective going it alone; we must band together to increase awareness, study, learn, discuss, plan, and take action. To be successful we must become part of a movement to change the paradigm of structural racism. Successful social movements in this country have always come out of community organizing at the grassroots level. **We can become part of this movement.**

4 RACE AND INSTITUTIONAL OUTCOMES

The statistical portrait of the American population broken out by race reveals persistent disparities between people of color and white Americans in almost every indicator of well-being.

Following are some on-line articles and other resources that highlight data related to basic institutional systems in our country and the disparities in outcome experienced by people of color.

HEALTH

“The Health Care System and Racial Disparities in Maternal Mortality” (2018).

<https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/women/reports/2018/05/10/450577/health-care-system-racial-disparities-maternal-mortality/>

“Black and White Infant Mortality Rates Show Wide Racial Disparities Still Exist” (2017)

<https://www.newsweek.com/black-women-infant-mortality-rate-cdc-631178>

“How Racism is Bad for Our Bodies” (2013)

<http://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2013/03/how-racism-is-bad-for-our-bodies/273911/>

“Why Black Women Die of Cancer” (2014)

<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/14/opinion/why-black-women-die-of-cancer.html?emc=eta1>

“Why Racism is a Public Health Issue” (2014)

<http://thinkprogress.org/health/2014/02/03/3239101/racism-public-health-issue/>

“How Racism Hurts—Literally” (2007)

http://www.boston.com/news/globe/ideas/articles/2007/07/15/how_racism_hurts___literally/?page=full

[“Weathering and the Age Patterns of Allostatic Load Scores Among Blacks and Whites in the United States.”](#) (Arline Geronimus et al., *American Journal of Public Health*, 2006).

[Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care](#) (2002). Institute of Medicine.

[“Levels of Racism: A Theoretic Framework and a Gardener’s Tale.”](#) (Camara Phyllis Jones, *American Journal of Public Health*, 2000)

EDUCATION

“Have We Made Progress on Achievement Gaps: Looking at Evidence from the New NAEP Results.” (2018)
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brown-center-chalkboard/2018/04/17/have-we-made-progress-on-achievement-gaps-looking-at-evidence-from-the-new-naep-results/>

“Preschool Suspensions are Made Worse by Racial Disparities” (2016)
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/wp/2016/06/13/preschool-suspensions-are-made-worse-by-racial-disparities/?utm_term=.833412488c13

“Students in the US Get Criminalized While White Students Get Treatment” (2015)
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/racial-disparities-american-schools_55b67572e4b0074ba5a576c1?utm_hp_ref=tw

“Two Strikes: Race and the Disciplining of Young Children” (2015)
[https://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/events/youth_at_risk/Okonofua%20%20Eberhardt%20-%20Two%20Strikes%20-%20Race%20and%20the%20Disciplining%20of%20Young%20Students%20\(1\).au%20thcheckdam.pdf](https://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/events/youth_at_risk/Okonofua%20%20Eberhardt%20-%20Two%20Strikes%20-%20Race%20and%20the%20Disciplining%20of%20Young%20Students%20(1).au%20thcheckdam.pdf)

Civil Rights Data Collection, School Discipline (2014)
<https://ocrdata.ed.gov/Downloads/CRDC-School-Discipline-Snapshot.pdf>

Breaking School Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline Relates to Students’ success and Juvenile Justice Involvement (2011)
https://ppri.tamu.edu/files/Breaking_Schools_Rules.pdf

“Do early educators’ implicit biases regarding sex and race relate to behavior expectations and recommendations of preschool expulsions and suspensions?” (2016) Gilliam, WS et al., Yale University Child Study Center,
<https://news.yale.edu/2016/09/27/implicit-bias-may-explain-high-preschool-expulsion-rates-black-children>

“14 Disturbing Stats About Racial Inequality in American Public Schools” (2014)
<http://www.thenation.com/article/14-disturbing-stats-about-racial-inequality-american-public-schools/>

The Economic Impact of the Achievement Gap in America’s Schools (2009).
McKinsey and Company, Social Sector Office.

“The Color of Discipline: Sources of Racial and Gender Disproportionality in School Punishment.” (2002, Skiba et al.)
<http://www.indiana.edu/~equity/docs/ColorofDiscipline2002.pdf>

SOCIAL SERVICES

Identifying Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Human Services (2017)
<https://www.urban.org/research/publication/identifying-racial-and-ethnic-disparities-human-services>

“Addressing Disproportionality Through Undoing Racism, Leadership Development and Community Engagement” (2008)
<http://www.antiracistalliance.com/Addressing-Disproportionality-Through-Undoing-Racism.html>

“Examining Racial Disproportionality in Child Protective Services Case Decisions” (2012)
<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3439815/>

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Suspect Citizens: What 20 Million Traffic Stops Tell Us About Policing and Race (2018)
Baumgartner & Shoub.

Just Mercy: A Story of Justice and Redemption (2014). Bryan Stevenson. A clarion call to fix our broken system of justice. An informative and inspiring read.

The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness (2010)
Michelle Alexander (An excellent resource for a racial equity analysis of data and the workings of the criminal justice system.)

Alexander makes the point that we are now segregating Black men from society via a complex legal framework that she calls the “New Jim Crow”, euphemistically referred to as the “War on Drugs.”

Consider the following statistics from Alexander’s research:

- *Since 1970, the prison population has exploded from about 325,000 to more than 2 million today.*
- *Drug offenses account for two thirds of the rise in number of people who are in federal prisons and for more than half of those in state prisons.*
- *African Americans constitute 15% of drug users in the United States, yet 90% of those incarcerated for drug use.*
- *According to Human Rights Watch (Punishment and Prejudice: Racial Disparities in the War on Drugs, 2000) although whites are more likely to violate drug laws than people of color, in some states black men have been sent to prison on drug charges at rates 20-50 times greater than white men.*
- *One in three young African-American men are now under the jurisdiction controlled by the criminal justice system (jail, prison, parole, probation).*
- *More than 7 million children have a family member incarcerated, on probation or on parole.*

Once released, former prisoners are caught in a web of laws and regulations that make it difficult or impossible to secure jobs, education, housing and public assistance and often to vote or serve on juries. Alexander calls this permanent second-class citizenship a new form of segregation.

Race-Based Judgments, Race-Neutral Justifications: Experimental Examination of Peremptory Use and Batson Challenge Procedure. (2007) Samuel Sommers & Michael Norton (2007), *Law & Human Behavior*, 31: 261-273.

“The Disproportionate Risk of Driving While Black”

<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/25/us/racial-disparity-traffic-stops-driving-black.html?smid=fb-share>

The Mark of a Criminal Record, D. Pager (2003), *American Journal of Sociology*, 108, 935-937.

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5 SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF RACE AND POVERTY

A 2007 Pew Research Center poll reported that an overwhelming percentage of Americans believe that people who are poor do not succeed because of their own shortcomings; only 19 percent emphasized the role of discrimination or other structural and economic forces that go beyond the control of any one individual.

We need to examine how we view poverty and people who are poor. What are the stories we have been told about the problems and shortcomings of poor people and how does it influence our work, our institutions and systems?

Similarly, what are the stories we tell about wealth: the job creators, the makers vs. the takers? How has race factored into the sustaining the myth of meritocracy in our country?

Race and poverty and race and wealth come together in an intricate Gordian knot. It's not impossible to undo this knot, but it requires attention and work to disentangle the relationship of race and poverty, and how race works to create poverty in people of all races. It also requires awareness and analysis about how racism has been first and foremost the story of labor and building wealth for those who those known as white, while others were denied the same opportunities to build wealth through governmental programs and policies, societal structures, violence and terrorism. This has been true for 87% of American history and the end result is that while poverty is prevalent across races, Black American and indigenous American/American Indian poverty is disproportionate and concentrated in a way that white poverty is not. **Concentrated poverty** has a range of negative correlates: low school quality and academic achievement; increased crime risk; employment discrimination; reduced job networks; and poor health among others (The Federal Reserve System and The Brookings Institution 2008).

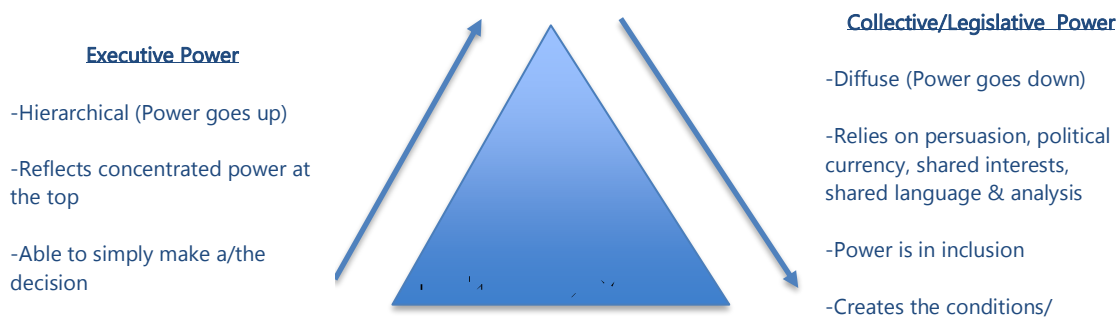
See tables in Outline.

6 POWER BROKERS IN INSTITUTIONS & COMMUNITIES

Effective organizing requires an accurate analysis of the power differential between communities and the institutions that purport to serve them. It's important to examine the experiences poor people have dealing with multiple institutions and systems. The disproportionate outcomes of America's institutions indicate that rules do not work the same way for everyone. Different groups experience our society's rules differently, and as a consequence view society differently.

Power Brokers

A power broker is anyone in an institutional or organizational role who is authorized to buy, sell, offer, negotiate, trade, or arrange services, goods, and programs for others. Power brokers are conduits to power. According to Jim Collins, there are two types of power in our public/private sectors: Executive Power and what we call Collective Power. To be effective, social sector leaders need both executive skills, the exercise of direct power, legislative skills, and the ability to influence people through motivation and persuasion, the latter being more nuanced and difficult to learn.



Institutional Organizing

- Uses institutional intelligence: What is our mission? What is the common good?
- Represents the opportunity to have/use influence for the common good that will outlast all of us
- The wisdom of working together effectively within an organization
- Wisdom is an artful method—a skillful, tactical, fair, and diplomatic use of knowledge

7 CONSTRUCTING AND DEFINING RACE AND RACISM

From *Race: The Power of An Illusion* (California Newsreel, 2003)

Historian James Horton points out that the enslavement of Africans was opportunistic, not based on beliefs about inferiority: "[Our forebears] found what they considered an endless labor supply. People who could be readily identified and so when they ran away they couldn't melt into the population like Native Americans could. People who knew how to grow tobacco, people who knew how to grow rice. They found the ideal, from their standpoint, the ideal labor source."

Ironically, it was not slavery but freedom - the revolutionary new idea of liberty and the natural rights of man - that led to an ideology of white supremacy. Historian Robin D.G. Kelley points out the conundrum that faced our founders: "The problem that they had to figure out is how can we promote liberty, freedom, democracy on the one hand, and a system of slavery and exploitation of people who are non-white on the other?" Horton illuminates the story that helped reconcile that contradiction: "And the way you do that is to say, 'Yeah, but you know there is something different about these people. This whole business of inalienable rights, that's fine, but it only applies to certain people.'" It was not a coincidence that the apostle of freedom himself, Thomas Jefferson, also a slaveholder, was the first American public figure to articulate a theory speculating upon the "natural" inferiority of Africans.

Similar logic rationalized the taking of American Indian lands. When the "civilized" Cherokee were forcibly removed from their homes in Georgia to west of the Mississippi, one in four died along the way, in what became known as The Trail of Tears. President Andrew Jackson defended Indian removal: it was not the greed of white settlers that drove the policy, but the inevitable fate of an inferior people established "in the midst of a superior race."

By the mid-19th century, race had become the accepted, "common-sense" wisdom of white America, explaining everything from individual behavior to the fate of human societies. The idea found fruition in racial science, Manifest Destiny, and our imperial adventures abroad. In the new monthly magazines of the late 19th century and at the remarkable indigenous people displays at the 1904 World's Fair celebrating the centennial of Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase, we see how American popular culture reinforced and fueled racial explanations for American progress and

power, imprinting ideas of racial difference and white superiority deeply into our minds.

A timeline of the construction and changing definitions of race in America

*Genetic studies have demonstrated conclusively that race is not a biologic or genetic construct. There is as much or more diversity and genetic difference within any "racial" group as there is between people of different racial groups. Overall people are about 99.9% genetically similar to each other. Even though there is no biologic basis for the concept of race, race remains very real because socially, politically and culturally it is of great consequence. (See *Race: The Power of An Illusion: What Is Race?* PBS, http://www.pbs.org/race/000_About/002_04-background.htm)*

So where did the idea of "race" come from? How and why was it constructed?

- The settlement of Jamestown in 1607, the first permanent English colony on this hemisphere, created a need for a means to not only survive harsh conditions and encounters with the people who already inhabited the land, but also the challenge of how to use the land to acquire wealth and power.
- John Rolfe's idea to cultivate tobacco as an export crop required land led to an arranged marriage (that came with thousands of acres of land) to Pocahontas, daughter of the local Native American leader, Powhatan. It also led to a need for labor which was initially addressed through a system of indentured servitude. The quantity and costs of indentured servants was soon perceived as inadequate. When a Dutch ship, with enslaved Africans, who had been seized from a Spanish slave ship, landed in Jamestown in 1619, the colonists readily purchased the "20 Negroes." John Rolfe, Secretary and Recorder of the English colony recorded the transaction in the local ledger. (Higgenbotham, *In the Matter of Color: Race & The American Legal Process: The Colonial Period*, 1978).
- Early in the colony of Virginia, poor people from different backgrounds (English, Irish, Dutch, African, Native Americans) saw their common self-interest and banded together in rebellion against the English elite (John Punch; Bacon's Rebellion), but the English imposed more severe punishment on people of African descent and later on those who associated with blacks. Thus they began to drive a wedge between so-called "races" to divide and conquer those who were poor. This ensured the allegiance of poor "white" people to those "white" people who had power.

- The notion of a “white race” that would control power and access to land and wealth began to take shape in the late 1600s as colonial laws and other writings begin to replace the terms Christian, Englishman, Dutchman, Scot, with the word “white” as opposed to Negroes, Indians, and slaves. “White” men are the ones with power, elected office, and property. A hierarchy is being constructed with “white men” on top. This social construct became foundational for the expansion of colonialization in the land that came to be called the United States. Theodore Allen describes in careful detail this political act of self-interest that continues to haunt our nation today. (Allen, *Invention of the White Race I and II*, 1994, 1997).
- In the late 1700s as opposition to slavery was increasing, Johan Friedrich Blumenbach used study of human skulls to develop a hierarchical division of the human species: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, Australoid and Negroid. Later Blumenbach admitted that this was a false science and that one could not really divide mankind into categories, but he said, “Still it will be found serviceable to the memory to have constituted certain classes into which the men of our planet may be divided.”
 - The original United States Naturalization Law of March 26, 1790 provided the first rules to be followed by the United States in the granting of national citizenship. This law limited naturalization to immigrants who were "free white persons" of "good moral character", leaving out American Indians, indentured servants, slaves, free blacks, and later Asians. While women were included in the act, the right of citizenship did "not descend to persons whose fathers have never been resident in the United States...." Citizenship was inherited exclusively through the father. This was the only statute that ever recognized the status of natural born citizen, requiring that state and federal officers not consider American children born abroad to be foreigners.
 - Immigrants from Ireland and Eastern Europe who came to the U.S. during the Industrial Revolution were not considered white. Some referred to them as the “in-between people.” Jewish people were not considered “white” in the U.S until after World War II and prejudice has continued to linger.
 - 1922 –*Takao Ozawa v. The United States*. The Supreme Court found that Ozawa, a Japanese man, was ineligible for citizenship because Japanese people cannot be white because they are not Caucasian.

- 1923–The Supreme Court case of *Bhagat Singh Thind*. All whites are Caucasian but not all Caucasians are white. The majority argued that “the average man knows perfectly well that there are unmistakable and profound differences.” The *Thind* decision led to successful efforts to denaturalize Indians who had previously become citizens and they lost their right to own land and other rights of citizenship, depending on their state or residence.
- The construction of race has continued throughout US history and has been central to US economic development, including the development of wealth and power as we have exploited those, not classified as white, in order to advance agriculture, ranching, railroads, mining, manufacturing, etc. The story of race is the story of labor. We have “let” folks into the family of “white” as we need their numbers and no longer need to exploit their labor.

Defining Race and Racism

Race

“A specious classification of human beings created by Europeans during a period of worldwide colonial expansion, using themselves as the model for humanity, for the purpose of assigning and maintaining white skin access to power and privilege.”
(Dr. Maulana Karenga)

Prejudice

A judgment based on bias that stereotypes others as different. Prejudice is usually, but not always, negative; positive and negative prejudices alike, especially when directed toward oppressed people, are damaging because they deny the individuality of the person. In some cases, the prejudices of oppressed people (“you can’t trust the police”) are necessary for survival. No one is free of prejudice.

Social and Institutional Power

- Access to resources
- The ability to influence others
- Access to decision-makers to get what you want done
- The ability to define reality for yourself and others

Oppression

The systematic subjugation of one social group by a more powerful social group for the social, economic, and political benefit of the more powerful social group. Rita

Hardiman and Bailey Jackson state that oppression exists when the following four conditions are found:

1. The oppressor group has the power to define reality for themselves and others.
2. The target groups take in and internalize the negative messages about them and end up cooperating with the oppressors (thinking and acting like them).
3. Genocide, harassment, and discrimination are systematic and institutionalized, so that individuals are not necessary to keep it going.
4. Members of both the oppressor and target groups are socialized to play their roles as normal and correct.

System

- A set of things that together make a whole
- An established way of doing something, such that things get done that way regularly and are assumed to be the 'normal' way things get done
- Runs by itself; does not require planning or initiative by a person or group

Advantage

- A leg up, a gain, a benefit

White Supremacy

The idea (ideology) that white people and the ideas, thoughts, beliefs, and actions of white people are superior to People of Color and their ideas, thoughts, beliefs, and actions.

Racism

Racism is Social and Institutional Power + Race Prejudice.

- Therefore, it is a system of advantage based on race.
- Therefore, it is a system of oppression based on race.
- **Therefore, it is a white supremacy system supported by an all-class collaboration called "white" created to end cross-racial labor solidarity**

Racism is different from racial prejudice, hatred, or discrimination. Racism involves one group having the power to carry out systematic discrimination through the major institutions of society. Racism is a system.

8 THE LEGACY OF WHITE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

A short (and incomplete) history of race and racism in the United States

If you are a citizen of the United States, part of the legacy you have inherited is the historical, systematic, and pervasive way in which white race and the benefits, privilege and power for those who came to be known as white have been constructed in this country. Following is small sampling of dates related to significant happenings, laws, court decisions, policies and other acts which have contributed to institutionalization of racism.

- 1607 Settlement of Jamestown, the first permanent English colony in Virginia
- 1613 **John Rolfe marries Pocahontas** in the colony of Virginia.
- 1619 **Twenty enslaved Africans**, unloaded from a Dutch ship at a port near Jamestown, are sold to labor-short colonists.
- 1637 New England colonists massacre 500 Native Americans in **Pequot War, the first massacre of indigenous people by English colonists.**
- 1640 **John Punch**, an African indentured servant, runs away from his servitude with Victor, a Dutchman and James Gregory, a Scotsman. They are caught. The colony of Virginia records that as punishment the Dutchman and the Scot are given 4 increased years of indentured servitude. John Punch is sentenced to servitude for the remainder of his natural life, or lifetime servitude.
- 1660 **Act XXII**, Virginia House of Burgesses says that English servants who run away with any Negroes who are “incapable of making satisfaction by the addition of time” will serve also for the Negro’s escaped time in addition to their own. “Incapable of making satisfaction” is implicit knowledge of Negro lifetime servitude, which some scholars have interpreted to be legal acknowledgement of slavery (Higgenbotham, 1978, p. 35).
- 1662 Virginia enacts law stating that if an “Englishman” begets a child of a “Negro woman,” the child will take on the woman’s status, e.g., that of a slave; this law makes **slavery hereditary.**
- 1676 **Bacon’s Rebellion**, a populist rebellion that organized poor people -- white frontiersmen, slaves, indentured servants, and a tribe of Indians

--against the colony of Virginia. Bacon and the rebels win the first battle and the sitting government retreats to boats in the river. They win two more skirmishes before English reinforcements arrive and put down the rebellion.

- 1705 Virginia law passed requiring masters to provide *white* indentured servants 50 acres of land, 30 shillings, a musket and 10 bushels of corn when they completed their servitude. This was often referred to as Freedom Dues.
- 1712 “Act for the better ordering and governing of Negroes and slaves” in South Carolina – “whereas, the plantations . . . of this province cannot be well managed . . . without the labor of Negroes and other slaves, [who] . . . are of barbarous, wild, savage natures, and such as renders them wholly unqualified to be governed by the laws . . . of this province; that such other laws and orders, should in this province be made . . . as may restrain the disorders, rapines and inhumanity, to which they are naturally prone and inclined. . . .”
- 1776 **The Declaration of Independence** is signed, stating that “all men are created equal . . . with certain inalienable rights . . . Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness” while excluding Africans, Native Americans, and all women.
- 1785 **Land Ordinance Act**, 640 acres offered at \$1 per acre to white people
- 1787 In the U.S. Constitution, for the purposes of taxation and representation, Negro slaves were counted as 3/5 of a person, “adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.” Slaves who couldn’t vote were not going to be counted at all, but the Three-Fifths Compromise was agreed upon to give the South more seats in Congress and more electoral votes. The effect was that slaveholder interests largely dominated the government of the US until 1865.
- 1790 **Naturalization Law of 1790** specified that only free white immigrants are eligible for naturalized citizenship. First generation immigrants from Asia, the Caribbean, Central and South American and Africa are expressly denied civil rights, the right to vote, and the right to own land. This Act is not completely wiped off the books until the McCarran Walter Act of 1952.
- 1790s The slavery abolition movement starts to grow. **Blumenbach and Buffon** offer “scientific” justification for a hierarchical classification of humankind (Caucasoid, Mongoloid, Australoid and Negroid)

- 1795 **Treaty of Greenville**, which Indian leaders are forced to sign, cedes most of the Ohio Valley to the U.S. government.
- 1800 **The Land Ordinance Act** minimum lot was halved to 320 Acres.
- 1807 Thomas Jefferson states the US should “pursue (the Indians) into extermination or drive them to new seats beyond our reach.”
- 1812 Thomas Jefferson states white people should drive every Indian in their path “with the beasts of the forests into the stony mountains.”
- 1830 An act prohibiting “the teaching of slaves to read” in North Carolina and other states – “whereas the teaching of slaves to read and write has a tendency to excite dissatisfaction in their minds and to produce insurrection and rebellion, to the manifest injury of the citizens of this state ...” such teaching was illegal and severely punished.
- 1830 **Indian Removal Act** authorized the president to “negotiate” and exchange lands . . . which actually meant . . . seize Indian land and remove Native Americans from their ancestral and sacred lands; territory of Oklahoma set aside as “Indian Territory.”
- 1848 **Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo** signed between U.S. and Mexico, which promises to protect the lands, language and culture of the Mexicans living in ceded territory (future states of California, Texas, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, parts of Colorado and Wyoming). Congress substitutes a “Protocol” which requires Mexicans to prove in U.S. courts that they have ‘legitimate’ title to their own lands; the “Protocol” becomes the legal basis for the massive U.S. land theft from Mexicans in conquered territories.
- 1850 **Foreign Miners Tax** in California requires Chinese and Latin American gold miners to pay a special tax on their holdings not required of European American miners.
- 1854 California law (**People v. Hall**) – “No black, or mulatto person, or Indian shall be allowed to give evidence for or against a white person.”
- 1862 **Homestead Act** allots 160 acres of western (i.e. Indian) land to “anyone” who could pay \$1.25 an acre and cultivate it for 5 years; within 10 years, 85,000,000 acres of Indian lands had been sold to European homesteaders. The last person received land under the Homestead Act in 1988.
- 1863 **Thirteenth Amendment.** Slavery was abolished for all people except for those convicted of a crime. “Black Codes” immediately emerged to

criminalize legal activity for African-Americans (loitering, breaking curfew, being unemployed, etc.). Created a new system of convict labor and leasing that allowed former slave owners to again have access to free labor from African Americans.

- 1882 **Chinese Exclusion Act** passed by Congress to keep Chinese immigrant workers from coming to the U.S., the first time a nationality had been barred expressly by name.
- 1886 **Apache** warrior Geronimo surrenders to the U.S. army, marking the defeat of Southwest Indian nations.
- 1887 **Dawes Act** terminates tribal ownership of lands by partitioning reservations and assigning each Indian a 160-acre allotment for farming. "Surplus" reservation land is opened up to homesteaders.
- 1887 **Hayes Tilden Compromise** removes federal troops from the South, leaving Blacks totally unprotected from white violence and setting stage for 50 years of intense repression, denial of political, civil, and education rights that African Americans had struggled for and to some extent won during Reconstruction after the Civil War.
- 1893 **Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii is overthrown** by U.S. planter colonists in a bloodless revolution. The Republic of Hawaii is established with Stanford Dole (Dole Pineapple) as president.
- 1896 Supreme Court declares in **Plessy v. Ferguson** that separate but "equal" facilities are constitutional.
- 1898 **Treaty of Paris.** After defeating Spain in the Spanish-American War, the US acquires Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. Cuba, which had already declared her independence from Spain, becomes a virtual colony of the U.S.
- 1910 **The Flexner Report.** Five of seven medical schools educating black doctors were closed, leaving only two medical schools, Meharry and Howard to provide medical education for American Blacks. Although now Blacks have graduated from every medical school in the United States, the decades of exclusion have resulted in an insurmountable manpower and opportunity gap.
- 1917 **Immigration Act of 1917.** Congress enacts another immigration act creating an Asiatic Barred Zone, a "line in the sand" in Asia effectively cutting off all immigration from India.
- 1922 **Ozawa V. United States.** Takao Ozawa, a Japanese-American, assimilated after 20 years of living in the US, filed for United States

citizenship under the [Naturalization Act of 1906](#) which allowed only “free white persons” and “persons of African nativity or persons of African descent” to naturalize. Ozawa did not challenge the constitutionality of the racial restrictions. Instead, he claimed that Japanese people were properly classified as “free white persons”. The Court invoked “science,” in finding a Japanese man could not be defined as “Caucasian” (which the Court found synonymous with “White”). It was easy for the Court to deny the petition of such a non-Caucasian.

- 1923** **Thind v. United States.** Based on Ozawa, Thind argues that he is Caucasian and therefore white. The Supreme Court unanimously decided that Bhagat Singh Thind, an Indian Sikh man who identified himself as a “high caste Hindu, of full Indian blood,” was racially ineligible for naturalized citizenship in the United States. Asian Indians who had already been granted citizenship, had their citizenship revoked. In this case, the court said that while all whites are Caucasian, not all Caucasians are white. In this case they eschew science and say a white man is who the “common white man” recognizes as a white man.
- 1924 **Johnson Reed Immigration Act** sets restrictive quotas on immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
- 1933 **New Deal legislation for “Relief, Recovery and Reform”** made available \$120 billion (worth \$1 trillion today) in loans—98% went to white people. Also created jobs programs (e.g., FERA, CCC, PWA, WPA) designed to put people to work and eradicate unemployment.
- 1933 **Home Owners Loan Corporation** created to help home owners and stabilize banks, created detailed neighborhood maps that took into account the racial composition of a neighborhood or likelihood of racial infiltration, color coded these, neighborhoods in red and labeled them “undesirable” resulting in a lack of investment in neighborhoods with POC and enormous investment in white neighborhoods.
- 1934 **The Federal Housing Act** manuals and practices codify the channeling of funds to white neighborhoods and collaborated with block busters.
- 1935 **The Social Security Act.** New Deal programs would not have survived the Southern voting block unless they were designed in a way that preserved racial patterns. SSA did not extend coverage to farm or domestic workers, disproportionately excluding blacks from its benefits.

- 1935 **The Fair Labor Standards Act** of the same year also did not cover agricultural or domestic workers.
- 1944 Supreme Court opinion upheld Roosevelt’s Executive Order authorizing relocation and detention of all people of Japanese ancestry, including U.S. citizens, in “war relocation centers” regardless of “loyalty” to U.S. (during World War II).
- 1944 **The GI Bill:** \$95 billion in educational, employment and housing opportunities went mainly to returning *white* soldiers. 2,255,00 veterans took advantage of the GI Bill which is now considered the biggest transfer of economic advantage to white people in the history of our nation.
- 1946 **Hill-Burton Act.** Also known as the Hospital Survey and Construction Act. Contained a “separate but equal” clause, recognizing that most participating Southern hospitals were reserved for whites only, and closed to black physicians and patients.
- 1947 **Taft Hartley Act** seriously restricts the right to organize and requires a loyalty oath aimed at the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which had organized large numbers of workers of color.
- 1945-60 Suburban sprawl and white-flight to the suburbs became popular as certain communities were officially red-lined and marked as undesirable, de-voiding inner cities of essential tax dollars used for schools, roads, parks, and other public necessities.
- 1963 **Simkins v. Moses Cone Memorial Hospital** held that “separate but equal” racial segregation in publicly funded hospitals was a violation of the equal protection clause of the U.S. Constitution.
- 1978 **Proposition 13** (The People’s Initiative to Limit Property Taxation) created tax structures that greatly benefitted white homeowners. Because of the benefits it bestows on the rich and powerful Prop 13 is now considered “untouchable” by CA politicians, even though it has been detrimental to the state economy.
- 1990 Congress passes a comprehensive new immigration law, which includes “employer sanctions” for knowingly hiring a worker without papers, discouraging employers from taking job applications from Asian Americans or Latinos.
- 2009 **The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act** (the Stimulus): \$840 billion for schools, municipalities, infrastructure development, energy, etc. Another race neutral act that has disproportionately benefitted white people because of who is able to meet qualifying

criteria.

9 INTERNALIZED RACIAL OPPRESSION

THE FOUR FACES OF RACISM

(adapted from Jona Olsson, *Cultural Bridges to Justice program*)

CONSTRUCTED RACIST OPPRESSION (affecting people of color)

- Historically constructed and systemic (not just personal or individual)
- Penetrates every aspect of our personal, institutional, and cultural life
- Includes prejudice against people of color in attitudes, feelings, and behaviors
- Includes exclusion, discrimination against, suspicion, fear or hatred of people of color
- Sees a person of color only as a member of a group, not as an individual
- Includes low expectations by white people for children and adults of color
- People of color have fewer options, choices

INTERNALIZED RACIAL INFERIORITY (affecting people of color)

- As people of color, we carry internalized negative messages about ourselves and other people of color.
- We believe there is something wrong with being a person of color.
- We have lowered self-esteem, sense of inferiority, wrongness.
- We have lowered expectations, limited sense of potential for self.
- We have very limited choices: either 'act in' (white) or 'act out' (disrupt).
- We have a sense of limited possibility (limited by oppression and prejudice).

GRANTED WHITE PRIVILEGE (affecting white people)

- An invisible knapsack of special provisions and blank checks (Peggy McIntosh, "Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack")
- The default, the norm; to be white in America is not to have to think about it
- We expect to be seen as an individual; what we do never reflects on the white race.
- We can choose to avoid the impact of racism without penalty.
- We live in a world where our worth and personhood are continually validated.
- Although hurt by racism, we can live just fine without ever having to deal with it.

INTERNALIZED RACIAL SUPERIORITY (affecting white people)

- My worldview is the universal world view; our standards and norms are

universal.

- My achievements have to do with me, not with my membership in the white group.
- I have a right to be comfortable and if I am not, then someone else is to blame.
- I can feel that I personally earned, through work and merit, any/all of my success.
- I equate acts of unfairness experienced by white people with systemic racism experienced by people of color.
- I have many choices, as I should; everyone else has those same choices
- I am not responsible for what happened before, nor do I have to know anything about it. I have a right to be ignorant.
- I see work on racism as the responsibility of people of color and only in the interest of people of color.

HOW OPPRESSION OPERATES

In order for oppression to flourish, we must collude or cooperate. As Frederick Douglass pointed out “Find out what people will submit to, and you have found the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them . . .”

In order for oppression (racism in this case) to flourish, we must:

forget / pretend – The oppressed must forget what has happened to them historically and what is happening to them in their day to day lives in order to get through their lives and their day; the dominant group must never identify as white or as benefiting from white privilege; the dominant group must ‘forget’ about their membership in the white group; the dominant group must pretend that everything is OK now, that the problem was in the past.

lie – The oppressed must stop speaking the truth about their experience, both to themselves (to survive internally) and to others (to survive in the world); the dominant group must lie to themselves and each other about their role in oppression, positioning themselves as blameless, passive (I didn’t cause it), individual and not part of a bigger system, while ignoring the internal racist conditioning and tapes (I am not racist, I’m a good white person).

stop feeling – The oppressed must cut themselves off from their feelings, become numb in order to survive, or feel that it is personal (I am bad or at fault); the dominant group must also cut themselves off from their feelings, insist on being ‘rational and ‘logical’ and never stop to feel the cost as oppressors; the dominant group must avoid feeling, because to begin feeling means to begin feeling guilt or shame.

lose voice – The oppressed must internalize the oppression, feel bad about themselves and their situation so that they are no longer able to speak to it or about it, distrust their voice and the truth they have to speak; when the oppressed do speak out, they are labeled as ‘aggressive,’ ‘overly sensitive,’ ‘angry,’ and discounted; the dominant group becomes afraid to speak out because of the social pressure against it, the threat of losing family and friends, and separating themselves from the white group.

make power invisible – The oppressed must begin to identify more with the dominant group than with their own group and as a result lose a sense of their collective power; the dominant group must assume their right to power along with the myth that power is individual and everyone who works hard can have the same power they do; or the dominant group must act as if they don't have power as white people and deny the power that they get just by belonging to the white group.

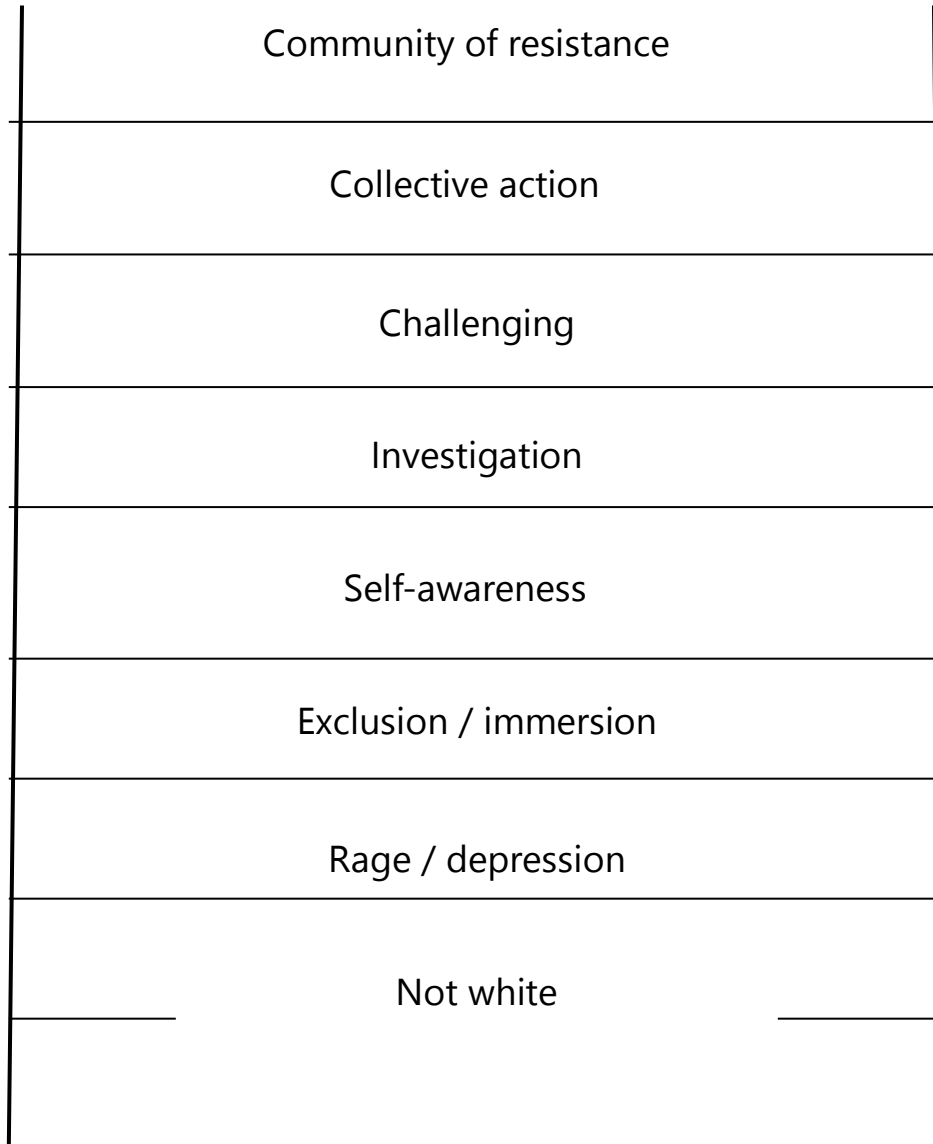
INTERNALIZED RACIAL INFERIORITY

Internalized Racial Inferiority (IRI) is the internalization by People of Color (POC) of the images, stereotypes, prejudices, and myths promoted by the racist system about POC in this country. Our thoughts and feelings about ourselves, people of our own racial group, or other POC are based on the racist messages we receive from the broader system. For many People of Color in our communities, internalized racist oppression manifests itself as:

- Self-Doubt
- Distancing from other people of color
- Self-Hate
- Anger/Rage
- Exaggerated visibility
- Assimilation
- Acculturation
- Colorism
- Protection of white people
- Tolerance
- Ethnocentrism

LADDER OF EMPOWERMENT FOR PEOPLE OF COLOR

EMPOWERMENT



INTERNALIZED RACIAL INFERIORITY

CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERNALIZED RACIAL SUPERIORITY

Internalized Racial Superiority impacts white people and the dominant white culture in many ways. Some of these include:

- Resistance to change
- Avoiding conflict
- Paternalism / Caretaking
- Ignorance and misinformation
- Scapegoating / Blaming / Labeling
- Self-Righteousness / Anger
- Right to comfort
- Resistance to acknowledging / correcting past
- Individualism
- Defensiveness
- Assumption of normalcy / superiority
- Denial
- Distancing
- Entitlement

TACTICS OF RESISTANCE

from Paul Kivel's *Uprooting Racism*, 1996, pp. 40-46

Tactic	What it is	What it sounds like
Denial	Denial of existence of oppression Denial of responsibility for it	Discrimination is a thing of the past. It's a level playing field. It's not my fault.
Minimization	Playing down the damage	It's not that bad. Racism isn't a big problem anymore.
Blame	Justifying the oppression Blaming the victim	Look at the way they act. It's their own fault. If they weren't so angry...
Lack of intent	Claims the damage in unintentional	I didn't mean it like that. It was only a joke.
It's over now	The oppression was in the past and is no longer an issue.	Slavery was over a long time ago. The Civil Rights movement evened the playing field.
Competing victimization	Claiming that the targets of oppression now have so much power that it is white people who are threatened and disadvantaged	They are taking away our jobs. White people are under attack. We just want our rights, too.

SOURCES OF RESISTANCE

from Arnold, Burke, James, Martin, and Thomas, *Educating for a Change*, 1991, p. 134

Our identity and relation to power: We may feel guilt or anxiety for being a member of the dominant group (a man when sexism is the issue; a white person when racism is the issue). We may be afraid to speak out because we'll be seen as a troublemaker and become isolated when we belong to the target group.

Our discomfort with the content and perspective: The implications of what we're learning may be very threatening to us if we belong to the dominant group or may not be critical or threatening enough if we belong to the target group.

Our discomfort with the process: Those of us used to doing things a certain way may get impatient or frustrated when the process is unfamiliar, slow, or too 'touchy feely.' We may assume that the way we respond to the process is the way everyone responds to the process, whether or not that is true. Some of us feel we have a 'right' to be included, while others never expect to be fully included.

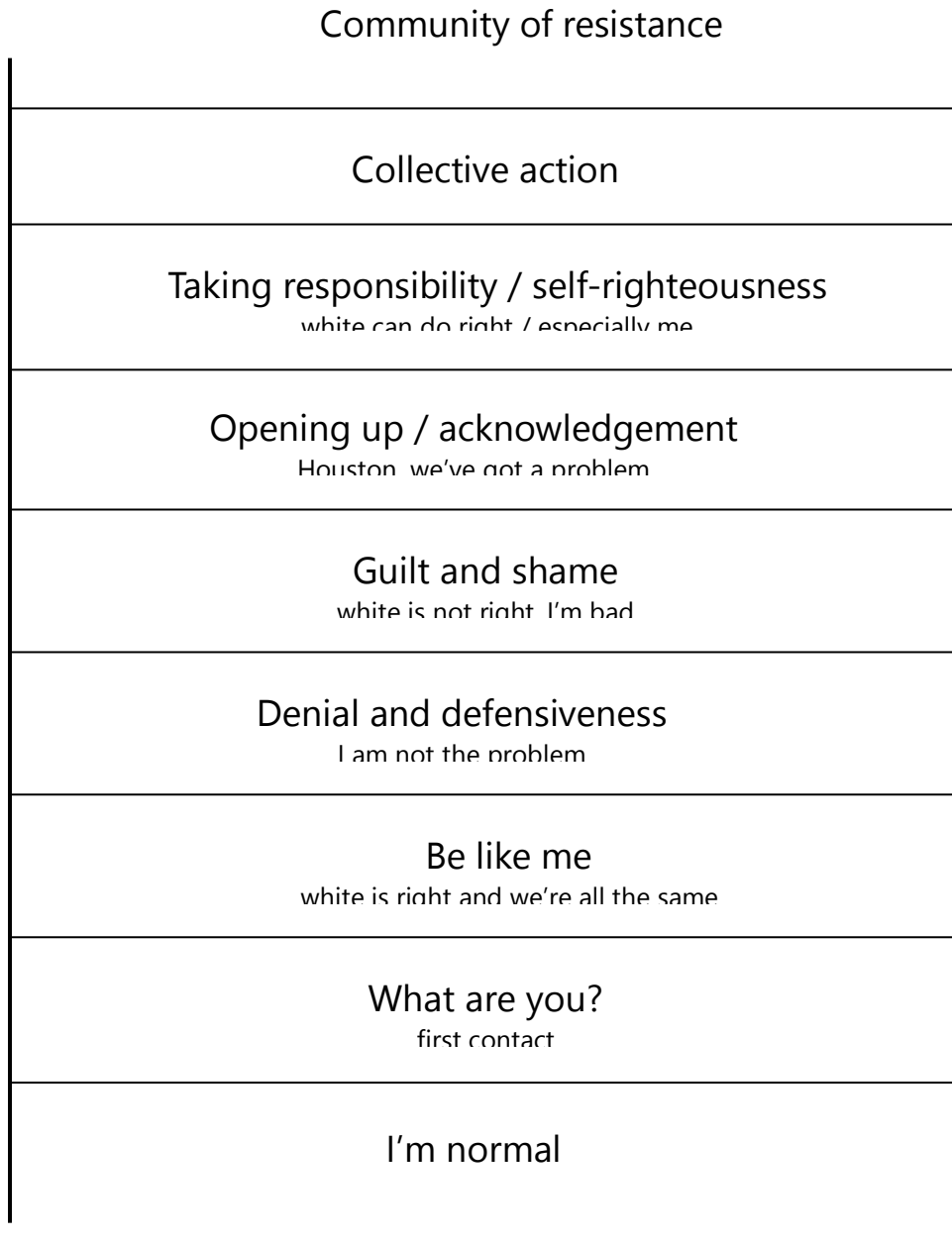
Our fear about losing: taking in and/or acting on the information presented may mean loss – of family, of friends, of a job. A white person who opens up to how racism is playing out in their family or community may risk losing important relationships if they decide to speak or act. A person of color who decides to work in coalition with white people may risk losing important relationships as a result.

Our fear of critical thinking: Many of us tend to hear critical thinking as criticism. For example, the suggestion that we could do better on race issues in our organization is heard as criticism that we're doing a bad job. This can be particularly difficult when we have a lot of personal investment in the organization or community.

LADDER OF EMPOWERMENT FOR WHITE PEOPLE

Tema Okun and others developed this ladder over time.

WHITE ANTI-RACIST DEVELOPMENT



INTERNALIZED RACIAL SUPERIORITY

10 RACE AND CULTURE

CHARACTERISTICS OF WHITE CULTURE

This piece on white supremacy culture is written by Tema Okun and builds on the work of many people, including (but not limited to) Andrea Ayzavian, Bree Carlson, Beverly Daniel Tatum, Dueker, Nancy Emond, Jonn Lunsford, Sharon Martinas, Joan Olsson, David Rogers, James Williams, Sally Yee, Daniel Buford, as well as the work of Grassroots Leadership, Equity Institute Inc, the People's Institute for Survival and Beyond, the Challenging White Supremacy workshop, the Lillie Allen Institute, the Western States Center, and the contributions of hundreds of participants in dismantling racism workshops.

Following is a list of characteristics of white supremacy culture that show up in our organizations. Culture is powerful precisely because it is so present and at the same time so very difficult to name or identify. The characteristics listed below are damaging because they are used as norms and standards without being pro-actively named or chosen by the group. They are damaging because they promote white supremacy thinking. They are damaging to both people of color and to white people. Organizations that are led by people of color or that comprise a majority people of color can also demonstrate damaging characteristics of white supremacy culture.

PERFECTIONISM

- Little appreciation expressed among people for the work that others are doing; appreciation that is expressed usually directed to those who get most of the credit anyway.
- More common is to point out either how the person or work is inadequate or even more common, to talk to others about the inadequacies of a person or their work without ever talking directly to them.
- Mistakes are seen as personal, i.e. they reflect badly on the person making them as opposed to being seen for what they are – mistakes.
- Making a mistake is confused with being a mistake, doing wrong with being wrong.
- Little time, energy, or money put into reflection or identifying lessons learned that can improve practice, in other words little or no learning from mistakes.
- Tendency to identify what's wrong; little ability to identify, name, and appreciate

what's right.

- Often internally felt, in other words the perfectionist fails to appreciate her own good work, more often pointing out her faults or 'failures,' focusing on inadequacies and mistakes rather than learning from them; the person works with a harsh and constant inner critic.

Antidotes: Develop a culture of appreciation, where the organization takes time to make sure that people's work and efforts are appreciated; develop a learning organization, where it is expected that everyone will make mistakes and those mistakes offer opportunities for learning; create an environment where people can recognize that mistakes sometimes lead to positive results; separate the person from the mistake; when offering feedback, always speak to the things that went well before offering criticism; ask people to offer specific suggestions for how to do things differently when offering criticism; realize that being your own worst critic does not actually improve the work, often contributes to low morale among the group, and does not help you or the group to realize the benefit of learning from mistakes

SENSE OF URGENCY

- A continued sense of urgency makes it difficult to take time to be inclusive, encourage democratic and/or thoughtful decision-making, to think long-term, to consider consequences.
- Frequently results in sacrificing potential allies for quick or highly visible results, for example sacrificing interests of communities of color in order to win victories for white people (seen as default or norm community)
- Reinforced by funding proposals which promise too much work for too little money and by funders who expect too much for too little

Antidotes: Realistic work plans; leadership which understands that things take longer than anyone expects; discuss and plan for what it means to set goals of inclusivity and diversity, particularly in terms of time; learn from past experience how long things take; write realistic funding proposals with realistic time frames; be clear about how you will make good decisions in an atmosphere of urgency; realize that rushing decisions takes more time in the long run because inevitably people who didn't get a chance to voice their thoughts and feelings will at best resent and at worst undermine the decision because they were left unheard.

DEFENSIVENESS

- The organizational structure is set up and much energy spent trying to prevent abuse and protect power as it exists rather than to facilitate the best out of each person or to clarify who has power and how they are expected to use it.
- Because of either/or thinking (see below), criticism of those with power is viewed as threatening and inappropriate (or rude).
- People respond to new or challenging ideas with defensiveness, making it very difficult to raise these ideas.
- A lot of energy in the organization is spent trying to make sure that people's feelings aren't getting hurt or working around defensive people.
- White people spend energy defending against charges of racism instead of examining how racism might actually be happening.
- The defensiveness of people in power creates an oppressive culture.

Antidotes: Understand that structure cannot in and of itself facilitate or prevent abuse; understand the link between defensiveness and fear (of losing power, losing face, losing comfort, losing privilege); work on your own defensiveness; name defensiveness as a problem when it is one; give people credit for being able to handle more than you think; discuss the ways in which defensiveness or resistance to new ideas gets in the way of the mission

QUANTITY OVER QUALITY

- All resources of organization are directed toward producing measurable goals
- Things that can be measured are more highly valued than things that cannot, for example numbers of people attending a meeting, newsletter circulation, money spent are valued more than quality of relationships, democratic decision-making, ability to constructively deal with conflict
- Little or no value attached to process; if it can't be measured, it has no value
- Discomfort with emotion and feelings
- No understanding that when there is a conflict between content (the agenda of the meeting) and process (people's need to be heard or engaged), process will prevail (for example, you may get through the agenda, but if you haven't paid attention to people's need to be heard, the decisions made at the meeting are undermined and/or disregarded)

Antidotes: Include process or quality goals in your planning; make sure your organization has a values statement which expresses the ways in which you want to do your work; make sure this is a living document and that people are using it in their day to day work; look for ways to measure process goals (for example if you have a goal of inclusivity, think about ways you can measure whether or not you have achieved that goal); learn to recognize those times when you need to get off the agenda in order to address people's underlying concerns

WORSHIP OF THE WRITTEN WORD

- If it's not in a memo or a written document, it doesn't exist.
- The organization does not take into account or value other ways in which information is shared.
- Those with strong documentation and writing skills are more highly valued, even in organizations where ability to verbally relate to others is key to the mission.

Antidotes: Take the time to analyze how people inside and outside the organization get and share information; figure out which things need to be written down and come up with alternative ways to document what is happening; work to recognize the contributions and skills that every person brings to the organization (for example, the ability to build relationships with those who are important to the organization's mission); make sure anything written can be clearly understood (avoid academic language, 'buzz' words, etc.)

ONLY ONE RIGHT WAY

- The belief there is one right way to do things and once people are introduced to the right way, they will see the light and adopt it
- When they do not adapt or change, then something is wrong with them (the other, those not changing), not with us (those who 'know' the right way).
- Similar to the missionary who does not see value in the culture of other communities, sees only value in their beliefs about what is good.

Antidotes: Accept that there are many ways to get to the same goal; once the group has made a decision about which way will be taken, honor that decision and see what you and the organization will learn from taking that way, even and especially if it is not the way you would have chosen; work on developing the

ability to notice when people do things differently and how those different ways might improve your approach; look for the tendency for a group or a person to keep pushing the same point over and over out of a belief that there is only one right way and then name it; when working with communities from a different culture than yours or your organization's, be clear that you have some learning to do about the communities' ways of doing; never assume that you or your organization know what's best for the community in isolation from meaningful relationships with that community

PATERNALISM

- Decision-making is clear to those with power and unclear to those without it
- Those with power think they are capable of making decisions for and in the interests of those without power
- Those with power often don't think it is important or necessary to understand the viewpoint or experience of those for whom they are making decisions
- Those without power understand they do not have it and understand who does
- Those without power do not really know how decisions get made and who makes what decisions, and yet they are completely familiar with the impact of those decisions on them

Antidotes: Make sure that everyone knows and understands who makes what decisions in the organization; make sure everyone knows and understands their level of responsibility and authority in the organization; include people who are affected by decisions in the decision-making.

BINARY (EITHER/OR) THINKING

- Things are either/or — good/bad, right/wrong, with us/against us.
- Closely linked to perfectionism in making it difficult to learn from mistakes or accommodate conflict
- No sense that things can be both/and
- Results in trying to simplify complex things, for example believing that poverty is simply a result of lack of education
- Creates conflict and increases sense of urgency, as people feel they have to make decisions to do either this or that, with no time or encouragement to consider alternatives, particularly those which may require more time or resources

- Often used by those with a clear agenda or goal to push those who are still thinking or reflecting to make a choice between 'a' or 'b' without acknowledging a need for time and creativity to come up with more options

Antidotes: Notice when people use 'either/or' language and push to come up with more than two alternatives; notice when people are simplifying complex issues, particularly when the stakes seem high or an urgent decision needs to be made; slow it down and encourage people to do a deeper analysis; when people are faced with an urgent decision, take a break and give people some breathing room to think creatively; avoid making decisions under extreme pressure

POWER HOARDING

- Little, if any, value around sharing power
- Power is seen as limited, only so much to go around.
- Those with power feel threatened when anyone suggests changes in how things should be done in the organization, feel suggestions for change are a reflection on their leadership.
- Those with power don't see themselves as hoarding power or as feeling threatened.
- Those with power assume they have the best interests of the organization at heart and assume those wanting change are ill-informed (stupid), emotional, inexperienced.

Antidotes: Include power sharing in your organization's values statement; discuss what good leadership looks like and make sure people understand that a good leader develops the power and skills of others; understand that change is inevitable and challenges to your leadership can be healthy and productive; make sure the organization is focused on the mission.

FEAR OF OPEN CONFLICT

- People in power are scared of expressed conflict and try to ignore it or run from it.
- When someone raises an issue that causes discomfort, the response is to blame the person for raising the issue rather than to look at the issue which is actually causing the problem.
- Emphasis on being polite

- Equating the raising of difficult issues with being impolite, rude, or out of line

Antidotes: Role play ways to handle conflict before conflict happens; distinguish between being polite and raising hard issues; don't require those who raise hard issues to raise them in 'acceptable' ways, especially if you are using the ways in which issues are raised as an excuse not to address those issues; once a conflict is resolved, take the opportunity to revisit it and see how it might have been handled differently.

INDIVIDUALISM

- Little experience or comfort working as part of a team
- People in organization believe they are responsible for solving problems alone.
- The belief that if something is going to get done right, 'I' have to do it
- Little or no ability to delegate work to others
- Accountability, if any, goes up and down, not sideways to peers or to those the organization is set up to serve.
- Desire for individual recognition and credit
- Leads to isolation
- Competition is more highly valued than cooperation and where cooperation is valued, little time or resources devoted to developing skills in how to cooperate.
- Creates a lack of accountability, as the organization values those who can get things done on their own without needing supervision or guidance

Antidotes: Include teamwork as an important value in your values statement; evaluate people based on their ability to delegate to others; evaluate people based on their ability to work as part of a team to accomplish shared goals make sure the organization is working towards shared goals and people understand how working together will improve performance; evaluate people's ability to work in a team as well as their ability to get the job done; make sure that credit is given to all those who participate in an effort, not just the leaders or most public person; make people accountable as a group rather than as individuals; create a culture where people bring problems to the group; use staff meetings as a place to solve problems, not just a place to report activities.

PROGRESS IS BIGGER, MORE

- Observed in how we define success (success is always bigger, more)
- Progress is an organization that expands (adds staff, adds projects) or develops the ability to serve more people (regardless of how well they are serving them)
- Gives no value, not even negative value, to its cost, for example, increased accountability to funders as the budget grows, ways in which those we serve may be exploited, excluded, or underserved as we focus on how many we are serving instead of quality of service or values created by the ways in which we serve

Antidotes: Create “seventh generation” thinking by asking how the actions of the group now will affect people seven generations from now; make sure that any cost/benefit analysis includes all the costs, not just the financial ones, for example the cost in morale, the cost in credibility, the cost in the use of resources; include process goals in your planning, for example make sure that your goals speak to how you want to do your work, not just what you want to do; ask those you work with and for to evaluate your performance.

OBJECTIVITY

- The belief that there is such a thing as being objective or ‘neutral’
- The belief that emotions are inherently destructive, irrational, and should not play a role in decision-making or group process
- Invalidating people who show emotion
- Requiring people to think in a linear (logical) fashion and ignoring or invalidating those who think in other ways
- Impatience with any thinking that does not appear ‘logical’

Antidotes: Realize that everybody has a world view and that everybody’s world view affects the way they understand things; realize this means you too; push yourself to sit with discomfort when people are expressing themselves in ways which are not familiar to you; assume that everybody has a valid point and your job is to understand what that point is.

RIGHT TO COMFORT

- The belief that those with power have a right to emotional and psychological comfort (another aspect of valuing ‘logic’ over emotion)

- Scapegoating those who cause discomfort
- Equating individual acts of unfairness against white people with systemic racism which daily targets people of color

Antidotes: Understand that discomfort is at the root of all growth and learning; welcome it as much as you can; deepen your political analysis of racism and oppression so you have a strong understanding of how your personal experience and feelings fit into a larger picture; don't take everything personally

One of the purposes of listing characteristics of white supremacy culture is to point out how organizations which unconsciously use these characteristics as their norms and standards make it difficult, if not impossible, to open the door to other cultural norms and standards. As a result, many of our organizations, while saying we want to be multi-cultural, really only allow other people and cultures to come in if they adapt or conform to already existing cultural norms. Being able to identify and name the cultural norms and standards you want is a first step to making room for a truly multi-cultural organization.

1 1 ADOPTING AN ANTI-RACIST IDENTITY

The Moving Walkway of Racism

From *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? And Other Conversations About Race* by Beverly Daniel Tatum, Ph.D.,

"I sometimes visualize the ongoing cycle of racism as a moving walkway at the airport. Active racist behavior is equivalent to walking fast on the conveyor belt. The person engaged in active racist behavior has identified with the ideology of White supremacy and is moving with it. Passive racist behavior is equivalent to standing still on the walkway. No overt effort is being made, but the conveyor belt moves the bystanders along to the same destination as those who are actively walking. Some of the bystanders may feel the motion of the conveyor belt, see the active racist ahead of them, and choose to turn around, unwilling to go to the same destination as the White supremacists. But unless they are walking actively in the opposite direction at a speed faster than the conveyor belt - unless they are actively antiracist - they will find themselves carried along with the others."

Anti-Racist Identity is a New Way of Being

From *Becoming An Anti-Racist Church* by Joseph Barndt, pp. 156-157

Although anti-racism requires *action* against racism, it also requires a new identity for individuals and for communities. As an individual, anti-racism is not only something I can do, but it is someone I can be. Anti-racist is a new name for a person or a community that develops an analysis of systemic racism, becomes committed to dismantling racism, and will not rest until ultimately escaping from the prison of racism....

Anti-racist identity is a positive identity. It is very common for people who are exposed to anti-racism for the first time to ask: "why do we have to express it so negatively? Isn't there a term that is more positive? I don't want to be "anti" anything. I want to be "for" something.

There is a simple answer to these questions: anti-racism is positive. It is very positive to be against something as evil as racism. It is a very important affirmative activity to resist racism and to work for its demise and its deconstruction and to build something new in the place where it once stood.

Before we can work for additional positive expressions of relations between white people and people of color, we have to affirm our opposition to racism.

How a Movement is Built (Thinking Like An Organizer)

Adapted from *Divided No More: A Movement Approach to Education Reform* by Parker Palmer

Movements for social change emerge when:

- **Individuals** refuse to act outwardly in contradiction to something they know to be true inwardly.
- **Groups** emerge when these individuals find each other, begin to build community, and spread the word.
- **Collective Action** happens when the group begins to translate individual problems into public organizing issues that address the root cause of the issue.

Our work within organizations must be approached as movement building work. Organizers, working to create organizational change with a movement mentality, must do the following.

- Remember, resistance is only the place where things begin.
- Know that opposition merely validates the idea that change must come.
- Find sources of countervailing power outside of the organizational structure
- Nurture that power.
- Work together to translate individual problems into broader organizing issues.
- Create alternative rewards to sustain energy for working toward your vision.
- Work from a power, rather than a victim, analysis.

10 IN CLOSING...

If we –
and now I mean the relatively conscious whites and the relatively
conscious blacks,
who must, like lovers, insist on, or create, the consciousness of the others
–
do not falter in our duty now,
we may be able, handful that we are,
to end the racial nightmare,
and achieve our country,
and change the history of the world.

James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time*

11 SELECTED REFERENCES

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A 14-part documentary series exploring whiteness in America. Hosted by John Biewen (2017), *Scene on Radio*, Center for Documentary Studies, Duke University. (Inspired by REI Phase I training, with training excerpts)

“1619.” <https://www.stitcher.com/podcast/the-new-york-times/nyt-1619>

Hosted by Nikole Hannah-Jones. Part of the 1619 Project, a major initiative from the *New York Times* observing the 400th anniversary of the beginning of American slavery.

TED TALKS & YOU TUBE VIDEOS

“Color Blind or Color Brave” by Mellody Hobson (March 2014)

https://www.ted.com/talks/mellody_hobson_color_blind_or_color_brave

“We Need to Talk About An Injustice” by Bryan Stevenson. TedX video.

http://www.ted.com/talks/bryan_stevenson_we_need_to_talk_about_an_injustice

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