



RACIAL EQUITY WORKSHOP

PHASE 1

Foundations in Historical and Institutional Racism

REVISED APRIL 2016

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:

Racial Equity Institute: www.rei.racialequityinstitute.org

Deena Hayes-Greene: dhayes@racialequityinstitute.org

Suzanne Plihcik: splihcik@gmail.com

Wanda Hunter: whunter@racialequityinstitute.org

CONTENTS

- Acknowledgments.....3**
- 1. About the Racial Equity Institute.....4**
- 2. Workshop outline.....8**
- 3. Why is it important to end racism?.....12**
- 4. Race and institutional outcomes.....14**
- 5. Race and poverty; race and wealth.....25**
- 6. Systems, institutions, communities and power.....26**
- 7. Constructing and defining race and racism.....27**
- 8. When did affirmative action begin?.....31**
- 9. Internalized racial oppression.....37**
- 10. Race and culture.....49**
- 11. Adopting an anti-racist identity.....57**
- 12. In closing.....59**
- 13. Selected references.....60**
- 14. A racial equity bibliography.....62**

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.

This workbook, in its original form, was created by our friends, colleagues and mentors at dRworks, founded by Tema Okun and the late Kenneth Jones. We and the movement owe much to their commitment and creativity.

We at REI along with other anti-racism trainers have added many pieces and our work, like all others, builds on the work of too many people to list here.

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 organization 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 theory of change is based on the following assumptions and observations:

1. Racial inequity in the United States looks the same across systems.
2. Systems contribute significantly to disparities.
3. Poor outcomes are concentrated in particular geographic communities-- usually poor communities and communities of color.
4. Systemic interventions and training can work to change thinking, reduce disparities, and improve outcomes for all populations.
5. Change requires commitment.

Our training and consultation services include:

Phase I and Phase II Workshops

Phase I

Moving the focus from individual bigotry and bias, the REI Phase I workshop presents a historical, cultural, structural and institutional analysis. REI believes that organizations often work for equity with multiple understandings of racism that rely more on personal feelings and popular opinion. The lack of a common analysis creates complications to the goal of eliminating racial and ethnic disparities and producing equitable outcomes. With a clear understanding of how institutions and systems are producing unjust and inequitable outcomes, participants in Phase I are able to begin a journey to work toward social transformation and racial justice.

Phase II

The most frequently asked question during and after a Phase I workshop is “What actions should I take to try to make things better?” With all good intentions, new workshop trainees consistently want to strike out with a fragile, limited understanding and “do” something. This is human nature. New learning takes us out of our comfort zone as we try to reconcile old beliefs with new information that challenges those beliefs.

Trainers and consultants must hold a tension between not crushing interest and enthusiasm and illuminating how much more workshop participants need to know in order to put the new learning to practice. At one and the same time we are ask new trainees to take a leap of faith and prepare to do it!

The Racial Equity Institute Phase II day training is designed to help individuals and institutions practice reframing problems and determining solutions with a racial equity lens. Using group exercises, it moves participants through a new way of thinking based on an “analysis before action” model and a learning continuum. Participants are encouraged to use the time honored “trial and error” approach, taking greater risks to change what are too often entrenched patterns of institutional practice.

Groundwater Approach to Addressing Racial Inequities

This half-day training examines illuminating data across systems and institutions to illustrate the following five points that are essential to grasping the nature of institutional racism.

In this interactive presentation, REI trainers use both data and stories from a variety of sources to provide a new framework for thinking about the root causes of inequity.

1. Racial inequity looks the same across systems.
2. Socio-economic difference does not explain the racial inequity.
3. Systems contribute significantly to disparities.
4. The systems-level disparities cannot be explained by a few ‘bad apple’ or ill-intentioned gatekeepers.
5. Poor outcomes are concentrated in certain geographic communities; usually poor communities and communities of color.

Racial Equity Organizational Development

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 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 insure 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.couragerenewal.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 WORKSHOP OUTLINE

I. Participant introductions including “Why is it important to end racism?”

In the US, people of color, and especially black Americans, have significantly worse outcomes than white Americans on every indicator of well-being and justice. We cannot address these inequities until we become clear on how race and racism have been constructed in our country and continue to live in our social structures and institutions.

II. Socialization, implicit bias and decision-making

Lesson #1

We think in the ways we have been socialized or conditioned to think. What keeps us in our boxes? Implicit or unconscious bias reflects both human nature (“fight or flight”) and our socialization, and lives deep within our brains. 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, especially as relates to what we hold as our deepest values, is much slower and therefore activated more rarely.

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.)

III. The intersections of race and wealth, and race and poverty

Lesson #2

We use a fish in the lake analogy to illustrate our tendency to ascribe poverty and other social problems to individual behaviors and decisions (a sick fish), even when we know that history, systems, structures and policies constitute the root causes of poverty (a polluted lake). This type of thinking is reflected in our institutional programs that try to address problems by trying to help or change individuals, not systems.

IV. The power relationship between systems, institutions and communities

Lesson #3

Poor communities and communities of color are under siege by systems and institutions that give them 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?

Lesson #4

Consider ways in which you are a “gatekeeper” who gets to grant or deny access to power and resources. We may have good intentions, but still cause harm if our behaviors and systems deprive communities of power.

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

Lesson #5

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. (See *Race: The Power of an Illusion*, Part 1).

Lesson #6

The concept of “a white race” was constructed in the colony of Virginia in 1680 by the governing body, the House of Burgesses. They debated, “What is a white man?” for the purposes of determining who would have access to power, citizenship, and property in the colony. The definition they settled 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”). 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.

Lesson #7

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).

Lesson #8

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. (see *Race: The Power of an Illusion*, Parts 2 and 3)

VI. Definitions of race and racism

Lesson #9

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.”

Lesson #10

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.”

VII. “When did affirmative action begin?”

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; <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ727803.pdf>
3. Documentary excerpt from “The House We Live In”, *Race: The Power of an Illusion*.

Lesson #11

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.)

Lesson #12

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)

VIII. Internalized racial oppression

Lesson #13

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.

Lesson #14

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 all of 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.

Lesson #15

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.

Lesson #16

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.

IX. The anti-racism legacy: The moving sidewalk from overt racism to anti-racism *(This is only touched on in Phase I and addressed more fully in Phase II)*

Lesson #17

"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.

Lesson #18

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."

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.**

3 WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO END RACISM?

From Larry Adelman, Executive Producer of Race: The Power of An Illusion (California Newsreel, 2003)

Race is one topic where we all think we're experts. Yet ask 10 people to define race or name "the races," and you're likely to get 10 different answers. Few issues are characterized by more contradictory assumptions and myths, each voiced with absolute certainty.

In producing this series, we felt it was important to go back to first principles and ask, What is this thing called "race?" - a question so basic it is rarely raised. What we discovered is that most of our common assumptions about race - for instance, that the world's people can be divided biologically along racial lines - are wrong. Yet the consequences of racism are very real.

How do we make sense of these two seeming contradictions? Our hope is that this series can help us all navigate through our myths and misconceptions, and scrutinize some of the assumptions we take for granted. In that sense, the real subject of the film is not so much race but the viewer, or more precisely, the notions about race we all hold.

We hope this series can help clear away the biological underbrush and leave starkly visible the underlying social, economic, and political conditions that disproportionately channel advantages and opportunities to white people. Perhaps then we can shift the conversation from discussing diversity and respecting cultural difference to building a more just and equitable society.

From the Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change: Structural Racism and Community Building.

Expressions of racism have evolved markedly over the course of American history, from slavery through Jim Crow through the civil rights era to today. Racism in twenty-first century America is harder to see than its previous incarnations because the most overt and legally sanctioned forms of racial discrimination have been eliminated. Nonetheless, subtler racialized patterns in policies and practices permeate the political, economic, and sociocultural structures of America in ways that generate differences in well-being between people of color and whites. These dynamics work to maintain the existing racial hierarchy even as they adapt with the times or accommodate new racial and ethnic groups. This contemporary

manifestation of racism in America can be called “structural racism.”

The percentage of African American households earning below 80% of adjusted median income in our state has increased while the percentage of white households has decreased. In order to examine this and facts relating to incarceration, sentencing, gaps in achievement, foster care placements and outcome, health disparity and other institutional outcomes, it is critical that we understand the legacy of racism. Disproportionality is a warning sign of a much greater social problem. To understand that gaps are produced by systemic inequities and the related practices of individuals is the beginning of changing institutional outcomes.

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

“How Racism Hurts—Literally”

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

“How Racism is Bad for Our Bodies”

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

“Levels of Racism: A Theoretic Framework and a Gardener’s Tale.”

<http://www.citymatch.org/sites/default/files/documents/bookpages/JonesGardenersTale.pdf>

“Why Black Women Die of Cancer”

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

“Why Racism is a Public Health Issue”

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

EDUCATION

“Students in the US Get Criminalized While White Students Get Treatment”

<http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/racial-disparities-american->

[schools_55b67572e4b0074ba5a576c1?utm_hp_ref=tw](https://www.indiana.edu/~safeschl/cod.pdf)

“The Color of Discipline: Sources of Racial and Gender Disproportionally in School Punishment.” <http://www.indiana.edu/~safeschl/cod.pdf>

Breaking School Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline Relates to Students’ success and Juvenile Justice Involvement
<https://ppri.tamu.edu/breaking-schools-rules/>

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

SOCIAL SERVICES

A number of state and federal surveys show that communities of color are involved with the domestic violence, child welfare, and juvenile justice systems at rates that are disproportionately higher than their population size (Crane & Ellis, 2004; *Race Matters in Child Welfare*, 2005).

Specifically, children of color:

- Are referred to DSS more than other children
- Are more likely to be reported as victims of child abuse or neglect
- Are more likely to be removed from their homes
- Spend more time in foster care and other kinds of substitute care
- Are less likely to be returned to their families, once removed
- Wait longer to be adopted than children of other races
- Age out before being adopted or placed in a permanent placement

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

“Examining Racial Disproportionality in Child Protective Services Case Decisions”

<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3439815/>

“Racism at the roots of racial imbalance in child welfare”

<http://www.oregon.gov/dhs/children/beyondfc/pages/news/2010-0927.aspx>

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

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

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.

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

“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 War on Marijuana in Black and White”

<https://www.aclu.org/criminal-law-reform/war-marijuana-black-and-white-report>

“Afrocentric facial features result in longer prison sentence for exact same crimes”

<https://lawweb.colorado.edu/profiles/pubpdfs/.../PizziMJRL.pdf>

EMPLOYMENT, INCOME, HOME OWNERSHIP AND WEALTH

Every measure of success reveals significant racial inequality in wealth and the U.S. labor market.

See especially ***The Color of Wealth: The Story Behind the U.S. Racial Wealth Divide***. Meizhu Lui, Barbara Robles, Betsy Leonder-Wright, Rose Brewer and Rebecca Anderson. New Press, 2006.

- According to recent census data, white Americans now have 22 times more wealth than blacks -- a gap that nearly doubled during the Great Recession. (CNN Money, June 2012)
- A recent analysis by the Pew Research Center found that from 2005 to 2009, inflation-adjusted median wealth fell 66 percent among Hispanic households and 53 percent among black households, compared with a 16 percent decline among white households.

“How The Federal Government Built White Suburbia”

<http://www.citylab.com/housing/2015/09/how-the-federal-government-built-white-suburbia/403321/>

“Are Emily and Greg More Employable Than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination.”

<http://scholar.harvard.edu/mullainathan/files/emilygreg.pdf>

Historical Factors Accounting for Differences in Black and White Wealth and Home Ownership

Lawrence Morse
Department of Economics
NC A&T State University (Retired May 2010)

This paper offers chronologies of institutional factors that have advantaged whites in the accumulation of wealth and in home ownership.

I. Institutional factors that have advantaged whites in accumulating wealth

According to data collected by the Federal Reserve for its 2007 Survey of Consumer Finances in 2007 median household income was \$30,851 for blacks and \$51,418 for whites or white household income was 1.67 times that of black households. Also in 2007 median net worth was \$17,100 for black households and \$163,001 for white households. {Net worth is the value of all assets minus all debts and hence a truer measure of what is “owned.”} White household median net worth in 2007 was 9.5 times black household median net worth. The immense difference between the ratios of 9.5 for net worth and 1.67 for income in 2007 is the consequence of years of public policies and practices that have systematically advantaged whites in the accumulation of wealth.

The wealth disparity between black and white households has worsened sharply in recent years. The Pew Research Center 2011 report found that in 2009 median net worth was \$5,677 for black households and \$113,149 for white households and hence white household median net worth in 2009 was 19.9 times black household median net worth. The Bureau of Census reports 2009 median household income was \$32,584 for blacks and \$51,861 for whites or white household income was 1.59 times that of black households. (Kochhar, Fry and Taylor 2011) The enormous rise in the white-to-black household median net worth to 19.9 in 2009 as compared to a white-to-black ratio of 1.59 for median household income is explained primarily in the crash of housing values with black households experiencing a with much greater relative loses in home equity than was true for white households. An analysis of the causes of the 19.9 ratio is presented at the end of the section on institutional factors that advantaged whites in the accumulation of housing equity. What follows now is

a list of some of the federal policies and practices that systematically advantaged whites in their overall accumulation of wealth. These policies and practices include:

The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that ended the Mexican-American War resulted in a massive transfer of land from Mexicans to white people throughout California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, parts of Colorado, and small sections of what are now Oklahoma, Kansas and Wyoming. (Lui et al. 2006) In 1849 nearly 100,000 white people were drawn to the California gold rush. The Free Soil provisions of the California state constitution allowed whites to claim and own land while banning slaves and free black people from doing so.

The 1862 Homestead Act that granted citizens 160 acres of land for free if they would farm it for five years. Blacks and Native Americans were not given citizenship status and hence were not allowed to participate. (Lui 2004) An estimated 46 million Americans living today are descendants of Homestead Act beneficiaries. (Lui et al. 2006)

There was a huge wave of European immigration from 1850 to 1920 and while ethnic and religious prejudices were often virulent, the prejudice against poor immigrants was different from the prejudice black people experienced in two important ways. One the prejudices against immigrants not encoded into law unlike the obstacles for people of color. Two new immigrants could encourage their children to become "American" by becoming "white." While these were wrenching choices, unlike people of color at least most of the Irish, eastern and southern European immigrants had that choice. Despite the discrimination unskilled European immigrants faced during this period they regularly displaced African Americans as workers on canals, railroads, construction and docks.

The 1933 Agriculture Adjustment Administration policy that took Southern "traditions" into account by paying 4½¢ per pound of cotton not grown to the landlord who was to pay the tenant ½¢. (Dubofsky & Burwood 1990)

The 1935 Social Security Act did not extend coverage to farm and domestic workers. Blacks were more than twice as likely as whites to be employed as farm or domestic workers. (According to the 1930 census 68.75% of gainfully employed blacks worked in agriculture or domestic services.) Twenty-two percent of white workers in covered occupations did not earn enough to qualify for benefits. The comparable figure for black workers was 42 percent. Consequently a much higher percentage of black workers than of white workers were not covered by Social Security at its outset. (Lui et al 2006) The advent of Social Security changed families' attitudes

toward not only how much to save, but what savings could be used for, including being able to afford higher education for children or making a down payment on a home, a home that might be the equity needed to obtain a business loan. {Domestic workers were included for Social Security coverage in 1950 and agricultural workers in 1954.}

The originally proposed 1935 National Labor Relations Act would have reserved the closed shop for unions that did not discriminate. The final legislation did not include the restriction on non-discriminating unions to use closed shops nor a clause barring racial discrimination by unions. The southern Democrats, who had voted to keep agricultural and domestic workers out of Social Security also excluded them from the NLRA. Furthermore, with the support of the AFL that was more interested in enhancing union power than reducing the discriminatory power of unions, were responsible for the changes in the final NLRA legislation. (Roediger 2005) Failing to disallow unions to engage in racial discrimination enhanced whites' access to jobs and crafts that offered premium wages.

The 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act did not apply to domestic and agricultural workers and consequently a much higher percentage of white workers enjoyed minimum wage protection and being paid time-and-a-half for certain overtime work. (Katznelson 2005)

The segregation of the armed services during World War II did not limit white soldiers' access to training in employable skills.

The 1944 GI Bill, formally known as the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, did not mention race, but like other federal programs was locally administered and primarily assisted white veterans. The local administration resulted in white vets not only having greater access to vocational training but being more likely to receive training for skilled and semi-skilled vocations while black vets were usually channeled into training for unskilled vocations. The US Employment Service, set up by the GI Bill, tended to steer white vets into jobs commensurate with their skills while typically steering black vets into jobs below their skills. While over two million vets went to college on the GI Bill, they were primarily white as black vets were denied admission to many white campuses. {While enrollment at black colleges went from 29 thousand in 1940 to 73 thousand in 1947, nonetheless between 15 and 20 thousand black veteran applicants could not be admitted for lack of space.} Furthermore, white vets were approved for home and business loans at much higher rates than were black vets. (See the discussion of home ownership below for details.)

A 1997 court approved consent decree found the US Department of Agriculture advantaged white farmers in the allocation of price support loans, disaster payments, “farm ownership” loans and operating loans between 1983 and 1997 thereby settling the class action law suit Pigford v. Glickman. {Timothy Pigford is a black farmer who was initially joined by some 400 black farmers in the class action lawsuit. Dan Glickman was the then Secretary of Agriculture.} The court approved consent decree awarded an estimated 75 thousand black farmers damages of \$1.5 billion.

II. Institutional factors that have advantaged whites in home ownership

Because homeownership is the prime vehicle for wealth accumulation, factors that disadvantaged blacks in the accumulation of home equity merit their own chronology. A smaller percentage of blacks own their own homes and have substantially less wealth or net worth than do whites. Nonetheless home equity is more important to black households that it is to white households. Black households’ equity in their homes is 62.5% of their assets, while home equity is 43.3% of white households’ assets (Oliver & Shapiro, 1995). Family wealth is an important determinant in the across-generations amassing of wealth, starting a business and so forth. Home ownership is importantly related to the creation of business wealth, for homes often serve as collateral when entrepreneurs start a business. Wealth also has telling effects on educational outcomes. Conley (1999) found that household wealth has a larger impact on various measures of children’s educational outcomes.

Also Shapiro (2004) found that modest financial assistance from parents allowed white families to make down payments on homes. Such financial support advantaged white households in two ways: in being able to buy homes in neighborhoods with “better” public schools; and being able to make larger down payments that kept “points” from being added to the mortgage rate. The latter saved such white families thousands of dollars over the lives of their mortgages.

Percent of families owning their primary residence:

| | White Non-Hispanic or | Nonwhite Hispanic | White to Black ratio |
|------|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1995 | 70.6% | 44.3% | 1.59 |
| 1998 | 71.8 | 46.8 | 1.53 |
| 2001 | 74.3 | 47.3 | 1.57 |

| | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|
| 2004 | 76.1 | 50.8 | 1.50 |
| 2007 | 75.6 | 51.9 | 1.46 |
| 2009* | 74 | 46 | 1.61 |

Source: Federal Reserve, Survey of Consumer Finances (various); the 2009 rates Kochhar, Fry and Taylor 2011.

The 1933 Home Owners Loan Corporation, created to help home owners and stabilize banks, gave none of its approximately one million loans to black home owners allowing a higher proportion of black home owners to lose their homes during the remainder of the Depression. (Liu et al. 2006) The HOLC created detailed neighborhood maps that, among other things, took into account the neighborhood's racial composition as well as its likelihood of racial infiltration.

The Federal Housing Administration, established in 1934, was not explicitly a white program, but realtors and hostile white neighbors kept families of color out of white neighborhoods and the FHA condoned redlining practices initiated by the HOLC, which precluded loans in predominantly black neighborhoods.

The HOLC and subsequently the FHA created strong preferential options for whites as planners, builders and lenders were encouraged to promote racially and class homogeneous neighborhoods. (Roediger 2005) Up through the 1940's FHA manuals and practices channeled funds to white neighborhoods and collaborated with blockbusters. The policies disproportionately concentrated blacks into substandard houses. In 1948 the Supreme Court ruled against restrictive covenants and yet the FHA continued to push for them as conditions for loans. President Kennedy's 1960 Order 11063 mandated federal agencies to oppose discrimination in federally-supported housing. The FHA did not communicate the Order to local offices. Indeed of the approximately \$120 billion in new housing financed by the VA and FHA by 1962, 98 percent of it went to white home owners. These white recipients are the parents of the baby boomers, and their homes are a significant portion of the \$10 trillion in inheritances now being passed down to the baby-boom generation. (Lui et al. 2006) The 1968 Fair Housing Act authorized HUD to investigate complaints yet HUD had no enforcement power and could only refer cases to the attorney general. (Lipsitz 1998)

The 1974 Equal Credit Opportunity Act prohibited discrimination in real estate lending and required banks to record the racial identity of applicants rejected and accepted for home loans. While the 1974 Act had the appearance of ending racial discrimination in real estate lending, it is worth noting that the banks refused to

collect the data, by race, on rejected and accepted applicants. In 1976 ten civil rights groups filed a suit to have the court order the FDIC and the Home Loan Bank Board to obey the 1974 law requiring the banks to keep and report the race data. In 1981 the FDIC ceased keeping race records when the court order ran out. President Reagan used the Paperwork Reduction Act to stop HUD from gathering data on the racial identities of participants in housing programs. (Lipsitz 1998)

Black families were targeted for subprime or predatory mortgage loans. Black households were much more likely than similarly qualified white households to be steered to a subprime loan. As a result black households were over three times more likely than white households to have a subprime mortgage. Subprime mortgages involved higher rates of interest and typically higher fees and, in turn, cost the average borrower tens of thousands of dollars more and were more likely to result in foreclosure. In December 2011 the US Department of Justice, announced a \$335 million settlement with Bank of America/ Countrywide for its predatory practices that targeted black and Latino households. The settlement noted that between 2004 and 2008 some 200,000 African American and Latino borrowers were charged more for their mortgages than were similarly qualified white borrowers. The Center for Responsible Lending found that over a thirty-year mortgage a typical subprime borrower would pay over \$35,000 for their loan than if it had been a retail loan and being over three times more likely than whites to be in foreclosure that in turn meant the loss of billions of dollars of wealth. (Ernst, Bocian, and Li 2008.)

Between 2005 and 2009 black household median net worth fell 53% from \$12,124 to \$5,677 while white household median net worth fell 16% from \$134,992 in 2005 to \$113,149. (Kochhar, Fry and Taylor 2011) The devastatingly large 53% fall in black household median net worth compared to the 16% decline for white households is largely accounted for by the fact that black households who own homes have a higher proportion of their wealth in their homes than is true of their white counterparts. This means that black household wealth is relatively more sensitive to the consequences of being disproportionately subjected to subprime or predatory home loans with their attendant higher mortgage costs and likelihood of being foreclosed than is true of their white counterparts.

Furthermore between 2005 and 2009 black household net home equity—that is, value of the home minus the mortgage balance due—fell by 23% while the comparable figure for white households was 18%. (Kochhar, Fry and Taylor 2011) Not only did black households typically experience greater relative loss in housing value during the housing crisis, but in the period preceding the housing crisis, white

owned homes appreciated at a median annual rate of 8.1% (2001-2004) and 5.1% (04-07) while black owned homes appreciated by 6.4% (2001-2004) and 4.6% (2004-2007). These percentages correspond to median annual increases of \$85,000 for white-owned homes as compared to \$45,000 for black-owned homes. (Data from 2001, 2004 and 2007 Survey of Consumer Finances.)

These data reveal is that the good years for homeownership and the poor years are impacted by the long history of policies and practices that have resulted in black households being limited, no longer legally, but in practice, in their access to home ownership in appreciating areas and confined to home ownership areas with diminished appreciation and greater depreciation because demand for their homes is restricted due to black households disparate access to more affordable mortgages and to finding that potential home buyers where they own their homes are typically narrowed to buyers of color rather than the whole range of potential home buyers.

WORKS CITED

- Conley, Dalton. 1999. *Being Black, Living in the Red: Race, Wealth and Social Policy in America*. University of California Press. Berkeley. CA.
- Dubofsky, Melvin and Stephen Burwood, editors. 1990. *Women and Minorities During the Great Depression*. Garland Publishing, New York.
- Ernst, Keith, Debbie Bocian, and Wei Li. 2008. "Steered Wrong: Brokers, Borrowers, and Subprime Loans." Center for Responsible Lending at: <http://www.responsiblelending.org/mortgage-lending/research-analysis/steered-wrong-brokers-borrowers-and-subprime-loans.html>
- Kochhar, Raksh, Richard Fry and Paul Taylor. 2011. "Wealth Gaps Rise to Record Highs Between Whites, Blacks, Hispanics." Available from the Pew Research Center at: <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2011/07/26/wealth-gaps-rise-to-record-highs-between-whites-blacks-hispanics/>
- Katznelson, Ira. 2005. *When Affirmative Action Was White*. W.W. Norton. New York.
- Lipsitz, George, 1998. *The Positive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*. Temple University Press, Philadelphia.
- Lui, Meizhu. 2004. "Doubly Divided: The Racial Wealth Gap," in *The Wealth Inequality Reader*. Edited by Dollars & Sense and United for a Fair Economy. Dollars & Sense, Economic Affairs Bureau, Boston: 42-49.
- Lui, Meizhu, Barbara Robles, Betsy Leondar-Wright, Rose Brewer, and Rebecca Adamson. 2006 *The Color of Wealth: The Story Behind the U.S. Racial Wealth Divide*. The New Press. New York.

- Oliver, Melvin and Thomas Shapiro. 1995. *Black Wealth/White Wealth*. Routledge. New York.
- Roediger, David. 2005. *Working Toward Whiteness*. Basic Books. New York.
- Shapiro, Thomas. 2004. *The Hidden Cost Being African-American*. Oxford University Press, New York.

5 THE INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND POVERTY AND RACE AND WEALTH

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 have come to be known as white.

6 THE POWER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SYSTEMS, INSTITUTIONS AND 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 North Carolina 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.

Gatekeepers

A gatekeeper is anyone in an institutional or organizational role who can grant or deny access to information, opportunities, knowledge, and resources. Most of us are gatekeepers, regardless of our race or status in an organization. Receptionists, secretaries and administrative assistants are very important gatekeepers, often controlling access to organizational personnel who have the most power. Volunteers can be gatekeepers.

We become gatekeepers when we do needs assessments, write grants and develop programs or services for communities because this gives people on the outside of the community the ability to define the rules, hide the rules and control the resources. This deprives communities of power and control to act on their own behalf. Typically in programs and services developed for communities, accountability moves in a hierarchical fashion to supervisors, boards of directors, funders, etc. There are almost no institution that have mechanisms for being accountable to the people they serve.

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 notion of a "white race" that would control power and access to land and wealth originated in the colony of Virginia when the House of Burgesses debated, "What Is a White Man?" in the late 1600s. 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).
- 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 and to divide and conquer among those who were poor. This ensured the allegiance of poor white people to those who had power.
- 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.

- In 1848 the Treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo ended the US war with Mexico and required Mexico to cede more than half of its land mass to the United States. The U.S. promised to honor the property rights of citizens then living in Mexico, but did not honor this agreement and stole the land that would become all or part of 10 states including Texas, Kansas, Oklahoma, California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming.
- 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 world wide 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 and inferior. 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 4 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 = social and institutional power plus race prejudice

Racism = a system of ADVANTAGE based on race

Racism = a system of OPPRESSION based on race

Racism = a white supremacy system

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.

9 WHEN DID AFFIRMATIVE ACTION BEGIN?

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 First permanent English colony in Virginia.
- 1613 **John Rolfe marries Pocahontas** in the colony of Virginia.
- 1619 First Africans kidnapped and brought to the colonies.
- 1640 **John Punch**, an African indentured servant, runs away from his servitude with a Dutchman and 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 perpetual servitude.
- 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.
- 1637 New England colonists massacre 500 Native Americans in **Pequot War, the first massacre of indigenous people by English colonists**
- 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.
- 1691 **Virginia House of Burgesses defines "white man"** as a man with no African or Indian blood whatsoever except for the male descendants of John Rolfe and Pocahontas who shall also be considered white men ("the Pocahontas exemption")
- 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.

- 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 **Emancipation Proclamation.** 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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 **United States vs. Bhagat Singh Thind.** 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.
- 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 of opportunities went mainly to returning *white* soldiers. 2,255,00 veterans took advantage of the GI Bill which is now considered the
- 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.

- 1964 Democratic Party refuses to seat the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in place of the segregationist Mississippi Democrats at the Party's convention in Atlanta.
- 1969-72 Raids on Black Panther Party offices, assassinations of leading Panthers, imprisonment of hundreds of others, resulting in destruction of Black Panther Party.
- 1973 Federal and state police and FBI launch a military assault on American Indian Movement activists and traditional Indians of the Lakota Nation at Wounded Knee. Leonard Peltier is convicted on false charges of murdering an FBI agent and sentenced to 2 consecutive life sentences.
- 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 Supreme Court decision attacks the religious freedom of Native Americans by ruling that states have the right to pass laws forcing Native American church members to risk prison in order to practice their religion.
- 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 benefited white people because of who is able to meet qualifying criteria.

10 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)
- 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 interests 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.

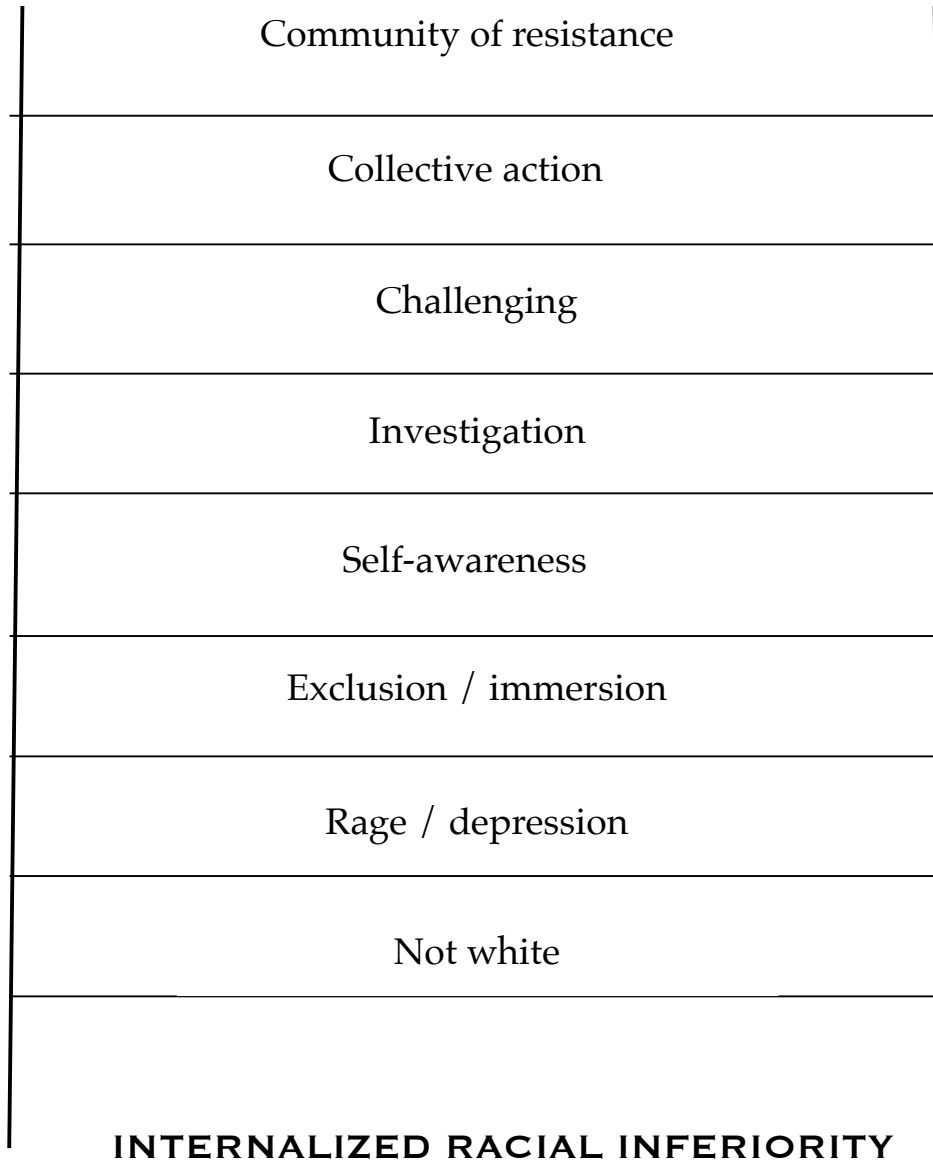
INTERNALIZED RACIAL INFERIORITY

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



“WHITE PRIVILEGE: UNPACKING THE INVISIBLE KNAPSACK”

BY PEGGY MCINTOSH

I think whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege, as males are taught not to recognize male privilege. So I have begun in an untutored way to ask what it is like to have white privilege. I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was "meant" to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools and blank checks.

Describing white privilege makes one newly accountable. As we in women's studies work to reveal male privilege and ask men to give up some of their power, so one who writes about having white privilege must ask, "having described it, what will I do to lessen or end it?"

After I realized the extent to which men work from a base of unacknowledged privilege, I understood that much of their oppressiveness was unconscious. Then I remembered the frequent charges from women of color that white women whom they encounter are oppressive. I began to understand why we are justly seen as oppressive, even when we don't see ourselves that way. I began to count the ways in which I enjoy unearned skin privilege and have been conditioned into oblivion about its existence.

My schooling gave me no training in seeing myself as an oppressor, as an unfairly advantaged person, or as a participant in a damaged culture. I was taught to see myself as an individual whose moral state depended on her individual moral will. My schooling followed the pattern my colleague Elizabeth Minnich has pointed out: **whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work that will allow "them" to be more like "us".**

I decided to try to work on myself at least by identifying some of the daily effects of white privilege in my life. I have chosen those conditions that I think in my case *attach somewhat more to skin-color privilege* than to class, religion, ethnic status, or geographic location, though of course all these other factors are intricately intertwined. As far as I can tell, my African American coworkers, friends, and acquaintances with whom I come into daily or frequent contact in this particular time, place and line of work cannot count on most of these conditions.

1. I can, if I wish, arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
2. If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of renting or purchasing housing in an area that I can afford and in which I would want to live.
3. I can be pretty sure that my neighbors in such a location will be neutral or pleasant to me.
4. I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.
5. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
6. When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.
7. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race.
8. If I want to, I can be pretty sure of finding a publisher for this piece on white privilege.
9. I can go into a music shop and count on finding the music of my race represented, into a supermarket and find the staple foods that fit with my cultural traditions, into a hairdresser's shop and find someone who can deal with my hair.
10. Whether I use checks, credit cards, or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability.
11. I can arrange to protect my children most of the time from people who might not like them.
12. I can swear, or dress in second-hand clothes or not answer letters without having people attribute these choices to the bad morals, the poverty, or the illiteracy of my race.
13. I can speak in public to a powerful male group without putting my race on trial.
14. I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race.
15. I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.
16. I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of color, who constitute the worlds' majority, without feeling in my culture any penalty for such oblivion.

17. I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a cultural outsider.

18. I can be sure that if I ask to talk to "the person in charge" I will be facing a person of my race.

19. If a traffic cop pulls me over, or if the IRS audits my tax return, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race.

20. I can easily buy posters, postcards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, and children's magazines featuring people of my race.

21. I can go home from most meetings or organizations I belong to feeling somewhat tied in rather than isolated, out of place, outnumbered, unheard, held at a distance, or feared.

22. I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having coworkers on the job suspect that I got it because of race.

23. I can choose public accommodations without fearing that people of my race cannot get in or will be mistreated in the places I have chosen.

24. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help my race will not work against me.

25. If my day, week, or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it has racial overtones.

26. I can choose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" color that more or less matches my skin.

I repeatedly forgot the realizations on this list until I wrote them down. For me white privilege has turned out to be an elusive and fugitive subject. The pressure to avoid it is great, for in facing it I must give up the myth of meritocracy. If these things are true, this is not such a free country; ones' life is not what one makes it; many doors open for certain people through no virtues of their own.

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 many others have developed this ladder over time.

WHITE ANTI-RACIST DEVELOPMENT

Community of resistance

| |
|--|
| Collective action |
| Taking responsibility / self-righteousness white can do right / especially me |
| Opening up / acknowledgement Houston, we've got a problem |
| Guilt and shame white is not right, I'm bad |
| Denial and defensiveness I am not the problem |
| Be like me white is right and we're all the same |
| What are you? first contact |
| I'm normal |

INTERNALIZED RACIAL SUPERIORITY

11 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.

12 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.

13 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*

14 SELECTED REFERENCES

The following section includes an extensive bibliography, but if you want suggestions of where to get started in your reading and study, we recommend the following:

BOOKS

A People's History of the United States, Howard Zinn, NY: HarperCollins, 1980.

Between the World and Me. Ta-Nehisi Coates. NY: Penguin Random House. 2015.

Just Mercy: A Story of Justice and Redemption. Bryan Stevenson. NY: Penguin Random House. 2014.

Slavery By Another Name: The Re-enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War Until World War II. Douglas Blackmon. Anchor, 2009. (Also the documentary).

The Color of Wealth: The Story Behind the U.S. Racial Wealth Divide. Meizhu Lui, Barbara Robles, Betsy Leondar-Wright, Rose Brewer and Rebecca Anderson. New Press, 2006.

The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness. Michelle Alexander, The New Press, 2010.

When Affirmative Action Was White. Ira Katznelson. NY: WW Norton, 2005.

"When the Rules are Fair, But the Game Isn't." Mukta Jost, Edward Whitfield, & Mark Jost. *Multicultural Education*, Fall 2005. (The Monopoly Game activity). <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ727803.pdf>

Why Are All The Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria: And Other Conversations About Race. Beverly Daniel Tatum. Basic Books, 1997.

DOCUMENTARIES

Dark Girls. <http://officialdarkgirlsmovie.com> **(a film about the devastating impact of colorism)**.

Race: The Power Of An Illusion. Produced by California Newsreel, 2003. (Excellent place to get started).

Slavery By Another Name. A PBS Film. <http://www.slaverybyanothername.com/pbs-film/>

Unnatural Causes: Is Inequality Making Us Sick? California Newsreel, 2008.
(Great series on impact of race and poverty on health. Getting to the root causes.)

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

“Conversations with Asians on Race” (April 2016)
<http://www.nytimes.com/video/opinion/100000004308529/a-conversation-with-asians-on-race.html?emc=eta1>

PROJECT IMPLICIT: THE IMPLICIT ASSOCIATION TEST (select Race IAT)

Test yourself to learn more about your own unconscious racial associations.

<https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/selectatest.html>

15 A RACIAL EQUITY BIBLIOGRAPHY

IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER BY TITLE

RED TITLES ARE OFTEN REFERENCED IN THE WORKSHOP

A People's History of the United States. Howard Zinn, NY: HarperCollins, 1980.

Across the Thin Blue Line: Police Officers and Racial Bias in the Decision to Shoot. J. Correll et al. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92 (6), 1006-1023, 2007.

Anti-Racism in US History: The First 200 Years. Herbert Aptheker, CA: Greenwood Press, 1992.

Are Emily and Greg More Employable Than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination. Marianne Bertrand and Sendhil Mullainathan, University of Chicago Graduate School of Business, June 20, 2004. <http://scholar.harvard.edu/mullainathan/files/emilygreg.pdf>

Are Teachers' Expectations Different For Racial Minority Than For European American Students? A Meta-Analysis. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 99(2), 253-273, 2007.

Are We Born Racist? Eds. Jason Marsh, Rodolfo Mendoza-Denton, Jeremy Adam Smith. Boston: Beacon Press. 2010.

Asian Americans: An Interpretive History. Sucheng Chan, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1991.

Becoming an Anti-Racist Church: Journeying Toward Wholeness. Joseph Barndt, Fortress Press, 2011.

Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America, 1619-1962. LeRone Bennett, Penguin Press, 1962.

Being Black, Living in the Red: Race, Wealth and Social Policy in America. Dalton Conley. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999.

Benevolent Intervention or Oppression Perpetuated: Minority Overrepresentation in Children's Services, Kimberly Crane & Rodney Ellis, *Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 9, pp. 19-38, 2004.

Beyond Heroes and Holidays: A Practical Guide to K-12 Anti-Racist Multicultural Education and Staff Development. Enid Lee, Deborah Menkart, Margo Okazawa, eds., Washington DC: Network of Educators on the Americas, 1998.

Black and Blue: The Origins and Consequences of Medical Racism. J. Hoberman, University of California Press, 2012.

Black and White Styles in Conflict, Thomas Kochman, University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Black Indians: A Hidden Heritage. William Loren Katz, NY: Aladdin Paperbacks, 1997.

Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality, Oliver, Melvin L. & Thomas M. Shapiro, Routledge, 1997.

Blaming the Victim. William Ryan, New York: Random House, 1971.

Blind Spot: The Hidden Biases of Good People. Mahzarin Banaji & Anthony Greenwald. Delacorte Press. 2013.

Bridging the Class Divide. Linda Stout, Beacon Press, 1996.

Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West Brown, Dee, Bantam Books, 1970.

Coming Through the Fire: Surviving Race and Place in America. C. Eric Lincoln, Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.

Conceptual Foundations for Social Justice Course. Rita Hardiman and Bailey W. Jackson. In *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice*, Eds. Maurianne Adams, Lee Anne Bell and Pat Griffin: Routledge, 1997.

Critical Race Theory: An Introduction. Richard Delgado & Jean Stefancic. NYU Press, 2001.

Dismantling Racism: The Continuing Challenge to White America. Joseph Barndt. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1991.

Disrupting White Supremacy from Within: White People on What We Need To Do. Jennifer Harvey and Karin Case (Eds.), Pilgrim Press, 2004.

Divided No More: A Movement Approach To Educational Reform. Parker Palmer. 1999. Accessed June 1, 2012

<http://www.mcli.dist.maricopa.edu/events/afc99/articles/divided.pdf>

Europe and the People Without History, Eric R. Wolf, California, 1982.

Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism. Derek Bell, NY: Basic Books, 1992.

For Whites Only, Robert W. Terry, Eerdmans, 1970.

Forty Million Dollar Slaves: The Rise, Fall, and Redemption of the Black Athlete. William C. Rhoden. NY: Three Rivers Press, 2006.

From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii. Haunani-Kay Trask, Common Courage Press (1-800-497-3207), 1993.

From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans. John Hope Franklin, Vintage Press, 1961.

How Black Land Became White Sand: The Racial Erosion of the U.S. Coasts. Brentin Mock. <http://grist.org/living/how-african-americans-lost-the-coasts-and-how-we-could-make-that-right/>

How the Irish Became White. Noel Ignatiev. New York: Routledge, 1995.

How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says About Race in America. Karen Brodtkin, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998.

How Race Survived U.S. History—From Settlement and Slavery to the Obama Phenomenon. London, NY: Verso. 2008

Implicit Bias: Scientific Foundations. A.G. Greenwald & L. H. Krieger, *California Law Review*, 94 (4), 945-96, 2006.

In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process the Colonial Period. A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Inequality by Design: Cracking the Bell Curve Myth. C.S. Fischer, M. Hout, M.S. Jankowski, S.R. Lucas, A. Swidler, K. Voss, eds. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Invention of the White Race I & II, Theodore Allen, Verso Books, 1994, 1997.

Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th Century America, Ronald Takaki, Oxford Press, 1979.

Is Your Baby Racist? Explaining the Roots of Discrimination. *Newsweek*,

September 14, 2009.

Killers of the Dream. Lillian Smith, NY: W.W. Norton.1949.

Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction and the Meaning of Liberty. Dorothy Roberts, Pantheon, 1997.

Levels of Racism: A Theoretic Framework and a Gardener's Tale. Camara Phyllis Jones, *American Journal of Public Health*, 90 (8), 1212-1215.

Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong. James Loewen. New York: Touchstone, 1995.

Living in Process: Basic Truths for Living the Path of the Soul. Anne Wilson Schaef, NY: Ballantine, 1998.

Making Waves: An Anthology of Writing by and About Asian American Women. Asian Women United of California, Eds. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.

Managing Multi-Generational Anger in African-American Males. Virgil Gooding.
<http://www.fcnetwork.org/fatherhood/gooding.html>

Man's Most Dangerous Myth, The Fallacy of Race. Ashley Montagu, 1942, Alta Mira Press, 1997.

Memoir of a Race Traitor. Mab Segrest, Boston: South End Press, 1994.

Mixed Race America and the Law: A Reader. Kevin R. Johnson (Ed.), New York and London: New York University Press, 2003.

Multiple Pathways Linking Racism to Health Outcomes. CJ Harrell et al. *Du Bois Review*. 2011; 8(1): 143-157.

NurtureShock: New Thinking About Children. Po Bronson & Ashley Merriman, Twelve, 2011.

Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation. Rodolfo Acuna. San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972.

Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Paulo Friere, Herder & Herder, 1970.

Privilege, Power, and Difference. Allan G. Johnson, Mayfield Publishing, 2001.

Race-Based Judgments, Race-Neutral Justifications: Experimental Examination of Peremptory Use and Batson Challenge Procedure. Samuel Sommers &

Michael Norton, *Law & Human Behavior*, 31: 261-273.

Race Matters in Child Welfare: The Overrepresentation of African-American Children in the System. Dennette Derezotes, John Poertner, Mark Testa, (Eds), The Race Matters Consortium, Washington, D.C.: Child Welfare League of America, 2005.

Race Rules: Navigating the Color Line. Michael Eric Dyson, NY: Random House, 1997.

Race: The History of An Idea in America. Thomas Gossett, Pendulum Press 1987.

Race: The Power Of An Illusion. Produced by California Newsreel, in association with the Independent Television Service (ITVS), 2003.

Racially Mixed People in America, Marla Root, Sage Publishers, 1992.

Racism in the English Language, Robert B Moore, *Race, Class, and Gender: An Integrated Study*, 4th Edition. Paula S. Rothenberg, editor. New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1998

Racism Without Racists. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014.

Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations. Joe R. Feagin, NY: Routledge, 2000.

Raising Black Boys. Jawanza Kunjufu. African American Images, 2007.

Reducing Racial and Social-Class Inequalities in Health: The Need for a New Approach. S. Leonard Syme. *Health Affairs*. 2008, 27 (2), 456-459.

Reluctant Reformers: Racism and Social Reform Movements in the United States. Robert L. Allen, NY: Anchor Books, 1975.

Savage Inequalities: Children in American Schools, Jonathan Kozol, HarperCollins, 1991.

Sisters of the Yam: Black Women and Self-Recovery. bell hooks, Boston: South End Press, 1993.

Slavery By Another Name: The Re-enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War Until World War II. Douglas Blackmon. Anchor, 2009.

Slavery By Another Name. (a 90-minute documentary narrated by Laurence Fishburne) based on Blackmon's book. PBS. TPT National Productions. 2012.

State of the Science: Implicit Bias Review 2013. Cheryl Staats, Charles Patton, KIrwan Institute.

Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans. Ronald Takaki. Penguin Books, 1989.

Structural Racism and Community Building. *Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change.* Washington DC: The Aspen Institute. 2004.

The Abolition of White Democracy. Joel Olson. University of Minnesota Press, 2004.

The Aquarian Conspiracy: Personal and Social Transformation in Our Time. Marilyn Ferguson. Jeremy Tarcher, 1987.

The Color of Discipline: Sources of Racial and Gender Disproportionality in School Punishment. R. Skiba, R. Michael & A. Nardo, 2000. Retrieved from, <http://www.indiana.edu/~safeschl/cod.pdf>

The Color of Wealth: The Story Behind the U.S. Racial Wealth Divide. Meizhu Lui, Barbara Robles, Betsy Leondar-Wright, Rose Brewer and Rebecca Anderson. New Press, 2006.

The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy. Kirkpatrick Sale. New York: Plume, 1991.

The Crisis of Color and Democracy: Essays on Race, Class and Power. Marable, Manning, Common Courage Press, 1992.

The Cross and the Lynching Tree, James H. Cone, 2011.

The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks. Randall Robinson, Plume, 2000.

The Derrick Bell Reader. Edited by Richard Delgado & Jean Stefancic. NYU Press, 2005.

The Double V: How Wars, Protest and Harry Truman Desegregated America's Military, NY: Bloomsbury, 2013.

The Emperor Has No Clothes: Teaching About Race and Racism to People who Don't Want to Know. Tema Okun. Information Age Publishing, 2010.

The Hidden Cost of Being African-American. Thomas Shapiro. NY: Oxford Press, 2004.

The Lessons of Hayti. Documentary directed by Byron C. Hunter & Edward J. Harris II. Urban Aggregate, 2014. <http://www.amazon.com/Lessons-Hayti-Doug-E/dp/B00ILZ21JY>

The Machinery of Whiteness: Studies in the Structure of Racialization. Stephen Martinot, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.

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

The Mis-Education of the Negro. Carter Woodson. Republished 2009 by CreateSpace Independent Publishing.

The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness. Michelle Alexander, The New Press, 2010.

The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Benefit from Identity Politics, George Lipsitz, Temple University Press, 1998.

The Race + Child Welfare Project. Fact Sheet 1: Basic facts on disproportionate representation of African Americans in the foster care system. Center for the Study of Social Policy Center for the Study of Social Policy, Washington, D.C., 2004.

The Souls of Black Folk, W.E.B. DuBois, Penguin Books, 1903,1989.

The State of Asian America: Activism and Resistance in the 1990s. Karin Aguilar-San Juan, Boston: South End Press, 1994.

The State of Native American Genocide, Colonization & Resistance, M. Annette Jaimes, South End Press, 1992.

The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Thomas Kuhn, 50th anniversary, University of Chicago Press, 2012.

The Wall Between. Anne Braden. University of Tennessee Press. 1958.

The War on Marijuana in Black and White. (June 3, 2013). American Civil Liberties Union. <https://www.aclu.org/criminal-law-reform/war-marijuana-black-and-white-report>

The Ways of White Folks, Langston Hughes, Vintage Books, 1990.

The White Man's Burden: Historical Origins of Racism in America. Winthrop D. Jordan, Oxford 1974.

Thinking Fast and Slow. Daniel Kahneman. Farrar, Straus, & Giroux. 2013.

Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal. Andrew Hacker, Ballantine, 1992.

Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color. Robert Bullard, ed., Random House, 1996.

Unnatural Causes: Is Inequality Making Us Sick? (Great documentary 7-part series on impact of race and poverty on health. Getting to the root causes.) California Newsreel, 2008.

Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Racial Justice. Paul Kivel. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1995.

What Blood Won't Tell: A History of Race on Trial in America. Cambridge, MA: Gross. 2008.

When Affirmative Action Was White. Ira Katznelson. NY: WW Norton, 2005.

When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race And Sex in America. Paula Giddings, William Morrow and Co., 1984.

When Society Becomes an Addict. Anne Wilson Schaef, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1988.

“When the Rules Are Fair, But the Game Isn't.” Mukta Jost, Edward Whitfield, & Mark Jost. In *Multicultural Education*, Fall 2005.
<http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ727803.pdf>

Whistling Vivaldi. How Stereotypes Affect Us and What We Can Do. Claude Steele, NY: Norton, 2010.

White Awareness: Handbook for Anti-racism Training. Judith Katz, University of Oklahoma Press, 1978. [out-of-print]

White By Law: The Legal Construction of Race, Ian Haney Lopez, NYU Press, 1999.

White Lies: Race and the Myths of Whiteness. Maurice Berger, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999.

“White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack.” Peggy McIntosh. Independent School, Winter 1990.

Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society. Michael K. Brown et al. University of California Press, 2003.

Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria: A Psychologist Explains the Development of Racial Identity. Beverly Daniel Tatum. New York: Harper Collins, 1997.

Women, Race and Class. Angela Davis, Random House, 1981.

Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White. NY: Basic Books, 2005.

You Call This A Democracy: Who Benefits, Who Pays and Who Really Decides? Paul Kivel, Apex Press, 2004.