

Advancing Racial Justice through UniServ Work (Revised 2022)



Pre Attendance Package

UniServ Directors work with members, supporters and partners in many settings and must be highly skilled in leading, coaching and organizing across racial differences. NEA Center for Organizing and Affiliate Support in partnership with the NEA Center for Social Justice created a training designed to build participants' understanding of individualized and structuralized racism and provide examples of union-led racial justice interventions. Participants will learn how to deepen racial discourse skills in themselves and others, how to navigate issues of race that surface in their work, and how to access valuable resources for advancing racial justice.

Lead Contacts:

Senior Director

Tom Israel

tisrael@nea.org

Academy Coordinator

Ellen Holmes

eholmes@nea.org

Academy Logistics

Karla Medina

kmedina@nea.org

Director

Hilario Benzón

NEA Center for Social Justice

hbenson@nea.org

Why pre-attendance work?

In the short time we are together, we will begin the tough and important work of understanding implicit bias, interpersonal racism and institutional racism. This work depends on participants' willingness to be both reflective and vulnerable enough to learn. Our ability to create a safe enough, or courageous space for adult learning to take place depends on your preparedness for this work. To support this, we have put together some important and thought-provoking readings and activities. We believe that this pre-work will help you transition away from the day to day responsibilities of UniServ Director work and move into the role of adult learner.

What are you asking me to do?

In this package you will find several articles that we will use in our training. Based on past-participant feedback, we are providing these in advance so that you can be prepared for our conversations. You will find the **Community Agreements on pages 11-12** outlined for this meeting, please review them and consider the **questions found on page 12** as this will be one of the first things we do together. You will find several **case studies beginning on page 86-99**. We will be using these as parts of significant group learnings, please be familiar with them.

Four Pre -Attendance Tasks begin on Page 3

These are specific tasks that we will be using in group work during our time together. There will not be time during the meeting to complete these, and completing these all at once might be emotionally exhausting. We have provided them in advance to allow you choice in how, when, and where you first engage with them.

Appropriate questions to consider as you review these resources and complete the tasks:

- How does this intersect with my daily work as a UniServ Director?
- As a UniServ Director what is my role in improving this (issue, condition, problem)?
- What would I need to know to help others who want to make a change in this (issue, condition, problem)?

There are additional and optional resources compiled in this guide for your own self-education that found on pages 13-85. If you have NOT attended any other Racial Justice trainings, it is highly recommended that you read these prior to attending.

The titles of these are:

- Don't Talk about Implicit Bias Without Discussing Structural Racism
- The Science of Equality (defines Racial Anxiety)
- Being Black in a White Workplace
- Historical Trauma and Impact on Health and Well-being
- What is White Privilege, Really?
- How to be an Ally
- Dr. Seuss's Racist Past Isn't Your Problem
- Structuralized Racism
- Why Labor and the Movement for Racial Justice Should Work Together
- Racial Justice Union Examples
- Scaffolded Resources for White Ally Groups

Task 1: Implicit Association Test (Estimated Completion Time 30 Minutes) We will be exploring what implicit bias is and how this intersects with attitudes and actions. The first step in becoming astute at racial discourse is to explore and reflect on your own possible implicit biases. This activity is designed to help you with that. It is highly recommended that prior to taking the Implicit Association test, that you visit: <https://www.tolerance.org/professional-development/test-yourself-for-hidden-bias> for a brief but thorough description of why we ask you to do this.

Directions for Accessing the: Implicit Association Test

Go to the following site: <https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/>

Take “Project Implicit Social Attitudes”

Choose “continue as guest”

Select “Go”

Select “I wish to proceed”

Select “Race IAT”

Reflect on findings and be prepared to share your thoughts, questions and/or concerns during the training. You will not be asked to disclose your findings – but will be expected to participate in the reflection on what it means to learn about your biases.

A good resource for you to review after completing this Implicit Association Test is the Understanding Implicit Bias article.

Task 2: Self-Assessment (Estimated Completion Time 15 Minutes) You are going to choose between two self-assessments found on the next four pages. Select the one that fits you best. based on the title. Follow the directions found on the one you chose and read the page at the end of the self-assessment you selected.

For your reflection as part of this task and in preparation for group discussions:

1. At what age did you first realize what your race was?
2. What do you remember from your childhood about how you made sense of human differences? If you have kids, is it different for them today than your own experience?
3. How have external factors influenced your thinking about racial difference? Good or bad? People, things, media, etc.?

Once you have completed this task, you might want to read the resource titled The Science of Equality.

Person of Color Racial Anxiety Self-Test

Ask yourself the following:

1. Do I feel nervous when a white person says “you people?”
2. Do I feel angry when white people tell me that I was only hired because of my color ?
3. When a white person wants to talk to me about race, do I feel nervous because I think they will become offended by my answers?
4. Do I feel angry or annoyed by the above questions?
5. Do I have a history of not speaking out on racism that I see and feel ashamed of that?
6. Does saying “Not all those people” or similar phrases make me feel better when someone calls people of color out for something?
7. Do I assume that I won’t get an apology when I feel like I’ve been unfairly accused of being angry about something that is racist?
8. Do I feel better when I hear white people say, “I know what it is like to be your people because I am (married to, parent, dated, friends with) a person of color?”
9. Do I feel annoyed or angry when white people talk about how hard their ancestors had it when they immigrated, or explain their own hardships when a person of color talks about being oppressed?
10. Do I think that racism would go away if people stopped talking about it?
11. Does being told that something I say, think, do, or otherwise value is not as important make me want to shut down, leave, or express my discomfort/displeasure in some way?
12. Do I feel annoyed or angry when white people need to state that they have friends/family who are people of color when someone accuses them of racism?
13. Do I feel the need to prove that I’m as good as my white colleagues?
14. Do I feel that my opinions and perspectives about race will be discounted by white people, that they will not believe I have something unique and important to contribute to the race conversation, and/or that I will not be fully listened to when I speak?
15. Do I feel the need to defend myself on any of the above points in the comment section?

If you answered yes to any of these questions, you are dealing with Racial Anxiety. Take time to reflect on why you feel the way that you do. Take time to listen to different perspectives.

Racial anxiety can be acute, experienced as physiological threat (and cognitive depletion in anticipation of and following an interracial interaction. When people experience the physical symptoms of anxiety during a cross-racial interaction, they often distance themselves, are less apt to share eye contact, and use a less friendly and engaging verbal tone – behaviors which can obviously undermine an interaction (Dovidio et al., 2002).

At its worst, racial anxiety can cause an emotionally unhealthy situation for people of color because of racial power dynamics and the weight of being responsible for white folks’ feelings while not having

space to express their own. There is also the weight that comes with people that you care about lashing out at and abusing you (verbally, emotionally, and/or digitally).

When we experience racial anxiety, we may not recognize it – and we are even less likely to recognize that the person with whom we are interacting may be experiencing it as well. Thus, as a result of “pluralistic ignorance,” whites and people of color are apt to behave in ways that confirm the other’s fears – failing to initiate contact through open body language, eye contact, and other non-verbal signals of welcoming interaction (Shelton & Richeson, 2005). The absence of this kind of body language makes both people appear unfriendly or unwelcoming. In sum, racial anxiety begets more racial anxiety.

—————

White Person Racial Anxiety Self-Test

Ask yourself the following:

1. Do I feel defensive when a person of color says “white people?”
2. Do I feel unsettled when people tell me that I benefit from white privilege?
3. When a person of color talks about race, do I feel defensive because they’re describing things that I do or think as racist?
4. Do I feel angry or annoyed by the above questions?
5. Do I have a history of embracing or growing up in racism that I feel ashamed of and so I need to show people that I’m not racist anymore?
6. Does saying “Not all white people” or similar phrases make me feel better when someone calls white people out for something?
7. Do I expect an apology when I feel like I’ve been unfairly accused of racism?
8. Do I feel better when I say, hear, or read, “It’s okay to be white?”
9. Do I try to convince people of color that they’re wrong about racism by pointing out people from their racial group who agree with me?
10. Do I feel the need to talk about how hard my ancestors had it when they immigrated, or explain my own hardships when a person of color talks about being oppressed?
11. Do I think that racism would go away if people stopped talking about it?
12. Does being told that something I say, think, do, or otherwise value is racist make me want to shut down, leave, or express my discomfort/displeasure in some way?
13. Do I feel the need to state that I have friends/family who are people of color when someone accuses me of racism?
14. Do I feel the need to prove that I’m not racist?
15. Do I feel that my opinions and perspectives about race should be given equal weight to that of a person of color, that I have something unique and important to contribute to the race conversation, and/or that it is unfair to be told to listen more than I speak?
16. Do I feel the need to defend myself on any of the above points in the comment section?

If you answered yes to any of these questions, you are dealing with white fragility. Take time to reflect on why you feel the way that you do. Take time to listen to different perspectives.

If you are white, then your experience with Racial Anxiety has been named White fragility (Robin DiAngelo). This anxiety is a hindrance to racial healing because it prevents white people from being able to engage with non-white people in honest conversation as they may feel that they are expected to bear the burden of catering to white people’s emotional comfort.

At its worst, white fragility can cause an emotionally unhealthy situation for people of color because of racial power dynamics and the weight of being responsible for white folks' feelings while not having space to express our own. There is also the weight that comes with people that you care about lashing out at and abusing you (verbally, emotionally, and/or digitally).

If we cannot talk honestly about the issues, then we cannot make progress.

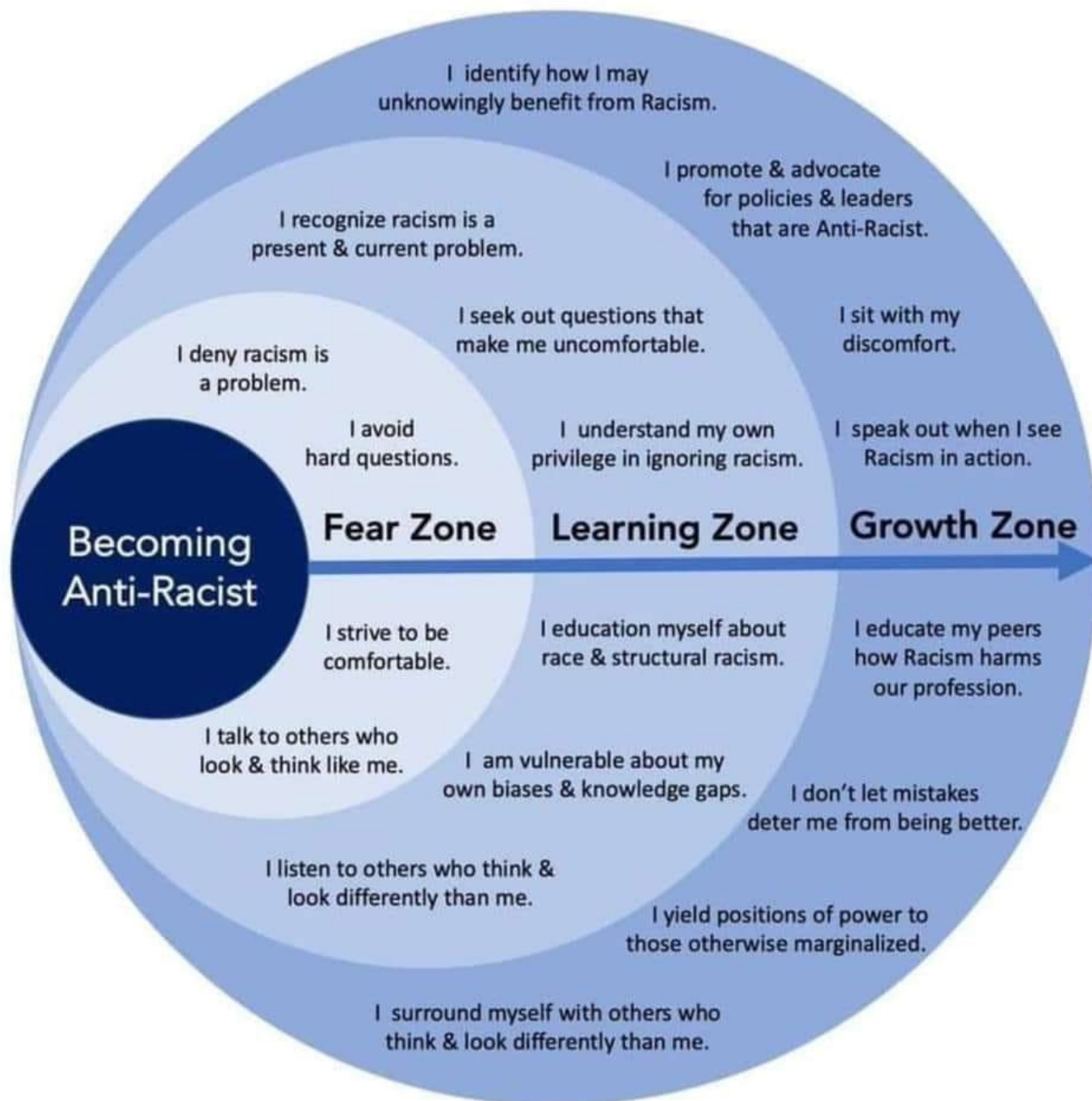
*White Fragility, as defined by DiAngelo, is the result of white racial socialization. A state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include the outward display of emotions such as anger, fear, guilt, and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation. These behaviors, in turn, function to reinstate white racial comfort and status quo.

—————

Task 3: Where am I currently in learning to become anti-racist? (Estimated Completion Time 15 Minutes) Using the graphic below, circle any of the descriptors that you feel match how you think and act as it relates to your learning about anti-racism. The goal is for you to become aware of where you are in your “journey” so that you can more finely tune what you need to continue to grow.

Once you have circled the descriptors that best match your actions and thoughts, notice which of the three zones you are primarily operating in.

Reflection Question: How does this help you think about what your next steps might need to be?



Task 4: Understanding Privilege (Expected Completion Time 15 Minutes)

On your own, read through the following privilege statements. If you identify with one of the privileges listed, make a check mark.

	1. The leader of my country is also a person of my racial group. (RACE)
	2. When going shopping, I can easily find clothes that fit my size and shape. (SIZE)
	3. In public, I can kiss and hold hands with the person I am dating without fear of name-calling or violence. (SEXUALITY)
	4. When I go shopping, I can be fairly certain that sales or security people will not follow me. (RACE/APPEARANCE)
	5. Most of the religious and cultural holidays celebrated by my family are recognized with days off from work or school. (RELIGION/CULTURE)
	6. When someone is trying to describe me, they do not mention my race. (RACE)
	7. When I am angry or emotional, people do not dismiss my opinions as symptoms of “that time of the month.” (GENDER)
	8. When expressing my opinion, I am not automatically assumed to be a spokesperson of my race. (RACE)
	9. I can easily buy greeting cards that represent my relationship with my significant others. (SEXUALITY)
	10. I can easily find hair products and people who know how to style my hair. (RACE)
	11. In my family, it is seen as normal to obtain a college degree. (CLASS)
	12. If I am going out to dinner with friends, I do not worry if the building will be accessible to me. (ABILITY)
	13. I can be certain that when I attend an event there will be people of my race there. (RACE)
	14. People do not make assumptions about my work ethic or intelligence based on the size of my body. (SIZE)
	15. When I strongly state my opinion, people see it as assertive rather than aggressive. (RACE/GENDER)
	16. When I am with others of my race, people do not think that we are segregating ourselves. (RACE)
	17. I can feel comfortable speaking about my culture without feeling that I’ll be judged. (RACE/ETHNICITY)
	18. I can usually afford (without much hardship) to do the things that my friends want to do for entertainment. (CLASS)
	19. When filling out forms for school or work, I easily identify with the box that I have to check. (GENDER/RACE)
	20. I can choose the style of dress that I feel comfortable in and most reflects my identity, and I know that I will not be stared at in public. (GENDER/APPEARANCE)
	21. If pulled over by a police officer, I can be sure that I have not been singled out because of my race. (RACE)
	22. My professionalism is never questioned because of my age. (AGE)
	23. I do not worry about walking alone at night. (GENDER/RACE)
	24. People do not make assumptions about my intelligence based upon my style of speech. (RACE)
	25. When attending class or other events, I do not have to worry about having an interpreter present to understand or to participate. (ABILITY/LANGUAGE)
	26. I can book an airline flight, go to a movie, or ride in a car and not worry about whether there will be a seat that can accommodate me. (SIZE/ABILITY)
	27. People assume I was admitted to school or hired based upon my credentials, rather than my race or gender. (RACE/GENDER)
	28. As a child, I could use the “flesh-colored” crayons to color my family and have it match our skin (RACE)

Community Agreements for Our Time

Awareness and Self-Knowledge

This requires self-knowledge and self-awareness. Self-knowledge allows you to see what causes you pain and conflict and enables you to embrace your contradictions and inconsistencies. It allows the space to work on things about yourself that you are not happy with. In turn, self-knowledge helps to prevent you from projecting your negative aspects onto other people. Bringing your best self also requires that you have a learning attitude, are willing to deeply explore your perspectives, and remain open to the perspectives and experiences of others.

Listening for Understanding

Be an active listener. Active listening involves paying full and careful attention to the other person, avoiding interruptions, reflecting your understanding, clarifying information, summarizing the other person's perspectives and sharing your own. Remember that most people need time to open up and might not be willing to immediately share their personal stories, hopes, fears and/or concerns.

Being Gracious

Being kind is a vital way of bringing meaning to our own lives, as well as the lives of others. Kindness is about caring genuinely for others around you, wanting the best for them and recognizing in them the same wants, needs, aspirations and even fears that you may have. Being kind and generous allows us to communicate better with others, to be more self-compassionate and to be a positive force in other people's lives. We are gracious when we accept and genuinely work to use the pronouns that others ask us to use. Being gracious does not mean that you are blind to your personal pain. Extending grace, kindness, and care comes with boundaries for your safety. Being gracious includes following the COVID protocols that are in place to protect the health of this learning community.

Staying Engaged

Staying engaged requires you to be morally, emotionally, intellectually and socially involved in the conversation. Staying engaged means that you are listening with curiosity and willing to deepen your understanding. Staying engaged might also require you to sustain the conversation even when it gets uncomfortable or diverted. This means a commitment to keeping your electronic communications to a minimum with folks not present in this learning community. This also means being present for all portions of the learning agenda. It also means creating healing space for yourself as needed so that you can reengage when you are ready.

Being Open and Suspending Judgment

Listening with an open mind includes being receptive to the influence of others. You can suspend judgment by becoming aware of preconceived notions and listening to everything someone has to say before jumping to conclusions. Most importantly, suspending judgment also means listening to what the speaker has to say for understanding, not just to determine whether the speaker is right or wrong. This means that we recognize each of us will make mistakes and that we have the capacity to grow. We should expect imperfections. Suspending judgement does not mean acceptance.

Saying "I"- tell your truth

Speaking your truth in authentic and courageous conversations about race and other issues where experiences/perspectives may differ widely from yours requires a willingness to take risks. It means that you will be absolutely honest and candid about your own thoughts, feelings, experiences and opinions and not just saying what you perceive others want to hear. Speaking your truth will require you to speak from the "first person" and use "I" statements. Only you are fully aware of the level of truth you feel safe enough to share and that is enough.

Seeking Discomfort

Leaning in to discomfort will require you to let go of understandings and stereotypes that you may be holding onto in order to move forward. Leaning in means that you will avoid pre-judgment and be open to the kernel of wisdom in each individual's experiences. Leaning in to discomfort will require you to sit through moments of embarrassment, confusion, anxiety, and/or fear. You are in control of how far you lean in.

Reaching Empathy

Empathy and compassion allow you to understand the other person's point of view. When you are empathetic, you are more understanding, patient and kind. Expanding your capacity to feel empathy will also allow others to enter your circle of human concern. Sharing, using, and respecting pronouns is a very simple form of empathy. Understanding is not equal to agreement.

Expecting Non-Resolution and Non-Closure

Expect and accept that there may not be closure. It is not likely that you will resolve your personal understanding about race or another person's racial experience in a single conversation. The more you talk about race or other issues with another person, the more you learn and the more they will learn. Authentic and productive conversations about race and other issues where experiences/perspectives may differ widely from yours are continuous and always evolving. This means that sometimes we will have unfinished, unexplored, and shortened conversations about some concepts.

**Adapted from "Embracing equity and inclusion", Annie E. Casey Foundation*

What questions do you want to ask about any of the ideas in these agreements?

What additional agreements do you need in order to be a fully participating member of our learning community?

Can you commit to these agreements? IF not, what would it take for you to be able to commit?



Kirwan Institute
Many Differences **One Destiny**

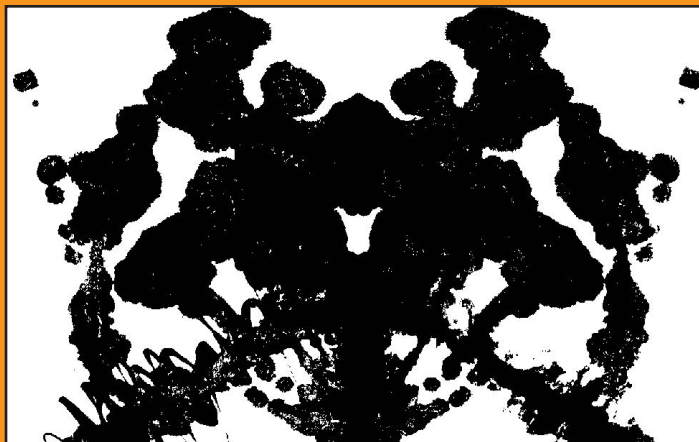
Page 13

kirwaninstitute.org



Understanding Implicit Bias

What Is Implicit Bias



Implicit bias is a mental process that stimulates negative attitudes about people who are not members of one's own "in group." Implicit racial bias leads to discrimination against people who are not members of one's own racial group. In his book, [The Political Brain: The Role of Emotion in Deciding the Fate of](#)

[the Nation](#), Professor Drew Westen tells us that "Irrespective of what we may feel and believe consciously, most White Americans—including many who hold consciously progressive values and attitudes—harbor negative associations toward people of color." Implicit bias affects the way that we think about "out groups" and it influences the way that we react to and interact with out group members. Implicit bias operates in what researchers call our "implicit mind," the part of the brain that we commonly call the "subconscious" or the "unconscious." This means that implicit bias can operate in an individual's mind without a conscious awareness of this process. Westen suggests that, typically, our subconscious attitudes are less egalitarian than our conscious attitudes.

Implicit racial bias is a very complex mental process

Many researchers believe that implicit racial bias is a response to direct and indirect negative information that an individual receives starting in childhood. For example, consider a White adult who has had little or no interaction with African Americans. Starting in childhood, this person may be bombarded with distorted negative images of African Americans on television and in the news and negative comments about people of color from family members and other people who are respected by the individual. This input can lead to unfounded negative attitudes about African Americans.

As an emerging research field, there is not perfect agreement on the question of the precise process by which stereotypes unintentionally shape people's beliefs about and behaviors towards others. Many researchers and scholars believe that implicit bias leads to unconscious negative attitudes that reside outside our normal



cognition and beyond our control. Others believe that we may be aware of these attitudes but are reluctant to openly acknowledge them because they conflict with social norms and egalitarian values that are important to us. A third group of researchers urge that most people are aware that they have some degree of prejudiced and stereotypical thinking, but are unaware of the powerful influence those negative associations have on their behavior. More work is needed to resolve these disagreements in order to formulate strategies best able to fight against implicit bias.

Why should we care about implicit bias?

We must care because this phenomenon has the power to influence policies and conditions in the real world, to distort the opportunity that all Americans must have to achieve success. For example, an elementary school teacher may say—and explicitly believe—that she has equal expectations for all of her students, while in fact, implicit racial bias lowers her expectations for students of color, stimulates subtle differences in the way she behaves toward these students and lowers the academic performance of these students.

In the criminal justice system, implicit racial bias can negatively influence decisions made by judges. For example, research on capital punishment shows that killers of White victims are more likely to be sentenced to death than are killers of Black victims and that Black defendants are more likely than White defendants to receive the death penalty (R. Richard Banks, et al., “Discrimination and Implicit Bias in a Racially Unequal Society,” 94 CAL. L. REV. 1169, 1175: 2006). Other research shows that defendants with more afro-centric facial features are given longer sentences than defendants with fewer afro-centric features. (William T. Pizzi, Irene V. Blair and Charles M. Judd. “Discrimination in Sentencing on the Basis of Afrocentric Features.” Michigan Journal of Race & Law, Vol. 10, 2005).

Implicit racial bias can lead to devastating, sometimes fatal, consequences.

Research suggests that negative racial associations can lead people to see danger or a weapon where none exists. “Shooter studies” have documented that race affects the decision making of subjects asked to make split-second decisions about whether to discharge a weapon in self-protection. This research has established that many people stereotypically associate African Americans with violence and weapons, causing them in simulations to “fire” guns more often when presented with images of unarmed black persons, and less often when facing images of armed white persons. The February 26, 2012 fatal shooting in Florida of Trayvon Martin, an unarmed African American teenager, highlights the importance of deepening our understanding of implicit bias effects.

Implicit racial bias can also influence many of the most important decisions we make in our personal, professional, and social lives: where we live, where we work, who our children’s friends are, who our friends are, which political candidates we vote for, what social programs we support, etc. For most Americans all of these issues are influenced by racial attitudes. Implicit bias distorts these attitudes and limits the opportunity that each of us has to live a fully engaged life.

At the Kirwan Institute our work on structural racialization has shown us that the systematic processes which create and perpetuate racial inequality most often operate without racist intent. We know that racialized outcomes do not require racist actors. However, we are becoming increasingly aware that the ways in which individuals think about, talk about and act on race do have significant implications for social justice and access to opportunity. Through our emerging research on implicit bias we know that attitudes about race do influence our position on critical issues involving race—issues like affordable housing, affirmative action, school integration, and even the size and role of government. As we strive to create a just and inclusive society where all people and communities have opportunity to succeed we are working to expand the understanding of implicit bias, to expose the many ways that this phenomenon creates and reinforces racialized barriers to opportunity in critical life domains and to conceive of and implement interventions that have the power to reduce the influence of implicit bias in the real world.



The Kirwan Institute
works to **create** a just
and inclusive society where all people
and communities have
opportunity
to succeed.



KIRWAN INSTITUTE
for the Study of Race and Ethnicity

33 W. 11th Avenue
Columbus, OH 43210
(614) 688-5429

Sharon Davies, Executive Director
Jason Reece, Research Director
Christy Rogers, Outreach Director

PART II

RACIAL ANXIETY

Racial anxiety can be acute, experienced as physiological threat (Blascovich et al., 2001; Page-Gould et al., 2008) and cognitive depletion (Richeson & Shelton, 2003; Richeson et al., 2003; Richeson & Shelton, 2007) in anticipation of and following an interracial interaction. When people experience the physical symptoms of anxiety during a cross-racial interaction, they often distance themselves, are less apt to share eye contact, and use a less friendly and engaging verbal tone – behaviors which can obviously undermine an interaction (Dovidio et al., 2002).

Racial anxiety matters on multiple levels, and its effects can spill over into virtually every important life domain. Members of both racial minority and majority groups may experience racial anxiety and its concomitant discomfort in cross-race interactions; moreover, members of racial minority groups may be subject to adverse effects of the racial anxiety among members of the dominant group with whom they interact. Given that white people continue to be overrepresented in positions of greater power, their anxiety can have significant consequences for members of other racial and ethnic groups. What this means is, for example, a black patient may suffer the effects of her own experience of interracial anxiety with a white doctor, but may also suffer the effects of the doctor's anxiety. As a result, it is in everyone's interest to identify and address the effects of racial anxiety.

A. INTERGROUP ANXIETY AS AN EVERYDAY OBSTACLE

Beginning in the 1980s with work by Walter and Cookie Stephan (Stephan & Stephan, 1984, 1985), social scientists have developed a robust literature addressing the fact that people often feel more anxious when interacting with “out-group” members than with “in-group” members. In a review of the literature, Tropp and Page-Gould (2014) explain that this observation has been replicated with a “host of convergent measures of anxiety, ranging from self-reported anxiety (Britt et al., 1996; Stephan & Stephan, 1985) to anxious behaviors (Dovidio et al., 2006; Dovidio et al., 2002) and physiological stress responses” (Amodio, 2009; Mendes et al., 2007; Page-Gould et al., 2008, Tropp & Page-Gould, 2014). Although the studies are not limited to race as the source of stigma (Blascovich et al., 2001), we are particularly interested in the application of this research to racial dynamics because race – and specifically relations between whites and African Americans – has represented such a salient divide in the United States.

Who Experiences Racial Anxiety

Racial anxiety, like implicit bias, is common, but not experienced by everyone. Some people may be more susceptible to experiencing racial anxiety, and it may have different underlying causes for the people who do experience it. For some, bias or prejudice is the source of the racial anxiety (Page-Gould et al., 2008; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). However, for others, it is the concern that the interracial interaction will not go well – rather than bias – that causes the racial anxiety (Tropp & Page-Gould, 2014; Trawalter et al., 2009). As we will discuss below in the interventions section, it is important to know the source of the anxiety to know how best to ameliorate it.

Other research emphasizes the role of both actual and perceived psychological threat as fundamental components of intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Tropp & Page-Gould, 2014). This model when applied to race can be applicable both to whites as the dominant group and people of color as stigmatized groups. Among many whites, racial or ethnic prejudice predicts anxiety. These whites are more likely to perceive interactions with people of color as demanding (Dovidio et al., 2002; Trawalter et al., 2009), and they are worried about how they will be seen during the interactions (Amodio, 2009; Vorauer, 2006; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001; Vorauer et al., 2000). In a set of intriguing studies, prejudiced whites were actually likely to spend more cognitive resources trying to make the interaction go smoothly (Richeson & Shelton, 2003; Richeson et al., 2003; Richeson & Shelton, 2007). People with little prior contact with out-group members have also been found to react viscerally and more negatively to cross-group interactions (Blascovich et al., 2001; Mendes et al., 2002).

On average, people of color have more contact with whites and, as a result, may feel a greater sense of efficacy about interacting with whites (Doerr et al., 2011). Nonetheless, they may still experience anxiety when they expect to be rejected on the basis of race or ethnicity (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2006; Page-Gould et al., 2008; Pinel, 1999; Stephan & Stephan, 1989; Tropp, 2003).

Some may find it surprising that whites may experience “racial anxiety” given the continued dominance of whites generally – but in light of the importance of the prevailing social norm of egalitarianism, many whites truly fear being perceived as racist. Racial anxiety is more likely when whites are externally motivated not to appear racist than whites who are internally motivated by egalitarianism (Plant et al., 2008). In other words, we can be focused on not being racist – or focused on whether other people see us as racist. The latter can translate into the phenomenon of stereotype threat described in the next part of the report.

B. ANXIETY FEEDBACK LOOPS IN INTERACTION

People who are experiencing racial anxiety exhibit some of the same behaviors as those who have implicit bias – even though, as discussed above, the source may be different. Researchers have found that people who feel anxious during interactions with people of other races or ethnicities are less likely to seek out or engage in subsequent interactions (Butz & Plant, 2011; Dovidio et al., 2006; Plant & Butz, 2006; Plant & Devine, 2003; Tropp, 2003). A negative experience with someone of another race or ethnicity can trigger a negative feedback loop where the experience of racial anxiety predicts fewer and lower-quality interactions with other racial and ethnic groups in the future (Paolini et al., 2006; Tropp & Page-Gould, 2014). This negative feedback loop creates a barrier to effective interracial contact because people with limited contact experience are more likely to have awkward or negative interactions (Blascovich et al., 2001) and so will be more motivated to avoid future contact.

Conversely, prior positive interracial contact can have a wide range of positive consequences, including improved interracial attitudes, more successful interracial interactions, and following from these, more positive inclinations toward future interracial interactions (Levin et al., 2003; Swart et al., 2011; Tropp, 2003). Importantly, prior positive experiences with people of other races or ethnicities can reduce the effects of later negative experience (Paolini et al., 2014). These positive interactions also translate into greater resilience when a later interracial experience is stressful (Page-Gould et al., 2010).

The positive effects of interracial or ethnic contacts may not occur immediately, particularly among strangers after a single brief meeting (Page-Gould et al., 2008; Tropp & Page-Gould, 2014). Rather, these effects generally develop over time (Page-Gould et al., 2008). In other words, people become more comfortable and

As a result of “pluralistic ignorance,” whites and people of color are apt to behave in ways that confirm the other’s fears.

experience less racial anxiety if they have repeated interactions with members of other groups rather than meeting just once. Indeed, even people with high levels of implicit bias who showed physiological signs of stress during a first interracial interaction showed fewer signs of stress in a second meeting, and by the third meeting showed no more stress than they would have with a person of the same race

(Page-Gould et al., 2008). Stress levels during interracial experiences are important because they make that particular interaction more successful – but also because the lower stress level of one interracial interaction has been shown to make later interracial experiences more positive (Page-Gould et al., 2010).

C. DISTINGUISHING EFFECTS OF RACIAL ANXIETY AND BIAS

When we experience racial anxiety, we may not recognize it – and we are even less likely to recognize that the person with whom we are interacting may be experiencing it as well. Thus, as a result of “pluralistic ignorance,” whites and people of

color are apt to behave in ways that confirm the other's fears – failing to initiate contact through open body language, eye contact, and other non-verbal signals of welcoming interaction (Shelton & Richeson, 2005). The absence of this kind of body language makes both people appear unfriendly or unwelcoming. In sum, racial anxiety begets more racial anxiety.

Pluralistic ignorance occurs when “people observe others behaving similarly to themselves but believe that the same behaviors reflect different feelings and beliefs” (Shelton & Richeson, 2005). Shelton and Richeson have concluded that both whites and blacks report interest in contact with one another, but both believe the other group will have little interest in interaction with them (Shelton & Richeson, 2005). The studies confirmed that both attributed their own lack of action to engage in interracial contact to be a fear of rejection, but presume that inaction by the member of the other racial group reflects lack of interest.

These tendencies are particularly acute in the context of race. Because of continued patterns of segregation, people are particularly likely to generalize from a single act committed by an individual member of a different race to the larger racial group to which that individual belongs. For instance, a white person who does not feel welcome to sit at a table with a black person may generalize this experience into a broad conclusion that black people as a group are not interested in interacting with whites. Similarly, a black person who observed the white person walking by the open seat at the table will conclude that whites as a group are not interested in interacting with black people.

Such interactional dynamics may seem trivial when compared to structural challenges, but they are crucially important in our day-to-day experiences, including interactions with teachers, employers, and health care providers.

America's War on Black Trans Women

by Annamarie Forestiere | Sep 23, 2020 | [Amicus](#), [Congress](#), [Criminal Justice](#), [Executive Branch](#), [Human Rights](#), [Legislation](#), [LGBTQ Rights](#), [Policing and Law Enforcement](#), [Poverty and Economic Justice](#), [Racial Justice](#), [Sex Equality](#) |

Photo by [noah eleazar](#) on [Unsplash](#)



The Problem: America's Treatment of Black Trans Women

Violence against Black trans women has been accurately [described as](#) "a pandemic within a pandemic." This summer, [six Black trans women](#), all under the age of 32, were murdered in the span of nine days. Their deaths are part of a horrifying pattern; hate crimes against transgender and gender non-conforming individuals have been on the rise for years, with the number of [murders in 2020](#) already almost surpassing that of 2019. Of the 26 victims so far this year and the 27 victims last year, [the majority](#) have been Black trans women under the age of 30.

Organizations like the Human Rights Campaign have released [several reports](#) detailing potential sources of this violence. In particular, Black trans women are killed at disproportionate rates because of "the intersections of racism, transphobia, sexism, biphobia and homophobia." A report from CNN's discussion with Kerith Conron, from the [Williams Institute at UCLA](#), notes that the easiest answer to why Black trans women are disproportionately victims of fatal violence is that "[t]hey're black, they're transgender, and they're women. Each of those distinct identities means that they face discrimination, prejudice and inequities on multiple fronts."

The inequities and prejudice Black trans women face don't just take the form of outright violence. A study by the [National LGBTQ Task Force](#) indicates that Black trans people have a 26% unemployment rate. That's twice as high as the unemployment rate for transgender people of all racial and ethnic backgrounds, and four times as high as the unemployment rate in the general population. The study also found other shocking disparities; 41% of Black trans people have been homeless (more than five times the general population), 34% of Black trans people have household incomes less than \$10,000 (more than eight times the general population), and nearly half of the Black trans population has attempted suicide. Although these statistics apply to the Black trans population in general and not to Black trans women specifically, based on how much more frequently Black trans women are killed, it's reasonable to assume that they also experience these harms more frequently than other Black trans people.

In short, being a Black trans woman in America means you're far more likely than most other people to experience serious roadblocks and harms, in the form of everything from extreme poverty to violent murder.

The Source: The Legal Landscape Impacting Societal Treatment of Black Trans Women

The way that American society treats Black trans women (ranging from callous disregard to outright hatred and violence) shouldn't be shocking; in many ways, it is rooted and reflected in the American legal system.

Take the Trump Administration for an example. The current administration has exemplified a series of outright attacks against both [racial/ethnic minorities](#) and transgender people, the intersection of which leaves Black trans women subject to abuse at the hands of the law. Earlier this summer, the administration removed protections for transgender people in the realm of [healthcare](#) and health insurance. This change in policy allows healthcare providers/insurers to refuse treatment of transgender people, which will likely cause Black transgender women (who are already [mistreated](#) by the healthcare industry) to not seek out medical treatment, a significant problem at all times but

especially so during an ongoing [pandemic](#). The administration also implemented a highly controversial ban on transgender people serving in the [military](#), a law which signaled the government's negative view of trans individuals.

The current executive branch is not the only part of the American legal system that harms Black trans women. Up until the Supreme Court's recent landmark decision *Bostock*, transgender people were not granted any federal antidiscrimination protections in the realm of employment. Not only that, but Congress has consistently failed to pass [The Equality Act](#), a bill that would provide more sweeping protections for the entire LGBTQ+ community including requiring prisons to "house transgender individuals in facilities that match their gender identity," a protection that is currently lacking and that leaves incarcerated transgender people [13 times more likely](#) to experience sexual assault in prison. The patchwork of federal laws [governing police brutality](#) and misconduct also leaves Black trans women [particularly vulnerable](#) to [violence](#) at the hands of law enforcement.

State laws also leave Black trans women vulnerable, which acts as a form of state-sanctioned violence against them. 28 states have [dangerous hate crime laws](#) that don't include protections for trans people. Several states also recognize the "[trans panic defense](#)," a claim that a defendant was driven to violence due to their volatile emotional state after discovering that someone is transgender, as a valid legal defense for violence against Black trans women. Some states are so bad at protecting the rights of transgender people that online lists like "[Where to Move in the United States if You're Trans](#)" have popped up; of course, if you're among the 34% of Black trans people who are extremely poor, or the 41% of Black trans people who have experienced homelessness (the bulk of whom are likely Black trans women), moving to safer states is simply not possible.

The message of our federal and state governments failing to protect (and sometimes actively harming) Black trans women is terrifying: if the government doesn't care about Black trans women, then citizens don't have to care either. In other words, because the *law* treats Black trans women with disregard and violence, it gives *individuals* a free pass to do the same.

The Solution: Changing the Law and Changing Society

A cornerstone of the Black Lives Matter movement and the recent racial justice [protests](#) is "[Black Trans Lives Matter](#)," an explicit recognition that even within a community of individuals who are in danger, the lives of Black trans people (especially women) are even more threatened. In fact, the Black Lives Matter movement has always relied heavily on the [LGBTQ+ community](#), just like the LGBTQ+ community has depended on Black trans women like [Marsha P. Johnson](#). The central focus of the Black Trans Lives Matter platform is a desire to change the treatment of Black trans people (especially women) in America by individuals and by the government.

Lawmakers would do well to listen to their voices.

A tangible way to increase the quality of life of Black trans women is to extend legal protections to them and to change the way that they are treated under the law. Some excellent starting points would be for the federal government to reinstate the healthcare protections that the Trump administration has gotten rid of, and for state governments to eliminate the trans panic defense. Extending protections to sex workers (or [completely decriminalizing sex work](#)), enacting stronger police brutality laws (or [defunding the institution of policing](#)), allowing incarcerated people to live in housing that matches their gender identity (or [eliminating prisons entirely](#)): these are all additional steps that the law could take to keep Black trans women safe.

By taking these steps, and others like them, lawmakers would do more than provide legal protections to Black trans women. They would also signal to society that Black trans women are *valued*, that their lives are to be celebrated just as much as everyone else's. They would tell the American people unequivocally that Black trans women's lives matter. Hopefully, societal attitudes toward Black trans women would then change too.

HRC Honors Frances Thompson, a Black Transgender Hero

by [HRC Staff](#) • February 22, 2021

Post submitted by Violet Lhant, HRC Public Education and Research Coordinator

This post is the first of a two-part series focusing on Black History Month through the lens of Black trans women. Part Two follows below.

Content Warning: The following post contains descriptions of historical violence.

This Black History Month, the Human Rights Campaign affirms its stance that LGBTQ history and Black history are inextricably linked. In fact, the intersection of Black and transgender liberation in America can be traced to centuries past. In acknowledgement of our Black LGBTQ ancestors, we are highlighting Frances Thompson, an incredible American who is believed to be the first transgender person to testify before Congress.

Thompson was a formerly enslaved Black woman who lived in Memphis, Tennessee, after the Civil War. On May 1, 1866, an event known as “[The Memphis Massacre](#)” occurred when white police officers harassed a group of Black men, women and children who were holding a street party. The group included Union Army veterans, and many refused to obey unjust orders to disperse. When police attempted to arrest the veterans, three days of violence broke out as white terrorists killed Black people, raped Black women and set fires to Black homes and businesses.

The toll of the attacks was devastating: an estimated 46 Black people were killed, many more became victims of assault and robberies and a series of arsons led to the destruction of four Black churches, four Black schools and 91 other dwellings. During the attacks, Thompson and her friend Lucy Smith were raped by members of the white mob. In the aftermath, a Congressional committee was formed to investigate the massacre, and Thompson was invited to testify.

In a conversation with transgender activist and scholar Susan Stryker, [historian Channing Joseph recounted Thompson’s testimony](#). He called Thompson “one of the linchpins in getting the political will together to pass legislation to protect the civil rights of newly emancipated Black people and also to bring political will behind Reconstruction after the Civil War.” The aftermath of the Memphis Massacre and the [New Orleans Massacre of 1866](#) led to a repudiation of President Andrew Johnson’s attempts to deny civil rights for Black Americans. Instead, support for “Radical Reconstruction” boomed, leading to the Reconstruction Acts, the Enforcement Acts and the Fourteenth Amendment, which

together extended citizenship, civil rights and political representation to Black Americans.

Unfortunately, [Thompson's story did not end there](#). In 1876, 10 years after the Memphis Massacre, she was arrested on charges of “crossdressing.” Her transgender status was subsequently discovered and opponents of Radical Reconstruction used her identity to discredit not only her testimony, but the early civil rights movement. Thompson was imprisoned, forced to wear masculine-presenting clothing and was abused while part of the city’s chain gang. Upon her release, she suffered dysentery and died a few months later.

Thompson’s fate mirrors the transphobic violence incarcerated Black trans women still face today. This is seen in cases like [Lea Rayshon Daye](#), a Black trans woman who last year left a letter detailing the horrible conditions of her imprisonment before her unjust death. Incarcerated trans women, many of whom are charged for [consensual sex work](#), are often placed in [men's prisons](#) where they experience high rates of sexual assault from the other inmates and retaliation from correctional officers.

Thompson’s story is a lesson for our times. In 2021, [Black Americans are still subject to systemic racism and police brutality](#). Last year, HRC recorded [a record number of violent fatalities of transgender and gender non-conforming people](#), the majority of them Black trans women. Attempts to curb Black political power have also taken the form of attacks on the Voting Rights Act of 1965. That’s why we must ensure the passage of [the John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act](#), which would restore the Voting Rights Act and prevent voter discrimination.

Thomson’s story is one of many early transgender stories Stryker recounts in HBO’s “The Lady and the Dale.” ([Watch HRC President Alphonso David’s interview with Zackary Drucker, the filmmaker behind the docuseries](#).)

HRC is dedicated to advancing full, intersectional liberation. That’s why this Black History Month we choose to honor Frances Thompson, a Black transgender hero who fought for a more just, more equitable and more emancipated America.

Spotlighting the Intersection of Black and Transgender Identities

by [Tori Cooper](#) • February 23, 2021

This post is the second of a two-part series focusing on Black History Month through the lens of Black trans women – Part One is above.

As we honor Black History Month, the Human Rights Campaign is committed to and focused on racial justice, equity and inclusion and combatting discrimination in all forms. The past year has brought the consequences of unchecked racism into sharp focus, which in so many ways aligns and intersects with the experiences of the transgender community.

In 2020, [HRC tracked a record number of violent fatal incidents against transgender and gender non-conforming people](#), the majority of them Black trans women. This is the result of misogyny, racism and transphobia that is deeply rooted in society; we must work to end the stigma of being Black and trans and combat this epidemic of fatal violence.

As the Director of Community Engagement for HRC's Transgender Justice Initiative, I'm determined to end this appalling epidemic of anti-Blackness and anti-transness. When HRC started the Transgender Justice Initiative, we committed ourselves to improving the lives of the multiply-marginalized: those who have intersectional identities and are most impacted by the intersectional discrimination of our society. We engage in organizational support by hosting justice and advocacy summits in several cities to connect local and national trans activists to share ideas and make valuable connections. Through our [small grants program](#), we awarded \$30,000 nationally in the form of thirty \$1,000 grants to community members advancing transgender justice initiatives. To address the economic fallout caused by COVID-19, we also partnered with Destination Tomorrow, the Bronx's LGBTQ center, to create a [\\$10,000 COVID-19 relief fund](#).

The intersection of the Black and transgender experience is one that I know well. In fact, attending an HBCU was one of the major keys to establishing my own identity as a proud Black trans woman. During my first week on campus at Norfolk State University, I spent an hour sitting in front of the library watching all of the incredible, brilliant, colorful and diverse Black people that I would come to know over the next few years. It was such an eye opening experience to realize that there isn't any one way to be Black, and that I didn't have to conform to anyone's expectations of Blackness. How someone chooses to express their race, their gender, their sexuality — it's all personal! This safe space gave me the opportunity to explore by piercing my ears and trying on new clothes. Nobody looked at me like I was doing something wrong. Despite our difference, we all want to be a part of a welcoming Black community.

We know that trans history is a critical part of Black history. Consider [William Dorsey Swann](#), a Black man who endured slavery and lived through the Civil War and its racist aftermath. In the 1880s, Swann became the first American activist to lead a queer resistance group and the first known person to dub himself a “queen of drag” — or, more familiarly, a drag queen.

My favorite Black queer icon is [Sylvester](#), known to many as “The Queen of Disco.” Although he identified as a man, he found community among Black drag queens and trans women. Sylvester’s bold, gender non-conforming fashion and singing made him into a star. Listening to his music and watching him on TV allowed me to feel at home in my own identity. Sylvester died tragically of AIDS, but his story lives on as an extraordinary representation of the Black queer experience.

Without the exceptional contributions of Black LGBTQ people, LGBTQ rights in America would not be what they are today. The best way to honor this legacy is to build upon it and to continue pushing for full, intersectional liberation. In 2021, HRC’s Transgender Justice Initiative will further its commitment to supporting the Black trans community, including a stronger focus on HIV work. We’re starting with [a partnership with Gilead](#) to provide a \$3.2 million grant to support communities disproportionately impacted by the HIV epidemic in the United States, particularly communities of color. This year, we’re also working on many more initiatives focused on equity and inclusion.

True liberation requires all of us to be united in defeating oppression. None of us can be free until all of us are free. This Black History Month, we’re reminded of the invaluable work of our Black, queer ancestors and of the important work still yet to be done.

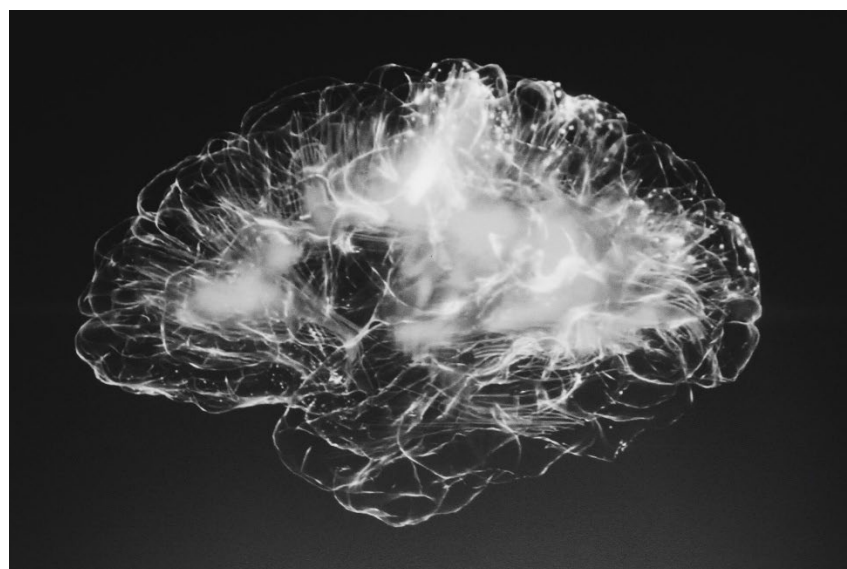


WRITTEN BY

National Equity Project<https://medium.com/national-equity-project/implicit-bias-structural-racism-6c52cf0f4a92>

Don't Talk about Implicit Bias Without Talking about Structural Racism

by [Kathleen Osta](#) and [Hugh Vasquez](#), [National Equity Project](#)



[Implicit bias has been in the news](#) a lot lately. At the [National Equity Project](#), we think it is an important topic that warrants our attention, but it is critical that any learning about implicit bias includes both clear information about the neuroscience of bias *and* the context of structural racism that gave rise to and perpetuates inequities and harmful racial biases. As leaders for equity, we have to examine, unpack and mitigate our own biases *and* dismantle the policies and structures that hold inequity in place. We call this leading from the inside-out.

Most work on implicit bias focuses on increasing awareness of individuals in service of changing how they view and treat others. This is important, but insufficient to advancing greater equity of opportunity, experience, and outcomes in our institutions and communities. Rather, in order to lead to meaningful change, any exploration of implicit bias must be situated as part of a much larger conversation about how current inequities in our institutions came to be, how they are held in place, and what our role as leaders is in perpetuating inequities despite our good intentions. Our success in creating organizations, schools, and communities in which everyone has access to the opportunities they need to thrive depends on our willingness to confront the history and impacts of structural racism, learn how bias (implicit *and* explicit) operates, and take action to interrupt inequitable practices at the interpersonal, institutional and structural level.

We believe the work we need to do begins on the inside — inside of ourselves, inside of our own organizations, and in our own communities. We offer the metaphor of a window and a mirror ([developed by Emily Style of the SEED Project](#)) for increasing our equity consciousness and understanding what is needed to take effective leadership for equity. Each of us needs to look in the mirror to notice how our particular lived experiences have shaped our beliefs, attitudes, and biases about ourselves and others. And, with increased knowledge of ourselves, we also need to look out the window to understand how racism, classism, sexism and other forms of systemic oppression operate in our institutions to create systemic advantage for some groups (white, male, heterosexual, cisgender, etc.) and disadvantage for other groups (people of color, women, LGBTQ+ people, etc.) in every sector of community life.

Kathleen: As a white woman, my own work on implicit bias starts with myself and a look into when and how, despite my twenty five years of working in the “equity” field, my own thoughts and decision making can be impacted by implicit bias. For example, when out for a run recently, I saw a woman who appeared to be Latina walking out of her home. The immediate thought that popped into my head was “housekeeper.” I had to stop and consider, how **did that happen?** Regardless of my stated and lived commitment to fairness and justice, my close relationships with Latinx friends and colleagues, and my knowledge of implicit bias, my brain made a potentially harmful snap judgment about who someone was.

Hugh: I am a mixed heritage Latino. Years ago I was co-directing a youth program that focused on what we called “unlearning racism.” We worked with teenagers to develop their consciousness about oppression, build alliances across race, gender and other social identities, and create young leaders who would work to eliminate racism. As adults running this program, we went through intensive training to become conscious of our own racial identities and work to eliminate our biases so that we could help youth eliminate theirs. One hot summer afternoon I was driving to lunch, windows down. I stopped at a red light and I immediately noticed 3 young African American boys crossing the street in the crosswalk in front of my car. They were 6th graders, 11 or 12 years old. As they crossed, one of them looked at me and yelled “go ahead, roll up your windows!” I was livid with him for assuming I would be afraid and roll up my windows out of fear. But as they walked past me and finished crossing the street, I calmed down, stopped staring at them, and was shocked to see that my hand had moved from the steering wheel to the window switch and I was ready to roll up the window. I had moved my hand to roll up the window without conscious awareness that I had done so. Even after all my training and consciousness raising to eliminate racism, my unconscious mind reacted with fear to these young African American boys. How could this happen?

To understand how this happens, it is important to understand that our brain is like an iceberg with the conscious part of our brain being the smaller part of the iceberg that we can see above the water line, while the larger part of the iceberg, where our unconscious processing takes place, is below the water line. Research shows that the unconscious mind absorbs millions of bits of sensory information through the nervous system per second. Our conscious minds are processing only a small fraction of this information and doing so much more slowly and less efficiently than our unconscious minds. This means that we have a lot going on in our brains that we are not consciously aware of. Have you ever driven all the way home from work, but not had any memory of doing so? Your brain was processing all of the

information needed and guiding your decision making for your safe arrival home even when your conscious mind was not active. In order to process all of the information needed to survive, our brain creates shortcuts to quickly assess our environment and respond in ways that keep us safe from danger. For example, if you were walking down a path or on a street and heard a strange noise or a rustling in the bushes, your amygdala would immediately send a danger alert which would activate your fight, flight, or freeze response. This would all happen before you had *consciously* processed the danger. If we were to count on the much slower processing of our conscious brain in these instances of perceived danger, the human race wouldn't have survived very long.

How does all of this connect to implicit bias and structural racism? Let's start with a definition of implicit bias:

Implicit Bias is the process of associating stereotypes or attitudes towards categories of people *without conscious awareness*.

Note that this is not the same as explicit, conscious racism and other forms of conscious bias which still exist and need to be addressed. Here, we are talking about people who consciously and genuinely believe in fairness, equity, and equality, but despite these stated beliefs, hold unconscious biases that can lead us to react in ways that are at odds with our values. These unconscious biases can play out in our decision making regarding who we hire for a job or select for a promotion, which students we place in honors classes and who we send out of the classroom for behavior infractions, and which treatment options we make available to patients. We know from extensive research that this kind of biased decision making plays out all the time in our schools, in hospitals, in policing, and in places of employment. The question is not *if* it is happening, it is *when* is it happening and what can we do about it.

Implicit bias and its effects play out through three keys processes: **Priming**, **Associations**, and **Assumptions**. **Priming** is a psychological phenomena in which a word, image, sound, or any other stimulus is used to elicit an associated response. Some of the best examples of priming are in product advertising in which advertisers prime us to feel an affinity or emotional connection to a particular brand that leads us to choose that brand over others even when there is actually no difference between the products. We buy Nikes because we are compelled to "Just do it." We think we are consciously choosing, but our unconscious mind is doing the shopping. But product selection is not the only thing influenced by priming — so are our beliefs, views and feelings about others.

The **Associations** we hold about groups of people are created and reinforced through priming. Associations occur without conscious guidance or intention. [For example, the word NURSE is recognized more quickly following the word DOCTOR than following the word BREAD.](#) We associate two words together because our unconscious mind has been wired to do so. **Quick — what do cows drink?** Not milk! But we have a strong association in our brain between cows and milk. (Cows drink water.)

When it comes to people, the associations our brain makes works the same way, creating shortcuts based on how we have been primed. The way our brains create shortcuts to quickly make sense of data is innate. *How* we have been primed to make harmful associations about different categories of people is not, but is rather the result of messaging, policies and practices that have been applied throughout history to include or exclude groups of people.

The United States has a long history of systemic racism — since the founding of the country stories that dehumanized African Americans and Native peoples were used to justify genocide, slavery, racial segregation, mass incarceration, and police brutality. Negative and dehumanizing stereotypes about women and people of color and stories that “other” are rampant in the news media and in popular culture. For example, we have been primed throughout history by our own government, by popular culture, and through the media to think of African American people as less intelligent, aggressive, and more likely to commit crime. We have received unrelenting messages that people who are immigrating to the United States from Central America and Mexico are criminals. Likewise, we have been primed to think of women as less competent, overly emotional, and their bodies as objects to be judged. For every stigmatized group of people, we have been repeatedly exposed to stereotypes that most of us can readily name that have been used to justify policies that have further stigmatized and marginalized.

“Implicit biases come from the culture. I think of them as the thumbprint of the culture on our minds. Human beings have the ability to learn to associate two things together very quickly — that is innate. What we teach ourselves, what we choose to associate is up to us.”

- Dr. Mahzarin R. Banaj

Think back to the autopilot moments we shared in our own stories. Consciously, we knew that the woman coming out of the house was most likely the homeowner, on her way to work, and that the boys crossing the street were simply on their way back to school, but our unconscious brain created shortcuts based on repeated priming about who Latina women and Black boys are — thus producing harmful associations and reactions in both of us. This priming is then reinforced by the current structural arrangements in our communities in which people of color and people living in poverty have been disproportionately cut-off from high quality educational experiences and high-paying jobs. Consider who we most often see cleaning our hotel rooms, busing our tables, and landscaping yards and who we most often see being sent out of classrooms, pulled over by police and jailed. The more we see (or hear) two things together, the stronger the association — this is the way neural pathways are built. Brain cells that fire together, wire together. **What associations are being created in our brains based on how we are primed through everyday experiences in our own communities, through news coverage, advertising and other forms of media?**

Our brain is scanning our environment for who belongs (and is safe) and who is “other” (and a potential threat or dangerous). *Who* we come to categorize as belonging or threatening is *learned* as a result of structural inequities and messaging we have received about categories of people. These harmful associations we carry can lead us to make **Assumptions** that have life and death consequences for people of color. We saw this when:

- [The police were called by a Starbucks manager](#) because she made the association that Rashon Nelson and Donte Robinson, two African American men, were dangerous, resulting in their arrest when they were simply waiting to meet someone.
- Two Native American young men, Kanewakeron Thomas Gray and Shanahwati Lloyd Gray, drove from New Mexico to go [on a college tour at Colorado State University](#) and a white mother who was also on the tour called campus security because they looked like “they don’t belong, they were quiet

and creepy and really stand out.” Security came and questioned the young men and confirmed that they were registered for the campus visit, but by the time they were released, the tour had gone ahead without them and they ended up driving home without a tour at all.

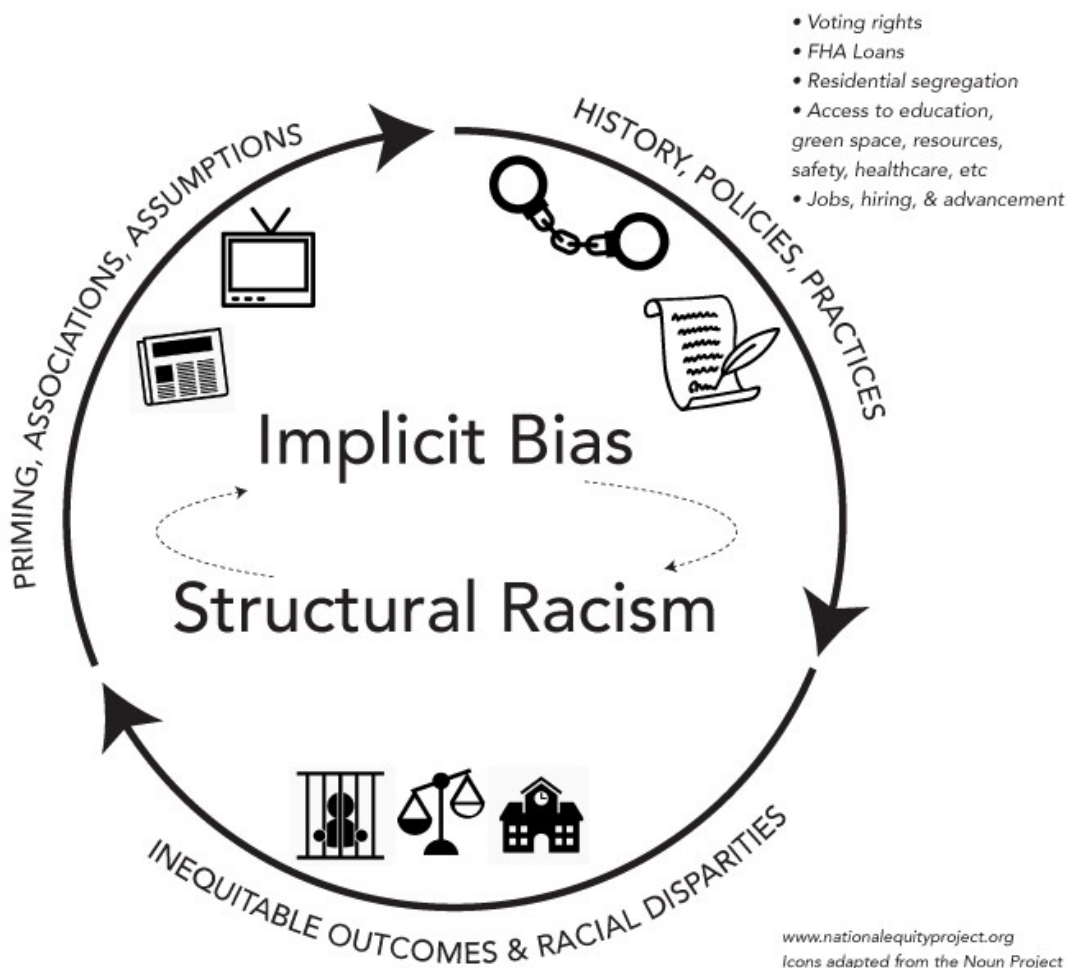
- [Tamir Rice, a 12 year old African American boy was in a park with a toy gun](#) when police drove up and within **two seconds** of exiting the vehicle an officer shot and killed him.

These incidents and many more like them sit in a larger context of racial segregation, exclusion, and systemic inequities in which society’s benefits and burdens are distributed unevenly depending one’s race. Professor John Powell of the [Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society](#) calls this “structural racialization” — referring to institutional practices and structural arrangements that lead to racialized inequities — as we see in the case of education, health, housing, criminal justice, and even [life expectancy](#) in the United States. These two phenomena — structural racialization and implicit bias — work dynamically to hold inequities in place. This is why we believe learning about implicit bias is an important, but an insufficient strategy to advance equity.

“Those who practice leadership for equity must confront, disappoint, and dismantle and at the same time energize, inspire, and empower.”

- Sharon Daloz Parks

Making progress on equity will require us to both mitigate our own biases *and* change structures. For example, structural inequities in the way we fund our public schools mean that students living in affluent communities (most often majority white) attend highly resourced schools with extensive opportunities for deep learning and extra-curricular activities while students living in neighborhoods in which we have disinvested (often majority people of color) attend schools that are underfunded with fewer academic and extra-curricular opportunities. When these students underperform, the fact of their underperformance reinforces our conscious and implicit stereotypes about their intelligence, the extent to which their parents value education (they do), and their effort. **This is an insidious cycle whereby the structural inequities produce inequitable outcomes which then reinforce harmful stereotypes about students of color and students living in poverty and which are *then* used to justify inequitable practices such as holding low expectations, academic tracking, and punitive discipline in schools.**



“Biases not only affect our perceptions, but our policies and institutional arrangements. Therefore, these biases influence the types of outcomes we see across a variety of contexts: school, labor, housing, health, criminal justice system, and so forth....These racialized outcomes subsequently reinforce the very stereotypes and prejudice that initially influenced the stratified outcomes.”

- john powell

As leaders for equity it is our responsibility to look at how our own biases and biases within our organizations contribute to structural inequities and advocate for policies that increase access to economic, educational, and political opportunity. We must expand our notion of success to include diverse perspectives and values. In education, this means providing [culturally sustaining](#) opportunities for rigorous intellectual work and healthy social emotional and physical development for all of our young people, not just those born in affluent zip codes. Many schools and school districts are actively engaged in efforts to change structures to mitigate the effects of bias and increase educational equity within schools and across communities. Some examples of these changes include:

- [Expanding professional learning opportunities for educators](#) to learn about how systemic oppression operates to increase their awareness of their own cultural frames and gain strategies for building learning partnerships with students whose lived experience is different from their own.
- Eliminating subjectivity in placement decisions for AP/Honors courses by requiring students to “opt out” rather than relying solely on teacher recommendation, thus increasing the numbers of students of color and students living in poverty in high-level courses.
- Implementing policies in which the most experienced and talented teachers are teaching the students with the highest level of academic need, and not the other way around (as is often the case).
- Enacting laws that make it harder for childcare centers to expel preschoolers and creating diversion programs in which School Resource Officers refer students to social service agencies for support, instead of arresting them.
- Changing discipline policies whereby only the most serious negative behaviors are subject to suspension and implementing a system of checks and balances in which a trusted adult is called to the classroom when a behavior challenge arises rather than sending students out of class in order to mitigate racial bias.

Examples of structural changes across schools might include:

- Enacting legislation providing for competitive federal grants to districts to support voluntary local efforts to reduce school segregation.
- Bolstering Fair Housing legislation to reduce discriminatory zoning policies that effectively exclude low-income and families of color from high performing and well resourced schools by banning apartment buildings and other multifamily units in nearby neighborhoods.
- Mandating a federal review of efforts by wealthy and predominantly white school jurisdictions to secede from integrated school districts.

Strong efforts to acknowledge, interrupt, and mitigate the effects of implicit bias will require us to engage in on-going *mirror* work, exploring our own biases and paying attention to how we are primed to think about categories of people while simultaneously engaging in *window* work, looking at our current context with a systemic and historic lens so that we can dismantle inequitable policies and structures and create new structures in which we all experience belonging and can thrive.

Being Black—but Not Too Black—in the Workplace

Being a person of color at a predominantly white workplace creates its own special kinds of stress.

ADIA HARVEY WINGFIELD OCT 14, 2015

<https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2015/10/being-black-work/409990/>



To be a black professional is often to be alone. Most black doctors, lawyers, journalists, and so on—those in white-collar positions that require specialized training and credentialing—work in environments where they are in the racial minority.

This comes with challenges. Beyond outright discrimination, which many still face, there are psychological costs to being one of just a few black

faces in a predominantly white environment. In a study of black professional workers in a number of different occupations, I found that these employees worked to carefully manage their emotions in ways that reflected the racial landscapes they inhabited.

In particular, black professionals had to be very careful to show feelings of conviviality and pleasantness, even—especially—in response to racial issues. They felt that emotions of anger, frustration, and annoyance were discouraged, even when they worked in settings where these emotions were generally welcomed in certain contexts—think litigators interacting with opposing counsel, or financial analysts responding to a stressful day on Wall Street. Interestingly, this often played out at trainings meant to encourage racial sensitivity. Many of the black professionals I interviewed found that diversity trainings—intended to improve the work environment for minorities—actually became a source of emotional stress, as they perceived that their white colleagues could use these trainings to express negative emotions about people of color, but that they were expected not to disclose their own honest emotional reactions to such statements.

One of the most interesting recent contributions to this area of research comes from legal scholars Mitu Gulati and Devon Carbado. In their book *Working Identity*, they argue that while everyone needs to create and put forth an “appropriate” workplace identity, for members of minority groups—women of all races, racial-minority men, LGBTQ people—this becomes particularly taxing because their working identities must counter common cultural stereotypes. For example, black men may feel compelled to work longer hours as a way to repudiate stereotypes of a poor work ethic among blacks. To make matters more complicated, such strategies can backfire, reinforcing other stereotypes: Working those long hours may lead

colleagues to assume that the workers lack the intellectual preparation needed for high-status professional jobs.

Carbado and Gulati also note that minority professionals tread cautiously to avoid upsetting the majority group's sensibilities. Put simply, they can be visibly black, but don't want to be perceived as stereotypically black. As Carbado and Gulati write, a black female candidate for a law firm who chemically straightens her hair, is in a nuclear family structure, and resides in a predominantly white neighborhood signals a fealty to (often unspoken) racial norms. She does so in a way that an equally qualified black woman candidate who wears dreadlocks, has a history of pushing for racial change in the legal field, is a single mother, and lives in the inner city does not.

The same is true for professional workers who are members of other racial minority groups. For instance, Latina attorneys may be able to advance further at work if they take pains not to speak with any trace of an accent. These are challenges in addition to the more well-known ones—the difficulties finding mentors of the same race, coping with racial stereotypes, being treated as a representative for one's entire racial group.

So what does this mean for black workers in professional environments? First, it's indicative of the degree to which race shapes occupational outcomes. In many circles, people feel more comfortable reducing racial issues to class-based ones, assuming that poverty explains much, if not all, of the differences between minorities and whites.

But for blacks in professional positions, issues of poverty are not the problem. Poverty does not explain biases in hiring, the need for particular types of emotional management, and the careful self-presentation that minority professionals engage in at work.

Second, all of this ought to encourage a rethinking of some of the existing efforts to create more diverse work environments. Do diversity and inclusion initiatives take into consideration how minorities placed in those environments feel? How can policies create not just more equitable hiring processes, but address the emotional toll of being a racial minority in a professional work setting?

In the current political climate, there is generally support for solving race-related employment challenges by focusing on job training and education—in other words, increasing human capital to improve access. Given the research, it's also important to consider how to create better workplaces for the minority professionals who are already in these jobs.

We want to hear what you think about this article. [Submit a letter](#) to the editor or write to letters@theatlantic.com.

ADIA HARVEY WINGFIELD is a contributing writer for *The Atlantic* and a professor of sociology at Washington University in St. Louis. She is the author of *No More Invisible Man: Race and Gender in Men's Work*.

HISTORICAL TRAUMA AND THE HEALTH AND WELLBEING OF COMMUNITIES OF COLOR

By: Dr. Michele Andrasik, HVTN Core, Seattle, WA, USA

Historical Trauma

Historical trauma is an event, or a set of events, that happen to a group of people who share a specific identity. That identity could be based in nationality, tribal affiliation, ethnicity, race and/or religious affiliation. The events are often done with genocidal or ethnocidal intent, and result in annihilation or disruption of traditional ways of life, culture and/or identity. Each individual event is profoundly traumatic and when you look at events as a whole, they represent a history of sustained cultural disruption and community destruction.



Picking cotton on Alexander plantation. Pulaski County, Arkansas Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection, LC-DIG-fsa-8a17057

Slavery in the US spanned from 1619-1865. It is estimated that 6 to 7 millions of Africans were imported to the US during the 18th century alone. The status of slave became a caste associated with African ancestry. The rapid expansion of the cotton industry in the late 1700s and early 1800s made Southern States dependent on slavery for their economy. Slaves were

generally denied the opportunity to learn to read or write and were prohibited from associating in groups (with the exception (in some cases) of religious meetings). Murder of slaves was allowable if the slave was “resisting” or if done “under moderate correction”. Rape and sexual abuse of enslaved women were common. (<https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/slavery>).

In the United States, African Americans, Native Americans, and Alaska Natives have endured a history of multiple traumas. From the time the first colonists came to shore on what would come to be known as the United States, Native Americans and Alaska Natives have been subjected to:

- colonization;
- epidemic diseases brought from Europe;
- the tradition of extermination and mass homicide;
- forced marches and displacement from their lands;
- peace treaties often signed under coercion and later broken;
- Indian Boarding schools in response to the “Kill the Indian, Save the Man” policy;
- widespread sexual and physical abuse of children; and
- rates of violence and victimization higher than any other racial group.

African Americans have endured the legacy of:

- being stolen from their native lands;
- enslaved from 1619-1865;
- systematically abused and denied education;
- forced “breeding”;
- widespread sexual assault and rape of Black women;
- the abolition of slavery gave way to indentured servitude;
- Jim Crow laws;
- mass lynching;
- mass incarceration; and
- homicide rates higher than any other racial group.

The Tulalip Indian School opening on Jan. 23, 1905, and during the next two years it held enrollment of 200 students. From 1879 through around 1935 Native American families were forced to send their children to boarding schools under the “Kill the Indian, Save the Man” policy. Attendance was mandatory or parents were imprisoned. More than 100,000 Native children were forced to attend the schools, which were modeled on a school developed in prison. Sexual, physical and emotional abuse was rampant in boarding schools. The FBI found one teacher (John Boone) had sexually abused at least 142 boys in a school where the principal never investigated the allegations (American Indian Boarding Schools: An Exploration of Global Ethnic & Cultural Cleansing, accessed at <http://www.sagchip.org/ziibiwing/planyourvisit/pdf/aibscurrguide.pdf>).



Children in front of girls' dormitory building, Tulalip Indian School, ca. 1912 28.MOHAI, Ferdinand Brady Photographic Postcards, 1988.11.13

Research exploring historical trauma looks at how the trauma of these events is “embodied” or held personally and passed down over generations, such that even family members who have not directly experienced the trauma can feel the effects of the events generations later [Walters et al., 2011]. Individual trauma then becomes collective, as it affects a significant

portion of the community and becomes compounded. Multiple historically traumatic events occur over generations and join an overarching legacy of assaults. The impact of these ongoing traumas has effects on a person’s brain and body, increasing their vulnerability to Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and other mental health disorders [Walters et al, 2011; Yehuda et al, 1998]. This higher stress vulnerability may impair a person’s ability to cope effectively with current stressors as they arise.

From 1941-1945, Jewish people were systematically murdered in a genocide in Europe by the Nazi regime. Approximately 6 million Jewish people were killed during WWII (and an additional 5-million non-Jewish victims). Initially the German government passed laws to exclude Jewish people from civil society. Beginning in 1939, Jewish people were required to wear a distinctive sign to “mark them as Jews”, either a badge (yellow star of David) or armband (white with blue star of David). By the end of 1942, victims were regularly transported by freight train to extermination camps (United States Holocaust Museum, Learn about the Holocaust, <https://www.ushmm.org/learn>).



Child survivors of Auschwitz, wearing adult-size prisoner jackets, stand behind a barbed wire fence. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Belarusian State Archive of Documentary Film and Photography

Transmission of trauma across generations was first seen in 1966 by clinicians who were alarmed by the number of children of people who had survived the Nazi Holocaust who were seeking mental health treatment [Trossman, 1968]. The trauma experienced by the Jewish people in the Holocaust was being seen in poor mental and physical health outcomes in their descendant generations. The children of Holocaust survivors were presenting with symptoms of PTSD, survivor guilt, anxiety, anger, grief, symptoms of depression, impaired self-esteem, a preoccupation with death, impaired communication, substance abuse, and exaggerated personal attachments or interdependence [Kellerman, 1999; Yehuda et al, 1998]. Not only does historical trauma influence psychological functioning at the individual level, it also affects family level communication and can appear in stress around parenting [Kellerman, 2001; Last & Klein, 1984]. An important point is that the children of Holocaust survivors were NOT more likely than others to have poor mental health. They may have been vulnerable to higher stress, so that when they experienced high levels of stress in their lives, they were more likely to exhibit PTSD or related symptoms than others [Kellerman, 2000].

1942 – President Roosevelt issues an executive order allowing the military to remove Japanese Americans from the entire U.S. West Coast (California, Oregon, Washington and Arizona). 110,000 – 120,000 Japanese Americans were forcibly relocated and incarcerated in eight U.S. Department of Justice Camps (in Texas, Idaho, North Dakota, New Mexico, and Montana). Living conditions were crowded and often did not include plumbing or cooking facilities. December 1944 Supreme Court rules that “while removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast was constitutional loyal citizens of the US, regardless of cultural descent, could not be detained without cause.” The order was not rescinded until January 2, 1945 (postponed until after the 1944 presidential election to avoid any negative impact on Roosevelt’s reelection campaign) (Virtual Museum of the city of San Francisco, Internment of San Francisco Japanese, <http://www.sfmuseum.net/war/evactxt.html>).



Los Angeles, California. The evacuation of the Japanese-Americans from West Coast areas under U.S. Army war emergency order. Japanese-Americans waiting for a train to take them and their parents to Owens Valley. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection, LC-DIG-fsa-8a31160

Since these early studies with the children of Holocaust survivors, scientists have also been gathering evidence showing that historical trauma has an impact at the cellular level. This body of evidence shows the neurological toll of stress on the health of descendant generations. Powerful stressful environmental conditions can leave an imprint or “mark” on the epigenome (cellular material) that can be carried

into future generations with devastating consequences [Serpeloni et al, 2017, Ryan et al, 2017]. In studies of pregnant women, we see that psychological and nutritional stress in the mother during pregnancy can lead to

biological changes that predispose their children to diabetes, heart disease, high blood pressure, and PTSD as adults. In a study of pregnant women who experienced the stress of the World Trade Center attacks on September 11, 2001, data suggest that effects of maternal PTSD on cortisol (a hormone released in response to stress) can be observed very early in the life of their children. This highlights the importance of effects during pregnancy as factors that contribute to biological risk for PTSD [Yehuda et al, 2005]. In these mothers, the correlation between maternal PTSD and cortisol levels in their infants was remarkably similar to that reported between parental PTSD and cortisol levels in adult children of Holocaust survivors [Yehuda et al, 2002]. Knowing how the human body holds onto this stress reminds us that we cannot ignore the social, historical or cumulative experiences of stress and their impact on wellness. There is growing evidence that biological and psychological expressions of historical trauma may be partly responsible for producing health disparities in a wide spectrum of health outcomes from diabetes to PTSD.

Microaggressions

Stress vulnerability may be especially challenging for racial and ethnic groups who deal with stress daily. Non-White people in the United States often deal with the continuous threat of discrimination and distress due to continuous microaggressions. Microaggressions are the chronic and commonplace verbal, behavioral or environmental indignities and injustices, intentional and unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, demeaning, invalidating, and/or negative (racial, ethnic, homophobic, etc.) slights and insults toward people (of color, homosexual individuals, etc.) [Sue, 2007]. These verbal and non-verbal encounters most often place the burden of addressing them on the recipient of the encounter, creating stress! There are three types of microaggressions – microassaults, microinsults and microinvalidations. Microassaults are characterized by explicit racial derogatory verbal or nonverbal attacks or purposeful discriminatory action. With microassaults the intention is clear and they are most likely to be deliberate (for example, deliberately serving a White patron before a Black patron, displaying a swastika, saying that being gay is a sin, making fun of people with disabilities). Microinsults are behaviors that convey rudeness, insensitivity, reflect unfair treatment, or demean identity or heritage. These are often subtle snubs that the perpetrator may not realize they are doing (for example, when a White teacher fails to call on students of color in the classroom). Microinvalidations are communications that nullify, exclude, or negate the experiences, identity, thoughts and feelings of a person (for example, when Blacks are told that “I don’t see color” or “We are all human beings,” or when gay adolescents are told, “You are just going through a phase.”)

Microaggressions are the chronic and commonplace verbal, behavioral or environmental indignities and injustices, intentional and unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, demeaning, invalidating, and/or negative (racial, ethnic, homophobic, etc.) slights and insults toward people (of color, homosexual individuals, etc.) [Sue, 2007].

There is a great deal of power in microaggressions. Most people see themselves as good, moral and decent, and find it difficult to believe that they have biased attitudes, and that they might engage in discriminatory behaviors. As a result, microaggressions are usually ignored, denied or explained away by seemingly unbiased and valid reasons. Indeed, when other explanations seem reasonable, microaggressions are very difficult to name and identify. This lack of awareness and sensitivity leads to an inability to accept responsibility for behaviors and for changing them. In contrast, 96% of African Americans reported experiencing racial discrimination in a one-year period, including being mistaken for a service worker, being ignored, receiving poor service, being treated rudely, or experiencing strangers who act fearful or intimidated when around them [Sellars & Shelton, 2003]. Experiences of microaggressions have been associated with anger, mistrust, loss of self-esteem, the triggering of old wounds, thinking about and replaying the event (“Did that really happen?”),

and triggering feelings of internalized colonization, racism and homophobia, stress, self-doubt, frustration, isolation and shame [Solorzano et al, 2000].

Individually, each encounter creates a great deal of stress. Collectively they result in a tremendous amount of trauma for the individual and the community. Again, this may have a greater impact on racial minorities who have a high stress vulnerability resulting from the historical trauma experienced by their communities.

Trauma and Trauma-Informed Care

“Trauma results from an event, series of events, or set of circumstances that is experienced by an individual as physically or emotionally harmful or life threatening and that has lasting adverse effects on the individual’s functioning and mental, physical, social, emotional, or spiritual well-being” [U.S. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), 2013]. Trauma occurs throughout a person’s lifetime and is often experienced first in early childhood (or even before birth, during pregnancy, as described above) and there may be subsequent re-traumatizing experiences. Each person experiences trauma differently. Some may have few or no lingering symptoms. People who experience repeated, chronic or multiple traumas, including historical trauma, are more likely to have more pronounced symptoms and consequences including:

- substance abuse and dependence;
- depression symptoms and disorders;
- anxiety symptoms and disorders;
- impairment in relational/social and other major life areas (including treatment);
- increased risk for mental illness and increases in symptom severity;
- sleep disorders; and
- many health problems, physical disorders and conditions.

In our work, we frequently encounter individuals from marginalized communities, and it is important that we recognize and respond to the effects of historical trauma. They may not even be aware of how this history impacts them! Not only is historical trauma associated with increased stress vulnerability and trauma symptoms, the experience of trauma is a significant risk factor for sexually transmitted infections, depression, alcohol abuse, intravenous drug use, intimate partner violence and attempted suicide [CDC, 2014]. It is crucial that we practice trauma-informed care. SAMHSA (2012) states that, “A program, organization, or system that is trauma-informed realizes the widespread impact of trauma and understands potential paths for healing; recognizes the signs and symptoms of trauma in staff, clients, and others involved with the system; and responds by fully integrating knowledge about trauma into policies, procedures, practices, and settings.”

It is really important that we assess how our existing spaces, such as our clinical trial sites, may cause distress [Kamen et al, 2012]. This requires examining the power dynamics of relationships, the impact of a loss or lack of privacy during questioning and/or procedures, and the potential experience of loss when there are changes in staff with little or no notice. Invasive procedures, the removal of clothing, vulnerable physical positions, the gender of a provider, and being asked personal questions by someone who is a stranger may be experienced as traumatizing or re-traumatizing. To reduce the potential negative impact of these factors, we can improve and enhance the things we do to ensure a favorable participant experience by infusing trauma-informed care into our efforts.

A trauma-informed approach builds on understanding the effects of violence and abuse on a person's life and development [Machtinger et al, 2015; SAMHSA]. It is rooted in a strength-based empowerment model, which fosters growth, and recognizes and promotes strength and resiliency. It is important to be aware of the fact that behaviors have traditionally been viewed through a pathological lens. This means thinking a person is at fault for their reactions or that there is something wrong with them, leading to labelling people as problematic or difficult. In reality, they may just be unsuccessful at coping with a situation that may (or may not) have the outcome that an individual wanted.

To get started on a path toward trauma-informed care, it is important that every member of the clinic team participate in training to learn about the impact of trauma on the health and wellbeing of providers, staff and participants. Training will help clinic staff develop skills to communicate more effectively with participants and with each other. As the clinic team continues down its path to trauma-informed care it will be important to identify clinic champions who will sustain trauma-informed care approaches over time. These individuals would identify and develop partnerships with local trauma and service organizations, and work collaboratively to develop procedures for providing referrals and responding to a participant's needs [Elliot et al, 2005].

The key steps to a trauma-informed approach are:

1. Create a safe environment.
2. Prevent practices that re-traumatize people who have histories of trauma and are engaging in clinical trial research.
3. Build on the strengths and resilience of the individual in the context of their environments and communities.
4. Endorse trauma-informed principles in the clinic through support, consultation and supervision of staff.
5. Recognize that trauma-related symptoms and behaviors originate from adapting to traumatic experiences.
6. Create collaborative relationships and participation opportunities.
7. Use a strengths-focused perspective: promote resilience.

In our communities, there are many people who not only carry the burden of historical trauma, but must also navigate a disproportionate amount of daily stressors. To improve the health of our collective community, we must strive to make every effort to understand how human beings take in and hold onto trauma and stress so that we can avoid traumatizing and re-traumatizing one another.

References

1. Trossman B. Adolescent children of concentration camp survivors. *Can Psychiatr Assoc J.* 13:121-123. 1968.
2. Blair IV, Judd CM, Chapleau KM. The influence of Afrocentric facial features in criminal sentencing. *Psychol Sci.* 15(10):674-679. 2004
3. Brand SR, Brennan PA, Newport DJ, Smith AK, Weiss T, & Stowe ZN. The Impact of Maternal Childhood Abuse on Maternal and Infant HPA Axis Function in the Postpartum Period. *Psychoneuroendocrinology.* 35(5): 686-693. 2010
4. Evans-Campbell T. Historical Trauma in American Indian/Native Alaska Communities: A Multilevel Framework for Exploring Impacts on Individuals, Families, and Communities. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence.* 23(3): 316-338. 2008
5. Kaati G., Bygren LO, and Edvinsson S. Cardiovascular and Diabetes Mortality Determined by Nutrition During Parents' and Grandparents' Slow Growth Period. *European Journal of Human Genetics.* 10(11): 682-688. 2002
6. Kellermann NPF. Bibliography: Children of Holocaust survivors. AMCHA, the National Israeli Centre for Psychosocial Support of Holocaust Survivors and the Second Generation, Jerusalem. 1999
7. Yehuda R, Schmeidler J, Wainberg M. Binder-Brynes K, Duvdevani T. Vulnerability to Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in Adult Offspring of Holocaust Survivors. *Am J Psychiatry.* 155:1163-1171. 1998
8. Kellermann NPF. Perceived parental rearing behavior in children of Holocaust survivors. *Isr J Psychiatry relat Sci.* 38(1):58-68. 2001

9. Kellermann NPF. Transmission of Holocaust Trauma. National Israeli Center for Psychosocial Support of Survivors of the Holocaust & the Second Generations. Accessed 3/2/18 at <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/languages/dutch/pdf/kellermann.pdf>
10. Last U & Klein H. Impact of parental holocaust traumatization on offsprings' reports of parental child-rearing practices. *J Youth Adolesc.* 13(4):267-83. 1984
11. Kuzawa CW & Sweet E. Epigenetics and the Embodiment of Race: Developmental Origins of US Racial Disparities In Cardiovascular Health. *American Journal of Human Biology.* 21(1): 2–15. 2009
12. Plant EA, Peruche BM. The consequences of race for police officers' responses to criminal suspects. *Psychol Sci.* 16(3):180-3. 2005
13. Sellers RM, Shelton JN. The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination. *J. Pers Soc Psychol.* 84(5):1079-92. 2003
14. Solorzano, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate: The Experiences of African American College Students. *Journal of Negro Education.* 69(1/2), 60. 2000
15. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. Trauma-informed care in Behavioral Health Services. Treatment Improvement Protocol (TIP) Series 57. HHS Publication NO. (SMA) 13-4801. Rockville, MD: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 1 Choke Cherry Road, Rockville, MD 20857
16. Sue DW, Capodilupo CM, Torino GC, Bucceri JM, Holder AMB, Nadal KL, Esquilin M. Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice. *American Psychologist.* 62(4):271-286. 2007.
17. Sue DW. Whiteness and ethnocentric monoculturalism: making the "invisible" visible. *American Psychologist.* 59(8):761-769. 2004
18. Walters KL, Mohammed SA, Evans-Campbell T. Beltran RE, Chae DH, & Duran B. Bodies don't just tell stories, they tell histories. *Du Bois Review.* 8(1): 179-189. 2011
19. Whitbeck LB, Adams GW, Hoyt DR, & Chen X. Conceptualizing and Measuring Historical Trauma among American Indian People. *American Journal of Community Psychology.* 33(3-4): 119–130. 2004
20. Serpeloni F, Radtke K, de Assis SG, Henning F, Natt D, Elbert T. Grandmaternal stress during pregnancy and DNA methylation of the third generation: an epigenome-wide association study. *Transl Psychiatry.* 7(8):e1202. 2017.
21. Ryan J, Mansell T, Fransquet P, Saffery R. Does maternal mental well-being in pregnancy impact the early human epigenome? *Epigenomics.* 9(3):313-332. 2017
22. Yehuda R, Engel SM, Brand SR, Seckl J, Marcus SM, & Berkowitz GS. Transgenerational Effects of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in Babies of Mothers Exposed to the World Trade Center Attacks during Pregnancy. *Journal of Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism.* 90(7): 4115–4118. 2005
23. Yehuda R, Halligan SL, Bierer LM. Cortisol levels in adult offspring of Holocaust survivors: relation to PTSD symptom severity in the parent and child. *Psychoneuroendocrinology.* 27:171–180. 2002
24. Machtinger EL, Cuca YP, Khanna N, Rose CD, Kimberg LS. From Treatment to Healing: The Promise of Trauma-Informed Primary Care. *Women's Health Issues.* 25(3):193-197 2015
25. Elliot DE, Bjelajac P, Fallot RD, Markoff LS, Reed BG. Trauma-Informed or Trauma-Denied: Principles and Implementation of Trauma-Informed Services for Women. *J Comm Psychol.* 33(4):461-477. 2005
26. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Division of Violence Prevention. Adverse Childhood Experiences Study. 2014. Accessed 3/15/18 at: <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/acesstudy/>
27. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection, LC-DIG-fsa-8a17057
28. MOHAI, Ferdinand Brady Photographic Postcards, 1988.11.13."
29. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Belarusian State Archive of Documentary Film and Photography
30. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection, LC-DIG-fsa-8a31160

* Dr. Michele Andrasik is the Director of Social and Behavioral Science and Community Engagement for the HVTN.



FEATURE

What Is White Privilege, Really?

Recognizing white privilege begins with truly understanding the term itself.

Issue 60, Fall 2018 | By Cory Collins



Illustration by Marcin Wolski

Web Version: <https://www.tolerance.org/magazine/fall-2018/what-is-white-privilege-really>

Today, white privilege is often described through the lens of Peggy McIntosh's groundbreaking essay "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack." Originally published in 1988, the essay helps readers recognize white privilege by making its effects personal and tangible. For many, white privilege was an invisible force that white people needed to recognize. It was being able to walk into a store and find that the main displays of shampoo and panty hose were catered toward your hair type and skin tone. It was being able to turn on the television and see people of your race widely represented. It was being able to move through life without being racially profiled or unfairly stereotyped. All true.

This idea of white privilege as unseen, unconscious advantages took hold. It became easy for people to interpret McIntosh's version of white privilege—fairly or not—as mostly a matter of cosmetics and inconvenience.

Those interpretations overshadow the origins of white privilege, as well as its present-day ability to influence systemic decisions. They overshadow the fact that

white privilege is both a legacy and a cause of racism. And they overshadow the words of many people of color, who for decades recognized white privilege as the result of conscious acts and refused to separate it from historic inequities.

In short, we've forgotten what white privilege really means—which is all of this, all at once. And if we stand behind the belief that recognizing white privilege is integral to the anti-bias work of white educators, we must offer a broader recognition.

A recognition that does not silence the voices of those most affected by white privilege; a recognition that does not ignore where it comes from and why it has staying power.

Racism vs. White Privilege

Having white privilege and recognizing it is not racist. But white privilege exists because of historic, enduring racism and biases. Therefore, defining white privilege also requires finding working definitions of racism and bias.

So, what is racism? One helpful definition comes from Matthew Clair and Jeffrey S. Denis's "Sociology on Racism." They define **racism** as "individual- and group-level processes and structures that are implicated in the reproduction of racial inequality."

Systemic racism happens when these structures or processes are carried out by groups with power, such as governments, businesses or schools. Racism differs from **bias**, which is a conscious or unconscious prejudice against an individual or group based on their identity.

Basically, racial bias is a belief. Racism is what happens when that belief translates into action. For example, a person might unconsciously or consciously believe that people of color are more likely to commit crime or be dangerous. That's a bias. A person might become anxious if they perceive a black person is angry. That stems from a bias. These biases can become racism through a number of actions ranging in severity, and ranging from individual- to group-level responses:

- A person crosses the street to avoid walking next to a group of young black men.
- A person calls 911 to report the presence of a person of color who is otherwise behaving lawfully.
- A police officer shoots an unarmed person of color because he "feared for his life."
- A jury finds a person of color guilty of a violent crime despite scant evidence.
- A federal intelligence agency prioritizes investigating black and Latino activists rather than investigate white supremacist activity.

Both racism and bias rely on what sociologists call **racialization**. This is the grouping of people based on perceived physical differences, such as skin tone. This arbitrary grouping of people, historically, fueled biases and became a tool for justifying the cruel treatment and discrimination of non-white people. Colonialism, slavery and Jim Crow laws were all sold with junk science and propaganda that claimed people of a certain “race” were fundamentally different from those of another—and they should be treated accordingly. And while not all white people participated directly in this mistreatment, their learned biases and their safety from such treatment led many to commit one of those most powerful actions: silence.

And just like that, the trauma, displacement, cruel treatment and discrimination of people of color, inevitably, gave birth to white privilege.

So, What Is White Privilege?

White privilege is—perhaps most notably in this era of uncivil discourse—a concept that has fallen victim to its own connotations. The two-word term packs a double whammy that inspires pushback. 1) The word *white* creates discomfort among those who are not used to being defined or described by their race. And 2) the word *privilege*, especially for poor and rural white people, sounds like a word that doesn’t belong to them—like a word that suggests they have never struggled.

This defensiveness derails the conversation, which means, unfortunately, that defining white privilege must often begin with defining what it’s *not*. Otherwise, only the choir listens; the people you actually want to reach check out. White privilege is *not* the suggestion that white people have never struggled. Many white people do not enjoy the privileges that come with relative affluence, such as food security. Many do not experience the privileges that come with access, such as nearby hospitals.

And white privilege is *not* the assumption that everything a white person has accomplished is unearned; most white people who have reached a high level of success worked extremely hard to get there. Instead, white privilege should be viewed as a built-in advantage, separate from one’s level of income or effort.

Francis E. Kendall, author of *Diversity in the Classroom and Understanding White Privilege: Creating Pathways to Authentic Relationships Across Race*, comes close to giving us an encompassing definition: “having greater access to power and resources than people of color [in the same situation] do.” But in order to grasp what this means, it’s also important to consider how the definition of white privilege has changed over time.

White Privilege Through the Years

In a thorough article, education researcher Jacob Bennett tracked the history of the term. Before the Civil Rights Act of 1964, “white privilege” was less commonly used but generally referred to legal and systemic advantages given to white people by the United States, such as citizenship, the right to vote or the right to buy a house in the neighborhood of their choice.

It was only after discrimination persisted for years after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that people like Peggy McIntosh began to view white privilege as being more psychological—a subconscious prejudice perpetuated by white people’s lack of awareness that they held this power. White privilege could be found in day-to-day transactions and in white people’s ability to move through the professional and personal worlds with relative ease.

But some people of color continued to insist that an element of white privilege included the aftereffects of conscious choices. For example, if white business leaders didn’t hire many people of color, white people had more economic opportunities. Having the ability to maintain that power dynamic, in itself, was a white privilege, and it endures. Legislative bodies, corporate leaders and educators are still disproportionately white and often make conscious choices (laws, hiring practices, discipline procedures) that keep this cycle on repeat.

The more complicated truth: White privilege is both unconsciously enjoyed and consciously perpetuated. It is both on the surface and deeply embedded into American life. It is a weightless knapsack—and a weapon.

It depends on who’s carrying it.

White Privilege as the “Power of Normal”

Sometimes the examples used to make white privilege visible to those who have it are also the examples least damaging to people who lack it. But that does not mean these examples do not matter or that they do no damage at all.

These subtle versions of white privilege are often used as a comfortable, easy entry point for people who might push back against the concept. That is why they remain so popular. These are simple, everyday things, conveniences white people aren’t forced to think about.

These often-used examples include:

- The first-aid kit having “flesh-colored” Band-Aids that only match the skin tone of white people.
- The products white people need for their hair being in the aisle labeled “hair care” rather than in a smaller, separate section of “ethnic hair products.”

- The grocery store stocking a variety of food options that reflect the cultural traditions of most white people.

But the root of these problems is often ignored. These types of examples can be dismissed by white people who might say, “My hair is curly and requires special product,” or “My family is from Poland, and it’s hard to find traditional Polish food at the grocery store.”

This may be true. But the reason even these simple white privileges need to be recognized is that the damage goes beyond the inconvenience of shopping for goods and services. These privileges are symbolic of what we might call “the power of normal.” If public spaces and goods seem catered to one race and segregate the needs of people of other races into special sections, that indicates something beneath the surface.

White people become more likely to move through the world with an expectation that their needs be readily met. People of color move through the world knowing their needs are on the margins. Recognizing this means recognizing where gaps exist.

White Privilege as the “Power of the Benefit of the Doubt”

The “power of normal” goes beyond the local CVS. White people are also more likely to see positive portrayals of people who look like them on the news, on TV shows and in movies. They are more likely to be treated as individuals, rather than as representatives of (or exceptions to) a stereotyped racial identity. In other words, they are more often humanized and granted the benefit of the doubt. They are more likely to receive compassion, to be granted individual potential, to survive mistakes.

This has negative effects for people of color, who, without this privilege, face the consequences of racial profiling, stereotypes and lack of compassion for their struggles.

In these scenarios, white privilege includes the facts that:

- White people are less likely to be followed, interrogated or searched by law enforcement because they look “suspicious.”
- White people’s skin tone will not be a reason people hesitate to trust their credit or financial responsibility.
- If white people are accused of a crime, they are less likely to be presumed guilty, less likely to be sentenced to death and more likely to be portrayed in a fair, nuanced manner by media outlets (see the #IfTheyGunnedMeDown campaign).
- The personal faults or missteps of white people will likely not be used to later deny opportunities or compassion to people who share their racial identity.

This privilege is invisible to many white people because it seems reasonable that a person should be extended compassion as they move through the world. It seems logical that a person should have the chance to prove themselves individually before they are judged. It's supposedly an American ideal.

But it's a privilege often not granted to people of color—with dire consequences.

For example, programs like New York City's now-abandoned "Stop and Frisk" policy target a disproportionate number of black and Latinx people. People of color are more likely to be arrested for drug offenses despite using at a similar rate to white people. Some people do not survive these stereotypes. In 2017, people of color who were unarmed and not attacking anyone were more likely to be killed by police.

Those who survive instances of racial profiling—be they subtle or violent—do not escape unaffected. They often suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, and this trauma in turn affects their friends, families and immediate communities, who are exposed to their own vulnerability as a result.

A study conducted in Australia (which has its own hard history of subjugating black and Indigenous people) perfectly illustrates how white privilege can manifest in day-to-day interactions—daily reminders that one is not worthy of the same benefit of the doubt given to another. In the experiment, people of different racial and ethnic identities tried to board public buses, telling the driver they didn't have enough money to pay for the ride. Researchers documented more than 1,500 attempts. The results: 72 percent of white people were allowed to stay on the bus. Only 36 percent of black people were extended the same kindness.

Just as people of color did nothing to deserve this unequal treatment, white people did not "earn" disproportionate access to compassion and fairness. They receive it as the byproduct of systemic racism and bias.

And even if they are not aware of it in their daily lives as they walk along the streets, this privilege is the result of conscious choices made long ago and choices still being made today.

White Privilege as the "Power of Accumulated Power"

Perhaps the most important lesson about white privilege is the one that's taught the least.

The "power of normal" and the "power of the benefit of the doubt" are not just subconscious byproducts of past discrimination. They are the purposeful results of racism—an ouroboros of sorts—that allow for the constant re-creation of inequality.

These powers would not exist if systemic racism hadn't come first. And systemic racism cannot endure unless those powers still hold sway.

You can imagine it as something of a whiteness water cycle, wherein racism is the rain. That rain populates the earth, giving some areas more access to life and resources than others. The evaporation is white privilege—an invisible phenomenon that is both a result of the rain and the reason it keeps going.

McIntosh asked herself an important question that inspired her famous essay, “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack”: “On a daily basis, what do I have that I didn't earn?” Our work should include asking the two looming follow-up questions: *Who built that system? Who keeps it going?*

The answers to those questions could fill several books. But they produce examples of white privilege that you won't find in many broad explainer pieces.

For example, the ability to accumulate wealth has long been a white privilege—a privilege created by overt, systemic racism in both the public and private sectors. In 2014, the Pew Research Center released a report that revealed the average net worth of a white household was \$141,900; for black and Hispanic households, that dropped to \$11,000 and \$13,700, respectively. The gap is huge, and the great “equalizers” don't narrow it. Research from Brandeis University and Demos found that the racial wealth gap is not closed when people of color attend college (the median white person who went to college has 7.2 times more wealth than the median black person who went to college, and 3.9 times more than the median Latino person who went to college). Nor do they close the gap when they work full time, or when they spend less and save more.

The gap, instead, relies largely on inheritance—wealth passed from one generation to the next. And that wealth often comes in the form of inherited homes with value. When white families are able to accumulate wealth because of their earning power or home value, they are more likely to support their children into early adulthood, helping with expenses such as college education, first cars and first homes. The cycle continues.

This is a privilege denied to many families of color, a denial that started with the work of public leaders and property managers. After World War II, when the G.I. Bill provided white veterans with “a magic carpet to the middle class,” racist zoning laws segregated towns and cities with sizeable populations of people of color—from Baltimore to Birmingham, from New York to St. Louis, from Louisville to Oklahoma City, to Chicago, to Austin, and in cities beyond and in between.

These exclusionary zoning practices evolved from city ordinances to redlining by the Federal Housing Administration (which wouldn't back loans to black people or those who lived close to black people), to more insidious techniques written into building

codes. The result: People of color weren't allowed to raise their children and invest their money in neighborhoods with "high home values." The cycle continues today. Before the 2008 crash, people of color were disproportionately targeted for subprime mortgages. And neighborhood diversity continues to correlate with low property values across the United States. According to the Century Foundation, one-fourth of black Americans living in poverty live in high-poverty neighborhoods; only 1 in 13 impoverished white Americans lives in a high-poverty neighborhood.

The inequities compound. To this day, more than 80 percent of poor black students attend a high-poverty school, where suspension rates are often higher and resources often more limited. Once out of school, obstacles remain. Economic forgiveness and trust still has racial divides. In a University of Wisconsin study, 17 percent of white job applicants with a criminal history got a call back from an employer; only five percent of black applicants with a criminal history got call backs. And according to the National Bureau of Economic Research, black Americans are 105 percent more likely than white people to receive a high-cost mortgage, with Latino Americans 78 percent more likely. This is after controlling for variables such as credit score and debt-to-income ratios.

Why mention these issues in an article defining white privilege? Because the past and present context of wealth inequality serves as a perfect example of white privilege.

If privilege, from the Latin roots of the term, refers to laws that have an impact on individuals, then what is more effective than a history of laws that explicitly targeted racial minorities to keep them out of neighborhoods and deny them access to wealth and services?

If white privilege is "having greater access to power and resources than people of color [in the same situation] do," then what is more exemplary than the access to wealth, the access to neighborhoods and the access to the power to segregate cities, deny loans and perpetuate these systems?

This example of white privilege also illustrates how systemic inequities trickle down to less harmful versions of white privilege. Wealth inequity contributes to the "power of the benefit of the doubt" every time a white person is given a lower mortgage rate than a person of color with the same credit credentials. Wealth inequity reinforces the "power of normal" every time businesses assume their most profitable consumer base is the white base and adjust their products accordingly.

And this example of white privilege serves an important purpose: It re-centers the power of conscious choices in the conversation about what white privilege is.

People can be ignorant about these inequities, of course. According to the Pew Research Center, only 46 percent of white people say that they benefit "a great deal" or "a fair amount" from advantages that society does not offer to black people. But

conscious choices *were* and *are* made to uphold these privileges. And this goes beyond loan officers and lawmakers. Multiple surveys have shown that many white people support the idea of racial equality but are less supportive of policies that could make it more possible, such as reparations, affirmative action or law enforcement reform.

In that way, white privilege is not just the power to find what you need in a convenience store or to move through the world without your race defining your interactions. It's not just the subconscious comfort of seeing a world that serves you as normal. It's also the power to remain silent in the face of racial inequity. It's the power to weigh the need for protest or confrontation against the discomfort or inconvenience of speaking up. It's getting to choose when and where you want to take a stand. It's knowing that you and your humanity are safe.

And what a privilege that is.

Collins is the senior writer for Teaching Tolerance.

SO, WHAT CAN I DO ONCE I RECOGNIZE MY WHITE PRIVILEGE?

Beyond recognition, white people can use their white privilege in a way that is beneficial to all people. Here's how.*

Don't take it personally or use discomfort as an excuse to disengage.

Feelings of guilt or defensiveness are common responses, but ultimately, they're counterproductive. Rather than centering your own feelings of discomfort, center the feelings of people of color in evaluating what to do with this information. If your instinct is telling you it's more comfortable to retreat or reassure yourself that you are not racist, think instead, *What actions can I take to help?*

Learn when to listen, when to amplify and when to speak up.

When people of color speak to their experiences of oppression, it's important for white people not to dominate the conversation or question those experiences. You can use your privilege to amplify those voices. Share the work and perspectives of people of color on social media. Credit colleagues of color for ideas. This not only helps marginalized people reach that audience but also helps spread their message from the source, rather than through the lens of a white person.

That said, there are also times when white people should speak up. It's not fair to burden people of color by making them always take the lead on anti-bias work or intervening when something offensive is said or done. If you hear racist remarks, speak up. If you see opportunities to educate fellow white people about race, do so. As an ally, your privilege can be a tool to reach people who may be more likely to listen to you or relate to your journey in understanding your own relationship to race and white privilege.

Educate yourself.

Just as you should not always expect people of color to take the lead on speaking out against racism, you also shouldn't expect them to educate you on racism. While it's OK to ask questions of those who have expressed a willingness to answer them, you have the power to educate yourself. Seek out books and articles on the topic written by people of color. Critically evaluate documentaries that surround topics like slavery, race, the U.S. prison system and more. We have more access to information created by people of color than ever before. Take advantage of it, and avoid burdening friends or coworkers of color with constant questions about their experiences.

Educate fellow white people.

Share what you've learned. Push through discomfort and demand courageous conversations in your circles. Do not let peers get away with problematic remarks without making a serious effort to engage them.

Risk your unearned benefits to benefit others.

You have most likely seen a viral video featuring Joy DeGruy talking about her biracial sister-in-law using her white skin privilege to question why Joy was receiving undue scrutiny from a cashier. She risks her comfort and her easy transactions with the store to point out this unfairness and ultimately receives support from witnesses and management.

There are other ways to do this in our daily lives. It can be as simple as intervening if you see a boss or fellow educator treating someone differently because of their racial identity. It can mean advocating for a coworker to receive equal pay or opportunities. It can mean being an active witness when you see people of color confronted by law enforcement or harassed by bigots and letting them know you are there to support

them and record the interaction if necessary. And it most certainly can mean engaging directly in anti-bias work, such as instilling more inclusive practices at your school or business or working with people committed to allyship and anti-racist activism, such as SURJ.

**Some of these steps were adapted from suggestions in Emily Chiariello's "Why Talk About Whiteness?"*

How to Be an Ally if You Are a Person with Privilege

Frances E. Kendall, Ph.D. © 2003

One way to work for social justice is as an ally. The gay and lesbian community realized ten or fifteen years ago that, without the help of straight allies, gays and lesbians don't have the clout needed to fight heterosexist and homophobic legislation. Gradually the call for allies has spread to other communities in which discrimination is systemic.

What it means to be an ally varies greatly from person to person. For some, it means building a relationship of love and trust with another; for others, it means intentionally putting one's self in harm's way so that another person remains safe. Each type of alliance has its own parameters, responsibilities, and degree of risk. For example, being an ally to someone who is in a less privileged position than I am requires different work than is necessary if the person has privileges like mine. There are also a variety of styles that an ally can use. Some of us are bold and audacious, others are more reserved. The common bond is that we align ourselves with a person or people in such a way that we "have their backs."

Being an ally is integral to my work for social justice: I align myself with an individual or group for a common cause or purpose. When I use the term "ally," I am not talking about love or friendship, although I grow to love many of the people with whom I align myself. I even see myself as an ally of people whom I don't know, individuals who are members of groups with which I align myself as a matter of principle.

Those of us who have been granted privileges based purely on who we are born (as white, as male, as straight, and so forth) often feel that either we want to give our privileges back, which we can't really do, or we want to use them to improve the experience of those who don't have our access to power and resources. One of the most effective ways to use our privilege is to become the ally of those on the other side of the privilege seesaw. This type of alliance requires a great deal of self-examination on our part as well as the willingness to go against the people who share our privilege status and with whom we are expected to group ourselves.

[Note: In the following descriptions of ally behavior, the governmental term "target groups" refers to those who are at greatest risk of being targeted for discrimination, e.g., people of color, women, gays and lesbians, people with disabilities, and so on.]

1. Allies work continuously to develop an understanding of the personal and institutional experiences of the person or people with whom they are aligning themselves. If the ally is a member of a privileged group, it is essential that she or he also strives for clarity about the impact of privileges on her or his life.

What this might look like:

Consistently asking myself what it means to be white in this situation. How would I be experienced now if I were of color? Would I be listened to? Would I be getting the support I am getting now? How would my life in this organization be different if I were not white/ male/ heterosexual/ tenured/ a manager?

Closely observing the experiences of people of color in the organization: how they are listened to, talked about, promoted, and expected to do additional jobs. For example, members of target groups counsel all the people in the organization who look like them even though that is not a part of their job description or have to speak for all members of "their" group or serve on a disproportionate number of committees so that there is "racial input." Few of us who are white ever have to be "professional whites," asked to speak for our race, represent our race, or offer support to people purely because their skin color is the same as ours.

2. Allies choose to align themselves publicly and privately with members of target groups and respond to their needs. This may mean breaking assumed allegiances with those who have the same privileges as you. It is important not to underestimate the consequences of breaking these agreements and to break them in ways that will be most useful to the person or group with whom you are aligning yourself.

What this might look like:

Stepping into a situation in which a person of color is being overrun by someone who looks like you: "John [a white man], I think Eugene [a Filipino] is making an important point. Would you hold your comment for a second so I can hear what Eugene has to say?"

Speaking out about a situation in which you don't appear to have any vested interest: "Jean, there are no women of color in this pool of candidates. How can we begin to get a broader perspective in our department if we continue to hire people who have similar backgrounds to ours or who look like us?"

Interrupting a comment or joke that is insensitive or stereotypic toward a target group, whether or not a member of that group is present. "Lu, that joke is anti-Semitic. I don't care if a Jewish person told it to you; it doesn't contribute to the kind of environment I want to work in."

This is NOT about rescuing or grandstanding, making a show of our support so that we will look good or progressive or liberal.

Other white people may perceive our stepping in as betraying of our same-race relationships. Comments such as "Who made you the political correctness police?" or "Don't you have a sense of humor?" or "Can't Beth [a Native American] take care of herself?" alert you to the fact that you have broken the unspoken code about criticizing another white, broken what Aida Hurtado calls the "unspoken rules of privilege." (The Color of Privilege, p. 128.) While we may choose to take this risk ourselves, it is important to work strategically so as not to put the person to whom we have aligned ourselves in greater jeopardy. The example above about the unbalanced pool of candidates is worded to make it clear that it is in the department's interest to interview and hire people who bring different experiences and points of view to the table. The white person could have covered himself by implying that his concern was for the lonely woman of color already present. ("Jean, there are no women of color in this pool of candidates. I know from talking with her that Josephina is sick of being the only Latina in our department.") Instead, he made it clear that a mostly white staff was not in his personal interest or that of the institution.

3. Allies believe that it is in their interest to be allies and are able to talk about why this is the case. Talking clearly about having the privilege to be able to step in is an important educational tool for others with the same privileges.

What this might look like:

Regularly prefacing what I am about to say with, "As a white person, I [think/ feel/ understand/ am not able to understand...]" By identifying one of my primary lenses on the world I let others know that I am clear that being white has an impact on how I perceive everything.

Choosing to make an issue of a situation, acknowledging that our whiteness gives us the privilege to speak with impunity. "As white women, because of our race privilege, our promotions are at far less risk than those of the women of color. Let's go as a group to the senior vice president to talk about the harassment we have all be experiencing.

4. Allies are committed to the never-ending personal growth required to be genuinely supportive. If both people are without privilege it means coming to grips with the ways that internalized oppression affects you. If you are privileged, uprooting long-held beliefs about the way that the world works will probably be necessary.

What this might look like:

Recognizing the lack of equitable access to education that I had always been told was present. A brief story. As I was finishing my Master's degree at Bank Street College of Education, I began to look at doctoral programs. My scores on the GRE did not meet minimum requirements for any of the programs I was interested in, and I had no grades because Bank Street used a pass-fail system then. Further, I was clear that the doctoral work I wanted to do was to create anti-racist curriculum. So, not only did I not have grades or scores in my favor, but I was also openly preparing to challenge the current educational system. I did, however, have four aces in my pocket: first, I had gone to Bank Street and that said a lot to the schools to which I was applying. Second, I had a recommendation from one of the most esteemed child development theorists in the country. Third, I was born with class entitlement and, thus, interviewed well. Fourth and I believe most importantly, my whiteness made me more appealing and less threatening to all of the schools. I know that rules were bent on my behalf to admit me to three prestigious schools. I also know that, had I been a person of color proposing to do anti-racist work, the chances of my being accepted into two of those programs would have been slim.

Mine is a clear example that our educational system is not a meritocracy. While I had known intellectually that racism is ingrained in every American institution, this was the first time my privilege was so obvious to me. In order to be clear about the role that white privilege played, and in order to be an ally, I had to give up my belief that we live in a world in which everyone is treated fairly, much less "the same."

Facing in an on-going way the difficult reality of the intentionality of white people's treatment of people of color, both historically and currently. In order to be an ally, I must hold in my

consciousness what my racial group has done to keep us in positions of power and authority. This is not about blaming myself or feeling guilty. In fact, I think guilt is often self-serving; if I feel terribly guilty about something, I can get mired in those feelings and not take action to change the situation. Staying conscious of our behavior as a group moves me to take responsibility for making changes. It also gives me greater insight into the experiences of those with whom I align myself.

5. Allies are able to articulate how various patterns of oppression have served to keep them in privileged positions or to withhold opportunities they might otherwise have. For many of us, this means exploring and owning our dual roles as oppressor and oppressed, as uncomfortable as that might be.

What this might look like:

Seeing (as in the story above) how my whiteness opened doors to institutions that most probably would not have opened so easily otherwise.

Understanding that as white women we are given access to power and resources because of racial similarities and our relationships with white men. In fact, we often receive those privileges at the expense of men and women of color. While we certainly experience systemic discrimination as women, our skin color makes us less threatening to the group which holds systemic power.

6. Allies expect to make some mistakes but do not use that as an excuse for inaction. As a person with privilege, it is important to study and to talk about how your privilege acts as both a shield and blinders for you. Of necessity, those without privileges in a certain area know more about the specific examples of privilege than those who are privileged.

What this might look like:

Knowing that each of us, no matter how careful or conscious we are or how long we have been working on issues of social justice, is going to say or do something dumb or insensitive. It isn't possible not to hurt or offend someone at some point. Our best bet is to acknowledge to others our mistakes and learn from them.

Questioning how your perceptions might be different if you were not a member of a privileged group. For example, consider what it might be like to be the only woman of color in a group of senior decision-makers who are all white and male. Would you read situations and conversations differently than one of the white men? What things might you say or how might you make your comments? What kind of support might you want if you were Other than white and male?

Keeping a filter in your mind through which you run your thoughts or comments. Remarks such as, "If I were you..." or "I know just how you feel..." are never very helpful in opening up communication, but, in conversations in which there is an imbalance of privilege, they take on

an air of arrogance. People with privilege can never really know what it is like to be a member of the target group. While I can sympathize with those who are of color, it is not possible for me truly to understand the experience of a person with different skin color because I am never going to be treated as they are. The goal is to show someone you are listening, you care, and you understand that being white causes you to be treated differently in the world. Much more useful comments would be "Because of my white blinders I don't always notice how he or she responds to you" or "Obviously, as a white person, I have never had your experience, but I really want to know how you feel you are being treated."

7. Allies know that those on each side of an alliance hold responsibility for their own change, whether or not persons on the other side choose to respond or to thank them. They are also clear that they are doing this work for themselves, not to "take care of" the Other.

What this might look like:

Remembering that we do this work for ourselves is really hard, but it is essential. For example, in a workshop in which I was a participant, we were talking about really painful stuff, and I heard myself say, "I have supported African American women all my life. I wish they would support me now." Luckily for me, a white woman who had done a lot of work on race was present and said, "African American women don't owe you shit. You chose freely to act as their ally." I thought to myself, "Oh, yeah, I have been knowing and saying that for years, but I forgot." I was grateful that there was another white woman to put me back on track, so that no woman of color had to make the effort to remind me.

Examining continually the institutional and personal benefits of hearing a wide diversity of perspectives, articulating those benefits, and building different points of view into the work we do.

Interrupting less-than-helpful comments and pushing for an inclusive work environment. We do it because we, as well as others, will benefit. We do not step forward because we think we should or because the people of color can't speak for themselves or because we want to look good to the people of color around us. We are allies because we know that it is in our interest.

8. Allies know that, in the most empowered and genuine ally relationships, the persons with privilege initiate the change toward personal, institutional, and societal justice and equality.

What this might look like:

Assessing who is at least risk to step into a situation and initiate change, conferring with others who are at greater risk about the best strategies, and moving forward. Being an ally is something like dancing in a ballet. Our moves should be carefully designed to have the greatest impact.

Understanding that this is not another opportunity to take charge, to ride in on our white horses to fix everything. Ally relationships are just that: relationships. Together with the people who aren't privileged, we choreograph who makes which moves and when they will be made. On

many occasions, people of color have looked at me and said, "You help her understand what's going on. She's your white sister." They implied that it is not their job to educate white women and that, because of my privilege, I am less likely to suffer from speaking straightforwardly than they would.

9. Allies promote a sense of inclusiveness and justice in the organization, helping to create an environment that is hospitable for all.

What this might look like:

Recognizing the expectation that people of color will address racism, women will take care of sexism, and gay men and lesbians will "fix" heterosexism in the organization and, in their stead, becoming the point person for organizational change on these issues.

Clues that this assumption is operating: the Diversity Committee is composed predominantly of people of color and white women, while those with greater positional and informal decision-making power are on the "important" committees; the senior manager reroutes all announcements of "diversity" conferences to a person of color with an attached note that says, "Thought you might be interested," implying that addressing issues of diversity is not his or her concern; men joking on the way to a sexual harassment seminar that they don't know why they have to go since they "already know how to harass;" the majority of people pushing for domestic partner benefits are gay or lesbian.

Paying attention to the days and times meetings are scheduled so that no one group bears the brunt of exclusion. For example, being sure that meetings are not regularly scheduled on Saturdays or other Jewish holidays, or before or after the regular work day so that parents have difficulty with childcare.

10. Allies with privilege are responsible for sharing the lead with people of color in changing the organization and hold greater responsibility for seeing changes through to their conclusion. Sharing the lead is very different from taking the lead. When we take the lead we get to keep ourselves central and see ourselves as riding in to fix everything. Sharing the lead requires that we are in alignment and partnership with people who are working toward the greater good of all of us.

What this might look like:

Working to build a strategic diversity plan for the organization, tying it to the organization's business plan, and assuring that the plan is implemented.

Securing funding for scholarships so that an economically and racially diverse student population is guaranteed.

Assessing current policies and procedures in the organization and changing them so that they don't differentially impact groups of people.

Intentionally using our access to power, resources, and influence to push those who are in positions to be able to bring about change.

11. Allies are able to laugh at themselves as they make mistakes and at the real, but absurd, systems of supremacy in which we all live. As many oppressed people know, humor is a method of survival. Those with privilege must be very careful not to assume that we can join in the humor of those in a target group with whom we are in alliance.

What this might look like:

Appreciating that there are times when laughing together is the only thing we can do short of throwing ourselves off a bridge. As Cornel West, an African American scholar, asked, "What could be more Theater of the Absurd than being Black in America?"

Paying attention to the boundaries of who-can-say-what-to-whom: While it may be OK for a person of color to call me his "white sister," it would be presumptuous for me to call him my "Latino brother." In some communities, African Americans call white men "white boys" to lessen the feeling of white men's power. It would be very insensitive, on the other hand, for a white male ally to call African American men "Black boys." This is because of the history of that phrase and the indication that a person with privilege is ignoring the impact of race and believes that we are really all the same under the skin.

12. Allies understand that emotional safety is not a realistic expectation if we take our alliance seriously. For those with privilege, the goal is to "become comfortable with the uncomfortable and uncomfortable with the too-comfortable" and to act to alter the too-comfortable.

What this might look like:

Being alert to our desire to create a "safe" environment for an interracial conversation. My experience is that when white people ask for safety they mean they don't want to be held accountable for what they say, they want to be able to make mistakes and not have people of color take them personally, and they don't want to be yelled at by people of color. Those of us who are white are almost always safer, freer from institutional retribution, than people of color. That knowledge should help us remain in uncomfortable situations as we work for change.

Identifying committees, decision-making teams, and departments that are "too white" and working to bring a critical mass of people of color and white allies into the group. We do this not because it will look good but because the current composition is less able to make wise decisions due to its narrow vision. While discomfort is certain to follow, the benefits of inclusiveness far outweigh the discomfort.

13. Allies know the consequences of not being clear about the Other's experience. Some of these are:

- lack of trust

- lack of authentic relationships
 - lack of foundation for coalition
14. For allies with privilege, the consequences of being unclear are even greater. Because our behaviors are rooted in privilege, those who are in our group give greater credence to our actions than they might if we were members of groups without privilege. Part of our task is to be models and educators for those like us.

What this might look like:

Understanding that because we don't see a colleague of color being mistreated doesn't mean that daily race-related experiences aren't occurring. I often hear white people make comments such as, "Well, my friend is Black but he's beyond all this race stuff. He is never treated poorly." Or, "I'm sure she doesn't have any problems with white people. You'd hardly know she's Hispanic." Or, "He is Black, but he's really like a white Black person. He is treated better than I am."

Comments such as these alert a person of color to the fact that we don't have those experiences, we can't imagine other people having them, and therefore put little credence in the stories that people of color share. If we are to be genuine allies to people of color, we must constantly observe the subtleties and nuances of other white people's comments and behaviors just as we observe our own. And we must take the risk of asking, "What if I am wrong about how I think people of color are being treated in my institution? What can I do to seek out the reality of their experiences? How will I feel if I discover that people I know, love, and trust are among the worst offenders? And what will I do?"

Reminding a colleague who says, "She's always whining about race. This is not about race," that as white people we simply can't know what it is like to be of color. We will never be treated as if we were. While not everything is about race, there is always the possibility that it is an element in any situation. To deny that reality signals people of color and other white people that we can't be trusted as allies or as members of a coalition.

DR. SEUSS' RACIST PAST ISN'T THE PROBLEM - YOUR REFUSAL TO HAVE HARD CONVERSATIONS IS



Read Across America is upon us, which is strategically scheduled on Dr. Seuss birthday. It's also the time of year when woke white folks around the country decide that protesting Dr. Seuss is their social justice project for the year. They post about why they're trashing their Dr. Seuss collection because don't you know he was a racist asshole?

To which, I inevitably respond, "what white person isn't racist?" No, seriously, all y'all are racist and choosing to throw away his books doesn't make you any less racist. It does, however, make you the type of person who insists on talking about racism in hushed tones.

I want to acknowledge that part of the reason I'm writing this post is because I get asked about my thoughts on Seuss often around this time of year. Sesame is a huge fan of his books and even requested a Dr. Seuss themed party when he turned five years old. His books are special in our family but they also will help us discuss restorative justice as he gets older.

Now before I go any further, let me just say that yes, Dr. Seuss most certainly drew racist caricatures of Black and Asian people. He dressed in Blackface, as many white folks did during that time period. He also grew up and is, in my opinion, a lesson of what happens when you realize you were wrong and work to do better. Seuss arguably spent the rest of his career writing children's books that teach about the importance of inclusion and acceptance of others and yourself.

- ***Horton Hears a Who*** is a metaphor for the biggest amongst us speaking for the smallest.
- ***The Lorax*** asks us to consider the generations who will come after us in regards to environmental justice.
- ***The Sneetches*** is a clear stance against the oppression of Jews in Germany.

Trashing your collection of Seuss books is easier than doing the real work. It's easier to erase the books from your children's bookshelves than to sit them down and talk about Seuss' past. Instead of asking the library to remove Seuss Day, ask them to spend some time talking about the mistakes that Dr. Seuss made at the beginning of his career.

Justice is not always about canceling someone and their body of work. Sometimes it looks like providing room for restorative justice to take place. In my opinion, Dr. Seuss using the remainder of his career to focus on writing books full of important lessons is an example of restorative justice. While I wish that we had a public apology from him on the record, I also understand that the time he lived in didn't really require those statements from people who weren't politicians or in similar positions of authority.

How will our children learn from our past, if we continue to whitewash it in an effort to seem perfect?

http://mamademics.com/drseuss-racist-past-hard-conversations/?fbclid=IwAR2hHPSRGb7wAoPZj8nd8Ygn4oTxF4b_mbSTTOJIOJtDGp1GC-VvuFmAV0



Structural Racialization

**A Systems Approach to
Understanding the Causes
and Consequences of
Racial Inequity**



Racial inequity can persist even without racist intent

The word “racism” is commonly understood to refer to instances in which one individual intentionally or unintentionally targets others for negative treatment because of their skin color or other group-based physical characteristics. Research conducted by the Kirwan Institute strongly suggests that this individual-centered view of racism is too limited.

If we look at our society as a complex system of organizations, institutions, individuals, processes, and policies, we can see how many factors interact to create and perpetuate social/economic/political arrangements that are harmful to people of color and to our society as a whole. Housing, education, and health care are just a few examples of how material and symbolic advantages and disadvantages are still often distributed along racial lines.

For example, think about our suburbs. The federal government accelerated migration to the suburbs by subsidizing home mortgages through the National Housing Act of 1934. But through the 1950s, the Federal Housing Administration’s (FHA) underwriting manuals expressly

warned that Blacks were considered “adverse influences” on property values. The agency instructed its personnel not to insure mortgages on homes unless they were in “racially homogenous” White neighborhoods. Under these guidelines, the FHA actually refused to lend money to—or underwrite loans for—Whites if they moved to areas where people of color lived. Private lenders adopted similar policies, and this system became part of the “free market.”

The U.S. property appraisal system created in the 1930s tied property value and eligibility for government loans to race. Thus, all-White neighborhoods received the government’s highest property value ratings, and White people were eligible for government loans. The outcome of these arrangements is that the suburbs became a haven for White families and Black families were excluded. Today, we think of the suburbs as rich in opportunity, while racially segregated central-cities are dangerously lacking in opportunity.

A structural view of racism enables us to see the connections between seemingly independent opportunity structures

Certain “opportunity structures” lead to stability and personal advancement in our society. These opportunity structures include high-performing schools, affordable housing, sustainable employment, safety from crime, environmentally safe neighborhoods, home equity and wealth, access to affordable health care, and others. Together, these structures form a system—a “web of opportunity”—and a person’s location within this web significantly influences that individual’s chances for happiness and success in life.

If a person is confronted with barriers to success in one opportunity structure—high quality K-12 education, for example—it is likely that the person will be confronted with barriers in other opportunity structures. Some researchers and scholars refer to these relationships between structures as “cumulative causation” or “cumulative disadvantage,” as elements within the “system” impact one another. For instance, a home in the

suburbs is typically associated with good, high-performing schools; high-performing schools are associated with increased access to college; increased access to higher education is associated with the ability to buy a home in the suburbs. So, over time, opportunities accumulate for an individual because of where they live. In light of the demographics of American suburbs, the person in this scenario is most likely White.

If we flip this picture, we see that living in a highly segregated and isolated inner-city neighborhood is associated with poor-performing schools; poor performing schools are associated with high drop-out rates; high drop-out rates are associated with low-paying jobs; and low-paying jobs are associated with living in segregated inner-city neighborhoods. These disadvantages accumulate over time. In light of the demographics of racial segregation in U.S. metropolitan areas, the people impacted by this story are most likely Black or Latino.

Eliminating barriers to opportunity takes a systems approach



Consider disparities in health between White and Black Americans. These differences are well documented. African Americans have a lower life expectancy, higher levels of hypertension, obesity, and diabetes, higher rates of premature births, and the list goes on. Approaching solutions to these health disparities without a systems perspective is problematic. A systems analysis tells us that the health of any individual at any

point in time is a reflection of where that individual resides, not only in the literal sense—suburbs, segregated inner-city, rural areas—but where the individual resides in the complex web of opportunity. With a systems approach to these problems, we understand that an individual’s health is directly linked to his or her diet; that diet is directly linked to an individual’s educational attainment; and that educational attainment is directly linked to where one resides. Researchers call these multiple factors the “social determinants of health.” So, for example, attempts to eliminate racial disparities in health without eliminating disparities in education and housing cannot be completely successful.

At the Kirwan Institute, we use a structural/ systems approach to investigate the causes and consequences of racial hierarchy and disparity and to develop policy solutions. In the area of housing, for example, we support the implementation of an “opportunity-based” housing model that calls for more affordable housing in opportunity-rich areas and for a redistribution of opportunity in all critical life domains throughout metropolitan regions.

The Kirwan Institute
works to **create** a just
and inclusive society where all people
and communities have
opportunity
to succeed.



KIRWAN INSTITUTE
for the Study of Race and Ethnicity

33 W. 11th Avenue
Columbus, OH 43210
(614) 688-5429

Sharon Davies, Executive Director
Jason Reece, Research Director
Christy Rogers, Outreach Director

Working » September 2, 2016

Why Labor and the Movement for Racial Justice Should Work Together

BY [Maurice Weeks and Marilyn Sneiderman](#)

The Movement for Black Lives (M4BL) has made tremendous strides in exposing and challenging racial injustice, and has won real policy victories. The policies, while often imperfect, are a testament to the strength of the organizing and activism of the moment. Not coincidentally, this uprising comes at a time when income and wealth inequality are at peak levels and the economy for most black people looks markedly different than the economy for their white counterparts.

Just as we are in a critical moment in the movement for racial justice, we are in a critical moment for the right to unionize. Unions, which have been a major force for economic justice for people of color in the past 50 years, have been decimated to historically low levels.

Labor should work alongside the Movement for Black Lives, a coalition with more than 50 organizations, to usher in a radically new economic and social order. The path won't be easy. But recent history has shown that one of the ways to get at this new reality is through union bargaining. Consider the example of Fix L.A.

Fix L.A. is a community-labor partnership that fought to fund city services and jobs alike, using city workers' bargaining as a flashpoint to bring common good demands to the table. The coalition started after government leaders in Los Angeles drastically cut back on public services and infrastructure maintenance during the Great Recession. The city slashed nearly 5,000 jobs, a large portion of which had been held by black and Latino workers. Not only did these cuts create infrastructure problems—like overgrown and dangerous trees and flooding—but they also cost thousands of black and Latino families their livelihoods.

Fix L.A. asked why the city was spending more on bank fees than on street services, and demanded that it renegotiate those fees and invest the savings in underserved communities.

What was the result of this groundbreaking campaign?

The creation of 5,000 jobs, with a commitment to increase access to those jobs for black and Latino workers, the defeat of proposed concessions for city workers and a commitment from the city to review why it was prioritizing payment of bank fees over funding for critical services in the first place!

Bargaining for the common good

Fix L.A. may seem novel, but the context is no different from many places. We have seen massive disinvestment from public services in a way that disproportionately affects black people. This structurally-racist disinvestment is often driven by the corporate interests that bankroll elected officials' campaigns and by Wall Street actors that use their influence over

public finance to push an austerity agenda. Everywhere you look, public officials are making the choice between paying fees and providing critical services.

Chicago Public Schools paid \$502 million to banks in toxic swap fees at the same time that it was slashing special education programs and laying off teachers to close a budget deficit. Detroit raised its water rates and paid \$537 million in Wall Street penalties, setting the stage for mass water shutoffs when tens of thousands of poor residents of the overwhelmingly black city could not afford the higher water bills.

Wall Street and other corporations don't hesitate to profit off of and perpetuate disinvestment in communities of color, and too often we forget to look up the food chain to see that at the other end of community crises there are rich bankers and billionaires lining their pockets. Campaigns, like Fix L.A., that involve direct actions targeting banks, hedge funds, corporations and billionaires are effective.

This sort of organizing can be hard. In order to isolate workers from their broader communities, the other side has done a terrific job of narrowly defining the scope of bargaining as wages and benefits. In many states, labor laws prohibit public sector workers from bargaining over issues that concern the welfare of the broader community or the quality of the services they provide.

The theory of "bargaining for the common good" seeks to challenge this status quo. As articulated by Joseph McCartin of Georgetown University's Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor, bargaining for the common good has three main tenets: 1) transcending the bargaining frameworks written in law and rejecting them as tools for the corporate elite to remain in power; 2) crafting demands between local community groups and unions at the same time and in close coordination with each other from the very beginning; and 3) embracing collective direct action as key to the success of organizing campaigns.

These may seem like simple ideas, but they stand in complete opposition to the way the power elite expects union bargaining to be done. Therein lies their power.

Therein also lies the opportunity for unions to partner with the Movement for Black Lives. For all of their complicated racial histories, unions are some of the largest organizations of black people in the country. About 2.2 million black Americans are union members—some 14 percent of the employed black workforce.

That's a huge number of black people who are already members of organizations with the capacity to organize and mobilize. And these black workers, like all black people in America, face real challenges of structural economic racism in almost all aspects of their lives. Their communities have been underfunded; their schools are being dismantled; they face massive poverty and are under economic assault; and they regularly encounter police violence.

Stronger together

Widening the scope of bargaining in Los Angeles led to real wins for the city's black and Latino communities. The rest of the labor movement should take note. Imagine the power that could be added to the Movement for Black Lives if unions, recognizing the trauma that systematic racism wreaks on their membership, brought solutions that have been elevated by the Movement for Black Lives to the bargaining table in negotiations with employers ranging from the City of Baltimore to private equity giant Blackstone.

But unions cannot do this unilaterally and expect unconditional support from the black community.

Unions must make the effort on the front end to build a real relationship with Movement for Black Lives groups and members, and partner with them in developing common good bargaining demands that start to go on the offense against Wall Street and the structurally-

racist economic power structure. There are groups of people organizing for racial justice under the banner of the Movement for Black Lives near every union local in the country. The onus is on labor leaders and rank-and-file union members to reach out to those groups and start to build a strong relationship where one does not exist. This process will not be easy, especially because of the history of racism that plagues unions, especially police unions. But the truth remains that there is a real opportunity to leverage the power of both movements to win real gains for black people and other people of color through a strong partnership.

It is exciting to imagine potential bargaining demands major unions could undertake alongside racial justice organizations. For example, they could demand that their employers make a commitment to job training programs to strengthen the pipeline for black workers; city and state workers could demand progressive taxation measures that raise funds from corporate actors to fund schools and services in black communities; teachers could demand school districts enact restorative justice policies to stem the school-to-prison pipeline; hospital workers could bargain for targeted health care access programs in communities of color; retail workers could demand that their employers “ban the box” and let the formerly incarcerated work. The list is almost infinite.

Bargaining for racial justice is a radical idea and will not be easily won. It will require concerted direct action targeting the real decision makers in both the public and private sectors that have a vested interest in keeping racial inequities in place. The Movement for Black Lives has proven that it can execute effective and creative direct actions backed by solid demands. They are also innovating creative tactics that move beyond traditional marches and picket lines to new types of disruptive actions that make power holders directly confront those they are harming. By combining the vision and militant tactics of the Movement for Black Lives with the membership and resources of the labor movement, we can usher in a more just and equitable society.

ABOUT THIS AUTHOR

Maurice Weeks is the campaign coordinator for Wall Street accountability at the Center for Popular Democracy. Marilyn Sneiderman is the director of the Center for Innovation in Worker Organization at Rutgers University.

[More information about Maurice Weeks and Marilyn Sneiderman](#)

<http://www.labornotes.org/blogs/2017/08/wake-charlottesville-how-can-unions-fight-racial-justice>

In Wake of Charlottesville, How Can Unions Fight for Racial Justice?

August 18, 2017 / Labor Notes



How should unions respond to the chilling events in Charlottesville? As believers that “an injury to one is an injury to all,” what’s our special responsibility? Can we survive if our own unions are split along racial lines?

Labor Notes looked

through our recent coverage to find examples of unions that are proactively working for racial justice. The excerpts below show steps some locals are taking to help members learn from each other and fight discrimination right on the job. Many began after the recent wave of police shootings of unarmed Black men.

At the end see links to stories about unions allying with racial justice groups in the community, too. If you have more examples you’d like to share with us, send them to dan@labornotes.org.

TWIN CITIES UNIONS RESPOND TO POLICE VIOLENCE

by Alexandra Bradbury and Samantha Winslow, July 21, 2016

Philando Castile, an African American man who was shot and killed by a police officer at a traffic stop July 6, 2016, was a member of Teamsters Local 320 in the Twin Cities.

The union issued a brief statement expressing grief over his death. It’s a public employees local, representing a handful of police officers—though not the one who killed Castile—as well as corrections officers, campus workers, city workers, bus drivers, and even public defenders, who often find themselves opposing police in court.

The local hasn’t tried to engage members in protest, or even conversation, about racism or police violence. “Our union has traditionally not encouraged member dialogue on any

issues—especially issues as complicated as the relationship between police officer union members and other union members,” said member Bob Kolstad.

“The two groups are very isolated from each other. Local officers are very defensive about criticism of any police officer, even those who are not members. So creating an environment for dialogue on the issue of police misconduct would be very difficult.”

But other Twin Cities unions have been bolder. The two Twin Cities [teachers unions led a march](#) to protest Castile's killing; 21 were arrested.

Castile's death hit close to home for St. Paul educators; he had worked for 14 years in a school cafeteria.

Minneapolis teacher Corinth Matera said she wanted to show students that their teachers recognize what's happening to them outside of school. “Our students experience the same thing every day,” Matera said. “It's important for our union to be out in front on this.”

St. Paul Federation of Teachers Vice President Nick Faber said, “We can't just do zero-tolerance” for student discipline. Faber drew parallels between policing and the harsh discipline that students of color disproportionately face at school. Education activists point to a “school-to-prison pipeline.”

In its latest contract, the teachers union won funding to pilot an alternative approach to discipline. “We are talking about public safety being beyond our classrooms and into the community,” Faber said.

In 2015, members of AFSCME Local 3800 helped organize a rally, “Labor for Justice for Jamar,” after Minneapolis police shot and killed another African American man, Jamar Clark.

Local 3800 represents clerical and technical workers at the University of Minnesota. President Cherrene Horazuk said many members there, too, had personal connections to Castile. Since his death the local has been encouraging members to attend protests and vigils—and to wear their union shirts, to show that this is a union issue.

Horazuk said few members have opposed their local taking a stand. She believes one reason is that, in its contract campaign, the union was already raising racial justice issues, such as the low wages of workers of color on campus, and Muslim workers' fight to get religious holidays off.

So, she said, “it doesn't seem like it's out of the blue.”

HOW TO START TALKING ABOUT RACE IN YOUR UNION

by Alexandra Bradbury, September 23, 2015

[Tensions over whether unions should join](#), oppose, or sit out the Black Lives Matter movement are drawing long-overdue attention to the simmering racial divides inside labor. It's an issue where union members are far from united. In New York, the teachers union supported a march to protest the killing of Eric Garner in Staten Island. In response, some members started a petition calling for the union president to resign.

Some of the objecting teachers had police officers in their families. Others didn't see why their union should mobilize on something unrelated to schools. "[President] Mulgrew is dragging me unwillingly into the current racial and police issues," wrote paraprofessional Diane Morton-Gattullo.

In a logical first step to address these tensions, several unions are launching programs to get members talking to each other—and more important, listening to each other—about race.

One is AFSCME 3299, which represents 22,000 campus and hospital workers in the University of California system.

Executive board member Luster Howard, a truck driver, is active in the union's Racial Justice Working Group, formed in 2014.

Ultimately he hopes the group will help the union contribute to a social movement for racial justice—and tackle on-the-job discrimination, too.

But as a first step, he says, the group quickly realized "before we could mobilize, we had to clean up our own house."

Tips for Useful Conversations

- **Get people talking.** Howard says what made his workshop effective was people were interacting with each other, not listening to a lecture.
- **Ask about feelings first.** In one workshop people reacted to a film, and in the other they reacted to events in the news. Pitts and Howard asked people to start with their emotions, then talk about the values behind them.
- **Make it personal.** When the topic is abstract, people withdraw to their corners. But hearing firsthand stories can break down barriers.
- **Tell your own stories.** In the workshop, Howard described how, five times in six months, he got pulled over during his morning commute without doing anything wrong, just for being a Black man driving through an affluent neighborhood. "People were like 'Ooooh.' They're starting to get it," he said.
- **Draw connections.** "Do you drive?" Howard asked me, and then told the story of how Sandra Bland was pulled over for a minor traffic violation and it escalated into her suicide. "That's something, as a female driver, that you could understand. You build bridges, you find common ground, you try to make it closer to home."

In another workshop, Pitts drew the analogy between African Americans who migrated out of the Jim Crow South and Mexican immigrants who cross the Rio Grande today. “The whole point was, we used to be them,” Howard said. “They’re not taking your job—they’re trying to feed their families just like you are.”

A STARTING PLACE

In fact, when the racial justice group formed, the first response from some union members was, “Why are we doing this?” Howard says.

“It’s funny: a lot of people are uncomfortable speaking about racism. Even at the mention of Black Lives Matter, you see them recoil.”

Some countered that “all lives matter.” “Well, all lives do matter,” Howard says. “If you’re doing a breast cancer walk, that’s not to say that your uncle’s throat cancer doesn’t matter. But this is a breast cancer walk.

“Maybe I’m wrong,” he adds wryly, “but I thought in a union, what affects one person affects us all.”

So the group’s first action was to invite Dr. Steven Pitts, a UC Berkeley labor professor who focuses on issues affecting Black workers, to lead the executive board in a workshop on “Making Our Union Stronger: What Does Black Lives Matter Activism Mean to Us?”

Pitts showed the film “At the River I Stand,” which shows Dr. Martin Luther King’s last battle alongside striking Black sanitation workers in Memphis.

It’s an affecting film; tears were shed. Pitts opened the conversation by asking how it made everyone feel. People talked about prejudices.

It was a starting place, not an endpoint. Howard says he looked around and noticed many people weren’t participating. But in the months since, they’ve started to come around.

GETTING PERSONAL

The next step was a Black Lives Matter workshop at the local’s July 2015 conference for member activists. Howard and Pitts worked together to plan a curriculum that would encourage people to open up and share personal stories.

The workshop drew a diverse crowd of 50-60, standing room only. To begin the conversation, Howard asked people to respond to events in the news, the shootings in Charleston, Ferguson, Oakland, and Texas.

Participants broke into groups of five or six to discuss three questions:

1. How did you feel when you heard of that event?
2. What part of your moral compass did it trigger?
3. What personal experiences shaped that part of your moral compass?

“That’s how you start to get people to open up and talk about their feelings,” Howard says. “When you bring up the topic, people automatically go to their sides.... The bottom line, it’s divide and conquer.”

Members of the Racial Justice Working Group walked around among the groups to listen and answer questions. Though he’s been in the union for 15 years, Howard says, “I learned a lot about people who I thought I knew.”

One woman described how her sister in Florida had suffered a beating so severe she was hospitalized, and only her mother had stopped her from going out to seek violent revenge.

Another man told how he called police to his house, but when they arrived, they beat him up and arrested him, putting him into the hospital and then in jail.

“You could have heard a pin drop in the room,” Howard said. “That was my whole point. You see this person. This isn’t somebody on the news.... It’s not just the Michael Browns, the Freddie Grays, the Oscar Grants, or the Trayvon Martins.

“It’s happening in your backyard. It’s a little different when it’s your brother or sister.”

TAKE IT ON THE ROAD

Next, workshop participants role-played how to get these conversations going back at their own workplaces.

“When you have your union meeting, your local campus meeting, you could start there,” Howard says. Another way is talking one-on-one with co-workers, as he’s been doing with his fellow truck drivers.

“When you spend that much time with a guy or girl in a truck, you do have time to talk,” he said. “So rather than talk about how the Warriors are doing, you talk about this.”

The immediate goal was for people to go back to their campuses and get five people to tell their own stories.

BARGAINING FOR RACIAL JUSTICE

by Luster Howard, Maricruz Manzanarez, and Seth Newton Patel, March 15, 2017

Employers often use race to divide workers against one another. At University of California campuses and hospitals, we're seeing the problem get worse now that President Trump's administration is unleashing new waves of racism and attacks on immigrants.

Our union, AFSCME 3299, represents 24,000 patient care and service workers. About half of us are Latinos, and a supermajority are people of color. Our co-workers report that they're frequently attacked based on their race or nationality.

One manager, for instance, calls Latino workers "slaves." Another told a worker, "If you don't like it here, go back where you came from." Workers recently overheard a supervisor characterize all African American custodians as performing poorly; another supervisor responded, "Give me the Black people, I can straighten them out." In January one of the authors of this piece, targeted as a Latina immigrant, received a death threat on social media.

Workers of color go through countless individual experiences of discrimination like these. Co-workers may accept negative stereotypes, too. Even union activists can play into it, as when an activist insists that members from a particular race or nationality fail to participate in the union. Such divisions end up weakening us all, when winning strong contracts depends on our unity.

Beyond individual experiences of discrimination, we're concerned about systematic threats to members' well-being—especially with the president's new attacks against immigrants and Muslims. In 2009, UC police went beyond what the law required them to do, collaborating with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to detain, deny union representation to, and deport one of our co-workers.

And our members have observed the number of African American workers decreasing over the years, even while UC is growing.

This spring [2017] our union is going into bargaining again. Here are a few steps we've taken to set our bargaining tables to advance racial justice:

OPEN UP CONVERSATIONS

As described above, in 2014 we formed a Racial Justice Working Group. What moved leaders was hearing their fellow members share, "This is how my sister was beat up by cops without cause," or "This is how many times I get stopped in this rich neighborhood on my way to work," or "Here are the scars on my body from the bullets fired by cops."

These stories really changed the tenor of the discussion inside our union. It was no longer, "Why are we talking about this issue?"

So we structured our workshops to center on these stories—but also to include brainstorming for action. Members facilitated workshops across the local, beginning with the executive board itself, then at our annual Member Action Team conference, then on local campuses.

Meanwhile we reconvened an Immigration Committee that's been active on and off for over a decade. The two committees have begun to work together on new local-wide workshops and to demand sanctuary campuses, asking the university to refuse to collaborate with ICE to target undocumented immigrants.

Swinging into Action

Besides member education, our union has been building community ties by participating in labor contingents at marches and joining coalition campaigns for racial justice.

Alongside other unions and community groups we helped push the Alameda County district attorney to drop charges against 14 leaders in the Black Lives Matter movement, after they stopped a Bay Area Rapid Transit train in a Black Friday protest. This district attorney had been backed by labor—but we joined leaders from many unions to sit in at her office. Weeks later, the charges were dropped.

Another campaign is in Richmond, California, where UC Berkeley plans to develop a new campus. We helped form the labor-community coalition Raise Up Richmond to fight for a community benefits agreement, where a developer makes specific commitments before getting permission to build.

We're asking UC Berkeley to commit to hire and train disadvantaged local residents, which would create jobs for many low-income African Americans and other people of color who live near the site. We're also asking for a "fair-chance" policy to ensure that no applicant is denied a job simply because of a prior criminal conviction.

Since Trump's election, members have joined local coalitions for sanctuary campuses. Our union worked with the Students Association and other campus unions to draft expansive sanctuary demands, asking the UC president, chancellors, and CEOs to take steps not only to protect immigrant workers and students but also to prevent police violence and sexual violence on campus and not to cooperate with any Muslim registry. To back these demands we have so far held a dozen delegations simultaneously at all our campuses and hospitals.

We've also joined with other Bay Area unions, worker centers, and community organizations in a rapid-response network called Bay Resistance. This network has already generated big turnout for protests against the president's anti-immigrant executive order, Cabinet nominees, and ICE raids. Locally it's a way for our union to get more members plugged in.

SEEK OUT EXAMPLES

As we prepared to introduce racial justice demands into our bargaining, the three of us set out to learn from other California unions' efforts. We interviewed folks at UNITE HERE Local 2, at AFSCME Council 36, and at Jobs with Justice.

Local 2 has seen a steady erosion of jobs for African Americans in its hotels, while gentrification is forcing African American workers out of the community. To begin to address this crisis, a decade ago the union won language to increase hiring of African American workers in San Francisco hotels. More recently, the local has helped create a

nonprofit called Equality and Inclusion in Hospitality, Inc., that recruits, trains, and places workers of color from ballparks into higher-paid hotel jobs.

Meanwhile in Los Angeles, a coalition of unions in 2014 won a contract requiring the city to hire 5,000 new workers and target these job opportunities to underrepresented communities, often communities of color.

Community organizations got involved in formulating the campaign demands, which included pushing the city to raise money for city services by renegotiating investment-banking fees and reducing tax-dodging in commercial real estate. L.A. eventually agreed to create a commission to find ways to increase revenue.

A third inspiration was the agreement won by an alliance including Jobs with Justice San Francisco, the National Union of Healthcare Workers, and the California Nurses. They forced Sutter Health, as a condition of getting city approval to build a new hospital, to agree to hire at least 40 percent of its entry-level employees through a local community workforce program.

In each case, community and civil rights groups provided crucial leadership, pushing the unions to make racial justice a priority.

MAKE DEMANDS

Our joint bargaining team for the two contracts is made up of 21 hospital and campus workers. We surveyed members for three months and met several times as a team to draft and finalize our proposals.

In February 2017 we were ready to present our demands. At every UC hospital and campus, delegations of 10-100 members showed up unannounced to present our opening proposals to the local CEOs and chancellors.

Besides ending outsourcing, improving job security, protecting benefits, and increasing wages, we're proposing to create local-hire and training programs for disadvantaged workers and to ensure that UC follows "fair-chance" hiring procedures.

We're also proposing to expand our existing immigrant rights language. In a past contract campaign we won nondiscrimination provisions that restrict UC's ability to use government-initiated immigration-document reverification against members. Now we're demanding that UC make stronger commitments not to collaborate with immigration enforcement.

Our table is set. Next we wage an escalating campaign, driven by the hundreds of union activists across the state who participate in our Member Action Teams. Each MAT leader checks in regularly with a group of co-workers to involve them in actions, and the MATs meet together regularly to plan and debrief recruitment efforts.

When we talk to co-workers about the racial justice demands, we're connecting them to a bigger picture—the new threats to our communities and national right-wing efforts to divide and destroy our labor movement.

We're also talking to other unions and other organizations resisting the Trump administration to share examples of what we're trying to do. It's difficult for any single union to win and defend racial justice provisions alone. To establish pattern standards on these issues will take many unions pursuing the same demands.

Luster Howard, a truck driver at the Lawrence Berkley National Laboratory, and Maricruz Manzanarez, a senior custodian at UC Berkeley, are members of the AFSCME 3299 bargaining team. Seth Patel is the local's lead negotiator.

UNIONS ALLYING WITH COMMUNITY RACIAL JUSTICE FIGHTS

For examples of unions allying with racial justice fights in their communities, see:

[Chicago Teachers and Black Lives Matter Activists Partner to Build a Bigger Movement](#)

[Future Fighters Go to the Mat for Black Lives](#) (Young members of Service Employees Healthcare Illinois-Indiana are working both inside the union and in their communities.)

Scaffolded Resources for White Ally Groups

Linked from: <https://projects.iq.harvard.edu/antiracismresources/antiracism>

Located at:

https://docs.google.com/document/d/1PrAq4iBNb4nVlcTsLcNIW8zjaQXBLkWayL8EaPlh0bc/preview?fbclid=IwAR1jNSD_e9FftmbVTibt75cB0Rr_nvFpsitLGMp2IREux6WlczKV500X3IHg&pru=AAABcp6aoew*glcrg1J8mnVGpEPF6vgIfw

This is a working document for scaffolding anti-racism resources. The goal is to facilitate growth for white folks to become allies, and eventually accomplices for anti-racist work. These resources have been ordered in an attempt to make them more accessible. We will continue to add resources. UPDATED 06/12/20

Rain

Looking for immediate action steps? Click here: [Resources for Accountability and Actions for Black Lives](#)

Please note: if you wish to compensate us for this work, please donate to one of the following organizations: [Unicorn Riot](#) or [The Okra Project](#), or [Project Motherpath](#). * After you're done, send us a screenshot of the receipt if you'd like - scaffoldedantiracismresources@gmail.com

Documents containing resources used in this list:

[Anti-racism Resources for White People](#) (Sarah Sophie Flicker, Alyssa Klein - May 2020)

[Summary of the Stages of Identity Development](#) -- this document includes white identity development models, as well as models for people of color

[A Race Is a Nice Thing to Have](#) - provides the framework for white identity development (Janet E. Helms)

A link to this document was shared on June 11, 2020 and was attached to the image below. This image was not created by the authors of this scaffolded document and the creators of the image were not cited. This image can be found in the reintegration section of this document. An earlier partial attribution has been updated to include the necessary citation additions, which are listed here: [Safehouse Progressive Alliance for Nonviolence](#) (2005). Adapted: [Ellen Tuzzolo](#) (2016); [Mary Julia Cooksey Cordero](#) (2019); [The Conscious Kid](#) (2020)



Stage of white identity development (Helms) and their corresponding beliefs/thoughts/actions	Resources *When purchasing books, please purchase directly from authors or local bookstores.	What to do next?
CONTACT "I don't see color." "Talking about race brings disunity." - Belief that racism is caused by talking about race. - Belief that you aren't racist if you don't purposely or consciously act in racist ways.	Activities: White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack (Peggy McIntosh) Podcasts: Whistling Vivaldi (NPR) Videos: "I'm Still Here," by Austin Channing Brown (Art of the Sermon) "White Awake" by Daniel Hill (FSP Chicago) Articles: "Walking While Black" (Garnette Cadogan) Books:	Educating yourself is important -- utilize resources about racial inequality and biases. Reject the desire to ask Black folks, Indigineous folks or people of color (BIPOC) to explain racism for you. Instead, find resources created by BIPOC to help educate yourself, or offer to financially

How folks move from this stage: by being confronted with active racism or real-world experiences that highlight their whiteness.	1. Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria (Beverly Tatum) 2. I'm Still Here (Austin Channing Brown) 3. Whistling Vivaldi (Claude Steel) 4. White Awake (Daniel Hill)	compensate BIPOC folks who are educating you!
DISINTEGRATION • “I feel bad for being white.” • May feel like you’re stuck. How folks move from this stage: by participating in anti-racist work. *Big caution for this stage: be aware that sitting in guilt or shame might move us to the <i>reintegration</i> stage.	Activities: 1. Racial Bias Test (Harvard) -- this will help you understand what your biases might be Videos: 1. "Why Are White People So Bad at Talking About Race?" - short video summarizing the book by Robin DiAngelo	Do not let guilt (<i>white guilt</i>) or shame stop you from doing anti-racist work. Find a way to do the work of anti-racism. Some examples might include attending a training, joining an allies group, participating in a protest. Keep working to grow, instead of settling into shame, and ask folks how you can grow.
REINTEGRATION • “It’s not my fault I’m white.” • “I have a black friend/child/relative, etc.” • May notice yourself feeling defensive when talking about race. How do folks move past this stage? By combating these feelings of defensiveness, shame or superiority.	Activities: 1. Look over the graph below and reflect on your past, current thoughts/beliefs, and implications of these convictions.  [image source: Safehouse Progressive Alliance for Nonviolence (2005). Adapted: Ellen Tuzzolo (2016); Mary Julia Cooksey Cordero (@jewelspewels) (2019); The Conscious Kid (2020)] Podcasts: 1. "Side Effects of White Women" (Small Doses with Amanda Seales)	Remember that moving forward is important. <i>It might be helpful to revisit some of the previous resources</i> to help remind you of why this work is important. Continue to find a way to participate. Some examples might include attending a training, joining an allies group, participating in a protest. Keep working to grow, instead of settling into shame.

	2. "Well Meaning White People" (Smartest Person in the Room) <i>Articles:</i> 3. "The Uses of Anger: Women Responding to Racism" (Audre Lorde) 4. "When Feminism is White Supremacy in Heels" (Rachel Elizabeth Cargle) <i>Books:</i> 1. Me and White Supremacy by Layla F Saad <i>Videos:</i> 1. "Bloomberg and The Legacy of Stop-and-Frisk" (The Daily Show)	
PSEUDO-INDEPENDENCE • "How can I be white and anti-racist?" • Belief that privilege is not based on merit, but on bias & racism. • Rely on BIPOC to address racism. • Might affirm or seek to comfort the BIPOC who is addressing racism.	<i>Podcasts:</i> 1. "A Decade on Watching Black People Die" (Code Switch) 2. "How to Be an Antiracist" (Brené Brown + Ibram X. Kendi) <i>Books:</i> 1. So You Want to Talk About Race by Ijeoma Oluo 2. Why I No Longer Talk to White People about Race by Reni Eddo-Loge 3. The Fire This Time by Jesmyn Ward <i>Documentary:</i> 1. 13th (Ava DuVernay) <i>Poem</i> 1. White Privilege (Kyla Lacey) <i>Videos</i> 1. How Can We Win (David Jones)	Begin having difficult conversations with white friends and family about racism and inequality. Begin to think about how you might use your privilege to support anti-racist work.
IMMERSION • Begins to work against systems of oppression, rather than seeing racism as individual actions. • Is able to embrace their own white identity & what their whiteness means, while also working alongside BIPOC • Works actively to be anti-racist.	<i>Activities:</i> <u>Reflective Journal Prompts</u> - Think about the country that you live in. What are some of the national racial stereotypes--spoken and unspoken, historic and modern--associated with Black women? Black men? - How do you see colorism at work in this country? How do you see colorism at work in your own prejudicial thoughts? - How have you expected Black women to serve or soothe you? - How have you reacted in the presence of Black women who are unapologetic in their confidence, self-expression, boundaries, and refusal to submit to the white gaze?	Complete the journal prompts and consider completing some of the action items laid out in these resources!

	<i>Podcasts:</i> 1. Kaepernick (Still Processing) 2. White Lies (NPR) <i>Articles:</i> 1. "The Case for Reparations" (Ta-Nehisi Coates) 2. "Why Seeing Yourself Represented on Screen Is So Important" (Kimberley Lawson) 3. 75 Things White People Can Do for Racial Justice 4. Resources for White People to Learn and Talk About Race and Racism <i>Books:</i> 1. The New Jim Crow by Michelle Alexander 2. How to be An Antiracist by Ibram Kendi 3. The Fire Next Time by James Baldwin <i>Video:</i> 1. 5 Tips for Being an Ally <i>Movies:</i> 1. The New Negro	
AUTONOMY • Embodied anti-racism: being willing to step in the way of racism when possible, engage in protests • Has done the work to recognize their own identity, so that they can effectively be anti-racist. • Recognizes that growth is continual, and they might need to revisit previous stages.	<i>Activities:</i> Answer these questions (written by Nii Addo Abrahams, M.A., M. Div. / Twitter & Instagram @ nickyflash) • Does your solidarity last longer than a news cycle? • Does your solidarity make you lose sleep at night? • Does your solidarity put you in danger? • Does your solidarity cost you relationships? • Does your solidarity take away time from other things you could be doing? • Does your solidarity change the way you spend your money? • Does your solidarity make you a disruptive presence in white spaces? • Does your solidarity challenge your country's values? • Does your solidarity make you think you're not racist? • Does your solidarity change how you read your Bible? • Does your solidarity change how you preach? • Does your solidarity happen when no one is looking? • Does your solidarity ever cause you to speak out when no one wants to listen? • Does your solidarity ever cause you to shut up when you want to say something?	

	• Does your solidarity change the way you vote? • Does your solidarity cause you to denounce our current president? • Does your solidarity include cis-het Black women? • Does your solidarity include Black queer and trans folks? • Does your solidarity make you suspicious of predominantly white institutions? • Does your solidarity cause you to believe in costly reparations? • Does your solidarity assuage your white guilt? • Does your solidarity have room for Black rage? <i>Online resources:</i> Racial Equity Tools <i>Book:</i> The End of Policing (Alex Vitale)	
--	---	--

Social media accounts to follow in any stage:

Instagram: @wokebrownfem @nowhitesaviours @theintiredproject @rachel.cargle @advancementproject @britthawthorne @indyamoore @wearyourvoice @ckyourprivilege @alokvmenon @theunapologeticallybrownseries @austinchanning @theconsciouskid @antiracismctr @_nickyflash_ @heyqueenyoucute @brandonkgood	Twitter: @clintsmithIII @keeangayamahtta @Drlbram @MsPackyetti @JBouie @thearmchaircom @RevJacquiLewis @drchanequa @ava @YNPierce @esglaude @jemelehill @_nickyflash_ @nhannahjones @professorcrunk @divafeminist	
---	---	--

For those who want to be a better anti-racist in thier faith traditions

Christian resources:

[The Color of Compromise: The Truth about the American Church's Complicity in Racism](#) (Jemar Tisby)
[Dear Church: A Love Letter from a Black Preacher to the Whitest Denomination in the U.S.](#) (Lenny Duncan)
[Disunity in Christ](#) (Christena Cleveland)
[The Cross and the Lynching Tree](#) (James Cone)
[Reconciliation Blues](#) (Edward Gilbreath)

[*Tears We Cannot Stop: A Sermon to White America*](#) (Michael Eric Dyson)
[*Trouble I've Seen*](#) (Drew G. I. Hart)
[*I Bring the Voices of My People: A Womanist Vision for Racial Reconciliation*](#) (Chanequa Walker-Barnes)
[*Dear White Christians*](#) (Jennifer Harvey)
[*Divided by Faith*](#) (Michael Emerson and Christian Smith)

***We are thankful for all of you who have shared links from your faith traditions. The shared links below have been suggested for addition.**

Jewish resources:

[Jewish Racial Justice Resources](#)

Islamic resources:

[Muslim Anti-Racism Collaborative](#)

[Race & Racism](#) (Muslim Anti-Racism Collaborative)

[Anti-Racism Guide for White Muslims](#)

Buddhist resources:

[Radical Dharma](#)

[Angel Kyodo Williams](#)

[Lama Rod Owens](#)

[Ruth King](#)

If you'd prefer to read a novel:

1. Angie Thomas's [The Hate You Give](#)
2. Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's [Americanah](#)
3. Yaa Gyasi's [Homegoing](#)
4. Toni Morrison's [Beloved](#)
5. James Baldwin's [Go Tell It On the Mountain](#)

Podcast recommendations:

1. [White Lies](#) by NPR
2. [The 1619 Project](#) by the New York Times
3. [Uncivil](#) by Gimlet Media
4. [Pass the Mic](#) by The Witness Podcast Radio
5. [Seeing White](#) by Scene On Radio

For those in education:

1. [Anti-Racist Educator Self-Questionnaire and Rubric](#)
2. [Anti-Racist Student Self-Questionnaire](#)
3. ["Collectors, Nightlights, and Allies, Oh My!"](#) (Marisela Martinez-Cola, JD/PhD)

Accessible resources for the youth:

[Antiracist Baby](#) (Ibram X. Kendi)

[This Book is Antiracist](#) (Tiffany Jewell)

[Crossover Series](#) (Kwame Alexander)

Young Adult Literature:

[Dear Martin](#) by Nic Stone

[All American Boys](#) by Jason Reynolds and Brendan Kiely

[I am Alfonso Jones](#) by Tony Medina

Middle grades;

[*A Good Kind of Trouble*](#) by Lisa Moore Ramée

[*Ghost Boys*](#) by Jewell Parker Rhodes

[*New Kid*](#) by Jerry Craft

Resources for parents:

[Raising White Kids](#) (Jen Harvey) -- article here: ['Raising White Kids' Author On How White Parents Can Talk About Race](#)

[Books to Teach White Children and Teens How to Undo Racism and White Supremacy](#)

Document created by:

Anna Stamborski, M. Div Candidate (2022)

Nikki Zimmermann, M. Div candidate (2021)

Bailie Gregory, M. Div, M.S. Ed.

Case Studies

The Following Case Studies will be used to support group discussion.



Lead Contacts:

Senior Director

Tom Israel

tisrael@nea.org

Academy Coordinator

Ellen Holmes

eholmes@nea.org

Academy Logistics

Karla Medina

kmedina@nea.org

Director

Hilario Benzon

NEA Center for Social Justice

hbenzon@nea.org

Why pre-attendance work?

In the short time we are together, we will begin the tough and important work of understanding implicit bias, interpersonal racism and institutional racism. This work depends on participants' willingness to be both reflective and vulnerable enough to learn. Our ability to create a safe enough, or courageous space for adult learning to take place depends on your preparedness for this work. To support this, we have put together some important and thought-provoking readings and activities. We believe that this pre-work will help you transition away from the day to day responsibilities of UniServ Director work and move into the role of adult learner.

What are you asking me to do?

In this package you will find several articles that we will use in our training. Based on past-participant feedback, we are providing these in advance so that you can be prepared for our conversations. You will find the Community Agreements on pages outlined for this meeting, please review them and consider the questions found on page as this will be one of the first things we do together. You will find several case studies beginning on page . We will be using these as parts of significant group learnings, please be familiar with them.

4 Pre Attendance Tasks begin on Page

These are specific tasks that we will be using in group work during our time together. There will not be time during the meeting to complete these, and completing these all at once might be emotionally exhausting. We have provided them in advance to allow you choice in how, when, and where you first engage with them.

Appropriate questions to consider as you review these resources and complete the tasks:

- How does this intersect with my daily work as a UniServ Director?
- As a UniServ Director what is my role in improving this (issue, condition, problem)?
- What would I need to know to help others who want to make a change in this (issue, condition, problem)?

There are additional resources compiled in this guide for your own self-education that begin on page . If you have NOT attended any other Racial Justice trainings, it is highly recommended that you read these prior to attending.

The titles of these are:

- Don't Talk about Implicit Bias Without Discussing Structural Racism
- The Science of Equality (defines Racial Anxiety)
- Being Black in a White Workplace
- Historical Trauma and Impact on Health and Well-being
- What is White Privilege, Really?
- How to be an Ally
- Dr. Seuss's Racist Past Isn't Your Problem
- Structuralized Racism
- Why Labor and the Movement for Racial Justice Should Work Together
- Racial Justice Union Examples
- Scaffolded Resources for White Ally Groups

Case 6.3: Diverse Friends Day

When Mr. Carbondale started teaching at Lozen School more than twenty years ago, the students, like the teachers and administrators, were almost all white. This began to change ten years ago when gentrification started driving more families of color out of the city to seek affordable housing. Now more than 40 percent of the student body was comprised of students of color. Mr. Carbondale was happy to see the racial demographics of the student body changing.

Mr. Carbondale often volunteered to represent his school at the day-long “Inclusive Excellence” conference hosted each year by his district. At the most recent of these conferences, he found one idea most intriguing: Diverse Friends Day. Students were encouraged to spend one day interacting with classmates with whom they normally wouldn’t interact. They would eat lunch at a new table, sit by different people during class, and challenge themselves to shake up their social groups in other ways. The goal was to encourage greater intergroup interaction, especially across race.

The following Monday Mr. Carbondale secured permission from his principal to organize Diverse Friends Day. A day was selected just one month away.

Mr. Carbondale couldn’t wait to share the news about the event with his students. Having just read a series of Langston Hughes poems, they had spent several class periods in spirited discussions about race relations. He expected some resistance. These were young people, after all, whose identities were influenced mostly by their social groups. But they also were curious about social groups to which they did not belong. Mr. Carbondale hoped this curiosity would override their anxieties about stepping out of their comfort zones.

As he had guessed, when Mr. Carbondale told students about Diverse Friends Day, a few protested, while others seemed excited. He noted, though, that Pam and Tariq, the two African American students in his class, and Julio, one of three Mexican American students in his class, remained silent. Not wanting to put them on the spot, he decided to reach out to them after class.

Once class ended, Mr. Carbondale pulled them aside and asked their thoughts on Diverse Friends Day. “I know you mean well, but that program is racist,” Pam shared.

Shocked, Mr. Carbondale asked her to elaborate.

“I don’t know about ‘racist,’” Tariq interjected, “but I don’t want to do it.”

“I think it sounds kind of fun,” Julio said, “but a lot of the white people in this school don’t like us and call us names. I don’t want to be forced to hang out with people who do that.”

“Why do you think it’s racist?” Mr. Carbondale asked Pam, noticing the tension on her face.

“There’s a lot of racism in this school. Lunch is the only time I can relax, when I can be with my friends. I think Diverse Friends Day is for white people.”

Unsettled and unsure what to say next, Mr. Carbondale thanked the students for their candor. As they left he added, “I promise I’ll think about what you shared.”

2. How might Lozen School address the institutional culture of the school, as well as the racial inequities being experienced by students, rather than focusing just on race relations and celebrating diversity?
3. Pam told Mr. Carbondale that lunch is the only time during school when she can relax without feeling judged. Other than students of color, what sorts of students might share that experience with Pam?

Case Study 10.3: Family Night

In order to bolster family engagement and strengthen math outcomes among families who were masters of languages other than English—families of students in their English Language Learner (ELL) programs—Crestview School decided to host a Family Night. Teachers discussed ways to entice as many people as possible to attend.

A light dinner and student performances would draw a crowd, they hoped. They sent home fliers translated into the languages spoken in the homes of each student. They arranged for students to perform songs they learned in music classes. Teachers planned a presentation to follow student performances about how to reinforce math concepts by utilizing online resources.

The entire event would last only one hour, they decided, sensitive to the fact that many of their students' parents worked evening shifts or had other responsibilities that made long school events difficult to attend. Mr. Nelson, a veteran teacher, took it upon himself to create a handout about how to access online math tools.

The evening of Family Night, several families began arriving shortly before the published start time. The teachers noticed, however, that most early arrivers were families that attended every event. Five minutes after the scheduled start time, with several people seated and awaiting the performance but several other families not yet in attendance, the teachers decided to change the order of the program, moving their discussion of home support for math learning to the beginning of the evening, worried that families would be upset if they missed their children's performances.

The teachers were relieved to see more families filing into the event as they were speaking. *This is a great turnout*, thought Mr. Nelson. He and several other teachers noticed that several parents and caretakers of ELL students stood in the back of the cafeteria rather than joining other families in the provided seats. Many were chatting. Several parents who arrived early and were sitting in those seats seemed visibly annoyed with the background noise.

Ten minutes after the event ended, many of the ELL families continued chatting. Ms. Stowe, a newer teacher, noticed several copies of the handout Mr. Nelson created left on the table so she handed one to each adult who did not have one. She felt disappointed that so few of the parents took time to ask questions when she handed it to them.

Once everybody left, several teachers met briefly to discuss the evening. Ms. Stowe expressed discontent over what she interpreted as disinterest on the parts of many ELL families. Other teachers complained that the evening was not a success because many of the ELL families arrived late and seemed more interested in side conversations than the presentation.

Mr. Nelson could tell his coworkers were discouraged. He knew it would reinforce stereotypes they had about certain families. He also knew the evening held an important lesson for the school, but he was not sure what that lesson was.

Case Study 6.4: (Racist) Terms of Endearment

Synopsis: A high school math teacher overhears a White student directing the N-word at an African American classmate. When she confronts him, he claims that he was using it as a term of endearment—a claim that is not explicitly contested by the “friend” to whom he’s directing it.

Ms. Lawson was glad to be teaching math at Greenstown High School, a racially and economically diverse school. She previously had worked at predominantly white schools with very few students receiving free or reduced-price lunches. After losing her job due to budget cuts, and after taking a course on diversity while earning her Masters of Arts in Teaching degree, she accepted a job teaching in a more diverse environment. She arrived at Greenstown feeling eager and prepared to take instructional advantage of the diversity.

Several weeks into her first year at Greenstown, Ms. Lawson was happy about how well she had adjusted to her new environment. She had taken several measures early in the school year to demonstrate her commitment to racial equity and it seemed as though students were responding positively. She was especially pleased when she saw students of color reading the Diversity in Mathematics posters she hung around the room, highlighting historically important mathematicians of color from around the world. They complained a little—predictably, she thought—in all of her classes on the second day of school when, responding to the racially segregated seating patterns she noticed the first day of class, she assigned seats. She never mentioned her reason for assigning seats, though, and students were accustomed to seat assignments from some of their other classes, so that tension passed quickly. All in all, things were progressing smoothly.

One afternoon around mid-October, as she gathered her materials for her fifth-period class and students made their way into her classroom, Ms. Lawson overheard one of her students use the n-word. Understanding how inflammatory the n-word was, her immediate reaction was concern that there would be a fight in her classroom. So when she looked up from her desk and peered toward the back of her classroom, where she was sure the word came from, she was surprised to see Reggie, an African American student, Adolfo, a Latino student, and Anthony, a white student, all laughing together.

“Who said that”? Ms. Lawson asked as she stood and walked toward the back of the room.

“Said what?” Adolfo asked, still laughing.

“You all know exactly what I mean. The n-word,” Ms. Lawson replied. Nobody responded, but Adolfo and Reggie both glanced at Anthony.

“Anthony?” Ms. Lawson prodded.

"I didn't say the n-word, I said *n-i-g-g-a, nigga*," he explained. Ms. Lawson was unsettled by how confident Anthony sounded, as though he really did not believe he had done anything wrong. "I always call Reggie that. He's cool with it. It's a term of endearment."

Keisha, an African American young woman who had overheard their conversation, interjected, "That's no term of endearment, you idiot. It's racist. And you're lucky you're not getting a beat down right now for saying it."

"Enough of that," Ms. Lawson said, glaring at Keisha. "There won't be any threats of violence in this classroom. Sit down and let me take care of this."

Unsure what to say next, Ms. Lawson turned toward Reggie. He no longer was laughing and, she thought, was beginning to look uncomfortable. "Is that true, Reggie, that he calls you that all the time and you're fine with it?"

"It's no big deal," Anthony explained. "Right, Reg?" he asked playfully, nudging Reggie with his elbow.

"Reggie can speak for himself," Ms. Lawson said, then looked back at Reggie, who was looking even more uncomfortable. Just then, the start of class bell rang and Ms. Lawson looked up to see everybody in the room staring at her and Reggie. Feeling that, whatever he really felt about Anthony's use of the n-word, Reggie was even more uneasy with the spotlight she was shining on him in that moment, she decided to drop the issue and commence with teaching class.

As she walked back toward her desk, she said with a half-defeated sigh, "Please remember, everyone, that one of our community norms is *respect*. I don't care you how pronounce it or what you mean by it, there is no room in this classroom for that kind of language."

She knew, even as she was making that statement, that she did not handle the situation well. She also knew she needed to figure out a way to respond more thoughtfully in case it happened again.

Case 6.1: Black Lives Matter

It was a Friday afternoon. Ms. Simmons, a teacher at East City School, wondered how the protest was shaping up. Local Black Lives Matter (BLM) activists had organized the protest just a few blocks from the school. They had done all the proper paperwork to site their protest in the area. Still, because the protest was scheduled for the block of time between when schools let out and when rush hour ends, Ms. Simmons knew tensions would be high.

If the mood of the adults who came by East City to pick up their children was any indication, her concerns were warranted. When she left school around 4:30, traffic was still a mess. She noticed several school buses trapped in the gridlock. Although she found an alternate route and got home just a half hour later than usual, the buses weren't as easily navigated through intersections full of pedestrians and protesters.

Having been an activist herself, Ms. Simmons understood protests could be disruptive. She was proud of the protesters for raising awareness about racism and demanding accountability in light of the recent spate of police shootings of unarmed African American men. These included one incident just a couple towns over from East City. For Ms. Simmons, the inconvenience posed by a blocked road was well worth the message being spread by the protesters.

Unfortunately, many adults trying to get to the school to pick up their children or waiting for their children at home were not as forgiving. They were frustrated with the protestors and angry the city allowed them to protest at a busy intersection near the school. Local news outlets covered the protest's traffic disturbance and parent frustrations about the traffic as heavily as the protest itself. Parents complained about BLM's "divisiveness" and circulated their complaints on social media.

Monday morning Ms. Simmons noticed a few students wearing t-shirts with the words "All Lives Matter" and a few wearing shirts with the words "Black Lives Matter." She could feel the tension. She saw an opportunity to engage students in a conversation about the protest and racism in the local community, but when she mentioned her desire to raise these issues in class to colleagues, they discouraged her. "Stick to academics," one colleague said.

With the first period bell set to ring, Ms. Simmons decided to ignore her colleagues' advice and hoped her teaching instincts would be sufficient to make the conversation constructive and informative. She wondered what she should say first.

Case 5.1: Generalizations on Display

Ms. Whitney, an eighth grade mathematics teacher, wandered the halls of Crestwood Elementary School, eagerly awaiting the end of her daughter Jessica's basketball practice. In order to pass the time she decided to look at the posters of student's work displayed outside one of the fifth grade classrooms. Based on what she saw in the posters' content, she figured that each student had chosen a country to study and then made a poster with photos and interesting information about it.

Ms. Whitney was taken aback when she saw this sentence on one of the posters: "People in Mexico are poor so they want to come to the United States." She was dismayed by the overgeneralization and the fact that it was displayed for everybody to read. As she scanned the other projects, she found herself equally dismayed by other generalizations she found. In addition to the misinformation, she noticed that some students were not consistent with their verb tenses, which resulted in inaccurate statements. One student, Michael, had chosen Japan for his project. He included a paragraph about World War II in the corner of the poster. One of his sentences read, "Japanese people in America are in special camps because Japan was at war with the United States." Ms. Whitney could not believe what she had just read. *How can this type of work be hung in the hallways for others to read?* she wondered.

Just then Ms. Whitney's daughter ran up to her and announced that she was finished with practice. Because Crestwood was in her daughter's district, but not the school her daughter attended, Ms. Whitney made a mental note of the name of the teacher, Ms. Lewis, whose class had made the posters. She decided to send Ms. Lewis an email expressing her concerns. Crestwood had a large population of recent immigrant students, so she felt especially obligated to speak up.

That night Ms. Whitney drafted an email and read it several times to ensure that she sounded constructive rather than critical. After sending the email, she wondered whether Ms. Lewis simply had not checked all of the projects before displaying them. She hoped the situation could be fixed easily.

The next morning, Ms. Whitney was pleased to see a response. After reading the email, however, she again felt dismayed. Ms. Lewis thanked Ms. Whitney for taking the time to contact her and said that the posters had been on display for several weeks. Nobody else had complained, she noted, and agreed that she should change the verb tense on the Japan poster before adding that, because the sentence was written under a section entitled World War II, "the reader really should assume it was meant to be past tense." She continued, "As for the generalizations, the students did their own research. These generalizations are not completely inaccurate. Perhaps because you teach at a junior high school, you have more of a critical eye than I do. These after all, are only fifth graders."

Ms. Whitney was not sure how to respond. She felt that Ms. Lewis had dismissed her concerns and worried that Ms. Lewis did not mention any plans to discuss the generalizations with her students. Still feeling concerned, Ms. Whitney drafted an email to the principal of Crestwood about the matter, but then decided not to send it, fearing that Ms. Lewis would get in trouble. *Maybe the posters will be removed soon*, she thought, *before any harm is done*.

The following week Jessica once again had basketball practice at Crestwood. After taking her to the gymnasium, Ms. Whitney wandered to the fifth grade hallway to see whether the posters were still displayed. To her disappointment, they remained on display, and no changes had been made to the Japan poster.

She noticed that Ms. Lewis was still in the classroom, so she introduced herself. Ms. Lewis, realizing that she had not edited the verb tense on the Japan poster, apologized and said that she had intended to do so but had forgotten. She then pointed to a pile of posters illustrating flowers that students had drawn in art class. "I was just about to replace the country posters with these," she explained. "They should be much less controversial for you." She added with a friendly laugh.

Ms. Whitney paused, wondering if she should laugh in polite response or express her frustrations about feeling dismissed or about the fact that Ms. Lewis students were learning and conveying misinformation. She also wondered whether any students or parents saw the posters and felt offended, or whether other staff noticed these issues.

She decided she should say something about her concerns. The question was, what should she say and how should she say it?

Case 6.2: Teaching Race with *Huckleberry Finn*

Samuel, one three African American students in Ms. Kohl's language arts class, loved discussing literature. Ms. Kohl loved having students act out the stories they read to connect more deeply with characters. Samuel always volunteered to play one of the characters.

Ms. Kohl's favorite novel was Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. When her students returned to class after reading its first fifty pages, she couldn't wait to begin the thespian festivities.

She was aware, of course, that this approach was risky with *Huck Finn*, which was full of racialized language. She considered talking with students about the use of the n-word in the novel before they read it. But she resisted, concerned that such a discussion might manipulate students into a particular view of the book.

Once students were settled into their desks, she asked for volunteers: "Who wants to play a role?" Several students raised their hands but, to Ms. Kohl's surprise, Samuel was not one of them. In fact, he appeared distracted. As classmates moved to the front of the room to play a role, he stared down at his desk.

"How about you, Samuel?" Ms. Kohl asked. "Didn't you like the novel?"

"It was all right," he answered.

"Well everyone can't love every piece of literature," she said, continuing with the lesson.

Johnny, one of Samuel's white classmates, volunteered to play the role of Huck, which also made him the narrator of the story. He played his role with verve, trying his best to sound the way he imagined Huck sounding.

Initially Samuel sat quietly, following the story in his book. But within minutes Ms. Kohl noticed him growing listless, shifting in his seat.

"Everything OK, Samuel?" she asked.

"Not really," he answered.

"What's going on?"

"I hate this book."

"Yes, well, everyone can't love every piece of literature," Ms. Kohl said again. "Let's get through these first ten pages. Then I'd like to hear why you don't like it."

Samuel sighed.

Samuel's classmates continued to read. Ms. Kohl, noticing that Samuel remained uncomfortable, started to worry it might be because of the racialized language.

The students had reached the eighth page of the novel. Ms. Kohl always felt nervous about page eight because, although the n-word was scattered through the first seven pages, it appeared several times on page eight. Ms. Kohl's thoughts were interrupted by the sound of Samuel shouting, "Stop it! You think saying that is OK? Shut up!"

Samuel threw his book on the floor and exited loudly out of the room, slamming the door behind him. Ms. Kohl, looking up to find 26 students as shocked as she was, had no idea what to do next.

Case 11.5: My Uncle

Abdi was an energetic student who excelled academically. He was liked by peers, but their patience with him was diminishing because he often needed to be reminded to pay attention. At the annual Family Night, Abdi's teacher noticed that his excitement for school was obvious, but despite instructions from his mother to listen, he had difficulty following directions. It wasn't until his father reprimanded him that his behavior changed. Seeing this, Ms. Klein knew Abdi was *capable* of following rules, but he needed guidance.

As she was planning for November conferences, Ms. Klein was sure to remind Abdi that his mother *and* father should attend. She wanted to discuss Abdi's behavior with his parents in person because she did not want them to misinterpret her concerns and think Abdi was being disrespectful. Instead, she wanted them to understand he simply struggled to stop talking when he should be listening, becoming a distraction for other students. From what she observed at Family Night, she hoped Abdi's father would address the behavior concerns effectively.

When Abdi's designated conference time arrived, his mother, Ms. Asha, entered Ms. Klein's classroom with a man who introduced himself as Abdi's uncle. After hearing Ms. Klein's concerns, they agreed to speak to Abdi about his conduct. Ms. Klein, feeling skeptical that this would resolve the issue, suggested they inform Abdi's father on the issue. They promised to convey the information, but Ms. Klein worried they were saying so only to appease her.

After saying goodbye to Abdi's mother and uncle, Ms. Klein went to the main office to check her mailbox. "You look frustrated," the office administrator, Ms. Larson, observed.

"I *am* frustrated," Ms. Klein said. She scanned the office to make sure nobody was around. "I just finished Abdi's conference. I was hoping to speak with his father about Abdi's behavior, but he didn't come. Instead, Abdi's mom and someone who said he was Abdi's uncle came, and I don't have much confidence that either will be able to influence Abdi to behave better in class. Abdi's so bright. He needs guidance."

"Abdi is a sweet kid," Ms. Larson said. "As for the uncle, I've seen several people over the years arrive after school to pick up Abdi claiming to be his uncle. To be honest, I don't think any of them are related. I've seen the same thing with other immigrant students."

Shaking her head in disbelief, Ms. Klein said, "I'll keep you posted if I learn anything."

The next day as students arrived, Ms. Klein noticed Abdi was his usual talkative self. She approached him and said, "I had a good conference with your mom and uncle yesterday."

Abdi smiled and said, "That's what my mom said too."

"That's great!" replied Ms. Klein. She then inquired, "It was nice for your uncle to come, too. Is he your mom's brother or your dad's brother?"

Abdi, puzzled and embarrassed, replied, "Neither."

Ms. Klein sighed and thought, *I'll have to let Ms. Larson know she was right.*

Case 5.2: Not Time for Stories

Ms. Ward loved geography. She inspired and motivated students by telling them they were learning material typically reserved for older students.

The first unit Ms. Ward planned for the new school year focused on California. Although Rustin School, where Ms. Ward taught, was in the Midwest, she thought it would be a fun state with which to kick off the year. Students at Rustin represented a wide range of socioeconomic and racial diversity, but she knew many of them were interested in ocean beaches. California, in her mind, fit well with this theme.

Ms. Ward gathered her students on the carpet and began writing on a flip chart. Several students whispered excitedly as she wrote “California” at the top of the sheet. Although Ms. Ward was happy to see their excitement, she reminded them to remain quiet and raise their hands if they had something to say. Immediately several hands flew up.

“Are we going to learn about California?” Maddy asked.

“Yes,” Ms. Ward replied. “We will be learning about California in many of our subjects throughout the week.” Students chattered excitedly again and Ms. Ward reminded them to remain quiet: “I cannot understand you if so many of you talk at once.”

After explaining the unit a bit more, Ms. Ward asked who had been to California. DeQuan raised his hand. When Ms. Ward called on him he said, “A few days ago, I was at my grandmother’s house watching television with my little sister, but she was crying so I couldn’t hear very well. I told her to be quiet and gave her a toy to play with because the person on TV...”

Ms. Ward interrupted DeQuan and reminded him that the question she asked was who had been to California. Growing bothered by the side chatter and DeQuan’s indirect answer, she reminded the class that now was not the time for stories.

“Please raise your hand *only* if you can answer the question,” she said. Upon hearing this, DeQuan angrily added, “I was saying that the person on TV said the show was sponsored by a company that makes raisins, which are my favorite snack, and that the raisins are made in California!”

Ms. Ward reminded DeQuan he needed to raise his hand if he had something to say, and added that his tone was disrespectful. Attempting to refocus the group, she asked, “Has anyone been to Disneyland?” Maddy raised her hand and said, “I have. It’s in California, and it is sunny and warm there. It’s also far away because we were on the airplane for a long time.”

“You’re right,” Ms. Ward replied as she wrote “warm” and “sunny” along with the phrase “far from Rustin School” on the flip chart.

“Any other words to describe California?” she asked. As several others raised their hands, Ms. Ward noticed DeQuan still looked angry. Anticipating another outburst, she cheerfully said, “DeQuan, please try to compose yourself so that you can remain seated with the group.” Hearing this, DeQuan stood, walked to his desk, and slouched in his chair.”

Oh no, thought Ms. Ward. *He must not have heard me correctly.* Knowing time was passing quickly and that she needed to finish the lesson, Ms. Ward continued teaching but wondered how she should address DeQuan if his negative behavior persisted.

Case 5.5: A Place to Study

It was Back to School Night. Ms. Grady decided over summer she wanted to cultivate better at-home study habits in students. Many families came to Ms. Grady's classroom that night and listened as she explained how important it was for students to have a designated place at home to study and keep learning materials.

In order to motivate students, Ms. Grady purchased a pencil box for each of them to take home. She filled the boxes with writing instruments. Shua, one of Ms. Grady's students, was especially excited about the pencil box. Ms. Grady was excited for Shua because his parents seemed responsive to her suggestions at the Back to School event.

A month into the schoolyear, Ms. Grady noticed Shua was turning in homework with food stains. She also noticed he was crossing out some answers instead of erasing them. When she asked Shua about this he explained his siblings also had been using his pencils and pens. They did not always return them, which was why he had not been using an eraser.

"And the food stains?" Ms. Grady asked. Shua explained he and his older brother do homework at the kitchen table, sometimes while others are eating.

Ms. Grady was sympathetic to Shua's situation and decided to give him another set of utensils, which she labeled with his name. "Remember to find a quiet, *separate* place to work instead of working and keeping your box of utensils at the table," she told him. Shua nodded.

A few weeks later, after seeing little change in the condition of Shua's homework, Ms. Grady followed up with him regarding where he was studying and whether his siblings were still using his utensils. Noticeably uncomfortable, Shua replied, "I still work at the table and sometimes they still use my stuff." Ms. Grady thanked Shua for his honesty.

Later, when the school day ended, she wondered how she should approach Shua's parents at the upcoming parent-teacher conferences. She remembered they seemed supportive about her expectations that students have a quiet place to study. If they were supportive in front of her, but did not follow through at home, she worried they also would not be supportive of her other ideas for at-home learning. She also wondered whether Shua's family might benefit from a referral to a local agency that could provide donations if the family needed school supplies or other household items, since his siblings were using Shua's supplies.

Feeling frustrated, she packed her things and left for the day.