

Transforming White Privilege



A 21st Century Leadership Capacity

Handouts

Center for Assessment and Policy Development (CAPD), MP Associates and World Trust Educational Services

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About the TWP Curriculum

Why Understanding White Privilege and Culture is a 21st Century Leadership Capacity

We recognize that white privilege and white culture are contentious terms and difficult issues with which to grapple in many settings. We went into the development of the curriculum with a strong belief that the effort to grapple with them would be worth it for the participants, particularly in terms of seeing new entry points for positive change.

That is because most of our current laws, regulations, policies and practices in areas like housing, health-care, education and law enforcement were established, or justified, in part because of assumptions about what is normal, appropriate or desirable (see Dr. Khalil Muhammad on “Facing Our Racial Past”). These assumptions tend to reflect dominant cultural narratives or norms—for example, what constitutes a “family,” who is dangerous, which groups are deserving of societal support and which are not (e.g. the deserving and undeserving poor), etc.

Over time, the consequence of laws, regulations, policies and practices is a multigenerational system of inequity. This system reinforces stereotypes and access to organizational and system power. In addition, when those assumptions are codified into laws, system policies and organizational and community practices, they are part of what creates persistent advantages for some groups and persistent disadvantages for others (e.g., via redlining, access to education via the G.I. bill, mandatory minimums drug-sentencing policies, etc.). And, even when those inequities are persistent and obvious, their underlying assumptions and the assumptions that maintain them may not be. We argue that understanding white privilege gives leaders another tool for cutting through this complex system, and thus, real and practical entry points for change.

Thus, we believe the capacities to identify, talk about and intervene around white privilege and its consequences are critical leadership capacities. We also believe they are especially useful capacities for leaders working towards equitable outcomes at organizational, community and system levels.

The modules are also a deliberate effort to fill a gap. Based on a survey of leadership groups, we found that frank discussion of white privilege is often taboo, even in motivated groups working on reducing inequities. Leadership groups did not always feel confident about addressing white privilege, and they noted a lack of resources that they could embed in their training which could help them do that. The Transforming White Privilege Curriculum was created to fill that need.

About the TWP Team

Shakti Butler, World Trust Educational Services—www.world-trust.org

Dr. Shakti Butler, Ph.D., is the Founder and President of World Trust Educational Services, a racial equity non-profit. She is a multiracial African-American woman (African, Arawak Indian and Russian-Jewish) whose work as a creative and visionary bridge builder has challenged and inspired learning for nearly three decades. Her work is rooted in love and justice.

Dr. Butler is frequently hired by organizations seeking ways to catalyze institutional, structural and cultural change. She is an inspirational facilitator, trainer and lecturer who has presented to foundations, health care institutions, universities, public and private organizations, and faith-based institutions. Inviting participants to grapple with both the intellectual and emotional complexities of race, she conveys the interconnection between internal and external/structural components of racial inequity, and reveals how self-perpetuating systems reinforce disparities in institutions. This framing, coupled with her community-building approach to learning, inspires a collective will and develops deeper understandings that can be directly applied to subsequent analysis and action.

Dr. Butler has produced [three volumes of Racial Equity Learning curricula](#) and four highly-acclaimed documentaries: [The Way Home](#), [Mirrors of Privilege: Making Whiteness Visible](#), [Light in the Shadows](#) and the immensely popular [Cracking the Codes: The System of Racial Inequity](#). Her work incorporates whole body learning through stories, art, movement and dialogue. Most recently, Dr. Butler served as diversity consultant and advisor on the Disney animated film [Zootopia](#), which focuses on challenging bias and systemic inequity. Her current film/dialogue project, *Healing Justice: Cultivating a World of Belonging*, is intended to popularize a national conversation about justice, responsibility and healing.

Dr. Butler received her doctorate from the California Institute of Integral Studies, in the School of Transformative Learning and Change. She holds an M.A. in Guidance and Counseling from Bank Street College of New York and graduated magna cum laude from City College of New York.

Sally Leiderman, Center for Assessment and Policy Development (CAPD)—www.capd.org

Ms. Leiderman is President and one of the founders of CAPD (Center for Assessment and Policy Development), a 28-year-old non-profit organization with a mission to improve outcomes for children, families and neighborhoods by helping to build the capacities of those who do the day-to-day work on their behalf. She provides evaluation and other supports to communities, foundations and institutions, particularly around issues of leadership and efforts to increase racial equity and reduce the consequences of white privilege in community change work.

With Stephanie Leiderman, Ms. Leiderman is evaluating the [Thriving Rural Communities](#) and the [Thriving Hispanic/Latino Communities](#) initiatives, partnerships among the Duke Divinity School,

the Duke Endowment, the Western North Carolina United Methodist Conference and the North Carolina United Methodist Conference. She also designed and implemented a 10-year evaluation of [Project Change](#), an anti-racism initiative of the Levi Strauss Foundation in partnership with the communities of Albuquerque, El Paso, Knoxville and Valdosta; a 5-year evaluation of the Community Leadership Program in New Haven, and multi-year evaluations of the Healing the Heart of Diversity Leadership Development Program and the Americans for Indian Opportunity Ambassadors Leadership Program.

Ms. Leiderman is an active member of the Leadership Learning Community, including its funder/evaluator working group. She contributed a chapter on evaluating personal transformation leadership development efforts to the [Leadership Evaluation Handbook](#) (Jossey-Bass, 2007). With OpenSource Leadership Strategies, Inc. and MP Associates, she created a monograph for the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation on best practices in the outreach, recruitment, inclusion and retention of diverse leaders from philanthropy and academia that could be applied to leader's, scholar's and Fellow's programs of the kind RWJ funds. That monograph is being released by the foundation now. Ms. Leiderman is also a co-author of [Flipping the Script : White Privilege and Community Building](#) and co-authored [A Community Builder's Toolkit: 15 Tools for Creating Healthy, Productive Interracial/Multicultural Communities](#) with the Institute for Democratic Renewal and Project Change Anti-Racism Initiative. With MP Associates, she also created <http://www.evaluationtoolsforracialequity.org/> and www.racialequitytools.org. She contributed an article to Philanthropic Initiative for *Racial Equity's Critical Issues Forum, Volume 3—Marking Progress: Movement toward Racial Justice*, entitled "How Do We Know It When We See It?", focused on evaluating initiatives aimed at reducing structural racism.

Maggie Potapchuk, MP Associates—www.mpassociates.us

Maggie Potapchuk is the founder of MP Associates, a national consulting practice that works in partnership with individuals, organizations and communities to build capacity and facilitate change to collectively achieve racial justice.

A sample of her consulting practice includes: building the capacity of [Services and Advocacy for Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Elders](#) (SAGE) to integrate their ongoing commitment to diversity and equity into programs, operations and culture, with IAM Associates and Open Source Leadership Strategies; researching and writing [Race, Power and Democracy: Synthesis of Select Philanthropic Efforts Following Key Flashpoints](#); leading a team to conduct research for the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, as part of its scanning and assessment process for its racial equity grantmaking; and partnering with Open Source Leadership Strategies to work with Everyday Democracy to build the organization's capacity and to further learn about race and power nuances in the work environment and community change work.

Ms. Potapchuk's research and writing have focused on community change processes, white privilege and culture, racial equity practice, and organizational change, especially with foundations. Some of her publications and articles include: ["Paying Attention to White Culture and Privilege: A Missing Link to Advancing Racial Equity"](#) along with Gita Gulati-Partee; [Lessons Learned: How Communities are Addressing Racial Inequities](#) along with the National League of Cities and Aspen Institute's Roundtable for Community Change; [Flipping the Script: White Privilege and Community Building](#) along Sally Leiderman, Donna Bivens and Barbara Major; and [Cultivating Interdependence: Guide for Race Relations and Racial Justice Organizations](#).

She co-developed the web site, [Racial Equity Tools](#) with the Center for Assessment and Policy Development and World Trust and curating over 1,700 resources.

Before launching MP Associates in 2004, she served as Senior Program Associate with the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies' Network of Alliances Bridging Race and Ethnicity (NABRE), a national effort to provide support for 185 community-based organizations. Ms. Potapchuk was Director of the Dismantling Racism Program at the National Conference for Community and Justice (NCCJ), St. Louis Region. Ms. Potapchuk was honored for her work by the St. Louis YWCA, which gave her its 1999 Racial Justice Award. She currently serves on the Advisory Board of the Baltimore Racial Justice Action, on the Leadership Team of the Within Our Lifetime network, and as co-chair for Illuminating Whiteness and Colonization: Developing a Literacy for Racial Justice Globally.

Stephanie Leiderman, Center for Assessment and Policy Development (CAPD) – www.capd.org

Stephanie Leiderman, Research Analyst at CAPD, is an evaluator and researcher with a particular interest in gender, race/ethnicity, and global equity and development. In addition to working as a member of the development partnership for Transforming White Privilege: A 21st Century Leadership Capacity, Stephanie was co-investigator on CAPD's Strong Sector Cluster evaluation, the [Thriving Rural Communities Initiative](#) evaluation (1.0 and 2.0) and the [Thriving Hispanic/Latino Communities Initiative 1.0](#), and is taking the lead on the next phase of that evaluation (Thriving Hispanic/Latino Communities 2.0).

Prior to joining CAPD several years ago, she taught English for 15 months in Beijing, China and apprenticed with a family of jewelers in Dhrangadra, Gujarat, India. She is a current Master's student in International Development and Social Change at Clark University, and was awarded a B.A. from the University of North Carolina, Asheville, and an Associate's Degree from the Haywood Community College's Professional Crafts program, in metalwork. In addition to her full time work at CAPD, she works as a fiber artist and jeweler.

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Acknowledgments

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Process Norms

Group Norms for Breakthrough Social Change: The OpenSource Approach¹

Every group develops “norms”—ways to behave, communicate, and get work done. Often, group norms are unspoken and arise by default to reflect the dominant culture rather than through intentional negotiation. Take time to develop norms that support authentic dialogue, relationship building and collective strategizing and action

These suggested norms can help us practice “**confident humility**”—the self-awareness that we all have wisdom and other assets to contribute, and we always will have more to learn. With both confidence and humility, we can approach each challenge, including conflicts and failures, with intentionality as an opportunity for creativity and positive change.

Note that these norms reflect various cultural perspectives—some that will seem familiar, and some that will seem foreign. We believe that, collectively, they can deepen our confident humility and open a pathway for breakthrough social change.

- 1. Speak your truth**—Share stories, experiences, and thoughts from a personal perspective. Speak from the “I” position, rather than detaching from your perspective (“you”) or universalizing your perspective (“we”). Help create a safer space for everyone to speak their truth by respecting different forms of expression, honoring boundaries and maintaining confidentiality. Step up and practice asserting, if you tend to be reserved or quiet. Step back and practice listening, if you tend to be talkative.



¹ Adapted from OpenSource Leadership Strategies, Inc. based on learning from a variety of teachers, formal and informal, over many years.

- 2. Lean into discomfort and into each other**—By design, authentic dialogue challenges participants. Discomfort signals that you are being challenged and perhaps even growing from the experience. Support each other to reflect on discomfort with a spirit of inquiry and wonder, in order to reach new awareness and meaning, individually as well as collectively. The process can be useful and meaningful only with everyone's full participation. Support each other to participate fully.
- 3. Commit to non-closure**—While this process might be designed to address an immediate issue, it will raise far more questions than answers. Even while you identify action steps and make progress, there always will be more to learn and do. Staying engaged in the dialogue and process of working together will reap far greater rewards than simply making a decision about what “to do.” You might not go *fast*, but more likely you will go *far*.
- 4. Embrace paradox**—Either-or thinking can stymie dialogue, learning, and change. All of us, individually and collectively, embody paradox—identities, beliefs and experiences that seem to contradict each other. Listen to your intuition, as well as your intellect, to make sense of and hold ideas that appear contradictory. Welcome this in each other.
- 5. Seek intentional learning, not perfection**—Change does not happen through a linear, discrete process of moving from “not knowing” to “knowing.” Instead, periods of deep and intentional inquiry will lead to breakthroughs of discovery...that set the stage for deeper inquiry and further discovery...and so on. Mistakes and failures will occur along the way. But if we are intentional—about learning and growing, being accountable to each other for the impact of our actions, and staying in relationship—we can make progress in our change efforts. This focus on intentionality contrasts with the dominant U.S. culture's obsession with “perfection,” which is unrealistic, unachievable and even undesirable. It distracts us from engaging in the lifelong work of making sustainable social change. “Perfect” truly can be the enemy of the good.

Paradox

Gunilla Norris from *Sharing Silence*

It is a paradox that we encounter so much internal noise when we first try to sit in silence.

It is a paradox that experiencing pain releases pain.

It is a paradox that keeping still can lead us so fully into life and being.

Our minds do not like paradoxes. We want things to be clear, so we can maintain our illusions of safety. Certainty breeds tremendous smugness.

We each possess a deeper level of being, however, which loves paradox. It knows that summer is already growing like a seed in the depth of winter. It knows that the moment we are born, we begin to die. It knows that all of life shimmers, in shades of becoming—that shadow and light are always together, the visible mingled with the invisible.

When we sit in stillness we are profoundly active. Keeping silent, we can hear the roar of existence. Through our willingness to be the one we are, we become one with everything.

Learning Objectives

The Transforming White Privilege (TWP) curriculum is designed to help current and emerging leaders from a variety of sectors better identify, talk about and intervene to address white privilege and its consequences.

Transforming White Privilege Curriculum Goals

To support leaders in better identifying, talking productively about and addressing white privilege and its consequences in their many different spheres of influence.

Content Topics

- Understanding the system of inequity
- Learning about accumulated advantages for whites and accumulated disadvantages for people of color, and their current-day legacy
- Understanding that whiteness is a social construct and why that matters
- Clarity on the different types of white privilege
- Learning about how white culture manifests in organizations
- The impact of internalized racism and internalized privilege
- Understanding how narratives reinforce inequity

Skills to Practice

- Identifying and analyzing white privilege and white culture, and practicing addressing them
- Practicing identifying entry points
- Creating and using mental checklist questions
- Talking about white privilege and structural racism
- Practicing strategic questioning

Outcomes

By the conclusion of the training, we hope participants you will:

- Increase their awareness of how white privilege operates
- Learn more about how to instigate change in their spheres of influence
- Find new entry points for change
- Develop accountability and support among a practice group
- Increase their confidence in talking about white privilege
- Advance their ability to make a compelling case for addressing white privilege
- Have additional tools to work towards racial equity

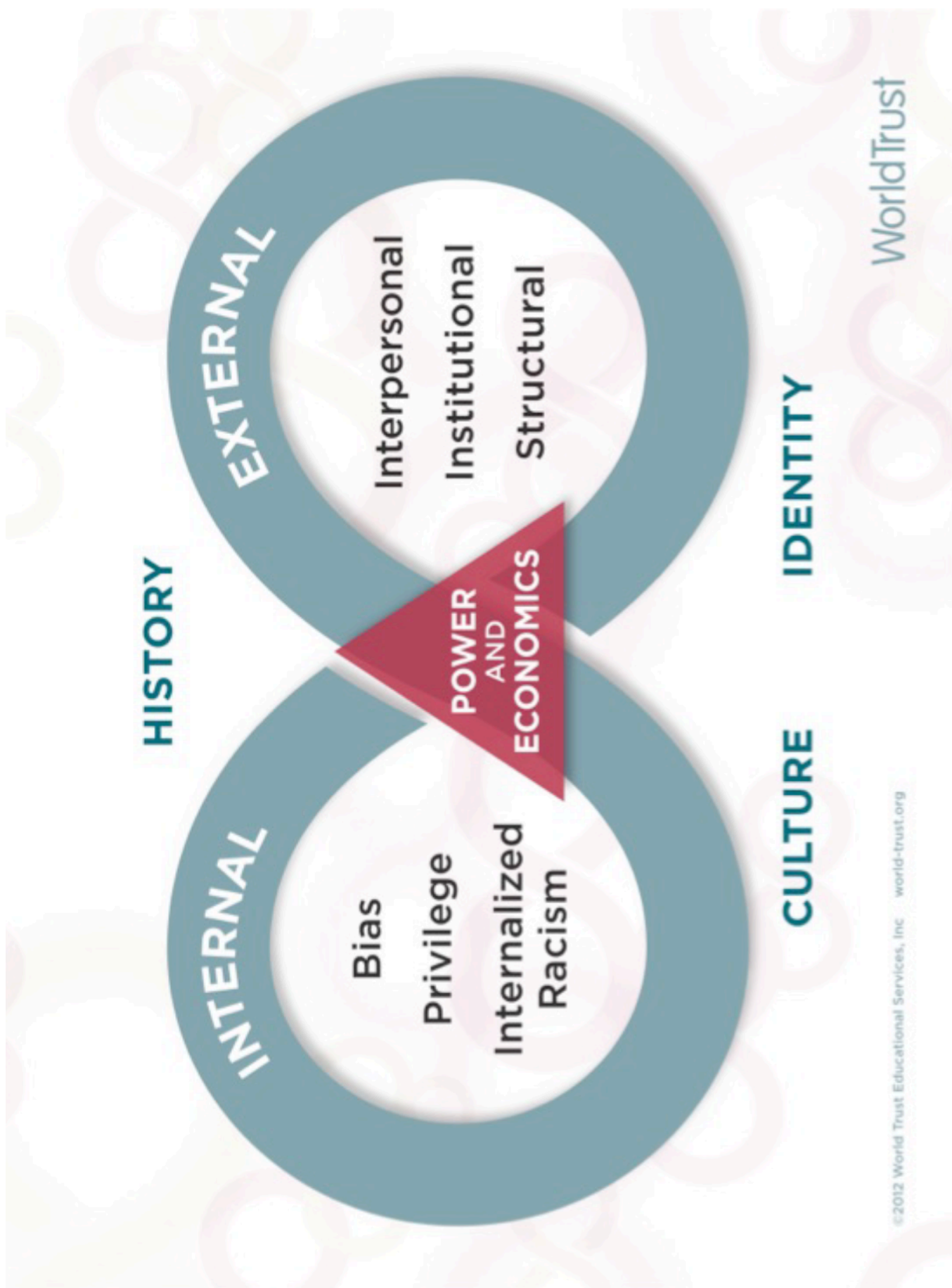
All to boldly interrupt white privilege, because white privilege is what helps create and maintain systemic inequity

Sally Leiderman, CAPD
Maggie Potapchuk, MP Associates
Shakti Butler, World Trust Educational Services, Inc.
Stephanie Leiderman, CAPD

System of Inequity

How does the System of Inequity Function?

- The system of inequity is embedded in history, culture and identity.
- It is driven by (or it is moved by) power and economics.
- The system has internal and external components and consequences.
- The internal components consist of bias, privilege and internalized racism.
- External components operate through institutions (rules, laws, policies, customs), structures and among groups (interpersonal), and they inform our interpersonal, institutional and structural relationships.
- The structure is the networking of the relationships—such as education, banking, media, healthcare and faith-based institutions. Collectively, along with bias, privilege and all of the elements of the system, they support the churning out of inequities.



Different Identity-Based Privileges

What is Privilege?

When people hear that they belong to a privileged group or benefit from something like "race privilege" or "gender privilege," they don't get it, or they feel angry and defensive about what they do get. Privilege has become one of those loaded words we need to reclaim so that we can use it to name and illuminate the truth. ... As Peggy McIntosh describes it, privilege exists when one group has something of value that is denied to others simply because of the groups they belong to, rather than because of anything they've done or failed to do. ... The existence of privilege doesn't mean I didn't do a good job, of course, or that I don't deserve credit for it. What it does mean is that I'm also getting something that other people are denied. ... The ease of not being aware of privilege is an aspect of privilege itself, what some call "the luxury of obliviousness." – Allan G. Johnson, Privilege, Power, and Difference. P. 23-25

Instructions

1. Please identify one or two identity groups, from the list below, in which you have privilege.
2. Reflect on the situations listed for your identity. Take a few minutes and jot down your reflections to these questions:
 - a. Reading the example of situations and thinking about my privilege, I felt...
 - b. How does this kind of privilege show up in my actions (consciously or not) at work, at home, in my community work or in other settings?
3. In pairs, first share your responses to one of the questions above, then brainstorm together: What might I do to be more aware of my privilege in my daily activities?

Reflection Questions²

How might your experience as a white person differ from the experience of a person of color in:

- applying for a job?
- passing police on the street?
- preparing your child to go to school for the first time? *

How might your experience as a heterosexual person differ from the experience of an LGBTQ person in:

- expressing affection, love and comfort in public?
- preparing to introduce your partner to your family of origin?
- participating in the lunch discussion at work on what you did this weekend? *

How might your experience as a Christian differ from the experience of a Jew, Muslim or Atheist in:

- testifying in court?
- arranging time off at work to celebrate a religious holiday?
- openly displaying religious symbols without fear of disapproval, violence or vandalism?

How might your experience as an able-bodied person differ from the experience of a person with a disability in:

- commuting to work each day?
- negotiating where the annual work dinner is to be held?
- how people interpret any expression of anger or frustration? *

How might your experience as a male differ from the experience of a woman in:

- taking the car to a repair shop?
- walking to your car after the store closed at night?
- reading your performance evaluation in which colleagues describe your performance as aggressive?

How might your experience as a professional wage earner differ from the experience of someone who is unemployed in:

- responding to school requests for supplies for your children?
- responding to old acquaintances who want to meet up for lunch?
- answering a want ad for a job 60 miles away? *

² Questions with an * are from: "An invitation to narrative practitioners to address privilege and dominance," a document created: S. Raheim, C. White, S. Denborough, C. Waldegrave, K. Tamasese, F. Tuhaka, A. Franklin, H. Fox, & M. Carey. Some questions were modified or added to by M. Potapchuk, MP Associates.

Different Types of Privilege

Unpacking Joy's Story³

Individual White Privilege

- *Personal and private beliefs that reflect dominant culture norms of the superiority of whiteness*
- *The ability to call oneself white and/or to be part of a national or ethnic group that is implicitly defined as white by institutions, culture and structural systems currently in place*
- *The ability to take advantage of the resources and social rewards that have accumulated for people allowed to be called white*
- *The ability to believe that these resources and social rewards are earned via individual merit*

Discuss some points the checker's supervisor could have regarding how the checker's white privilege was present in this situation. Think about a question the checker's supervisor could use with the checker to assist her in seeing her white privilege, assuming she is not aware of the concept.

Interpersonal White Privilege

- *Behavior between people that consciously or unconsciously reflect internalized white superiority or entitlement*

How did Joy experience the checker's behavior toward her? How did the checker's behavior reflect internalized white superiority or entitlement? What would be a question to ask the checker to challenge the assumptions she made about Joy?

³ Joy Degruy is a well-known researcher, educator and author, best known for her book, *Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome: America's Legacy of Enduring Injury and Healing*.

Cultural White Privilege

- *A set of dominant cultural assumptions about what is good, normal, appropriate and healthy that reflects Western European white world views and dismisses or demonizes other world views*

Joy shared her internal conversation about deciding her response and the potential consequences of her response. Discuss some of the dominant cultural assumptions she had to navigate in this situation.

Institutional White Privilege

- *Policies, practices and behaviors of institutions, such as schools, banks, non-profits and the Supreme Court, that have the effect of maintaining or increasing accumulated advantages for those groups allowed to be called white and maintaining or increasing disadvantages for those racial or ethnic groups not allowed to be called white in current society*
- *The ability of institutions to survive and thrive even when their policies, practices and behaviors maintain, expand or fail to redress poor outcomes for people of color*

Reflect on one institutional advantage for white shoppers and one institutional disadvantage for shoppers of color. Discuss the history and the cultural narrative about buying goods in the U.S.

Structural White Privilege

- *The entire system of white domination, sometimes referred to as white supremacy, including internal and external manifestations in culture, individual beliefs and behaviors, and institutional actions and norms, that both maintains and creates a belief system and norms that reproduce and seek to normalize existing patterns of advantage to those allowed to be called white and disadvantage to and de-humanization of those defined as "other." The system includes powerful incentives for maintaining structural white privilege and its consequences, and powerful negative consequences for trying to interrupt white privilege or reduce its consequences in meaningful ways.*

What other institutions are implicated with Joy's story? What are existing institutional patterns of advantages and cultural beliefs that provided the checker with the assumption that her behavior was acceptable?

Mental Checklist

A Mental Checklist is a series of questions you design to remind yourself to look at how a particular action or decision is influenced by **dominant cultural norms, expectations and power dynamics**, and that you can use to look for **entry points for change**.

Example 1: What are the differential consequences of my decision for various groups? Who stands to lose the most if my decision is a poor one? Have I fully taken into account the risk to people or groups not represented at this table?

Example 2: What worldview am I privileging as I consider what actions to take? What other viewpoints do I need to learn and consider before acting?

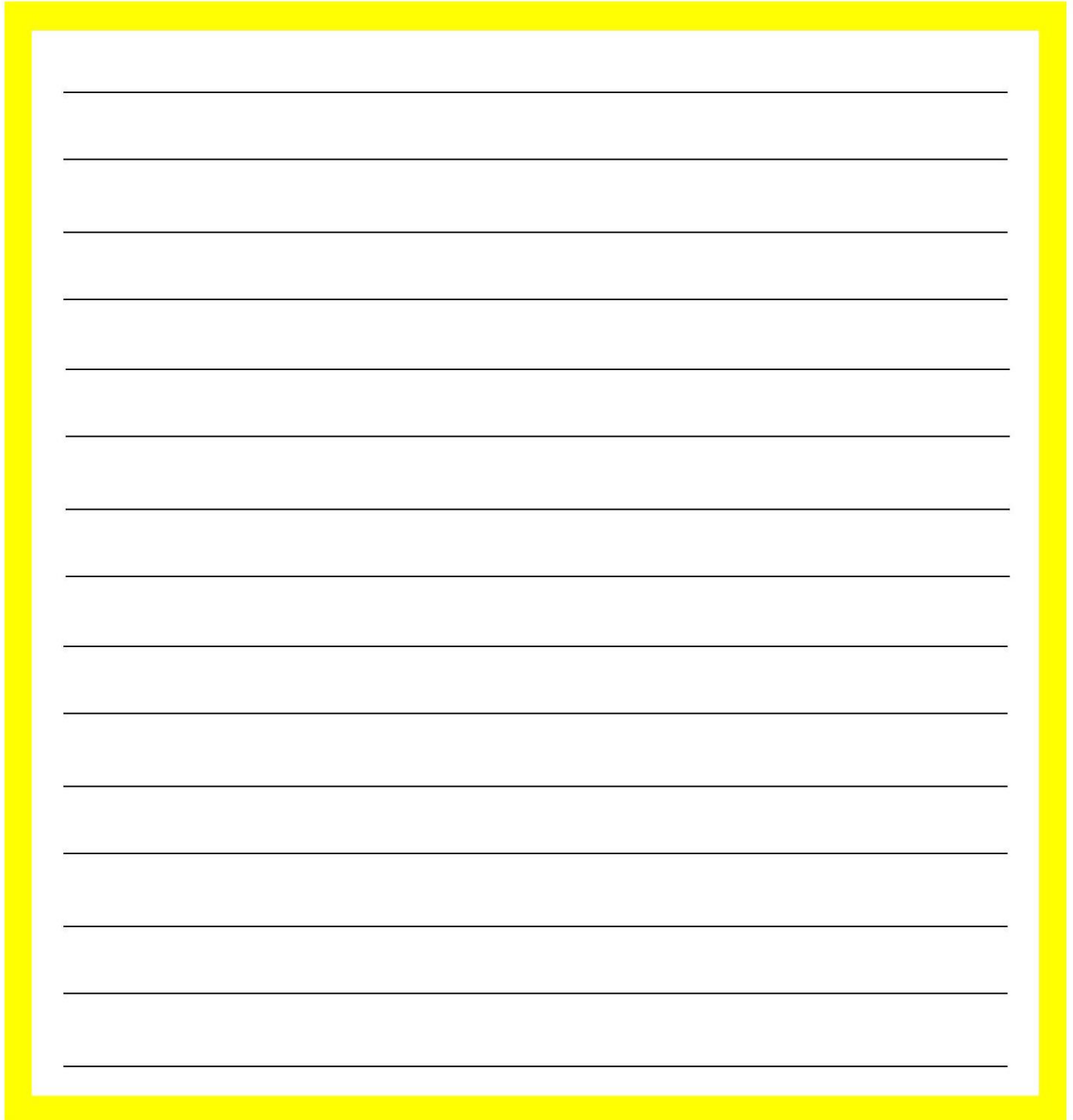
Example 3: How are my actions colluding with my privilege in this particular instance? What could I do right now in this situation that would be useful and effective and not collude with systemic consequences of

Some reflection questions to consider:

1. In your sphere of influence, what does/could your mental checklist look like?
2. What is a question you could ask yourself that would help you stay aware of white privilege or its consequences?
3. What's a question you can ask yourself to challenge your own assumptions around cultural norms and expectations?

Mental Checklist

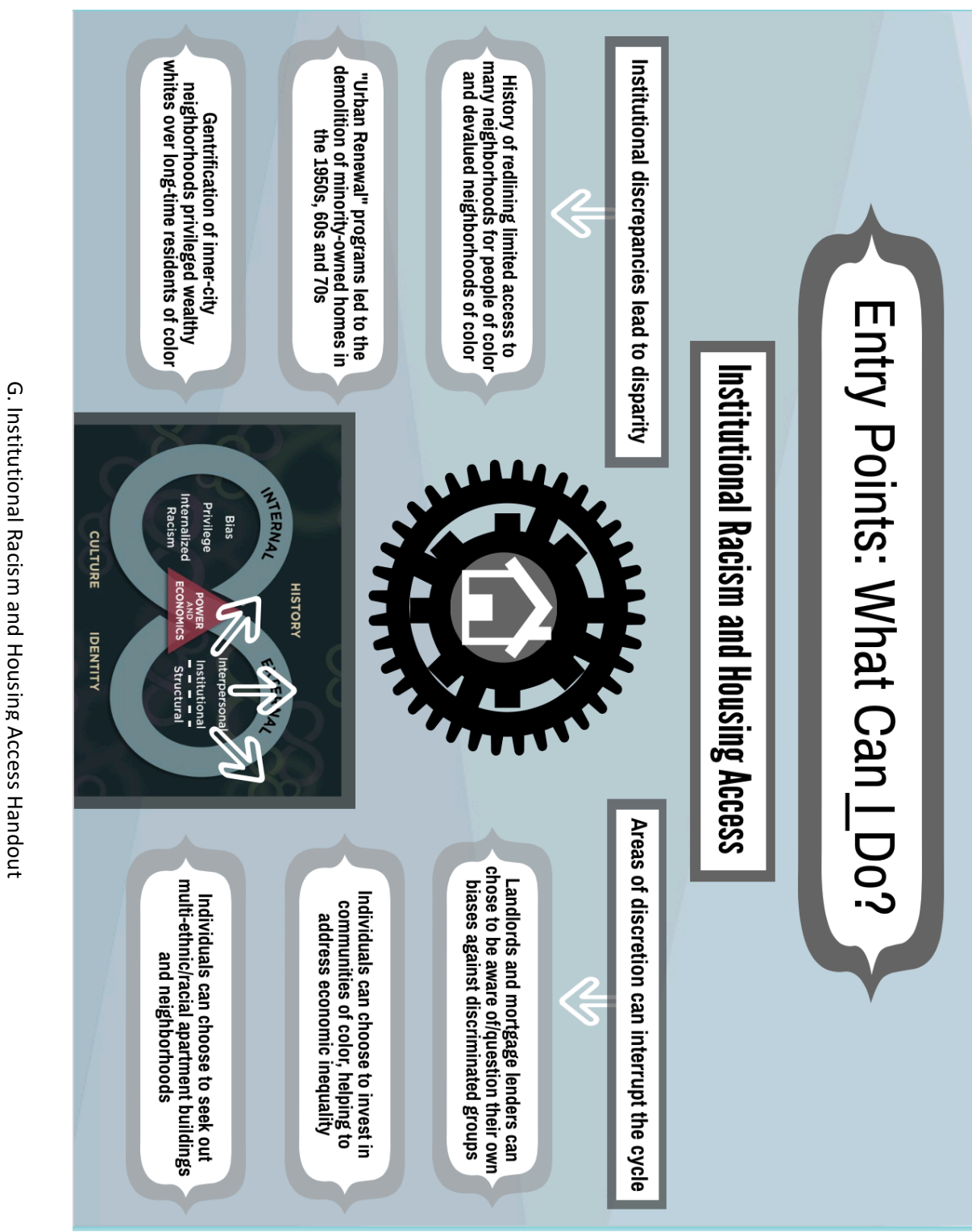
Mental Checklist Questions



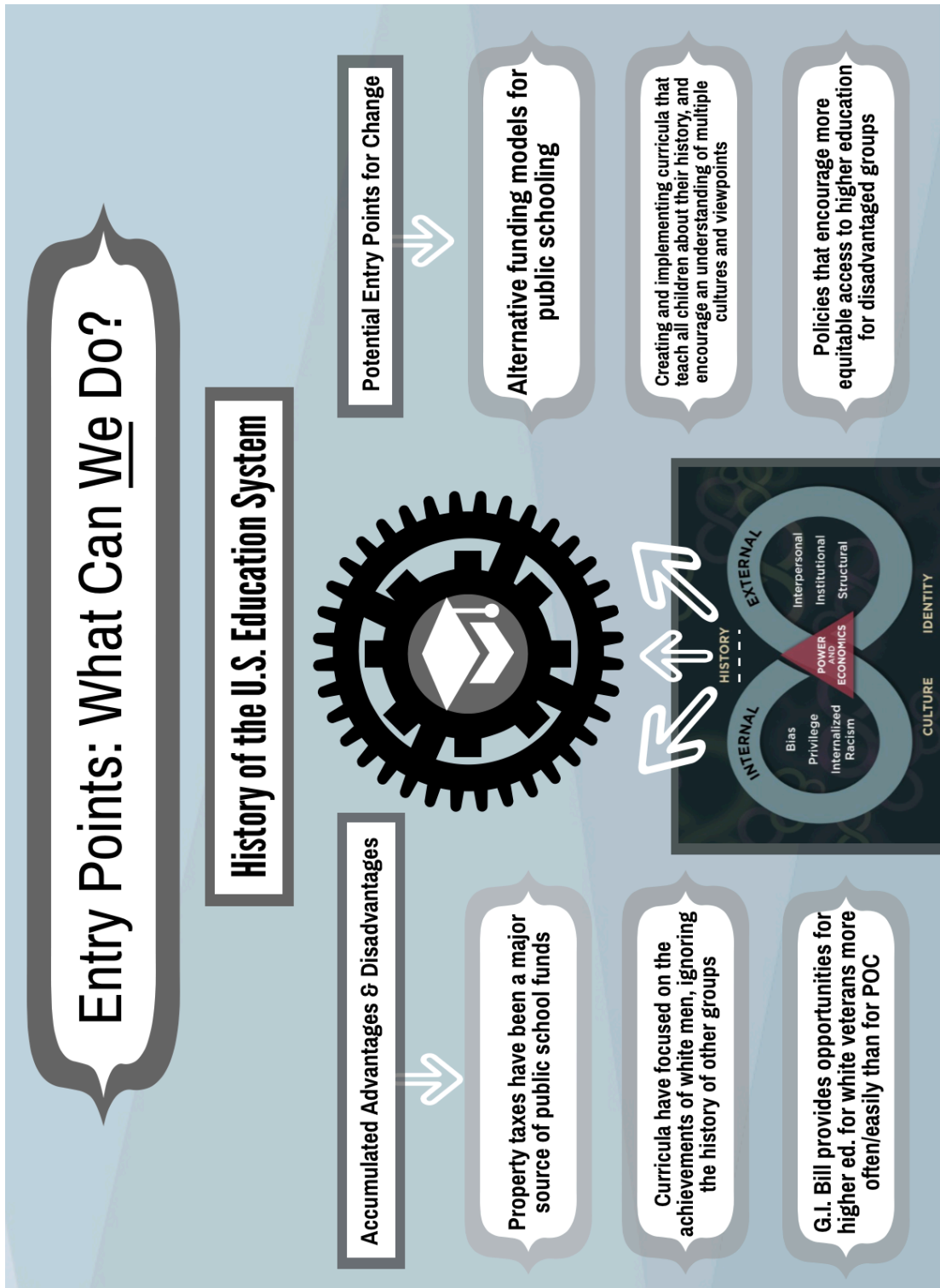
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Institutional Racism and Housing Access



History of the U.S. Education System



G. History of the U.S. Education System Handout

Accumulated Advantages & Disadvantages

Part One – Understanding Policies in the Context of Family History

The **1790 Naturalization Act** permitted only "free white persons" to become naturalized citizens, thus opening the doors to European immigrants but not others. Only citizens could vote, serve on juries, hold office and, in some cases, even hold property. In the early 20th century, Alien Land Laws passed in California and other states reserved farm land for white growers by preventing Asian immigrants, ineligible to become citizens, from owning or leasing land. Immigration restrictions further limited opportunities for people of color. Racial barriers to naturalized U.S. citizenship weren't removed until the McCarran-Walter Act in 1952, and white racial preferences in immigration remained explicit until 1965. From California Newsreel, *Race—The Power of an Illusion*.

What is your family story about residing in the U.S.?

What was discussed with family members?

Was the discussion racialized? If not, how was this policy reinforced through messages you received growing up?

What questions do you have?

Accumulated Advantages & Disadvantages

Part Two – Unpacking Policy: Understanding the Historical and Current Advantages for Whites & Disadvantages for People of Color

Policy	<u>Example:</u> Alabama 's anti-immigrant law requires public schools to determine students' immigration status; makes it a crime to knowingly give an undocumented immigrant a ride; allows police to arrest anyone suspected of being an undocumented immigrant if they're stopped for any other reason; and requires employers to determine if new workers are citizens.	<i>1996 Immigration Act:</i> In an effort to curb illegal immigration, Congress votes to double the U.S. Border Patrol to 10,000 agents over five years and mandates the construction of fences at the most heavily trafficked areas of the U.S.-Mexico border. Congress also approves a pilot program to check the immigration status of job applicants.
How do whites benefit from these past and current laws/policies?	Whites are assumed to belong, even though they might not be a citizen. They do not need to live in fear of being separated from family on the basis of the color of their skin.	
How are people of color disadvantaged by these past and current laws/policies?	Citizens of color are perpetually considered "foreign" and legal residents or visitors who are people of color face racial profiling and harassment by law enforcement.	

Accumulated Advantages & Disadvantages

Part One – Understanding Policies in the Context of Family History

The **1830 Indian Removal Act** forcibly relocated Cherokee, Creeks and other eastern Indians to west of the Mississippi River to make room for white settlers. The 1862 Homestead Act followed suit, giving away millions of acres—for free—of what had been Indian Territory west of the Mississippi. Ultimately, 270 million acres, or 10% of the total land area of the United States, was converted to private hands, overwhelmingly white, under Homestead Act provisions. As white U.S. citizens also moved into former Mexican territories, the rights and privileges of Mexicans eroded. Once territories had a significant white majority (instead of Indian or Mexican majorities), the territories became states. Most of the former Mexicans lost their treaty-guaranteed rights of citizenship, land and resources in these new states. From California Newsreel, *Race—The Power of an Illusion*.

What do you know about the land you lived on growing up?

What was discussed with family members?

Was the discussion racialized?

What questions do you have?

Accumulated Advantages & Disadvantages

Part Two – Unpacking Policy: Understanding the Historical and Current Advantages for Whites & Disadvantages for People of Color

Policy	<u>Example:</u> Eminent domain is an exercise of the power of government or quasi-government agencies (e.g. airport authorities, community development agencies) to take private property or public housing property for public use.	Exclusionary Zoning: The utilization of zoning ordinances to exclude certain types of people from a given community. Exclusionary zoning ordinances are standard in almost all communities. A recent comprehensive survey found that over 80% of United States jurisdictions imposed minimum lot size requirements of some kind on their inhabitants. No longer are these mechanisms exclusively used by the privileged upper-class. Now, they are ubiquitous in nearly all aspects of U.S. society as a means of preserving community characteristics.
How do whites benefit from these past and current laws/policies?	When African Americans developed small business districts in the first half of the 20th century, they were often dismantled by eminent domain to make way for highways for the suburbs, which were redlined for whites only. White families and communities were being subsidized by tax dollars provided by people of all races.	

How are people of color disadvantaged by these past and current laws/policies?	When African Americans developed small business districts in the first half of the 20th century, they were often dismantled by eminent domain to make way for highways for the suburbs, which were redlined for whites only. African Americans lost employment, income and wealth at the same time they were being denied access to subsidized suburbs.	
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Accumulated Advantages & Disadvantages

Part One – Understanding Policies in the Context of Family History

Jim Crow laws, instituted in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and not overturned in many states until the 1960s, reserved the best jobs, neighborhoods, schools and hospitals for white people. From California Newsreel, *Race—The Power of an Illusion*. The South's highly evolved system and customs of leasing [enslaved people] regenerated itself around convict leasing. By 1900, the South's judicial system had been wholly reconfigured into laws specifically written to intimidate blacks—criminalizing them for changing employers without permission, vagrancy, riding freight cars without a ticket, and engaging in sexual activity (or loud talk) with white women. From Douglas Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name*.

What is your family story about public safety, the legal system, and criminal justice?

What was discussed with family members?

Was the discussion racialized? If not, how was this policy reinforced through messages you received growing up?

What questions do you have?

Accumulated Advantages & Disadvantages

Part Two – Unpacking Policy: Understanding the Historical and Current Advantages for Whites & Disadvantages for People of Color

Policy	<p><u>Example:</u> "Stand your ground" laws, which protect citizens who use deadly force in self-defense. As the law stands, if a person believes he/she is at risk of being subjected to deadly force, great bodily harm or rape, he/she can use deadly force without first retreating.</p>	<p><i>Zero Tolerance policies in schools:</i> Curtail the expression of reasonable professional judgment by school educators & administrators, and limit students' and parents' right to equality before tribunals. Schools are expelling students for fighting, violating school dress codes, possessing drugs and alcohol, or carrying anything that resembles a weapon, such as possessing cough medicine, mouthwash, art tools or toy guns. Often, due process is bypassed.</p>
How do whites benefit from these past and current laws/policies?	<p>Whites are advantaged by the media and mainstream perspective that whites are not dangerous, suspicious, and deviant and therefore we should assume good intent.</p>	
How are people of color disadvantaged by these past and current laws/policies?	<p>People of color, particularly African American men, are depicted as dangerous and deviant. Though more likely to be victims of crime, people of color are doubly victimized by the racial profiling of law enforcement.</p>	

Accumulated Advantages & Disadvantages

Part One – Understanding Policies in the Context of Family History

The Federal Housing Administration made it possible for millions of average white Americans—but not others—to own a home for the first time. The government set up a national neighborhood appraisal system, explicitly tying mortgage eligibility to race. Integrated communities were deemed a financial risk and made ineligible for home loans, a policy known today as "redlining." Between 1934 and 1962, the federal government backed \$120 billion worth of home loans. More than 98% went to whites. Of the 350,000 new homes built with federal support in northern California between 1946 and 1960, fewer than 100 went to African Americans. Property holders promoted segregation through the use of racial covenants which were validated by the Supreme Court. From California Newsreel, *Race—The Power of an Illusion*.

What is your family story about housing?

What was discussed with family members?

Was the discussion racialized? If not, how was this policy reinforced through messages you received growing up?

What questions do you have?

Accumulated Advantages & Disadvantages

Part Two – Unpacking Policy: Understanding the Historical and Current Advantages for Whites & Disadvantages for People of Color

Policy	<p><u>Example:</u> A Racially Restrictive Covenant was a legally enforceable “contract” imposed in a deed upon the buyer of property. Although these covenants are not enforceable today, they still exist in many original property deeds, and title insurance policies often contain exclusions preventing coverage of such restrictions. In 2010, 400+ properties were identified in Seattle suburbs that retained (unenforceable) discriminatory language that had once excluded racial minorities.</p>	<p><i>Sub-prime Debt Consolidation and Refinancing Loans:</i> Sub-prime lending refers to lending products geared toward people with low credit ratings and/or low incomes who do not qualify for conventional loans. In exchange for making these higher risk loans, sub-prime lenders charge a higher than conventional interest rate. A 2006 study of 130 cities finds that middle- and upper-income Black and Latino borrowers were actually more likely than low-income white borrowers to get a high-cost loan.</p>
How do whites benefit from these past and current laws/policies?	<p>The racial covenants were intended to establish white [and in some places, white Christian] communities. Though they are no longer enforceable, the intent is informally and formally enforced through laws and practices in communities across the U.S., such as through exclusionary zoning.</p>	
How are people of color disadvantaged by these past and current laws/policies?	<p>Low income people of color are more likely than whites to be concentrated into racially and economically homogenous communities.</p>	

Accumulated Advantages & Disadvantages

Part One – Understanding Policies in the Context of Family History

The landmark **Social Security Act of 1935** provided a safety net for millions of workers, guaranteeing them an income after retirement. But the act specifically excluded two occupations: agricultural workers and domestic servants, who were predominately African American, Mexican and Asian. As low-income workers, they also had the least opportunity to save for their retirement. They couldn't pass wealth on to their children. Just the opposite. Their children had to support them. From California Newsreel, *Race—The Power of an Illusion*.

What is your family story about employment and economic security?

What was discussed with family members?

Was the discussion racialized? If not, how was this policy reinforced through messages you received growing up?

What questions do you have?

Accumulated Advantages & Disadvantages

Part Two – Unpacking Policy: Understanding the Historical and Current Advantages for Whites & Disadvantages for People of Color

Policy	<p><u>Example:</u> TANF is a program to help move recipients into work and turn welfare into a program of temporary assistance; assist needy families so that children can be cared for in their own homes; reduce the dependency of needy parents by promoting job preparation, work and marriage; prevent out-of-wedlock pregnancies; and encourage the formation and maintenance of two-parent families.</p>	<p><i>Child Tax Credit:</i> Tax breaks are less accessible to low-wage families of color. For example, the rules governing eligibility for the child tax credit include a combination of factors (such as income level, family and employment status) that disproportionately limit access for families of color. As a result, on average, this credit provides eligible white families \$83 more than Latino families and \$157 more than Black families. The Child Tax Credit is non-refundable. This means that if a family does not earn enough money to owe federal income taxes, it cannot benefit from the credit.</p>
How do whites benefit from these past and current laws/policies?	<p>Training & transportation allowances were rarely offered to African Americans but always offered to whites (VPU study), and more information and access to social services were provided to whites than people of color. Also, recipients of color face racial discrimination from prospective employers that white recipients do not; thus, white recipients move more quickly from welfare to work than recipients of color, reinforcing stereotypes about personal effort and work ethic.</p>	
How are people of color disadvantaged by these past and current laws/policies?	<p>Training & transportation allowances were rarely offered to African Americans but always offered to whites (VPU study), and more information and access to social services were provided to whites than people of color. Also, recipients of color face racial discrimination from prospective employers that white recipients do not; thus, white recipients move more quickly from welfare to work than recipients of color, reinforcing stereotypes about personal effort and work ethic.</p>	

Accumulated Advantages & Disadvantages

Part One – Understanding Policies in the Context of Family History

‘The **1935 Wagner Act** helped establish an important new right for white people. By granting unions the power of collective bargaining, it helped millions of white workers gain entry into the middle class over the next 30 years. But the Wagner Act permitted unions to exclude non-whites and deny them access to better paid jobs, union protections and benefits such as health care, job security and pensions. Many craft unions remained nearly all-white well into the 1970s. In 1972, for example, every single one of the 3,000 members of Los Angeles Steam Fitters Local #250 was still white. From California Newsreel, *Race—The Power of an Illusion*.

What is your family story about work?

What was discussed with family members?

Was the discussion racialized? If not, how was this policy reinforced through messages you received growing up?

What questions do you have?

Accumulated Advantages & Disadvantages

Part Two – Unpacking Policy: Understanding the Historical and Current Advantages for Whites & Disadvantages for People of Color

Policy	<p><u>Example:</u> Employers say that they can't hire people with criminal records because of liability and safety issues.</p>	<p><i>Child Labor Law:</i> According to the National Safety Council, agriculture is the second most dangerous occupation in the United States. Current U.S. child labor laws allow child farmworkers to work longer hours, at younger ages, and under more hazardous conditions than other working youths. While children in other sectors must be 12 to be employed and cannot work more than 3 hours on a school day, in agriculture, children can work at age 12 for unlimited hours before and after school.</p>
How do whites benefit from these past and current laws/policies?	<p>White men with criminal records are still more likely to be called back for a job than Black men who have never been incarcerated. Whites are not assumed to be criminals, even when they have a record; people of color are assumed to be criminal, even when they do not.</p>	
How are people of color disadvantaged by these past and current laws/policies?	<p>Under the current justice system, people of color are more likely than whites to be arrested, charged, convicted and sentenced for the same criminal offenses. As a result, people of color make up 60% of the incarcerated population and are disproportionately likely to have a criminal record.</p>	

Accumulated Advantages & Disadvantages

Part One – Understanding Policies in the Context of Family History

The **1956 Interstate Highway Act** allowed white people to move farther out from the inner cities, but the federal transit policy did not follow. It wasn't until 1964 & 1970 that Congress contributed significant money to urban mass transit. Employers, noticing that many of their employees were leaving the city, and wanting to take advantage of cheaper land & access to highways, moved out of the inner cities. The cumulative effects were that jobs left the inner cities, but people of color were neither able to move because of racial covenants nor were they able to travel to employment due to lack of access to urban transit. CommonHealth Action

What is your family story about mobility and community to jobs?

What was discussed with family members?

Was the discussion racialized? If not, how was this policy reinforced through messages you received growing up?

What questions do you have?

Accumulated Advantages & Disadvantages

Part Two – Unpacking Policy: Understanding the Historical and Current Advantages for Whites & Disadvantages for People of Color

Policy	<p><u>Example:</u> 80 cents of every dollar spent on surface transportation programs are earmarked for highways and 20 cents is earmarked for public transportation (includes bus and rail transit). States are unlikely to devote 20% of their expenditures to public transportation. (<i>Moving to Equity: Addressing Inequitable Effects of Transportation Policies on Minorities</i>, Sanchez, Stolz, and Ma, 2003).</p>	<p><i>Vehicle Miles traveled (VMT)</i> tax is a policy of taxing motorists based on how many miles they have traveled. It has been proposed as an infrastructure funding mechanism to replace the fuel tax, which has been generating billions less in revenue each year due to increasingly fuel efficient vehicles. A VMT charge is implemented using GPS units on board a vehicle to record distance, assign it to the appropriate taxing jurisdiction, and calculate the amount owed.</p>
How do whites benefit from these past and current laws/policies?	<p>Highway investment encouraged development of suburbs which were redlined, favoring whites and excluding African Americans. Whites overwhelmingly use cars (7% do not own cars), while people of color are more dependent on public transit. Finance corporations that provide dealers auto loans have charged a higher interest rate to African American customers than to white customers in similar situations.</p>	
How are people of color disadvantaged by these past and current laws/policies?	<p>Highway investment encouraged development of suburbs which were redlined, favoring whites and excluding African Americans. Whites overwhelmingly use cars (7% do not own cars), while people of color are more dependent on public transit. Finance corporations that provide dealers auto loans have charged a higher interest rate to African American customers than to white customers in similar situations.</p>	

Flipping the Script Story

Imagine the following:

A group of Native Americans is concerned about the well-being of a group of white children whose families live in a city near their reservation. Several leaders of the Native American community—a physician, some teachers, the editor of the local paper and several Board members of a Native American-led philanthropy—feel the children are disadvantaged because their families are at-risk.

They think the parents and grandparents of the white children are not able to meet the children's needs, perhaps because the parents are working and are not able to give their children sufficient attention. This Native American group also thinks the white children are isolated and not benefiting from enough cultural experiences. They also feel the parents could use some education about how to better raise their children. This group of Native American community leaders and funders really wants to make a positive difference in the lives of the people living in the other community.



What steps do you think the Native American group would have to go through before the parents of the white children would give them access to their children?

Who would likely set the terms of the interactions?

What safeguards might be put in place to protect the children from any unintended ill effects of the encounter?



Flipping the Script Story

Now imagine:

...that the children needing assistance were Native American, or African American, or Latino/a. Imagine that the people who want to help these children are mostly white or, if they are people of color, they are employed by an institution established by white people of wealth.



- *What might the institution expect concerning its access to the children?*
 - *What assumptions might the parents of these children have about this institution's intentions, knowledge of their community, worldviews and their concerns about the likely impact of their joint work?*
 - *What assumptions might the leaders in the institution have about these families regarding their worldviews, values, knowledge and their choices of lifestyle?*
 - *Who would likely control the nature and extent of the interaction, its goals and strategies?*
 - *Where might white privilege and racism come into play, and what might be their impact?*
-



Notes:

White Culture Handout⁴

White Culture defines what is considered normal—it creates the standard for judging values.

For example, think about by whom and how these terms are defined: good parenting, stable family, well-raised child, individual self-sufficiency and effective leadership.

In your organization, what are the characteristics of a good employee? How were you informed? If unwritten rules, how did you learn about them?

White culture privileges a focus on individuals (not groups).

Independence and autonomy are valued and rewarded. An individual is in control of their environment: "You get what you deserve."

In your organization, what is rewarded? Examples: Is there encouragement to compete? Collaborative decision-making? Decisions based on common good?

White culture assigns a higher value to some ways of behaving than others. It often defines the "other" behaviors as dangerous and/or deviant.

For example: Right to comfort. Avoid conflict and emotion. Be polite. Comfort level is defined by whites, and those that cause discomfort or are involved in conflict can be marginalized. Individual acts of unfairness become equal to the pain and discomfort of systemic racism that daily targets people of color (based on Tema Okun's White Supremacy Culture).

In your organization, what behaviors are considered uncomfortable? E.g. conflict, loud voice, crying? How does the organization's culture respond when these behaviors happen?

Decision-making often reflects white cultural assumptions about the primacy of individuals, standards of behavior and the use of power "over" others.

For example: Deciding and enforcing, either/or thinking, those less affected define the problem and solution.

Reflect on the different groups you belong to. Who is included in the decision-making process? What is the rationale? Is the process different on paper vs. in reality?

White culture values certain ways of knowing and not others.

For example: If you can't measure it, it is not of value. Focus on cause and effect relationships and rational linear thinking.

In your organization, who or what informs you that a program/service is working? How is success defined? Who decides what is sufficient time?

4 White Culture description comes from many sources, including: Tema Okun, *White Supremacy Culture*, 2001; Judith Katz, *Some Aspects and Assumptions of White Culture in the United States*, 1985; Robette Ann Dias, *Transforming Institutional Values: Revisited*, 2008; Joseph Barndt, *Understanding and Dismantling Racism: The Twenty-First Century Challenge to White America*, p. 234, 2007; Barbara Major, Chapter 7—"How does White Privilege Show Up in Foundation and Community Initiatives?", *Flipping the Script: White Privilege and Community Building*, 2005.

White Culture Case Study 1

Thrive Springfield

Beth is a white female executive director of a twelve-year-old nonprofit organization, Thrive Springfield. Before creating this new community initiative, she was a housing lawyer who successfully created one of the first mixed-income and multi-racial publicly-subsidized housing complexes in the community. Thrive Springfield's goals are to: create inclusive civic decision-making processes, provide leadership development for emerging diverse leaders, and advocate for improving the quality of life for *all* residents.

The Board created a new Associate Director position, who will be mentored by Beth, with the plan for this person to succeed her when she retires in two years. The organizations conducted a long, exhaustive search and hired Eugene, a Latino, with 15 years of experience in community development, management, and advocacy programs. Eugene hit the ground running to develop a low-income housing program, since the previous effort was not supported by the City Council.

Six months after Eugene was hired, Beth set up a meeting with the Thrive Springfield Board's human resources committee regarding her concern about Eugene's fit for the organization. Beth shared the following with the Board about Eugene's behavior:

Eugene has not met benchmarks Beth and he set to establish the advocacy program. For example, he has not yet developed a policy for City Council members to review. Eugene has focused on meetings with people, though it seems he is slow to build relationships with white females who are the majority of the non-profit leaders in the community.

His writing skills are average. Beth is spending a lot of time redoing his correspondence to ensure it better reflects the organization's diplomatic framing of issues.

Eugene hasn't kept up with internal paperwork and, at this point, Beth is unsure how to create appropriate consequences for that. In her past critiques of Eugene's progress, their discussions focused on his ideas to change organizational processes and Beth explaining why the processes exist.

Discussion Questions

1. Name three examples of how white culture showed up in this situation.
2. What are three questions you could ask Beth, if she asked, that may help her reflect on understanding her role in this situation?
3. What questions do you have, in order to find out further how white culture is manifesting in the organization?

White Culture Case Study 2

Pallid County Welfare Office

The Department of Child Welfare created an innovative process to learn how satisfied their clients are, so the Department can become more responsive and improve their services. The Department hired a dozen clients to be interviewers (7 Latino/a, 4 African American and 1 White). After a daylong training, each interviewer was expected to interview 10 current or past child welfare clients about their experiences with child welfare staff and agency policies.

The twelve people received a \$200 honorarium (\$20 per interview). The Executive Director, Jeri Snyder, an African American female, was reviewing the data and realized three of the 12 interviewers did not complete their tasks of interviewing 10 people by the established deadline. The next day, letters were delivered to three "delinquent" interviewers to inform them that, since they did not complete their task by the deadline, they must pay back \$200 in 10 days.

The staff (60% are Latinos, 15% white, and 25% African American) learned about Mrs. Snyder's decision when an interviewer called her care manager worried how she would pay back the money, as it had helped with her child's medical expenses.

At the next staff meeting, after hearing from several angry staff members about her decision to collect the money, Mrs. Snyder explained her reasoning, focused on teaching clients on what "being responsible" means, with appropriate consequences. A few staff members shared concerns about how this incident may increase distrust between clients and the agency. Mrs. Snyder continued to argue her position, noting how personally overwhelmed and surprised she was by the emotional reaction of the staff, since one of their Agency's key principles is about personal responsibility.

Discussion Questions

1. Name three examples of how white culture showed up in this situation.
2. What questions could the staff have used at the meeting to make their points to the executive director about their concerns regarding her decision? E.g., think about every aspect of this case (process, intent, impact, individual and system levels).
3. What questions do you have in order to find out further how white culture is manifesting in the organization?

White Culture Case Study 3

Social Policy and Advocacy Institute at Lewis College

Lily Martin was hired as Director of Programs at the Social Policy and Advocacy Institute at Lewis College this past year. She is the first Asian American to be hired in the 7 years the Institute has been operating. One of the first things she did was hire a consultant, a white woman named Helen Shaw, to evaluate current services and programs. Lily and Helen worked together at another college several years ago.

Before being hired, Helen was interviewed by the founding director, Sara Lancer, a white woman. During the interview, Helen was puzzled when Sara began quizzing her about Lily and requested tips on how to work with her. Sara expressed concern regarding Lily's supervisory experience. Lily's staff includes four white male researchers, and one white male and a Latina who coordinate the advocacy program.

After a half hour, Sara asked Lily to join the interview. Sara began reading from a list to find out if Lily completed a set of tasks. Lily provided an update on each task, in which she described the significant progress she made. After the interview, Lily mentioned to Helen, it was the first time she had this type of detailed discussion about her work with her supervisor, and she appreciated the opportunity and the time Sara provided her.

A week later, Sara called Helen to offer the consulting position and asked her to stop by the office to finalize the paperwork. As Helen was entering the building, she ran into Lily who informed her she had been fired. Helen was very concerned, especially thinking about how Lily's supervisor quizzed her about Lily during the interview. Lily said she couldn't discuss the situation—and implied that was a condition of receiving unemployment compensation. When Helen met with Sara, she was informed one of the researchers was promoted to Director of Programs.

Discussion Questions

1. Name three examples of how white culture showed up in this situation
2. What are three questions that you might ask Sara that could help her reflect on understanding her role in this situation?
3. What questions do you have in order to find out further how white culture is manifesting in the organization?

Sara –Executive Director
Lily – Director of Programs
Helen - Consultant

Framing Worksheet



Effective messages have three components:

1. Value Statement: “We all believe that individual effort is important.”
2. Message: “Historically and now, being born into one of the ethnicities that was treated/defined as white created systems that give a person a dramatically higher likelihood of a decent education, safe housing, some level of inheritance from a previous generation, better health and the assumption that you are not a criminal.”
3. Inoculating statement: “All of these accumulated advantages or disadvantages influence your ability to reap rewards from your own hard work”

Framing Overview and Tips

There is no one way to deal with racism or to talk about white privilege.

Work on creating messages with three elements:

- Value statement – to create common ground and openness to hear
- Message – terms tested and tailored to the audience, if possible
- Inoculating statement – anticipating audiences most likely objections, conclusions,

Framing Practice

1 Write down a message that you want to share about racism/privilege.

Include a value statement, a message and an inoculating statement

2 Share in groups of three. Take turns playing the following roles:

- Speaker: Read your sentences.
- Listener 1: Repeat what you just heard.
- Listener 2: Say out loud the next thought that came into your mind as you were listening. Try to share anything you automatically added, or resisted hearing.

What did you notice?

Entry Points Worksheet

Please answer the questions below. As you think about entry points, don't worry about the practical considerations. Just for now, imagine what might move a system towards justice.

A. Considering opportunities for change when there are areas of discretion within a system of policies, regulations or laws		
QUESTION:	EXAMPLE: Drawn from "Institutional Racism and Housing Access" slide	YOUR ANSWERS
1. Name an area of discretion or elasticity in one of your spheres of influence.	Landlords have some discretion in how they interact with potential renters. This includes ways that can encourage or discourage someone from applying for housing, even within current fair housing laws	
2. How might white privilege influence what we look for, the questions we ask and/or the process we use to determine the decision that is made?	How landlords interact with a potential renter—body language or other signals that reflect implicit or explicit biases and which influence who applies for housing	
3. Thinking about the system that currently controls the decision-making process, what are some possible entry points to change?	Test current policies by installing on-line (blind) rental applications in a community for a period of time, to see if that impacts the racial/ethnic distribution of applications.	

Entry Points Worksheet

Please answer the questions below. As you think about entry points, don't worry about the practical considerations. Just for now, imagine what might move a system towards justice.

B. Considering opportunities for change when systems are maintaining or reinforcing inequities built on accumulated advantages and disadvantages		
QUESTIONS	EXAMPLE: Drawn from History of the U.S. Education System slide	YOUR ANSWERS
Name a policy, practice or decision historically based on dominant cultural assumptions about people's characters related to white privilege.	School funding is tied to community property values, ensuring that poorer communities will have fewer resources in their public schools. One impact of this begins at pre-school, where African American boys, Native Americans and students with disabilities are disproportionately expelled. Many of the explanations for this disparity have to do with inadequate funding: schools in poorer and less white communities tend to be unable to afford lower student/teacher ratios, appropriate pre- and in-service training and ready access to behavioral health supports. ⁵	
What is at least one way that current systems continue to maintain the impact of these assumptions?	Permitting expulsion of pre-school children from public schools Failure to address potential teacher bias in pre-service and in-service teacher training	
What might be an entry point to reduce or eliminate the current consequences of those historical assumptions?	Fully fund and implement current regulations in a neighborhood or community to provide appropriate early intervention services to each child.	

⁵ See: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights Data Snapshot: School Discipline Issue Brief No. 1 (March 2014) <http://ocrdata.ed.gov/Downloads/CRDC-School-Discipline-Snapshot.pdf>. Suspension of preschool children, by race/ethnicity and gender (new for 2011-2012 collection): Black children represent 18% of preschool enrollment, but 48% of preschool children receiving more than one out-of-school suspension; in comparison, white students represent 43% of preschool enrollment but 26% of preschool children receiving more than one out-of-school suspension. Boys represent 79% of preschool children suspended once and 82% of preschool children suspended multiple times, although boys represent 54% of preschool enrollment..."

Harberg Case Study

Description of the Community:

Harberg is a bustling community of 96,000 residents; it is 55% white, 35% African-American, 3% Latino, 7% Asian-American and .4% Native American. Harberg is a popular community for tourists, and includes a long stretch of antique shops, an outlet mall and a gorgeous lake and recreation area. The community's economy is doing well, with several major employers, a regional hospital, outlet mall and a community college. The Mayor, who is white, is the past VP of a local energy company and has been in office for two terms. The Mayor is seen as a populist, though one with conservative views on crime and education.

Eight City Council people are elected, and only in the past four years has the Harberg council become more racially diverse, with two African American members being elected. Recently there are a few new issues the council is addressing, after a community meeting held to inform their strategic planning process. A few minority business owners have shared their concerns about not getting their share of government contracts. A group of residents in the northern part of the city complained about the police not responding quickly to their 911 calls.

People tend to live in various clusters around the lake. These clusters are a window into the more general segregation within the community.

In the northern area of the town is where most of the people of color live. The southern section of the city is where most whites and a few people of color who are upper middle class live. The south section is also where the outlet mall and antique shops are located.

The Kiwanis Club and the Third Baptist Church (the church has the most diverse congregation in the community) are the key organizers of a major community event, "Hands Across the World." The annual regional event is complete with a feast of ethnic food and a great showcase of dance, music and art from around the world.

The Chamber of Commerce's Leaders Council of Harberg is one of the major organizations that support this event financially. The Leaders Council consists of the top executives of each local company that employs more than 2,000 people. Until last year, the Chamber's Leaders Council only had white members, until an Asian-American man was promoted to president at the regional hospital owned by the Sisters of Mercy. The Leaders Council regularly discusses major civic issues and strategically moves their agenda forward.

Harberg Case Study



The Situation:

Two weeks before the “big event,” the Mayor receives a call from Samuel Robinson, president of Racial Justice Action, one of the oldest civil rights organizations in the region, who requests a meeting. The Mayor guesses it may be about minority business owners’ frustration with the government contracting process. However, Mr. Robinson informs the mayor that Racial Justice Action is planning on organizing protests before, during and after the event, until the mayor and council address the racial disparities in the community.

Mr. Robinson provides the mayor a long list of significant racial disparities: segregation index of Harberg, high school graduation rates, lack of diversity in the police and fire departments, response time to 911 calls in northern neighborhoods of the community, increased police stops in northern Harberg and the lack of affordable housing in southern Harberg.

Mr. Robinson demands that the mayor and the city council create an action plan within three months to address each of the racial disparities, and that they ensure diverse members of the community are involved in working with the council on the development of this action plan. He will hold off on the protests, if the mayor convenes key leaders who will announce together this community process to create an action plan by the three-month deadline to address racial disparities in Harberg. Overwhelmed by the statistics, Racial Justice Action demands and the threat of the protest, the mayor makes the commitment and calls the meeting.

The Meeting:

The mayor and members of the City Council, chair of the Leaders Council, Superintendent of the School District, Mr. Robinson and the pastor of Third Baptist Church, are now gathered to discuss the racial disparities and to begin to plan the community process of creating an action plan within three months. Members of the community hear about the meeting, and also show up to share their perspective.

Q. Harberg Case Study

Harberg Case Study

Institutional Leaders Attending the Meeting:

HELLO

MY NAME IS

Mayor

I have one year left in office and will not be seeking re-election. I was an advocate for diversity at the Energy Company, being the first female vice president, and was met with heavy resistance, though I found a few allies. My perspective on race, especially with education and crime, has significantly changed in the past year when my son and his partner adopted a biracial child. Though I am very nervous about this conversation, I also hope we can find some common ground and truly make some progress on addressing these appalling racial disparities. Though I was aware of some of these racial inequities, the way they were shared by Mr. Robinson, I was taken aback, and I want to make sure something happens on my watch, but am unsure how to move forward.

HELLO

MY NAME IS

Sam Robinson
President of Racial
Justice Action

It is time for Harberg to enter the 21st century. When I travel around the state on business, it just feels like our town is back in the 1950s. I know this was a bold move, but people of color need to step into their leadership in this community and demand some changes. I think doing this right before the Festival gets some of these white leaders to sit up and pay attention. I realize it may be unrealistic to have a plan completed in three months, but if we don't ask for a short turnaround, it will take them 5 years just get around the table.

HELLO

MY NAME IS

Bobbie
City Council Member

I am a past board president of the United Way, and I am very supportive of Racial Justice Action's demand. I know there are resistance, fear and ignorance; there are a lot of liberal whites paying lip service regarding diversity, but they have no idea of the truly stark differences between Northern and Southern Harberg. The mayor only comes to Northern Harberg when it is election time or time to attend an event for her to hobnob at and show she represents all the people of Harberg.

HELLO

MY NAME IS

Robin
Chair of
Leaders Council

The timing is ridiculous. If they really believed in this community, they would have waited until after "Hands across the World." This increases my lack of trust for Racial Justice Action; I thought they were a team player. We have been doing this festival for the past 10 years. We have been celebrating diversity long before other communities in this region. I will have this conversation, but not until after the event. I will not be held hostage to these demands.

Harberg Case Study

HELLO

MY NAME IS

Jesse

City Council Member

I use to be a union steward and am now running the largest antique store in the community with my wife. I appreciate Mr. Robinson's strategy, but I believe it doesn't work to make these types of demands. I wish he had spoken to me. I could have mentored him on different strategies to use. Now he put us in a difficult situation, so I am very frustrated. I need to take the lead here—that will help me solidify my candidacy as the next mayor.

HELLO

MY NAME IS

Jackie

Superintendent
Harberg County School District

This day was coming, but that it happened right before the Festival is unfortunate. The issues were escalating. I was starting to hear about some of these issues from some of my staff, as well as at recent PTA meetings. These statistics are appalling. I am not sure what we can accomplish, or even how to start having a conversation with members of the community about racial disparities. I think we have done a lot of things well, and we need to acknowledge it. One of my fears is, because of the timeline, we will do this quickly instead of thoughtfully and, therefore, not really hear from everyone in the community.

HELLO

MY NAME IS

Rev. Smith

Pastor
Third Baptist Church

Well, I am a little bit upset with Samuel Robinson. I was one of the folks voting at the Racial Justice Action board meeting for us to delay this strategy until next year, but I was in the minority. I know we have to address these issues, but Samuel is a consultant whose clients are in other parts of the state. For me, the chair of the Leaders Council is my employer, the president of the company where I work. I have no idea what the consequences after this meeting will be for myself, the church and our community. I need to focus on lessening this conflict as much as possible and trying to get Samuel to change his time parameters.

Notes:

Role Play Worksheet

All Groups Answer the First Question

Name a few different ways you are seeing white culture manifesting in Harberg and/or in any of the individual characters, as they are described in the role play materials. Feel free to use the White Culture Handout for your discussion.

Round One: "Talking about Racism and White Privilege" Groups

What are some of the cultural narratives discussed about Harberg in the case study? How do the various characters seem to be relying on these different cultural narratives?

How might you describe one of the issues related to racism or white privilege showing up in this case study, that one of the characters might be able to hear as you intend? Keep in mind the three elements of framing (value statement, message and inoculating statement) to craft your statement.

Role Play Worksheet

Round Two: "Identifying Entry Points" Groups

What might be an entry point for positive change in the case scenario within the influence of one or more people involved in the case? Think particularly about an entry point drawing on an area of discretion and or elasticity.

Discuss possible areas of discretion or elasticity for two of the community members.

Journal Page

Use this space to answer reflection questions, write down notes and questions for yourself, and/or as an open opportunity to process thoughts as they occur to you throughout the training session.

A large rectangular area for journaling, framed by a thick brown border and a blue inner border. The interior is white with horizontal ruling lines.

[illegible]

Journal Page

A journal page template featuring a light blue border and a series of horizontal lines for writing. The page is framed by a brown border. The writing area is enclosed in a blue border and contains 20 horizontal lines.

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines, typical of notebook paper. The paper is set against a light blue background. There are 20 horizontal lines spaced evenly across the page. The lines are thin and black. The paper has a slight shadow on its right side, giving it a three-dimensional appearance as if it's floating or resting on a surface.

Journal Page

A journal page template featuring a light blue border and a series of horizontal lines for writing. The page is framed by a brown border. The writing area is enclosed in a blue border, and the lines are evenly spaced throughout the page.

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines, typical of notebook paper. The paper is set against a light blue background. There are 20 horizontal lines in total, evenly spaced across the page. The lines are thin and black. The paper has a slight shadow on its right side, giving it a three-dimensional appearance as if it's floating or resting on a surface.

Additional Resources

Structural Racism

It is important for participants to understand the concepts of structural racism, as well as the different types of racism: individual, interpersonal, cultural and institutional.

The definition we often use is from the Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change: *“the term structural racism refers to a system in which public policies, institutional practices, cultural representations and other norms work in various, often reinforcing ways to perpetuate racial group inequity...the structural racism lens allows us to see that, as a society, we more or less take for granted a context of white leadership, dominance, and privilege. This dominant consensus on race is the frame that shapes our attitudes and judgments about social issues. It has come about as a result of the way that historically accumulated white privilege, national values, and contemporary culture have interacted so as to preserve the gaps between white Americans and Americans of color.”* The term structural racialization has also become popular more recently (See [Dr. John A. Powell's](#) work). The idea of racialization is being used for two reasons. First, to avoid some of the negative response to the term “racism,” and second, to emphasize the processes by which institutions and systems create and maintain racism—not, at this point, the actions of individual people acting out of their own individual, conscious racism.

Resources:

- **Structural Racism and Community Building** Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change
- **PRAAC Structural Racism Issue** Poverty and Race Research Action Council
- **Understanding Structural Change** Funders for LGBTQ Issues
- **What is Systemic Racism? A Video Series** Race Forward
- **Challenging Racialized Structures and Moving Towards Justice** Dr. John A. Powell, Kirwan Institute
- **Structural Racism** Keith Lawrence and Terry Keleher
- **Structural Racialization: A Systems Approach to Understanding the Causes and Consequences of Racial Inequity** Kirwan Institute
- **Post Racism or Targeted Universalism** Dr. John A. Powell, Berkeley Law
- **A Structural Analysis of Oppression** Sandra Hinson & Alexa Bradley, Grassroots Policy Project
- **Systems Thinking and Race: Workshop Summary** Dr. John A. Powell, Connie Cagampang Heller and Fayza Bundalli, The California Endowment

Tools:

- **Dismantling Structural Racism: A Racial Equity Theory of Change** Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change
- **Operationalizing a Structural Racism Framework: A Guide for Community Level Research and Action** Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change, Stacy Sutton
- **The Unequal Opportunity Race** African American Policy Forum

Workshops and Exercises

- **Understanding the System of Inequity** World Trust Educational Services
- **Systems Thinking and Race: Workshop Summary** The California Endowment
- **Race, Power and Policy: Dismantling Structural Racism** Grassroots Policy Project
- **Race—The Power of an Illusion** California Newsreel
- **Race to Equity Toolkit for Conversation** YWCA—Madison, WI
- **Racial Equity Learning Modules** World Trust Educational Services

Other Key Resources

Beyond Our Wildest Dreams: Racial Equity Learning is a collection of learning modules created by World Trust Educational Services in collaboration with other leading racial justice organizations. The project is inspired by the World Trust film project *Cracking the Codes: The System of Racial Inequity*, and seeks to bridge the gap between inspiration and democratic action that supports racial equity. Whether you are an educator or trainer, we hope these resources will help you support others to drop preconceptions of what is possible, and to dream of and reach for a world in which all are respected, valued and able to thrive.

These modules are designed to facilitate deep learning and change. The “Understanding the System of Racial Inequity” module is designed to provide a starting point for those new to ideas about fairness and equity. Each REL module comes with a complete Facilitator’s Guide and PowerPoint Presentation. Please go to www.world-trust.org to purchase these supporting materials. We would like to acknowledge that funding for this project was provided by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation.

Strategic Questioning: An Approach to Creating Personal and Social Change

http://www.gti.today/Resources/strategic_questioning.pdf

Fran Peavey

Strategic Questioning is one of the last modules in this curriculum and provides a process to learn how to use questions as pathways for shifting perspectives and embedded assumptions and creating possibilities towards changing outcomes.

Flipping the Script: White Privilege and Community Building

<http://community-wealth.org/content/flipping-script-white-privilege-and-community-building>

Maggie Potapchuk, Sally Leiderman, Donna Bivens, and Barbara Major

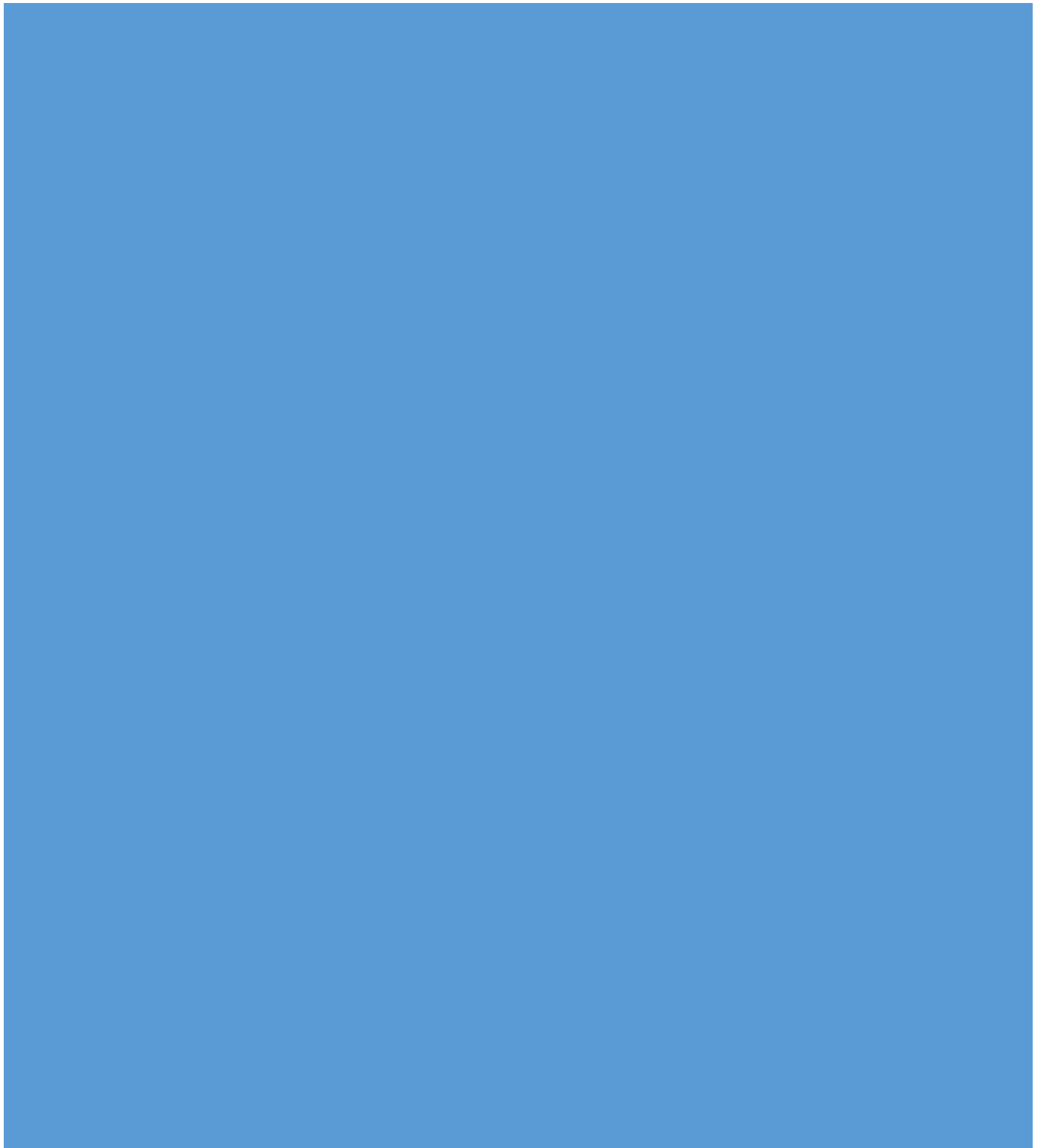
This report defines and explores issues of white privilege and racism in community building work. The authors examine how we go about improving and bringing resources into communities that can sometimes reinforce existing power struggles and deepen racial inequities. The first half of *Flipping the Script* defines racism, internalized racism, white privilege and how they are related to community building work. The second half offers ideas for doing evaluation, community building and interventions differently, in ways that might reduce their historical or current consequences.

Racial Equity Tools

<http://www.racialequitytools.org/home>

MP Associates, Center for Assessment and Policy Development, and World Trust Educational Services

Finally, the go-to clearinghouse, Racial Equity Tools is designed to support individuals and groups working to achieve racial equity. This site offers tools, research, tips, curricula and ideas for people who want to increase their own understanding and to help those working toward justice at every level—in systems, organizations, communities and the culture at large.



Transforming White Privilege

A 21st Century Leadership Capacity

Contact us at twpinfo@racialequitytools.org