MAKING PROGRESS:

A Tool and Resources for Leading Inclusive Communities

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ASSESSING YOUR COMMUNITY'S INCLUSIVENESS

By Maggie Potapchuk

About the National League of Cities

The National League of Cities (NLC) is the oldest and largest national organization representing municipal governments throughout the United States. Its mission is to strengthen and promote cities as centers of opportunity, leadership and governance. One of our core beliefs that serve as a guiding organizational principal for all activities is the value of diversity throughout our organization and our communities. Our efforts towards ensuring racial equality are continuing.

In 2000, then-National League of Cities President Bob Knight, Mayor of Wichita, Kansas, called on the leaders of the nation's cities and towns to join together in a concerted effort to "eliminate racism once and for all." To carry out that call to action, the National League of Cities (NLC) launched the Campaign to Promote Racial Justice and Equality. By "joining" the campaign—cities issued proclamations, held special events and highlighted local efforts, worked with their state municipal leagues on statewide efforts, responded to surveys, shared information about approaches, and perhaps, most importantly, acknowledged that city leaders must play a key role in confronting racism in America.

The current phase of NLC's effort entitled *Achieving Racial Justice and Improving Race Relations* is continuing to build upon past works. This project seeks to explore new and better ways in preparing local elected officials to face racial and ethnic issues and to assist in their building of inclusive communities. This joint workshop, *Leading Change: Tools and Resources For Inclusive Communities*, is one way of working to accomplish that goal.

Preface

The following *Inclusive Community Assessment Tool* was originally created in 2001, based on Maggie Potapchuk's work in Clarksburg, West Virginia. The book *Steps Toward an Inclusive Community* chronicles this community's response to a demonstration by the Ku Klux Klan after the first African-American mayor was elected. The Appalachian Regional Commission provided a grant to the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies to conduct this research.

The National League of Cities wanted to share the tool with local elected officials, and co-designed the *Leading Change: Tools and Resources for Inclusive Communities* workshop to pilot at two state league conferences, in Idaho and Mississippi. Feedback by local elected officials helped to modify the *Inclusive Community Assessment* tool, which was originally created for predominately white communities.

A theme throughout this text is the encouragement to white community leaders and local elected officials to learn about the complexities of racism, develop skills to be courageous change agents, and work toward creating more inclusive communities.

> *There are many persons ready to do what is right because in their hearts they know it is right. But they hesitate, waiting for the other fellow to make the first move—and he, in turn, waits for you. The minute a person whose word means a great deal dares to take the open hearted and courageous way, many others follow.*
> *- Marian Anderson, 1956[1]*

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An Inclusive Community . . .

♦ *meets the highest legal and moral obligations to achieve full access, equity, and respect for all people;*

♦ *works consistently to dismantle discriminatory barriers and white privilege;*

♦ *engages all citizens as partners for change;*

♦ *Uses an inclusive decision-making, negotiation, meeting, and conflict resolution process;*

♦ *Supports and provides opportunity for racial dialogue;*

♦ *Educates residents about individual and structural racism;*

♦ *values diversity rather than feels threatened by it; and*

♦ *remains alert and responds quickly to racist incidents.*

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STEPS TOWARD AN INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY

A TOOL FOR ASSESSING YOUR COMMUNITY'S INCLUSIVENESS

Complexities of Racism

The United States was founded on the principle that "all men {sic} are created equal." Yet the history of our country does not reflect this principle. Unfortunately, the story of our history is rarely told with candor. Slavery, lynchings, Jim Crow laws, internment camps, and land robbery are outlined only sketchily in reflections upon our country's history. As more people learn about the history of the United States through a racial lens, a disconnect occurs: we try to be proud of the founding democratic principles of this country, yet seek to understand why those same principles were ignored when it came to the lives of people of color.

The pictures of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s, and the violence in response to it, are etched in the minds of many citizens of the United States. Memories of these events and assumptions about this movement's outcomes cause another disconnect when current racial discrimination or disparities are pointed out. Many white Americans say, "but we have come so far." It is true that the blatant racism of the past has diminished significantly, yet the racism of today can be equally destructive and divisive. As community leaders it is important to refocus our racial lens to see the reality of racism intertwined in our institutions and our psyche. Racism has mutated, it has not disappeared. And our founding democratic principles, while etched in our minds, are still not integrated into our current institutional practices or all individuals' belief systems.

> *"We no longer see hoses and dogs being set on people.* [2]
> *Now a lot of this happens beneath the surface in areas*
> *like hiring, housing, contracts, procurement, and access*
> *to capital, which makes it that much harder to deal with."*
> —*Carol Clark, City Council member, East Orange, New Jersey*

The following are some examples of how equality for all remains elusive as an institutional practice in key community sectors, such as housing, employment, education, and health care.

Health Care
- In studies that span two decades, people of color who arrive at a hospital while having a heart attack are significantly less likely to receive aspirin, beta-

blocking drugs, clot-dissolving drugs, acute cardiac catheterization, angioplasty, or bypass surgery.[3]

- The infant mortality rate for blacks in 1995 was more than twice the rate for non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics, and Asians.[4]
- A UCLA study found that Hispanics in emergency rooms in Los Angeles are twice as likely as white people in comparable circumstances to end up with no pain medication, not even Tylenol.[5]

Housing

- A major federal study conducted 3,800 test audits in two dozen metropolitan areas. Black renters faced discrimination by landlords about 53 percent of the time, and black home seekers faced discrimination by realtors about 59 percent of the time. [6]
- Another study used black, Latino, and white testers who posed as homeowners seeking insurance coverage. Three major insurance companies in nine cities were tested. The overall rate of racial discrimination was 53 percent in regards to insurance coverage as well as price. The study showed the white testers were offered greater insurance options and lower costs.[7]

Employment

- While the gap between the high school completion rates of African-Americans and whites continues to narrow, there is still a significant earnings gap between blacks and whites with high school diplomas.
- The U.S. Census Bureau reported that in March 1996, blacks earned 74.5 cents for every dollar earned by whites, compared to 72 cents in 1986.[8]
- Economist Timothy Bates found that African-Americans are less likely to get commercial loans than whites, and that African-Americans who do obtain loans receive on average 40 percent less than comparable white borrowers.[9]

Education

- Paul Kivel, author of *Uprooting Racism*, shares this reality of the racial disparities in education, "Most students in the United States go to schools that are highly segregated by race because of discriminatory housing and lending practices, and estate tax laws which promote the transfer of wealth through generations. Predominately white schools spend much more per student than schools in which the majority of students are of color. The average differences in spending are probably about 2 to 1, although in many areas the greatest differences can run 8 to 1 or 10 to 1."[10]
- At historically white universities, studies demonstrate that campus cultures are hostile or alienating for students of color. Not only are there racial barriers raised by unequal treatment by faculty members, racial biases in curricula, and less time with academic advisors, but in several universities there have been reports of racist graffiti in residence halls, racist flyers posted on campus, and racist cartoons being published both clandestinely and overtly.[11]

- Maurice Glele-Ahanhanzo, Special Rapporteur for the United Nations on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, observed in his report on the United States: "School curricula fails to take sufficient account of the cultural heritage and ethnic diversity of the United States and tends to conceal the country's history and (to) deny the identity of the various non-white communities of which it is composed, to the benefit of education emphasizing America's European heritage."[12]

Some of these facts are seeping into our public consciousness. Some white Americans seek to change institutions and lessen these racial disparities. But a question that is not asked, especially in racially mixed company (for fear of being considered selfish by some and racist by others), is "How will institutional changes that advocate for racial equity affect my quality of life and that of my family?" This potentially awkward, divisive issue nonetheless needs to be addressed because a good quality of life must be created for all, not just for some. When we talk about fairness and justice, many white Americans can be in agreement because those are common values. Once it is taken out of the abstract and applied to everyday behavior and systemic changes that may impact current privileges, then the discussion becomes more difficult and the potential for conflict increases.

Creating an inclusive community is about working on three different levels—individual, intergroup, and institutional change. Institutional change is about insuring there is a level playing field for jobs, housing, education, etc. but it is also about asking who is making policy decisions, whose voices are being listened to, whether those policies impact one group of people more than another group, and other questions that analyze the role of race and power. Simultaneously while working on institutional change, white people need to focus specifically on increasing individual awareness, improving intergroup skills, and recognizing the role of our stereotypes, biases, and fear sometimes play into how the structural racism operates. One of strands of racism is aversive racism which is based on the research of Dr. Sam Gaertner and Dr. John Dovido. They describe aversive racism as, "a subtle form of bias characteristic of many white Americans who possess strong egalitarian values and who believe that they are not prejudiced. But many also possess negative racial feelings and beliefs that they are unaware of, or that they try to dissociate from their images of themselves as non-prejudiced."[13] It is important for whites working to create more inclusive communities, to understand the subtleness of racism and how it is inherent in our communication and our actions.

That is why it is hard for many white Americans to face a situation in which their own statements or actions are perceived to be racist (a term usually associated, incorrectly, only with hate group affiliation or the Archie Bunker stereotype), especially when they believe their intentions are good. This may be very confusing for some whose intentions are not to cause harm to or insult people of color. An example of a frequent and consciously intended complimentary statement that highlights comments typical of these situations would include a white person saying, "You are so articulate," to a person of color. Some people of color may react, "Did you assume 'we' automatically would not be articulate?" Though this is not intended as a racist

statement it speaks to how our stereotypes and perspective on race often may play out discreetly in our communications with others.

We are not given many lessons on how our view of the world and our visible and invisible stereotypes may be harmful. Ingrained stereotypes, biases, and prejudices are difficult to erase and they appear in ways whites may not even recognize them. So often the immediate response by whites after an accusation of making a racist remark is, "That was not my intent." It may not be one's intent that is the issue; rather it is how a person of color may have heard it. It is important to not immediately become defensive and diminish a person's feelings. No matter what our intentions, we have to accept responsibility for the impact of our words, work to understand how our statement was heard and self-reflect, "Is this a stereotype I have?" "Where did I learn this message?" "How can I interrupt it the next time?" Working on increasing one's awareness and skills should not be done in isolation. There are organizations that provide training and books to read (see Appendix), and it is important to work with other whites to interrupt behavior that is harmful, and to work along with people of color to address institutional racism.

Communicating with people who are different is not a skill commonly taught, nor is it an expected social habit. Among whites who do not have these skills, some may learn, but others may limit their contact with people of color for fear of being called racist, or just due to their refusal to be uncomfortable. It is important to understand these responses when working with other whites in our communities. Cyndi Harris, president of New Dimensions Consulting and a faculty member of the National Training Laboratory Institute's Diversity Practitioner Certificate Program, sums up this lesson:

> *"Language shapes our world and reveals to those we communicate with where we stand and how we see ourselves and others. It is imperative we hear ourselves, understand our worldview, aggressively seek awareness of our beliefs beneath our words, and vow to eliminate racism in all forms and disguises. Who we are is revealed in our words and actions much more so than through our intention. People of color have long experienced white people saying one thing while meaning and doing quite another, this must stop."*

The Impact of Racism

Impact on Whites

Another difficult but important lesson on race relations for white people is learning about the privileges they are granted based on their skin color. As white people go about their daily business, they face life obstacles (speeding tickets, rude clerks, bureaucratic processes), so it may be hard for these individuals to recognize the obstacles they avoid by being white. White privilege is indeed invisible to many. It is easier for some white people to focus on the times they were treated differently because of belonging to other identity groups like gender, class, sexual orientation, or disability, than to notice how they are treated differently because of the color of their skin.

White privilege is the unquestioned and unearned set of advantages, entitlements, benefits, and choices bestowed on white people. Some examples of these everyday privileges include:

- Walking around in a retail store without being followed;
- Coming to a meeting late and not having your lateness attributed to your race;
- Paying with a check and not having to show identification;
- Walking down the street and not having people respond by moving to the other side and hanging on tighter to a purse or bag;
- Being able to find suitable hair products in any town in the United States;
- Being able to drive a car in any neighborhood without being perceived as being in the wrong place or looking for trouble; and
- Sending a 16-year-old out with his new drivers' license and not having to give him a lesson on how to respond if police stop him.

These are only a few of the unearned privileges of having white skin. [14]

For people of color, including those who are wealthy, the opposite is the case. They must respond to and cope with this reality in a way that does not interfere with their daily routines and personal goals. This daily struggle is difficult to discuss in racially mixed company. Don C. Locke, in the article, *Fatigue—An Essay*,[15] shares a few examples on how racial situations play out in everyday life:

- Being invited to participate in some activity by people whose sole purpose for the invitation was to insure the presence of at least one person of color.
- Hearing white people say "I don't think of you as "black."
- Trying to determine the difference between the behavior of a white person that is described as "assertive" and the identical behavior of an African-American that is described as "aggressive."

- Wondering if the white woman who quickly exited the elevator when I got on was really at her destination.
- Being confused with another person of color when the only physical features we share are skin color.
- Hearing white people describe African-Americans as "articulate."
- Having to "dress up" to ensure that I will receive decent treatment in the marketplace.
- Being told that the reason for the absence of people of color is that "none could be found."

The messages and debilitating effects of racism can be internalized by people of color. Internalized racism is destructive patterns of feelings and behaviors, experienced by people of color, turned inward and sometimes directed at one another. Clarence Page, news columnist and author, shares his perspective: "How frustrating it is for those who think they have reached the dream of equal opportunity, dignity, and acceptance, only to discover it fading into a nightmare of guilt, fear, suspicion, and resentment. Whether we actually are *subjected* to contempt or not, we are enraged by the very vulnerability that makes us forever *subject* to it."[16]

Though the costs and the debilitating reality of racism on people of color are significant on a daily and collective basis, most whites are unaware that racism affects them too, as well as institutions. Some examples are:

- Cost of limited cultural understanding, insight, and acceptance due to lack of exposure to different cultures, races, and ethnicities;
- Cost of having a distorted and inaccurate picture of history in which the contributions of people of color are diminished and white people's roles are cleaned up and modified;[17]
- Cost of having fewer skills in this global economy;
- Cost of not having to respond to being "one of a few" when walking into a classroom, a social engagement, or workplace and the ability to figure out other cultural practices and norms when confronted with a new situation;
- Cost of living with increased fear because of lack of experience with difference, and buying into the stereotypical views, reinforced by the media, of who is violent in our communities;
- Cost of inadequate communication due to lack of cross-racial experiences, leading to loss of potential relationships;
- Cost of lower self-esteem due to feelings of guilt, shame, and embarrassment about racism; racism makes a "mockery of our ideals of democracy, justice and equality."[18]
- Cost of unconsciously continuing to be a perpetrator or colluding with the perpetuation of disadvantage at best—and violence at worst—toward people of color.[19]

Obviously some white people have had significant exposure to the complexities of racism - some due to living in multiracial families, others due to life experiences, and others due to education in the home as well as a few schools. A great lesson to learn

at any age is that differences are good instead of something to fear. The Sherover Simms Alliance Building Institute in Oakland, California, suggests some further ways racism harms whites:

- Racism demands that white people not see themselves as people with rich and varied cultures and pasts.
- Racism leaves white people feeling paralyzed with feelings of guilt about the historical racist atrocities perpetrated against people of color.
- Racism causes white people to feel the need to choose between their communities and communities of color.
- Racism sets white people up to receive the backlash of rage and indignation of people of color all over the world.
- Racism denies white people the opportunity to join with brilliant people of various cultures to solve critical problems facing the community.[20]

Impact on the Community

The debilitating effects of racism do not just impact individual people of color and whites; they also severely affect the ability of each community to create economic prosperity and a good quality of life for each community member. If racism has this effect on the individual level, then what is the effect on a community and its institutions? Some effects are these:

- Due to racial disparities in our school, health care, and criminal justice systems, we lose brilliant minds and creative solutions to addressing community issues.
- By not creating just systems for small businesses and entrepreneurs to succeed, we lose economic opportunities.
- Through continuing discriminatory institutional practices and ignoring organizational cultural norms that limit people of color's advancement, participation, and leadership, we are unable to benefit from truly inclusive companies and institutions.
- By creating segregated housing through redlining and discriminatory loan procedures, we lose the benefit of learning from each other and having relationships with diverse people in our neighborhoods.
- By maintaining segregated schools or biased tracking systems, children lose the opportunity to learn about racial and ethnic differences, to develop relationships with diverse people, and to discover different perspectives of the world.

The National League of Cities launched a nationwide campaign in 2000 to promote racial justice. Former president Bob Knight, who was also mayor of Wichita, Kansas, selected undoing racism as his priority for the year 2000. As a passionate spokesperson for racial justice, he challenged his colleagues across the United States:

"The truth is, something is terribly wrong in America and most of our cities, and America has just accepted it. As a

nation, we have seemingly condoned the injustice, tolerated the suffering, and ignored the consequences. Unfortunately, the majority of Americans looks the other way and makes sure their own security is assured. There is more than enough blame to go around. The question is who will take responsibility?"[21]

Inclusive Community Assessment

Creating an inclusive community requires a long-term investment of time to both increase people's understanding of the complexities of racism and to engage people to act for justice and respond to injustice. A community that wants to become inclusive needs to strategically narrow racial disparities through systemic change, address white privilege, and increase community members' awareness and understanding of racism. Municipalities need to offer opportunities to broaden residents' skills in communicating and working with people of different races. It is important when concentrating on addressing these issues that community leaders and local elected officials are also looking inward and increasing their own awareness, knowledge, and skills, as well as ensuring that government is also moving to become more inclusive in its staffing, policy-making, and programs. This process is about changing the way communities do business. It is a demanding, difficult, and complex process for communities to invest in, AND it is a job that cannot be ignored if a community wants to achieve and maintain economic stability and create a place that supports a good quality of life for all of its residents. Fortunately, there are resources available to assist communities in creating inclusive community structures (see Appendix).

To provide assistance, the *Inclusive Community Assessment* tool that follows has been developed for community leaders and groups. Readers reflect on a few questions and potential answers for their community to assess what stage the community is in. This is a very fluid process; three sectors of a community may be in one stage while two other sectors may be in another stage. Sometimes a community leader hears about a program in another community and immediately wants to adopt it after learning of its success. Sometimes a training program is adopted that is comfortable for a particular group of residents but is not aligned with the language, thoughts, and behaviors of other members of the community. This tool helps a leader to understand the cycle of community change on these issues and help leaders choose the type of interventions that may work in a community.

Each community stage—*Invisibility, Awareness, Disequilibrium, and Restructuring*—is described in the tool. This does not assume that change is a linear process but rather only provides guidance on how the change process will flow. Obviously, each community is unique with its own set of challenges, assets, and personalities, so the interventions suggested may not work in all situations, nor will the stages exactly describe a community. Though this tool cannot be all things to all communities, on a broader scale it is designed to increase understanding of the community change

process. The interventions are not prescriptive, but rather suggestions of the type of responses for communities that are in a specific stage. The tool, however, is being prescriptive in that to create a more inclusive community, the interventions chosen need to reflect these three areas[22]:

- Increasing residents' awareness and knowledge of race relations issues and racial inequities;
- Providing opportunities for dialogue and community engagement and increasing residents' skills in advocacy, organizational change, and intergroup interactions.
- Implementing systemic action steps to lessen racial disparities and dismantle structural racism.

The tool also provides some ideas on how to respond to those who may resist change in their community. At the end of each stage, potential outcomes are described which will help indicate the community is moving forward.

> *"White leaders—especially ones like me from mostly white communities—have a special responsibility to address the problem of racism."*
> *—Charles Lyons, Selectman from Arlington, Massachusetts[23]*

Though it is important for white people to speak out against racial injustice in any community, it is particularly important in smaller communities. There are safety issues and different levels of risk if a town only relies on people of color to speak up or initiate programs. In a small community that is predominately white, people of color do not have anonymity. The wider community may know their actions, and the reverberations for people of color who speak out may affect their daily lives, including how they are treated on the job, how their children are treated in school, and how they are treated when attempting to obtain services. Conversely, whites must not take a leadership role in isolation from people of color. Creating an inclusive community requires the collaboration of all community members.

The *Inclusive Community Assessment* tool provides an opportunity to bring together a diverse cross-section of the community and for each person to reflect on the questions, the description of the stages and ideas for next steps. This exercise will provide a clearer process to consider the community's stages of inclusivity as well as individual community sectors. Community members can think about race relations in their community, reflect on the disparities that are present, learn different perspectives, and begin planning for the future. The *Inclusive Community Assessment* tool shares generalized behavior and attitudes to assist the user in understanding the process of change in the community. It is not meant to judge a community; rather, it is designed to present a candid overview of the community's dynamics to aid in developing strategies for greater inclusion. Creating an inclusive community means making a significant investment in people and resources. The conflicts and barriers can seem overwhelming and insurmountable. It will be important to focus on the rewards of

creating a just community and to remember the painful costs and debilitating effects if racism is not dismantled.

> *"Comparing the reality here with the reality of societies in extremis is too easy . . . It is fairer, and certainly right, instead, to compare American practice with America's ideals, and American life with America's dreams. The continuing controversy . . . is about values and vision. What does America want to see in the mirror? What kind of communities do we want for our children? What dreams will nourish the spirits of the least among us? We have a history of division, but for the most part it is division based on our perspectives, not our dreams."[24]*
> *-Christopher Edley, Jr., Former member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission*

Q: In policy discussions covering areas like housing, employment etc., are racial issues or racial disparities part of the discussion?

Not Discussed	*An Afterthought*	*Sometimes*	*Part of the discussion.*
• Race is not a part of community policy discussions. • When race is brought into a community policy discussion, it is sometimes ignored, either as an issue or even as the cause of any problem. • Individuals and organizations that raise the issues of race may be perceived as oversensitive or trying to create havoc.	• Race is beginning to be a part of community policy discussions. This transition may be due to outside influences, or key voices in the community speaking up, or a major racial incident. • The response is similar to the Invisibility stage. In policy discussions, the issue is typically placed in the context of blaming the community of color, or short-term solutions are identified without delving deeper to understand systemic issues.	• Questions about the impact on communities of color are beginning to be raised when policy issues are discussed. • As more questions are raised in policy discussions, there may be strong feelings toward the people who raise the issue, including anger, disappointment, and the urge to isolate them. • There is a growing group of people who, with increased awareness of racial issues, becomes more vocal and active.	• People form alliances based on their priorities and commitment to addressing racism. • Questions posed about race are more integrated into policy discussions. • There is a commitment to educate residents about the structural impact of racism.
Invisibility	**Awareness**	**Disequilibrium**	**Restructuring**

- Who brings up racial issues? How is that person(s) perceived by others?
- Are racial issues brought up seeking understanding, discovering how different racial groups are treated, or brought up in the context of fear and blame?
- When race is brought up is it talked about openly or are code words used? (e.g., urban youth, at-risk children, inner city)
- In some communities where people of color have recently become/are the majority, race may be talked about in policy discussions, but in terms of divvying up resources or focusing on class differences, rather than a common vision for quality of life for all residents.

Q: What is the typical process used for your community to make civic decisions?

A small circle of people.	A small circle of people, but others are consulted.	The process is transitioning to engaging more citizens.	The community engagement process is beginning.
• Community decisions are made by a self-selected, small group of people. • Typically, the makeup of this formal or informal group of decision makers is civic and business leaders who are economically advantaged and male. • Citizens are not included in civic decisions and typically find out after the decision has been made.	• Community decisions remain mostly within a small circle of people. • In predominately, white communities, community leaders may consult with leaders of color who are typically in traditional leadership roles, e.g., pastors, president of the local NAACP. • In predominately communities of color, community leaders will consult with whites who are economically advantaged and/or are in high-profile positions.	• Due to a crisis, change in leadership or grassroots pressure, the small group of decision makers thinks about how to include more residents in their process. One or two "minority leaders" may be included in the circle in predominately white communities. In communities of color, informal leaders of color may be included. • Some sectors may move forward to establish this process sooner than other sectors of the community. • There may be resistance by decision makers and community members who want to maintain the status quo.	• An inclusive process is intentionally created to engage citizens in making decisions that will affect the community. • The process seeks to work collaboratively to resolve conflicts. A new tension, however, may come from the amount of time spent on the process rather than the task.
Invisibility	**Awareness**	**Disequilibrium**	**Restructuring**

Q: How does the community welcome new residents of different races, ethnicities, or languages?

There is not a process in place.	*New residents are welcomed with curiosity.*	*New residents are welcomed. Some organizations respond to their presence.*	*New residents are welcomed. Programs are created to support their arrival and include their culture.*
• Most community residents have limited awareness of new people of color joining the community. • There may be awkwardness in responding to new residents, especially if they are the first of their race or ethnic group in the community. • Some residents may react strongly to new residents based on fear of difference or of jobs being taken away from current residents.	• There is a more welcoming atmosphere by some members of the community and a curiosity about where the new residents are from. • Most residents expect the new residents to assimilate into the community. If the new residents speak another language there is also an expectation that they will learn English quickly.	• The new residents' schools and faith communities may provide programs and services to welcome the members of the community. • Other sectors may just begin to be aware of the new residents' presence but remain in the curiosity stage. • There may be pockets of residents in the communities who still question the new residents' presence, especially their effect on the local economy.	• The community sectors that welcomed new residents may make institutional changes, e.g., translating materials, providing a translator at meetings, and becoming more responsive and respectful to different cultural practices. • The community is seeking ways to include new residents in civic matters. • Fewer people expect assimilation from new residents.
Invisibility	**Awareness**	**Disequilibrium**	**Restructuring**

Q: How does the community respond to a racial incident?

(e.g., a hate crime, a discrimination case, or a community leader making racist comments)

The focus is on the "victim's" behavior.	*The response depends on who the perpetrator is.*	*The concern is that the town not get a racist reputation.*	*There is an emerging community norm: "we do not tolerate racist behavior."*
• Race is not on the community's radar screen. • When a racist incident occurs, the majority community focuses on the "victim's" behaviors to decide why the incident happened.	• Race is just beginning to be on the radar screen in the community, with some increased discussions. • The incident will be labeled based on the community status of the people involved in the incident. • Camps may form in the community, leading citizens either toward focusing on the victim's behavior or toward in-tolerance of these types of actions.	• Leaders in the community want to learn more about the issue. • If residents choose sides and factions are formed, each faction may use media or legal means to address the issue rather than coming together and mediating the conflict and creating a community response. • If the focus is how non-community members will view the incident, then the response may be a quick fix that brings the town together but does not include a long-term plan.	• Training is available to increase citizens' skills and awareness. • A diverse group of leaders steps forward immediately when an incident occurs. A task force may be convened to assess the situation. • The incident is a community issue, not an issue that focuses on the victims or the perpetrators. • There are more community discussions on how to respond to the incident.
Invisibility	**Awareness**	**Disequilibrium**	**Restructuring**

Q: What is the majority response to race relations by people of color?

Note: These are broad generalizations based on racial identity theory.[25] Each person's journey is unique based on his or her experiences, family and friends, and world view. These statements are not judgments, but generic overviews to understand individual change occurring as the community changes. POC = people of color

There is typically little or no response from people of color.	*There is a small group in the community of color that questions things out loud.*	*There are more POC who question out loud and begin to work with whites.*	*There is a growing group of POC working with whites and addressing institutional issues.*
• The community of color creates its own community in response to the barriers it faces from institutions in the white community. • There are various responses from communities of color, with class and age as key variables. Two possible responses are to assimilate to the white culture or limit one's interaction with the white community for survival and to cope with any hostility.	• A small group of POC takes risks to speak out on issues. • As race relations activities begin, POC may possibly be distrustful of the process but some may be pleased with the community's activities. • For POC who assimilated to the white culture, some may be unsure of the community's response and some may resist stirring the pot for fear their attained status will be jeopardized. • In communities of color, individuals speaking out are in traditional leadership roles.	• Depending on the traditional community of color leaders' (pastors, civic officials, etc.) response to the community's activities, there may be conflict within the community of color. • Each racial group is working for their "piece of the pie." Collective power may not yet be discussed. Some white people who want to keep the status quo may reinforce this conflict. • Some whites and people of color begin to have more discussions on how to resolve issues together.	• The people of color addresses internalized racism through discussions and workshops. • POC establish effective collaborations with whites who are equally committed to addressing structural racism. • There are still struggles over power, and concern about whether the whites will be in it for the long haul.
Invisibility	**Awareness**	**Disequilibrium**	**Restructuring**

Q: What is the majority response to race relations by white people?

Note: These are broad generalizations based on racial identity theory.[26] Each person's journey is unique based on his or her experiences, family and friends, and world view. These statements are not judgments, but generic overviews to understand individual change occurring as the community changes. POC = people of color.

There is a limited awareness of POC by whites.	POC are more visible. There is a curiosity and interest in learning more about POC.	Whites begin to notice inconsistencies. Some whites and POC begin to work on issues.	There is a growing group of whites who are working with POC to address systemic issues.
• Whites have limited awareness of POC in their community. • Views of POC are shaped by media, statements heard at home, and school curricula. Depending on how this information is interpreted, whites' responses to race may be fear, aversion, or a sense of responsibility to help.	• Race issues are just beginning to be discussed by whites. • Common statements: "Why can't we be colorblind?"; "I believe everyone is created equal but that doesn't mean I want to live next to them"; "I am glad they are having the same opportunities as my grandparents. But my grandparents learned the language, when will they?"	• Whites are exposed to information about racial disparities and hear more opinions and stories from POC. • There is much confusion and discontent. Some whites resist change and keep the status quo; feel guilty; continue to question and be upset with authority figures for not telling the whole story; or only affiliate with POC. • Some whites and people of color begin to have more discussions on how to resolve issues together	• Some white leaders will continue to struggle with changing the decision making process. • A growing group of whites will move toward being antiracist allies working for change and seeking to be clearer about institutional and individual racism. • There are discussions and workshops about white privilege.
Invisibility	**Awarenesss**	**Disequilibrium**	**Restructuring**

Q: How are race relations and antiracism work funded in your community?

There is no funding.	_There is limited funding._	_Funding is available for educational activities._	_Funders begin to play a more active role in funding antiracism work._
• There is no funding for race relations or antiracism work. • There is federal, state or county funding for social services for the "minority" community.	• There may be funding for small programs whose goals are to initiate awareness activities and celebrate diversity. • The involvement of the funder is only as a sponsor.	• Funders have an increased interest in investing in educational activities and training programs. • Mainstream organizations receive more dollars to produce programs and purchase resources. • There are some discussions with funders about walking the talk internally in their organizations. Also, there is lobbying to expand funding from educational activities to also include programs that address racial disparities and structural racism.	• Funders become aware that their role in antiracism activities is better served as a partner rather than a sponsor. • As partners, funders are willing to assess their own organizations to insure inclusive policies and practices. • There is an increase in funding. Community leaders are aware of time and financial commitments necessary to dismantle racism and create an inclusive community.
Invisibility	**Awareness**	**Disequilibrium**	**Restructuring**

The Four Stages of an Inclusive Community

Stage 1: Invisibility

Description

Communities in the Invisibility stage have not placed any importance on the issue of race except, perhaps, as a legal issue. There is little acknowledgement of people of color, and the fewer there are, the less their relevance to the community. People of color may become more visible in the community if a person of color does something perceived to be wrong or is placed in a more noticeable position in an organization. Any questioning or discussion of race relations by people of color or by whites carries a very high risk at this stage, since white advocates tend to be seen as "race traitors" if they speak up and people of color may be perceived as "angry radicals." If the issue of race does come up, typically it is discussed in the context of blaming the community of color or trying to fix a "problem."

During this stage, the terms "diversity" and "multicultural" are more effective terms than "racism" or even "racial justice." When a community does not have a common language or commitment to dismantle racism, it is important to use words that open doors. The kind of language used in the community will later become a benchmark for success. This is a very challenging stage, especially if the community has economic problems as well. How the topic of race is brought into the community dialogue will in some ways dictate the level of challenge ahead. Trust between community members may be damaged, and "race relations" may become dirty words to the community. In placing the race issue on the community's agenda, it is important to take the initiative and not wait for an incident to happen.

One step is to bring together a group of diverse individuals who are respected in different sectors within the community. These individuals should be willing to take risks and be willing to put diversity on the radar screen of community members. This group can plan how to bring the issue of race forward by using some of the interventions listed below. It is important for members of this group to assess their personal views on race, as well. To be a supporter for racial equity means first understanding the complexities of structural racism, being aware of your own racial prejudices and stereotypes, and creating or nurturing relationships with people of different races. White advocates are not acting on behalf of people of color; they are working on a common vision to dismantle racism because they know racism does not just affect people of color, but whites as well, and the community as a whole. In some pockets of the community, white people may be openly hostile to people of color, threatened by their presence, or both. It is important for other members of the white

community to challenge these attitudes and behaviors. The community will need to create a set of principles regarding race relations behavior and vigorously express what behaviors will not be tolerated.

How to Respond to Resistance to the Change Process

Resistance to change is high in this stage. Part of this stage is finding out where people stand and what their intentions are to become involved. There are some who believe being colorblind is the best response. Minimally at this stage you want residents to celebrate and respect diversity and for some communities that is major step forward. Some people will resist just because the status quo is being challenged. Part of this process is building enough momentum so there are many voices who are not only saying something is wrong with this picture but are also willing to do something about it. And through this process the individuals who are willing to respond are constantly struggling between the forces that are filled with hate or fear and the forces that believe in fairness and justice. Some of these areas of resistance are easier to deal with than others. Find out which of these voices represents the greatest resistance to moving forward; knowing that, the leaders can respond better.

Once the status quo begins to be challenged, be prepared for criticism of white people who speak out, and for criticism of persons of color in general. Safety is a real concern during this stage, because there is no infrastructure in place to respond to people's hate or hostility, or to their resistance to race becoming a community issue. This is one reason it is so important at this stage to develop a group of supporters.

Give some thought to those who are resisting. What would help them to more fully understand racial issues in the community: statistics, conversation with someone who can talk about racial injustices, or a mentor? For some, it will just require time from individuals, who are willing to listen to their concerns, fears, and beliefs, and patience to provide information that may broaden their views on race. Accept the fact that resistance is part of the community change process. Do not spend all of your energy trying to make it go away or even reducing it. Instead, spend time on building support and interest. People will respond to this change process at different times. Respect where people are as they learn about race issues. Take this time to get to know the issues. Understand how people of color are treated differently in your community, not just in intergroup situations but also in the education, health care, and judicial systems. At this stage, stay focused on building support, learning who shares similar values of fairness and justice, and who is willing to take risks and move this effort forward.

Interventions

In this stage you will notice the term diversity is used more. This is mostly due to the fact that it may be a term that can be heard by more people in the community rather than the terms racism or racial justice. Though the term diversity is being used, it is not to minimize the focus of these interventions on race.

Awareness

- Find out which organizations have mission statements, programs, or both, that focus on diversity or race. Many corporations have diversity initiatives with benchmarks that need to be met. Major non-profit national organizations provide resources to their chapters: Girl Scouts of America, YWCA, and others. There are some churches with national offices that have racial justice or diversity initiatives: Unitarian Universalist, United Church of Christ, Episcopal Church, and Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (See Appendix).
- Encourage organizations or the community to host a multiethnic celebrations.
- Encourage the school system to celebrate ethnic pride months and holidays. February is Black History Month, May is Asian Pacific American Heritage Month, October is Hispanic Heritage Month, and November is American Indian Heritage Month.
- Encourage the media to broadcast or publish stories about events in the community of color, and profile people of color.
- Encourage a predominately white faith group and a faith group of color to plan a few joint activities.

Skill Building

- Identify diverse individuals in the community who believe in fairness and justice and are ready to play a leadership role. It is best to choose people not based on their titles but on their words and deeds. Just because "diversity" is included in someone's job description, it does not mean that person is the best fit for this group. Recruit individuals who are respected in different circles in the community, and be sure to include youth and elders. Meet regularly; discuss each other's perceptions on the state of race relations in the community, share information about people and organizations that may be open to working on the issue, brainstorm ideas, and work on building trust with each other.
- Within this group of diverse individuals, it could be helpful to have whites come together separately. When it comes to race, whites do not have to think about it. They can go about their daily business and race may never be on their radar screen. For people of color it is much different because they are forced to deal with race in the day-to-day errands they run, from going to the store to dealing with a bank teller. So even though there are whites who are committed to these issues, it is important to take the time to increase individuals' skills and knowledge of the issues. A list of training organizations is in the appendix.

- Encourage and support diversity training in organizations or companies that have national programs on diversity issues. Check to see if they are meeting national expectations. Discuss with the group of leaders, how you can leverage the organization's national commitment to these issues in the community. Are the workshops open? Can information be shared with other organizations who may be interested in learning more?

Systemic Steps
- Identify two major institutions (e.g., a company or a church) that have had some focus on diversity and are interested in broadening their work. There may be a minister who is preaching from the pulpit or a church that has a national racial justice task force. It could also be a company whose national office has a diversity initiative or which has recently experienced a discrimination suit and wants to change its image and is ready to invest time and money. Through the group of concerned residents, brainstorm how you can leverage these institutions to engage more organizations and to create synergy for your community to focus on diversity issues specifically race.
- Invite local newspapers to write articles about these programs. Create opportunities for individuals involved in the program to meet with other individuals or to conduct presentations at civic organizations.
- Engage white faith leaders and faith leaders of color to meet regularly to discuss racial issues within the community and to discuss these issues with their congregants. Work toward having a few worship days during the year for all congregations to talk about diversity.

Outcomes
- The topic of diversity starts to appear more in community discussions, in the media, and in at least two community sectors. At this stage it is important for people and organizations to:

  - be aware of differences and not be colorblind—colorblindness may seem a worthy goal, but it diminishes the richness, culture, rituals, and history of someone's race or ethnicity;
  - be aware of diversity in their daily interactions; and
  - be open to learn more about different cultures.

- A group of diverse individuals has been established that has a common language and common interests, and shares a commitment in creating an action plan to address race relations and racial disparities in the community.

- A group of whites who are willing to learn about race issues and are ready to take risks to speak out for racial justice has agreed to be advocates.

- In at least two community sectors, there is an increase in programs or discussions regarding race and diversity. Their actions have led to broader discussions. These sectors' commitment has, in turn, leveraged other groups' support.

Stage 2: Awareness

Description

At this stage, race is usually an afterthought when making community decisions. In a predominately white community, discussions and reactions still resemble a "missionary response"—one based on the majority group identifying a problem that is perceived to be only a problem impacting people of color, determining a solution, and then proceeding to "fix the problem." This response may seem to have some positive results, but only in the short term, and continues to reinforce the myth of white superiority. Typically, whatever problem is "occurring" in the community of color is a symptom of how racism is playing out in a particular institution or community sector. For example, if one of the problems identified is a higher crime rate with perpetrators of color, then some questions to ask prior to assuming it is a phenomenon only in the community of color are:

- Are police spending more time in the community of color to curb the crime rate or is there a directive from police administration to focus on arresting people of color with the assumption that there is minimal crime occurring in the predominately white neighborhoods?
- Is there a difference in the number and type of arrests for whites and people of color? Is it based on the number of hours patrolling rather than the number of crimes committed within the white community?
- Is the conviction rate higher for people of color than for whites?
- Is there a significant difference in the unemployment rate between whites and people of color?
- Is public transportation available in neighborhoods where there are predominately people of color?
- Are there training opportunities available to increase people's skills for the jobs available in the town, especially if there has been a change in industry?

Sometimes the response to a high crime rate is changing sentencing requirements or judges' maximizing sentencing in order to "send a message." Sentencing may seem like an appropriate response to the problem. Long-term, however, these actions will increase distrust between groups and escalate frustration about one group making decisions for another group. Ultimately, the problem is not solved because the "solution" consisted only of deterrence measures. Such a solution addresses neither the racial disparities in the justice system and the community at large nor the preconceived beliefs of some police officers being acted out against people of color.

The smaller a community of color is, the greater the visibility any one individual person of color has. Individuals who are the only persons of color, or belong to a small minority within an organization, are sometimes looked to for validation and celebration. The white community may rely on just a few people of color to speak for the larger community of color. The community of color might view the

representatives so anointed as "Uncle Toms" and isolate them. These anointed representatives sometimes become loyal to their own status in the community, and this decreases the chance for the younger generation's voice or other voices to be heard.

> *"I want people to know there are differences among ethnic groups, [but] that there is one thing we all have in common: We are people who aspire to find the good in people of other ethnicities."*
> -David Kates, former mayor, Clarksburg, West Virginia[27]

In communities that are more diverse, where it is more common to see people of color in key leadership positions, a different phenomenon takes place. Typically the exclusionary structures and processes common in white-dominated communities are still present. Part of this due to the fact that these structure have been in place for hundreds of years, so people of color being elected or appointed to key positions are not going to change the system overnight. One trap that may develop is a situation in which the "pie of resources" has been divided so long between whites and people of color, that each group continues to pursue only its section of the resources, instead of using its energy to create a bigger pie with more resources for everyone. Typically, whites see people of color in power and may assume that they are all singing from the same hymnal, thus missing the diversity within the community of color and misreading the conflicts that will occur. For communities that have experienced demographic changes that were more gradual and due mostly to "white flight," race may have been on the radar screen in that community a lot longer, but again, the white power structures typically remained in place.

This is the stage at which many communities remain, especially in predominately white communities when the number of residents of color stays the same or drops. This stage is comfortable; there is acknowledgement of the presence of people of color, there may be a few programs or events to celebrate culture, there are a few community sectors that include diversity in their programs, and there are a few leaders of color who are pleased with their role and accept their "token" status. Staying in this stage, however, will not help the community to prosper economically or provide a good quality of life for all families.

A few things can move such a community into the next stage:

- A racist incident that challenges the community to think about these issues (however, such an incident can also move the community backward, not forward);
- A major racial issue or incident that happens nationally or in another city, like the O.J. Simpson trial, a Fortune 100 company discrimination suit, or James Byrd's murder, which prompts reflection and discussion within the community;
- A company or organization that has a diversity program, which influences its organizational peers, and in turn the larger community, to pursue similar initiatives;

- The leadership of a group of citizens who are able to mobilize prominent members of the community to initiate a deeper understanding of how racism affects that community; and/or
- Grassroots organizing that builds a critical mass of individuals who are frustrated with the current state of race relations and racial injustices and make their voices heard by the larger community.

Though it would be very positive if we operated from the values of fairness and justice for all, the reality of creating economically stable communities is many times the focus. It is important to understand the links between addressing racism and creating economically stable communities which provide a good quality of life for all residents:

- Does the current quality of life in our community make us viable as a place where businesses will come to create jobs?
- Do we have an educational system that has closed the achievement gap and is creating a skilled, diverse workforce?
- Will our response to hate crimes or intergroup conflict make us more or less marketable to company representatives?
- Is the community open to welcoming new residents?

How to Respond to Resistance to the Change Process

This is the first of many struggles for the community—deciding if the community's racial climate and quality of life is satisfactory and if there is a need to make it a priority. On the part of the white community, at this stage there continues to be awkwardness in dealing with the issues and interacting with people of color. The preference is for a person of color to raise issues and educate the community on the next steps. In the short term, this may seem like a good solution, but in the long term, the community will not develop the ability to respond effectively to the next racial issue or racist incident or to make sustained institutional changes.

It is important that community members who have chosen to work together for change be strong and assertive at this stage. Some members of the community may significantly disagree with the group: "If people of color are not speaking out that anything needs to change, then why are you causing trouble?" This is a risky time for people of color to speak out, but for some people, their voices will need to be heard to legitimize the racial issues in the community. Whites will need to be tenacious allies, emphasizing both the importance of creating an inclusive community and the consequences of failing to create one.

> *"One way to confront racism is to keep listening to other people's stories, keep hearing other people's pain. That way, we can change our heart, not just our mind."*
> *-Kyung Jin Park, Auburn, New York*[28]

Interventions

Awareness

- Initiate a dialogue group program.
- Continue to sponsor and participate in events that heighten people's awareness of different cultures.
- Provide forums for community sectors that currently have awareness programs to share their findings.
- Look for opportunities in traditional community events to integrate the themes of unity and respect for differences.
- Increase people's awareness about hate groups, how they recruit and operate, and how the community should respond.
- Coordinate with local or regional organizations to develop a basic awareness workshop that can be provided to different community groups.
- Sometimes major community events are segregated, depending on who hosts the event. Recruit a diverse group of people to attend an event. Help with marketing to insure people in different neighborhoods or sectors are aware of the community events. Work with the organizers to brainstorm ways diverse people may be attracted to the event. The response, "Everyone is welcome" or "We advertise in the newspaper, it's not my fault if they don't read it," are not acceptable answers. Especially for events that are seen as predominately white or predominately people of color, it means investing time into outreach to other groups as well as assessing if there are ways the event can be more inclusive and welcoming.

Skill Building

- Provide training for key community and civic leaders that will increase their understanding of individual and institutional racism and will develop their skill as advocates for change.
- Encourage local colleges to provide continuing education classes on race relations and on inclusive organizational practices.
- Provide information using public service announcements, posters, and pamphlets on understanding what discrimination is, explain how to report it, and help individuals learn about their rights.
- Encourage the police department to provide training to all personnel on cross-cultural communication, institutional racism and reducing stereotypes.
- Work with one of the civic organizations to create a speaker's bureau on various topics—such as information on different cultures, understanding the complexities of racism, etc. Help market the speakers' bureau to local employers and organizations and encourage a brown-bag lunch series.
- Offer conflict resolution training workshops for community leaders and for youth.
- Share information with key community leaders on multiracial coalition building.

Systemic Steps

- Research the "best practices" efforts used by other communities. Contact the National League of Cities to learn more about programs in communities. See appendix.
- Advocate for a multicultural curriculum in schools and after-school programs. There are several organizations that can provide assistance in this area including Teaching for Change, Anti-Defamation League, and National Conference for Community and Justice (See Appendix).
- Support and encourage community leaders to take public stands against hate, discrimination, bigotry, and racism.
- Initiate a Unity Collaboration Council. One of the first tasks is research the state of race relations for the community. (See Appendix for information about Project Change, which assisted with production of these reports in four communities: Albuquerque, NM, Knoxville, TN, Valdosta, GA, and El Paso, TX) The State of Race Relations report can include: demographic data, results of an attitudinal survey, history of racial incidents, racial disparities in each sector, ideas for the future, and comments from key leaders. Distribute the report throughout the community and hold several public forums. Based on the report and community discussions, the Unity Collaboration Council's next step is to develop its vision, mission, and goals. Though this council serves as a messenger and change agent to implement an action plan, its success will depend on how it engages the community—not just key formal leaders but neighborhood residents—in this effort. It is also important that the Unity Collaboration Council members walk their talk, and it is crucial that they participate in workshops to develop relationships with each other, increase their understanding of individual and institutional racism, provide awareness of community change theory, and increase their skills in leading discussions on race.
- Advocate for signage in the community to include different languages and establish a welcoming committee that can provide assistance to new residents.
- Adopt a pledge to engage the community in making a commitment to increase its awareness and to work to decrease racial barriers. The Village of Oak Park, Illinois adopted a diversity statement in April 1999: "We reject the notion of race as a barrier dividing us and we reject prejudicial behavior toward any group of people. We believe residences in this village should be open to anyone interested in sharing our benefits and responsibilities ... The Village of Oak Park commits itself to a future ensuring equal access, full participation in all of the village's institutions and programs, and equality of opportunity in all village operating policies."[29]

Outcomes

- There is a significant increase in dialogue on race.
- The Unity Collaboration Council has established its role as an advocate, a mediator and a positive force to move the community forward.
- There are more questions asked than answers given.
- There is an increase in the number of people who do not tolerate racist acts and statements.

- There is an increase in organizations that provide programs about increasing awareness of race relations.
- There are more people who are bringing up the topic of race as part of policy discussions.
- There is an increased awareness of different groups' holidays and cultures.

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Stage 3: Disequilibrium

Description
At this stage, the community is continuing to struggle with its definition of an inclusive community. There is enough momentum from several community segments to drive the process further. While it is important to continue to work on race relations, the question is, increasingly, how to specifically address racial disparities. At this stage, there is also more awareness of the exclusivity inherent in the community's decision-making process. This stage may be marked by an increase in conflicts: People are struggling with changing the community's decision-making process, institutional practices and racial disparities are subject to greater scrutiny, and people comfortable with the status quo are coming into increasing conflict with those who advocate change. Members of the traditional power structure will struggle with the idea of power redistribution. The way the community responds to these different kinds of conflict will determine how long it remains in this stage. This stage has the potential to include some setbacks.

Leaders face a balancing act: acknowledging racial disparities and people's pain, while supporting people who are feeling overwhelmed by change. Actions may still be based on the way organizations or individuals are perceived rather than on the value of creating an inclusive community. Another variable influencing how the community responds will be the number of people of color who fill key positions. An increase in the numbers of people of color in organizations or civic roles should be celebrated. It is very important, though, to assess the role of people of color in these organizations.

- Are people of color in positions to influence or determine policy?
- Are people of color on the fast career track?
- Are people of color included as an afterthought to insure racial or ethnic diversity, or are they included because of the knowledge and skills they bring to the table?

For those communities who are more diverse, the focus will be on how racial groups are working together and the importance of eliminating the debate over whose discrimination is worse and instead focusing on dismantling all discrimination.

Sometimes when race is talked about, it is only discussed in terms of whites and African-Americans. The African-American culture is not homogenous; one African-American leader cannot speak for all African-Americans just as one white leader does not speak for all whites. When we are working to diversify boards and organizations, some believe diversity has been met with African-Americans present, even though other racial identity groups who reside in the community are not present. It is important not to lump all people of color together, but to understand each of the

groups. For example, among Asian-Americans, there are Koreans, Vietnamese, Chinese, Thais, Japanese, etc., all with unique languages, cultures, and rituals that we must learn and understand as we all work for a more equitable community. Paul Kivel, author of *Uprooting Racism,* summed it up this way: "... racial tension, economic divisions, and hate crimes between different communities of color are misunderstood and ignored because white people are unable to distinguish the complex relationships between these groups. We must delve into this complexity: we cannot be satisfied with what has been achieved. We have to keep asking the questions "Who is still excluded?" "Who remains unseen?" "Who is still being exploited?" When new groups of immigrants arrive, we cannot conveniently forget that long-established communities of color still face racism every day."[30]

The Unity Collaboration Council can play a key role in mediating community conflicts, developing ways to increase awareness and understanding, and continuing to strongly encourage the community to become more inclusive, while sharing with citizens what inclusion will look like. Members of the white community may have increased fears, anxieties, and concerns, so acknowledging those fears and anxieties as part of the change process may be helpful. It will be important to not allow these feelings to become barriers to the change process. There might be an opposition group that is planning to keep things the way they are, and is working to increase fear. It will be important to meet one-on-one with individuals in this group, or with others who are seeking to maintain the status quo.

> *"It is hard to quantify success in building trust. Most learning about differences entails a challenging process of trial and error, offense and communication and hanging in through conflicts and difficulties."*
> *-Frances Bauman, mayor of Oberlin, Ohio*[31]

How to Respond to Resistance to the Change Process

At this stage, there is still significant resistance within the white community to continuing to raise the issue of race and specifically, disparities attributable to race. Part of the resistance is due to fear; a common sentiment may be, "If we focus on correcting racial disparities, what will my child or family lose?" This is a reasonable question. For many whites who left challenging city school systems and enrolled their child in private schools, it became an immediate band-aid for a much larger problem. To some, the process of redress will still imply that for every winner there is a loser, and not that the process must be a win-win situation. It is a major culture shift when community residents understand that their responses and actions regarding civic and policy issues affect others and not just their immediate family.

White allies need to be consistent in bringing up equity issues when making policy. This is a time when whites can leverage their power through their intimate knowledge of institutions to voice their concerns for institutional practices and initiate change. One debate that may emerge is over whose oppression is worse. While this may lead to significant delays, it is an important though difficult dialogue. No one

identity group should be dealing with policies and practices that block access and increase disparities. Some communities choose to focus on one identity group and others want to bring about change for all. It will be a decision that your community needs to make, too. The decision needs to be based on the community's capacity to respond to the changes and on the immediate issues the community faces. Many who live in the United States believe race defines our policies and our relations with each other, and that while no one group should be oppressed, addressing racism needs to be a top priority.

In the community of color, there may be individuals who will work to keep the status quo. Because of their actions, they may be seen as barriers to moving this effort forward. This will be especially true for those who have been serving as gatekeepers to specific areas: if their power is limited; it may be difficult to make that sacrifice. It is important to note that there may be white leaders who, in resisting change, support these leaders of color by initiating fear tactics or causing conflict between people of color.

Interventions

Awareness
- Establish community forums to bring residents together and learn about their concerns and ideas. Provide opportunities for residents to get involved in the change process.
- Encourage community members to seek out opportunities for multicultural experiences, whether through the arts, education, or special events.
- Create an awards program to acknowledge community leaders and organizations on their progress in improving race relations and working to dismantle racism.
- Continue to offer dialogue groups. Assess their effectiveness and discuss ways to reach out to more community members.

Skill Building
- Provide training on how to create inclusive organizations for directors of human resources, non-profit board members, executive directors and program staff.
- Build capacity in the community to create an evaluation process for these different programs. It might be helpful to create a partnership with a university or bring in a consulting firm that can provide training and coaching in this area.
- Support students in initiating a club that promotes diversity, better race relations, and input to school administrators on racial disparities.
- Organize a peer pressure group that can mobilize quickly when organizations discriminate or policies limit access to services to some residents.

Systemic Steps
- The Unity Collaboration Council can work on creating processes that include residents' input in policies, provide volunteer opportunities, and ensure that all governance structures (commissions, etc.) are diverse in their makeup and inclusive in their decision-making processes.
- If there are limited resources for organizations to provide training and consulting to become more inclusive, think about collaborating with other towns to develop groups of trainers and consultants.
- Work with local corporations and foundations to creating a funding pool to support the work in the community.
- Help organizations develop benchmarks for becoming more inclusive.
- Create a translation group that can volunteer to provide verbal and written translation for residents and organizations.
- Encourage the media to start a community public service announcement series to promote the message of respect and educate the public on the impact of racism in the community.

Outcomes
- There are more organizations that assess their policies and practices to ensure access for all residents.
- Based on all the ongoing community and organizational activities, more residents have reached a higher level of awareness of race issues.
- There is a diverse group of skilled individuals who are helping to maintain the momentum of raising awareness.
- A few community sectors have started to create inclusive processes to involve the entire community in making policy decisions.
- There is a strong infrastructure in place that promotes access and equity. A common language is developing, a diverse group of residents are focused on dismantling racism, and more resources are being provided.
- There is a significant increase in opportunities for residents to learn about other cultures and discuss racial issues.
- There is an increase in the number of individuals who are paying attention to insure that organizations are held accountable to their efforts to become more inclusive.

Stage 4: Restructuring

Description

At this stage, the community clearly understands that becoming more welcoming, inclusive, and ensuring racial justice is much more than an exercise in getting along. It is a long-term investment and commitment to create an inclusive community through:

- Enhancing residents' awareness of individual and institutional racism;
- Creating skill-building opportunities focused on cross-cultural and multiracial communication, conflict resolution, negotiation and decision-making processes;
- Working strategically to lessen racial disparities and white privilege; and
- Creating inclusive policies and practices within institutions and the community at large.

The groundwork has been laid for moving forward. This is not to say there will not continue to be major obstacles and challenges. There will be a significant period of transition as these new processes merge together. This transition process may challenge the infrastructure that is in place, but it is very important to celebrate at this stage and to acknowledge the individuals and organizations that took risks and made significant contributions. This is very hard work and each step forward is reason to be proud.

Organizations are looking at their policies, a common language is developing, more citizens are talking about racial justice, a skilled group of people is leading the way, and resources are being provided to support this process. Take time throughout this process to reflect and rejoice. This is not to minimize the long road ahead or to assume that the community has "arrived"; it is to remember how far your community has progressed.

Another step in this stage is to adapt meeting processes, negotiation procedures, and conflict resolution proceedings to reflect different cultures. It is moving beyond diverse representation at the decision-making table and creating a new way for the community to do business that reflects different cultural practices. Developing people's skills and new systems will help to integrate these changes.

> *"Inclusiveness is time-consuming. It's faster and easier to make decisions with like-minded folks. Undoing racism requires patience, good judgment, committed people, and a lot of education ... there is no quick fix."*
> *-George Capulos, Chair Human Relations Commission, Lincolnwood, Illinois[32]*

It is important to remain vigilant: to continue to educate and re-educate people on racial issues, and to challenge the angst that will hover over the community evolution. Racist incidents will continue to occur, and they will sometimes set the community back to focusing on fear. Portions of the white community will still ask, "Why isn't it enough?" and question the costs and benefits for themselves as the community moves forward. This may mean that some residents will choose not to stay. The welcoming committee can play a key role in letting new residents know the commitment of the community and its efforts up front. In the long term it will probably make the housing in the community much more marketable.

The community of color will still carry some fear of a backlash for moving forward; it will not forget the country's historical pattern of civil rights—taking two steps forward and one step back. It will be important for whites to stand as strong allies when this happens—which it will. Whites and people of color must make time and space to support each other, listen to one another's experiences, provide counsel to one another, and celebrate their successes. It will be important to continue to reinforce leaders' courage and focus, and to continue to train new people to be leaders.

There are some examples of communities, even some that are not predominately white, in which leaders have committed to addressing race and from which lessons can be learned: Knoxville, Tennessee; Madison, Wisconsin; Valdosta, Georgia; Albuquerque, New Mexico; Kansas City, Missouri; Fargo, North Dakota; Moorhead, Minnesota; St. Louis, Missouri; and others. The National League of Cities' Campaign to Promote Racial Justice collects information about communities' efforts which can be an important resource for community and civic leaders.

There is not yet a model of a city that has created a totally racially just system. There will continue to be struggles, conflicts, and setbacks as external forces, resistance, and other priorities work to jeopardize the progress made. It is important to remain alert, continue to keep up with trends and issues, and respond quickly and effectively to barriers that may suddenly appear or be identified.

How to Respond to Resistance to the Change Process

One of the major changes for the community will be how it makes decisions. As the community moves from a small group making decisions to a more inclusive process, it is important to respect the work of the former decision makers, especially in a small town. Intentionally create new roles for them so they can continue to share their knowledge.

Resistance is still present, but there is a different response to it. There is less motivation to create an "us vs. them" climate and more motivation to engage in dialogue and understanding. Significant conflicts may arise that prompt people to resist the community engagement process. There may be fear of what will happen if the whole community decides and each group has a voice. It may be perceived that the "pie of resources" is getting smaller.

White people who speak up about racial justice may still be ostracized by some members of the white community and people of color may question whether their commitment will be for the long haul. For some whites who face this situation, it may be a significant setback; and they may wonder, "why bother?" Others will continue to move forward on a journey that never ends. It is important for whites in this stage not to fall into the trap of thinking, "I know it all now," or "I am one of the good white people." This level of righteousness will turn many off. Always keep in mind this is a lifelong journey; there is no graduation ceremony.

> *"I have come to understand the reality of white privilege that exists in my community and in our nation, where for every day of my life, I've had advantages, extra privileges, just because my skin happens to be white. We need to change that reality into one where every person and every child is privileged, regardless of skin color."*
> — *Karen Anderson, Mayor, Minnetonka, Minnesota*[33]

Interventions

Awareness
- Continue to provide awareness workshops including current racial issues into the workshops.
- Use Public Policy Questions, created by Paul Kivel, in his book *Uprooting Racism.* (See bibliography for more information.)
- Provide dialogue groups for people of the same race. This is an opportunity for whites to understand privilege and learn how to interrupt it within institutions. It is also an opportunity for people to provide support to each other and interrupt the patterns of internalized racism individually and within groups.
- Create opportunities for white-owned companies to work with companies owned by people of color to meet, learn from each other, and to encourage diversifying the group of vendors used.

Skill Building
- Develop a leadership program for people of color, especially for young adults.
- Provide opportunities for media organizations to train editorial staff on inclusive reporting techniques, and offer workshops for the decision-makers on media community engagement strategies.
- Sponsor a forum every few years for community residents to talk about the issues, share ideas and learn about new methods, demographic trends, and promising practices.

Systemic Steps

- Convene organizations within a specific community sector to meet and collaborate on institutional changes to ensure accessible and inclusive services and to share lessons learned (e.g., social service organizations, government agencies).
- Assess the benchmarks created by the Unity Collaboration Council and share results with the community. Celebrate progress and consider changing interventions if areas are not improving.
- Encourage funders to not only establish expectations for grantees to establish inclusive policies and practices, but to also model the behavior. It is an opportunity for grantees and funders to collaborate on their learning.
- Adopt Applied Research Center's "Racial Justice Report Card"[34] to assess equity for all students. The Racial Justice Report Card is a tool community members can use to assess racial inequalities in the school.

Outcomes

- There is an increased knowledge of white privilege and internalized racism and the role each plays in sustaining institutional racism.
- There are more people paying attention to organizations to ensure they are becoming more accessible and equitable.
- There are growing numbers of younger leaders who are strong advocates for change.
- The benchmarks established are beginning to indicate positive change.
- Funding is more available for programs and services that support a vision of an inclusive community. Funders' roles have changed, and they are now partners in the process.
- There is much sharing of information, resources, and lessons learned.
- Stories reported by the media have less racial bias.
- A process is now in place for community residents to weigh in on major policy and civic decisions.

"Unless we can imagine a world without oppression,
we can't create one…That's our challenge then:

To imagine the unimaginable.

To believe that a community without oppression is
possible

To envision what it would look like and feel like.

To imagine how it can work."

—Judith H. Katz, Author *of White Awareness: Handbook for*
Anti-Racism Training[35]

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Appendix

Selection of Resources
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The Constraint of Race: Legacies of White Skin Privilege, Linda F. Williams, 2003.

Constructing "Race" and "Ethnicity" in America: Category-Making in Public Policy and Administration, Dvora Yanow, 2002.

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From Talk to Action: An Online Community Response to Racial Profiling, Shelia Collins & Joi Mei-Ling Wu: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 2002.

Holding Up The Mirror—Working Interdependently for Just and Inclusive Communities, Maggie Potapchuk: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 2002.

How Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration Shape the California Electorate, Jack Citrin, 2003.

Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World Jack Weatherford, 1988.

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Justice on Trial: Racial Disparities in the American Criminal Justice System, Wade Henderson, 2000.

New Faces in a Changing America: Multiracial Identity in the 2f^t Century, Loretta I. Winters and Herman L. Debose, 2002.

Overcoming Our Racism: The Journey to Liberation, Derald Wing Sue, 2003.

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Race, Place and Globalization: Youth Culture in a Changing World, Anoop Nayak, 2003.

Racial Justice in the United States: A Reference Handbook, David B. Mustard, 2003.

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We Can All Get Along , Clyde W. Ford 1994.

What Democracy Feels Like, Paul Aicher: Study Circles Resource Center, 2002.

White Awareness: Handbook for Anti-Racism Training, Judith H. Katz, 2003.

White Men On Race, Joe R. Feagin and Eileen O'Brien, 2003.

Who is White: Latinos, Asians, and the New Black/Nonblack Divide, George Yancey, 2003.

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Organizations

American Institute for Managing Diversity, Inc.
50 Hurt Plaza, Suite 1150, Atlanta, GA 30303
(404) 302-9226   www.aimd.org

Applied Research Center
3781 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94611
(510) 653-3415   www.arc.org

The Aspen Institute Roundtable on Comprehensive Community Initiatives
281 Park Avenue, South 5th Floor, New York, NY 10010
(314) 389-5029   www.aspenroundtable.org

Center for Study White American Culture
245 West 4th Avenue, Roselle, NJ 07203
(908) 241-5439   www.euroamerican.org

Challenging White Supremacy Workshop
2440 16th Street PMB #275, San Francisco, CA 94103
415-647-0921   www.cwsworkshop.org

Changework
1705 Wallace Street, Durham, NC 27707
(919) 490-4448

Community Change, Inc.
14 Beacon Street, Room 605, Boston, MA 02108
(617) 523-0555   www.communitychangeinc.org

Crossroads Ministry
425 South Central Park Avenue, Chicago, IL 60624
(773) 638-0166   www.crossroadsministry.org

Cultural Diversity Resources
810 S. Fourth Avenue, Suite 147, Moorhead, MN 56560
(218) 236-7277   cdr@i29.net

Episcopal Church Center, National Anti-Racism Committee
815 Second Avenue, New York, NY 10017
800.334.7626, X6053   www.episcopalchurch.org/peace-justice/Social-Justice/index.asp

Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
8765 W. Higgins Road, Chicago, IL 60631
(800) 638-3522   www.elca.org/cmm

Healing The Heart of Diversity (HHD)

712 Staunton Avenue N.W., Roanoke, VA 24016
(540) 343-5192   www.healingtheheart.org

Hope In The Cities
1103 Sunset Avenue, Richmond, VA 23221
(804) 358-1764   www.hopeinthecities.org

The Intercultural Communication Institute (ICI)
8835 W. W. Canyon Lane, Portland, OR 97225
(612) 626-7456   www.intercultural.org

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies
1090 Vermont Ave., Suite 1100, Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 789-3500   www.jointcenter.org

King Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Inc.
449 Auburn Avenue NE, Atlanta, GA 30312
(404) 526-8900   www.thekingcenter.org

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
1639 K Street NW, Suite 1010, Washington, DC 20006
(202) 466-3311   www.civilrights.org

Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics (LEAP)
327 East Second Street, Suite 226, Los Angeles, CA 90012
(213) 485-1422   www.leap.org

NAACP
1025 Vermont Avenue NW, Suite 1120, Washington, DC 20005
(202) 638-5936   www.naacp.org

National Coalition Building Institute
1835 K Street N.W. Suite 715, Washington, DC 20006
(202) 785-9400   www.ncbi.org

The National Conference for Community and Justice (NCCJ)
475 Park Avenue South, 19th Floor, New York, NY 10016
(212) 545-1300   www.nccj.org

National Congress of American Indians
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036
(202) 466-7767   www.ncai.org

National Council of La Raza
1111 19th Street NW, Washington, DC 20006
(202)-785-1670   www.nclr.org

National League of Cities
1301 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Suite 550, Washington, D.C. 20004

(202) 626-3000   www.nlc.org

The National Network of Anti-Racism & Community Building Training Institutes
Claremont Graduate University, Claremont, CA 91711
(909) 607-9220   http://race-democracy.org

National Urban League
120 Wall Street, New York, NY 10005
(212) 408-1965   www.nul.org

People's Institute for Survival and Beyond
1444 N. Johnson Street, New Orleans, LA 70116
(514) 944-2354   www.thepeoplesinstitute.org

Poverty & Race Research Action Council
1711 Connecticut Avenue NW Suite 207, Washington, DC 20009
(202) 387-9887   www.prrac.org

Project Change
678 13th Street, Oakland, CA 94612
(510) 663-0148   www.projectchange.org

Race Relations Institute, Fisk University
1000 17th Avenue, North, Nashville, TN 37208
(615) 329-8812   www.fiskrri.org

Seeking Educational Equity & Diversity (S.E.E.D)
Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, Wellesley, MA 02481
(973) 763-6378 or (781) 283-2520

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
334 Auburn Avenue NE, Atlanta, GA 30312
(404) 522-1420   www.sclcnational.org

Southern Poverty Law Center
400 Washington Avenue, Montgomery, AL 36104
(334) 956-8200   www.tolerance.org

Study Circles Resource Center
P.O. Box 203, Pomfret, CT 06256
(860) 928-2616   www.studycircles.org

Teaching for Change
PO Box 73038, Washington, DC 20056
 800-763-9131   www.teachingforchange.org

Unitarian Universalist Association – Journey Toward Wholeness
25 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108
617-742-2100   www.uua.org

United Church of Christ, Justice and Witness Ministries
700 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, OH 44115
216-736-3724   http://www.ucc.org/justice/anti.htm

U.S. Civil Rights Commission
624 9th Street, Suite 500, Washington, DC 20425
(202) 376-8312

U.S. Department of Justice, Community Relations Service
600 E Street NW, Suite 6000, Washington, DC 20530
(202) 305-2935   www.usdoj.gov/crs/

VISIONS—Vigorous Interventions Into Ongoing Natural Settings
17 Spring Valley, Arlington, MA 02476
(781) 642-2291   www.VISIONS-Inc.com

White People Working on Racism—Training For Change
1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102
215-241-7035   www.TrainingForChange.org

World of Difference Institute—Anti-Defamation League
309 W. Washington, Suite 750, Chicago, Il 60606
(312) 782-5080   www.adl.org

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[18] Ibid, p. 37

[19] Cyndi Harris, email communication 11/05/03

[20] "Racism Is Harmful to White People."

[21] National League of Cities, The National League of Cities Campaign to Promote Racial Justice.

[22] This is based on my work with the National Conference for Community and Justice-St. Louis Office, in which I worked with a number of community leaders to create CommUnity-St. Louis, a comprehensive program to dismantle racism in the region. I want to express my appreciation to the people I worked with and learned from. It is from that experience and continued research that I developed this tool.

[23] Lyons is quoted in National League of Cities, Undoing Racism, p. 3.

[24] Mazel, p. 144.

[25] This is based on the work of several theorists on racial identity theory. The source relied on for this section is an article by Bailey W. Jackson and Rita Hardiman, "Racial Identity Development: Implications for Managing the Multiracial Workforce," in The NTL Managers' Handbook.

[26] Jackson and Hardiman, "Racial Identity Development."

[27] National League of Cities, Ensuring Race Equality: Resources for Local Officials, p.4.

[28] Ibid, p. 8.

[29] Ibid, p. 5.

[30] Kivel, p. 83.

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[32] Ibid, p. 18

[33] Ibid, p.17

[34] For more information about *Making the Grade: A Racial Justice Report Card*, contact the Applied Research Center, in Oakland, CA, or visit their web site at www.arc.org.

[35] Cross, Katz, Miller, and Seashore, *The Promise of Diversity*, pp. 207-08.