

The University of San Francisco

USF Scholarship: a digital repository @ Gleeson Library | Geschke Center

Master's Projects and Capstones

Theses, Dissertations, Capstones and Projects

Summer 8-7-2020

The journey to antiracism: White identity development for White faculty members at predominantly White higher education institutions

Morgan Harthorne
mharthorne@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://repository.usfca.edu/capstone>



Part of the [Higher Education and Teaching Commons](#), [Other Teacher Education and Professional Development Commons](#), [Race and Ethnicity Commons](#), and the [Scholarship of Teaching and Learning Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Harthorne, Morgan, "The journey to antiracism: White identity development for White faculty members at predominantly White higher education institutions" (2020). *Master's Projects and Capstones*. 1080. <https://repository.usfca.edu/capstone/1080>

This Project/Capstone is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, Capstones and Projects at USF Scholarship: a digital repository @ Gleeson Library | Geschke Center. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Projects and Capstones by an authorized administrator of USF Scholarship: a digital repository @ Gleeson Library | Geschke Center. For more information, please contact repository@usfca.edu.

University of San Francisco

**The journey to antiracism: White identity development for White
faculty members at predominantly White higher education
institutions**

A Field Project Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education
International and Multicultural Education Department

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in International and Multicultural Education

By
Morgan Harthorne
July 2020

**The journey to antiracism: White identity development for White
faculty members at predominantly White higher education
institutions**

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

in

INTERNATIONAL AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

by

Morgan Harthorne

July 2020

UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all the members, this field project (or thesis) has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree.

Approved:

Instructor/Chairperson

Date

*

Committee Member

Date

*Added only if there is a second reader

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	v
Abstract.....	vi
Chapter I – Introduction.....	1
Statement of the Problem.....	1
Background and Need.....	3
Purpose of the Project.....	7
Theoretical Framework.....	7
Methodology.....	8
Significance of the Project.....	8
Definition of Terms.....	9
Chapter II – Review of the Literature.....	10
Overview.....	10
Theoretical Framework.....	11
Review of the Literature.....	12
Students of color experience racial battle fatigue.....	12
Microaggressions and people of color.....	13
Microaggressions and students of color.....	14
Faculty members contribute to a culture of Whiteness.....	16
The positive impact of Whiteness education.....	20
Summary.....	25
Chapter III – The Project and Its Development.....	26
Brief Description of the Project.....	26
Development of the Project.....	27
Positionality and motivation of the researcher.....	27
Purpose of the project.....	29
Design and content.....	30
Structure of the workshop series.....	34
Duration of the workshop series.....	35
Recruitment of faculty.....	35
Evaluation.....	35
Overview of the series.....	36
The Project.....	37
Chapter IV- Conclusions and Recommendations.....	38
Conclusions.....	38
Recommendations.....	39

References.....	39
Appendices (A-G).....	44
Appendix A: Session One Facilitation Guide.....	1
Appendix B: Session Two Facilitation Guide	34
Appendix C: Session Three Facilitation Guide	100
Appendix D: Session Four Facilitation Guide.....	142
Appendix E: Session Five Facilitation Guide.....	213
Appendix F: Session Six Facilitation Guide.....	231
Appendix G: Session Seven Facilitation Guide.....	298

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to dedicate this project first and foremost to my family. Both the family into which I was born and my chosen family. As a low-income, first-generation student, graduate, and a Black woman, I have experienced plenty of moments where I felt discouraged, lost, uncomfortable and out of place. Without the support of my inner circle: my mother, my grandmother, my California family, my best friends and my mentor, I wouldn't be writing this today.

I am also dedicating this to all of the students who hold identities like mine: past, present, and future. My hope is that the impact of this work will support the creation of classroom environments that are more inclusive, less tone deaf, and willing to critically lean into discomfort in order to push back against predominant Whiteness. I hope that White educators who engage with this work are able to create stronger, more genuine relationships with their students of color; I hope they are able to change their viewpoint from that of deficit to that of wealth and the most powerful asset. It is long past time for transformative change in the classroom.

ABSTRACT

Students of color experience feelings of isolation, exhaustion, and tokenization in predominantly white higher education spaces (Smith, Yosso, Solorzano, 2006). Specifically, students of color feel ostracized and tokenized in the classroom. This experience contributes to an overall culture of Whiteness within higher education and leads to the lack of engagement and belonging of students of color. It also supports the systems of racism and White supremacy within the academy. This field project analyzes the experiences of students of color and provides a series of seven workshops for White faculty to begin their journey toward antiracism in the classroom. This field project was created through autoethnographic research and draws from the foundations of White identity development and Intergroup Dialogue (Helms, 1992; Tatum, 1994; Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron, 2007). The workshop series serves as a preliminary space where White faculty can begin to analyze their own identity power and privilege as White people in society and how that power translates to the classroom. Analysis of their own identity will allow faculty to approach conversations about race and racism in the classroom with more ease and with a critical lens. This workshop series should be followed by intentional programming and education around implementation of antiracist praxis in the classroom.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, students of color on Predominantly White campuses have been utilizing their right to protest. With the rise of national and global movements focused around racial justice (#BlackLivesMatter, #SayHerName, etc.), students have organized on their college campuses to create lists of demands and to enact sustainable change. One of the biggest concerns for students of color on college campuses that are classified as Predominantly White is the lack of representation of faculty and staff of color, and the lack of cultural competence that many faculty and staff members have when interacting with topics of race in the classroom and beyond. This results in students of color feeling tokenized, exhausted, isolated, and unwelcome on many campuses (Kruse, Rakha, & Calderone, 2018). As spaces of higher learning, critical thinking and the challenging of hegemonic systems like whiteness should be at the forefront of a college education. Instead, hegemonic systems of whiteness are buried in years of tradition, policy, and praxis and are maintained through a campus culture that is sustained by its consistent nurturers: staff, faculty, and administrators (Patton, 2016).

Statement of the Problem

Colleges and universities in the United States began as homogeneous spaces of higher learning that catered to the White, straight, able-bodied, landowning, male elite (Patton, 2016). As time continued, more members of marginalized groups within the U.S. were admitted to learn within the college atmosphere: women, people of color, people with disabilities, differing religious beliefs and sexual orientations (Buck and Patel, 2017).

With the presence of many marginalized groups increasing on college campuses today, the old, homogeneous structures still affect campus communities through outdated and well-

meaning policies, practices, and traditions held. Specifically, the experiences of students, staff, faculty, and administrators on college campuses cater specifically to the White community. Colleges and universities cater to this demographic because of their history of serving white communities. As a result, Predominantly White Institutions (PWI) perpetuate Whiteness through their majority White demographics; their organizational and structural elements (policies, procedures, admission practices, marketing, etc.); their campus culture, comprising their behavioral (social interactions) and psychological (perceptions of racial tension on campus and the institution's response to that tension) climates; and the curriculum presented (Bourke, 2016).

Many campuses understand the significance of breaking tradition and challenging the old, homogenous way of creating and maintaining a sense of community and belonging on campus (Moses & Chang, 2006). As a result, many college administrators are investing in training and professional development opportunities for students, staff, and faculty around issues related to diversity, equity and inclusion (Bezrukova, Jehn, & Spell, 2012). The challenge with the opportunities offered is two-fold: (1) many trainings are focused on the student body; staff, faculty, and administrators are not receiving or participating in the same level of discourse and development around issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion; and (2) in much of the research and published training offered, race is rarely stated explicitly (Harper, 2012), causing a large gap in interpersonal and intrapersonal learning, along with cultural competency and growth. Without addressing issues of race in the United States and on college campuses, the training and development offered is not effective in creating transformational change on campus (Tsui, 2000).

Instead, the effects of this training are manifested in very surface-level attempts to show a deeper level of competency with issues of injustice that affect marginalized communities through deficit-based programming on campus (like targeted programs aimed at students labeled as “at-

risk” and Upward Bound programs) and incompetent efforts to recruit students of color through intentionally racialized marketing campaigns (Scarritt, 2019). Students of color commit to these institutions, and once on campus often feel isolated, excluded and report a sense of hopelessness, emotional exhaustion, and at times, defeat (Lewis, Chesler, & Forman, 2000). The effects of the predominantly white atmosphere students of color experience is at the hands of staff, faculty, and administrators, as they remain “constant” among a transitional student population (Kruse, Rakha, & Calderone, 2018). It is critical that staff, faculty, and administration actively engage in discourse and professional development that addresses issues of race in a critical and antiracist manner so that staff, faculty, and administrators are able to apply this framework/lens to policy, procedure, and tradition on campus, as well as address issues of race in the classroom and in Student Life programming (Picower, 2009). The effects of this deep reflection and antiracist work for staff, faculty, and administrators may support them in challenging students to grapple with their own racial realities and apply their learning to the world on a personal and professional level, as well as a local, national, and global level (Quaye, 2012).

Background and Need

The roots of higher education are in racism and White supremacy (Patton 2016). Utilizing Omi and Winant’s (2015) definition of race and racism, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) applied critical race theory to the field of education. Omi and Winant (2015) defined race as a master category that reinforces social structure as a process of categorizing people to reinforce social structures. Racism is the system through which those social structures are reinforced. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) attempted to theorize racism within the context of education in regard to three main points: (1) “race is a significant factor in determining inequity in the U.S.,” (2) “U.S.

society is based on property rights,” and (3) the intersection of race and property creates a tool through which social inequity (or inequity within education) can be analyzed and understood. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) concluded that although race and racism continue to be topics that are avoided by the majority - even sociologists, as race is one of the least developed theories within the field (Omi & Winant, 1994) - race remains a significant determinant of the structure of educational institutions, from physical space, to conditions of buildings, to quality of education and treatment of students as race is also considered property (Harris, 1993) and influences success as it relates to other identities like socioeconomic status. In regard to educational spaces specifically, this means that statistically, students who don't identify with the majority (many times this is the White, straight, middle class, able-bodied, Christian male), are experiencing some level of inequity within their education from start to finish.

This inequity is supported through the engagement students have with the educators in school spaces, varying from their specific teachers to the administrators who set policy and procedures. Picower (2009) studied the ways in which White pre-service teachers maintain racism and White supremacy. Picower (2009) found that White pre-service teachers do this because they are not properly prepared to work with students who are racially different than they are. Lack of preparedness comes from the absence of discussion and training around race and racism throughout their own education. Picower (2009) found that many White pre-service teachers were often unaware that they had a racial identity, which ultimately allowed them to avoid issues related to race and racism altogether. When a student of color is tethered to an educator who doesn't see themselves as connected to the larger system of racism, the consequences loom large as the impact of the teacher's maintenance of whiteness weigh heavily on a student whose identities don't fit within the confines of the dominant structure.

Quaye (2012) discussed the importance of acknowledging racial realities within higher education, especially for White educators. Quaye (2012) stated that many of the racial conversations within higher education take place with people of color facilitating the conversation. He stated that it is necessary for White educators to become comfortable and knowledgeable in leading these discussions since it is known that White students respond differently to these conversations when they are facilitated by members of their own race (2012). This is also important because there is a significant lack of faculty of color representation within K-12 and higher education (Picower, 2009; Quaye, 2012). Many White educators choose to avoid racial discussions within their classrooms in an effort to promote colorblindness, or the minimization of racial differences based on the premise that we are all joined by a universal commonality: humanity (Picower, 2009). This is problematic because our society has been built on the premise of race (Omi & Winant, 2015; Dudziak, 2009) and ignoring it only supports the growth of racism/White supremacy, and ultimately dismisses the needs of students of color in the classroom.

Patton (2016) applied Ladson-Billings' and Tate's (1995) work to the field of higher education. She critiqued the U.S. higher education system from roots to present day. Patton (2016), like Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), theorized "racism/White supremacy" in the field of U.S. higher education with three main points: (1) U.S. higher education is rooted in racism/White supremacy, (2) U.S. higher education teaches and perpetuates systems of imperialism and capitalism, which further fuel the intersections of race, property and oppression and (3) that the formal knowledge taught within U.S. higher education is also rooted in racism/White supremacy.

Higher education has attempted to transform its landscape from a time where people of color were not allowed behind its doors (Patton, 2016), however its historic roots continue to be

hiding behind each new phase presented. For example, U.S. higher education has taken interest in supporting groups of historically marginalized students, specifically students of color by providing physical spaces on campuses that are reserved for the presence of students of color (Buck & Patel, 2017). These spaces seem to provide a safe haven for students of color (Buck & Patel, 2017), but are ultimately useless if staff and faculty are committing racial injustice and perpetuating racism and White supremacy by committing and allowing microaggressions across campus and in the classroom (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Campuses are quickly changing the landscape to move away from a racialized focus and instead are providing spaces that celebrate diversity and focus on inclusion as an overgeneralized term: meaning any type of difference can be celebrated within these spaces (Buck & Patel, 2017). These spaces do not serve as critical education spaces, nor do they challenge the status quo of campus culture that supports dominant ideologies of Whiteness (Buck & Patel, 2017).

As U.S. higher education institutions continue to change their landscapes in regard to diversity and inclusion efforts, there is significant pushback regarding implementation of diversity training (Moses & Chang, 2006) that is ultimately leading to the lack of prioritization for this training of campus employees (Kruse, Rakha, & Calderone, 2018). The absence of education for staff, faculty, and administrators around issues of race and racial injustice is the catalyst for student unrest and dissatisfaction with their learning environments as they relate to race and racism (Kruse, Rakha, & Calderone, 2018). The absence of this education also supports a seemingly, “hidden agenda” within the curriculum coming from faculty when students don’t see themselves reflected in the texts assigned to them, and when microaggressions occur in the classroom and are not acknowledged by the professor (Lewis, Chesler, & Forman, 2000; Margolis & Romero, 1998). These harmful acts of racial injustice can be mitigated through the

support of training and workshops provided for all employees on college campuses so that they are equipped with the tools to adapt and change their own behavior, ideologies and biases that support systems of racism and White supremacy within higher education.

Purpose of the Project

The purpose of this project is to conduct a brief ethnography with educators and students in U.S. higher education in order to create a series of workshops to be used with staff, faculty, and administrators on Predominantly White campuses to support their work in dismantling racism on campus. The workshop series will consist of seven workshops that challenge educators to confront their own identities and biases, beliefs, and ideologies they hold, and connect this with how they interact with students both in- and out of the classroom. This project was chosen because of a gap in the literature around diversity and inclusion on college campuses: students are inundated with programming around issues of diversity and inclusion, however, staff, faculty and administrators are rarely challenged to engage with these issues and ultimately, are unable to effectively navigate racial realities on campus and in the classroom.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Race Theory helps frame the discussion around inequity in the field of education, as it analyzes the role race and racism play in societal inequities that exist within the educational system (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). The five tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT) support the evolution of thought around the history of higher education and how that history impacts students today: (1) racism is endemic and everyday (Sue, 2010), (2) Whiteness as property (Harris, 1993), (3) interest convergence (Dudziak, 2009), (4) intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2009),

and (5) counterstorytelling (Delgado, 2000). This thesis will utilize the counterstories of students of color in higher education to show the everyday presence of race and racism in the classroom and across campus. This thesis will address how White faculty members uphold racism and White supremacy in the classroom through the five tenets of CRT and it will provide space for educators to reflect and create change within their classrooms.

Methodology

This project will utilize autoethnographic experience as an educator and member of the community at a private, predominantly White institution in the south of the United States. The experience as an educator in the community has positioned the researcher to identify strengths, challenges, and needs within the community in order to create an effective curriculum for faculty to engage with and to create sustainable change on campus.

Significance of the Project

This project may be significant for pre-service teachers, professors, Student Affairs staff, higher education upper-level administrators, and diversity and inclusion consultants within the field of higher education. The use of this project may change campus culture with its intent to empower white educators to connect differently with themselves, their students, and the world as it pertains to race and racism. This project may create opportunities for professional development and change in policy and procedure on college campuses, specifically those that identify as small, predominantly White communities. Ultimately, as participants of this workshop series evolve, their work within this project may support them in creating more brave and safe spaces (Arao & Clemens, 2013) for students and other colleagues across their campuses.

Definition of Terms

In this project, the following terms will be used when discussing phenomena within the field of higher education as they relate to race, racism, and inequity.

A predominantly White institution (PWI) indicates that an institution's compositional diversity (the demographic numbers indicate that an institution has a majority of White people), and its structural and compositional diversity (policies, practices, and traditions that create the overall institutional culture) support the dominance and normalcy of whiteness (Bourke, 2016; Wille, 2003).

A brave space is a learning environment that allows students to engage with one another over controversial topics while taking the risks of being vulnerable and open with their own thoughts, feelings and experiences for the benefit of group learning (Arao & Clemens, 2013).

Cultural competence is the ability to communicate and adapt behavior effectively across cultural similarities and differences (Hammer, 2012).

Microaggressions are defined as "everyday verbal, nonverbal, and environmental slights, snubs, or insults, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to target persons based solely upon their marginalized group membership" (Sue, 2010).

A safe space is "a learning environment that allows students to engage with one another over controversial issues with honesty, sensitivity, and respect" (Arao & Clemens, 2013).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Higher education has traditionally excluded people of color, first through admission practices and policies. This practice is continued today through exclusionary policies and procedures that permeate throughout the entire college experience for people of color. These practices include admission requirements, representation of people of color in an institution's marketing, in employee demographics and throughout the academic curriculum. Each of these elements contribute to a culture of Whiteness on college campuses that continue to perpetuate racial injustice. For this reason, students of color often report feelings of isolation, tokenization and exhaustion on many college campuses, especially those that are categorized as predominantly White (Kruse, Rakha, & Calderone, 2018; Smith, Yosso, & Solorzano, 2006; Smith, 2008).

Faculty members in the U.S. higher education system need access to consistent, critical training and reflection about race and racism in the U.S. so that they are better able to facilitate discussion about these issues in the classroom. The evidence supporting this claim includes (a) students of color experience racism within predominantly white higher education classrooms (b) educators contribute to the culture of whiteness by avoiding conversations about racism in the classroom and (c) research shows the positive impact of Whiteness education. Joint reasoning is used to justify the claim that educators need consistent and critical training, reflection and education around issues of race and racism because the individual reasons listed cannot stand alone. However, when the individual sets of evidence are added together, they warrant the final conclusion.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Race Theory frames the discussion around inequity in the field of education, as it analyzes the role race and racism play within the educational system (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). The five tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT) support the evolution of thought around the history of higher education and how that history impacts students today: (1) racism is endemic and everyday (Sue, 2010), (2) Whiteness as property (Harris, 1993), (3) interest convergence (Dudziak, 2009), (4) intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2009), and (5) counterstorytelling (Delgado, 2000). This thesis uses CRT to understand the argument for continuous education around race, racism and Whiteness for White faculty members in U.S. higher education.

Utilizing Omi and Winant's (2015) definition of race and racism, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) applied critical race theory to the field of education. Omi and Winant (2015) defined race as a master category that reinforces social structure as a process of categorizing people to reinforce social structures. Racism is the system through which those social structures are reinforced. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) attempted to theorize racism within the context of education in regard to three main points: (1) "race is a significant factor in determining inequity in the U.S.," (2) "U.S. society is based on property rights," and (3) the intersection of race and property creates a tool through which social inequity (or inequity within education) can be analyzed and understood. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) concluded that although race and racism continue to be topics that are avoided by the majority - even sociologists, as race is one of the least developed theories within the field (Omi & Winant, 1994) - race remains a significant determinant of the structure of educational institutions, from physical space, to conditions of buildings, to quality of education and treatment of students as race is also considered property (Harris, 1993) and influences success as it relates to other identities like socioeconomic status. In

regard to educational spaces specifically, this means that statistically, students who don't identify with the majority (many times this is the White, straight, middle class, able-bodied, Christian male), are experiencing some level of inequity within their education from start to finish.

The social inequities analyzed by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) follow students through their post-secondary education career and into higher education. Patton (2016) used Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) as a foundation for analyzing the history of higher education as it relates to race and racism. Patton (2016) found that the roots of higher education are deeply embedded in racism since it is endemic and everyday (Sue, 2010). Patton (2016) also found that higher education teaches and perpetuates systems of imperialism and capitalism, which further fuel the intersections of race, property, and oppression. Therefore, higher education is considered formal when it is driving the interests and benefits of White people, upholding and perpetuating racism and White supremacy.

This literature review will utilize the counterstories of students of color in higher education to show the everyday presence of race and racism in the classroom and across campus. This thesis will address how White faculty members uphold racism and White supremacy in the classroom through the five tenets of CRT and it will provide space for educators to reflect and create change within their classrooms.

Students of color experience racial battle fatigue in the college classroom

Research demonstrates that students of color on predominantly white campuses report higher levels of physical, behavioral and psychological stress than their white counterparts; this is called racial battle fatigue (Smith, Yosso, & Solorzano, 2006). These factors prohibit students of color from engaging with the larger campus community, feeling a sense of belonging, and

their ability to learn effectively both in and out of the classroom. When students of color are unable to engage in the larger campus community, the overarching culture of Whiteness is upheld, further alienating students of color.

Microaggressions and people of color

Microaggressions are “everyday verbal, nonverbal, and environmental slights, snubs, or insults, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to target persons based solely upon their marginalized group membership” (Sue, 2010, p. 3). Sue (2010) states, “Microaggressions reflect the active manifestation of oppressive worldviews that create, foster, and enforce marginalization,” (p. 6). This means that microaggressions are used as tools to maintain a racist societal structure and to maintain the positionality of each identity (for example: Whiteness in a position of power). There are three forms of microaggressions: (1) microassaults, (2) microinsults, (3) microinvalidations (Sue, 2010). Microassaults are intentional, consciously expressed, biased beliefs or attitudes toward a marginalized person or group. These can be overt or covert statements or acts of violence toward people of marginalized groups. Microinsults are “subtle snubs often unconsciously disguised as a compliment or positive statement directed toward the target person or group” (Sue, 2010, p. 9). Often, this type of language or statement is inherently contradictory, and rather than being accepted as a compliment, it is undermined by the biased way of thinking (for example, “You’re really smart for a Black person). Microinvalidations are similar to microinsults because they are often unintentional and unconscious, however they “directly attack or deny the experiential realities” of people of marginalized groups (Sue, 2010, p. 10). The colorblind ideology is an

example of microinvalidations as it refuses to acknowledge another person's race and ultimately, invalidates their experiences related to race in society (Sue, 2010).

Microaggressions impact people of color in four ways: (1) biologically and physically, (2) emotionally, (3) cognitively, and (4) behaviorally (Sue, 2010). Biological and physical impacts include levels of stress that significantly affect disease and increase susceptibility to illness. Emotional effects include anxiety, feelings of isolation, exhaustion, and depression. When people of color experience microaggressions, they also experience cognitive disruption as they try to process the situation at hand. This emotional and cognitive labor takes away from the general task(s) at hand. It can also activate stereotype threat in that person, which could lead to lower performance and productivity. Behavioral effects of microaggressions might include a distrust or suspicion of the majority group, a need to comply, assimilate or acculturate to the dominant group, rage or anger, fatigue and hopelessness, and strength through adversity (Sue, 2010). Strength through adversity is only created as a survival skill in order to navigate a hostile environment (Sue, 2010). Although people of color experience microaggressions often, students of color on college campuses in the U.S. experience microaggressions that lead them to feeling isolated from their peers and college community.

Microaggressions and students of color

Students of color experience behavioral and psychological stress factors that contribute to their racial battle fatigue. Examples of behavioral stress include: withdrawal from campus and poor academic performance. Examples of psychological stress include anger, anxiety and depression. These types of stress are caused when students of color experience microaggressions from their peers, faculty members, and other members of their community (Franklin, Smith, &

Hung, 2014). Students of color report having a physiological response to these everyday violations. Physiological responses include heart pounding, sweating, shaking, lump in the throat, and more (Franklin, Smith, & Hung, 2014). Many microaggressions committed include when White students don't believe that a student of color is smart enough to be in a high-level course, or that all students of color know and can mimic pop culture references related to their race. Students of color hold in their frustrations and sometimes change their behaviors in order to survive. Ultimately, this means students of color are upholding the mainstream, predominantly White culture of the campus community in order to protect themselves and reach graduation. This experience is exacerbated on predominantly White campuses because students of color don't have large communities of color within the campus to turn to for support.

Students of color do not only experience microaggressions from their peers. They experience microaggressions and other negatively racialized experiences with their faculty members both in and out of the classroom. Students of color report feeling a lack of support and respect from their faculty members as well as an overall pressure to conform to stereotypes regarding their race (Smith, Yosso, & Solorzano, 2006; Smith, 2008). Oftentimes, this results in students of color being the representatives for their race in class, minimizing their differences in regard to race rather than celebrating them, and it can even result in students of color justifying their place in class or in society (Lewis, Chesler, Forman, 2000). This type of added pressure, along with the general pressure of performing and succeeding academically and socially within the college environment, causes students of color to feel alienated and ultimately, withdraw from engaging on campus and succeeding academically.

The experiences that students of color report having in the predominantly White classroom, where they are often asked to serve as the representative of their race, are not what

students of color expect from their faculty members or of their higher education experience. In fact, students of color expect that their faculty members are able to create a classroom environment that doesn't tokenize them, but rather challenges the preconceived stereotypes around their race (Hubain, Allen, Harris, & Linder, 2016). Students of color would like to see faculty members encouraging the general population of students to think critically about their own perceptions of race and racism both on campus and in the world, but are often met with disengagement from White faculty and White peers, who prefer to deflect or change the subject when confronted with an opportunity to engage deeply and authentically with issues of race and racism (Hubain, Allen, Harris, & Linder, 2016).

Students of color continue to experience racial microaggressions on campus, both in and out of the classroom. Students of color have reported that one of the easiest ways for them to cope with the racial climate on campus is to accept what is happening (Franklin, Smith, & Hung, 2014). When students of color accept the racial harm that is happening around them, they are unable to perform to the best of their ability academically because of the psychological, behavioral, and physiological factors that weigh on them as a result of the consistent microaggressions and comments on their racial identity. These stressors impact a student's health and result in what is called racial battle fatigue, which ultimately leads students of color to feeling burnt out, exhausted, and isolated from the larger campus community.

Higher education faculty members contribute to a culture of whiteness in the classroom

Historically, higher education has been a homogeneous space, with no required curriculum for understanding, combating and challenging issues of race or racism (Patton, 2016). This means that in a traditional college curriculum, no student is required to reflect on their life

experience regarding race/challenge their own belief systems around issues of race. Research has shown that when in the higher education space, White educators tend to shy away from critically challenging beliefs about race and racism in the classroom (Hubain, Allen, Harris, & Linder, 2016). By avoiding conversations about race and racism, or by minimizing the significance of race, White educators are upholding the predominant culture of Whiteness that is so prevalent throughout many college campuses. This public display of support shows White students and students of color that the predominant culture of Whiteness will always be supported and relevant.

Research shows that many White, pre-service educators hold deficit-based biases toward students of color (Picower, 2009). Picower (2009) worked with White, pre-service K-12 educators, however her work can be used as a foundation when thinking about White educators in higher education as well. Picower (2009) found that not only do many White pre-service educators struggle to see their Whiteness as a racial identity, but that because of this, they were able to deny any form of racial hierarchy, since Whiteness is not considered within the construct of race (Picower, 2009; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). The impact of White educators' lack of knowledge and understanding of their own culture supports the hegemonic ideology of meritocracy (Picower, 2009). This creates a deficit-based view of students of color because it implies that their position in society is due to a lack of ascribing to the mainstream culture and expectations (in this case, Whiteness). This is problematic because as White educators prepare for the increasingly diverse classroom, deficit-based ways of thinking further perpetuate White supremacy in the classroom and impact students negatively, especially students of color.

Quaye (2012) discussed the importance of acknowledging racial realities within higher education, especially for White educators. Quaye (2012) stated that many of the racial

conversations within higher education take place with people of color facilitating the conversation. He stated that it is necessary for White educators to become comfortable and knowledgeable in leading these discussions since it is known that White students respond differently to these conversations when they are facilitated by members of their own race (2012). This is also important because there is a significant lack of faculty of color representation within K-12 and higher education (Picower, 2009; Quaye, 2012). Many White educators choose to avoid racial discussions within their classrooms in an effort to promote colorblindness, or the minimization of racial differences based on the premise that we are all joined by a universal commonality: humanity (Picower, 2009). This is problematic because our society has been built on the premise of race (Omi & Winant, 2015; Dudziak, 2009) and ignoring it only supports the growth of racism/White supremacy, and ultimately dismisses the needs of students of color in the classroom.

Harper (2012) completed a study that found that many higher education researchers were unable to explicitly name racism as a consistent issue on college campuses. A total of 255 peer-reviewed articles and studies were considered, and race was consistently avoided among reasons for which minoritized students negatively experience higher education. Instead of outright listing racism as a reason, many articles state that racism “may,” “might” or “could” contribute to a negative experience for students of color. Experiences like (1) relationships with faculty members, (2) levels of student involvement and engagement, and (3) “at-risk” status and retention issues are all listed and described without attributing racism as a significant piece of the picture. Many studies also opted to use other words in place of “racist” or “racism”:

marginalized, unsupportive, harmful, isolating, discriminatory, exclusionary, etc. (Harper, 2012).

As new research is produced within the field, educators use the information to influence their

praxis. If the research is unable to explicitly state and examine issues of race within higher education, faculty are also learning that race and racism remain topics that are not negatively affecting the classroom experience, nor are they topics with and upon which faculty themselves should reflect and engage.

Harper and Hurtado (2007) completed a fifteen-year study that focused on the common themes among racial climates on college campuses in the United States. Their findings included students of color indicating that they felt isolated and exhausted based on their racial experiences in the classroom specifically due to the curriculum (assignments and readings written by and for White people) and professors unwilling to acknowledge the unequal presence of Whiteness (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Margolis and Romero (1998) stated that there is a hidden curriculum that supports Whiteness when faculty members do not openly address race and racism in the classroom, whether it be associated with the texts on the syllabus, or the world's current events. The impact is the disengagement of students of color in the classroom, and their further isolation on campus. White students do not benefit from this method either, as they are unable to confront harmful ideologies around race that they've internalized through adolescence.

Faculty members, specifically White faculty members, play a major role in the connections students of color have throughout their college career. These include their connection to the institution, to the faculty members, to their peers, and to the culture of the campus. As students who spend a great deal of their time in class and studying for class, it is crucial that educators spend time acknowledging experiences of race in the classroom. This acknowledgement creates a more inclusive space for students of color and benefits White students because it challenges harmful ideologies that might live within them.

Research demonstrates the positive impact of Whiteness education

Many institutions remain stagnant with their agendas around diversity and inclusion and their model for professional development of faculty (Kruse, Rakha, & Calderone, 2018). Within their agendas for diversity and inclusion fall education around Whiteness and racism. Moses and Chang (2006) discussed the rationale behind this type of education as a positive experience for college campuses and a necessary investment for college communities. Moses and Chang (2006) stated that the empirical impact of diversity education on all students is positive and produces more aware and involved citizens. Although Moses and Chang (2006) were referencing currently enrolled college students, the premise applies to educators and faculty members as well; all members of the campus community are learners at all times. Moses & Chang (2006) also stated that the use of diversity education can significantly impact the experiences and the learning outcomes for all students on campus, either positively, or negatively, depending on how and when diversity education is implemented. As Moses & Chang were referencing currently enrolled college students, this statement once again applies to all members of the campus community, especially faculty members who are meeting with students frequently and are in charge of creating inclusive learning spaces.

As colleges and universities remain stagnant on the implementation of diversity education and cultural competency training for their faculty, the impact is greater racial tension on campus and greater experiences of alienation, isolation and exhaustion for members of color within the community, specifically students. Kruse, Rakha, and Calderone (2018) highlighted that because of the lack of investment in this type of education for their faculty and student populations, students of minoritized groups have begun organizing and creating cultures of

unrest on their campuses in an effort to demand the prioritization of their lives and experiences on campus, as they relate to race.

Kruse, Rakha, and Calderone (2018) outline six ways in which campuses can begin to make cultural shifts on their campus that allow for the prioritization of cultural competency building for faculty members. These efforts include: (1) time for faculty to meet, learn, and process new learning, (2) time to monitor, evaluate and refine processes and practices in the classroom, (3) communication structures that support the work of cultural competency, (4) a climate of trust and openness to improvement and learning campus-wide, (5) supportive leadership and (6) access to expertise designed to support new learning at the individual and organizational levels. Without the institutional support and the investment in educators, faculty are left to struggle in the classroom as students perpetuate and experience racism on campus and beyond and return to the classroom space to make sense of it all. Faculty who haven't reflected deeply upon their own ideologies and experiences are unable to appropriately address and facilitate dialogue around race and racism in the classroom as it appears, and the impact is negative for all.

To begin the conversation among faculty and to support the creation of a climate of trust and openness, the following methods of Whiteness identity education have been implemented successfully among the higher education field: Layla Saad's (2018) *Me and White Supremacy* journal, Intergroup Dialogue (Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron, 2007) and Beverly Daniel Tatum's work with White identity development (1994).

Saad (2018) created a 28-day challenge for people who identify as White or who hold White privilege to learn about White supremacy and to reflect and journal about the ways in which they might uphold White supremacy in their everyday life. Saad's journal includes several

parts: (1) a significant portion of the book is dedicated to setting expectations for the reader and reflector. This portion of the book also includes important definitions and explanations about what White supremacy is and how it might show up in every person's life. The significant amount of time dedicated to creating the proper setting for learning about White supremacy is most notable within this book; it creates a space for White learners to do the work on their own without having to engage people of color in the emotional labor of teaching about their experience. Saad (2018) also includes guidelines for doing this journaling work within a group of White people which includes creating group communication guidelines and ensuring that each member of the group has an opportunity to engage vocally. (2) The bulk of the book is dedicated to journaling and reflecting on the many ways in which White supremacy manifests through tone policing, color blindness, stereotypes, the centering of White people and experiences, and many more. Saad's (2018) work modeled an effective way for White educators to engage with and reflect upon their own ideologies around racism and White supremacy that also allow for them to create sustainable change in the classroom.

Intergroup Dialogue was born out of the Program on Intergroup Relations (IGR) at the University of Michigan in 1988 in an effort to address racial inequity and tension (Ford, 2018). Its purpose was to support student learning around inter- and intra-group experiences as they relate to different social identities (age, race, class, sex, sexual orientation, gender, religion, etc.). Intergroup Dialogue (IGD) was later defined (Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron, 2007) as a "facilitated, face to face encounter that aims to cultivate meaningful engagement between members of two or more social identity groups that have a history of conflict" (Ford, 2018, p. 6). IGD that aims to increase learning around race, for example, would bring together people of color and White people. Intragroup dialogue allows for members within the same social identity

group to explore that identity (Ford, 2018; Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 2016). All variations of IGD allow participants the opportunity to learn and reflect on their own identities as well as the systems of privilege, oppression, and discrimination. This is achieved with the support of trained facilitators to create an environment where participants are able to communicate critically and openly about their experiences and beliefs. By doing this, participants are able to listen actively, communicate effectively, change perspective and reach understanding through dialogue about injustice (Ford, 2018; Sorensen, et. al., 2009).

Beverly Daniel Tatum (1994) explores the process for teaching about race and racism in predominantly White spaces. Tatum (1994) uses Janet Helms' (1992) model of White racial identity development to outline six different stages that White people will experience as they learn about their White identity. Identity development is different for White people and people of color because of the different social positions each group occupies (Tatum, 1994). White people need to first realize their Whiteness and how they participate in the structure of racism on an individual level. Then, they are able to acknowledge the structure of institutional racism and reflect on how they take part in that system. Helms breaks White identity development into these two major phases (Tatum, 1994; Helms, 1992).

The six stages of White identity development include (1) the contact stage, (2) the disintegration stage, (3) the reintegration stage, (4) the pseudo-independent stage, (5) the immersion/emersion stage, and (6) the autonomy stage. The first stage, the contact stage, often includes individuals who have not yet realized or acknowledged their racial identity as White. Tatum states that many in this stage will describe themselves as "normal" (1994, p. 464). This stage includes a limited awareness of the structure of socialization around race and lends itself to a colorblind ideology where individuals see themselves as holding no prejudices (Tatum, 1994).

Participation in a space where White people are challenged to confront their own racial identity will often push them into the disintegration stage, where they begin to see how much life in the U.S. is affected and structured around racism. This stage can initially be met with denial from White students, but as they continue to engage, they begin to see that the only way to dismantle racist systems is through action. Students then move into the reintegration stage, where they fall into a space of justifying racism in a way that places the responsibility of creating change among the people who are being othered by society.

The second major phase of White identity development, outlined by Helms (1992) and Tatum (1994), includes the pseudo-independent stage, the immersion/emersion stage, and the autonomy stage. White people in the pseudo-independent stage have a deeper awareness about how institutional racism works within society and no longer resort to or rely on explanations that include placing blame or the responsibility of dismantling racism on those being othered by society. In this stage, White people begin to create a positive definition of Whiteness, although they may find themselves seeking out like minded individuals and people of color with whom they can learn and discuss issues of racism (Tatum, 1994). White people move into the immersion/emersion stage as they continue to dig deeper and try to answer the question of, “Who am I?” in regard to race. It is common for people to seek out role models with similar identities (i.e. White, female/male, similar religion, socioeconomic status, ability, etc.) who are on the journey toward racial justice, too. Lastly, White people enter the autonomy stage, where they now hold a new view of themselves and their Whiteness, which is internalized positively. Once people reach the autonomy stage, their work is not complete, however. This process is ongoing in order to continually challenge systems of racism in the spaces they occupy (Tatum, 1994). As

the process is continued, White people then move into an ally role as they share their knowledge among other White people and actively challenge racist ideologies and systems (Tatum, 1994).

Whiteness education for people who work in educational settings, specifically White faculty, is necessary and beneficial for the entire campus. As students of color often report feeling isolated and exhausted due to a lack of awareness and education from their White peers and faculty members (Kruse, Rakha, & Calderone, 2018), continuous Whiteness education could be a clear, impactful solution to the experience of students of color. Whiteness education will also support White faculty members in guiding their White students through the levels of White racial identity development while providing a more academically rigorous classroom for all, without the emotional labor and tokenization of students of color (Quaye, 2012; Kruse, Rakha, & Calderone, 2018; Tatum, 1994; Helms, 1992).

Summary

This literature review claims that faculty members in the U.S. higher education system need access to consistent, critical training and reflection about race and racism in the U.S. so that they are better able to facilitate discussion about these issues in the classroom. Evidence that supports this claim includes (a) students of color experience racism within predominantly white higher education classrooms (b) educators contribute to the culture of whiteness by avoiding conversations about racism in the classroom and (c) research shows the positive impact of Whiteness education. The claim and body of evidence addresses the need for consistent critical training and reflection about race and racism in the U.S. by showing that students of color feel exhausted and isolated from their fellow, White campus community members (faculty and students) (Kruse, Rakha, & Calderone, 2018); students of color feel exhausted and isolated because of the way in which faculty address, or in some cases, fail to address, race and racism in

the classroom; and the impacts of Whiteness education are beneficial for all because they support the awareness and acknowledgement of the presence of Whiteness in society. With my thesis, I propose to create a curriculum for White faculty members in U.S. higher education that guides them through the White identity development process in order to better serve their students in the classroom. The curriculum will consist of seven workshops to be used in all-White faculty groups over the course of a semester.

CHAPTER III

THE PROJECT AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

Brief Description of the Project

This project contains a series of seven workshops for White faculty teaching at a predominantly White college. The series of workshops serves to spark the learning of White faculty members about their own White identities so that they may appropriately address and respond to discussions about race and racism in the classroom. The seven workshops were created to complement the six “statuses” of White identity development as described by Helms (1992), Tatum, (1994), and Utt and Tochluk (2016). The seventh workshop serves as a space for reflection on the workshop series, connection to other faculty teaching in similar disciplines, and for creating action steps once the workshop series is over. Each facilitation guide for each workshop in the series contains the following information: who should facilitate, learning outcomes, purpose of the workshop and purpose of each activity within the workshop, materials needed, facilitator preparation, procedure of activities, time required for the total lesson and each activity, built-in break time, and a review of suggested readings for the upcoming workshop. All activity worksheets and suggested readings are attached to the end of each corresponding facilitation guide. Workshop participants will also be asked to reflect on their own White identity

and the development of that identity through a series-long writing assignment. Directions for this assignment are included in the appendix immediately following the first facilitation guide.

Development of the Project

Positionality and motivation of the researcher

I, as the researcher, am an employee of the college for which I am writing this workshop series. I do not work as a faculty member. I am a staff member and department head for the Office of Diversity and Inclusion on campus, which is a relatively new office and was created in the last two years. I am a woman of color and, in regard to the demographics of the rest of campus, I am one of the only women of color and people of color on Student Life staff and staff overall.

In my experience at work, I've listened to countless student experiences that mimic my own in the academy, both as a student and as a professional. Students of color often appear in my office and find that the space is one of the only, if not, the only, space on campus they feel they can be present and share their real, raw experiences on a predominantly White campus. Students have expressed concern and frustration with the lack of cultural competency and ability to discuss race in the classroom or address it in a way that promotes critical thinking for all in the classroom. Students of color report to me their feelings of isolation and emotional exhaustion from bearing the brunt of the conversation and having to share their own experience as a person of color in the United States for the sake of their classes' and professors' learning. Students confide in me and look for advice about how to cope with their own feelings of racial battle fatigue (Smith, Yosso, & Solorzano, 2006) and how to approach professors about the harm that takes place for them in the classroom.

My role is unique in that I am situated within the Division of Student Life (a primarily student-facing role), but I also serve as a resource for the entire campus. This means that in my role, I also hear from faculty members on campus who feel lost, anxious, and afraid that their lack of knowledge and experience with people of color does not qualify them to discuss race or racism in the classroom. Oftentimes, I am asked to attend classes with faculty members and begin the conversation. Opportunities to attend classes and engage also show me the lack of foundational understanding and knowledge that faculty members have about the experiences of people of color in relation to their own identities, biases, and positionalities.

The culture of the predominantly White, liberal arts college at which I work is overwhelmingly White, liberal, and colorblind (Hayes & Juarez, 2009; Zamudio & Rios, 2006; Bonilla-Silva, 2003). The culture, at first glance, is open, welcoming, and seemingly willing to try on new ideas and ways of thinking and doing. However, the presence and pervasiveness of Whiteness, along with the incessant need of liberal White folks to be considered “good people,” (Hayes & Juarez, 2009), creates a space that implicitly and very negatively impacts people of color. White folks are often so wrapped up in being considered “well-intentioned” and “good people,” that they don’t take the time to reflect and learn about the practices they uphold in their everyday lives that are harmful to people of color, and ultimately uphold the systems of racism and White supremacy on campus (Zamudio & Rios, 2006). The centering of Whiteness on campus only exacerbates the racial battle fatigue (Smith, Yosso, & Solorzano, 2006) that students of color experience every day.

As a colleague, a mentor, and an active member of the campus community, I am passionate about creating this workshop series as the beginning of the conversation for faculty members who are dedicated to creating change in their classrooms and in our shared community.

I want to see success for both sides: students and their peers, and faculty as they lead rigorous discussions about the history we are making every day. Faculty are a small piece of the campus community; however, they hold a significant amount of power and influence regarding the campus culture, and they also hold a significant space in the lives of students of all backgrounds.

Purpose of the project

The driving force behind this project is my experience as both a student and a staff member in predominantly White settings. However, through the development of this project, many significant political and historical events are taking place that have influenced the growth and creation of this project. The first being the experiences of students of color within the predominantly White space as they navigate the effects of COVID-19. In my work, I've always been focused on equity and justice for those pushed to the margins of society, and COVID-19 has only widened the inequities that students of color, specifically, experience. Many colleges across the United States were forced to close their doors and send students home. This created an opportunity for students to receive refunds on housing, meal plans, etc. Many students of color are attending my institution on scholarships or they serve as resident advisors, which means their housing is free. This created inequity as there was no additional funding or support for students who did not receive refunds. On the administrative side, there was no acknowledgement of the inequities that may arise as a result of COVID-19. I believe that if there was a foundational understanding of the campus culture (Whiteness and its pervasiveness), there might have been deeper conversation and thought put into the support for students of color.

The second, significantly political and historical event that took place was the murder of George Floyd by four police officers in Minneapolis, Minnesota (Hill, Tiefenthäler, Triebert,

Jordan, Willis, & Stein, 2020). Floyd's murder was caught on camera and went viral on social media, sparking a global wave of protests in support of the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States. Floyd's murder was on the heels of two other unjust and immoral killings of Black people in the United States: Breonna Taylor and Ahmaud Arbery (Brown, 2020). These murders specifically, and the global uprising that followed, began to spark a multitude of conversations about the many ways in which racism is still alive and well within different facets of the United States culture. There is a lot of attention on the field of education, as the masses are realizing that histories they've been taught in school are "whitewashed," and "sanitized." This points to a larger issue within the field of education: people are not taught to discuss or analyze the presence of racism around them. As many White people within the United States, especially White educators, are captivated by the current historical and political moment and movement, there is a desperate search for action steps to take in order to immediately address racism and solve issues of racism in the classroom. The effects of the current political and historical moment on White educators are a good start, however the action items cannot be completed without first addressing the racism that lives internally. It is crucial that White educators understand themselves and the world around them as racialized; race is important because society has made it important and educators cannot dismantle racism by avoiding it or by adopting a colorblind mindset (Utt & Tochluk, 2016; Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Similarly, White educators cannot effectively connect with their students of color or provide deep, critical analysis and conversation for their students about race and racism in the United States specifically if they have not begun to reflect on the racism they uphold internally. This project aims to support the beginning stages of that internal work for White faculty members.

Design and content

When I first decided to create a field project, I knew that I wanted to create some form of curriculum to be used at the higher education level. I wanted it to address Whiteness, the impact of White liberalism and the harm that it creates for people of color on college campuses. Initially, my hope was to create a general curriculum that would be applicable to all faculty and staff on college campuses; the curriculum would be interchangeable for both groups.

I began researching the meaning and history of predominantly White higher education institutions; the impact of diversity training on staff and faculty at those institutions; how campus culture impacts students of color and all students; and race and racism on predominantly White campuses. Initially, I found a significant amount of information about the meaning and history of predominantly White higher education institutions in the United States and racial battle fatigue for students, staff, and faculty in the academy, but I didn't find an overwhelming amount of information about effective training to combat and dismantle Whiteness on these campuses. I also realized that creating a curriculum that would serve all constituents employed on a college campus: both staff and faculty, would not be feasible as the experiences of each group (and subgroups within the larger group) hold vastly different experiences in regard to the campus and student population.

After reflecting on my own experiences with students, staff, and faculty, I decided to create this workshop series for White faculty members only. This decision stemmed from my relationships with students, in which they confided in me about their experiences, and also my relationships and connections with faculty members across campus, who are interested in doing this work but don't feel adequately prepared to participate effectively. In regard to the research, I also felt that faculty was the ideal group to create this workshop for because there is so much

literature that details the experiences that students of color have in the classroom. Given the current political and historical time, faculty members, especially those who identify as White, are quick to move to a place of action to change those experiences for students of color. My viewpoint is that faculty must first listen and understand the experiences that students of color have in the academy and have had their entire lives within the educational system. The only way they can begin to understand those experiences is by first analyzing their own position within the world.

I then began to research White identity development and applied it to the workshop series development. Helms (1992), Tatum (1994), and Utt and Tochluk (2016) provide great foundations for understanding the six phases of identity development for White people. It was important to me to create a workshop series that is rooted in this foundation and is also rooted in our campus community, so I made sure to include connections to the history of our institution, brainstorm and discussions about the current policies, procedures, and practices of the college, and space for White faculty participants in the workshop to analyze themselves and their own curricula. The identification and analysis of themselves and their own habits of teaching call for an incredibly safe and brave space (Arao & Clemens, 2013) only after they've been able to develop their understanding of their own identities to a place of immersion, emersion or autonomy (Utt & Tochluk, 2016; Tatum, 1994; Helms, 1992).

At this stage of development, I knew that I needed to rely on tools that are often used within the sphere of diversity education. Specifically, I prefer to utilize elements of Intergroup Dialogue (Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron, 2007) to foster a space that is conducive to trust and deep analysis about personal identity. A variation of Intergroup Dialogue is intra-group dialogue, which creates a space of exploration for members of the same identity group (in this

case, those members are White faculty). The benefits of this structure are that it provides a space for participants to ask critical questions about other identity groups and their own identity in relation to those groups without burdening the other identity group and subjecting them to tokenization in order for the affinity group to learn (Michael, Conger, Bickerstaff, Crawford-Garrett, & Fulmer, 2009). In this case, an all-White faculty affinity group allows for White faculty to reflect and analyze deeply both their positionality as White people in the world with the highest level of education. This affinity group will also allow for faculty members to analyze and reflect upon the power and privilege that comes with the role of being a faculty member on campus. Not only are they powerful in society as White people who are highly educated, but in their roles as faculty members, they hold another significant level of power over students, especially students of color. An all-White affinity space will benefit this group of people because they share those identities and they will be able to challenge themselves and each other through critical dialogue without harming students of color or their colleagues of color in the process.

Since the workshop space will be an all-White faculty group, I next wanted to think about the facilitators of the workshop. I wrote this workshop series with the idea that I would be facilitating it on my own campus, as the representative from the Office of Diversity and Inclusion. As I was writing the series, I was thinking about the necessity of co-facilitating and the impact that my presence as a woman of color would have on all White faculty space. I also recognized that I am a staff member without faculty status. Because I don't have that status, it becomes a game of politics in regard to faculty attention, respect, and level of engagement. Because of these factors, I decided that I would choose a co-facilitator that is representative of the campus population: in the case of my campus, a White woman who holds powerful faculty status (tenure, Dean level, etc.) would be the best co-facilitator for this workshop series. The

purpose of having two facilitators of different races is to maintain a connection with students, staff and faculty of color and the workshop (through counterstories and experiences). This co-facilitation style is also beneficial because there are two perspectives being represented while relaying the same information.

Structure of the workshop series

Each of the seven workshops is detailed in a facilitation guide located in the appendix. Each facilitation guide outlines the length of each session, materials needed, how to prepare the classroom for the workshop, reading assignments, and a detailed description of each activity within the workshop. Located within each activity is also the purpose behind that activity which complements the overall learning outcomes and purpose for each workshop session. After completing the workshop, White faculty members will:

1. Be able to critically discuss their own positionality and identity as White faculty members
2. Understand the meaning and history of predominantly White higher education institutions in the United States
3. Be able to define race, racism and White supremacy in the context of United States higher education
4. Understand how to confront their own emotionalities toward race and racism
5. Learn and understand the experiences of students of color in the classroom at predominantly White higher education institutions in the United States
6. Be able to identify the many ways racism plays out on college campuses and the ways in which they are complicit in upholding those structures of racism

7. Be able to define antiracism and antiracist pedagogy
8. Create action steps to continue their learning post-workshop

Duration of the workshop series

This workshop series will be held once per week for 7 weeks during the semester. I will be using this series in the fall of 2020; however, the series can be utilized during any semester that fits with the facilitators and the respective campus. Each session will last approximately 90 minutes.

Recruitment of faculty

The workshop will host no more than 15 faculty members at a time. Faculty members will be recruited from those who teach in the General Education program, as the faculty who teach within that program are chosen at random and are from several disciplines. Facilitators will reach out to faculty to gauge interest in participation. Participation will be granted on a first come, first served basis. Once 15 faculty members have chosen to participate, a waitlist will be created for remaining interested faculty.

Evaluation of program

The final session of the workshop will allot time for an overall evaluation of the content of the workshop and provide space for critical feedback. Participants of the workshop will also be required to write a reflective assignment that will be due during the last class that outlines their journey throughout the course of the workshop in relation to their own identity

development. These assignments will be reviewed by facilitators to gain any additional feedback and understanding of participants' experiences.

Overview of the workshop series

Below is the overview of each week of the workshop series.

Week	Theme	Assignments
One	Setting the Stage: Expectations and Introductions	<p>Lyiscott, J. (2019). <i>Black Appetite. White Food.</i> 21-31.</p> <p>Omi, M. & Winant, H. (2015). <i>Racial formation in the United States</i> (3rd edition). 1-18.</p>
Two	Defining Race, Racism, and White Supremacy in the context of Predominantly White Higher Education	<p>Tatum, B.D. (1997). <i>Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria? And other conversations about race.</i> xiii-28.</p> <p>Omi, M. & Winant, H. (2015). <i>Racial formation in the United States</i> (3rd edition).</p> <p>Bourke, B. (2016). Meaning and implications of being labelled a Predominantly White Institution.</p> <p>Patton, L. D. (2016). <i>Disrupting Secondary Prose: Toward a Critical Race Theory of Higher Education</i></p>
Three	White emotionalities/fragility	<p>Saad, L. F. (2018). <i>Me and White Supremacy.</i></p> <p>Liebow, N. & Glazer, T. (2019). White tears: Emotion regulation and White fragility.</p> <p>Aanerud, R. (2014). Humility and Whiteness: How did I look without seeing, hear without listening?</p>

Four	Racial Battle Fatigue: Students of color	<p>Smith, W.A., Yosso, T. J., Solorzano, D. G. (2006). Challenging Racial Battle Fatigue on Historically White Campuses: A Critical Race Examination of Race-Related Stress.</p> <p>Franklin, J. D., Smith, W. A. & Hung, M. (2014). Racial Battle Fatigue for Latina/o Students: A Quantitative Perspective.</p> <p>Sue, D.W. (2010). Microaggressions, marginality, and oppression: An introduction. In D.W. Sue (ed.), <i>Microaggressions and marginality: Manifestation, dynamics, and impact</i>. 3-22.</p>
Five	The Fugitive Action Framework	Lyiscott, J. (2019). <i>Black Appetite. White Food</i> . 33-35. 67-79.
Six	Defining and Implementing Antiracist Pedagogy	<p>Blakeney, A.M. (2005). Antiracist pedagogy: Definition, theory, and professional development.</p> <p>Kishimoto, K. (2018). Anti-racist pedagogy: From faculty's self-reflection to organizing within and beyond the classroom.</p> <p>Teel, K. (2014). Getting out of the left lane: The possibility of White antiracist pedagogy.</p>
Seven	Strength in Community: Accountability and Action	none

The Field Project

The entirety of the field project is in the appendix of this document.

CHAPTER IV CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

Students of color on predominantly White college campuses in the United States often report feelings of isolation and exhaustion as a result of racial battle fatigue (Smith, Yosso, & Solorzano, 2006). Many students of color have particularly harmful experiences in the classroom as a result of their White professors' and their peers' expectations that they educate the entire class on behalf of their race, along with other racialized microaggressions that occur. Many White professors don't receive training about how to address and critically discuss or analyze race and racism in the classroom, which ultimately leads to the negative experiences of students of color.

The purpose of this field project is to create a training specific to White faculty in order to support them in their own identity development. It is imperative that before faculty address and acknowledge race and racism effectively in the classroom that they become aware of their own identity and positionality in the context of the larger world as well as in the context of their campus. This field project is a seven-week workshop series that educates White faculty members in a White affinity space about race, racism, White supremacy and predominantly White higher education institutions in the United States. This field project also encourages and challenges White faculty members to engage with their own identities in relation to the world, specifically in regard to race.

This field project should serve as the very first step of the journey toward antiracism and antiracist pedagogy implementation for White faculty members. This seven week-long series is meant to be an entry point for White faculty who are dedicated and committed to creating more inclusive classrooms that engage critically with race and racism both on and off campus,

regardless of discipline taught. Ideally, this workshop series will be followed by a second series that focuses on antiracist pedagogy in the academy and provides concrete examples, tools, and practice for White faculty members. Part two would also engage White faculty to be present within Intergroup Dialogue, a space that curates connection and dialogue among members of different identity groups.

Recommendations

This field project should be used in predominantly White spaces with all White educators. The facilitators should be chosen intentionally in a way that supports the demographics of the respective campus. This means that, at the very least, there should be one person of color and one White person facilitating the workshop series together. Gender, role, and other identities may be considered as needed. Facilitators should acknowledge that this workshop series is just the beginning and should be followed by intentional, supplemental programming and workshops that allow for White faculty members to engage with antiracist practices and pedagogy. Evaluation of the workshop will be done at the end of the series in two parts: (1) through an evaluation form that allows participants to give qualitative and quantitative feedback about their experience and (2) through the facilitators' reading of participants' Racial Reality Reflection. Utilizing these two forms of feedback, facilitators can plan ahead for further programming and workshops and/or make modifications to the workshop series for future faculty members.

References

Aanerud, R. (2014). Humility and Whiteness: How did I look without seeing, hear without listening? In Yancy, G. (ed.) *White self-criticality beyond Anti-racism: How does it feel to be a White problem?* Lexington Books.

Adams, M., Bell, L. A., and Griffin, P., eds. (2016). *Teaching for diversity and social justice*. 3rd ed. New York, NY: Routledge.

Arao, B. & Clemens, K. (2013). From safe spaces to brave spaces: A new way to frame dialogue around diversity and social justice. In L.M. Landremen (ed.) *The Art of Effective Facilitation* (pp. 135-150). Stylus Publishing.

Bezrukova, K., Jehn, K., & Spell, C. (2012). Reviewing diversity training: Where we have been and where we should go. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 11(2), 207-227.

Blakeney, A.M. (2005). Antiracist pedagogy: Definition, theory, and professional development. *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*, 2(1), 119-132.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2003). *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bourke, B. (2016). Meaning and implications of being labeled a Predominantly White Institution. *College and University* 91(3). 12-21

Brown, D. L. (2020, June 3). 'It was a modern-day lynching': Violent deaths reflect a brutal American legacy. *National Geographic*. Retrieved from <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/2020/06/history-of-lynching-violent-deaths-reflect-brutal-american-legacy/#close>

Buck, L. & Patel, P. (2017). The roots are racism: historical and current racial bias on college campuses and their (unintended) push on the diversity agenda. In Tate, W.F., Staudt, N., & Macrander, A. (Eds.), *The crisis of race in higher education: A day of discovery and dialogue* (pp. 183-200). Emerald Group Publishing.

Crenshaw, K. (2009). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. In E. Taylor, D. Gilborn, and G. Ladson-Billings (eds.) *Foundations of Critical Race Theory in Education*, 2nd edition. New York: Routledge.

Delgado, R. (2000). *Storytelling for oppositionists and others: A plea for narrative*. In R. Delgado and J. Stefancic (eds.) *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*, 2nd edition. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Dudziak, M.L. (2009). Desegregation as a Cold War imperative. In E. Taylor, D. Gilborn, and G. Ladson-Billings (eds.) *Foundations of Critical Race Theory in Education*, 2nd edition. New York: Routledge.

Ford, K. A. (2018). *Facilitating Change through Intergroup Dialogue: Social Justice Advocacy in Practice*. New York: Routledge.

Franklin, J.D., Smith, W. A., & Hung, M. (2014). Racial battle fatigue for Latina/o students: A quantitative perspective. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education* 13(4), 303-322.

- Hammer, M. (2012). The Intercultural Development Inventory: A new frontier in assessment and development of intercultural competence. In M. Vande Berg, R.M. Paige, & K.H. Lou (Eds.), *Student Learning Abroad* (Ch. 5, pp. 115-136). Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- Harper, S. (2012). Race without racism: How higher education researchers minimize racist institutional norms. *The Review of Higher Education*, 36(1), 9-29.
- Harper, S. & Hurtado, S. (2007). Nine themes in campus racial climates and implications for institutional transformation. *New Directions for Student Services*, 1(120).
- Harris, C. (1993). Whiteness as property. *Harvard Law Review*, 106(8), 1710-1791.
- Hayes, C., & Juárez, B. G. (2009). You showed your Whiteness: You don't get a 'good' White people's medal. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 22(6), 729-744.
- Helms, J. E. (1992). *A Race Is a Nice Thing to Have: A Guide to Being a White Person or Understanding the White Persons in Your Life*. Topeka: Content Communications.
- Hill, E., Tiefenthäler, A., Triebert, C., Jordan, D., Willis, H., & Stein, R. (2020, May 31). How George Floyd was killed in police custody. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/us/george-floyd-investigation.html>
- Hubain, B. S., Allen, E. L., Harris, J. C., & Linder, C. (2016). Counter-stories as representations of the racialized experiences of students of color in higher education and student affairs graduate preparation programs. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 29(7), 946–963.
- Kincheloe, J.L., & Steinberg, S.R. (1997). *Changing multiculturalism*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Kishimoto, K. (2018). Anti-racist pedagogy: From faculty's self-reflection to organizing within and beyond the classroom. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 21(4), 540-554.
- Kruse, S.D., Rakha, S. & Calderone, S. (2018). Developing cultural competency in higher education: An agenda for practice. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 23(6), 733-750.
- Ladson-Billings, G. & Tate, W. F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record*, 97(1) pp. 47-68.
- Lewis, A., Chesler, M. & Forman, T. (2000). The impact of "colorblind" ideologies on students of color: intergroup relations at a predominantly white university. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 69(1/2), pp. 74-91.
- Liebow, N. & Glazer, T. (2019). White tears: Emotion regulation and White fragility. *Inquiry*. DOI: [10.1080/0020174X.2019.1610048](https://doi.org/10.1080/0020174X.2019.1610048)

- Margolis, E. & Romero, M. (1998). "The department is very male, very White, very old, and very conservative": The functioning of the hidden curriculum in graduate sociology departments. *Harvard Educational Review*, 68(1), 1-33.
- Michael, A., Conger, M. C., Bickerstaff, S., Crawford-Garrett, K., & Fulmer, E. F. (2009). Becoming an anti-racist White ally: How a White affinity group can help. *Penn GSE Perspectives on Urban Education*, 6(1), 56–60.
- Moses, M. & Chang, M. (2006). Toward a deeper understanding of the diversity rationale. *Educational Researcher*, 35(1), 6-11.
- Omi, M. & Winant, H. (2015). *Racial formation in the United States* (3rd edition). Routledge/Taylor & Francis.
- Patton, L. D. (2016). Disrupting postsecondary prose: Toward a critical race theory of higher education. *Urban Education*, 51(3), 315-342.
- Picower, B. (2009). The unexamined Whiteness of teaching: How White teachers maintain and enact dominant racial ideologies. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 12(2), 197-215.
- Quaye, S.J. (2012). White educators facilitating discussions about racial realities. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 45(1), 100-119.
- Saad, L. (2018). *Me & White Supremacy*. Layla Saad.
- Scarritt, A. (2019). Selling diversity, promoting racism: How universities pushing a consumerist form of diversity empowers oppression. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, 17(1), 188-228.
- Smith, W. A., Yosso, T. J., Solorzano, D. G. (2006). Challenging racial battle fatigue on Historically White campuses: A critical race examination of race-related stress. In C. Stanley (ed.), *Faculty of Color: Teaching in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities* (pp. 299-327). Bolton, Massachusetts: Anker Publishing Company.
- Smith, W. A. (2008). Higher education: Racial battle fatigue. In R. T. Schaefer (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Society* (pp. 615-618). Sage Publications.
- Sorenson, N., Nagda, B. A., Gurin, P., & Maxwell, K. E. (2009). Taking a “hands on” approach to diversity in higher education: A critical dialogic model for effective intergroup interaction. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 9(1), 3-35.
- Sue, D.W. (2010). Microaggressions, marginality, and oppression: An introduction. In D.W. Sue (ed.), *Microaggressions and marginality: Manifestation, dynamics, and impact* (pp. 3-22). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

- Tatum, B.D. (1997). *Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria? And other conversations about race*. New York: Basic Books.
- Tatum, B. D. (1994). Teaching white students about racism: The search for white allies and the restoration of hope. In E. Taylor, D. Gilborn, and G. Ladson-Billings (eds.) *Foundations of Critical Race Theory in Education, 2nd edition*. New York: Routledge.
- Teel, K. (2014). Getting out of the left lane: The possibility of White antiracist pedagogy. *Teaching Theology and Religion, 17*(1), 3-26.
- Tsui, L. (2000). Effects of campus culture on students' critical thinking. *The Review of Higher Education, 23*(4), 421-441.
- Utt, J., & Tochluk, S. (2016). White teacher, know thyself: Improving anti-racist praxis through racial identity development. *Urban Education, 55*(1), 125–152.
- Wille, S.S. (2003). *Acting Black: College, identity, and the performance of race*. New York: Routledge.
- Zamudio, M. M., & Rios, F. (2006). From traditional to liberal racism: Living racism in the everyday. *Sociological Perspectives, 49*(4), 483-501.
- Zúñiga, X., Nagda, B., Chesler, M., & Cytron, A. (2007). Intergroup dialogue in higher education: Meaningful learning about social justice. *ASHE Higher Education Report Series, 32*(4). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

APPENDIX (A-G)

Anti-Racism and White Identity Development: An Affinity Group Workshop Series for White
faculty members

Appendix A

Session One - Setting the Stage: Expectations and Introductions	
Facilitators	One faculty member, one staff member
Learning Outcomes	<p>After participating in this session, faculty members will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● have a deeper understanding of social identity categories ● have a deeper understanding of their own social identities and how they impact their own view of the world ● Understand how their social identity categories impacts their classroom
Purpose	<p>This session is designed for participants to begin thinking about their own Whiteness. This self-reflection is critical in White identity development (Tatum, 1994; Helms 1992). Deep self-reflection along with continuous questioning of Whiteness is necessary for recognizing privilege and feeling comfortable enough to address it in the classroom (Utt & Tochluk, 2016). This session begins by “setting the stage” utilizing Intergroup Dialogue (Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron, 2007) methods in order to create a shared space that is both safe and brave for all participants (Arao & Clemens, 2013).</p>
Allocated time	90 minutes
Materials needed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Projector ● PowerPoint ● Syllabus ● Visions Guidelines (list) ● Social Identity Wheel Handout
Setup	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Set up PowerPoint & computer
Session Outline/Details	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Introductions (15 mins) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Introduction to series: facilitators will introduce themselves and the workshop series by using the syllabus. Facilitators will distribute syllabus to all participants so they can follow along <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Facilitators will explain expectations of behavior during the series: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Active engagement in workshop: <i>when participants enter the space of the workshop, they should be focused on the content within the workshop and actively listening, asking questions, and participating in discussion</i> 2. Doing the reading and assignments: <i>this workshop series will not do the work of antiracism for participants; participants must be willing to put in a significant amount of time to read, reflect, and discuss</i> 3. Participating openly and honestly in discussion: <i>we will work every session to maintain an open, safe space that is conducive to discussion about the good, the bad, and the ugly regarding race, racism and White supremacy. Participants should be ready to experience discomfort and lean into that discomfort willingly</i> 4. Asking questions and staying curious: <i>the best way to grow is through curiosity; the ideas presented in this space may seem totally new to you. That’s okay. We want you to lean into</i>

discomfort and uncharted territory by asking questions and seeking to understand

5. **Maintaining a safe and brave space:** *it is the responsibility of each participant in the workshop to maintain the safe and brave space expectations. During our first workshop session, we will craft these expectations as a group, and they will be posted each session thereafter. These expectations are crucial for creating a learning environment that is open, honest, challenging, and conducive to our growth, both as individuals and as a group*

- Facilitators will discuss readings and assignments:

1. *Each session will have a reading assigned with it. Each week, at the end of the session, we will discuss the readings assigned for next time. Readings will be emailed to you each week at the end of the previous session*
2. *The only assignment that will be collected during this workshop series will be the Racial Reality assignment. This assignment is in the syllabus and will be formally introduced and discussed during session two*

- Introduction of students: facilitators will invite participants to share their names, pronouns (if comfortable), titles, and interest in this workshop

- Facilitators will explain the concept of pronouns to participants before asking them to share:

1. *When we ask you to share your pronouns, it is a reference to the pronouns that you'd like for other people to use when they are referring to you in conversation. For example, my pronouns are she, her and hers. This means when you are talking about me, you can say, "Morgan dances salsa. She loves Latin music." Without asking for someone's pronouns, we often make assumptions based on the way a person presents themselves. For example, if you didn't know my pronouns were she, her and hers, you might assume based on the way I dress, style my hair, wear makeup, etc. that those are my pronouns. **These assumptions can be harmful** because they reinforce the idea that the way in which a person chooses to express themselves through their clothing, hairstyle, makeup, etc. must align with a certain gender. Using the appropriate pronouns for a person is a way to create an inclusive space and show respect for others (for more information, see mypronouns.org)*

- **Goal Setting and reflection about race in the classroom (7 mins)**

- Facilitators will invite participants to take individual think time (2-3 minutes) to reflect on their personal goals for this workshop series

- Facilitator will write the following question(s) on the board:

1. How do you respond when students begin discussing race? How do you respond if students make a mistake discussing race in the classroom?

- facilitators will read the questions aloud and invited participants to reflect about their answers:
 - another question to pose: *do you respond to race/racism in the classroom? Is there discomfort in that? Why or why not?*
- Participants will take 2 minutes to partner up and share one of their goals and reflection
- Facilitators will ask participants to share goals with the large group
- **Communication Guidelines and the importance of setting the stage (20 mins)**
 - Facilitators will lead a discussion to set the space as both a safe and brave space and create group guidelines for communication that will be referred to throughout the duration of the workshop
 - *As stated in our workshop expectations, it is the responsibility of each of us to maintain both a safe and brave space.*
 - *A safe space is: an environment in which all participants are willing and able to participate fully by sharing their thoughts, opinions, and experiences without fear of judgement or attack (Arao & Clemens, 2013)*
 - *A brave space is: an environment that encourages and challenges participants to show up and participate fully and explore concepts that they've never encountered before or that pushes them out of their comfort zone for the sake of learning, inclusion and justice (Arao & Clemens, 2013)*
 - *By creating and maintaining both a safe and brave space, we are supporting an environment that upholds the values of belonging, equity, inclusion and justice while simultaneously encouraging and supporting one another in our growth. This workshop series will challenge us to lean into discomfort around race, racism, Whiteness and White supremacy*
 - *For these reasons, we will craft communication and community guidelines that will be displayed until the last session of the workshop and will continually be referred to throughout our discussions. It's important that we begin to adopt some of these small, yet intentional language changes to infuse into our classrooms and everyday practices*
 - Participants get into small groups of 3 people to create 1-3 guidelines they would like the group to adhere to throughout the workshop series. Facilitators will allot 5 minutes for groups to confer
 - Once facilitators break participants into groups, they will give the large group one communication guideline that will be followed for the duration of the workshop as a preliminary example:

- Confidentiality: *this guideline invites us to honor and respect the personal stories and experiences of others shared within this group and this setting. The stories shared here are meant to serve as education and not as gossip. This means that what's learned here can leave here (principles, values, methods), however what happens here (names, dates, specifics), stays here. If someone shares a story that is particularly impactful for you and you'd like to share outside of this space, approach that person and ask permission to use their story as an example*
- Facilitators will then lead discussion as a large group. One facilitator will lead the discussion while the other facilitator writes on chart paper the guidelines the group creates. Facilitators will also add the guidelines to the group's if the group is unable to identify them on their own (guidelines adapted from Visions, Inc. ©)
 - Facilitators must practice active listening and support participants in making their guidelines succinct and manageable
 - Examples of guidelines that participants may produce:
 1. Mutual respect and the golden rule: treat others the way you want to be treated
 - Facilitators should connect this with the following guidelines adapted from Visions, Inc. (facilitators should only provide these guidelines after all participants have shared their guidelines and only if these guidelines are missing from the group brainstorm):
 - Not okay to blame, shame, or attack (self or others): *treat others and yourself the way you want to be treated!*
 - Awareness of intent and impact: *recognizing that the golden rule doesn't always leave space for conflict, reflection, or correction of behavior, it is important to recognize that yes, in this space, we will treat each other with respect, and we will respectfully challenge harmful points of view, stereotypes, words, and other pieces of language that contribute to racism and White supremacy. In order to do this, we must be willing to analyze and receive feedback on our impact and adapt, even when our intentions were positive*
 2. Agree to disagree

- Facilitators should connect this with the following guidelines adapted from Visions, Inc. (facilitators should only provide these guidelines after all participants have shared their guidelines and only if these guidelines are missing from the group brainstorm):
 - Okay to disagree: *rather than agree to disagree, try acknowledging and validating the point of view that the opposing party holds. It is, fundamentally, okay to disagree on things. The phrase, “let’s agree to disagree” can be heard as a dismissal of another person’s point of view or lived experience*
 - Try on: *before dismissing the conversation, ask yourself if you have taken the time to “try on” the other person’s point of view. Can you put yourself in their shoes and see where they’re coming from? Has the other person done that for you? Invite them to do so with you. Make sure this experience is reciprocal. You may also find that the result is that it’s okay to disagree*
 - Practice both/and thinking: *both/and thinking allows us to see that two ideas, lived experiences, and opinions can exist at the same time (and they can be true for both parties!). Rather than seeing things as either/or (sometimes: bad/good, right/wrong), both/and provides space for more than one truth to exist peacefully*

3. Don’t take things personally

- Facilitators should connect this with the following guidelines adapted from Visions, Inc. (facilitators should only provide these guidelines after all participants have shared their guidelines and only if these guidelines are missing from the group brainstorm):
 - Awareness of intent and impact: *when something that has been addressed impacts you negatively, this is a space where that impact can and should be addressed for the sake of both personal and group learning. Utilizing language that sounds like, “I’m aware that your intent probably wasn’t to create harm, but what you said/did impacted*

me negatively because...” can be helpful to convey your experience and support critical discussion

- Self-focus or utilize “I” statements: *utilizing self-focus or “I” statements help to support you in speaking about your own lived experience and minimize the harm that can be done by generalizing or assuming the experiences of others*

- Facilitators will ask participants to identify which guidelines they feel like they already practice regularly and upon which they need to improve. Once participants have identified guidelines for themselves, facilitators will read off each guideline one by one, ask participants to raise their hand for the guidelines upon which they need to improve, and match them with another participant or participants who need to improve upon the same guideline. This group will be a small accountability group for the duration of the series

- **5-minute break**

- **Introduction to social identity categories (45 mins)**

- Social Identity Categories: Facilitators will explain the definition of social identity categories and give examples and explanations of each
 - *Social identity categories are the identities that each of us hold. These identities are often the way in which the world sees us: the world categorizes us based on these identities both consciously and subconsciously. These categories also impact how we see ourselves. Often, these categories are at the root of stereotypes we hold as a society toward others*

<i>Age: refers to the age of a person; can be young, old, middle aged, “in their prime”</i>	<i>Sex: the genitalia a person is born with</i>
<i>Race: refers to the color of a person’s skin and/or physical attributes</i>	<i>Gender: how a person expresses themselves</i>
<i>Ethnicity: refers to culture and cultural practices, bloodline and where a person’s family originated from (European, LatinX, etc.)</i>	<i>Sexual Orientation: referring to a person’s sexual identity in relation to the gender to which they are attracted (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Straight)</i>
<i>Socioeconomic Status/Class: refers to the social standing of an individual in regard to a combination of income, education, and occupation</i>	<i>Nationality: where a person was born (or holds citizenship)</i>

Religion: *a set of beliefs in a higher power that promotes a system of beliefs, behaviors, practices, morals, ethics, and more in relation to spirituality*

Ability/disability: *referring to whether a person holds any abilities or disabilities that affect their experience physically or cognitively*

- Individual think time for participants to complete the identity wheel
- Share with a partner (all confidential)
- Share out with the large group
 - Facilitators should ask the group the following questions to promote discussion and critical analysis about their experiences:
 - *Which identities do you think about most often? Why?*
 - *Which identities do you think about least often? Why?*
 - *Were there any identities that you realized you'd like to learn more about? What are they? Why do you want to learn more about them?*
 - While participants are sharing their experiences, facilitators should walk around to partner shares and engage in discussion, sharing pieces of their own identities as well. This supports connection with the facilitator and creates a safe and brave space to engage in vulnerability
 - In the large group share out, facilitators should affirm the experiences of participants and ask for clarification where necessary. The affirmation of the experience and reflection will encourage the group to lean into discomfort and share within the space. Facilitators can share their own experiences as well to model vulnerability and leaning into discomfort for participants
 - The facilitator should lead the discussion into the definitions of privilege and oppression:
 - *privilege is often invisible to those with it; indicators of privilege are when a person isn't forced by society to consider certain identities, ways of thinking, habits, beliefs, etc. With privilege often comes a lot of power; this includes the ability to silence others who do not hold privilege. Privilege is a reference to the membership to a dominant group (also heard as: "mainstream," "normal")*
 - *oppression is the silencing and disadvantaging of people who do not hold dominant group membership*

- Privilege, Oppression, and your power as an educator in the classroom
 - Facilitator 1 will transition discussion to how faculty members hold power through identity and how that impacts their students, the way

they approach conversations about race in the classroom, and how they respond when students make mistakes discussing race

- *I want us to take these ideas around identity, power, privilege, and oppression a little further. I'd like to challenge us to consider how our identities show up in our workspaces: with our colleagues intra- and inter- departmentally, cross-departmentally, and campus-wide. I'd also like for us to consider how our own power, privilege, and identities show up in the classroom, and how they impact our experiences with students (both one on one and in class). These levels of power and privilege become layered when we consider our roles at work with the roles society has placed upon us*
- *Take a few minutes to write some reflection about each of these questions*
- Facilitator 2 will have written the following questions on the board:
 - o *How do the identities you hold show up in your teaching?*
 - o *How do those identities impact your students?*
 - o *Do those identities appear when conversations about race happen in the classroom? How?*
- While leading this discussion, facilitators will maintain the space as reflective and without judgement. Facilitators will do this by thanking participants for sharing their reflections (after each participant shares), sharing their own experiences, and affirming the emotions that participants are having in the moment

● **Closing [5 mins]**

- o *Thank you for jumping in this week! See you next week! We will be discussing and analyzing the meaning of race in the United States and its impact on higher education. There are two pieces about the meaning of race, one on the meaning of a predominantly White institution in higher education and one about the history of race in the academy, by Patton. The two most important pieces are the Omi & Winant (2015) piece and the Patton (2016) piece.*
- o Reading for next time: Tatum (1997), Patton (2016), Omi & Winant (2015), Bourke (2016)

Anti-Racism and White Identity Development: An Affinity Group Workshop Series for White faculty members

Facilitators: *One staff member and one faculty member [names listed here]*

Contact information:

[staff member email and phone number]

[faculty member email and phone number]

Workshop information:

[dates, days and time of seven workshop meetings]

[location of meeting]

Questions or concerns about workshop content? Please reach out via phone or email to the facilitators to set up an appointment.

Workshop Introduction: This workshop series will support faculty in the first steps of their journey toward antiracism in the classroom and on campus. We will explore our own racial identities through lived experiences and reading and listening to the experiences of others. We will draw connections and reflect deeply upon how our identities show up in the context of higher education and ultimately, in the classroom. We will also learn and understand how our identities and everyday practices support and uphold a culture of Whiteness on campus. This workshop draws from the foundations of Critical Race Theory (CRT), White identity development, and Intergroup Dialogue.

Goals of the Workshop: Participants in the workshop will:

1. Be able to critically discuss their own positionality and identity as White faculty members and will do so in a reflection assignment about their own racial reality
2. Understand the meaning and history of predominantly White higher education institutions in the United States
3. Be able to define race, racism and White supremacy in the context of United States higher education
4. Understand how to confront their own emotionalities toward race and racism
5. Learn and understand the experiences of students of color in the classroom at predominantly White higher education institutions in the United States
6. Be able to identify the many ways racism plays out on college campuses and the ways in which they are complicit in upholding those structures of racism
7. Be able to define antiracism and antiracist pedagogy
8. Create action steps to continue their learning post-workshop

Communication: Assignments and readings for the course will be shared via email at the end of the preceding workshop session. If there are questions, concerns, or requests, participants should communicate with facilitators via email. A Google Drive will be created as an archive of all readings and information for the workshop.

Guidelines, Expectations, and Participation in the Workshop: Participants are expected to participate in the following ways over the course of the seven weeks:

1. **Active engagement:** *when participants enter the space of the workshop, they should be focused on the content within the workshop and actively listening, asking questions, and participating in discussion*
2. **Doing the reading and assignments:** *this workshop series will not do the work of antiracism for participants; participants must be willing to put in a significant amount of time to read, reflect, and discuss*
3. **Participating openly and honestly in discussion:** *we will work every session to maintain an open, safe space that is conducive to discussion about the good, the bad, and the ugly regarding race, racism and White supremacy. Participants should be ready to experience discomfort and lean into that discomfort willingly*
4. **Asking questions and staying curious:** *the best way to grow is through curiosity; the ideas presented in this space may seem totally new to you. That's okay. We want you to lean into discomfort and uncharted territory by asking questions and seeking to understand*
5. **Maintaining a safe and brave space:** *it is the responsibility of each participant in the workshop to maintain the safe and brave space expectations. During our first workshop session, we will craft these expectations as a group and they will be posted each session thereafter. These expectations are crucial for creating a learning environment that is open, honest, challenging, and conducive to our growth, both as individuals and as a group*

Timeline for the Workshop:

Week	Theme	Assignments
One	Setting the Stage: Expectations and Introductions	<p>Lyiscott, J. (2019). <i>Black Appetite. White Food</i>. 21-31.</p> <p>Omi, M. & Winant, H. (2015). <i>Racial formation in the United States</i> (3rd edition). 1-18.</p>

Two	Defining Race, Racism, and White Supremacy in the context of Predominantly White Higher Education	<p>Tatum, B.D. (1997). <i>Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria? And other conversations about race.</i> xiii-28.</p> <p>Omi, M. & Winant, H. (2015). <i>Racial formation in the United States</i> (3rd edition).</p> <p>Bourke, B. (2016). Meaning and implications of being labelled a Predominantly White Institution.</p> <p>Patton, L. D. (2016). <i>Disrupting Secondary Prose: Toward a Critical Race Theory of Higher Education</i></p>
Three	White emotionalities/fragility	<p>Saad, L. F. (2018). <i>Me and White Supremacy.</i></p> <p>Liebow, N. & Glazer, T. (2019). White tears: Emotion regulation and White fragility.</p> <p>Aanerud, R. (2014). Humility and Whiteness: How did I look without seeing, hear without listening?</p>
Four	Racial Battle Fatigue: Students of color	<p>Smith, W.A., Yosso, T. J., Solorzano, D. G. (2006). Challenging Racial Battle Fatigue on Historically White Campuses: A Critical Race Examination of Race-Related Stress.</p> <p>Franklin, J. D., Smith, W. A. & Hung, M. (2014). Racial Battle Fatigue for Latina/o Students: A Quantitative Perspective.</p> <p>Sue, D.W. (2010). Microaggressions, marginality, and oppression: An introduction. In D.W. Sue (ed.), <i>Microaggressions and marginality: Manifestation, dynamics, and impact.</i> 3-22.</p>

Five	The Fugitive Action Framework	Lyiscott, J. (2019). <i>Black Appetite. White Food.</i> 33-35. 67-79.
Six	Defining and Implementing Antiracist Pedagogy	Blakeney, A.M. (2005). Antiracist pedagogy: Definition, theory, and professional development. Kishimoto, K. (2018). Anti-racist pedagogy: From faculty’s self-reflection to organizing within and beyond the classroom. Teel, K. (2014). Getting out of the left lane: The possibility of White antiracist pedagogy.
Seven	Strength in Community: Accountability and Action	none

Racial Reality Reflection

As participants of this workshop, you will participate in deep and critical reflection about your own racial identity. For this assignment, you will share stories of significant moments from your life that have impacted your view of race. These stories should not be an exhaustive list of your life, however should be moments in your life that made you think twice, that challenged you, that you look back on and critique, question, or of which you are proud. Ultimately, these stories should bring about an understanding of who you are racially and how you’ve become your racialized self. What is your racial reality?

Some themes to consider while writing your piece:

- Where did you grow up?
- When did you first become aware of race?
- What did your family teach you about race?
- What messages did you/have you received from peers, teachers, role models, and media about race?
 - What was the demographic makeup of your hometown? The schools you’ve attended? The shows/movies you’ve watched?
 - What types of books or stories did you read or learn about that talked about race or racism?
- What was your experience in school with people of other races?
- Did you ever have an educator of a race different than yours? What was your experience like?

- What experiences did you have in your postsecondary career that involved race?
- What experiences have you had with racism as a teacher/educator?

Rather than answering these questions in short answer format, choose a few and tell a story. Your reflection should be in narrative form; you are telling a series of stories that give the reader an understanding of your racial reality. You can incorporate your current experience and reflection about race and racism. **This assignment will be due during the last workshop session.** You will be asked to participate in small group discussions about your writing experience and share what you chose to write about. Be prepared to share what you've written and to maintain our confidentiality guideline.

Draft Email to Faculty Participants before First Workshop Session (One Week in advance)

Dear Faculty,

Greetings! We are [Facilitator names] and we will be facilitating the Antiracism Workshop with you over the next 7 weeks. We are excited to begin this journey with you!

In preparation of our first session, we wanted to share with you a few reading materials (attached below). These readings are introductory and are meant to jumpstart your thinking about the topics of race, racism and the classroom.

Please don't hesitate to reach out to us as your facilitators at any point over the course of the next 7 weeks. We can be reached at [contact information for each facilitator]. If there are any questions in regard to the first session or the workshop in its entirety, we are here to answer!

Enjoy your reading. See you in a week!

Best,

[Facilitator Signatures]

2

Black Appetite. White Food.

"But how can white people not know that they have white privilege? I mean, come on!" The end of a workshop about race and racism in the classroom with a group of 11 New York City high school teachers is thick with tension. The teachers in the room have already self-identified their racial categories (white, Black, Latinx, and Asian) and have been in the throes of using some of the new tools I have shared to willingly grapple with the impact of white privilege on their classrooms for the duration of the workshop series. The not-so-rhetorical question was thrown out by a Black woman who could not understand the possibility of white people being genuinely ignorant about the toxicity of whiteness. Nervously, a white woman, face flushed, chimed in: "Well, sometimes it's unintentional. Like, I have friends of color so I'm aware of the things that are problematic to say or do, but one time I brought a friend of color to my mom's house, and my mom made such a racist comment. She had no idea, she is a loving, good woman, but I know my friend and I knew immediately that he was uncomfortable." I sat back and

let the conversation take its natural course. In my approach to facilitation in such spaces, it is more important to *create space* for people to wrestle with difficult racial questions than we rarely have the opportunity to discuss openly than for me to pretend that I have come with some fixed singular answer to the question of white privilege. Eventually, I did enter the conversation: "What a privilege it must be to not know that white privilege is a problem after hundreds and hundreds of years of people of color protesting racism with their bodies, voices, pens, ballots, across digital landscapes, and more. If centuries of cries against white privilege have truly fallen on deaf white ears, then we are in far more trouble than I ever imagined." My words are direct and inevitably create discomfort in the room. But by now we have intentionally created space for discomfort as a necessary precursor of authentic dialogue. We have cultivated a space that is sacred and brave with the knowledge that this work cannot happen unless we are willing to abide in the tensions we are afraid of. We are clear that discomfort means something different for people with racial privilege and people without it. We do not shy away from these truths. Most importantly, by now I have already made it clear to all the participants that my goal is not to reify white privilege by coddling the comfort levels of the white folks in the room. For now, we will sit in the crosshairs.

Black Appetite. White Food.

Black appetite? White food? In such a diverse society where we seek to regard the complexity and humanity of all racial groups, why does everything always have to be so black-and-white?! And why are we talking about appetite and food in a conversation about racial justice and white privilege?! We exist in a society where white privilege is sustained and engages people of color (the "Other") inasmuch as people of color function to spice up the dish of whiteness. Following Beyoncé's loss to Adele at the 2017 Grammys for song, record, and album of the year, Beyoncé's younger sister Solange Knowles tweeted, "There have only been two black winners in the last 20 years for album of

the year. There have been over 200 black artists who have performed."¹ Ongoing issues of cultural appropriation, including Indigenous and blackface Halloween costumes also reveal our society's consumer relationship to non-white racial groups as whiteness continues to be our main course.

The metaphor of appetite and food goes beyond white-dominant culture's parasitic consumption of other racial groups. Imagine that we have made it to the point where every racial group across the world has made it to the world's table. The table is round. There is no head. There is no hierarchy. Just every racial group at the table on equal standing. However, the table is *always* overlaid with a European feast. In a world that has suffered the ills of imperialism, colonization, and slavery . . . imagine that we have all finally fought our way toward "access" to the table, yet the substance of what is served is still steeped in the privileges of whiteness. How can we say that our students have "access" in a society that saturates media, politics, institutional practices, curriculum, pedagogy, and policies with white middle class values as the sole course of substance? As our appetites long for a world that affirms plural racial and cultural identities as equally valuable, we are force-fed whiteness in our everyday lives at the expense of the rich capacity for our differences to powerfully shape our world. In my time working with a group of teachers on confronting their own internalized white privilege, several teachers realized, for the first time, that they could not recall reading one book written by a person of color throughout their entire educational journeys. These were graduate students. In 2009, Texas State Representative Betty Brown publicly announced that Asian Americans should adopt names that are "easier for Americans to deal with."² Months later, I watched a 17-year-old Asian American poet address a spoken word piece to Betty in tears. With the knowledge that by "American," Betty truly meant "white," he shared that his name had been changed to an "American" one at so young an age that he could not pronounce his original Korean name properly. He mourned that

he couldn't speak to his own grandmother anymore since she spoke no English. As he indicted Betty's blatant racism, what unfolded in the piece was a deep appetite for a culture he and his siblings had lost as their parents worked to erase their names and language for a safer and more successful transition into "American" culture. In every workshop or class where I have shared the words of this poem with people of color, one or more of the participants hold a testimony that aligns with the story of this young man.

The Black-White Binary

Within America's collective consciousness—as complex and developed and progressive and critical as we imagine ourselves to be—is a deeply engraved binary: the purity of whiteness against the putridness of Blackness. Home to an abundance of racial and ethnic groups, at its core, in the United States racial formation and subsequent racial categories continue to measure racial groups across a spectrum where both inter- and intraracial politics occur in relation to whiteness as desirable and Blackness as problematic. Across communities of color in America, for example, internal stratifications of beauty position lighter skin, softer/straighter hair, and leaner bodies as the most desirable (i.e., closer to white aesthetic standards), whereas darker skin, coarser hair, and curvier body types (i.e., closer to generalized depictions of Blackness) are viewed as less beautiful. In India Arie's *Songversation* she shares,

It's all based on Eurocentric beauty ideals: For example; Straight, blonde hair, blue eyes, aquiline nose, thin limbs, lighter skin . . . for many this is just considered "beauty."
Why? Because eurocentric aesthetics are seen as the standard, and therefore are more palatable and desirable by the world as a whole. The entertainment industries are no exception, they SELL this desire to the world. MOST

publications lighten darker people, because lighter skin and hair reflect more light and are more eye catching, magazines are after all a business.³

This is not just an American construct. A history of European colonization and imperialism has imbued a global consciousness that bends toward the aesthetics and values of whiteness so that the value of one's social standing is measured by one's proximity to it. Of racial formation in the United States Omi and Winant write,

In the United States, the black/white color line has historically been rigidly defined and enforced. White is seen as a "pure" category. Any racial intermixture makes one "nonwhite." In the movie *Rainier County*, Elizabeth Taylor describes the worst of fates to befall whites as "havin' a little Negra blood in ya' just one little teeny drop and a persons all Negra."⁴

We must look this fundamental racial binary in the face in order to illuminate the massive social construct that we silently exist within—a racially stratified Black-white continuum. That racial identity is a social construct does not make it any less real or harmful to our world. Indeed, the act of reading that you are engaged in, in this very moment is a socially constructed activity. To openly acknowledge that the socially constructed sanctity of whiteness was forged against the stigma of Blackness in America is to take the first step toward grappling with the historically rooted binary that this book seeks to disrupt. Omi and Winant move us to a deeper historical understanding of how this binary came to be:

In the United States, the racial category of "black" evolved with the consolidation of racial slavery. By the end of the seventeenth century, Africans whose specific

identity was Ibo, Yoruba, Fulani, etc., were rendered "black" by an ideology of exploitation based on racial logic—the establishment and maintenance of a "color line. . . . With slavery . . . a racially based understanding of society was set in motion which resulted in the shaping of a specific racial identity not only for the slaves but for the European settlers as well." Winthrop Jordan has observed: "From the initially common term *Christian*, at mid-century there was a marked shift toward the terms *English* and *free*." After about 1680, taking the colonies as a whole, a new term of self-identification appeared—*white*.⁸

The formation of "black" and "white" categories during U.S. chattel slavery had a lasting significance on American society and continued to evolve across the national landscape throughout the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. After slavery, the Black-white binary was crucial to social order upheld by legislation. By the mid-19th century, America was home to an onslaught of poor European immigrants who faced profound discrimination and criminalization alongside continued legal discrimination against Blacks. Fixated on the Black-white binary, however, social scientists endeavored to assimilate these immigrant populations into whiteness. At the University of Chicago, social scientist Charles R. Henderson declared in one of his first textbooks, "the evil of [immigrant crime] is not so great as statistics carelessly interpreted might prove," but where the "Negro factor" is concerned "racial inheritance, physical and mental inferiority, barbarian and slave ancestry and culture," were among the "most serious factors in crime statistics."⁹ By the middle of the 20th century, European immigrants were assimilated into the category of "white" while people of various phenotypes and genealogies were relegated to the category of "black," determined by the one-drop rule. As European immigrants were humanized and ushered into the privileges of whiteness, Blackness "became a

more stable racial category in opposition to whiteness through racial criminalization."¹⁰

Throughout American history, racial categorization has occurred along the spectrum of this Black-white continuum. Black criminalization is the currency of white privilege. Globally, racial politics play out differently from region to region so that someone categorized as "black" in America might be categorized as "colored" in South Africa, a marker with its own sociopolitics rooted in the history and context of South Africa. In some countries, racial categories have less importance than other social locations, such as class and religion. What is alarming, however, is that despite these nuances, anti-Blackness is global, and all over the world whiteness is a powerful signifier of privilege and hierarchy. To dismantle white privilege, we must wrestle with this ideological fixture. We must uproot the languages, practices, and habits of knowing and being that play on the presence of this fixture in our minds, and we must attend to how the intraracial politics among people of color play into and resist this fixture in myriad ways.

Entering the Discourse

Developing the skills to define, identify, and address the various manifestations of white privilege as it plays out in our world is crucial. For example, in the vignette, catering to what is referred to as "white fragility" would have resulted in a situation that upheld white privilege even as it tried to combat it. In an article that discusses "white fragility," DiAngelo (2011) writes,

White people in North America live in a social environment that protects and insulates them from race-based stress. This insulated environment of racial protection builds white expectations for racial comfort while at the same time lowering the ability to tolerate racial stress,

leading to what I refer to as White Fragility. White Fragility is a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include the outward display of emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation. These behaviors, in turn, function to reinstate white racial equilibrium.

(DiAngelo, 2011, p. 54)⁸

Another feature of white privilege that emerges in the preceding vignette is an insistence on viewing *intention* as more *important* than *impact*. By sharing that her mom is a “good” and “loving” woman, the workshop participant sought to assure us that her mom’s *intentions* were in no way malicious. In an episode of MTV’s *Decided* titled “5 Things Everyone Should Know About Racism,” Franchesca Ramsey shares the problem with white people’s focus on their intentions as more important than the impact of their racist actions. Ramsey asks us to imagine that someone has accidentally stepped on your foot. While the *intent* was not malicious, the *impact* of the injury still hurts and so needs to be addressed by the person who inflicted it. This simple example seeks to illuminate the ways that many white people seek to evade their complicity in upholding and benefiting from white privilege. Among the most common frustrations that I have encountered is that white privilege is so normalized that it is hard to see for some, that when it is seen they are terrified to point it out for fear of being ostracized, and that when they find the rare space to point it out, they have no idea what to do about it.

In “Peculiar Benefits,” Roxane Gay, defines privilege as

a right or immunity granted as a peculiar benefit, advantage, or favor. There is racial privilege, gender (and identity) privilege, heterosexual privilege, economic privilege, able-bodied privilege, educational privilege, religious

privilege and the list goes on and on. At some point, you have to surrender to the kinds of privilege you hold because everyone has something someone else doesn’t.⁹

Throughout the chapters, I offer some examples of how white privilege manifests itself in our world, but the purpose of this book is not to define white privilege. The purpose is to create space for you to define and enter into deep conversation with meanings and manifestations of white privilege, especially as it manifests itself in your school, community, and yourself. As a central part of engaging in the frameworks for analysis, action, and advocacy that I offer, I encourage you to continuously immerse yourself in the texts, testimonies, historical resources, community organizations, and so on at your disposal that theorize the features of white privilege. It’s also important to know, that as a Black woman, I speak, research, write, and act from the powerful experiences tethered to my racial and cultural identities. That’s a fancy way of saying that my work is very unapologetically Black. I used to believe that in order to be committed to racial justice, I had to have deep knowledge of all racial groups. The truth is that because race is a social construction, Blackness is not monolithic, and I cannot even speak on behalf of all Black people, even if I tried. So I come to you with theories and examples that have emerged organically out of my experiential knowledge, my passion for exploring the African Diaspora, and with the hope that each and every one of you might be inspired to do the similar work in ways that feel authentic to you.

Optional Activity

In order to address white privilege within and beyond schools, it’s important to start with a working definition of *white privilege*. Because language constantly falls short of approximating meaning, wrestling with terms as they have been theorized, on one hand, and as we

understand them in our everyday realities, on the other hand, is crucial. Within any given space with say, 12 teachers, there may exist 12 different understandings of white privilege. While some might find this overwhelming, I find it useful. The moment that we can acknowledge our roles in constructing, reinforcing, and misunderstanding the definitions of social locations such as racial identity, we understand our complicity in social reproduction and our capacity to engage in social disruption. Materials Needed:

- ♦ Index cards or sticky notes
- ♦ Pen or pencil

Professional Development Activity

- ♦ Distribute three to four index cards/sticky notes to each person in the room.
- ♦ Step 1: Working individually, write one word that comes to mind when you think of "white privilege" on each index card/sticky note. (5 minutes)
- ♦ Step 2: In small groups of three share out each word and your thought process as you chose them. (5 minutes)
- ♦ Step 3: As a small group of three, group or map out all your words in a way that makes sense to the group. (7 minutes)
- ♦ Step 4: Using just one index card/sticky note, attempt a one- or two-sentence definition of white privilege that emerges from your conversation and the words you've chosen. You may use words that you haven't listed to create your definition. (7 minutes)
- ♦ Step 5: Share in a large-group discussion.

Importantly, these definitions should be considered alongside textbook and other definitions of terms. The goal is to start here but to become committed to building knowledge and self-awareness about white privilege throughout our lives. I emphasize the fact that I position textbook definitions "alongside" working definitions to impress our roles

as an agent of social change. What do I mean by this? If you enter the conversation of white privilege with a textbook definition to govern the work, several things will happen: (1) You will not have the opportunity to unearth and confront your understanding of white privilege and its limitations; (2) we will reinforce the idea that the only valid producers of knowledge are scholars or other elite members of society who have rarely, if ever, stepped foot into a classroom like yours; and (3) you will fail to view yourself as someone who can and must produce, disrupt, and confront definitions and their impact for a better world.

Notes

1. <https://thefader.com/2017/02/13/solange-grammys-response-beyonce-lemonade>
2. <https://chron.com/news/houston-texas/article/Texas-lawmaker-suggests-Asians-adapt-easier-names-1550512.php>
3. <https://colorismhealing.org/colorism-quotes/>
4. Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge.
5. See endnote 4.
6. Muhammad, K. G. (2010). *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*.
7. See endnote 6.
8. DiAngelo, R. (2011). White Fragility. *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy*, 3(3).
9. Gay, R. Peculiar Benefits. See <https://therumpus.net/2012/05/peculiar-benefits/>

Introduction: Racial Formation in the United States

Mic Check! Mic Check!

Can we talk about race and racism? They are just as prevalent as ever, though awareness of their presence is often suppressed. The racial present always needs to be studied and explained anew. Race and racism remain central in our lives, but they are changing too.

Let us introduce this book with the call-out "Mic Check!" a request to speak that is commonly associated with the Occupy movement, but is actually a couple of decades older than that.¹ This Introduction frames our major concerns in the book. We adopt the term "Mic Check," because we see our work as a call-out, a demand that new attention be paid to the deepening crisis of race and racism in the contemporary United States.

Way back in 1993, funkmaster George Clinton (our favorite Clinton), urged folks to "Paint the White House Black" (Clinton 1993; see also Lusane 2011; Jeffries 2013). A mere 15 years later in 2008, what was a once a hip-hop racial fantasy became a reality with the election of Barack Obama.

In the immediate wake of the Obama victory, the claim that the United States was now a "post-racial" society enjoyed popular dissemination and acceptance. The "fact of blackness" in the White House was interpreted as resounding proof that the nation was moving "beyond race." That a black man² could be elected to the highest post in the land was cited as a stunning testament to how far the nation had come in moving beyond the discriminatory racial attitudes and exclusions of the past.

But lest we lapse into a comforting scenario of advancing progress towards the eventual eclipse of racism, a bit of perspective is warranted. A reporter once told Malcolm X that the passage of key pieces of civil right legislation was clear proof that things were getting better for blacks. In response, Malcolm countered that it did not show improvement to stick a knife nine inches into someone, pull it out six inches, and call it progress. "But some people," Malcolm observed, "don't even want to admit the knife is there" (Malcolm X, quoted in Lipsitz 1998, 46).

The "knife," the weapon and wound of racial disadvantage and dispossession, continues to be ignored today. Structural forms of racial inequality persist and in many cases have deepened. Empirical studies on health care access, educational opportunity, and incarceration rates demonstrate continuing inequalities along racial lines. The Great Recession that began in 2008 and was rooted in the subprime home

mortgage crisis had extensive racial dimensions. People of color were more than three times as likely as whites to have subprime and high-cost loans. Such loans accounted at one point for more than 55 percent of all black and Latin@ mortgages (Rogers 2008). The distribution of economic resources, the patterns of cultural consumption, and the organization of residential space are all social processes in which race operates as a fundamental organizing principle of inequality and difference. Americans may have "quainted the White House black," but race remains a fundamental category of (dis)empowerment in the United States. As a nation, we appear deeply unable to challenge or even address the significance of race in our own lives, as well as the enduring forms of racism and the attitudes, problems, and practices that sustain them.

Persistent racial inequality and difference are rendered illegible in U.S. popular political discourse. Many people in the United States believe that the goals of the civil rights movement have been substantially achieved, that racial discrimination is a thing of the past, and that we are rapidly evolving into a truly colorblind society. "Race thinking," it is argued, no longer significantly informs our perceptions, shapes our attitudes, and influences our individual, collective, and institutional practices. Indeed, it is said that the most effective anti-racist consciousness, policy, and practice is simply to ignore race. We are urged to see people as individuals only, not as persons or groups whose identities or social positions have been shaped and organized by race.

After Obama's January 27, 2010 State of the Union speech, MSNBC host Chris Matthews said of the President, "He is post-racial, by all appearances. I forgot he was black tonight for an hour" (Matthews 2010). But can anyone in the contemporary United States really ever "forget" race? Can we actually suspend how we immediately "see" and "read" people with whom we come into contact? Can we avoid categorizing people into existing racial categories? In short, can we actually transcend racial distinctions and meanings as we navigate our institutional and everyday lives? As Martha and the Vandellas once put it, "Get nowhere to run to, baby, nowhere to hide" (1965). The ubiquity of race is inescapable across nearly every social domain.

But race and racial meanings are neither stable nor consistent. Contradictions abound today, as they have in the past. Most overt forms of racial discrimination have been outlawed, but racial inequalities pervade every institutional setting. A professed desire to be colorblind bumps up against the ubiquity of race consciousness, both in political life and everyday life. Consider the problematic nature of racial identity itself. The U.S. Census employs a system of racial classification, but many individuals and groups cannot locate themselves within it. They cannot conveniently fit into any of the designated racial categories. A person's own sense of racial identity may differ significantly from how other people see and categorize her/him. Some individuals actively resist imposed categories by "performing" race in a subversive manner. A white person, for example, might take on the linguistic patois and stylistic garb we commonly associate with contemporary blackness. Over a person's life course, they may "switch" racial identities—or be transferred to a new racially defined group, as a result of changes in state-based racial classification, the emergence of new group definitions, or even a longing to claim a suppressed or long-abandoned identity, real

or imagined. For example, since the 1960 Census, there has been a dramatic increase in the American Indian population in the United States. (Pissel 1996, 79). Such an increase is not driven by actual growth, but by increased numbers of Americans claiming Native identity.

Racial identity is a slippery thing. Given these many contradictions, how might we begin to grasp the overall meaning of race in the United States? In this book we discuss the *centrality of race in the organization of political life in the United States*. We attempt to develop an overarching perspective on both race and racism in this country. Our hope is to provide a coherent conceptual framework by which we can grasp the importance of race as a key category of inequality, of difference/identity, and of agency, both individual and collective. Such a framework also seeks to understand racial change—how concepts and ideologies of race and racism evolve, transform, and shift over historical time. We engage in a deep interrogation of racial theory, both past and present. We try to understand and contextualize the race concept. We explore how race has both informed and been informed by prevailing political conflicts.

Racial Theory

Race and racism in the United States have been shaped by a centuries-long conflict between white domination and resistance by people of color. Theories of race and racism have necessarily been molded by the same relationships. Informed to a large extent by the needs of dominant groups who required the nation-state they were building to be both organized and intelligible for the purposes of rule,³ racial theory for years served mainly the interests of the powerful—white settlers, slave owners, colonial and later national elites. Entire systems of rule—labor and political regimes among others—had to be organized, structured, regulated, and explained. The concept of race, developing unevenly in the Americas from the arrival of Europeans in the Western Hemisphere down to the present, has served as a fundamental organizing principle of the social system. Practices of distinguishing among human beings according to their corporeal characteristics became linked to systems of control, exploitation, and resistance.

Since race and racism involve violence, oppression, exploitation, and indignity, they also generate movements of resistance and theories of resistance. The necessity to comprehend and explain the modern world extended beyond the oppressors to the oppressed, who sought to understand the calamities that had befallen them through conquest, kidnapping, mass murder, enslavement, exclusion, and genocide. While early resistance-based theories of race have largely been suppressed and hidden, the just is being excavated and examined in new and greater detail. We now have a large number of slave narratives to draw upon, for example. Recent work in African and Spanish colonial history, as well as work on indigenous and Arabic texts produced in the Americas, has increased our awareness of early resistance-based accounts of what we would now call race and racism.⁴

Despite the enormous legacy and volume of racial theory, the concept of race remains poorly understood and inadequately explained. This is true not only in everyday life but also in the social sciences, the humanities, law, medicine, and the biological sciences. Because race operates as a "common-sense" concept, a basic component of social cognition, identity, and socialization, everyone considers herself/himself an expert on the subject. Race seems obvious and in some ways superficial. What is there to explain? Race appears to be a given attribute, an ordinary "social fact." That one has a racial identity is thus no more problematic, no more worthy of interpretation, than that one has a head upon one's shoulders. That's just the way it is.

But when asked what race means, what the significance is of being black, white, brown, red, or yellow, difficulties rapidly set in. Over the ages these categories' meanings have varied a great deal. They have carried religious, scientific, political, and cultural weight. Race has been understood as a sign of God's pleasure or displeasure, as an indicator of evolutionary development, as a key to intelligence, and as a signifier in human geography, among many other things. Concepts of race have conformed to the exigencies of time and place. In rising empires, the imperatives of conquest have shaped ideas about racial hierarchy, with portrayals of the strong and superior occupiers contrasted with the weak and inferior natives. In periods of social dislocation and economic decline, race has come to mark those groups who signify corruption and dilution of the national spirit and purpose. When secularism and scientism have contended against religious dogmas, efforts to classify, categorize, and rank humanity along racial lines have come to the fore. Today, we reject many (though not all) of the earlier incarnations, understandings, and uses of the race concept. Indeed, in the contemporary United States it is frequently claimed that race has become meaningless, that it is an outdated idea, a throwback to earlier, benighted times, an empty signifier at best. No wonder confusion reigns.

Race and the Social Sciences

Attention to race has risen and fallen in the social sciences, driven once again by racial "common sense." The great social theorists of the 19th-century, towering figures such as Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber, were all concerned with analyzing the transition from feudalism to capitalism, and interpreting the dynamic forces shaping modern (i.e., 19th-century European) society. Although they shared this central intellectual concern, these thinkers could not agree on which structural relationships were the most important factors explaining the rise of that modern, capitalist society, with its "rational-legal" form of authority and complex division of labor. What they could agree upon, though, was the belief that racial and ethnic social bonds, divisions, and conflicts were remnants of a pre-industrial order that would decline in significance in the modern period.² Marx and Engels, for example, predicted that as society split up into two great, antagonistic classes, social distinctions such as race and ethnicity would decrease in importance.

In fairness to Marx and Engels, they did consider race in their discussion of "primitive accumulation," the launching-phase of modern capitalism. Marx writes:

The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement, and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of blackskins, signaled the ruse d'un of the era of capitalist production. Those slylike proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation. On their heels trends the commercial war of the European nations with the globe for a theater. It begins with the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain, assumes giant dimensions in England's Anti-Jacobin War, and is still going on in the opium wars with China.

(1967, 351)

Furthermore, in their support of the abolitionist cause they linked race to the working-class movement, both in Britain and the United States; Marx famously asserted in *Capital* that "labor cannot emancipate itself in a white skin where in a black skin it is branded" (1967, 329). Writing somewhat later, Weber and Durkheim were much less cognizant of the complexities of race.³

The "founding fathers" of American sociology (men such as Albion Small, William Graham Sumner, and Edward A. Ross) were explicitly concerned with racial hierarchy and racial classification, which they saw in terms of evolutionary theory. Social science was shaped, not only by the European founding fathers, but also by the Social Darwinist currents of the period. As did virtually all the early figures, these men adhered to the unquestioned white supremacy of their time. Their work contributed, sometimes inadvertently but often by intention, to the racist hysteria of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The epoch of the emergence of modern social science in the United States coincided with a sustained period of racial reaction, marked by the institutionalization of Jim Crow in the South, the success of the movement for Asian exclusion, and the rise of eugenics. Especially in this atmosphere, adherence to biologicistic perspectives on race severely limited innovation and social scientific interest in this field.⁴

As nearly every race-oriented U.S. social scientist pursued the chimera of "natural" racial hierarchy, a small number of scholars, almost all of them black, challenged mainstream (i.e., white) conceptions of race, and implicitly racism as well, although that term did not yet exist. Led by the protean intellectual and activist W.E.B. Du Bois, such scholars as Alain Locke, Kelly Miller, William Monroe Trotter, Anna Julia Cooper, and others created a social science of race and racism, refusing and refusing the biologicistic racism of their white contemporaries. These writers and activists were largely denied entrance to the whites-only universities of the time. Based in historically black colleges and universities like Howard, Atlanta (now Clark-Atlanta), and Fisk and active in community-based institutions and organizations, these people were the true intellectual leaders of their time, at least in respect to racial theory. Although

there were some minor lapses here and there, their work was premised on their radical understandings of the meaning of equality, political and social rights, and on a commitment to a fully democratic and racially inclusive U.S. society.⁶ Besides breaking new ground in racial theory, Du Bois's *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* virtually invented modern, empirically grounded sociology in the United States as well (Du Bois 1998 [1899]).

Only in the 1920s did mainstream sociology even begin to catch up to these pioneering black efforts. Led by Robert E. Park, the "Chicago School of Sociology" began after World War I to remark social scientific approaches to race, and eventually reconvened much of the wheel that Du Bois had created two decades earlier. Park had earlier been a publicist and ghost-writer for Booker T. Washington; in his later years he taught at Fisk, having been invited there by Charles S. Johnson, a former student and major sociologist of race in his own right (Johnson 1996 [1934]), who had become the university's president.

Park and other progressive white thinkers largely succeeded in mainstreaming a socially grounded, if not political, concept of race, and countering the racial biologism that had dominated racial theory in an unbroken fashion throughout U.S. history. Chicago sociology would shape the dominant theoretical and methodological assumptions about race for the greater part of the 20th century and beyond. That black scholars could not have achieved this result is a bitter but obvious truth that speaks directly to their marginalization in the field. Just as black popular music—blues and jazz—could only gain popular currency when white musicians played it, black racial theory could only begin to make headway in the "mainstream" social sciences when reframed and advanced by white scholars.⁷

Chicago School racial theory still left a lot to be desired. It was deterministic and resolutely apolitical. Park's "race-relations cycle," for example, still widely regarded as one of the most important contributions to the field, understood its subject as moving through four stages—contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation—leaving such matters as collective action and political agency out of the picture, and postulating assimilation (presumably into whiteness) as the positive end-state of "race relations."⁸ Park proposed the cycle as a theoretical law of historical development, a way of analyzing group relations and assessing a "minority" group's progress along a fixed continuum.⁹

Beginning with Park's concepts, a set of assumptions have gradually come to characterize the field and serve as guides for social scientists investigating the nature of race in the United States. Blauner discusses these assumptions as follows:

First, the view that racial and ethnic groups are neither central nor persistent elements of modern societies. Second, the idea that racism and racial oppression are not independent dynamic forces but are ultimately reducible to other causal determinants, usually economic or psychological. Third, the position that the most important aspects of racism are the attitudes and prejudices

of Americans. And, finally, the so-called *mongrower analogy*, the assumption, critical in contemporary thought, that there are no essential long-term differences—in relation to the larger society—between the *third world* or racial minorities and the European ethnic groups.

(2001 [1972], 2; emphasis original)

These assumptions are as much political as they are theoretical. They neglect both the institutional and ideological nature of race in America, and the systematic entrenchment of racial dynamics in such spheres as education, art, social policy, law, religion, and science. They focus attention on race as an irrational construct, a product of individual "attitudes and prejudices" rather than a social structure deeply rooted, not only in ideas and beliefs, but also in institutions, fundamental patterns of inequality, social geography, and the exercise of political power.¹⁰ Such assumptions make it impossible to grasp the specificity of racism and racial conflict in the United States. They lend the analyst toward evolutionary models that optimistically predict the gradual absorption of racially identified groups into the (implicitly white) mainstream of American political, economic, and cultural life.¹¹ Racial theories based on these assumptions—launched in the 1920s and reaching down to the present—reveal as much about the prevailing state of racial politics and racial ideology when they were produced as they do about the nature of race relations.

The Trajectory of Racial Politics

At any given moment, we are in a particular phase of the trajectory of racial politics. Our idea of trajectory refers to a political process, in which rising phases of mobilization are followed by declining phases. From the long-run standpoint, the trajectory of racial politics is a process of "cumulative and cyclical development"¹² taking place over centuries: the *longue durée*. To consider seriously the depth and variety of racial role and of resistance to it is to contemplate the genealogy of race and racism (Marxist 2002) in the United States and on a global scale. Over the centuries, we see North America as a terrain both for populating (with settlers) and depopulating (the removal and genocide of the original inhabitants). Over the centuries, we see the United States as both a key part of the slavery system and as a locus for abolitionism and "abolition democracy" (Du Bois). Over the centuries, we see the United States as—always and simultaneously—an anticolonial and colonial nation-state.

While past racial atrocities are now commonly acknowledged, optimistic observers of our nation's recent history offer a vision of a society trying to live up to democratic and egalitarian principles by slowly extending and applying them to the growing issues of race. We are in the midst, so it is claimed, of a period of enlightened progress—an unfolding drama of racial incorporation that will not be thwarted or reversed. A truly colorblind society, it is argued, will eventually emerge. How did we get to this point and where might we be headed?

A cursory glance at American history reveals that far from being colorblind, the United States has always been an extremely race-conscious nation. From the very inception of the republic to the present moment, race has been a profound determinant of one's political rights, one's location in the labor market, and indeed one's sense of identity. The hallmarks of this history has been racism. While groups of color have been treated differently, all can bear witness to the tragic consequences of racial oppression. The United States has confronted each group with a unique form of despotism and degradation. The examples are familiar: Native Americans faced removal and genocide, blacks were subjected to racial slavery and Jim Crow, Latin@s were invaded and colonized, and Asians faced exclusion.¹² While the ethos of equality has been invoked quite frequently, this has usually served merely to justify blatant inequality and mistreatment.

Recent U.S. racial history has followed a more complex and contradictory path. The country has experienced successive waves of racial turbulence and quiescence. Political challenges to the U.S. racial regime have been followed by containment of such challenges, sometimes through reform and sometimes through repression. Reforms that were supposed to diminish the depth and extent of racism have undoubtedly had some positive effects, but overall they have produced contradictory, even ironic results. Racial injustice and racial inequality, exclusion, violence, and neglect, are all so deeply rooted in the nation that just reducing them "moderately"—while presumably preferable to exacerbating them or treating them with "benign neglect"—may *itself* have harmful consequences. Inadequate and vulnerable civil rights measures, after all, have also served to ratify and reinvigorate the underlying racial regime.¹³

By the 1960s, because of the upheavals and challenges that developed during and after World War II, race occupied the center stage of American politics in a manner unprecedented since the Civil War era a century earlier. Civil rights struggles and ghetto revolts, as well as controversies over state policies of reform and repression, highlighted a period of intense conflict in which the meaning of race was fiercely politically contested. Civil rights laws and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 enfranchised millions whose democratic rights had long been denied. Congress also sought to curtail discrimination in the labor and housing markets. A long-overdue reform in U.S. immigration law (the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965) laid the foundation for the massive demographic shifts that were to follow over the next decades. However limited some of these legislative and judicial reforms would turn out to be, the decade saw the greatest expansion of democratic rights in the nation's history. As virtually all observers agree, the political and policy-oriented transformations of the 1960s were driven by massive popular mobilization, notably for civil rights and racial equality.

There was a moment, a spark of recognition before the assassinations and upheavals of 1968, when it was recognized that the accomplishments of the black movement had opened up a broader prospect for radical democratic transformation in the United States. The black movement at that moment was deeply torn between radical and centrist currents, black power politics were particularly under attack: by

the state, the right-wing, and the "moderates" as well. The "long hot summers," the restive ghettoes across the country, were a particular target for attack. But at that point the movement was still active and growing, the Black Panther Party was galvanizing the ghetto and its example was influencing Native American, Latin@, and Asian American organizing as well. The Poor People's Movement was being built by SCLC and its allies, so a transracial movement of the poor was at least imaginable. Even at the state level, adjustments to the new domestic balance of forces were underway: The War on Poverty and the Great Society were promising redistribution as J. Edgar Hoover was killing Panthers (Haas 2011). In the streets, the anti-war movement and the developing "second-wave" feminist movement were coming into their own.

The spark of radical democratic hope was brief indeed. It was murdered with Martin Luther King, Jr. in Memphis on April 4, 1968, with Robert F. Kennedy in Los Angeles on the night of June 5, 1968, in Chicago at the Democratic Party convention in late August of 1968, and in hundreds of other setbacks as well. Indeed, after King was killed more than 100 cities went up in flames.

It seems reasonable to argue that the containment of the movement began with those killings and riots and burnings. Still it required an extended process, a comprehensive reordering of U.S. political life, to block the advance of the black movement and its allies toward greater equality and "participatory democracy." We have experienced nearly half a century of reactionary racial politics since that peak moment in the late 1960s.

Yet the movement has not been destroyed. Its accomplishments live on as a gift from earlier generations of activists and thinkers to later ones. Yes, the reforms it achieved have been largely neutralized by state-based reaction, by authoritarian populist movements, and by colorblind racial hegemony as well. But racial reaction could not destroy the increased awareness, the enhanced race consciousness, and the profoundly politicized identities that sprang from the black movement and its feminist, working-class, anti-imperialist, and queer allies. The epochal confrontation between the post-World War II anti-racist movement—what we call the Great Transformation—and the racial reaction that succeeded it, has generated a new type of crisis in U.S. society.

"Crisis," Gramsci famously wrote, "consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born: in this interregnum, morbid phenomena of the most varied kind come to pass" (1971, 276). Using the Gramscian formula, we suggest that in the U.S. there has developed, during the extended declining phase of the political trajectory of race, an enormous and chronic crisis. "Chronic" is not a word usually associated with the term "crisis," which usually signifies an acute problem, not an extended one. But, as Dr. Dre reminds us, we have not yet emerged from this ongoing pattern of racial contradiction, the chronic racial dilemma we are still in. It is quite mind boggling, when looked at as a whole: On the one hand, the old verities of established racism and white supremacy have been officially discredited, not only in the United States but fairly comprehensively around the world. On the other

hand, racially informed action and social organization, racial identity and race consciousness, continue unchecked in nearly every aspect of social life! On the one hand, the state (many states around the world) now claims to be colorblind, non-racialist, racially democratic; while, on the other hand, in almost every case, those same states need race to rule. Consider in the United States alone: race and electoral politics, race and social control, race and legal order...

Why don't our heads explode under the pressures of such cognitive dissonance?

Looking Forward in this Book

Despite all the upheaval we have experienced in recent years, the outcome of contemporary racial conflict remains uncertain and unresolved. The continuing ebullience of racial politics, and the intense contradictions it evokes, beg for a new interpretation. This book developed from our desire to comprehend the centrality of race in U.S. life and to understand how ideologies of race have changed over the past 50 years. Our discussion is divided into three parts. First, we survey how the concept of race has been interpreted in the main currents of social scientific thought. Then, we propose our own account of the race concept and racial politics. Finally, we trace how ideologies of race have shifted over the past 50 years in order to discern the overall political trajectory of race and racism in the present-day United States.

Now that we have introduced our approach and theoretical premises, we turn to a brief chapter outline in the remaining part of this Introduction.

In Part I, *Paradigms of Race: Ethnicity, Class, and Nation*, we examine recent racial theory in the United States. We argue that this theory is encompassed by three paradigmatic approaches to race and racism—approaches based on the categories of ethnicity, class, and nation. These approaches are *paradigms* in the sense that they have particular core assumptions and highlight particular key issues and research variables. Racial paradigms have implicit and explicit policy and political action orientations; they also serve as guides for research and education about race and racism.

There are, of course, limitations to this approach. We do not suggest that these three paradigms encompass all the racial theories generated during the period under consideration, but we do think that they embrace the vast bulk of them and demarcate the major lines of debate. Specific theories, and the paradigms themselves, are treated as *ideal types*: That is, our concept of paradigms is a distillation for the purpose of analysis of complex and variegated theoretical arguments. A qualification to our approach, therefore, is the recognition that often a specific viewpoint, concept, or study cannot be neatly classified in one or the other paradigm. In many cases particular analyses of race—political, jurisprudential, or academic, say—which we locate in one paradigm, contain arguments that resemble those suggested within another paradigm. We discuss each of these main currents in racial theory, devoting a chapter to each. While these theoretical approaches all contributed to our understanding race in the United States, each was flawed in its own way, limited by its particular

need to reduce race to a manifestation of some other, supposedly more fundamental, sociopolitical concept. To overcome this reductionism is a key objective of our racial formation approach.

Chapter 1 examines *ethnicity theory*—a perspective that arose in the post-World War I years as an insurgent challenger to the religious doctrines and biologicistic accounts of race that prevailed at that time. From its initial efforts to explain the social upheavals brought about by vast waves of immigration to the United States around the turn of the 20th century, ethnicity theory focused on U.S. processes of incorporation such as assimilation and cultural pluralism. The early concerns of ethnicity theory involved inclusion and its obstacles in respect to different European immigrant groups. At this time, the acceptance and integration of Europeans was still in doubt, while that of immigrants of color was highly restricted, and groups of color were subject to overt discrimination.

From the end of World War II through the 1960s, however, racial conditions changed. The emphasis on incorporation was extended to the situation of blacks and other groups of color who continued to be marginalized and excluded. Drawing analogies to the assimilation and integration of European immigrant groups, ethnicity scholars were initially optimistic regarding the integration of blacks and other groups of color. The rise in the late-1960s and early-1970s of radical social movements based in communities of color caught ethnicity theorists by surprise. Movements rejected the assimilationist and pluralist visions that were central to ethnicity theory by demanding group recognition and political rights, resource redistribution, and broad cultural transformation. In response to the perceived radical threat, ethnicity theorists moved rightward, gravitating to nonconservative positions that emphasized individualism, not "groupism," and embracing colorblind racial policies and practices.

Chapter 2 considers *class theories of race*, accounts that afford primary to economic structures and processes. Class theories render race legible by examining economic inequalities along racial lines. Within the broader class paradigm, we examine three general analytic orientations to race. We designate these as the market-, stratification-, and class conflict-based approaches. These three currents of the class paradigm are grounded in different economic spheres: exchange relationships (markets), systems of distribution (stratification), and conflict over labor exploitation (in Marxist terms, conflict over the "social relations of production").

Efforts to interpret racial inequality as a consequence of economic relationships obviously have an important role to play in understanding race as an overall phenomenon. Yet these efforts uniformly fail to account for the role of race as a cause of existing economic relationships. Both market-based and stratification-approaches tend to detach economic life from social and political life. Class conflict theories (generally Marxist) admirably recognize race-class interaction more comprehensively, but they still reduce race to a subset of labor-based conflict in which class trumps race. While inequality is certainly an important dimension of race and racism, we argue that race cannot simply be reduced to an economic matter. Politics, culture, and

many other social factors shape economic life as much as they are shaped by it, those are all eminently racial matters.

Chapter 3 considers nation-based theories of race. These have their origins in the imperial seizure of territory and the settler colonialism of the modern era. Since the imperial dawn, the ideas of race and nation have been deeply connected through concepts of *peoplehood*. Both as North American colonies of European empires, and then as a nation-state of its own, the United States identified as white. This identification as a white nation remains visible in the associations with whiteness that are visible across extensive historical time in such concepts as “the American people” and in U.S. nationalism more generally.

The concept of *peoplehood*, however, did not operate only among the ruling whites. It was present from the start among the racialized “others” as well. Africans and their descendants, Native Americans, Latin@s and Caribbean@s subject to conquest and settlement, and immigrants who were not white (or not yet white) understood their identity collectively in terms of *peoplehood*. For them, the concept was born out of resistance. Many were drawn toward insurgent nationalisms, as the possibilities of inclusion and full citizenship were consistently denied them. Thus nation-based concepts of race became rooted, not only in the dominant group but also in subordinate ones. The production of racial otherness generated not only the mark of oppression but also the mark of resistance. While the nation-based paradigm supplies a valuable concept—*peoplehood*—to the overall corpus of racial theory, it is still reductionist *vis-à-vis* race. Nation-based theories treat race as a mere manifestation of the pre-emptively deeper concept of “the nation,” and project “internal” colonial relations of domination and resistance forward into the present.

In Part II, *Racial Formation*, we advance our own theory of racial formation, departing from ethnicity-, class-, and nation-based understandings. We do not repudiate these paradigms across the board, but criticize their limitations and seek to incorporate them in a larger, more realistic, and in our view more practically radical account, based in our theory of racial formation.

In Chapter 4, *The Theory of Racial Formation*, we stress that race is a social construction and not a fixed, static category rooted in some notion of innate biological differences. The construction of race and racial meanings can be understood as part of a universal phenomenon of classifying people on the basis of real or imagined attributes. We all engage in “making up people” (Hacking 2006, 1999) as a way to navigate in the social world—to situate ourselves and others in the context of social hierarchies, to discern friend from foe, and to provide a guide to social interactions with different individuals and groups. Race is not unique as a category of difference. Gender, class, age, nationality, and culture have all been invoked to capture, and in many cases explain, difference. This process is not benign. It involves “othering,” which is used to justify subordinate status, unequal treatment, to structure oppression and exploitation in numerous ways. It is important to note, on the flip side, that resistance to such oppressive practices also involves the creation of social categories of difference.

To say that race is socially constructed is to argue that it varies according to time and place. Concepts and ideologies of race have shifted over historical time and differ according to the socio-historical conditions in which race is embedded. There are many examples. Consider the Irish and the Jews, groups who were not considered racially “white” earlier in the U.S. history, yet eventually became white (Ginsley 1995, Brook-Kin 1998).¹⁸ Consider Asian Americans, who have been popularly regarded as either a “yellow peril” or a “model minority” depending on the historical period in question, the configuration of racial hierarchy in the United States, and the prevailing tenor of United States–Asia relations (Okamoto 1994; Jun 2011). Widening the scope beyond the United States, it is apparent that what race means in different regional and national settings is highly variable. What race means in Brazil, Japan, or in South Africa is dramatically different from what it means in the United States. This underscores the fact that race is a fluid and flexible social concept (Fredrickson 1997).

While acknowledging the inherent instability and socially constructed characteristics of race, we argue that there is a crucial *corporeal* dimension to the race-concept. Race is *woven* in an irreducible way. Human bodies are visually read, understood, and narrated by means of symbolic meanings and associations. Phenotypic differences are not necessarily seen or understood in the same consistent manner across time and place, but they are nevertheless operating in specific social settings. Not because of any biologically based or essential difference among human beings across such phenotypic variables as “color” or “hair texture,” but because such socio-historical practices as conquest and enslavement classified human bodies for purposes of domination—and because these same distinctions thereafter became important for resistance to domination as well—racial phenotypes such as black and white have been constructed and encoded through the language of race.¹⁹ We define this process as *racialization*—the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group.

We also advance the concept of *racial projects* to capture how racial formation processes occur through a linkage between structure and representation. Racial projects are efforts to shape the ways in which human identities and social structures are racially signified, and the reciprocal ways that racial meaning becomes embedded in social structures. We see racial projects as building blocks in the racial formation process; these projects are taking place all the time, whenever race is being invoked or signified, wherever social structures are being organized along racial lines. Racial formation is thus a vast summation of signifying actions and social structures, past and present, that have combined and clashed in the creation of the enormous complex of relationships and identities that is labeled race.

Chapter 5, *Racial Politics and the Racial State*, focuses on the political sociology of race; the social organization of power along racial lines. A central concern here is the historical development and contemporary orientation of the U.S. racial state. We stress the porous boundary between state and civil society, especially where race is concerned. The racial state inhabits us, so to speak; it is within our minds, our psyches,

our hearts. At the same time we shape and reshape the state, identifying with it or against it, carrying out the signifying action that is the essence of political life, both collectively and individually. In this chapter, we stress the shift *from racial domination to racial hegemony* that has taken place in the post-World War II period. We highlight the trajectory of racial politics, the first rising and then declining path of the anti-racist movement that has taken shape up to now (we are writing this in 2013). We argue that the anti-racist movements that arose in the 1960s dramatically expanded the political space available for challenging racism by ushering in the *politicization of the social*. The chief achievement of the black movement and its allied new social movements was the enlargement and deepening of U.S. politics. Issues previously regarded as private and therefore outside the realm of formally defined politics were now embraced by an expansive politics of identity. Such an expansion of the terrain of politics by race-based social movements, and then by gender-, anti-imperialist, queer-, and other movements as well, represents a radical and permanent shift. It is a shift, however, that cannot be regarded as an exclusively progressive transformation. In the wake of the left-wing politicization of the social at the hands of the black movement, feminist movements, and gay movement, a racial reaction took shape. Right-wing movements proved themselves capable of rearticulation as well, reframing the emancipatory politics of the black movement and its allies, first as threats to whites, then as "reverse racism," and finally seeking an erasure of race itself through colorblind racial ideology.

In Part III, *Racial Politics Since World War II*, we apply our racial formation approach to recent racial history. The post-World War II period, up to the present historical moment, is our central concern. The transformation of U.S. racial despotism in the period up to about 1970, and then the containment of those democratic and transformational movements during subsequent decades, is the overarching theme of these chapters.

Movements rise and fall, both on the political left and the right. The civil rights era can be seen in terms of rising and declining phases of a political trajectory or cycle: proceeding from the relative abeyance of racial justice movements before World War II, and then moving through a phase characterized by the dramatic rise and impact of the civil rights, black power, and allied movements in the 1960s. This "rising phase" of the cycle culminated in the achievement of partial movement vicarities during the 1960s. It was quickly followed by incorporation and containment of the movement challenge, starting in about 1970. In Chapter 6—*The Great Transformation*—we consider the development of the anti-racist movement, focusing particular attention on the 1960s. We trace the transformation of the black movement from an inclusion-oriented reform movement seeking to end segregation and achieve full political citizenship for blacks, to a broader radical democratic movement allied with the other social movements that collectively sought the redistribution of resources, an end to U.S. imperialism, and social citizenship not only for blacks but for other excluded and oppressed groups as well. It was this expansive radical potential, combined with these allied movements' inability to attract majority (mainly white) support, that led to their containment and prolonged decline.

The postwar racial trajectory, then, entered its declining phase in about 1970; Chapter 7—*Racial Reaction: Containment and Rearticulation*—discusses the development over time of a center-right power bloc capable of counterattacking and curtailing the influence of the radical democratic movements that had developed through the 1960s. The racial reaction moved on various fronts simultaneously, using violent tactics of repression and assassination as well as seeking to *rearticulate* movement demands and the emancipatory politics of identity in individualistic, repressive, and reactionary ways.

The declining phase of the movement, brought about largely by racial reaction, has continued until today, achieving a new racial hegemony based upon the concept of *colorblindness*. In Chapter 8—*Colorblindness, Neoliberalism, and Obama*, we argue that colorblind racial ideology underwrites the neoliberal accumulation project in the United States, and that neither colorblindness nor neoliberalism would be politically feasible without the other. We also consider the deep contradictions between colorblindness and race-consciousness as both ideology and practice. "Pinning the White House Black" under Obama, it turns out, deeply heightened the tensions of colorblind hegemony, even though Obama tried hard to minimize the anti-racist commitments that were always at least implicit in his presidency.

In sum, after World War II a system of racial hegemony was substituted for the earlier system of racial domination. It took a great amount of blood, sweat, and tears to accomplish these limited reforms, this "Second Reconstruction." To do away with official Jim Crow, to end the 1924 McCarran-Walter immigration restrictions, as well as ending the Vietnam War and legalizing abortion, were enormous triumphs, but they were not definitive. They were generally vulnerable, not so much to "backlash" and rollback, as to erosion and subversion, what we have termed rearticulation. To outlaw *de jure* segregation did not prevent the preservation of segregation *de facto* by other means. To overturn the highly restrictive immigration policies that had lasted from the 1920s to the 1960s did not prevent the continuity, and indeed the increase, of a draconian system of immigrant deportation and imprisonment that continues to this day.

The success of racial reform policies—the various civil rights acts and court decisions of the 1960s—worked to incorporate and thus defuse movement opposition. This incorporation required that tangible concessions be made without altering the underlying *structural racism* that was characteristic of the United States. It also required the marginalization and, in some cases, destruction of those sectors of anti-racist opposition that were more recalcitrant about accepting limited (aka moderate) reforms. Once reforms had been enacted and legislated, once some movement demands and movement activists had been incorporated, a subsequent stage of the hegemonic racial project was the rearticulation of racial meanings in a series of steps that culminated in colorblind racial hegemony. Unsteady, limited, and contradictory, the colorblind concept of race will retain its hegemonic perch until it can be challenged or rearticulated yet again.

We live in racial history. The racial instability that has characterized the whole of American history continues unabated. The unsettled meaning of race, and the continuing elusiveness of a genuine, substantive racial democracy in the United States, presents the country with both countless problems and limitless opportunities. In this book's conclusion—*The Contradictions of Race*—we highlight some of the dilemmas that the country, and perhaps the reader, face today. We pose such questions as: What do you want your race-consciousness to be? What do you consider a democratic and just racial policy in the United States?

To recognize that race is historically and politically constructed is not only to see it as a "moving image," as something we make and remake over time; it is also to acknowledge our power, both collective and individual, to transform the meaning of race. We created this meaning-system and the social order it supports. We can change it as well.

Notes

1. The earliest use of this term that we can find is a track with that title located on a 1999 Rage Against the Machine record, *The Battle of Los Angeles*.
2. The depth and degree of Obama's blackness was widely debated. On the far right, he was branded an African revolutionary, exacting his father's anticolonial revenge fantasies (D'Souza 2012). In the black community, Debra Dickerson and Conrad West, among others, cast Obama's blackness—his authenticity—into serious doubt (Dickerson 2007; on West see Thompson 2011; see also Lowmides 2013). Others worried that electing a black president would defuse whatever reform-oriented demands the black movement could muster (Ihobe 2008). In various statements, Obama somewhat inconsistently wrestled with his blackness: discussing his growing recognition and acceptance of it in his youth, his own encounters with prejudice and discrimination, and in his most comprehensive political analysis of racism ("A More Perfect Union"—3/18/2008), the contradictions and limitations of U.S. democracy in respect to race.
3. On "intelligibility" and dominations, see Scott 1998.
4. Some key slave narratives are collected in Gross, ed. 2002. On Spanish colonialism in the North American Southwest, see Gutiérrez 1991. Enslaved Africans included many Muslims, some of whom were literate in Arabic. On Muslims and Arabic-language accounts of slavery and the slave trade, see Oyoko-Agyemang et al., eds., 2008; see also Thornton 1988. On indigenous views, see Thornton 1987.
5. Blauner writes: "[T]he general conceptual frame of European theory implicitly assumed the decline and disappearance of ethnicity in the modern world; it offered no hints in the other direction. Without significant exception, American sociology synthesized this framework into its models of social structure and change" (Blauner 2001 [1972], 4). See also Schweitzer and Schweitzer 1974, 30.
6. Weber's treatment of the concept of *zölu* under the rubric of "status" is a relational category based on "honor" is in some ways a social constructionist approach, but in Weber's volume nous output there is no intensive consideration of the modern imperial phenomenon, and there are numerous instances of European chauvinism (especially during the World War I years, when Weber was somewhat afflicted with German nationalism—see Weber 1994, 131;

Weber 1996, 255). In fairness, Weber also recognized racism, notably anti-black racism in the United States. See his remarks on U.S. racial attitudes in Gerth and Mills, eds., 1958, 405–406. Weber's sensitivity to U.S. racial matters may be attributed, at least in part, to the orientation provided him by Du Bois. See Lewis 1993, 225, 277.

Durkheim too makes the world ethnocentrically, disintegrating rather absolutely between "primitive" and "civilized" peoples based on the limited ethnology available to him; he also muses in abstractly racial ways: Racial categories are employed as "social types" in *Swaths*, for example.

7. They were also "liberal Anglo-Saxons," as John H. Strainfield (1981, 189–190) has termed them. See also Winant 2007.
8. "After a promising start in the early period, the study of race and ethnic relations suffered.... With little room for ethnic and racial phenomena in the macroscopic models of social structure and process, the field was isolated from general sociological theory and particularly from those leading conceptual themes that might have provided coherence and useful lines of inquiry: stratification, culture, community. The study of race relations developed in a kind of vacuum; no overall theoretical framework guided its research and development" (Blauner 2001 [1972], 5).
9. In a series of five lectures given at Howard University in 1915, Alain Leroy Locke, who had been the first African American Rhodes Scholar and had attended the London Race Congress in 1911, presented a very worked-out and extremely "moderate" theory of race, an account fully compatible with social constructionist views, and one deeply politically engaged as well. Locke had been greatly influenced by Du Bois, as were all the leading resistance scholars of the time (Locke 1992). The remarkable Anna Julia Cooper, writer, educator, and activist, more or less founded black feminism. Born a slave in 1858, Cooper was the principal of the M Street High School, a prestigious, segregated black institution in Washington D.C., at the time of the publication of her still-influential book *A Slave from the South: By A Woman from the South* in 1892 (Cooper 1998; Guy-Shelton 2009). William Monroe Trotter, a black journalist and activist, was a Harvard graduate and one of the founders of both the Niagara Movement and the NAACP. Supposedly a descendant of Jefferson through Sally Hemings, Trotter challenged Woodrow Wilson in a White House meeting, and rebuked Booker T. Washington's accommodationist racial politics when the latter gave a speech in Boston (Fox 1971). Kelly Miller, Professor of Mathematics at Howard University, founded the Sociology Department there in 1895 and taught at Howard until 1933 when he retired as Dean of Arts and Sciences. A prolific author, Miller's book *Race Adjustments* (1908) sought to refit the disparate between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. In a review of coeditor Frederick L. Hoffman's *Race Traits and Traditions of the American Negro*, one of the leading eugenics-based works to argue for the innate inferiority of African Americans, Miller used census data to argue that Hoffman's claims were statistically flawed (Miller 1897; see also Stepan and Gilman 1993).
10. On the Chicago sociology of race, see Bulmer 1986; Steinberg 2007.
11. Lyman notes: "[I]n race-relations cycles" was ideology too, for Park believed that once the racial cycle was completed, the social arena would be cleared of those racial impediments interfering with the inevitable class struggle" (1972, 27).
12. The concept of "institutional racism," often conflated with that of "structural racism," was first coined in Tuma/Garnethol and Heathorn 1992 (1967); see also Krieger and Pressler, eds. 1960.

13. As early as 1967 Pierre van den Berghe wrote that
 in spite of the claim of many social scientists that detachment and objectivity are possible and that they can dissociate their roles as scientists and as private citizens, much of the work done by North Americans in the area of race has, until the last three or four years, been strongly flavored with a great deal of optimism and complacency about the basic "goodness" of American society and with the cautious, slightly left-of-center, reformist, meliorative, gradualist approach of "liberal" intellectuals.... The field has been dominated by a functionalist view of society and a definition of the race problem as one of integration and assimilation of minorities into the mainstream of a consensus-based society. (1967, 7)
14. This concept is taken from Myrdal (1963, 1962 [1944]). See also Winant 2001.
15. This is an introductory formulation. We shall have more to say later about the numerous variations (ethnic, national, class-based) possible within racial identity. Among Latin@s, for example, the Puerto Rican, Central American, and Cuban cases all retain distinct aspects; among Asians, Vietnamese and other Southeast Asians, South Asians and Filipinos all have particular histories in the United States. There are those whose racial category is ambiguous at present (e.g., Middle Eastern and South Asian Americans—MEASA, Sami, Persians, Uighur). Further still, racial classification, as we shall argue below, is always flexible, a process without an end point or finality of any kind.
16. *Bush v. Gov* (U.S. Supreme Court 2000), let it be remembered, was decided as a voting rights case. Many Supreme Court decisions favoring corporate elites have also been grounded in civil rights laws. The best-known example of this is *Shelby County v. Southern Pacific Railroad* (U.S. Supreme Court 1886), which afforded "personhood" status to corporations, anticipating a host of later decisions including *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* (U.S. Supreme Court 2010). See also Beatty 2007, 172.
17. The concept of a *paradigm* in scientific or scholarly investigation gained currency after the appearance of Kuhn 1970. Our usage of the term is slightly at variance with Kuhn's. A racial paradigm, in our view, is an assumed theoretical category that classifies racial phenomena. Today, there is a strong reluctance in social scientific circles to indulge in "race-thinking" (undoubtedly due to the legacy of biologism with which pre-World War II scholarship encountered issues of race). This is yet another incentive to understand race in terms of other, supposedly more fundamental or objective, social scientific categories.
18. Not entirely, of course. There are black Irish and black Jews in the United States today; Latin@s who consider themselves Irish or Jewish, and numerous other variations on these identities as well.
19. Walter Johnson writes of the buyers in the New Orleans slave market:
 As the experienced guided the inexperienced [in the slave marketplace], slaves' bodies were made racially legible. The buyers' inspections, the parts they fingered, the details they fetishized, and the homosocial connections they made with one another gave material substance to antebellum notions of "blackness" and "whiteness" and outlined for observers the lineaments of a racial gaze. Out of the daily practice of slavery, they reproduced the notions of race that underwrote the system as a whole. (2001, 161)

Communication Guidelines

(Adapted from Multiculturalism training with Visions, Inc.)

“Try on” new ways of thinking.

This workshop will command that we reflect on our current way of thinking and challenge it. New points of view will be shared, and the expectation is that participants will “try them on,” just like a new pair of shoes. Not everything is going to fit, but the goal is that participants are open to seeing if it will fit.

Okay to disagree.

Creating a space where it is “okay to disagree” empowers participants to challenge each other’s statements by providing alternative experiences. It also allows participants space to live in their own truths; it is not necessary to curate a space where everyone agrees with one another.

It’s not okay to blame, shame, or attack (self or others).

Similar to the golden rule, it is not okay to blame, shame, or attack others. It is also not okay to do this to oneself. Upon beginning social justice-framed work, many people struggle internally, feeling like they should already know certain things, or shouldn’t have made the mistake they made. Therefore, many people struggle with blaming, shaming, and attacking themselves. The purpose of this communication guideline is to challenge the inner negativity that is associated with this work. Otherwise, it will block any real progress that needs to be made.

Responsibility for own learning.

It is important not to lean on others to do this work for you. If you find yourself questioning a definition, experience or way of thinking, do some research on your own or ask a question to clarify and gain understanding.

Self-Focus.

Speak from the “I,” or speak using “I” statements.

Confidentiality.

What is shared in this space is to remain confidential, unless granted permission from the participant(s) who have shared their personal stories.

Both/And thinking.

Oftentimes in our society, things are considered to be “either/or,” meaning two things can’t be present concurrently. “Both/And” thinking challenges us to consider that two things (i.e. experiences, truths, ways of thinking, etc.) can happen concurrently. It also challenges us to remove the word, “but,” from our speech. Example: “I love you, but not when you chew with

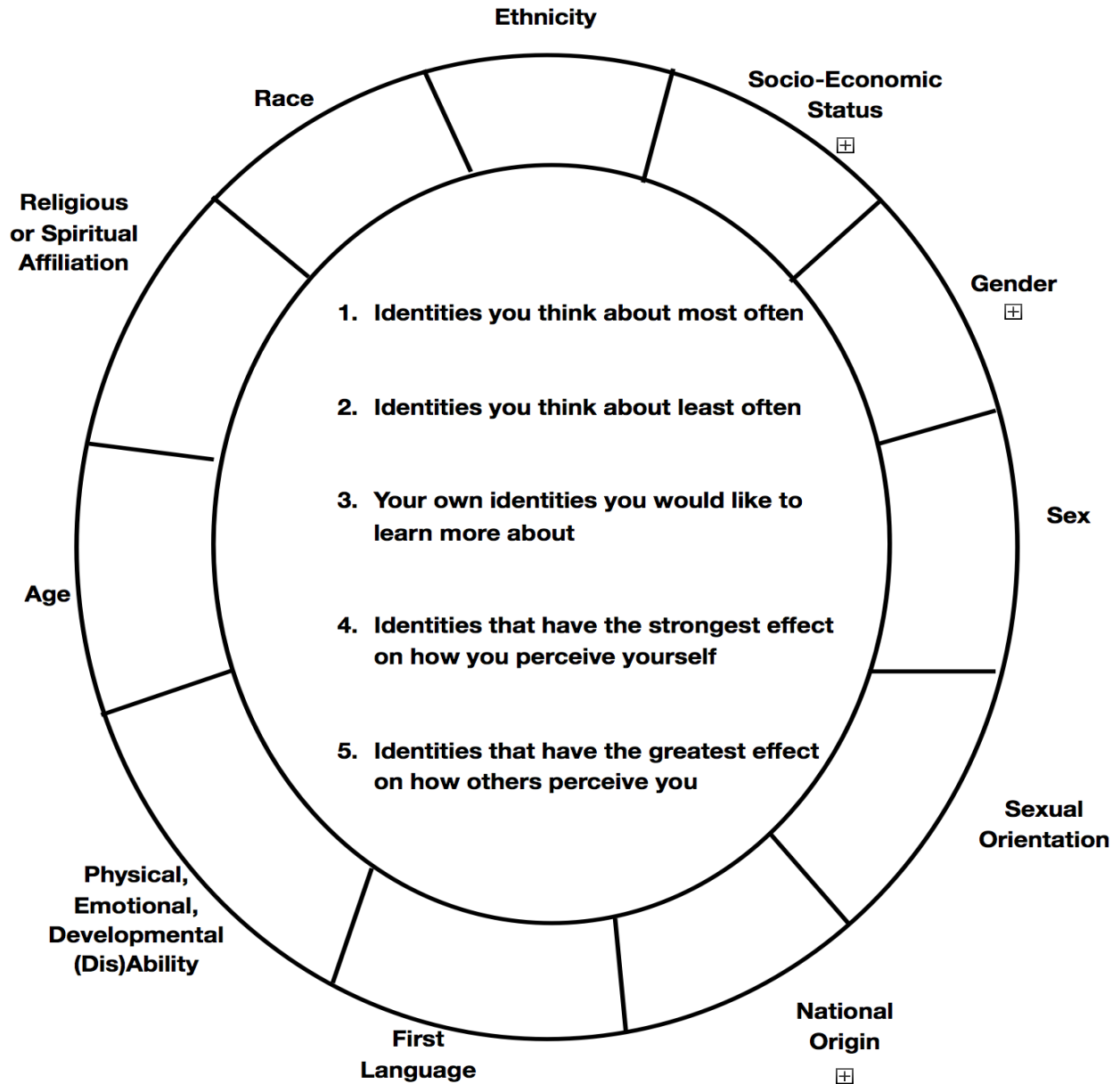
your mouth open.” This statement, because of the word, “but,” shows that I do not, in fact, love you, and it is because of the fact that you chew with your mouth open. Try instead: “I love you, and I dislike when you chew with your mouth open.”

Awareness of intent and impact.

It is important to have the awareness that typically, as human beings, we judge ourselves based on our intent, and we judge others based on their impact. Internally, we may feel that our intent is good, therefore, our statement is also good. It is important for us to be open to the feedback that although our intent was good, the impact of our words was not good. It is also important for us to hold each other accountable by sharing when the impact of another’s words was negative.

Social Identity Wheel

Name: _____



Adapted for use from LSA Inclusive Teaching Initiative, University of Michigan (<http://sites.lsa.umich.edu/inclusive-teaching/>).

Appendix B

Session Two - Defining Race, Racism, and White Supremacy in the context of Predominantly White Higher Education	
Facilitator(s)	One faculty member, one staff member
Learning Outcomes	<p>After participating in this session, faculty members will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● be able to define race, racism, and White supremacy ● be able to define the term predominantly White institution (PWI) ● understand the history of racism and White supremacy in higher education ● identify examples of racism, White supremacy, and Whiteness on our campus
Purpose	<p>This session is designed for participants to learn about and understand key terms when discussing the state of higher education in regard to race, racism and White supremacy. In order to successfully do this, research states that White people must first understand the history of the experiences of people of marginalized groups (in this case, non-White people). Utt & Tochluk (2016) discuss the importance of White people learning the history of Whiteness so that they understand how it developed and how it continues to be influential in their own lives and within society.</p>
Allocated time	90 minutes
Materials needed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Projector ● PowerPoint ● Group Communication Guidelines (posted as a reminder) ● Copies of readings
Setup	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Set up PowerPoint & computer ○ Post Group Communication Guidelines on wall
Session Outline/Details	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Intro/Reflection Question (10 mins) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Question of the day: In what ways have you thought about race differently over the last week? OR In what ways have you noticed your own privilege in regard to race over the last week?</i> ○ Introduction question serves as a space for participants to begin thinking about the topic of the day and to begin workshop engagement ○ Participants will take 3 minutes to write down their own answer to the reflection question ○ Participants will then take 3 minutes to share with a partner <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ While participants are sharing with a partner, facilitators will walk around and engage in discussion/check in with participants ○ Facilitators will invite faculty members to share their reflections in the large group <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Facilitators will guide discussion and affirm participants' engagement and experiences ▪ Facilitators will address any important or significant political or world events that have taken place during the last week during this time, if applicable, in order to use current news as a learning tool. ▪ This will be helpful in the identity development of White faculty because it will show them that there are events that take place in the world that are related to race every day and it is important to acknowledge those events

- **Defining Race, Racism, and PWI (30 minutes)**
 - Facilitators will break the large group into three small working groups. Each group will discuss an assigned reading. Facilitators will assign each group one of the readings in the following way:
 - Group one: Omi & Winant
 - Group two: Tatum
 - Group three: Bourke
 - Throughout their group discussions, each group is responsible for defining the following term in relation to their reading. Additional terms that they feel are applicable from their reading can be listed and shared with the workshop
 - Group one: Race
 - Group Two: Racism
 - Group Three: Predominantly White Institution
 - Each group will come up with examples of each relating to the following places:
 - Education (higher education, K-12, our campus, their classrooms)
 - Our local community
 - The United States
 - Groups will share their reading, definitions, and key examples in a presentation format for the entire workshop group
 - Facilitators will walk around to each group and engage in discussion
 - Facilitators will support large group discussion and presentations by asking questions for clarification or to better understanding, and by providing their own examples where applicable
 - The purpose of this activity is to set a foundation of working definitions for the group moving forward based off of key texts. This work will set the stage for future analysis of the experiences of people of color within higher education in the United States and will ultimately support faculty members in understanding and engaging with the topic of race in the classroom
- **5-minute break**
- **Race, Racism, and White Supremacy in higher education (45 mins)**
 - Facilitators will briefly introduce Critical Race Theory in Education (15 mins)
 - *Critical Race Theory (CRT) in education is rooted in the analysis of how the system of education in the United States is rooted in racism. It addresses and challenges the way in which people of color experience the system of education in the United States. CRT in education operates upon the foundation that (1) racism is endemic and every day, (2) Whiteness is a form of property, (3) addressing racism is only of importance when it benefits the interests and success of White people, (4) there is validity, importance, and knowledge rooted in the experiences of people of color; these are called counterstories and (5) intersectionality: the*

understanding that our experiences are not limited to one identity, but rather that all identities are at play (and sometimes layered in complex ways) in every space we enter and occupy. We touched on intersectionality a little bit during session one during the social identity wheel activity

- Facilitators will break group into small groups/pairs to review sections of the reading and pull out key pieces of information to be shared with the workshop in presentation form (along with any questions that they may have from the reading)
 - Each group will read the following sections of the reading:
 - Group 1: History, who is educating, whose stories are centered, who is invited?
 - Group 2: Intellectual/physical Property (Whiteness as property)
 - Group 3: Institutions, diversity and moving forward?
 - Facilitators will allot 15 minutes for groups to discuss their session and create a mini presentation to share with the large workshop group
 - Facilitators will transition the workshop back to the large group for discussion. Facilitators will allot 3 minutes for each group to present.
 - Facilitators will engage in discussion by asking clarifying questions and encouraging participants to reflect on how this information applies to our college community
- **Closing and Reflection on your Racial Reality: Assignment (5 minutes)**
- Facilitators will introduce the assignment and discuss purpose and expectations
 - *As mentioned during our first meeting, there will be one official assignment for you all to complete throughout your time in this workshop.*
 - Facilitators will ask participants to pull out their syllabus for the workshop or will provide copies of the Racial Reality assignment for each participant
 - Facilitator will discuss the assignment with the group, explaining that the purpose of the assignment is for participants to reflect deeply on their own racial selves, how they've come to their beliefs and understandings about race, and why.
 - Facilitators will answer any questions faculty may have about the assignment
 - *Thank you for your great work today! Next week, we will have the following readings due for discussion: [Liebow & Glazer \(2019\)](#), Aanerud (2015) [Humility & Whiteness](#), Saad (2018) "White Fragility"*

CHAPTER 4

The Theory of Racial Formation

Race is a way of "making up people."¹¹ The very act of defining racial groups is a process fraught with confusion, contradiction, and unintended consequences. Concepts of race prove to be unreliable as supposed boundaries shift, slippages occur, realignments become evident, and new collectivities emerge. State-imposed classifications of race, for example, face continuing challenges by individuals and groups who seek to assert distinctive racial categories and identities. Historical shifts in scientific knowledge, in fields ranging from physical anthropology to the genomic sciences, fuel continuing debates about what race may or may not mean as an indicator of human variation. While such debates and reformulations regarding the concept of race initially occur in specific institutional arenas, public spaces, or academic fields, their consequences are often dramatic and reverberate broadly throughout society.

Race-making can also be understood as a process of "othering." Defining groups of people as "other" is obviously not restricted to distinctions based on race. Gender, class, sexuality, religion, culture, language, nationality, and age, among other perceived distinctions, are frequently evoked to justify structures of inequality, differential treatment, subordinate status, and in some cases violent conflict and war. Classifying people as other, and making use of various perceived attributes in order to do so, is a universal phenomenon that also classifies (and works to amalgamate and homogenize) those who do the classifying (Blumer 1958). "Making up people" is both basic and ubiquitous. As social beings, we must categorize people so as to be able to "navigate" in the world—to discern quickly who may be friend or foe, to position and situate ourselves within prevailing social hierarchies, and to provide clues that guide our social interactions with the individuals and groups we encounter.

But while the act of categorizing people and assigning different attributes to such categories may be universal, the categories themselves are subject to enormous variation over historical time and space. The definitions, meanings, and overall coherence of prevailing social categories are always subject to multiple interpretations. No social category rises to the level of being understood as a fixed, objective, social fact.

One might imagine, for example, that the category of a person's "age" (as measured in years) is an objective social category. But even this familiar concept's meaning varies across time and space. In many societies where the elderly are venerated and highly valued as leaders and living repositories of wisdom, individuals tend to overstate their age in years. By contrast, people in the youth-oriented United States tend to understate how old they are. Processes of classification, including self-classification, are

reflective of specific social structures, cultural meanings and practices, and of broader power relations as well.

The definitions of specific categories are framed and contested from "above" and "below." The social identities of marginalized and subordinate groups, for example, are both imposed from above by dominant social groups and/or state institutions, and constituted from below by these groups themselves as expressions of self-identification and resistance to dominant forms of categorization. In any given historical moment, one can understand a social category's prevailing meaning, but such understandings can also be erroneous or transitory. They are often no more than the unstable and tentative result of the dynamic engagement between "elite" and "street" definitions and meanings.

Race as a Master Category

It is now widely accepted in most scholarly fields that race is a *social construction*. Simply stating that race is socially constructed, however, begs a number of important questions. How is race constructed? How and why do racial definitions and meanings change over time and place? And perhaps most important, what role does race play within the broader social systems in which it is embedded?

With respect to this last question, we advance what may seem an audacious claim. We assert that in the United States, *race is a master category*—a fundamental concept that has profoundly shaped, and continues to shape, the history, polity, economic structure, and culture of the United States. Obviously, some clarification is in order. We are not suggesting that race is a transcendent category—something that stands above or apart from class, gender, or other axes of inequality and difference. The literature on intersectionality has clearly demonstrated the mutual determination and co-constitution of the categories of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation. It is not possible to understand the (il)logic of any form of social stratification, any practice of cultural marginalization, or any type of inequality or human variation, without appreciating the deep, complex, conmingling, interpenetration of race, class, gender, and sexuality. In the cauldron of social life, these categories come together; they are profoundly transformed in the process.²

We hold these truths of intersectional analysis to be self-evident. But we also believe that race has played a unique role in the formation and historical development of the United States. Since the historical encounter of the hemispheres and the onset of transatlantic enslavement were the fundamental acts of race-making, since they launched a global and world-historical process of "making up people" that constituted the modern world, race has become the *template* of both difference and inequality. This is a world-historical claim, but here we develop it only in the context of the United States.

We suggest that the establishment and reproduction of different regimes of domination, inequality, and difference in the United States have consciously drawn

upon concepts of difference, hierarchy, and marginalization based on race. The genocidal policies and practices directed towards indigenous peoples in the conquest and settlement of the "new world," and towards African peoples in the organization of racial slavery, combined to form a template, a master frame, that has perniciously shaped the treatment and experiences of other subordinated groups as well. This template includes not only the technologies (economic, political, cultural) of exploitation, domination, and dehumanization; it also includes the technologies of resistance: self-activity (James et al., 1958); "hibridizaci3n/guaraní," "sisterhood, and abolition democracy (Du Bois 2007 [1935]).

Consider the questions of class and gender. Historically in the United States, race has provided a master category for understanding the definition of class and the patterns of class consciousness, mobilization, and organization. Class stratification in the United States has been profoundly affected by race and racism, and the reproduction of class inequalities is inextricably linked to the maintenance of white supremacy. Race has shaped the meaning of such concepts as work and worker, labor and employment, master and servant, supervisor and subordinate (Roediger 2007 [1991]). Race is a fundamental organizing principle of social stratification. It has influenced the definition of rights and privileges, the distribution of resources, and the ideologies and practices of subordination and oppression. The concept of race as a marker of difference has permeated all forms of social relations. It is a template for the processes of marginalization that continue to shape social structures as well as collective and individual psyches. Drawing upon social psychology and mind science research that explores mechanisms of "othering," John A. Powell and Stephen Menéndez assert: "Without being identical, most of the forms of marginalization and stratification in society share a common set of heuristics and structures, which is patterned on race" (Powell and Menéndez n.d.).

From conquest and slavery on, racial parallels and racial "crossings" have shaped gender relations. Women and slaves were at best lower-status humans, at worst not human at all. They were both subject to chattelization. Their labor was coerced and unremunerated; they were physically brutalized. Although there were, of course, very distinct and widely varied experiences of subordination among different classes of women and of blacks, the objectification of both groups was near-total. Repression of women's autonomy, intellect, and bodily integrity was obsessive and often violent (Beauvoir 1989; Federici 2004). Blacks, Indians, and women were afforded very little recognition: Their entry into the public sphere, corporeal integrity, and intellectual capacity was strenuously denied. In political and legal theory, the sexual contract and the racial contract have been extensively compared (Goldman 1911; Rubin 1975; Pateman 1988; Mills 1999).

The corporeal distinction between white men and the others over whom they ruled as patriarchs and masters, then, links race to gender, and people of color to women. Whether they were defined by their racial status (as enslaved or "free," black, Indian, *mestizo*), or by the patriarchal family (as daughters, wives, mothers), they

were corporately stigmatized, permanently rendered as "other than," and the possessions of, the white men who ruled. As in the case of class distinctions, evolving gender distinctions coincided in important ways with racial ones. In part, this too was corporal. Perhaps at the core of intersectionality practice, as well as theory, is the "mixed-race" category. Well, how does it come about that people can be "mixed"? What does the presence of mixed people mean for both white and male supremacy?

In short, the master category of race profoundly shaped gender oppression. It is fascinating that this pattern of combined political influence and political tension, which was established in the antebellum intersection between abolitionism and early feminism and reproduced during the struggle for women's suffrage and against Jim Crow at the turn of the 20th century, was then reiterated again in the post-World War II years in "intersectional" alliance and conflict between the civil rights movement and "second-wave" feminism. To be sure, there were many "intersections" between the two patterns described here. The tense and ultimately ruptured relationship between "first-wave" feminism and the black freedom movement around the turn of the 20th century is perhaps the best-known example: The (white) women's suffrage movement broke with its former black allies, abandoning black women (and black men too) in the process, as the Jim Crow system was institutionalized in the United States. Southern states' ratification of the 19th Amendment was conditional on their continued denial of black voting rights. Such black women activists as Ida B. Wells, Mary Church Terrell, and Anna Julia Cooper, as well as many lesser-known figures, fiercely denounced this as a betrayal. Of course, it reflected the pervasive white racism of the epoch (see Crenshaw 1991; Cooper 1998; Collins 2008 [1999]; Davis 2011 [1983]).

While race is a template for the subordination and oppression of different social groups, we emphasize that it is also a template for resistance to many forms of marginalization and domination. The new social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, for example—the women's movement, the student movement, the anti-war movement, the gay liberation movement—were inspired by and consciously drew upon the black movement's theoretical insights, strategies, and tactics to organize their specific constituencies, make political demands, and challenge existing practices of exclusion and subordination. These movement challenges underscore the dual-edged and dynamic qualities that inhere in the social category of race. These qualities are, once again, economic, political, and cultural technologies. They involve asserting previously stigmatized identities, "losing" previously "serialized" groups (Surre 2004), creating "commons" where resources can be shared. "Making up people" racially, then, has been "portable" across U.S. history. It has spread from one oppressed group to another and proved transferable to other marginalized identities, social cleavages, and political struggles.

Before we can consider and fully evaluate the notion of race as a master category of social organization in the United States, we need to think about how race itself is defined, what meanings are attached to it, and how it is deployed to create,

reproduce, or challenge racist structures. The process of race making, and its reverberations throughout the social order, is what we call *racial formation*. We define racial formation as the sociobiological process by which racial identities are created, lived out, transformed, and destroyed.

Our presentation of racial formation theory proceeds in several steps. First, we provide a concept of *racialization* to emphasize how the phenomic, the corporeal dimension of human bodies, acquires meaning in social life. How are corporeal differences among humans apprehended and given meaning? Next, we advance the concept of *racial projects* to capture the simultaneous and co-constitutive ways that racial meanings are translated into social structures and become racially signified. Then, we discuss the problem of *racism* in an attempt to specify under what conditions a racial project can be defined as racist. Finally, we discuss *racial politics*, the way society is racially organized and ruled. Here, we consider *racial capitalism*, *racial democracy*, and *racial hegemony* as frameworks for racial rule and racial resistance. We suggest that in the early 21st century the hegemonic concept of race in U.S. society is that of "culturalblindness."¹⁰ The ideological hegemony of colorblindness, however, is extremely contradictory and shallow. It confronts widespread resistance and falls short of achieving the political stability that hegemonic projects are supposed to deliver. This chapter ends there; the post-World War II political trajectory of race is treated in detail in the chapters that follow.

Racialization

Race is often seen as a social category that is either objective or illusory. When viewed as an objective matter, race is usually understood as rooted in biological differences, ranging from such familiar phenomic markers as skin color, hair texture, or eye shape, to more obscure human variations occurring at the genetic or genomic levels. When viewed as an illusion, race is usually understood as an ideological construct, something that masks a more fundamental material distinction or axis of identity: our three paradigms of ethnicity, class, and nation (typify such approaches). That race is often treated as a metonym or epiphonemata of culture (in the ethnicity paradigm), inequality and stratification (in the class paradigm), or primordialist peoplehood (in the nation paradigm).

On the "objective" side, race is often regarded as an *excess*, as something fixed and concrete. The three main racial classifications of humans once posed (and now largely rejected) by physical anthropology—Negroid, Caucasoid, and Mongoloid—are examples of such an essentialist perspective. Another example is "mixed-race" identity. To consider an individual or group as "multiracial" or mixed race presupposes the existence of clear, discernible, and discrete races that have subsequently been combined to create a hybrid, or perhaps mongered, identity. Here race is functioning as a metonym for "species," although that connection is generally not admitted in the present day.

While race is still popularly understood as essence, it has also been viewed as a mere *illusion*, especially in more recent accounts. As a purely ideological construct, race is considered to be unreal, a product of "false consciousness." As we have seen in our discussion of class paradigms of race, both orthodox (neoclassical) economists and orthodox Marxian viewed race this way. For the former, it was an irrational distraction from pure, market-based considerations of value in exchange; for the latter it was an ideological tool that capitalists (or sometimes privileged white workers) deployed to prevent the emergence of a unified working-class movement. In the current period, colorblind ideology—expressed, for example, in affirmative action debates—argues that any form of racial classification is itself inherently racist since race is not "real."

We are critical of both positions: race as essence and race as illusion. Race is not something rooted in nature, something that reflects clear and discrete variations in human identity. But race is also not an illusion. While it may not be "real" in a biological sense, race is indeed real as a social category with definite social consequences. The family, as a social concept, provides an intriguing analogy to grasp the "reality" of race:

We know that families take many forms . . . Some family categories correspond to biological categories; others do not. Moreover, boundaries of family membership vary, depending on individual and institutional factors. Yet regardless of whether families correspond to biological definitions, social scientists study families and use membership in family categories in their study of other phenomena, such as well-being. Similarly, racial statuses, although not representing biological differences, are of sociological interest in their form, their changes, and their consequences.

(American Sociological Association 2003, 5)

We cannot dismiss race as a legitimate category of social analysis by simply stating that race is not real. With respect to race, the Thomases's sociological dictum is still in force: "It is not important whether or not the interpretation is correct—if men [sic] define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Thomas and Thomas 1928, pp. 571–572).

One of our aims here is to disrupt and reorganize the rigid and antinomistic framework of essence-versus-illusion in which race is theorized and debated. We understand race as an unstable and "decentered" complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle. With this in mind, we advance the following definition: *Race is a concept that signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies.* Although the concept of race invokes seemingly biologically based human characteristics (so-called phenotypes), selection of these particular human features for purposes of racial signification is always and necessarily a social and historical process. Indeed, the categories employed to differentiate among human beings along racial lines reveal themselves,

upon serious examination, to be at best imprecise, and at worst completely arbitrary. They may be arbitrary, but they are not meaningless. Race is strategic; race does ideological and political work.

Despite the problematic nature of racial categorization, it should be apparent that there is a crucial and non-reducible *visual dimension* to the definition and understanding of racial categories. Bodies are visually read and narrated in ways that draw upon an ensemble of symbolic meanings and associations. Corporal distinctions are common; they become essentialized. Perceived differences in skin color, physical build, hair texture, the structure of cheek bones, the shape of the nose, or the presence/absence of an epicanthic fold are understood as the manifestations of more profound differences that are situated *within* racially identified persons: differences in such qualities as intelligence, athletic ability, temperament, and sexuality, among other traits.

Through a complex process of selection, human physical characteristics ("real" or imagined) become the basis to justify or reinforce social differentiation. Conscious or unconscious, deeply ingrained or reinvented, the making of race, the "adhering" of social groups by means of the invocation of physical distinctions, is a key component of modern societies. "Making up people," once again. This process of selection, of imparting social and symbolic meaning to perceived phenotypical differences, is the core, constitutive element of what we term "racialization."

We define racialization as the extension of racial meaning to a previously *nonvisually* relationship, social practice, or group. Racialization occurs in large-scale and small-scale ways, macro- and micro-socially. In large-scale, even world-historical settings, racialization can be observed in the foundation and consolidation of the modern world-system: The conquest and settlement of the western hemisphere, the development of African slavery, and the rise of abolitionism, all involved profuse and profound extension of racial meanings into new social terrain. In smaller-scale settings as well, "making up people" or racial interpellation (a concept drawn from Althusser 2003 [1971]) also operates as a quotidian form of racialization: Racial profiling for example, may be understood as a form of racialization. Racial categories, and the meanings attached to them, are often constructed from pre-existing conceptual or discursive elements that have crystallized through the genealogies of competing religious, scientific, and political ideologies and projects. These are so to speak the raw materials of racialization.

To summarize thus far: Race is a concept, a representation or signification of identity that refers to different types of human bodies, to the perceived corporal and phenotypic markers of difference and the meanings and social practices that are ascribed to these differences.

It is important to emphasize that once specific concepts of race are widely circulated and accepted as a social reality, racial difference is not dependent on visual observation alone. Legal scholar Osgie Obasogie makes the intriguing point that iterative social practices give rise to "visual" understandings of race, even among

those who cannot see. The respondents in his study, blind since birth, "see" race through interpersonal and institutional socializations and practices that shape their perceptions of what race is (Ohasogie 2013). Thus race is neither self-evident nor obvious as an ocular phenomenon. Instead racialization depends on meanings and associations that permit phenotypic distinction among human bodies.

Some may argue that if the concept of race is so nebulous, so indeterminate, so flexible, and so susceptible to strategic manipulation by a range of political projects, why don't we simply dispense with it? Can we not get "beyond" race? Can we not see it as an illusory thing? Don't we see how much mischief has occurred in its name? These questions have been posed with tremendous frequency in both popular and academic discourse.⁴ An affirmative answer would of course present obvious practical difficulties: It is rather difficult to jettison widely held beliefs, beliefs which moreover are central to everyone's identity and understanding of the social world. So the attempt to banish the concept as an archaism is at best counterintuitive. But a deeper difficulty, we believe, is inherent in the very formulation of this schema, in its way of posing race as a *problem*, a misconception left over from the past, a concept no longer relevant to a "post-racial" society.

A more effective starting point is the recognition that despite its uncertainties and contradictions, the concept of race continues to play a fundamental role in structuring and representing the social world. The task for theory is to capture this situation and avoid both the utopian framework that sees race as an illusion we can somehow "get beyond," as well as the essentialist formulation that sees race as something objective and fixed, a biological given. We should think of race as an element of social structure rather than as an irregularity within it; we should see race as a dimension of human representation rather than an illusion. Such a perspective informs what we mean by racial formation.

Since racial formation is always historically situated, understandings of the meaning of race, and of the way race structures society, have changed enormously over time. We now turn to a historical survey of the race concept and the domains in which it has been defined and debated, consolidated and contested. Our effort here is to outline a genealogy of racialization that proceeds from religion to science to politics. Such a trajectory is by no means linear or progressive; rather it consists of the accretion of racialized experiences that are uneven and often incompatible. But it does allow us roughly to map and situate the development of the race concept, and to underscore its still unstable and ambiguous character.

The Evolution of Race Consciousness

How do perceived differences between groups of people become racialized? The identification of distinctive human groups, and their association with differences in physical appearance, goes back to prehistory, and can be found in the earliest documents—in the Bible, for example, or in Herodotus. But the emergence of a

modern conception of race does not occur until the rise of Europe and the arrival of Europeans in the Americas. Even the hostility and suspicion with which Christian Europe viewed its two significant non-Christian "others"—the Muslims and the Jews—cannot be understood as more than a rehearsal for racial formation, since these antagonisms, for all their bloodletting and chauvinism, were always and everywhere religiously interpreted.⁵

It was only when European explorers reached the Western Hemisphere, when the oceanic seal separating the "old" and the "new" worlds was breached, that the distinctions and categorizations fundamental to a racialized social structure, and to a discourse of race, began to appear. The European explorers were the advance guard of merchant capitalism, which sought new openings for trade. What they found exceeded their wildest dreams, for never before and never again in human history has an opportunity for the appropriation of wealth, for predation or "primitive accumulation" remotely approached that presented by the "discovery."⁶ Modern capitalism could not have come into being without this grand infusion of stolen wealth: a seemingly limitless reservoir of treasure—land, labor, lives by the millions—to do with as one willed.

But the Europeans also "discovered" people, people who looked and acted differently. These "natives" challenged their discoverers' preexisting conceptions of the origins and possibilities of the human species (Jordan 2012 [1968], 3–43). The representation and interpretation of the meaning of the indigenous peoples' existence became a crucial matter, one that would affect not only the outcome of conquest but the future of empire and thus the development of the modern world. For the "discovery" raised disturbing questions as to whether *all* could be considered part of the same "family of man," and more practically, the extent to which native peoples could be exploited and enslaved. Thus "discovery," conquest, and soon enough, enslavement, launched not only the headlong rush toward modernity, but also debates over human nature, philosophical anthropology. Such questions as: "What is a human being?" and "What is the nature of human difference?" were posed repeatedly as rulers and their advisers sought to organize and exercise control over their new dominions and new subjects.⁷

In practice, of course, the seizure of territories and goods, the introduction of slavery through the *encomienda* and other forms of coerced native labor, and then through the organization of the African slave trade—not to mention the practice of outright extermination—all presupposed a worldview which distinguished Europeans, as children of God and fully fledged human beings, from "others." Given the dimensions and the ineluctability of the European onslaught, given the conquerors' determination to appropriate labor, land, and goods, and given the presence of an axiomatic and unquestioned Christianity among them, the ferocious division of society into Europeans and "others" soon coalesced. This was true despite the famous 16th-century theological and philosophical debates about the identity of indigenous peoples.⁸ In fact it ran right over whatever cautionary notes religious ethicists like las Casas, or

later Antonio Vieira (Blackburn 1997; Cohen 1998), William Wilberforce, or Henry Ward Beecher might have sounded.

Indeed, debates about the nature of the "others" reached their practical limits with a certain dispatch. Plainly, they would never touch the essential: Nothing, after all, would induce the Europeans to pack up and go home. The "discovery" signalled a break from the previous proto-racial awareness by which Europe had contemplated its "others" in a relatively disorganized fashion. The "conquest of America" was not simply an epochal historical event—however unparalleled in importance. It was also the advent of a consolidated social structure of exploitation, appropriation, domination, and signification. Its representation, first in religious terms, but later in scientific and political ones, initiated modern racial awareness. It was the inauguration of racialization on a world-biological scale.

The conquest, therefore, was the first—and given the dramatic nature of the case, perhaps the greatest—racial formation project. Together with African slavery it produced the master category of race, the racial template we have discussed. Its significance was by no means limited to the Western Hemisphere, for it also began the work of constituting Europe as the metropole, the center, of a series of empires which could take, as Marx would later write, "the globe for a theater" (Marx 1967, 731). This new imperial structure was represented as a struggle between civilization and barbarism, and implicated in this representation all the great European philosophies, literary traditions, and social theories of the modern age (Said 1993).

The immediacy of this historical act, the *longue durée* of racial formation from religion to science to politics, also underlies our claim that race provided a master concept for our understanding of oppression and resistance. But it is worth noting that right from the beginning of this historical journey, something like the social construction of race was *already* present. Before the white talking heads had debated the philosophical anthropology of Native Americans, or Africans, we'll believe that in fact, *the immediate need to classify and categorize, to "make up people," and already surfaced*. Who was a European, a settler, a free man, and who was an *Indian*, an African, a slave? As a practical matter, something relatively devoid of theology or philosophy, the exercise of power required those distinctions. The main criteria available for this purpose were phenomic: the visual appearance of the bodies that had to be judged, sometimes under great pressure and with speed—for violence was omnipresent—as like or unlike, similar or different. This social (or more properly, this power-oriental, political) construction, this phenomic categorical imperative, would soon enough be reprocessed in the discourse available at the time: primarily and for a long time to come, theological discourse.

Only in later epochs would other ways of knowing supplant theological understandings: First scientific, and later, political accounts of race would be offered. Still the earlier religious and scientific frameworks, though losing influence, would never be fully eliminated, never really die. Thus do we arrive at our own time, our own knowledge of race, our own insistence on the social construction of race, with its

unstable combination of conposed and performative elements, its inherent bisociality. We are still on this journey. We should be clear-sighted enough to recognize that these components, most centrally the political technology of the body, were there from the beginning. In short, just as the noise of the "big bang" still resonates through the universe, so the overdetermined construction of world "civilization" as a bisocial manifestation of European subjugation and the resistance of the rest of us still defines the race concept in the present.

From Religion to Science

After the initial depredations of conquest, religious justifications for racial difference gradually gave way to scientific ones. By the time of the Enlightenment, a general awareness of race was pervasive, and most of the great philosophers of Europe, such as Hegel, Kant, Voltaire, and Locke, were issuing virulently racist opinions (Couri, ed. 1950; Eze, ed. 1997; Bernasconi and Lott, eds. 2000).

The problem posed by race during the late 18th century was markedly different than it had been in the earlier stages of conquest and enslavement. The social structures through which race operated were no longer primarily those of violent subjugation and plunder, nor of the establishment of thin beachheads of settlement on the edge of what had once seemed a limitless wilderness. Now the issues were much more complicated: nation-building, establishment of national economies in the world trading system, resistance to the arbitrary authority of monarchs, and the assertion of the "natural rights" of "man," including the right of revolution (Davis 1999 [1975]). In such a situation, racially organized exploitation in the form of slavery, the exploitation of colonies, and the continuing expulsion of native peoples, was both necessary and newly difficult to justify.

Early Hierarchies of Scientific Racism: The invocation of scientific criteria to demarcate the "natural" basis of racial hierarchy was both a logical consequence of the rise of this form of knowledge, and an attempt to provide a more subtle and nuanced account of human complexity in the new, "enlightened" age. Spurred on by the classificatory scheme of living organisms devised by Linnaeus in *Systema Naturae* (1735), many scholars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries dedicated themselves to the identification and ranking of variations in humankind. Race was conceived as a *biological* concept, a matter of species. Voltaire wrote that "The negro race is a species of man [sic] as different from ours . . . as the breed of spaniels is from that of greyhounds," and in a formulation echoing down from his century to our own, declared that

If their understanding is not of a different nature from ours . . . it is at least greatly inferior. They are not capable of any great application or association of ideas, and seem formed neither for the advantages nor the abuses of philosophy.

(Voltaire, in Gossett 1997 [1963], 45)

I began this Introduction with an image of a person standing on the water's edge. I would like to end it with a different image. Several months ago I made a donation to the annual fund of City Year, a national service organization that gives young people the opportunity to spend a year doing service projects in cities across the United States—a kind of urban Peace Corps. As a token of appreciation, I received a mug with a story printed on its side. It read:

A young girl was walking along a beach. To her amazement, she came upon thousands of starfish. Washed ashore by a storm, they were dying in the hot sun. The girl began to toss starfish back into the sea, one by one. After a while, a man approached her. "Little girl," he asked, "why are you doing this? There are thousands of starfish on the beach. You cannot possibly hope to make a difference!" The girl was discouraged, and dropped the starfish in her hand. But a moment later, she bent down, picked up the starfish again, and tossed it as far as she could into the sea. She turned back to the man. Smiling brightly, she said, "I made a difference to that one!" Inspired, he joined her. A crowd had gathered, and soon others joined in. Before long, there were hundreds of people tossing starfish back into the sea and calling out, "I made a difference to that one!" After a while, their calls subsided. The girl looked up. To her amazement, she saw no starfish on the beach. Each one had been tossed back into the sea.

As this story so beautifully illustrates, each of us has the power to make a difference, and collectively we can create a more just and peaceful society. We can lead by our own example and begin to erase the effects of racism in our communities if that is what we choose to do. I am grateful to hear that so many of my readers are making that choice.

To the new readers of the paperback edition, I hope you too will find in these pages the information and the inspiration you need to join the effort.

Introduction

A Psychologist's Perspective

As a clinical psychologist with a research interest in Black children's racial identity development, I began teaching about racism many years ago when I was asked by the chair of the Black studies department of the large public university where I was a lecturer to teach a course called "Group Exploration of Racism." None of my colleagues, all of whom had been trained in the traditional lecture style of college teaching, wanted to teach the course, which emphasized group interaction and self-revelation. But as a clinical psychologist trained to facilitate emotionally difficult group discussions, I was intrigued by the experiential emphasis implied by the course title, and I took on the challenge.

Aided by a folder full of handouts and course descriptions left behind by the previous instructor, a copy of *White Awareness: Handbook for Anti-Racism Training*,¹ and my own clinical skills as a group facilitator, I constructed a course that seemed to meet the goals outlined in the course catalog. Designed "to provide students with an understanding of the psychological causes and emotional reality of racism as it appears in everyday life," the course incorporated the use of lectures, readings, simulation exercises, group research projects, and extensive class discussion to help students explore the psychological impact of racism on both Whites and people of color.

Though my first efforts were tentative, the results were powerful. The students in my class, most of whom were White, repeatedly described the course in their evaluations as one of the most valuable educational experiences of their college careers. I was convinced that helping students understand the ways in which racism operates in their own lives and what they could do about it was a true calling that I should accept. The freedom to institute the course in the curriculum of the psychology departments in which I would eventually teach became a personal condition of employment. Since 1980, I have taught this course, now called "The Psychology of Racism," to hundreds of students at three different institutions—a large public university, a small coeducational state college, and an elite private college for women.² I have also developed a similar course especially for elementary and secondary school teachers and administrators that hundreds of educators have now taken.³ These experiences, along with the countless parent education workshops I have led and my ongoing research about the experiences of Black adolescents in predominantly White settings, have taught me a lot about the significance of racial identity in the lives of children as well as adults. In fact, my deepening understanding of racial identity development theory has greatly informed my thinking about how best to teach these courses and lead these workshops.

After about ten years of teaching, I decided to share some of what I had learned in an article, "Talking About Race, Learning About Racism: An Application of Racial Identity Development Theory in the Classroom."⁴ Published in the Spring 1992 edition of the *Harvard Educational Review*, the article has been read widely by my academic colleagues in the field of education, many of whom tell me that reading about the theoretical framework of racial identity development triggered an "aha" moment for them. Suddenly the racial dynamics in their classrooms and within their own campus communities made sense in a way that they hadn't before. Those who were parents of adolescents of color suddenly had a new lens with which to see the sometimes sudden shifts in their children's behavior both at home and

at school. Cross-racial interactions with colleagues took on new meaning, just as it had for me, an understanding of racial identity development gave them new ways of thinking about old problems and offered them new strategies for facilitating productive dialogue about racial issues.

What concerns me is how little most people outside my particular specialty know about racial identity development. Even those who have studied child psychology are often uninformed about the role of racial or ethnic identity in young people's development. Perhaps given the historical emphasis on the experiences of White, middle-class children in psychological research, this fact should not be surprising. Most introductory psychology or developmental psychology textbooks include very little mention, if any, of racial or ethnic identity development. Because racial identity is not seen as salient for White adolescents, it is usually not included in the texts.

One consequence of this omission that should concern all of us is that educators all across the country, most of whom are White, are teaching in racially mixed classrooms, daily observing identity development in process, and are without an important interpretive framework to help them understand what is happening in their interactions with students, or even in their cross-racial interactions with colleagues. Although educators are hungry for this information, too often it has not been made accessible to them, instead confined to scholarly journals and academic volumes.

And if my colleagues in education know little about racial identity development theory, the general public knows even less. Yet whenever I talk about this concept in workshops and public lectures, the response is always the same: "This is so helpful. Now I have a better understanding of those interactions, now I see why talking about racism is so hard, now I know what I can do to make it easier."

Kurt Lewin, a famous social psychologist, once said, "There is nothing so practical as a good theory." A theoretical framework that helps us make sense of what we observe in our daily lives is a very valuable resource. What I hope to provide with this book is a helpful

understanding of racial identity development from the perspective of a psychologist who has been applying the theory in her teaching, research, and clinical and consulting practice for almost twenty years.

It is a perspective we need now more than ever. Daily news reports tell us of the rising racial tensions in the United States. As our nation becomes more diverse, we need to be able to communicate across racial and ethnic lines, but we seem increasingly less able to do so. New tools are needed. While the insights of sociologists, economists, political scientists, historians, and other social commentators have much to offer, a psychological understanding of cross-racial interactions has been noticeably absent from the public discourse. In the absence of such an understanding, many questions important to our daily lives go unanswered.

I am often asked by parents and educators to address questions about children's understanding of race, racial identity in adolescence, and how to combat racism in daily life. White parents and teachers, in particular, often ask me questions about how to talk to children and other adults about racial issues. They struggle with embarrassment about the topic, the social awkwardness that can result if the "wrong" words are used, the discomfort that comes from breaking a social taboo, the painful possibility of being perceived as racist. Parents of color, too, have questions. They are sometimes unsure about how to talk to their own children about racism, torn between wanting to protect them from the pain of racial realities and wanting to prepare them effectively to cope with a potentially hostile world.

Adults, both White and of color, often hesitate to speak to children about racism for fear they will create problems where perhaps none exist, afraid that they will make "colorblind" children unnecessarily color-conscious. A psychological perspective—informed by developmental psychology in general, racial identity development theory in particular, and the insights of social psychological research—allows me to respond to these questions and others in ways that I hope will add useful clarity to the daily discourse about race.

My audiences often tell me that what they appreciate about my

articles and my public presentations is that I make the idea of talking about race and racism less intimidating. I help them to see the importance of dialogue about this issue, and give them the confidence they need to break the silence about race at home, at work, among their friends, and with their children.

I decided to write this book when I received a letter from a school principal in New Jersey. He had heard me speak at a conference the summer before, and wrote to say that I had given the best explanation he had ever heard of why, in racially mixed schools all over the country, Black kids were still sitting together in school cafeterias. He invited me to come to his school and give the same explanation to his staff. The letter came at a particularly busy time in the school year. My desk was covered with student papers to read, there were project deadlines to meet, and I had just returned from a series of speaking engagements with a bad case of laryngitis. I was exhausted, and the idea of traveling to yet another school to give yet another talk on adolescent racial identity development was painful even to contemplate at that time. Yet the request represented a genuine need for information. I thought of the hundreds of times I had been asked the question, "Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria?" The tone of voice implied what usually remained unsaid, "And what can we do to solve this problem?" It became apparent to me that it was time to address this question in print, and to bring an understanding of racial identity development to a wider audience.

As the idea for the book percolated in my head, other frequently asked questions came to mind. How do you talk to children about such a painful historical event as slavery? When do children start to notice racial differences? How should I respond to racial jokes? Isn't racism a thing of the past? I thought about the many public conversations I have had with educators, parents, and students, and the private conversations I have had with family and friends. It seemed to me that there was value in making some of these conversations available to others, as I do in my public presentations, as a way of both

sharing information and modeling a process of engagement, a way of talking about the legacy of racism in our lives.

At the center of these conversations is an understanding of racial identity, the meaning each of us has constructed or is constructing about what it means to be a White person or a person of color in a race-conscious society. Present also is an understanding of racism. It is because we live in a racist society that racial identity has as much meaning as it does. We cannot talk meaningfully about racial identity without also talking about racism.

All of the conversations in this book are drawn from my own life experience and in the context of my own teaching about racism and racial identity, as well as from my research on Black children and families in predominantly White settings. Because I am a Black woman, these conversations are often framed in the context of Black-White relations. However, one of the lessons I have learned in the years that I have been teaching about racism is that racism is a live issue for other groups of color as well. My Latino, Asian, American Indian, and biracial students have taught me that they have a developing sense of racial/ethnic identity, too, and that all of us need to see our experiences reflected back to us. In that spirit, I have included discussions of the identity development of Latino, Asian, and American Indian adolescents, as well as of the experiences of young people growing up in multiracial families.

In envisioning this book, it was not my intention to write for an academic audience. Instead I wanted to talk to the many parents, educators, and community leaders who would come to one of my presentations on "Talking to Children About Race" or "Interrupting the Cycle of Oppression" or "Understanding Racial Identity Development" if it were held at their children's school or in their town, and to respond to the kinds of questions I often hear these concerned adults ask. I wanted to make this psychological perspective as jargon-free as possible while still maintaining the integrity of the ideas. To the extent that readers find ideas they can use in their daily conversations with colleagues, friends, and family, I have been successful.

James Baldwin wrote, "Not everything that is faced can be changed. But nothing can be changed until it is faced." Talking about racism is an essential part of facing racism and changing it. But it is not the only part. I am painfully aware that people of color have been talking about racism for a long time. Many people of color are tired of talking, frustrated that talk has not led to enough constructive action or meaningful social change. But in my own work, I have seen the effectiveness of talking about racism and teaching others to do the same. I have seen the impact on individual students who years later have written to me about the changes they are making in their workplaces. I have seen the impact on educators I have worked with who are now transforming their curricula and interacting with students of color in ways that facilitate rather than hinder those children's academic success. I have witnessed the parents who begin to use their own spheres of influence within the community to address racism and other forms of oppression in their own environments. I remain hopeful. It is with this spirit of optimism that I invite my readers to join with me in these conversations about race.

Defining Racism

"Can we talk?"

Early in my teaching career, a White student I knew asked me what I would be teaching the following semester. I mentioned that I would be teaching a course on racism. She replied, with some surprise in her voice, "Oh, is there still racism?" I assured her that indeed there was and suggested that she sign up for my course. Fifteen years later, after exhaustive media coverage of events such as the Rodney King beating, the Charles Stuart and Susan Smith cases, the O. J. Simpson trial, the appeal to racial prejudices in electoral politics, and the bitter debates about affirmative action and welfare reform, it seems hard to imagine that anyone would still be unaware of the reality of racism in our society. But in fact, in almost every audience I address, there is someone who will suggest that racism is a thing of the past. There is always someone who hasn't noticed the stereotypical images of people of color in the media, who hasn't observed the housing discrimination in their community, who hasn't read the newspaper articles about documented racial bias in lending practices among well-known banks, who isn't aware of the racial tracking pattern at the local school, who hasn't seen the reports of rising incidents of racially motivated hate crimes in America—in short, someone who hasn't been paying attention to issues of race. But if you are paying attention, the legacy of racism is not hard to see, and we are all affected by it.

The impact of racism begins early. Even in our preschool years, we are exposed to misinformation about people different from ourselves. Many of us grew up in neighborhoods where we had limited opportunities to interact with people different from our own families.

When I ask my college students, "How many of you grew up in neighborhoods where most of the people were from the same racial group as your own?" almost every hand goes up. There is still a great deal of social segregation in our communities. Consequently, most of the early information we receive about "others"—people racially, religiously, or socioeconomically different from ourselves—does not come as the result of firsthand experience. The secondhand information we do receive has often been distorted, shaped by cultural stereotypes, and left incomplete.

Some examples will highlight this process. Several years ago one of my students conducted a research project investigating preschoolers' conceptions of Native Americans.¹ Using children at a local day care center as her participants, she asked these three- and four-year-olds to draw a picture of a Native American. Most children were stumped by her request. They didn't know what a Native American was. But when she rephrased the question and asked them to draw a picture of an Indian, they readily complied. Almost every picture included one central feature: feathers. In fact, many of them also included a weapon—a knife or tomahawk—and depicted the person in violent or aggressive terms. Though this group of children, almost all of whom were White, did not live near a large Native American population and probably had had little if any personal interaction with American Indians, they all had internalized an image of what Indians were like. How did they know? Cartoon images, in particular the Disney movie *Peter Pan*, were cited by the children as their number-one source of information. At the age of three, these children already had a set of stereotypes in place. Though I would not describe three-year-olds as prejudiced, the stereotypes to which they have been exposed become the foundation for the adult prejudices so many of us have.

Sometimes the assumptions we make about others come not from what we have been told or what we have seen on television or in books, but rather from what we have not been told. The distortion of historical information about people of color leads young people

(and older people, too) to make assumptions that may go unchallenged for a long time. Consider this conversation between two White students following a discussion about the cultural transmission of racism:

"Yeah, I just found out that Cleopatra was actually a Black woman."

"What?"

The first student went on to explain her newly learned information. The second student exclaimed in disbelief, "That can't be true. Cleopatra was beautiful!"

What had this young woman learned about who in our society is considered beautiful and who is not? Had she conjured up images of Elizabeth Taylor when she thought of Cleopatra? The new information her classmate had shared and her own deeply ingrained assumptions about who is beautiful and who is not were too incongruous to allow her to assimilate the information at that moment.

Omitted information can have similar effects. For example, another young woman, preparing to be a high school English teacher, expressed her dismay that she had never learned about any Black authors in any of her English courses. How was she to teach about them to her future students when she hadn't learned about them herself? A White male student in the class responded to this discussion with frustration in his response journal, writing "It's not my fault that Blacks don't write books." Had one of his elementary, high school, or college teachers ever told him that there were no Black writers? Probably not. Yet because he had never been exposed to Black authors, he had drawn his own conclusion that there were none.

Stereotypes, omissions, and distortions all contribute to the development of prejudice. *Prejudice* is a preconceived judgment or opinion, usually based on limited information. I assume that we all have prejudices, not because we want them, but simply because we are so continually exposed to misinformation about others. Though I have often heard students or workshop participants describe someone as not having "a prejudiced bone in his body," I usually suggest that they

look again. Prejudice is one of the inescapable consequences of living in a racist society. Cultural racism—the cultural images and messages that affirm the assumed superiority of Whites and the assumed inferiority of people of color—is like smog in the air. Sometimes it is so thick it is visible, other times it is less apparent, but always, day in and day out, we are breathing it in. None of us would introduce ourselves as “smog-breathers” (and most of us don’t want to be described as prejudiced), but if we live in a smoggy place, how can we avoid breathing the air? If we live in an environment in which we are bombarded with stereotypical images in the media, are frequently exposed to the ethnic jokes of friends and family members, and are rarely informed of the accomplishments of oppressed groups, we will develop the negative categorizations of those groups that form the basis of prejudice.

People of color as well as Whites develop these categorizations. Even a member of the stereotyped group may internalize the stereotypical categories about his or her own group to some degree. In fact, this process happens so frequently that it has a name, *internalized oppression*. Some of the consequences of believing the distorted messages about one’s own group will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

Certainly some people are more prejudiced than others, actively embracing and perpetuating negative and hateful images of those who are different from themselves. When we claim to be free of prejudice, perhaps what we are really saying is that we are not hatemongers. But none of us is completely innocent. Prejudice is an integral part of our socialization, and it is not our fault. Just as the preschoolers my student interviewed are not to blame for the negative messages they internalized, we are not at fault for the stereotypes, distortions, and omissions that shaped our thinking as we grew up.

To say that it is not our fault does not relieve us of responsibility, however. We may not have polluted the air, but we need to take responsibility, along with others, for cleaning it up. Each of us needs to look at our own behavior. Am I perpetuating and reinforcing the negative messages so pervasive in our culture, or am I seeking to chal-

lenge them? If I have not been exposed to positive images of marginalized groups, am I seeking them out, expanding my own knowledge base for myself and my children? Am I acknowledging and examining my own prejudices, my own rigid categorizations of others, thereby minimizing the adverse impact they might have on my interactions with those I have categorized? Unless we engage in these and other conscious acts of reflection and reeducation, we easily repeat the process with our children. We teach what we were taught. The unexamined prejudices of the parents are passed on to the children. It is not our fault, but it is our responsibility to interrupt this cycle.

Racism: A System of Advantage Based on Race

Many people use the terms *prejudice* and *racism* interchangeably. I do not, and I think it is important to make a distinction. In his book *Portraits of White Racism*, David Wellman argues convincingly that limiting our understanding of racism to prejudice does not offer a sufficient explanation for the persistence of racism. He defines racism as a “system of advantage based on race.”¹² In illustrating this definition, he provides example after example of how Whites defend their racial advantage—access to better schools, housing, jobs—even when they do not embrace overtly prejudicial thinking. Racism cannot be fully explained as an expression of prejudice alone.

This definition of racism is useful because it allows us to see that racism, like other forms of oppression, is not only a personal ideology based on racial prejudice, but a *system* involving cultural messages and institutional policies and practices as well as the beliefs and actions of individuals. In the context of the United States, this system clearly operates to the advantage of Whites and to the disadvantage of people of color. Another related definition of racism, commonly used by antiracist educators and consultants, is “prejudice plus power.” Racial prejudice when combined with social power—access to social, cultural, and economic resources and decision-making—leads to the

institutionalization of racist policies and practices. While I think this definition also captures the idea that racism is more than individual beliefs and attitudes, I prefer Wellman's definition because the idea of systematic advantage and disadvantage is critical to an understanding of how racism operates in American society.

In addition, I find that many of my White students and workshop participants do not feel powerful. Defining racism as prejudice plus power has little personal relevance. For some, their response to this definition is the following: "I'm not really prejudiced, and I have no power, so racism has nothing to do with me." However, most White people, if they are really being honest with themselves, can see that there are advantages to being White in the United States. Despite the current rhetoric about affirmative action and "reverse racism," every social indicator, from salary to life expectancy, reveals the advantages of being White.³

The systematic advantages of being White are often referred to as White privilege. In a now well-known article, "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack," Peggy McIntosh, a White feminist scholar, identified a long list of societal privileges that she received simply because she was White.⁴ She did not ask for them, and it is important to note that she hadn't always noticed that she was receiving them. They included major and minor advantages. Of course she enjoyed greater access to jobs and housing. But she also was able to shop in department stores without being followed by suspicious salespeople and could always find appropriate hair care products and makeup in any drugstore. She could send her child to school confident that the teacher would not discriminate against him on the basis of race. She could also be late for meetings and talk with her mouth full, fairly confident that these behaviors would not be attributed to the fact that she was White. She could express an opinion in a meeting or in print and not have it labeled the "White" viewpoint. In other words, she was more often than not viewed as an individual, rather than as a member of a racial group.

This article rings true for most White readers, many of whom may have never considered the benefits of being White. It's one thing to have enough awareness of racism to describe the ways that people of color are disadvantaged by it. But this new understanding of racism is more elusive. In very concrete terms, it means that if a person of color is the victim of housing discrimination, the apartment that would otherwise have been rented to that person of color is still available for a White person. The White tenant is, knowingly or unknowingly, the beneficiary of racism, a system of advantage based on race. The unsuspecting tenant is not to blame for the prior discrimination, but she benefits from it anyway.

For many Whites, this new awareness of the benefits of a racist system elicits considerable pain, often accompanied by feelings of anger and guilt. These uncomfortable emotions can hinder further discussion. We all like to think that we deserve the good things we have received, and that others, too, get what they deserve. Social psychologists call this tendency a "belief in a just world."⁵ Racism directly contradicts such notions of justice.

Understanding racism as a system of advantage based on race is antithetical to traditional notions of an American meritocracy. For those who have internalized this myth, this definition generates considerable discomfort. It is more comfortable simply to think of racism as a particular form of prejudice. Notions of power or privilege do not have to be addressed when our understanding of racism is constructed in that way.

The discomfort generated when a systemic definition of racism is introduced is usually quite visible in the workshops I lead. Someone in the group is usually quick to point out that this is not the definition you will find in most dictionaries. I reply, "Who wrote the dictionary?" I am not being facetious with this response. Whose interests are served by a "prejudice only" definition of racism? It is important to understand that the system of advantage is perpetuated when we do not acknowledge its existence.

----- Racism: For Whites Only?

Frequently someone will say, "You keep talking about White people. People of color can be racist, too." I once asked a White teacher what it would mean to her if a student or parent of color accused her of being racist. She said she would feel as though she had been punched in the stomach or called a "low-life scum." She is not alone in this feeling. The word *racist* holds a lot of emotional power. For many White people, to be called racist is the ultimate insult. The idea that this term might only be applied to Whites becomes highly problematic for after all, can't people of color be "low-life scum" too?

Of course, people of any racial group can hold hateful attitudes and behave in racially discriminatory and bigoted ways. We can all cite examples of horrible hate crimes which have been perpetrated by people of color as well as Whites. Hateful behavior is hateful behavior no matter who does it. But when I am asked, "Can people of color be racist?" I reply, "The answer depends on your definition of racism." If one defines racism as racial prejudice, the answer is yes. People of color can and do have racial prejudices. However, if one defines racism as a system of advantage based on race, the answer is no. People of color are not racist because they do not systematically benefit from racism. And equally important, there is no systematic cultural and institutional support or sanction for the racial bigotry of people of color. In my view, reserving the term *racist* only for behaviors committed by Whites in the context of a White-dominated society is a way of acknowledging the ever-present power differential afforded Whites by the culture and institutions that make up the system of advantage and continue to reinforce notions of White superiority. (Using the same logic, I reserve the word *sexist* for men. Though women can and do have gender-based prejudices, only men systematically benefit from sexism.)

Despite my best efforts to explain my thinking on this point, there are some who will be troubled, perhaps even incensed, by my response. To call the racially motivated acts of a person of color acts

of racial bigotry and to describe similar acts committed by Whites as racist will make no sense to some people, including some people of color. To those, I will respectfully say, "We can agree to disagree." At moments like these, it is not agreement that is essential, but clarity. Even if you don't like the definition of racism I am using, hopefully you are now clear about what it is. If I also understand how, you are using the term, our conversation can continue—despite our disagreement.

Another provocative question I'm often asked is "Are you saying all Whites are racist?" When asked this question, I again remember that White teacher's response, and I am conscious that perhaps the question I am really being asked is, "Are you saying all Whites are bad people?" The answer to that question is of course not. However, all White people, intentionally or unintentionally, do benefit from racism. A more relevant question is what are White people as individuals doing to interrupt racism? For many White people, the image of a racist is a hood-wearing Klan member or a name-calling Archie Bunker figure. These images represent what might be called *active racism*, blatant, intentional acts of racial bigotry and discrimination. *Passive racism* is more subtle and can be seen in the collusion of laughing when a racist joke is told, of letting exclusionary hiring practices go unchallenged, of accepting as appropriate the omissions of people of color from the curriculum, and of avoiding difficult race-related issues. Because racism is so ingrained in the fabric of American institutions, it is easily self-perpetuating.⁶ All that is required to maintain it is business as usual.

I sometimes visualize the ongoing cycle of racism as a moving walkway at the airport. Active racist behavior is equivalent to walking fast on the conveyor belt. The person engaged in active racist behavior has identified with the ideology of White supremacy and is moving with it. Passive racist behavior is equivalent to standing still on the walkway. No overt effort is being made, but the conveyor belt moves the bystanders along to the same destination as those who are actively walking. Some of the bystanders may feel the motion of the

conveyor belt, see the active racists ahead of them, and choose to turn around, unwilling to go to the same destination as the White supremacists. But unless they are walking actively in the opposite direction at a speed faster than the conveyor belt—unless they are actively antiracist—they will find themselves carried along with the others.

So, not all Whites are actively racist. Many are passively racist. Some, though not enough, are actively antiracist. The relevant question is not whether all Whites are racist, but how we can move more White people from a position of active or passive racism to one of active antiracism? The task of interrupting racism is obviously not the task of Whites alone. But the fact of White privilege means that Whites have greater access to the societal institutions in need of transformation. To whom much is given, much is required.

It is important to acknowledge that while all Whites benefit from racism, they do not all benefit equally. Other factors, such as socioeconomic status, gender, age, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, mental and physical ability, also play a role in our access to social influence and power. A White woman on welfare is not privileged to the same extent as a wealthy White heterosexual man. In her case, the systematic disadvantages of sexism and classism intersect with her White privilege, but the privilege is still there. This point was brought home to me in a 1994 study conducted by a Mount Holyoke graduate student, Phyllis Wentworth.⁷ Wentworth interviewed a group of female college students, who were both older than their peers and were the first members of their families to attend college, about the pathways that lead them to college. All of the women interviewed were White, from working-class backgrounds, from families where women were expected to graduate from high school and get married or get a job. Several had experienced abusive relationships and other personal difficulties prior to coming to college. Yet their experiences were punctuated by "good luck" stories of apartments obtained without a deposit, good jobs offered without experience or extensive reference checks, and encouragement provided by willing mentors.

While the women acknowledged their good fortune, none of them discussed their Whiteness. They had not considered the possibility that being White had worked in their favor and helped give them the benefit of the doubt at critical junctures. This study clearly showed that even under difficult circumstances, White privilege was still operating.

It is also true that not all people of color are equally targeted by racism. We all have multiple identities that shape our experience. I can describe myself as a light-skinned, well-educated, heterosexual, able-bodied, Christian African American woman raised in a middle-class suburb. As an African American woman, I am systematically disadvantaged by race and by gender, but I systematically receive benefits in the other categories, which then mediate my experience of racism and sexism. When one is targeted by multiple isms—racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, ableism, anti-Semitism, ageism—in whatever combination, the effect is intensified. The particular combination of racism and classism in many communities of color is life-threatening. Nonetheless, when I, the middle-class Black mother of two sons, read another story about a Black man's unlucky encounter with a White police officer's deadly force, I am reminded that racism by itself can kill.

----- The Cost of Racism

Several years ago, a White male student in my psychology of racism course wrote in his journal at the end of the semester that he had learned a lot about racism and now understood in a way he never had before just how advantaged he was. He also commented that he didn't think he would do anything to try to change the situation. After all, the system was working in his favor. Fortunately, his response was not typical. Most of my students leave my course with the desire (and an action plan) to interrupt the cycle of racism. However, this young man's response does raise an important question. Why should Whites who are advantaged by racism want to end that system of advantage? What are the costs of that system to them?

A *Money* magazine article called "Race and Money" chronicled the many ways the American economy was hindered by institutional racism.⁸ Whether one looks at productivity lowered by racial tensions in the workplace, or real estate equity lost through housing discrimination, or the tax revenue lost in underemployed communities of color, or the high cost of warehousing human talent in prison, the economic costs of racism are real and measurable.

As a psychologist, I often hear about the less easily measured costs. When I ask White men and women how racism hurts them, they frequently talk about their fears of people of color, the social incompetence they feel in racially mixed situations, the alienation they have experienced between parents and children when a child marries into a family of color, and the interracial friendships they had as children that were lost in adolescence or young adulthood without their ever understanding why. White people are paying a significant price for the system of advantage. The cost is not as high for Whites as it is for people of color, but a price is being paid.⁹ Wendell Berry, a White writer raised in Kentucky, captures this psychic pain in the opening pages of his book, *The Hidden Wound*:

If white people have suffered less obviously from racism than black people, they have nevertheless suffered greatly; the cost has been greater perhaps than we can yet know. If the white man has inflicted the wound of racism upon black men, the cost has been that he would receive the mirror image of that wound into himself. As the master, or as a member of the dominant race, he has felt little compulsion to acknowledge it or speak of it; the more painful it has grown the more deeply he has hidden it within himself. But the wound is there, and it is a profound disorder, as great a damage in his mind as it is in his society.¹⁰

The dismantling of racism is in the best interests of everyone.

A Word About Language

Throughout this chapter I have used the term *White* to refer to Americans of European descent. In another era, I might have used the term *Caucasian*. I have used the term *people of color* to refer to those groups in America that are and have been historically targeted by racism. This includes people of African descent, people of Asian descent, people of Latin American descent, and indigenous peoples (sometimes referred to as Native Americans or American Indians).¹¹ Many people refer to these groups collectively as non-Whites. This term is particularly offensive because it defines groups of people in terms of what they are not. (Do we call women "non-men?") I also avoid using the term *minorities* because it represents another kind of distortion of information which we need to correct. So-called minorities represent the majority of the world's population. While the term *people of color* is inclusive, it is not perfect. As a workshop participant once said, White people have color, too. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say "people of more color," though I am not ready to make that change. Perhaps fellow psychologist Linda James Myers is on the right track. She refers to two groups of people, those of acknowledged African descent and those of unacknowledged African descent, reminding us that we can all trace the roots of our common humanity to Africa.

I refer to people of acknowledged African descent as Black. I know that *African American* is also a commonly used term, and I often refer to myself and other Black people born and raised in America in that way. Perhaps because I am a child of the 1960s "Black and beautiful" era, I still prefer *Black*. The term is more inclusive than *African American*, because there are Black people in the United States who are not African American—Afro-Caribbeans, for example—yet are targeted by racism, and are identified as Black.

When referring to other groups of color, I try to use the terms that the people themselves want to be called. In some cases, there is no clear consensus. For example, some people of Latin American

ancestry prefer *Latino*, while others prefer *Hispanic* or, if of Mexican descent, *Chicano*.¹³ The terms *Latino* and *Hispanic* are used interchangeably here. Similarly, there are regional variations in the use of the terms *Native American*, *American Indian*, and *Indian*. *American Indian* and *Native people* are now more widely used than *Native American*, and the language used here reflects that. People of Asian descent include Pacific Islanders, and that is reflected in the terms *Asian/Pacific Islanders* and *Asian Pacific Americans*. However, when quoting others I use whichever terms they use.

My dilemma about the language to use reflects the fact that race is a social construction.¹⁴ Despite myths to the contrary, biologists tell us that the only meaningful racial categorization is that of human. Van den Berghe defines race as "a group that is socially defined but on the basis of physical criteria," including skin color and facial features.¹⁵

Racial identity development, a central focus of this book, usually refers to the process of defining for oneself the personal significance and social meaning of belonging to a particular racial group. The terms *racial identity* and *ethnic identity* are often used synonymously, though a distinction can be made between the two. An ethnic group is a socially defined group based on *cultural* criteria, such as language, customs, and shared history. An individual might identify as a member of an ethnic group (Irish or Italian, for example) but might not think of himself in racial terms (as White). On the other hand, one may recognize the personal significance of racial group membership (identifying as Black, for instance) but may not consider ethnic identity (such as West Indian) as particularly meaningful.

Both racial and ethnic categories are socially constructed, and social definitions of these categories have changed over time. For example, in his book *Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America*, Richard Alba points out that the high rates of intermarriage and the dissolution of other social boundaries among European ethnic groups in the United States have reduced the significance of ethnic identity for these groups. In their place, he argues, a new ethnic identity is emerging, that of European American.¹⁶

Throughout this book, I refer primarily to racial identity. It is important, however, to acknowledge that ethnic identity and racial identity sometimes intersect. For example, dark-skinned Puerto Ricans may identify culturally as Puerto Rican and yet be categorized racially by others as Black on the basis of physical appearance. In the case of either racial or ethnic identity, these identities remain most salient to individuals of racial or ethnic groups that have been historically disadvantaged or marginalized.

The language we use to categorize one another racially is imperfect. These categories are still evolving as the current debate over census classifications indicates.¹⁶ The original creation of racial categories was in the service of oppression. Some may argue that to continue to use them is to continue that oppression. I respect that argument. Yet it is difficult to talk about what is essentially a flawed and problematic social construct without using language that is itself problematic. We have to be able to talk about it in order to change it. So this is the language I choose.

Was I born before or after Stonewall and the emergence of gay activism? What historical events have shaped my thinking?

What has my social context been? Was I surrounded by people like myself, or was I part of a minority in my community? Did I grow up speaking standard English at home or another language or dialect? Did I live in a rural county, an urban neighborhood, a sprawling suburb, or on a reservation?

Who I am (or say I am) is a product of these and many other factors. Erik Erikson, the psychoanalytic theorist who coined the term *identity crisis*, introduced the notion that the social, cultural, and historical context is the ground in which individual identity is embedded. Acknowledging the complexity of identity as a concept, Erikson writes,

We deal with a process "located" in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his communal culture. . . . In psychological terms, identity formation employs a process of simultaneous reflection and observation, a process taking place on all levels of mental functioning, by which the individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in comparison to himself and to a typology significant to them; while he judges their way of judging him in the light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him. This process is, luckily, and necessarily, for the most part unconscious except where inner conditions and outer circumstances combine to aggravate a painful, or elated, "identity-consciousness."³

Triggered by the biological changes associated with puberty, the maturation of cognitive abilities, and changing societal expectations, this process of simultaneous reflection and observation, the self-creation of one's identity, is commonly experienced in the United

2

The Complexity of Identity

"Who am I?"

The concept of identity is a complex one, shaped by individual characteristics, family dynamics, historical factors, and social and political contexts. Who am I? The answer depends in large part on who the world around me says I am. Who do my parents say I am? Who do my peers say I am? What message is reflected back to me in the faces and voices of my teachers, my neighbors, store clerks? What do I learn from the media about myself? How am I represented in the cultural images around me? Or am I missing from the picture altogether? As social scientist Charles Cooley pointed out long ago, other people are the mirror in which we see ourselves.¹

This "looking glass self" is not a flat one-dimensional reflection, but multidimensional. Because the focus of this book is racial identity in the United States, race is highlighted in these pages. Yet, how one's racial identity is experienced will be mediated by other dimensions of oneself: male or female; young or old; wealthy, middle-class, or poor; gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, or heterosexual; able-bodied or with disabilities; Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu, or atheist.

Abigail Stewart and Joseph Healy's research on the impact of historical periods on personality development raises the question, Who is my cohort group? Am I a child of the Depression, a survivor of World War II, the Holocaust, the U.S. internment of Japanese Americans? A product of the segregation of the 1940s and 1950s, or a beneficiary of the Civil Rights era? Did I serve in the Vietnam War, or am I a refugee of it? Did I come of age during the conservatism of the Reagan years? Did I ride the wave of the Women's Movement?

States and other Western societies during the period of adolescence.⁴ Though the foundation of identity is laid in the experiences of childhood, younger children lack the physical and cognitive development needed to reflect on the self in this abstract way. The adolescent capacity for self-reflection (and resulting self-consciousness) allows one to ask, "Who am I now?" "Who was I before?" "Who will I become?" The answers to these questions will influence choices about who one's romantic partners will be, what type of work one will do, where one will live, and what belief system one will embrace. Choices made in adolescence ripple throughout the lifespan.

Who Am I? Multiple Identities

Integrating one's past, present, and future into a cohesive, unified sense of self is a complex task that begins in adolescence and continues for a lifetime. The complexity of identity is made clear in a collection of autobiographical essays about racial identity called *Names We Call Home*.⁵ The multiracial, multiethnic group of contributors narrate life stories highlighting the intersections of gender, class, religion, sexuality, race, and historical circumstance, and illustrating that "people's multiple identifications defy neat racial divisions and unidimensional political alliances."⁶ My students' autobiographical narratives point to a similar complexity, but the less developed narratives of the late adolescents that I teach highlight the fact that our awareness of the complexity of our own identity develops over time. The salience of particular aspects of our identity varies at different moments in our lives. The process of integrating the component parts of our self-definition is indeed a lifelong journey.

Which parts of our identity capture our attention first? While there are surely idiosyncratic responses to this question, a classroom exercise I regularly use with my psychology students reveals a telling pattern. I ask my students to complete the sentence, "I am _____," using as many descriptors as they can think of in sixty seconds. All kinds of trait descriptions are used—friendly, shy,

assertive, intelligent, honest, and so on—but over the years I have noticed something else. Students of color usually mention their racial or ethnic group: for instance, I am Black, Puerto Rican, Korean American. White students who have grown up in strong ethnic enclaves occasionally mention being Irish or Italian. But in general, White students rarely mention being White. When I use this exercise in cocurricular settings, I notice a similar pattern in terms of gender, religion, and sexuality. Women usually mention being female, while men don't usually mention their maleness. Jewish students often say they are Jews, while mainline Protestants rarely mention their religious identification. A student who is comfortable revealing it publicly may mention being gay, lesbian, or bisexual. Though I know most of my students are heterosexual, it is very unusual for anyone to include their heterosexuality on their list.

Common across these examples is that in the areas where a person is a member of the dominant or advantaged social group, the category is usually not mentioned. That element of their identity is so taken for granted by them that it goes without comment. It is taken for granted by them because it is taken for granted by the dominant culture. In Eriksonian terms, their inner experience and outer circumstance are in harmony with one another, and the image reflected by others is similar to the image within. In the absence of dissonance, this dimension of identity escapes conscious attention.

The parts of our identity that do capture our attention are those that other people notice, and that reflect back to us. The aspect of identity that is the target of others' attention, and subsequently of our own, often is that which sets us apart as exceptional or "other" in their eyes. In my life I have been perceived as both. A precocious child who began to read at age three, I stood out among my peers because of my reading ability. This "gifted" dimension of my identity was regularly commented upon by teachers and classmates alike, and quickly became part of my self-definition. But I was also distinguished by being the only Black student in the class, an "other," a fact I grew increasingly aware of as I got older.

While there may be countless ways one might be defined as exceptional, there are at least seven categories of "otherness" commonly experienced in U.S. society. People are commonly defined as other on the basis of race or ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, age, and physical or mental ability. Each of these categories has a form of oppression associated with it: racism, sexism, religious oppression/anti-Semitism,¹ heterosexism, classism, ageism, and ableism, respectively. In each case, there is a group considered dominant (systematically advantaged by the society because of group membership) and a group considered subordinate or targeted (systematically disadvantaged). When we think about our multiple identities, most of us will find that we are both dominant and targeted at the same time. But it is the targeted identities that hold our attention and the dominant identities that often go unexamined.

In her essay, "Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference," Audre Lorde captured the tensions between dominant and targeted identities co-existing in one individual. This self-described "forty-nine-year-old Black lesbian feminist socialist mother of two" wrote,

Somewhere, on the edge of consciousness, there is what I call a *mythical norm*, which each one of us within our hearts knows "that is not me." In America, this norm is usually defined as white, thin, male, young, heterosexual, Christian, and financially secure. It is with this mythical norm that the trappings of power reside within society. Those of us who stand outside that power often identify one way in which we are different, and we assume that to be the primary cause of all oppression, forgetting other distortions around difference, some of which we ourselves may be practicing.²

Even as I focus on race and racism in my own writing and teaching, it is helpful to remind myself and my students of the other dis-

tinctions around difference that I (and they) may be practicing. It is an especially useful way of generating empathy for our mutual learning process. If I am impatient with a White woman for not recognizing her White privilege, it may be useful for me to remember how much of my life I spent oblivious to the fact of the daily advantages I receive simply because I am heterosexual, or the ways in which I may take my class privilege for granted.

----- **Domination and Subordination** -----

It is also helpful to consider the commonality found in the experience of being dominant or subordinate even when the sources of dominance or subordination are different. Jean Baker Miller, author of *Toward a New Psychology of Women*, has identified some of these areas of commonality.³

Dominant groups, by definition, set the parameters within which the subordinates operate. The dominant group holds the power and authority in society relative to the subordinates and determines how that power and authority may be acceptably used. Whether it is reflected in determining who gets the best jobs, whose history will be taught in school, or whose relationships will be validated by society, the dominant group has the greatest influence in determining the structure of the society.

The relationship of the dominants to the subordinates is often one in which the targeted group is labeled as defective or substandard in significant ways. For example, Blacks have historically been characterized as less intelligent than Whites, and women have been viewed as less emotionally stable than men. The dominant group assigns roles to the subordinates that reflect the latter's devalued status, reserving the most highly valued roles in the society for themselves. Subordinates are usually said to be innately incapable of being able to perform the preferred roles. To the extent that the targeted group internalizes the images that the dominant group reflects back to them, they may find it difficult to believe in their own ability.

When a subordinate demonstrates positive qualities believed to be more characteristic of dominants, the individual is defined by dominants as an anomaly. Consider this illustrative example: Following a presentation I gave to some educators, a White man approached me and told me how much he liked my ideas and how articulate I was. "You know," he concluded, "if I had had my eyes closed, I wouldn't have known it was a Black woman speaking." (I replied, "This is what a Black woman sounds like.")

The dominant group is seen as the norm for humanity. Jean Baker Miller also asserts that inequitable social relations are seen as the model for "normal human relationships." Consequently, it remains perfectly acceptable in many circles to tell jokes that denigrate a particular group, to exclude subordinates from one's neighborhood or work settings, or to oppose initiatives which might change the power balance.

Miller points out that dominant groups generally do not like to be reminded of the existence of inequality. Because rationalizations have been created to justify the social arrangements, it is easy to believe everything is as it should be. Dominants "can avoid awareness because their explanation of the relationship becomes so well integrated in *other terms*; they can even believe that both they and the subordinate group share the same interests and, to some extent, a common experience."¹⁰

The truth is that the dominants do not really know what the experience of the subordinates is. In contrast, the subordinates are very well informed about the dominants. Even when firsthand experience is limited by social segregation, the number and variety of images of the dominant group available through television, magazines, books, and newspapers provide subordinates with plenty of information about the dominants. The dominant world view has saturated the culture for all to learn. Even the Black or Latino child living in a segregated community can enter White homes of many kinds daily via the media. However, dominant access to information about

the subordinates is often limited to stereotypical depictions of the "other." For example, there are many images of heterosexual relations on television, but very few images of gay or lesbian domestic partnerships beyond the caricatures of comedy shows. There are many images of White men and women in all forms of media, but relatively few portrayals of people of color.

Not only is there greater opportunity for the subordinates to learn about the dominants, there is also greater need. Social psychologist Susan Fiske writes, "It is a simple principle: People pay attention to those who control their outcomes. In an effort to predict and possibly influence what is going to happen to them, people gather information about those with power."¹¹

In a situation of unequal power, a subordinate group has to focus on survival. It becomes very important for the subordinates to become highly attuned to the dominants as a way of protecting themselves from them. For example, women who have been battered by men often talk about the heightened sensitivity they develop to their partners' moods. Being able to anticipate and avoid the men's rage is important to survival.

Survival sometimes means not responding to oppressive behavior directly. To do so could result in physical harm to oneself, even death. In his essay "The Ethics of Living Jim Crow," Richard Wright describes eloquently the various strategies he learned to use to avoid the violence of Whites who would brutalize a Black person who did not "stay in his place."¹² Though it is tempting to think that the need for such strategies disappeared with Jim Crow laws, their legacy lives on in the frequent and sometimes fatal harassment Black men experience at the hands of White police officers.¹³

Because of the risks inherent in unequal relationships, the subordinates often develop covert ways of resisting or undermining the power of the dominant group. As Miller points out, popular culture is full of folk tales, jokes, and stories about how the subordinate—whether the woman, the peasant, or the sharecropper—outwitted the

"boss."¹⁴ In his essay "I Won't Earn from You," Herbert Kohl identifies one form of resistance, "not-learning," demonstrated by targeted students who are too often seen by their dominant teachers as "others."

Not-learning tends to take place when someone has to deal with unavoidable challenges to her or his personal and family loyalties, integrity, and identity. In such situations, there are forced choices and no apparent middle ground. To agree to learn from a stranger who does not respect your integrity causes a major loss of self. The only alternative is to not-learn and reject their world.¹⁵

The use of either strategy, attending very closely to the dominants or not attending at all, is costly to members of the targeted group. Not-learning may mean there are needed skills which are not acquired. Attending closely to the dominant group may leave little time or energy to attend to one's self. Worse yet, the negative messages of the dominant group about the subordinates may be internalized, leading to self-doubt or, in its extreme form, self-hate. There are many examples of subordinates attempting to make themselves over in the image of the dominant group—Jewish people who want to change the Semitic look of their noses, Asians who have cosmetic surgery to alter the shape of their eyes, Blacks who seek to lighten their skin with bleaching creams, women who want to smoke and drink "like a man." Whether one succumbs to the devaluing pressures of the dominant culture or successfully resists them, the fact is that dealing with oppressive systems from the underside, regardless of the strategy, is physically and psychologically taxing.

Breaking beyond the structural and psychological limitations imposed on one's group is possible, but not easily achieved. To the extent that members of targeted groups do push societal limits—achieving unexpected success, protesting injustice, being "uppity"—by their actions they call the whole system into question. Miller

writes, they "expose the inequality, and throw into question the basis for its existence. And they will make the inherent conflict an open conflict. They will then have to bear the burden and take the risks that go with being defined as 'troublemakers.'"¹⁶

The history of subordinate groups is filled with so-called troublemakers, yet their names are often unknown. Preserving the record of those subordinates and their dominant allies who have challenged the status quo is usually of little interest to the dominant culture, but it is of great interest to subordinates who search for an empowering reflection in the societal mirror.

Many of us are both dominant and subordinate. Clearly racism and racial identity are at the center of discussion in this book, but as Audre Lorde said, from her vantage point as a Black lesbian, "There is no hierarchy of oppression."¹⁷ The thread and threat of violence runs through all of the isms. There is a need to acknowledge each other's pain, even as we attend to our own.

For those readers who are in the dominant racial category, it may sometimes be difficult to take in what is being said by and about those who are targeted by racism. When the perspective of the subordinate is shared directly, an image is reflected to members of the dominant group which is disconcerting. To the extent that one can draw on one's own experience of subordination—as a young person, as a person with a disability, as someone who grew up poor, as a woman—it may be easier to make meaning of another targeted group's experience. For those readers who are targeted by racism and are angered by the obliviousness of Whites sometimes described in these pages, it may be useful to attend to your experience of dominance where you may find it—as a heterosexual, as an able-bodied person, as a Christian, as a man—and consider what systems of privilege you may be overlooking. The task of resisting our own oppression does not relieve us of the responsibility of acknowledging our complicity in the oppression of others.

Our ongoing examination of who we are in our full humanity, embracing all of our identities, creates the possibility of building

28 A Definition of Terms

alliances that may ultimately free us all. It is with that vision in mind that I move forward with an examination of racial identity in the chapters to follow. My goal is not to flatten the multidimensional self-reflection we see of ourselves, but to focus on a dimension often neglected and discounted in the public discourse on race.

Part II

**Understanding
Blackness in a
White Context**

Meaning and Implications
of Being Labelled a

Predominantly White Institution

THE TERM "PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTION" FREQUENTLY GETS
TOSSED AROUND WITHOUT THOUGHT TO ITS SIGNIFICANCE. IN THIS
ARTICLE, THE AUTHOR USES CRITICAL RACE THEORY AS A LENS TO
EXAMINE THE TERM PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTION. THROUGH
THIS ANALYSIS, THE AUTHOR HIGHLIGHTS WHITENESS IS EMBEDDED INTO
INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES OF PREDOMINATELY WHITE INSTITUTIONS.

Institutions of higher learning are regularly identified in scholarship and conversation by their racial composition, which generally reflects a distinction between predominantly white institutions (PWIs) and minority-serving institutions (MSIs). While PWi is not an official designation for any institution in the United States, six categories of MSIs are classified by the Higher Education Act: Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs), Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs), Alaska Native Serving Institutions (ANSIs), Native Hawaiian Serving Institutions (NHSIs), and a general

category of Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs) (Benitez and DeAro 2003). The designation of a particular MSI type may be based either on mission or student enrollment. HSIs, ANSIs, and NHSIs are typically defined by the percentage of enrollment of the student group identified in the category name. For example, the Higher Education Act requires that HSIs have at least 25 percent of their full-time equivalent enrollments be Hispanic and at least 50 percent of those be low-income individuals (Dayton *et al.* 2004). In contrast, HBCUs and TCUs have unique missions and/or federal acknowledgment of their responsibility to their respective populations (Benitez and DeAro 2003). These labels are based on the compositional diversity of the institutions or on a specific institutional mission to serve a specific racial group. The term “predominantly white institution” is used without thought being given to its significance: that race and racism are the cornerstones upon which these institutions were built and currently operate (Hughes 2014).

The seemingly quick rise of campus protests connected to the Black Lives Matter movement helped demonstrate the prevalence of the extent to which race is embedded in PWIs throughout the United States (Kingkade, Workneh and Grenoble 2015). What has been protested is that racism (which relies on the prevalence of whiteness) is woven into the very structures and systems on the basis of which colleges and universities function. Something that has been clarified about the historic role of race in U.S. higher education is that colonial and early American colleges relied on slave labor to build their campuses and to support their operations (NPR Staff 2013). The current protests at PWIs across the United States have been described as necessary in the continuum of efforts to address persistent racial inequities in higher education (Demby 2015).

Oversimplified, “predominantly white” can be taken to mean that more white students are enrolled at the institution than are students who are members of underrepresented racial groups. However, the term is complex and

can have various meanings. The purpose of this article is to critically examine the term “predominantly white institution.” The premise is that what is predominant at these institutions stems from much more than simple numbers of white students as compared to numbers of students from underrepresented racial groups.

From an educational standpoint, when campuses equate diversity only with changing institutional patterns of representation, they fail to maximize the benefits associated with diversity because widespread educational benefits are much more likely to emerge out of the context of institutional commitment to all facets of diversity (Chang 2002, p. 131).

Patterns of representation are examined through a lens of critical race theory (CRT). The article concludes with implications for enrollment management. For the purposes of this article, the author uses enrollment management to reflect an institution’s “organizational integration of functions” intended to positively affect student enrollments (Hossler 2014, pp. 7–8). This definition is used purposefully to connect to the premise that whiteness is part of the “organizational integration of functions” within PWIs (Hossler 2014, pp. 7–8).

CRITICAL RACE THEORY

As a critical analytical tool, CRT offers a means of examining the relationships among race, racism, and social structures. Colleges and universities are social structures, providing an open opportunity to examine the term “predominantly white institution” through the lens of CRT. In its application to educational settings, CRT consists of three primary tenets:

- “Race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the U.S.” (Ladson-Billings and Tate 2006, p. 12).

Different racial groups are marginalized, dominated, and oppressed at varying levels at different times depending on the needs of whites. One racial group may occupy a space of privilege over another yet still be subjugated by whites on the basis of any number of factors, from the value of their contribution to the labor market to the perception of their efforts to assimilate to white society or to “act white.” A current example of differential racialization is the position of Asian Ameri-

can students in relation to black and Latina/o students. Because Asian American students are perceived to be highly intelligent and motivated whereas black and Latina/o students are perceived to be less intelligent and lazy, Asian American students are afforded a racialized space that whites would be likely to describe as equal (Valdes *et al.* 2002).

Race is so deeply embedded in daily life in the United States that it has taken on an ordinariness (Delgado and Stefancic 2001). Calls for “race-blind” admission policies reflect this tenet in that the only possible solution to racism and other issues surrounding race is to simply act as though racial differences do not exist (Valdes *et al.* 2002). Contributing to calls for race blindness and race as an ordinary part of life is the fact that discussions of race and racism are routinely marginalized, further marginalizing those who experience it in their everyday lives (Kozol 1991, Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). The fact remains, as detailed in a vast assembly of scholarship referenced throughout this article, that race remains a “significant factor in determining inequity in the United States” (Ladson-Billings and Tate 2006, p. 12).

- “U.S. society is based on property rights” (Ladson-Billings and Tate 2006, p. 12).

Harris (1995) conceives of four primary elements that contribute to the valuation of race as property: right of disposition; right to use and enjoyment; right of reputation and status; and the right of exclusion. Individual rights are so intertwined with property rights that providing for the former without providing for or considering the latter results in little substantive change in the lives of people of color (Ladson-Billings and Tate 2006). Social rights—most notably the pursuit of higher education (Robinson 1999)—are firmly encamped with issues of property (Ladson-Billings and Tate 2006). This is not to imply that all people of color lack the resources to provide adequate chances for higher education for their children, but the property rights that make attending college a more realistic possibility fall disproportionately in the experience of whiteness. As Harris (1995) notes, the concept of property extends beyond ownership of physical items to individual liberties and human rights. “Property is nothing but the basis of expectation...of being able to

draw such and such advantage from the thing being possessed" (Bentham as quoted in Harris 1995, p. 280).

- "The intersection of race and property rights creates an analytic tool through which we can understand social (and, consequently, school) inequity" (Ladson-Billings and Tate 2006, p. 12).

Race reflects a right of disposition as behaviors that conform to a norm of whiteness are rewarded whereas nonconformity to the norm is penalized. The right of use and enjoyment is manifest in that those who possess the valued elements of race receive privileges. Rights of reputation and status can best be illustrated by referring to issues of college choice among some students of color and to the fact that students and their families may express a preference for attending a PWI over an MSI due to the perceived higher value of a degree from a PWI. The right to exclude can be seen in a number of ways in U.S. higher education. For example, the continued presence of institutions that were founded for the sole purpose of educating students of color highlights the exclusionary right of whiteness.

The term "predominantly white institution" suggests property rights that are inherent to whites. Consider the racialized labeling of institutions of higher learning in the United States: For funding and other purposes, the U.S. government groups MSIs on the basis of racial stratification. For example, HBCUs are grouped, as are HSIs. There is no official race-based designation "PWIs." This label usually is applied in scholarly works, many of which are critical examinations of race-based issues in U.S. higher education. Through the lens of CRT, a view emerges of the interconnectedness of race, social structures, and social practices. According to CRT, PWI is more than a simple institutional label in that the word "predominant" reflects an ongoing social practice according to which whiteness maintains a place of supremacy, resulting in the continued subjugation of people of color (Crenshaw 1995).

FORMS OF RACIAL DIVERSITY

Diversity has taken on many meanings and varying levels of significance throughout U.S. higher education. Racial diversity has remained significant as it has been equated with cultural pluralism (Omi and Winant 1986). While cultural pluralism has been celebrated in many ways in the

United States, much variance in racial diversity has been reduced to two basic categories: white and racially diverse others. Scholarship has categorized racial diversity in the following ways: compositional diversity (Antonio, Milem and Chang 2012), diversity-related initiatives, and diverse interactions (Milem 2003).

Diversity and its attendant racial climate are affected by five institutional practices: compositional diversity, historical legacy of inclusion or exclusion, psychological climate, behavioral climate, and organizational/structural elements (Antonio *et al.* 2012). All five dimensions of racial climate are interconnected, but each is unique.

Compositional diversity reflects the actual demographic breakdown of students enrolled at an institution. Antonio [sic] and his colleagues (2012) suggest that an institution's own history of inclusion or exclusion affects the racial climate that students experience today. A historical legacy could include an institution making desegregation efforts well in advance of government mandates or a state's governor standing in front of a door to physically block students of color from enrolling. The *psychological climate* relates to individual perceptions/views of interactions among members of diverse groups as well as perceptions of racial discrimination on campus and of institutional response to issues of perceived racial bias (Antonio *et al.* 2012; Hurtado *et al.* 1999). Through social interactions, students are immersed in the *behavioral climate*, and the nature of their interactions with students from racial/ethnic backgrounds different from themselves contributes to the behavioral climate (Antonio *et al.* 2012). *Diverse interactions* represent "students' exchanges with racially and ethnically diverse people as well as diverse ideas, information, and experience" (Milem 2003, p. 132).

Organizational/structural elements of an institution's racial climate can be understood through a combination of diversity- and non-diversity-related initiatives, including the curriculum, admission procedures and practices, and the day-to-day business of the institution (Antonio *et al.* 2012). Diversity-related initiatives are those things that institutions do in order to increase awareness of and exposure to aspects of other cultures and races; most often these represent more formal and organized efforts. Such efforts may emanate from student affairs offices or multicultural centers in the forms of campus programs such as cultural festivals and speakers/entertainers; through curricular ef-

forts to infuse multicultural components into an array of course offerings or to establish entire courses on ethnic studies, women's studies, and the like; and cultural awareness workshops or training sessions in which a speaker—sometimes a diversity consultant—seeks to engage those in attendance in a discussion of the elements of diversity. The “organizational and structural aspects of universities represent...a dimension that recognizes how benefits for some groups become embedded in these structures and organizational processes” (antonio *et al.* 2012, p. 385).

On the surface, the PWI label simply reflects the compositional diversity of an institution. However, the day-to-day practices that characterize a PWI are structured around the dominance and normalcy of whiteness (Wille 2003). In the case of PWIs, the label relates to racial composition based on the institution's structural and compositional diversity. Attempts to address the racial composition of student enrollments have shown little effect on addressing imbalances in racial equity at PWIs (Dixson and Rousseau 2006).

POWER

At times, the compositional diversity of PWIs is referenced with a slightly different term: “traditionally white institution” (Elam and Brown 2005). “Traditionally white” suggests that what is at play is merely a product of historical patterns of enrollments of white students. Sometimes, authors choose the term when drawing comparisons between such institutions and HBCUs (see Stahl 2005). However, there is something much more significant about using the term “predominantly white institution”:

In a scholarly world where many argue that the naming of the subject is a creation of subjugation, it seems obvious that the more likely usage of the white wording, the predominately white institution (PWI), elicits knowledge that confirms not only racial and ethnic differences but also power relations (Hutcheson 2008, p. 43).

As Hutcheson points out, the term PWI acknowledges not only difference but also a relationship between dominance and subjugation. Drawing on the analytic lens of CRT, the term “traditionally white institution” demonstrates a perspective based in ahistoricism (Dixson and Rousseau 2006): that the predominance of whiteness is simply a product of a slow, almost accidental progression over time

and not a product of favoring and producing whiteness as the norm while further subjugating people of color.

Power is mediated through students' interactions in a variety of spaces within the campus culture of a college or university (Bourke 2010). Present in power dynamics is the mindfulness by the subjugated that the dominant can wield their power in myriad ways, which might result in harm. Such harm may be manifest in any number of ways, including but not limited to verbal attacks, physical attacks and intimidation, and stereotype threat (including the internalization of stereotypes), all of which contribute to alienation and isolation among students of color.

IMPLICATIONS FOR STUDENTS OF COLOR ENROLLED AT PWIS

A great deal of scholarship has been devoted to exploring the ways in which members of underrepresented racial groups experience higher education in the United States (Cuyjet 2006, Hurtado *et al.* 1998; 1999, Rankin and Reason 2005, Tatum 2003). Members of underrepresented racial groups are underrepresented not only numerically but also systemically through social structures and the ways in which power is situated among groups.

The subordinate member is always aware of the dominant culture, where the world of the dominant culture is presented as the norm and set as the example from which to learn (Tatum 2003). Hooks [sic] (1992) highlights that student subcultures result from a resistance to fitting in with prescribed norms and in turn result in efforts of minority groups to maintain the identities with which they enter the PWI. This opposition is questioned by members of the dominant group (in the case of a PWI, white students) through calls for an overriding campus community in which all community members are expected to abide by established norms. These calls for campus solidarity amount to nothing more than efforts to assimilate members of underrepresented groups into the dominant culture of the campus (Smith and Wolf-Wendel 2005).

Resistance exists not only in opposition to the dominant and its oppressive forces but also as a fight for the oppressed (Butz and Ripmeester 1999). Members of oppressed groups maintain a sense of group identity and solidarity within the campus culture, maintaining an identity in opposition to that of the dominant group. Solidarity may also emerge across oppressed groups who are all rele-

gated to the margins of campus culture under the auspices of the dominant group.

CAMPUS CULTURE AND CLIMATE

A campus's culture serves a few critical functions: (1) it communicates institutional identity; (2) it serves as a means through which individuals commit to the institution; (3) it facilitates stability of the social system within the institution; and (4) it mediates how individuals make sense of events and situations within and related to the institution (Kuh and Whitt 1988).


Campus racial climates are negatively affected when ethnic minority students feel culturally isolated or unsupported in their exploration and expression of their ethnic heritage and identity. Institutions can easily address these challenges through the development and support of "safe" cultural spaces. Examples of such spaces are racial/ethnic community centers, racial/ethnic student organizations, and racial/ethnic-themed residence halls (Antonio et al. 2012, p. 392).

Institutional culture is relatively stable. Changes to it are gradual and occur over time. Campus culture is a component that shapes the campus climate.

With respect to diversity, researchers have argued that the campus climate and its impact involve four connected elements: institutional context, structural diversity, psychological (perceptual) dimensions, and behavioral dimensions (Hurtado et al. 1998). Schools that are consistent across these four elements are able to enhance student outcomes through the creation of strong, supportive, and unified campus cultures (Dey 2009, p. 10).

Members of the dominant culture have greater access to the spaces in which culture and climate are mediated (Bourke 2010). This is important to note because research indicates that white students generally perceive the PWI campus as being open and welcoming (Rankin and Reason 2005) whereas students of color perceive the PWI

Seats Always Available.




Come see what AACRAO Online has to offer you...

Our ever-expanding Web site is filled with timely information and news for the growing community of registrars and admissions officers in the United States and around the world. Association members enjoy special benefits and exclusive access to AACRAO's higher level resources and news. Here's a small sampling of what content areas the site includes:

- AACRAO Transcript (An Online News Source)
- Jobs Online
- Webinars
- Transfer Credit Practices (TCP) Online
- Bookstore
- Self-Assessment
- Online Courses and much more...

Pull up a chair and give us a visit today at www.aacrao.org

www.aacrao.org



AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGIATE REGISTRARS AND ADMISSIONS OFFICERS

campus climate to be chilly, unwelcoming, and hostile (Hurtado 1992, Rankin and Reason 2005).

MARGINALIZATION

Like other areas of scholarship that have investigated the experiences of members of underrepresented racial groups, the literature is rich with analyses of the ways in which these groups of students experience marginalization at PWIs. As with some aspects of diversity, there is no single agreed-upon definition of marginalization or of what it means to students. However, the varying perspectives of marginalization can be assigned to two categories: (1) that marginalization is the result of self-segregation by members of underrepresented racial groups (D'Sousa 1991); and (2) that marginalization is the result of members of underrepresented racial groups being forced to the margins (Antonio *et al.* 2012).

Within the perspective of self-segregation is a view of marginalization as being chosen. That is, through their efforts to self-segregate, members of underrepresented racial groups make active choices to live outside of the center and to be disengaged. In contrast, balkanization represents that the occupation of the margins by members of underrepresented racial groups is not by free choice (Chang 2002). Rather, balkanization is an option of no other resort where members of underrepresented groups are forced to choose self-segregation, resulting in what appear to be freely formed racial enclaves.

Through the lens of CRT, the former perspective is both naïve and lacking. The choice of self-segregation seems irrational. Through the lens of CRT, this perspective begs the following question: why would anyone attend at PWI to knowingly and willingly forgo the rights and opportunities associated with participation? Critical race theorists posit that “racism has contributed to all contemporary manifestations of group advantage and disadvantage” (Dixson and Rousseau 2006, 33). Whether self-segregation is the result of free association or balkanization, students of color continue to be marginalized at PWIs. As Tatum (1997) addresses in *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?* the observable physical marginalization of students of color can result in marginalization that cannot be seen—namely, exclusion. The right to exclude is one of the key elements of the property rights of whiteness (Delgado and Stefancic 2001).

IMPLICATIONS

This article demonstrates that the term “predominantly white institution” means much more than simply the number of white students that are enrolled in relation to the number of members of underrepresented groups that are enrolled. It is important for those working in enrollment management to have a deeper understanding of the ways in which colleges and universities in the United States are labeled and discussed. It can be easy to view the label “predominantly white institution” as simply a reflection of enrollment numbers, but the significance of the PWI label goes much farther.

Despite institutional leaders’ espousing such ideals as democratic education and valuing diversity, students of color continue to experience PWIs differently than members of the dominant culture do. Feelings of alienation may lead some students of color to a variety of responses, ranging from withdrawal from interactions outside of their subculture to withdrawal from the institution. Self-segregation of students of color is often seen as a result of alienation from the dominant culture of the institution. Such self-segregation may result from students of color searching for belonging that they have difficulty finding in a white-dominant world and that is accentuated by the heightened sense of whiteness in the microcosm of the PWI.

Those working in enrollment management at PWIs need to take notice of diversity on their campuses. Knowing the demographic breakdown of each cohort is not enough. Enrollment management professionals need to understand the ways in which race is experienced on campus. Likewise, attending to structural diversity via diverse admissions without addressing organizational elements that can aid student engagement (see Kuh *et al.* 2006) will result in little that can positively affect student enrollments (Milem 2003). To guide the pursuit of greater understanding, the following questions need to be considered:

- Does the curriculum—particularly general education requirements—reflect diverse perspectives?
- In what ways (and in what places) are students of color engaged on campus?
- To what extent do campus traditions and celebrations reflect the diversity of the student population?

Exploring answers to these questions on individual campuses can serve enrollment management profession-

als well. Honest answers represent a starting point for understanding the ways in which whiteness is present in the campus culture of a PWI. Further, the resultant knowledge can aid enrollment management professionals in developing strategic plans aimed at fostering more inclusive learning environments and at communicating the ways in which these environments are supported. Inclusive learning environments have been shown to have positive effects on students' development in personal, social, and intellectual realms (Santos *et al.* 2007). These positive effects can, in turn, have a positive impact on the retention of students of color (Swail, Redd and Perna 2003). This is significant because a primary goal of enrollment management is to positively affect student enrollments, to include retaining students with the aim of matriculation through graduation (Hossler 2014).

It is important to be mindful of the intricacies of race on college campuses. When crafting race-conscious policies, programs, and services, enrollment management professionals, in collaboration with student affairs educators, need to work closely with faculty to create plans to diversify learning environments through more than compositional diversity. As leaders within enrollment management work to address calls for diversity, they must remain mindful of the ways in which diversity is constructed. It is also critically important to remember that simply increasing the numbers of diverse others can have little effect on the lived experiences of those students on campus.

CONCLUSION

Scholarship related to diversity in higher education has increased significantly in recent years. It is no longer sufficient for enrollment management professionals to build knowledge of diversity. Rather, they have a responsibility to work toward inclusion in ways that relate to the "organizational integration of functions" (Hossler 2014, pp. 7–8) within institutions. Enrollment management professionals—not the development of enrollment management functions—are to blame for the predominance of whiteness at PWIs. This reminder of responsibility is actually a shared responsibility throughout PWIs.

PWIs exist as more than institutions bound by a basic label. This article makes the case that what is predominant at PWIs is not simply the number of white students versus the number of students of color but embedded institu-

tional practices that are based in whiteness. In using CRT as a critical lens for this examination, this article seeks to draw attention to the significance of the term "predominantly white institution"—and to the fact that it is more than a simple label. Rather, "predominantly white institution" signifies the extent to which whiteness is embedded throughout interconnected organizational practices, including those aimed at positively affecting student enrollments.

REFERENCES

- Antonio, A.L., J.F. Milem, and M.J. Chang. 2012. Approaching diversity work in the university: Lessons from an American context. In *As the World Turns: Implications of Global Shifts in Higher Education for Theory, Research, and Practice*, edited by W.R. Allen, R.T. Teranishi, and M. Bonous-Hammarth. UK: Emerald Group Publishing.
- Benitez, M., and J. DeAro. 2004. Realizing student success at Hispanic-serving institutions. *New Directions for Community Colleges*. 127: 35–48.
- Bourke, B. 2010. Experiences of black students in multiple cultural spaces at a predominantly white institution. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*. 3(2): 126–135.
- Butz, D., and M. Ripmeester. 1999. Finding space for resistant subcultures. *Invisible Culture: An Electronic Journal for Visual Studies*. 2. Retrieved from: <rochester.edu/in_visible_culture/issue2/butz.htm>.
- Chang, M.J. 2002. Preservation or transformation: Where's the real educational discourse on diversity? *Review of Higher Education*. 25(2): 125–140.
- Crenshaw, K.W. 1995. Race, reform, and retrenchment: Transformation and legitimation in anti-discrimination law. In *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*, edited by K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller, and K. Thomas. New York: The New Press.
- Cuyjet, M.J., Ed. 2006. *African American Men in College*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- D'Souza, D. 2001. The new segregation on campus. *American Scholar*. 60(1): 17–30.
- Elam, C., and G. Brown. 2005. The inclusive university: Helping minority students choose a college and identify institutions that value diversity. *Journal of College Admission*. 187: 14–17.
- Dayton, B., N. Gonzalez-Vasquez, C.R. Martinez, and C. Plum. 2004. Hispanic-serving institutions through the eyes of students and administrators. *New Directions for Student Services*. 105: 29–39.
- Delgado, R., and J. Stefancic. 2001. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. New York: New York University Press.
- Demby, G. 2015. The long, necessary history of 'whiny' black protesters at college. Code switch: Frontiers of race, culture, and ethnicity. National Public Radio. December 17. Retrieved from: <npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2015/12/17/459211924/the-long-necessary-history-of-whiny-black-protestors-at-college>.
- Dey, E.L. 2009. Another inconvenient truth: Capturing campus climate and its consequences. *Diversity and Democracy: Civic Learning for Shared Futures*. 12(1): 10–11.
- Dixson, A.D., and C.K. Rousseau. 2006. And we are still not saved: Critical race theory in education ten years later. In *Critical Race Theory in Education: All God's Children Got a Song*, edited by A.D. Rousseau and C.K. Rousseau. New York: Routledge.
- Elam, C., and G. Brown. 2005. The inclusive university: Helping minority students choose a college and identify institutions that value diversity. *Journal of College Admission*. 187: 14–17.


- Harris, C. 1995. Whiteness as property. In *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*, edited by K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller, and K. Thomas. New York: The New Press.
- Hooks, B. 1992. *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Boston: South End Press.
- Hossler, D. 2014. Origins of strategic enrollment management. In *Handbook of Strategic Enrollment Management*, edited by D. Hossler and B. Bontrager. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Hughes, R.L. 2014, May 29. Ten signs of institutionalized racism. *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*. Retrieved from: <<http://diverseeducation.com/article/64583>>.
- Hurtado, S. 1992. The campus racial climate: Contexts of conflict. *The Journal of Higher Education*. 63(5): 539–69.
- Hurtado, S., J.F. Milem, A.R. Clayton-Pedersen, and W.R. Allen. 1998. Enhancing campus climates for racial/ethnic diversity through educational policy and practice (20th anniversary edition). *Review of Higher Education*. 21(3): 279–302.
- . 1999. Enacting diverse learning environments: Improving the campus climate for racial/ethnic diversity in higher education. *ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Reports Series*. 26(8). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Hutcherson, P.A. 2008. Shall I compare thee? Reflections on naming and power. In *Understanding Minority-serving Institutions*, edited by M. Gasman, B. Baez, and C.S. Viernes Turner. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Kingkade, T., L. Workneh, and R. Grenoble. 2015. Campus racism protests didn't come out of nowhere, and they aren't going away quickly: Mizzou seems to have catalyzed years of tension over inequality and race. *The Huffington Post*. November 16. Retrieved from: <huffingtonpost.com/entry/campus-racism-protests-didnt-come-out-of-nowhere_56464a87e4b08cda3488bfb4>.
- Kozol, J. 1991. *Savage Inequalities*. New York: Crown.
- Krenshaw, K., N. Gotanda, G. Peller, and K. Thomas. 1995. *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*. New York: The New Press.
- Kuh, G.D., and E.J. Whitt. 1988. The invisible tapestry. Culture in American colleges and universities. *ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report*. 1. Washington, DC: Association for the Study of Higher Education.
- Kuh, G.D., J. Kinzie, J.H. Schuh, E.J. Whitt & Associates. 2005. *Student Success in College: Creating Conditions That Matter*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ladson-Billings, G., and W.F. Tate IV. 1995. Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record*. 97(1): 47–68.
- . 2006. Toward a critical race theory of education. In *Critical Race Theory in Education: All God's Children Got a Song*, edited by A.D. Dixson and C.K. Rousseau. New York: Routledge.
- Milem, J.F. 2003. The educational benefits of diversity: Evidence from multiple sectors. In *Compelling Interest: Examining the Evidence on Racial Dynamics in Colleges and Universities*, edited by M.J. Chang, D. Witt, J. Jones, and K. Hakuta. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- NPR Staff. 2013. How slavery shaped America's oldest and most elite colleges. Code switch: Frontiers of race, culture, and ethnicity. National Public Radio. September 17. Retrieved from: <npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/09/17/223420533/how-slavery-shaped-americas-oldest-and-most-elite-colleges>.
- Omi, M., and H. Winant. 1986. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s*. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Rankin, S.R., and R.D. Reason. 2005. Differing perceptions: How students of color and white students perceive campus climate for underrepresented groups. *Journal of College Student Development*. 46(1): 43–61. January/February.
- Robinson, T. 1999. Property interests and due process in public university and community college student disciplinary proceedings. *School Law Bulletin*. 30(4): 10–20.
- Santos, S.J., A.M. Ortiz, A. Morales, and M. Rosales. 2007. The relationship between campus diversity, students' ethnic identity, and college adjustment: A qualitative study. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*. 13(2): 104–114.
- Smith, D.G., and L.E. Wolf-Wendel. 2005. The challenge of diversity. *ASHE Higher Education Report*. 31(1).
- Stahl, J.M. 2005. Research is for everyone: Perspectives from teaching at historically black colleges and universities. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*. 24(1): 85–96.
- Swail, W.S., K.E. Redd, and L.W. Perna. 2003. Retaining minority students in higher education: A framework for success. *ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report*. 30(2).
- Tatum, B.D. 2003. *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? And Other Conversations about Race*. New York: Basic Books.
- Valdes, F., J. McCristal Culp, and A.P. Harris. 2002. *Crossroads, Directions, and a New Critical Race Theory*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Wille, S.S. 2003. *Acting Black: College, Identity and the Performance of Race*. New York: Routledge.

About the Author

BRIAN BOURKE is Assistant Professor, Postsecondary Education, at Murray State University. His research is focused on student diversity and professional values of student affairs.

Copyright of College & University is the property of American Association of Collegiate Registrars & Admissions Officers and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.

Disrupting Postsecondary Prose: Toward a Critical Race Theory of Higher Education

Urban Education
2016, Vol. 51(3) 315–342
© The Author(s) 2015
Reprints and permissions:
sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav
DOI: 10.1177/0042085915602542
ueh.sagepub.com


Lori D. Patton¹

Abstract

Ladson-Billings and Tate ushered critical race theory (CRT) into education and challenged racial inequities in schooling contexts. In this article, I consider the role CRT can play in disrupting postsecondary prose, or the ordinary, predictable, and taken for granted ways in which the academy has functioned for centuries as a bastion of racism and White supremacy. I disrupt racelessness in education, but focus primarily on postsecondary contexts related to history, access, curriculum, policy, and research. The purpose of this article is to commemorate and extend Ladson-Billings and Tate's work toward a CRT of higher education.

Keywords

racism, postsecondary education, diversity

“The masters tools will never dismantle the masters house.”

—Audre Lorde

In 1995, Ladson-Billings and Tate wrote *Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education*, inarguably one of the strongest critiques of the educational system. They noted how race remained untheorized in education and proposed that

¹Indiana University–Purdue University Indianapolis, USA

Corresponding Author:

Lori D. Patton, Higher Education and Student Affairs Program, Indiana University School of Education, Indiana University–Purdue University Indianapolis, 902 W. New York St., Room 3116, Indianapolis, IN 46202, USA.
Email: lpatton@indiana.edu

analyses of educational inequity, must explicitly acknowledge the role of racism/White supremacy¹ in education. Ladson-Billings and Tate ushered critical race theory (CRT) into education, challenging scholars and educators to raise questions, engage in conscientious dialogue, and produce research in which CRT would serve as a tool and framework to unsettle racelessness in education. Much of their emphases were placed on K-12 schooling contexts, providing a platform to extend CRT to higher education. In this article, I disrupt racelessness in education, but focus specifically on higher education and the challenges associated with moving the academy forward in a way that explicitly names racism/White supremacy in areas such as college access, curriculum, and policy. This article commemorates and extends Ladson-Billings and Tate's work toward a CRT of higher education.

Over the last 10 years, scholars have used CRT to examine educational research (Chapman, 2007; Duncan, 2002; Parker, 2015), urban schooling (Dixson, Buras, & Jeffers, 2015; Lynn, 2002; Vaught & Castagno, 2008), parental involvement (Auerbach, 2002; Howard & Reynolds, 2008; Lynn, 2004), teacher education and preparation (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Pane & Rocco, 2012), critical race praxis (Stovall, 2004, 2006), and CRT's trajectory within educational research (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Lynn & Parker, 2006). Consistent in this scholarship is a strong focus on K-12 education (Patton, Haynes, Harris, & Ivery, 2014). However, higher education is not immune, but perhaps complicit in the creation of racial inequities in K-12 schooling. More prominent scholarship on higher education grounded in CRT is needed. Patton et al. stated,

The fact that higher education scholarship is limited in its use of CRT should not be perceived as a purposeful attempt by researchers to avoid engaging race (though in some instances it may very well be the case) . . . the lack of effort to explicitly grapple with . . . racism/white supremacy . . . is a persistent trend that is symptomatic of a society that would rather tiptoe around the issue of race rather than directly address it. (p. 136)

Scholars within the field of higher education have begun to incorporate CRT to expose hidden and blatant inequities. Harper, Patton, and Wooden (2009) used CRT to argue reform efforts to advance African American education had also limited their educational progress. Patton, Harper, and Harris (2015) use CRT to examine commonly studied areas in U.S. higher education such as student engagement and college access. Patton, McEwen, Rendón, and Howard-Hamilton (2007) used CRT to challenge the racelessness of student development theory, a prominent area within the student affairs field. At the time of his study, Harper (2012) found that CRT had only been

substantively used in five higher education–related journal articles within his database, suggesting research in the field warrants a more intricate and complex treatment of race and racism. Scholarship from Solórzano, Yosso, and others with whom they collaborate was among the first to highlight the usefulness of CRT in understanding issues germane to postsecondary settings (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso, Parker, Solórzano, & Lynn, 2004; Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009). In addition, scholars have examined faculty experiences (Croom & Patton, 2011–2012; Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Hughes & Giles, 2010; Patton & Bondi, 2015; Patton & Catching, 2009; Solórzano, 1998) and student experiences (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Donner, 2005; Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011; Patton, 2006; Villalpando, 2003). CRT analyses of affirmative action, and desegregation policies have also been conducted (see Gafford Muhammad, 2009; Taylor, 1999, 2000). The aforementioned research does not fully capture existing scholarship but provides a lens on higher education and CRT’s role in *disrupting postsecondary prose*, or the ordinary, predictable, and taken for granted ways in which the academy functions as a bastion of racism/White supremacy.

To further disrupt academic prose in higher education, I offer three propositions to inform educational inequity in postsecondary contexts and the embedded complexities of racism/White supremacy:

Proposition 1: The establishment of U.S. higher education is deeply rooted in racism/White supremacy, the vestiges of which remain palatable.

Proposition 2: The functioning of U.S. higher education is intricately linked to imperialistic and capitalistic efforts that fuel the intersections of race, property, and oppression.

Proposition 3: U.S. higher education institutions serve as venues through which formal knowledge production rooted in racism/White supremacy is generated.

U.S. Higher Education History as Primer for Continued Racial Inequity

Proposition 1

Capturing the present context of racism/White supremacy in higher education requires acknowledging its violent, imperialistic, and oppressive past. Evans-Winters and Hoff (2011) stated,

In a democracy it has been determined that education, and higher education, in particular play a major role in helping societies meet the demands of a post-industrial economy and in promoting the development of skills which potentially promote social equity. (p. 462)

Popular rhetoric suggests higher education is the great equalizer and affords life opportunities, particularly to those who, regardless of circumstance, “work hard.” This meritocratic discourse is laced with racist and classist assumptions that ensure hard work alone is insufficient for marginalized groups to excel. This discourse attaches nobility to higher education without examining its contributions to the inequality it purports to disrupt.

I argue U.S. higher education, from its genesis, has been a primary force in persistent inequities. For example, Wilder (2013) examined linkages between Ivy League institutions and slavery. He noted how the charter members of colonial colleges were from slave-owning families who made their fortunes from slavery and the crops/products that resulted from slave labor. Brown University was among the first to commission research on its connection to slavery and other institutions followed.

Wilder’s research alongside other archival investigations reveal that the wealth experienced by the United States as a result of the transatlantic slave trade was also experienced by and even facilitated through higher education institutions. Many celebrated institutional icons, after whom buildings are named, were the greatest contributors to the oppression of enslaved Africans and North American Indigenous populations. The revelation of a past in which human beings were stolen and brutally mistreated for the causes of institutional advancement and financial stability demonstrates how higher education’s formation mimicked the formation of the United States. In *And We Are Not Saved*, Bell uses narrative to capture how the “founding fathers” knowingly chose to rely on the enterprise of slavery to subsidize this country. Irrefutably, many of the men who participated in the constitutional convention were also involved in the establishment of postsecondary institutions or attended them. Among the 55 delegates, 5 attended Harvard, 6 attended Yale, 11 attended Princeton, 5 attended College of William and Mary, 3 attended University of Pennsylvania, 2 attended Columbia, and 1 attended Dartmouth (TeachingAmericanHistory.org). Wilder notes that the College of New Jersey (Princeton) had 8 presidents within its first 27 years, and all owned slaves. Institutional benefactors, trustees, and leaders were also involved with higher education. Wilder stated, “Governors and faculties used slave labor to raise and maintain their schools, and they made their campuses the intellectual and cultural playgrounds of the plantation and merchant elite” (Wilder, 2013, p. 138). These men solidified the racist ideologies that continue to promulgate higher education.

Delgado and Stefancic (2012) discussed challenging ahistoricism by revising histories that celebrate oppressors and deny the voices of those who experience/d oppression. It is troubling that so few institutions have made concerted efforts to connect their past in palatable ways to address longstanding inequities, which negatively affected African Americans and Indigenous groups and the overwhelming wealth accumulation that carried these institutions into the future. Harvard University's \$36.4 billion endowment remains the largest and will continue to increase. Yet, there has been no substantive institutional acknowledgment that Harvard's wealth and accumulation of resources were largely established through enslavement. Upon revealing its connections to slavery, the profits from which contributed to institutional wealth accumulation, Harvard created a website but has not offered a concrete plan of action to address historical wrongdoing. Sefa Dei (1999) noted, "Dominant group members are usually aware that any acknowledgement of complicity in racial subordination seriously compromises their positions of power and privilege" (p. 401). Considering Bell's (1995, 2004) interest convergence principle, it would be naïve to expect institutions to make more than symbolic efforts toward remedying their histories unless they have a vested interest that would ensure benefits.

Other noteworthy examples link higher education's past to present such as the overwhelmingly White composition of the U.S. Congress, Senate, and Supreme Court. Of the nearly 2,000 senators throughout U.S. history, only 26 have been people of color. President Barack Obama represents the only (in this lifetime) non-White President of the United States. The Supreme Court past and present is majority White. These observations are not earth shattering because the presence of White faces appears ordinary. The issue with longstanding, predominantly White membership is that the voices of people of color never have been represented in a more substantial capacity. Throughout history, nearly every governmental leader attended college and law school or some other post baccalaureate training. Most if not all attended elite, private institutions. The majority of U.S. Supreme Court justices attended Harvard and Yale Universities, and many of their decisions are cloaked in racist ideologies that disenfranchise racially marginalized groups. That so many leaders entered higher education and graduated without being prompted or encouraged to examine race and racism is reflective of how colleges fail in educating students to live, work, and interact across differences for racial equity.

Proposition 2

In this proposition, I argue institutions, from their establishment, relied on larger racist narratives and existing legislation to engage in oppression. Lopez

(2006) explained laws promoted violence and “altered the physical appearances of this country’s people, attached racial identities to certain types of features and ancestry, and established material conditions of belonging and exclusion that code as race” (p. 85). The construction of race through law determined citizenship and property. Violence was used to enforce law and construct race. Harris (1993) explained the historical role of the legal system in constructing Whiteness as property and validating those with White skin as full citizens. The confluence of White skin and citizenship allowed Whites, particularly men, the sole right to own and occupy land as well as people. White people engaged in centuries of domination over and exclusion of Black and other groups, while accumulating significant wealth.

The convergence of race, property, and oppression is intricately linked to the formation of U.S. higher education. Although early institutions faced significant financial struggle, their leaders quickly connected slave trading to institutional viability. Institutions used slavery for capitalistic gain as they strengthened the establishment of their physical campuses. Moreover, institutions, most led by clergy and businessmen, used their connections to secure land from Native peoples through theft and violence. Leaders engaged in their own version of manifest destiny by allowing donors to believe they would be evangelizing and civilizing Indians (Calloway, 2010; Wright, 1988). The end result was education extended to White men, several who would later become leaders of these same institutions and follow similar practices of deception, violence, and monetary gain in the name of White superiority.

Higher education still represents the complex relations between race, property, and oppression. Despite the growth and change in U.S. demographics, the academy is an overwhelmingly White terrain in terms of physical representation of White students and symbolically in terms of curriculum, campus policies, and campus spaces.

The curriculum, for example, excludes diverse perspectives and allows the rights of use and enjoyment via a Eurocentric lens that aligns more with White people’s experiences (Harris, 1993). The curriculum operates with a disposition toward “cannon” knowledge and information that has been passed down throughout generations, ensuring Whiteness remains embedded, regardless of subject matter. Given its normalcy, the curriculum is rarely questioned because it provides a “good” education without accounting for the benefits that accrue for White people. Property rights in Whiteness also exist within diversity-related courses. Many institutions offer or require these courses as one effort to diversify the curriculum. Yet, students “enter and exit stand-alone cultural diversity courses unchanged, often reinforcing their stereotypical perceptions of self and others in the process” (Brown, 2004,

p. 325). A host of courses can fall within the category of “diversity” without any essential material that really promotes deeper learning and knowledge acquisition about diversity. As a result, diversity becomes so broad that racism and other issues that deal specifically with dismantling oppression get neutralized.

Institutional responsibility for providing a curriculum reflective of diversity is touted by academic leaders despite the obtuse language that shapes the discourse. Diversity course requirements will likely continue as a mainstay in higher education because they promote the appearance of diversity efforts while doing very little to disrupt the status quo. Jay (2003) asserted,

Transformative knowledge is dangerous. It threatens those dominant groups in our society who have a vested interest in the perpetuation of the mainstream academic knowledge that supports the maintenance of dominant structures, long-present inequities, and the current power arrangements in the United States that often serve to subordinate racial minorities . . . The teaching of transformative knowledge poses serious threat to the dominant power structures operating in American society that privileges Whites over all other racial groups. (p. 5)

Diversity courses represent incremental changes that are easy to digest, non-threatening, and most beneficial to White people. Higher education leaders can espouse a commitment to diversity and a progressive stance through offering diversity courses, all while knowing many of these courses commoditize diversity. Despite diversity courses, the curriculum is one form of property that belongs to White people, thus, the experiences and perspectives are primarily limited to White interests, and dismissive of the experiences of people of color (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Yosso, 2002). Any effort to disrupt these property rights at any point on the educational pipeline is immediately challenged (see Clark, 2015; Gibney, 2013; Manual-Logan, 2015).

Proposition 3

Higher education institutions are heralded as the spaces in which knowledge for the consumption and benefit of the larger society is centrally produced. Kerr (2001) was “convinced that new knowledge still makes the world go round and that the university is still its main source” (p. X). From a historical standpoint, much of this knowledge production is designed to colonize the mind (Sefa Dei, 1999). Pine and Hilliard (1990) argued, “Historically, every academic discipline—psychology, biology, geography, religion, philosophy, anthropology, literature, history—has been used to justify colonialism and racism” (p. 595). Scheurich and Young (1997) accurately refer to the

legitimized ways of knowing in the academy as “epistemological racism.” Knowledge production in the academy not only fuels racist ideologies, which are then infused into the structure of law, science, religion, and education, but also corrupts everyday thinking. For example, scholars (Dennis, 1995; Fairchild, 1991; Gersh, 1987; Gould, 1996) have discussed the role of scientific racism for the purposes of maintaining White purity and superiority, as well as imposing epistemicide on people of color by rationalizing the tremendous inequities toward these groups (Grosfoguel, 2013). Higher education’s role in the production of scientific racism is remarkable, and not in a good way. Wilder (2013) argued, “Race did not come *from* science and theology; it came *to* science and theology. Racial ideas were born in the colonial world, in the brutal and deadly processes of empire building” (p. 182). Faculty scientists in the early colleges and universities introduced race into science using the corpses of Africans and Native Americans to study and make leaping claims about the fate of these groups. Randall (1996) explained that slaves were used as “instructional material for teaching medical students” (p. 196). The scientists, responsible for great medical discoveries, and situated on college campuses, were heavily involved in the vile treatment of enslaved Africans and production of racial cleansing ideologies and “Darwinism.”

The Eugenics Movement is a notable example. Eugenecists were committed to racial purification ideologies for the sustenance of superior breeds (Whites). Inferior breeds were not expected to survive and deemed as threatening to societal advancement. The Eugenics Movement was saturated with higher education scholars, scientists, and institutional leaders including David Starr Jordan, the seventh president of Indiana University and founding president of Stanford University, and Charles Eliot, a science professor who would later become the president of Harvard. Both were members of the Race Betterment Foundation, founded by John Harvey Kellogg (New York University Medical School), Charles Davenport (Harvard), and Irving Fisher (Yale). Gersh (1987) stated,

... by the end of World War I, the process of creating a scientific basis for the defense of privilege and inequality was completed. The interaction of eugenics activists with elite funding produced a network of eugenics organizations, which in turn produced a growing interest in the creation of tests that would demonstrate the superior intellect of those in privileged positions. The interaction among elite-sponsored foundations, universities headed by eugenics activists, and psychologies trained in the perspectives of hereditarian thought produced the first IQ test. (p. 170)

Higher education institutions were critical in the development of the United States because their leaders and faculty could intellectualize the spread of

White superiority under the guise of science and make their claims believable and taken as absolute truth. Academicians could push the values and benefits of an educated citizenry and by doing so, increase interest among White people (particularly the sons of plantation owners) to attend colleges and universities, guaranteeing success, wealth, and the production of leaders, clergy, and businessmen, all of whom were White. The university remains the primary “locus” of knowledge production, in both past and current contexts, whereas the government and industry are all mutually shaping forces (Godin & Gingras, 2000).

In this section, I described three propositions, for understanding the enactment of racism/White supremacy in higher education. These propositions reveal a clear juxtaposition between racism, capitalism, White (male) domination and power. Although the focus is largely on higher education in the United States, the system does not exist in isolation. Higher education is connected to business and industry, religion, and other entities that allow it to both facilitate and reproduce inequality. In the next section, I analyze vexing higher education issues referencing commonly identified tenets of CRT. I frame each issue and its complexities with a simple question or set of questions as outlined below because disrupting postsecondary prose, or the embedded nature of White supremacy, requires asking questions about, as well as responding to, processes that fuel racial inequities.

Who Are the Educators?

According to National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) data, 79% of faculty members are White. They comprise the majority of full professors, endowed chairs, college and university presidents, and trustees. White men are the primary beneficiaries of leadership positions in postsecondary institutions, with the exception of historically Black institutions and some minority serving institutions. The lack of racial diversity among higher education faculty and leaders is an unsurprising, longstanding trend that is commonplace in the academy. The deeply embedded nature of White supremacy is also evident in faculty promotion and tenure processes, which are presumed to be fair and impartial. Citation practices within academic scholarship are also insidious. In his examination of citation practices among law school faculty, Delgado (1984) demonstrated how scholarship produced by people of color is often marginalized, footnoted, or unacknowledged while a small grouping of White faculty repeatedly cited their own work, contributing to their status. In tenure and promotion cases, faculty members must explain the impact of their scholarship, which is often done through citations. The process of getting one’s scholarship published is wrought with racist implications because

many journal editorial boards serve as gatekeepers, often favoring “mainstream” research (Stanley, 2007). Simply stated, imperialistic scholarship practices often exclude people of color and have long-term implications on tenure and promotion.

Consumers of higher education can anticipate that little change will occur in the functioning of higher education given the stagnant nature of the leadership (all of whom are college educated), policies, racial climate, curriculum, and culture, which are deeply rooted in Whiteness. The reproduction of racism occurs without much disruption because those with the power to change institutions were also educated by these institutions, meaning they graduate from their institutions and often perform their lives devoid of racial consciousness.

The everyday nature of race allows it to remain hidden and even when revealed, remain unaddressed. This is quite noticeable at the undergraduate level. Harper and Patton (2007) stated,

It is entirely possible for students to graduate from college without critically reflecting on their racist views, never having engaged in meaningful conversations about race, and using racially offensive language unknowingly. When issues of race do emerge, many people, whites in particular, are disinterested and argue fatigue. They are tired of talking about it. Tired of hearing about how racist, alienating, and devaluing the campus is. Oftentimes, educators are responsible for letting students and ourselves off the hook rather than engaging the conversation and the necessary subsequent action. (p. 2)

The failure to push students to examine their own racial biases and racist attitudes results in racist college graduates who later become racist professionals, lawmakers, institutional leaders, teachers, and so on. In other words, students are educated in White supremacy as they pursue a “higher” education. Phenomena such as these are well documented in the literature on teacher education, as well as law and medical schools. The teacher education literature is saturated with examples of students who are ill-prepared to enter the teaching profession and have little to no understanding of race (Cross, 2003; Morrell, 2010; Pane & Rocco, 2012; Solomona, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005; Sleeter, 2000, 2001). These teachers, nearly 90% of whom are White women, are educated on college campuses, within schools of education that typically have predominantly White teacher educators, who create and then impart the same race-absent curricular knowledge on to students, who graduate their institutions and go on to teach more students using a White lens. Ladson-Billings (2005) argued, “much of the literature on diversity and teacher education is silent on the cultural homogeneity of the teacher education faculty” (p. 230). The homogeneity to which she refers is commonplace not only in schools of education but also in most academic programs across

institutions, with the exception of ethnic studies and similar programs. Not much changes when examining medical schools. Hafferty and Franks (1994) insist medical schools are “moral communities” and training for the field involves not only the formal curriculum but also the “hidden curriculum.” They stated, “what is taught” in this hidden curriculum often can be antithetical to the goals and content of those courses that are formally offered.

These trends are taken for granted, but have extreme consequences, not only for more diverse racial representation in higher education but also for the creation of equitable hiring practices that would secure teachers of color and more thoughtful development of a curriculum to challenge students’ racist thought processes and encourage them to eradicate racism in their teaching practices and personal lives. These trends also have implications for how the increasingly diverse student body that is entering college (if they are lucky enough to gain access) and their White counterparts will be (mis)educated. For medical schools, there are implications for how racially minoritized communities will be treated and for the ever-present health disparities these groups face due to racism (Randall, 1996; van Ryn et al., 2011). In law schools, the trends reveal poor representation of the rights and experiences of minoritized groups and ensure the continued racial injustice they experience. These trends point to postsecondary prose, a predicament that has occurred consistently overtime within colleges and universities, and that safeguards the positioning of racism/White supremacy in education and in society.

Whose Story Is Newsworthy?

Higher education rhetoric suggests students have excellent educational experiences that prepare them for life after graduation. However, based on race, academic preparation can and often does look different. Concepts and phrases such as “learning outcomes” “assessment” and “evaluation” are regularly used to gauge how students experience college but rarely account for, at least in a critical way, the nuanced experiences that shape the racial realities of college life. CRT scholars value and acknowledge the power of counter storytelling and the practice of naming one’s reality. I argue that postsecondary institutions, predominantly White in particular, suppress the voices of racially marginalized groups through the negative campus racial climates that exude an atmosphere of disinvite.

From the early 1970s to present, scholars have consistently written about Black students at predominantly White institutions (PWIs). Experiences such as being singled out in the classroom for the “minority” perspective, feeling like the “fly in the buttermilk,” being cast as the affirmative action admit, and having little to no representation of your culture visible on campus are just a

few examples of the microaggressions and isolation that racially minoritized students endure. These experiences become intensified based on students' racial and ethnic affiliation and contribute to their differential racialization (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). For example, Asian American students are treated as model minorities, a divisive tactic rooted in exceptionalism, whereas all Latinas/os are "Mexicanized" and presumed to be "illegal aliens." American Indian students are reduced to mascots and historic relics. Collectively, these instances describe campus environments rooted in racism/White supremacy.

The systemic devaluing of people of color in higher education is unjust and contributes to a dominant narrative in which stereotypes are promulgated absent redress. These stereotypes are filtered through racist fraternity and sorority parties that mock and insult people of color and college athletics in which students and their talents are commoditized (Associated Press, 2015; Donner, 2005).

Although students have racially disenfranchising experiences in college, they also counter this one-note script for the sake of psychological self-preservation (Villalpando, 2003). They use social media (e.g., I Too Am Harvard) to present an alternative reality, engage in peer pedagogies, rely on counter spaces such as culture centers or multicultural affairs offices on campus (Harper, 2013; Patton, 2006; Stewart, 2011), or reach for support beyond the campus (family, church). Institutions have not seriously engaged in disrupting the racist status quo. Doing so requires acknowledgment of and space for reenvisioning a campus where students of color are valued and all are educated about the realities of race and racism (Harper & Patton, 2007).

Who Is Invited?

The dominant narrative of meritocracy suggests anyone can attend college. Although some will never experience college, others have unlimited access to any college. College access discourses are laced with racially coded language determining who can attend college and what college they will attend. "College readiness" is one concept in the access discourse. Readiness is often determined by K-12 education experiences. Literature has shown that disproportionately, students of color attend schools with fewer resources, have limited access to advanced placement courses, and typically have lower standardized test scores (Fletcher & Tienda, 2010; Hallett & Venegas, 2011; Welton & Martinez, 2013; Yamamura, Martinez, & Saenz, 2010). With minor exception, the shaping of this discourse is rooted in racial inferiority of people of color and their lack of capital, rather than systemic and structural

oppression. It focuses on what people of color *do not* have, instead of what they *do* have.

White students benefit from a legacy of privilege that ensures most of them will attend college. Given the history of U.S. institutions, White people have legacy admissions privileges because of family names that date back generations. Hurwitz (2011) stated, “Relatives of alumni (legacies) offer enthusiasm and familiarity to colleges, and the special treatment awarded them in the admissions process helps to preserve generational ties that also are intended to motivate financial generosity” (p. 481). White students are the primary beneficiaries of legacy admissions. According to Hurwitz’s (2011) study of highly selective colleges, the probability of college admission for legacy admits is 23.3% higher. For primary legacies, or students whose parents attended the institution, the probability increased by 45.1% in comparison with non-legacies (Ashburn, 2011). The idea of legacy admissions in higher education should not be separated from the enslavement of Africans and the labor by these “propertied” individuals, which resulted in institutional wealth, land, and resources. It cannot exist separate from generations of men and women, mainly White, who attended the most prestigious and wealthy institutions and can now engage their “rights of disposition” to ensure that their children also benefit (Harris, 1993).

Access, cloaked in the myth of hard work, without acknowledging racism in the college admissions, recruitment, and admissions policies is irresponsible. Each year, admissions counselors travel to identify “top” students attending “top” schools and recruit them to their respective institutions. However, top schools and top students are usually White and middle-class. As a result, racial diversity, an important aspect of recruitment, gets minimized as White students fill up institutional seats, and fewer students of color are represented. Patton et al. (2015) stated,

CRT scholars would argue that this lack of representation is not merely accidental but instead by design; institutions, states, federal policies, and policymakers—most of whom are white—all play a role in who gains access to higher education and who is afforded prime opportunities to thrive in these environments. Given the preponderance of post-racial rhetoric, higher education as an entity has been complicit in submitting to the ideals of colorblindness and race neutrality. (p. 196)

Whose Intellectual and Physical Property?

Currently, research within science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) are considered prime “intellectual real estate” in the academy. STEM

researchers are more likely to gain institutional support and external funding to enhance their work. STEM-related research is important, but underlying elitist discourses position it as more or most important than any other field of study. Merton (1988) references this phenomenon as cumulative advantage, or

the social processes through which various kinds of opportunities for scientific inquiry as well as the subsequent symbolic and material rewards for the results of that inquiry tend to accumulate for individual practitioners of science, as they do also for organizations engaged in scientific work. (p. 606)

This elitism is rooted in racist ideologies, particularly given the historical trajectory of scientific racism and the continued absence of people of color in STEM fields.

The overwhelming Whiteness of STEM reveals property rights in Whiteness, particularly the absolute right to exclude. Although efforts are underway to increase representation, recruitment is only one aspect. The racism embedded within STEM learning environments must also be disrupted, particularly if the goal is to retain students of color to contribute to a more diverse STEM workforce. Scholars describe isolated STEM environments that exude a culture of Whiteness and are unwelcoming to people of color (Herzig, 2004; Johnson, 2012; Soldner, Rowan-Kenyon, Inkelas, Garvey, & Robbins, 2012), yet the climate remains unchanged. Faculty are not challenged to rethink their curriculum, relinquish their biases, or connect with students of various racial groups.

The STEM fields are highly valued allowing faculty to accumulate wealth and resources to produce more STEM research. STEM faculty can secure tenure, continued promotion, prominence, and other rewards. However such rewards, primarily accrue for White faculty who occupy the bulk of STEM academic spaces. Such benefits are less likely in humanities and social science fields where there is greater likelihood of finding more people of color. This is not to suggest that other fields are less racist than STEM, but to simply note that there are more people of color, particularly in the field of education. Ironically, education is devalued at institutions of higher education, particularly because resources and funding, although available, do not exist in abundance as they do in STEM. Ultimately, there is a *de facto* segregation that occurs in academia or as Delgado Bernal and Villalpando (2006) suggest, an “apartheid of knowledge” in higher education. Thus, STEM fields which are largely populated by White people are valued over education, humanities, and social sciences, where more people of color are likely to be situated, resulting in a devaluation of intellectual knowledge in comparison (p. 169).

Overall, intellectual “property” in the academy is about more than creative license and ownership. It is also about having the capacity and resources to produce “valued” knowledge and capitalize on it for increased advantages.

The promotion of STEM over other fields of study is not accidental. Instead, this phenomenon may well be linked to the role of science and the capacity for scientists, particularly academics, to promote ideas (whether scientifically derived and ethically sound or not), under the guise of science, to make them sound true and relevant for the masses. Such was the case with scientific racism. In the present context, the knowledge produced by the science community is undeniable, particularly, in the biological sciences. Academic scientists and researchers who sought cures and treatments for various ailments and diseases produced tremendous knowledge about human life. The wealth of medical discoveries is important, but how some of this science was produced is intricately linked to scientific racism, poor ethics, and utter disregard for human life. Randall (1996) stated,

Many people are surprised at the level of distrust of the health care system held by African Americans. However fear and distrust . . . is a natural and logical response to the history of experimentation and abuse . . . this fear and distrust is rarely acknowledged in traditional bioethical discourse. (pp. 190-191)

The case of Henrietta Lacks is telling. While seeking treatment for a medical condition, doctors at Johns Hopkins took a sample of her cells, unbeknownst to her. These cells, presently known as the HELA line, have been studied over time and reproduced, and are key to medical advancement. The science community, largely situated on university campuses and affiliated hospitals, benefitted greatly from the medical deception and exploitation of Lacks, a young African American woman; yet, her living family remained in poverty. Lacks’ cells became the property on which many scientists capitalized past and present (see hooks, 2013). Presently, universities are still complicated in poorly conceived ethical protections for human subjects, subjects from whom they receive vital bio-materials that are worth significant amounts of money (Andrews, 2005). These same subjects are neither beneficiaries of these large sums of money and are exploited in the name of scientific research, produced by top university entities.

Property and the seizing of it for institutional expansion also has larger implications in terms of how institutions acquire space and from whom they acquire the space. History has shown how institutions were intricately involved in Indian removal processes to acquire additional land for campus expansion. Removal in present day contexts is described as “gentrification” and “urban renewal,” both of which presumably enhance neighborhoods and communities as

new residents—who disproportionately are young, white, professional, technical, and managerial workers with higher education and income levels—replace older residents—who disproportionately are low-income, working—class and poor, minority and ethnic group members, and elder—from older and previously deteriorated inner-city housing in a spatially concentrated manner . . . (Marcuse, 1985, pp. 198-199)

Gentrification allows more White, affluent, educated people to encroach on and displace low-income and racially marginalized communities, shifting everything from racial demographics, education, and housing options. Where higher education is concerned, several institutions, especially those located in urban areas, have used their power and money to displace and dislocate communities of color over the years. For example, Mullins and Jones (2005) studied the expansion of Indiana University's "premier urban research campus," IUPUI. The desire to expand its medical school and create an undergraduate campus was possible only by removing African Americans who lived in the surrounding area. Once a flourishing locale for African American families, businesses, and churches in the 1960s, Mullins and Jones noted,

Today hundreds of acres of homes that stood in the neighborhood in 1960 are all gone, their heritage is often completely unrecognized, and the vast scope of transformation and the university's complicity in that transformation is ignored or inelegantly remembered. (p. 251)

In efforts to rebuild American cities, the establishment and expansion of universities in urban areas were heavily supported by federal legislation. The Federal Housing Act of the 1950s provided financial support for "urban renewal areas," solidifying the involvement of urban universities in "reshaping urban America" (Mullins & Jones). Similar instances of urban universities whose expansion expressly displaced families of color occurred with the University of Illinois at Chicago, University of Pennsylvania, and Columbia University (Etienne, 2012; Krissoff Boehm & Corey, 2015; Maurasse, 2001; Webb, 2013). Mullins and Jones (2005) stated,

Research on urban campuses provides powerful opportunity to conduct truly engaged scholarship and make unrecognized but deep-seated privileges visible. Much of the archaeological story to be told on such campuses revolves around the racial and class privileges that made university expansion possible and now have rendered it rather invisible, even as many of these institutions now experience a tension between the willingness to face up to their institutional complicity in urban renewal and simultaneously continue spatial expansion. (p. 251)

Which Institutions?

For most of this discussion, I have referenced the more elite, selective institutions in the United States, namely because their practices of exclusion set the stage for how other institutional types would emerge. However, as part of the overall postsecondary system, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal colleges, community colleges, and for-profit institutions as well as regional campuses are not immune from the racism/White supremacy that permeates higher education. In other words, the language used to reference different institutional types is racially coded where “elite and selective” mean White and wealthy. All other institutions are marked in some way to differentiate them by social class or primary racial group affiliations, hence “Black” in HBCU, “Tribal” to refer to Native American institutions, and “White” to describe predominantly White institutions. The racial signifiers delineate which people would be more likely to attend a given institution with very little blurring of color and class lines. Community colleges and for-profit institutions primarily educate low-income, working-class, and racially minoritized groups. More in-depth exploration, beyond the scope of this article, reveals how these various institutions came into existence and how the categories have been perfectly maintained for centuries in some cases and decades in others.

The first historically Black institutions were established to educate African Americans because they were not allowed access to existing institutions. Deemed intellectually inferior and fit only for manual labor, early private HBCUs were supported by missionaries, while the federal government via the Morrill Land Grant Acts established later institutions (Anderson, 1988; Jenkins, 1991; Wennersten, 1991). Most Tribal Colleges are tribally controlled and were established in the late 1960s to educate native populations (American Indian Higher Education Consortium, 1999). Both HBCUs and Tribal Colleges are among the few places where African American and Native American cultures, respectively, are highly valued and sustained. The federal government has never equitably funded these institutions. Nor have their financial resources at any point in history been on par with predominantly White institutions (e.g., Harvard endowment is \$32.7 billion, whereas Howard endowment is \$460.7 million). They have not benefitted from generations of wealth that elite colleges and universities have seen, and federal mandates have only provided cursory support for these institutions.

Presently, the relevance of HBCUs is consistently questioned (Egwu, 2011; Stuart, 2013; Tobolowsky, Outcalt, & McDonough, 2005). Community colleges are only recently gaining traction and national attention due to the Obama Administration’s college attainment efforts. However, a community

college education is only valued to a certain extent in comparison with an education from an elite, more selective institution. For-profit institutions are overwhelmingly populated with people of color. Such institutions are presumably devoted to student success but have garnered a reputation as degree mills that leave many students swimming in debt, namely, people of color. Higher education is not only a racist system, but one mediated by class and status of various institutions.

How Is Diversity Filtered Through Policies and Programs?

Gillborn (2005) refers to education policy as an “act of White supremacy.” It is dangerous to believe the cure for racism/White supremacy is contained in law and policy alone. Their effectiveness is closely linked to how they are interpreted and implemented. Scholars have written about the role of policy and its impact on and within higher education. Much of the scholarship focuses on affirmative action policies, and rightfully so. The debates surrounding affirmative action are longstanding and complex and receive their greatest attention in relation to race-conscious admissions policies. The most well-known argument in favor of affirmative action is couched in the discourse of diversity. Moses and Chang (2006) described the process through which the “diversity rationale” was created and has been maintained, not only as a legal strategy to shape educational policy but also as an intellectual tradition. They argued the diversity rationale merits “serious and careful attention” due to its capacity to both hinder and promote progress. As Bell (2003) noted, diversity is a huge distraction and makes it difficult to determine victory from defeat.

The idea of diversity is a fashionable concept used throughout higher education, regardless of context. Most within-college and university settings would argue the value of having diversity. However, higher education has not reached a point of true racial diversity, in terms of demographics or with regard to policies, procedures, the curriculum, and numerous other areas. Diversity is espoused in higher education, but not sufficiently enacted. At an institutional level, diversity-related policies and programs purportedly foster a sense of accountability on college campuses. They also presumably reflect the institution’s commitment to diversity. However, efforts to enact diversity typically result in three outcomes: Diversity efforts in higher education diminish the significance of race, become synonymous with *race* only, and/or place a huge burden of the work toward racial diversity on racially minoritized groups.

For example, Iverson’s (2007) examination of diversity policies revealed racially coded language that further marginalized people of color. She found

these policies used White men as the standard to which students of color were measured and when those students were deemed as meeting this standard, they gained access or “insider status.” In other words, they were rewarded for adhering to White male standards and presumed to be exceptional. Moreover, the language used in these plans constructed a deficit discourse of students of color as deficient and at-risk. The plans also failed to explicitly name the racist structures that promote unsafe and unwelcoming environments for people of color. Diversity policies, although designed to ensure diversity, often foster structural and systemic racism/White supremacy in higher education. Iverson stated, “A university’s diversity action plan may construct a world for racial minorities that disqualifies them from participation, even as it strives to include them as full participants” (p. 592).

Patton, Ranero, and Everett’s (2011) critical race analysis of multicultural student services and programming (MSS) also points to how their existence becomes synonymous with race only. For example, “traditional” campus activities such as homecoming and welcome week, although open to all, tend to be very exclusive and unwelcoming. Thus, MSS offices bear the brunt of the work for welcoming students of color and making them feel a semblance of belonging. MSS offices are largely responsible for doing the “diversity” work that others on campus will not do and are not held accountable for doing (Stage & Hamrick, 1994). Ultimately, PWIs where most MSS offices are located benefit greatly from the presence of MSS, while placing a huge burden on these offices to support students of color rather than enacting an institution-wide commitment to these students.

Despite the rhetoric of diversity, many in higher education are unnecessarily afraid of it. During a recent exercise in free speech, I learned a group of students on the Indiana University Bloomington campus held signs that read “diversity = white genocide.” As troubling and erroneously conceived as this idea is, students have a right to exercise freedom of speech. Free speech policies represent another example of how racism/White supremacy gets diminished. Lawrence (1990) noted college campuses “have seen a resurgence of racial violence and a corresponding rise in the incidence of verbal and symbolic assault and harassment to which blacks and other traditionally subjugated groups are subjected” (p. 434). Although written more than two decades ago, Lawrence’s quote holds significant, present-day relevance. Racist speech is everywhere on campuses, and some would argue the most blatant forms are spoken on fraternity (and sorority) row (Owens Patton, 2008). The challenge surrounding racist speech is that it is “protected,” like all speech, despite how injurious the language/actions might be. After the damage has been done, those using racist speech may claim their words were not intended to be offensive or harmful, and in some cases offer an apology. Neither action

addresses the psychological injury of the person who was offended, nor does the action lead to more substantive efforts to educate the offender. Despite the existence of campus policies in place to regulate speech on campuses, racist speech will remain protected due to the First Amendment. Lawrence details the common argument:

We recognize that minority groups suffer pain and injury as the result of racist speech, but we must allow this hate mongering for the benefit of society as a whole. Freedom of speech is the life blood of our democratic system . . . we cannot allow the public regulation of racist invective and vilification because any prohibition broad enough to prevent racist speech would catch in the same net forms of speech that are central to a democratic society. (p. 457)

Lawrence's interpretation of the contradictory arguments surrounding the protection of hate speech is a reminder that despite higher education's diversity rhetoric, racially minoritized people and other oppressed groups must make sacrifices for the greater good even despite efforts to diminish our humanity.

Despite the existence and promotion of diversity discourses in programs and policies, it is clear that on the one hand efforts are made. On the other hand, every effort results in further disenfranchisement for people of color. Bell (2003) noted, "these are difficult times for those working for racial equity." His words are prophetic as institutions continue to argue from a diversity stance, yet yield outcomes that are the very antithesis to diversity and racial justice.

Looking Toward the Future, Despite the Past

One might presume that the field of higher education would have, at minimum, called attention to the lineage of racism in the academy. Although numerous scholars have discussed and conducted research on topics that on the surface seem to deal with race, more often than not issues of racism/White supremacy remain invisible in the higher education literature, particularly in relation to studies about the organizational structure, governance, and leadership of higher education, the history and philosophy of higher education, finance and management of higher education, student affairs administration, research on institutional type, and so on. As noted earlier, Harper's (2012) work on race and racism in higher education research revealed that scholars rarely acknowledged these factors to explain issues of retention, success, access, and overall experience for college students. Given that we live

in a “post-racial” society, racism/White supremacy continues to flow throughout higher education literature and research.

In this article, I offered three propositions toward a CRT of higher education. In doing so, my goal was to explicitly discuss the role of racism/White supremacy in the academy, particularly its influence on virtually every aspect of the higher education enterprise. This analysis revealed the endemic and inherently racist structures of higher education. It also highlighted the importance of revising history to present more accurate accounts of the establishment of U.S. higher education. The numerous examples presented above demonstrate the usefulness and importance of foregrounding race, naming White supremacy, disrupting dominant, Eurocentric ideologies, challenging neutrality and colorblindness, and legitimizing the experiences of people of color. Moreover, the examples reveal the convergence of racism along with other forms of oppression (classism, imperialism) and how they manifest in higher education. Plainly stated, higher education has a long way to go, and CRT can and should be used as an epistemological lens for studying and transforming higher education as part of a larger social justice agenda. As a racial realist, I fully accept the idea that racism/White supremacy will not end; nevertheless, I am hopeful and fully committed to dismantling them in higher education (and beyond). In closing, I offer one final proposition for readers to consider: *Higher education serves as a space for transformative knowledge production that challenges dominant discourses and ways of operating in and beyond the academy.* I offer this proposition fully acknowledging that higher education cannot serve as the only mechanism through which racism/White supremacy is dismantled. However, colleges and universities educate thousands of lawyers, doctors, judges, teachers, professors, scientists, business owners, leaders, and citizens in this country; the influence of higher education is undeniable. The conceptualization and growth of CRT within the walls of the academy suggest that higher education, although culpable for the remanufacturing of racism/White supremacy, can also exist and serve as a contested space in which scholars of color and all committed to racial justice can galvanize to influence the future of higher education and its role within society. Institutions must collectively consider their impact and strategies for re-envisioning the future of higher education in a way that not simply educates students but also educates them about race and prepares them to disrupt racism, White supremacy, and other forms of systemic oppression.

Acknowledgment

The author would like to thank Dr. Chayla Haynes and LaWanda Ward for reviewing and offering feedback on earlier versions of the manuscript.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Note

1. For the purposes of this article, I will use racism/White supremacy interchangeably.

References

- American Indian Higher Education Consortium. (1999, February). *Tribal colleges: An introduction*. Retrieved from http://www.aihec.org/who-we-serve/docs/TCU_intro.pdf
- Anderson, J. D. (1988). *The education of blacks in the south, 1860-1935*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Andrews, L. B. (2005). Harnessing the benefits of biobanks. *Journal of Law, Medicine & Ethics*, 33, 22-30.
- Ashburn, E. (2011, January 5). *At elite colleges, legacy status may count more than was previously thought*. The Chronicle of Higher Education. Retrieved from <https://chronicle.com/article/Legacys-Advantage-May-Be/125812/>
- Associated Press. (2015, March 15). *Timeline: List of recent sorority and fraternity racist incidents*. Retrieved from <http://college.usatoday.com/2015/03/15/timeline-list-of-recent-sorority-and-fraternity-racist-incidents/>
- Auerbach, S. (2002). "Why do they give the good classes to some and not to others?" Latino parent narratives of struggle in a college access program. *Teachers College Record*, 104, 1369-1392.
- Bell, D. (1995). Brown v. Board of Education and the interest convergence dilemma. *Harvard Law Review*, 93, 518-533.
- Bell, D. (2003). Diversity's distractions. *Columbia Law Review*, 103, 1622-1633.
- Bell, D. (2004). *Silent covenants: Brown v. Board of Education and the unfulfilled hopes for racial reform*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, E. L. (2004). What precipitates change in cultural diversity awareness during a multicultural course: The message or the method. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 55, 325-340.
- Calloway, C. G. (2010). *The Indian history of an American institution: Native Americans and Dartmouth*. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England.
- Chapman, T. K. (2007). Interrogating classroom relationships and events: Using portraiture and critical race theory in education research. *Educational Researcher*, 36, 156-162.
- Clark, L. (2015). *White professor teachers "problem of whiteness" course at Arizona State*. Retrieved from <http://campusreform.org/?ID=6225>

- Croom, N. N., & Patton, L. D. (2011-2012). The miner's canary: A critical race perspective on the representation of black women full professors. *Negro Educational Review*, 62-63(1-4), 13-39.
- Cross, B. E. (2003). Learning and unlearning racism: Transferring teacher education curriculum to classroom practices. *Theory Into Practice*, 42, 203-209.
- Delgado, R. (1984). The imperial scholar: Reflections on a review of civil rights literature. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 132, 561-578.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2012). *Critical race theory: An introduction* (2nd ed.). New York: New York University Press.
- Delgado Bernal, D. (2002). Critical race theory, Latino critical theory, and critical raced-gendered epistemologies: Recognizing students of color as holders and creators of knowledge. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8, 105-126.
- Delgado Bernal, D., & Villalpando, O. (2002). An apartheid of knowledge in academia: The struggle over the "legitimate" knowledge of faculty of color. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 35, 169-180.
- Dennis, R. M. (1995). Social Darwinism, scientific racism, and the metaphysics of race. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 64, 243-252.
- Dixson, A. D., Buras, K. L., & Jeffers, E. K. (2015). The color of reform: Race, education reform, and charter schools in post-Katrina New Orleans. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21, 288-299.
- Dixson, A. D., & Rousseau, C. K. (2005). And we are still not saved: Critical race theory in education ten years later. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8, 7-27.
- Donner, J. K. (2005). Towards an interest-convergence in the education of African-American football student athletes in major college sports. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8, 45-67.
- Duncan, G. A. (2002). Critical race theory and method: Rendering race in urban ethnographic research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8, 85-104.
- Egwu, C. A. (2011). *HBCUs: Still relevant in the "post-racial" era?* Retrieved from <http://thegrio.com/2011/09/27/hbcus-still-relevant-in-the-post-racial-era/>
- Etienne, H. F. (2012). *Pushing back the gates: Neighborhood perspectives on university-driven revitalization in West Philadelphia*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Evans-Winter, V. E., & Hoff, P. T. (2011). The aesthetics of white racism in pre-service teacher education: A critical race theory perspective. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 14(4), 461-479.
- Fairchild, H. H. (1991). Scientific racism: The cloak of objectivity. *Journal of Social Issues*, 47(3), 101-115.
- Fletcher, J. M., & Tienda, M. (2010). Race and ethnic differences in college achievement: Does high school attended matter? *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 627(1), 144-166.
- Gafford Muhammad, C. (2009). Mississippi higher education desegregation and the interest convergence principle: A CRT analysis of the "Ayers settlement." *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 12, 319-336.
- Gersh, D. (1987). The corporate elite and the introduction of IQ testing in American public schools. In M. Schwartz (Ed.), *The structure of power in America: The corporate elite as a ruling class* (pp. 163-184). New York, NY: Holmes & Meier.

- Gibney, S. (2013). *Teaching while black and blue*. Retrieved from <http://gawker.com/teaching-while-black-and-blue-1473659925>
- Gildersleeve, R. E., Croom, N. N., & Vasquez, P. (2011). "Am I going crazy?!": A critical race analysis of doctoral education. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 44*, 93-114.
- Gillborn, D. (2005). Education policy as an act of white supremacy: Whiteness, critical race theory and education reform. *Journal of Education Policy, 20*, 485-505.
- Godin, B., & Gingras, Y. (2000). The place of universities in the system of knowledge production. *Research Policy, 29*, 273-278.
- Gould, S. J. (1996). *The mismeasure of man* (Rev. and Exp. ed.). New York, NY: W.W. Norton.
- Grosfoguel, R. (2013). The structure of knowledge in westernized universities: Epistemic racism/sexism and the four genocides/Epistemicides of the long 16th century. *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge, 11*, 73-90.
- Hafferty, F. W., & Franks, R. (1994). The hidden curriculum, ethics teaching, and the structure of medical education. *Academic Medicine, 69*, 861-871.
- Hallett, R. E., & Venegas, K. M. (2011). Is increased access enough? Advanced placement courses, quality, and success in low-income urban schools. *Journal for the Education of the Gifted, 34*, 468-487.
- Harper, S. R. (2012). Race without racism: How higher education researchers minimize racist institutional norms. *Review of Higher Education, 36*(1), 9-29.
- Harper, S. R. (2013). Am I my brother's teacher? Black undergraduate racial socialization, and peer pedagogies in predominantly white postsecondary contexts. *Review of Research in Education, 37*, 183-211.
- Harper, S. R., & Patton, L. D. (Eds.). (2007). *Responding to the realities of race* (New Directions for Student Services, No. 120). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Harper, S. R., Patton, L. D., & Wooden, O. S. (2009). Access and equity for African American students in higher education: A critical race historical analysis of policy efforts. *Journal of Higher Education, 80*, 389-414.
- Harris, C. I. (1993). Whiteness as property. *Harvard Law Review, 106*, 1707-1791.
- Herzig, A. H. (2004). Becoming mathematicians: Women and students of color choosing and leaving doctoral mathematics. *Review of Educational Research, 74*, 171-214.
- hooks, b. (2013). *Writing beyond race: Living theory and practice*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Howard, T. C., & Reynolds, R. (2008). Examining parent involvement in reversing the underachievement of African American students in middle-class schools. *Educational Foundations, 22*(1-2), 79-98.
- Hughes, R. L., & Giles, M. (2010). CRiT walking in higher education: Activation critical race theory in the academy. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 13*, 41-57.
- Hurwitz, M. (2011). The impact of legacy status on undergraduate admissions at elite colleges and universities. *Economics of Education Review, 30*, 480-492.
- Iverson, S. V. (2007). Camouflaging power and privilege: A critical race analysis of university diversity policies. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 43*, 586-611.

- Jay, M. (2003). Critical race theory, multicultural education, and the hidden curriculum of hegemony. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 5(4), 3-9.
- Jenkins, R. L. (1991). The Black land-grant colleges in their formative years, 1890-1920. *Agricultural History*, 65(2), 63-72.
- Johnson, D. R. (2012). Campus racial climate perceptions and overall sense of belonging among racially diverse women in STEM majors. *Journal of College Student Development*, 53, 336-346.
- Kerr, C. (2001). *The uses of the university*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Krissoff Boehm, L., & Corey, S. H. (2015). *America's urban history*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ladson-Billings, G. J. (2000). Fighting for our lives: Preparing teachers to teach African American students. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 51, 206-214.
- Ladson-Billings, G. J. (2005). Is the team alright? Diversity and teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 56, 229-234.
- Ladson-Billings, G. J., & Tate, W. F., IV. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record*, 97(1), 47-68.
- Lawrence, C. R. (1990). If he hollers let him go: Regulating racist speech on campus. *Duke Law Review*, 39(3), 431-483.
- Lopez, I. H. (2006). *White by law* (2nd ed.). New York: New York University Press.
- Lynn, M. (2002). Critical race theory and the perspectives of Black men teachers in the Los Angeles public schools. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 35, 513-532.
- Lynn, M. (2004). Inserting the "race" into critical pedagogy: An analysis of "race-based epistemologies." *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 36, 153-165.
- Lynn, M., & Parker, L. (2006). Critical race studies in education: Examining a decade of research on U.S. schools. *Urban Review*, 38, 257-290.
- Manual-Logan, R. (2015). *Howard University Middle School teachers fired for teaching Black history*. Retrieved from <http://newsone.com/3088010/howard-university-middle-school-firings/>
- Marcuse, P. (1985). Gentrification, abandonment, and displacement: Connections, causes, and policy responses in New York City. *Urban Law Annual: Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law*, 28(4), 195-240.
- Maurasse, D. J. (2001). *Beyond the campus: How colleges and universities form partnerships with their communities*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Merton, R. K. (1988). The Matthew effect in science, II: Cumulative advantage and the symbolism of intellectual property. *ISIS: A Journal of the History of Science Society*, 79(4), 606-623.
- Morrell, J. (2010). Teacher preparation and diversity: When American pre-service teachers aren't white and middle class. *International Journal of Multicultural Education*, 12(1), 1-17.
- Moses, M. S., & Chang, M. J. (2006). Toward a deeper understanding of the diversity rationale. *Educational Researcher*, 35, 6-11.
- Mullins, P. R., & Jones, L. C. (2005). Race, displacement, and twentieth-century university landscapes: An archaeology of urban renewal and urban universities. In J. A. Barns (Ed.), *The materiality of freedom: Archaeologies of postemancipation life* (pp. 250-262). Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

- Owens Patton, T. (2008). Jim Crow on fraternity row: A study of the phenomenon of blackface in the white southern fraternal order. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 15, 150-168.
- Pane, D. M., & Rocco, T. S. (2012). Teaching disruptive students: An indictment of colorblind teacher education programs. In M. S. Plakhotnik, S. M. Nielsen, & D. M. Pane (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 11th Annual College of Education & GSN Research Conference* (pp. 105-113). Miami: Florida International University. Retrieved from http://education.fiu.edu/research_conference/
- Parker, L. (2015). Critical race theory in education and qualitative inquiry: What each has to offer each other now? *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21, 199-205.
- Patton, L. D. (2006). The voice of reason: A qualitative examination of Black student perceptions of the Black culture center. *Journal of College Student Development*, 47, 628-646.
- Patton, L. D., & Bondi, S. (2015). Nice white men or social justice allies? Using critical race theory to examine how white male faculty and administrators engage in ally work. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 18(4), 488-514. doi:10.1080/13613324.2014.1000289
- Patton, L. D., & Catching, C. (2009). Teaching while black: Narratives of African American student affairs faculty. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 22, 713-728.
- Patton, L. D., Harper, S. R., & Harris, J. C. (2015). Using critical race theory to (re) interpret widely-studied topics in U.S. higher education. In A. M. Martinez-Aleman, E. M. Bensimon, & B. Pusser (Eds.), *Critical approaches to the study of higher education* (pp. 193-219). Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Patton, L. D., Haynes, C. M., Harris, J. C., & Ivery, S. M. (2014). Perhaps the field of education isn't so nice after all: A review essay and examination of critical race research in postsecondary contexts. *NASAP Journal*, 15(2), 135-148.
- Patton, L. D., McEwen, M., Rendón, L., & Howard-Hamilton, M. F. (2007). Critical race perspectives on theory in student affairs. In S. R. Harper & L. D. Patton (Eds.), *Responding to the realities of race* (New Directions for Student Services No. 120, pp. 39-54). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Patton, L. D., Ranero, J., & Everett, K. (2011). Multicultural student services through a different lens: A critical race perspective. In D. Lazarus Stewart (Ed.), *Building bridges, re-visioning community: Multicultural student services on campus* (pp. 63-80). Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- Pine, G. J., & Hilliard, A. G., III. (1990). Rx for racism: Imperatives for America's schools. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 71, 593-600.
- Randall, V. R. (1996). Slavery, segregation and racism: Trusting the health care system ain't always easy! An African American perspective on bioethics. *Saint Louis University Public Law Review*, 15(2), 191-235.
- Scheurich, J. J., & Young, M. D. (1997). Coloring epistemologies: Are our research epistemologies racially biased? *Educational Researcher*, 26(4), 4-16.
- Sefa Dei, G. J. (1999). Knowledge and politics of social change: The implication of anti-racism. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 20, 395-409.

- Sleeter, C. E. (2000). Epistemological diversity in research on preservice teacher preparation for historically underserved students. *Review of Research in Education, 25*, 209-250.
- Sleeter, C. E. (2001). Preparing teachers for culturally diverse schools: Research and the overwhelming presence of whiteness. *Journal of Teacher Education, 52*, 94-106.
- Soldner, M., Rowan-Kenyon, H., Inkelas, K. K., Garvey, J., & Robbins, C. (2012). Supporting students' intentions to persist in STEM disciplines: The role of living-learning programs among other social-cognitive factors. *The Journal of Higher Education, 83*(3), 311-336.
- Solomona, R. P., Portelli, J. P., Daniel, B., & Campbell, A. (2005). The discourse of denial: How white teacher candidates construct race, racism and "white privilege." *Race Ethnicity and Education, 8*, 147-169.
- Solórzano, D. G. (1998). Critical race theory, race and gender microaggressions, and the experience of Chicana and Chicano scholars. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*, 121-136.
- Solórzano, D. G., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. J. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *The Journal of Negro Education, 69*(1-2), 60-73.
- Solórzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. (2001). Critical race and LatCrit theory and method: Counterstorytelling. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 14*, 471-495.
- Stage, F. K., & Hamrick, F. A. (1994). Diversity issues: Fostering campuswide development of multiculturalism. *Journal of College Student Development, 35*(5), 331-336.
- Stanley, C. (2007). When counternarratives meet master narratives in the journal editorial-review process. *Educational Researcher, 36*, 14-24.
- Stewart, D. (Ed.). (2011). *Building bridges, re-visioning community: Multicultural student services on campus*. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- Stovall, D. (2004). School leader as negotiator: Critical race theory, praxis, and the creation of productive space. *Multicultural Education, 12*(2), 8-12.
- Stovall, D. (2006). Forging community in race and class: Critical race theory and the quest for social justice in education. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 9*, 243-259.
- Stuart, R. (2013). *Panel says there should be no question about HBCUs' relevancy*. Retrieved from <http://diverseeducation.com/article/55775/>
- Taylor, E. (1999). Critical race theory and interest convergence in the desegregation of higher education. In L. Parker, D. Deyhle, & S. Villenas (Eds.), *Race is . . . race isn't: Critical race theory and qualitative studies in education* (pp. 181-204). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Taylor, E. (2000). Critical race theory and interest convergence in the backlash against affirmative action: Washington state and initiative 200. *Teachers College Record, 102*, 539-560.
- Tobolowsky, B. G., Outcalt, C. L., & McDonough, P. M. (2005). The role of HBCUs in the college choice process for African Americans in California. *The Journal of Negro Education, 74*, 63-75.

- van Ryn, M., Burgess, D. J., Dovidio, J. F., Phelan, S. M., Saha, S., Malat, J., . . . Perry, S. (2011). The impact of racism on clinician cognition, behavior, and clinical decision making. *Du Bois Review*, 8(1), 199-218.
- Vaught, S. E., & Castagno, A. E. (2008). "I don't think I'm a racist": Critical race theory, teacher attitudes, and structural racism. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 11, 95-113.
- Villalpando, O. (2003). Self-segregation or self-preservation? A critical race theory and Latina/o critical theory analysis of a study of Chicana/o college students. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16, 619-646.
- Webb, M. (2013). *The long and troubling history of penitentiaries in West Philly*. Retrieved from <http://philly.curbed.com/archives/2013/07/11/the-long-and-troubling-history-of-penitentiaries-in-west-philly.php>
- Welton, A. D., & Martinez, M. A. (2013). Coloring the college pathway: A more culturally responsive approach to college readiness and access for students of color in secondary schools. *Urban Review*, 46, 197-223.
- Wennersten, J. R. (1991). The travail of Black land-grant schools in the south, 1890-1917. *Agricultural History*, 65(2), 54-62.
- Wilder, C. S. (2013). *Ebony and ivy: Race, slavery, and the troubled history of America's universities*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury.
- Wright, B. (1988). "For the children of the infidels"? American Indian education in the colonial colleges. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 12(3), 1-14.
- Yamamura, E. K., Martinez, M. A., & Saenz, V. B. (2010). Moving beyond high school expectations: Examining stakeholders' responsibility for increasing Latina/o students' college readiness. *The High School Journal*, 93, 126-148.
- Yosso, T. J. (2002). Toward a critical race curriculum. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 35, 93-107.
- Yosso, T. J., Parker, L., Solórzano, D. G., & Lynn, M. (2004). From Jim Crow to affirmative action and back again: A critical race discussion of racialized rationales and access to higher education. *Review of Research in Education*, 28, 1-25.
- Yosso, T. J., Smith, W. A., Ceja, M., & Solórzano, D. G. (2009). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate for Latina/o undergraduates. *Harvard Educational Review*, 79, 659-691.

Author Biography

Lori D. Patton is associate professor of higher education and student affairs in the Indiana University School of Education. Her research and teaching interests focus on race, racism, and equity, campus diversity initiatives, such as culture centers, college student development, and the experiences of Black students, faculty and administrators in higher education.

Racial Reality Reflection

As participants of this workshop, you will participate in deep and critical reflection about your own racial identity. For this assignment, you will share stories of significant moments from your life that have impacted your view of race. These stories should not be an exhaustive list of your life, however should be moments in your life that made you think twice, that challenged you, that you look back on and critique, question, or of which you are proud. Ultimately, these stories should bring about an understanding of who you are racially and how you've become your racialized self. What is your racial reality?

Some themes to consider while writing your piece:

- Where did you grow up?
- When did you first become aware of race?
- What did your family teach you about race?
- What messages did you/have you received from peers, teachers, role models, and media about race?
 - What was the demographic makeup of your hometown? The schools you've attended? The shows/movies you've watched?
 - What types of books or stories did you read or learn about that talked about race or racism?
- What was your experience in school with people of other races?
- Did you ever have an educator of a race different than yours? What was your experience like?
- What experiences did you have in your postsecondary career that involved race?
- What experiences have you had with racism as a teacher/educator?

Rather than answering these questions in short answer format, choose a few and tell a story. Your reflection should be in narrative form; you are telling a series of stories that give the reader an understanding of your racial reality. You can incorporate your current experience and reflection about race and racism. **This assignment will be due during the last workshop session.** You will be asked to participate in small group discussions about your writing experience and share what you chose to write about. Be prepared to share what you've written and to maintain our confidentiality guideline.

Appendix C

Session Three - White Emotionalities and Fragility	
Facilitator(s)	One faculty member, one staff member
Learning Outcomes	<p>After participating in this session, faculty members will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● be able to define and identify White emotionalities and examples of White fragility ● reflect upon and critique their own emotional experience with Whiteness ● learn specific ways to engage and develop students through their own fragility
Purpose	This session is designed for participants to address and heal through understanding their emotional experiences and reactions to Whiteness in order to support their White racial identity development (Tatum, 1994, Helms, 1992). This session is designed to give participants a space to process their own emotions and also to recognize how to support other White people (potentially their students) when they see White fragility manifesting in various ways (Liebow & Glazer, 2019, Utt & Tochluk, 2016).
Allocated time	90 minutes
Materials needed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Projector ● PowerPoint ● Group Communication Guidelines (posted as a reminder) ● Copies of readings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Liebow & Glazer (2019) ● Aanerud (2015) Humility & Whiteness ● Saad (2018)
Setup	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Set up PowerPoint & computer ○ Post Group Communication Guidelines on wall
Session Outline/Details	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Intro/Reflection Question (10 mins) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Question of the day: What came up for you during the readings over the past week? What emotions have come up for you so far during this workshop series?</i> ○ Introduction question serves as a space for faculty members to begin thinking about the topic of the day ○ Participants will take 3 minutes to write down their own answer to the reflection question ○ Participants will then take 3 minutes to share with a partner <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ While participants are sharing with a partner, facilitators will walk around and engage in discussion/check in with participants ○ Facilitators will invite faculty members to share their reflections in the large group <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Facilitators will guide discussion and affirm participants' engagement and experiences ▪ Facilitators will address any important or significant political or world events that have taken place during the last week during this time, if applicable, in order to use current news as a learning tool. ▪ This will be helpful in the identity development of White faculty because it will show them that there are events that take place in the

world that are related to race every day and it is important to acknowledge those events

- **Defining Racial Terms (20 minutes)**

- Facilitators will introduce the concept of naming racial groups.
 - *Since this is a workshop series on race, we would like to address how we discuss and refer to members of different racial groups. The next activity will support our use of language around race through informed identification about appropriate racial terms to use in discussion*
- Facilitators will draw a large square on the board and instruct participants to draw their own boxes on a piece of paper
 - *Facilitators should make note to participants that they will not be asked to turn this paper in, nor will they be required to share it with anyone else in the workshop*
- Facilitators will give the following instructions:
 - Inside of the box, please write terms associated with race that you feel comfortable using or that you know are appropriate to use in conversations about race
 - Outside of the box make some sort of note (not necessary to write the words) of racial terms you dislike, are uncomfortable using, are aware they are not correct terms
 1. *there is no requirement here for people to write inappropriate terms on their papers. This space should not be used to caricature racial slurs. State this explicitly to participants*
 - On the line of the box, write words that you are unsure about
 - Before beginning the activity, facilitators will explain the process for naming groups that participants **do not belong to**
 1. *Because all participants in this workshop are members of the dominant racial group, we want to acknowledge that it is inappropriate to give you the power to name other racial groups as this process would enable you to exert power over non-dominant groups and uphold the system of oppression*
 2. *Instead of naming these groups off the top of your head, we ask that you take this time to do your own research about appropriate terms for racial groups to which you do not belong.*
- Facilitators will give 5 minutes to the group to complete their boxes
- Facilitators will give 5 minutes to the group to partner up and share their terms and questions
- Facilitators will take 10 min to discuss terms and complete box on the board using groups answers

- **White fragility Article Review (30 minutes)**

- Facilitators will break the large group into three small working groups. Each group will discuss an assigned reading. Facilitators will assign each group one of the readings in the following way:
 - Group one: Liebow & Glazer
 - Group two: Aanerud & Saad
 - Group three: Group Choice (allow group three to choose the reading that resonated the most with them)
- Throughout their group discussions, each group is responsible for defining important terms from their reading, identifying key themes and providing examples to conceptualize the meaning of the reading in relation to our campus
- Groups will share their reading, definitions, and key examples in a presentation format for the entire workshop group
- Facilitators will walk around to each group and engage in discussion
- Facilitators will support large group discussion and presentations by asking questions for clarification or to better understanding, and by providing their own examples where applicable

- **5-minute break**

- **Addressing White fragility and emotionalities in the classroom (30 mins)**

- Facilitators will break participants into small groups of 3-4
- Facilitators will distribute a series of examples of White fragility in the classroom and on campus to each small group
 - Examples include:
 1. A White student responds to a student of color by stating, “I shouldn’t be held accountable for what was done in the past. I wasn’t a supporter of slavery.”
 2. A colleague is outraged by a student club on campus (primarily composed of students of color) that publishes a statement for the entire campus to read about the racial injustice they have experienced during their time on campus. This colleague hits “Reply All” to this statement and publicly berates the student group, accusing them of “being divisive” and “not inclusive at all”
 3. A White student attempts to relate to a student of color who has experienced overt acts of racism by stating that they, too, are oppressed because their parents stopped giving them a monthly allowance once they started attending college
 4. You overhear a group of your White colleagues complaining about how they wish that colleagues and students of color, and allies to those communities would, “just stop talking about it. It’s 2020, we’re past race,” and “we’ve had a Black president”

	<p>5. A student of color approaches you after class and tells you that they feel like the way you handled discussion about the current racial movement in the United States was inappropriate, tone deaf, and tokenizing. You hear what the student says, keep your composure and thank them for addressing this issue with you. Once the student leaves your presence, you feel guilty, sad, angry, and lost</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Participants will be asked to analyze each scenario in their small groups: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What is happening in this scenario? ▪ What is your role as the bystander in this scenario? ▪ How do you address what's being said in this scenario? ○ Facilitators will lead discussion around each question and provide alternative action steps ○ Facilitators will also leave space to discuss any examples that participants have witnessed themselves and will engage the entire workshop group in creating solutions and action steps to take for each example ○ The purpose of addressing White emotionalities and fragility is to provide participants with the language and tools in calling themselves out and their colleagues in a way that is respectful and effective. In order to disrupt the further oppression and marginalization of people of color on campus and within the institution, it is important to acknowledge feelings of White fragility, process those feelings, and continue the work toward racial justice. This session will give vocabulary to participants and will challenge them to practice confronting those feelings both within themselves and with their colleagues, peers, and students ● Closing and gathering questions for RBF panel Session 4 (1 minutes) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Facilitators will close session and explain process for the upcoming student panel for session four. ○ <i>Thank you for your engagement today! For next session, we will have the following readings about the ways in which students of color experience higher education and predominantly White spaces: Smith, Yosso, Solorzano (2006), Franklin, Smith, & Hung (2014), Sue (2010)</i>
--	---

Humility and Whiteness

Rebecca Aamerud

“How Did I Look without Seeing,
Hear without Listening?”

Whiteness Interrupted

It was just over twenty-years ago that Ruth Frankenberg’s ground-breaking book *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* was published.

[1] Frankenberg’s book significantly helped to mark the beginning of a new sub-field of race studies: whiteness studies. Frankenberg’s goal was to complicate the race narrative in which “race” seemed to apply only to those who were not white, leaving white people somehow unmarked and oddly racially neutral. This seeming neutrality, so perfectly captured in Richard Dyer’s phrase of “ordinary, inevitable way of being human,” [2] is of course the indicator of an ideological norm and as such signifies racial privilege and material power. [3] Frankenberg’s book analyzed the discursive repertoires engaged by the thirty white women of her study. Through her analysis she highlighted various associations these white women had with

whiteness, such as boring, cultural-less, superior, and bad. While whiteness was not articulated as a “problem” by her study participants per se, many of their comments suggested discomfort and ambivalence as they map their whiteness onto the histories of colonialism, Western imperialism, and white supremacist groups within the United States. Indeed, as one participant put it: “What is there to us? Besides the largest colonial legacy anyone has ever seen in history, and the complete rewriting of everything anyone else knows himself by?” [4]

Although Frankenberg’s book was among the first critical analysis of whiteness by a white person, she was by no means the first writer to comment on and critique whiteness. Astute observations by W. E. B. Du Bois, Langston Hughes, bell hooks, and most notably James Baldwin tell the story of whiteness that is anything but “unmarked or neutral.” In fact, the history of racism in the United States is accompanied by detailed knowledge about whiteness because as Mia Bay notes, “African-American discussions of whiteness are embedded within a larger story of black resistance to racism.” [5] Yet, it remains true that many white people in the United States are woefully uninformed about whiteness as a site of structural racial advantage that carries with it ontological and epistemological implications. Certainly anyone who has taught classes on race and racism to white college and university students knows that familiar, predictable, and, in fact, thoroughly understandable moment when students begin to grasp the immense layers of violence done in the name of whiteness. All of a sudden the class moves from a place in which they have

positioned themselves as the “enlightened” ones to a place in which now they are the problem—complicit with the very systems they wish to dismantle. This moment is best described as both a political crisis and a spiritual crisis for the students. In this chapter, I explore the pedagogical promise of this moment. I introduce a theoretical framework of humility as a means for understanding how we might help our students negotiate (not negate) this difficult reality of being a white problem. By humility I am invoking three key concepts: the attention to the limitations of knowing and a willingness to stay within the space of uncertainty, the ongoing need for accountability, and the inescapability of the interconnection of all things.^[6]

Bad, Sad, and Mad

There are very few classes I teach that do not engage race, racism, and whiteness, most typically through the lens of gender and sexuality. The white students range from those fairly sophisticated in recognizing that they benefit from whiteness even as they experience oppression on the basis of their gender or sexual identities to those generally unaware of whiteness as a structural site of power and privilege. Yet, despite this range, all white students take on the whiteness problem in three similar ways, which I will colloquially refer to as “bad, sad, and mad.” Bad, sad, and mad represent three distinct responses or performances that privilege individual over structural responses. Bad is, of course, feeling bad about “being white.” It is an ontological crisis that is best understood as “white guilt.” White guilt, as James

Baldwin suggests is motivated by “personal incoherence.” Baldwin is referring to a particular story of entitlement that white Americans have told themselves in which they are the deserving recipients of material and social well-being. This story is set against a startling historical backdrop of racial exploitation, slavery, and murder. In a 1965 article, titled “White Man’s Guilt,” Baldwin writes that white people in the United States are “dimly or vividly aware that the history they have fed themselves is mainly a lie.”^[7] In the classroom, it is this awareness that propels white students into guilt or feeling bad. If guilt were somehow a productive psychological space, its occurrence could be welcome. But, it tends simply to reinscribe the centrality of the white subject, producing a self-serving paralysis. As Audre Lorde writes: “. . . all too often, guilt is just another name for impotence, for defensiveness destructive of communication; it becomes a device to protect ignorance and the continuation of things the way they are, the ultimate protection for changelessness.”^[8] When guilt settles in, students move from engaging in full and meaningful understandings of race and racism to disengaging, looking for the closest escape route. Sad, the second student response to the crisis of whiteness, has a different tenor from bad. Here students, not inappropriately, enter into a state of grief—grief for all the violence done in the name of whiteness and grief for the ways that racism has limited their own lives through misinformation and a rhetoric of difference rendered as fear and distrust. I often show my students a video on white flight in which the goal of town leaders is to create a fully racially integrated municipality. As more

African Americans move into this town, white people move out. In one particular class after showing this video, a young white man exclaimed that he would give anything to live in that desegregated town. His overarching expression was one of sadness that his own upbringing had been largely monolithically white. He was taught, not overtly but in subtle and unspoken ways, to fear racial difference and assume superiority. He told me later that this video helped make Audre Lorde's words about difference come alive for him. Lorde writes: "Certainly there are real differences between us [. . .]. But it is not those differences between us that are separating us. It is rather our refusal to recognize those differences, and to examine the distortions that results from our misnaming them and their effects upon human behavior and expectations."^[9] His sadness stemmed not just from the result of his upbringing, grounded in a particular pedagogy of whiteness, but that this pedagogy is itself so imbricated into a dominant narrative of Americanness for white people, that neither he nor his parents recognized its existence or its impact.

While bad, sad, mad are not developmental stages, in fact, white grief can fall into self-centered "woe is me" ontology, making it as useless as white guilt. White grief can also shift to whiteness as mad. For many of my students their most salient feeling is neither guilt nor grief, but anger. Whiteness as mad is an articulation of their frustration with racism—their own and that of others. It is also an articulation of the realization that racism is their problem as much as it is a problem for people of color. As I have written elsewhere, it was an unwelcome recognition that, despite

what I had been taught by my white parents, racism was indeed my problem and one that I would need to grapple with for the rest of my life.^[10] However, anger, more so than guilt or grief, holds the potential for transformation because, as Lorde has stated, anger is filled with information and energy. In an essay titled, "The Uses of Anger: Women Responding to Racism," Lorde explores the contours of anger. Recognizing that many people, particularly women, are taught to repress or deflect anger, Lorde offers a compelling argument for why anger is both a legitimate response to racism and necessary for bringing about change. She stresses that "anger expressed and translated into action in the service of our vision and our future is a liberating and strengthening act of clarification."^[11] Anger, for Lorde, unlike guilt or grief, holds the stronger possibility for transformation. However, like bad and sad, there is no automatic link between whiteness as mad and engaging in change. In fact, for some students, being mad inspires self-importance and impatience with others, reproducing the very same "enlightened" narrative initially disrupted by learning about the history of whiteness. Or, being mad can be a defensive response directed toward the fact of accountability itself.

Pedagogy of Humility

Regardless of whether the problem of whiteness is enacted as "bad, sad, or mad" by white students, the pedagogical approach must not be one of reassurance. Indeed the pedagogy needed at these moments is one that invites the white students to sit with

incoherence; attend to its discomfiting realities and personal vulnerabilities. I am not one who believes in “safe spaces” when it comes to pedagogy. I simply do not believe it is possible to learn how to grapple meaningfully with systems of power and oppression and have everyone, all students not just white students, feel safe all the time. I am not suggesting we seek to create antagonist classrooms, but I am suggesting that moments of tension and discomfort are moments of potential transformation, and we must learn to resist easy resolutions to these tensions—to the problem of whiteness. The goal is to help white students resist defensiveness by remaining present and intellectually and emotionally engaged. There are numerous ways to do this. For example, AnaLouise Keating suggests that one way to keep students from disengaging is to begin classes by “forging commonalities.” This pedagogy involves having students identify and draw from “complex points of connection” from which to shape discussions that “neither invite nor permit students to assume that their experiences, histories, ideas, or traits are identical with those of others.”^[12] Such an approach positions all students to have a stake in the conversation and challenges them to be accountable to their interpretations. I am interested in generating the same investments and accountability but do so through what I call a pedagogy of humility. Humility might seem almost antithetical to the academy; indeed, given that the academic currency is “certainty” and “knowledge” and the demonstration of certainty through one’s knowledge, it is. However, I argue that humility, particularly when addressed to racism and

whiteness, can inspire clarity and accountability, and we must not shy away from it. In an essay published a few years after *White Women, Race Matters*, Frankenberg examined the subtle workings of racism and self-delusion. In that essay she looked not to the words of other white women but to her own discourse and motivations. Interrupting an impulse to imagine that as an authority on racism, she herself was immune to its reproduction, she highlighted the ways that she too must remain ever attentive to the complexities of racism, noting that “we are frequently complicit with racism even when we are absolutely confident that we are not.”^[13] Frankenberg insists that looking at one’s racism takes as much “honesty and clarity as the ego can muster.”^[14] By humility I am not suggesting self-effacement or something akin to moral virtue; rather I am suggesting a conception of the self as accountable, interconnected, and open to cognitive uncertainty and mystery. Humility, I propose is an inescapable aspect or condition of an ethical social existence.^[15] For example, in “Retrieving Humility,” Michelle Voss Roberts takes up the relationship between humility and accountability through an analysis of the writings of thirteenth-century Catholic mystic Mechthild of Magdeburg. As Roberts points out, Mechthild’s rhetoric is almost comically excessive in terms of humility. Mechthild routinely refers to herself as a “lowly crow,” as a “foul cesspool.” At one point she moves to the abject stating that she wishes to dwell beneath Lucifer’s tail. However, despite these rhetorical strategies, Roberts argues that Mechthild offers a complex and nuanced understanding of humility that provides a sophisticated

analysis of power dynamics, hierarchical structures, and accountability. Mechthild was born into an educated German family. She was literate and familiar with court customs and literatures. She wrote extensively and was criticized for writing about spirituality given that she was a woman. She disregarded this criticism and continued writing throughout her life. Her location as simultaneously educated and marginalized, particularly as she aged, inspired her to more assiduously question hierarchical structures. As Roberts writes, “Mechthild would make everyone in positions of power (men, religious authorities, women with class or education privilege) receptive and accountable to those on the underside of the hierarchy.”^[16] Roberts suggests that Mechthild comes to this language of accountability through humility. For Mechthild, humility enabled her to reflect on power relations through the lens of compassion and difference. She recognized that her own class and education privilege created blind spots to the humanity of the Other. Far from rendering her silent, humility provided the foundation for her to question limitations of knowing that result from the power structures to which she both benefited and suffered.

This attention to the limitations of knowing and a willingness to stay within the space of uncertainty is one of the key aspects of humility. A pedagogy of humility requires students to sit with two distinct but related premises. First, that what they have learned and think that they know will always be exceeded by the very limits of their knowledge and “uncertainty” is the constant reality.^[17] Second, the narrative

that suggests that they have earned what they have achieved is not completely but largely false. Of course many students recognize that there will always be more to know, but I am suggesting something slightly different. I am suggesting that mystery and uncertainty are necessary conditions for knowledge, particularly knowledge about race and whiteness. In her discussion about knowledge, feminist theorist Leela Fernandes offers the following challenge:

Imagine, for instance, if we were to allow our understanding of knowledge to sit within a sense of mystery; this is in many ways unthinkable for even traditional disciplines in the social sciences, let alone the sciences. Yet it is precisely this sense of mystery, of the unknowable that permeated a great deal of recent feminist writing; the partiality of knowledge which feminist thinkers have talked about is not antithetical to universal knowledge; it is intrinsic to it.^[18]

Arguing along similar lines, Immanuel Wallerstein writes that we must take “uncertainty as a basic building block of our systems of knowledge.”^[19] In doing so, we will be able “to construct understandings of reality that, albeit inherently approximate and certainly not deterministic, will be useful heuristically in focusing us on the historical options we have in the present in which we all live.”^[20]

Following both Fernandes and Wallerstein, I argue that uncertainty is the ideal space for white students contemplating the problem of their whiteness because it challenges them to resist filling in their discomfort with a claim to knowledge.

Asking white students to sit with uncertainty is designed to have them be, as David G. Allen has written, still in the face of their anxiety. This stillness is necessary because it is simply too easy to re-center whiteness in the guise of other discourses.

[21] For example, when white students ask to hear from their classmates who are not white, ostensibly so they can better understand and know the effects of racism, it is important to analyze exactly what might be at play through this request. The request to “share experiences” repeats the classic move of asking students of color to educate white students only to have white students use these experiences not only as “spectacle,” thus reinstating whiteness as a norm, but also as a means to underscore and defend their own innocence. That is, white students use the stories of their classmates as a means to reassure themselves that they have never engaged in racism. [22] Moreover, the request is often motivated by the desire to restore certainty and relieve anxiety rather than create less of the former and more of the latter. Clearly the ontological state informing the request cannot be dismissed.

“Stillness,” in response to uncertainty can serve, as Fernandes has written, as a means to dis-identify with the power structures we are seeking to dismantle. Cautioning against the ego-oriented knower who fails to question her own motivations and limitations, Fernandes calls for a “radical humility.” She reminds us “that it is usually easier to identify and condemn the error that others commit than to face our own.” [23] Humility is about strength. It provides us with the ability to recognize that our knowledge is always limited, which is not a deficit but a crucial

source of information. But it is information that we must be willing to access and act upon, which leads to accountability.

By accountability, I am speaking of a constellation of activities that involve Fernandes’s inward process of self-examination, Frankenberg’s invocation of as much honesty as the ego can muster, and the ability to (dispassionately) place oneself in historical legacies of structural privilege and oppression. A key aspect of accountability is the rejection of meritocracy or the idea that what we have is somehow earned. In her book, *Ontological Humility*, Nancy Holland draws from Heidegger to explore this premise. She writes that ontological humility interrupts the idea of entitlement, through problematizing what has been “given to us by what Heidegger calls ‘Being.’ We can believe that we deserve [what we have] because of some inherent or achieved virtue of our own, but, whatever we might have done to merit our success in any endeavor owes far more to chance . . . than it does our own efforts.” [24] In my experience, students are able to comprehend that there is a certain “randomness” or chance to, in effect, being white (or male, or able bodied, or in a family in which basic survival is not a daily struggle), and some of them are able to connect this “randomness” to the powerful and ubiquitous narrative of meritocracy. [25] That is, they understand that being white is not at all incidental to life experiences and successes; it is fundamental to it. In fact, it is this realization that often inspires guilt. As I’ve discussed above guilt seldom leads to a commitment to social change. The task is to connect the randomness of being white to

accountability, and this is where humility enters. As we saw above, for Mechtild the recognition of her own dual relationship to privilege and oppression brought her to a deep understanding of the need to resist and revise class and gender power dynamics.

For a more contemporary example, we can turn to the work of Minnie Bruce Pratt. One of the first works that I read about racism by a white woman was Pratt's "Identity: Skin, Blood, Heart." Pratt's essay provided a kind of road map for the internal work and brutal honesty needed as I learned how to confront my own racism (which is, of course, an ongoing process). Pratt posits a simple but powerful question that resonates with Mechtild's recognition of power relations and accountability. Having been raised in the Jim Crow South, Pratt struggles to face her reality, writing: "In this *world* you aren't the superior race or culture, and never were, whatever you were raised to think. When are you going to be ready to live in this world?"^[26] For Pratt, to be ready to live in this world means being accountable to her whiteness and the class privilege that shaped her childhood. In a carefully delineated narrative Pratt uncovers the historical legacies of racism that inform, for example, the social relations between her and the black men she encounters on the street. Her goal is not to look for ways out of racism, but, to better understand and account for how racism resides in her. As Frankenberg will later put it, not only do we live in the master's house of racism, but by some architectural trick, the master's house lives in us.^[27] Similarly, poet and essayist Adrienne Rich invokes humility as

her path to accountability. She writes: "Marginalized though we have been as women, as white and Western makers of theory, we also marginalized others because our lived experience is thoughtlessly white . . ."^[28] Rejecting earlier assumptions of universal "sisterhood" that served to mask Western dominance, Rich calls into question how she was blind to her own limits of understanding. Asking: "how did I look without seeing, hear without listening?"^[29] It should come as no surprise that when we begin to take seriously a deep commitment to accountability we encounter such questions; because, accountability requires that we attend to multiple and interlocking systems of privilege and oppression that inform all of our lives. As numerous scholars have demonstrated such systems, particularly systems of privilege work most effectively when invisible. "How did I look without seeing, hear without listening?" is the essence of humility. In her recent essay, feminist theologian Elizabeth Hinson-Hasty asks that we consider "the complex web of attitudes, systems, laws, and institutions created in the West to dehumanize, colonize, and enslave peoples in the Global South."^[30] She continues: "Genuine humility must always be understood as a means of seeing oneself as part of the larger, interdependent earth, in relationship with the larger community, and as an integral part of transforming attitudes, structures, organizations, and institutions that marginalize people who differ from the dominant norms."^[31]

It is this vision of recognizing one's self as part of a larger interdependent earth and

in relationship with and to a broader set of communities that my argument for a pedagogy of humility is based. Humility is a recalculation of the scale of self-importance, not to self-deprecation but to a more sophisticated and accurate rendering of achievement. Let me provide two brief examples of this recalculation. In the first example the former chair of my department (Gender, Women, and Sexuality Studies), a white, straight man unpacks the “best man for the job” narrative employed to explain why he was chosen to lead our department. He analyzes his career path from young white kid growing up in Colorado to full professor in nursing and eventually chair of a women’s studies department through the lens of meritocracy. He then reframes the narrative to underscore the many layers of privilege (race, class, gender) that guaranteed a small competitive pool through which he emerges on top. The first narrative chronicles the following key moments: Growing up in Colorado in family-owned home, post-WWII, attending college counseling session in seventh grade, attending college, working construction to cover tuition, avoiding going to Vietnam, attending graduate school, advancing through faculty promotions, and so on. The second narrative does not deny any of the above facts, but, provides the context. [32] Homeownership in Colorado was predominantly available to white families, and the land was available because of a U.S. government violation of the 1868 Laramie Treaty. College-education was deemed a “natural fit” for a person of his race, gender, and class. The work to pay tuition was largely a function of hiring white men

over men of color in a community that was hostile to anyone who was not white. Avoiding going to Vietnam was a function of being enrolled in college and graduate school, which are class- and race-based benefits. Career success was tied, in part, to being a man in a female-nominated profession. [33] I am not suggesting, nor would he, that he didn’t work hard and wasn’t qualified for his promotions and leading our department. But, as he would readily agree, from before birth onward, his way was paved and his chances of success increased by the exclusion of others. [34] The second example is from my own life. As an undergraduate I was enrolled in an African American literature class taught by a well-known African American scholar. I had convinced myself that, given my whiteness, I would be at a distinct disadvantage in this class compared to my African American classmates. To my great surprise I received As on all of my papers. One day, while waiting in the hallway for office hours with the professor, I overheard her assisting one of my classmates, an African American man, who was an articulate and active member of our class. I was shocked to hear not a vibrant and dynamic conversation, but a person struggling with basic writing, grammar, and parts of speech. I left without meeting with the professor. As I tried to make sense of what I had just overheard, I realized that my whiteness (and class privilege) far from ill-preparing me for this class, overprepared me. It was the first time that I started to think through the profound impact my white upbringing played in my success. I grew up in a family with a father who had a job that allowed my mother to stay home, provide healthy

meals, keeping us well fed and dressed. Both my parents (heterosexual and married) spoke English and were able to assist with homework or intervene on our behalf with teachers, when needed. My father's job provided housing stability and health care benefits. When I was sick I would be taken to the doctor, receive the necessary care, and be back at school relatively quickly. As I reflected on my upbringing, I realized I didn't do well in this college class despite my whiteness; I did well *because of* my whiteness. For me this was a transformative realization that didn't inspire a sense of guilt or shame but did inspire a repositioning—a humbling—of my understanding of self-achievement. It inspired accountability and a dismantling of a simplistic meritocracy. It helped me to see that my efforts, while legitimate and admirable, were part of a much larger constellation of forces. Because meritocracy privileges self-achievement, it supports a false representation both of accomplishments and of so-called lack of accomplishments. The flipside of “the best man for the job” narrative of my former chair is, of course, “the lack of qualified women for the job” narrative. Meritocracy seeks to make invisible the reality that the very same conditions that advance certain people's material or social status, very often limit those of others. “It precludes our seeing ourselves, and what we do,” writes Lata Mani, “as part of a broader and interconnected whole.”^[35] Helping white students see the subtlety with which meritocracy operates provides them with a complex lens through which to reflect on their lives as embedded within structural powers and calls into question “objective” standards of achievement

measured by certain conceptions of “autonomy.” As Mani writes, in a related context, the loss of this objective stance need not invite crisis but “lead instead to critical dispassion and humility.”^[36] As my ability to position my undergraduate achievements within that larger constellation of forces increased, my whiteness simultaneously came into greater focus, that is, I was able to see it with greater clarity *and* it became less all-encompassing. My critical dispassion enabled me to see whiteness as a mechanism through which I came to know myself and was defined, but its meaning was more fluid and the ways I chose to occupy it, more diverse.

As the best work in the field of whiteness studies has shown, there is nothing static or fixed about whiteness or being white. While white students tend to invoke bad, sad, or mad, there is no reason why they have to. Indeed, in many cases white students are aware that feeling bad, sad, or mad does more to maintain the power of whiteness, through paralysis and re-centering, than dismantle it. They are looking for a wider range of options. I know, for instance, that as a white woman, my students (all of them) look to me to model engagement and full presence. They see me as performing whiteness in a way that is not paralyzed by guilt, grief, or anger. They see me as a person able to invoke a critical whiteness discourse and critical dispassion that provides analytical clarity about the ways that whiteness operates in different settings and at different historical moments and yet remain open to my inevitable need for ongoing learning. It is my argument that a pedagogy of humility,

grounded in the recognition of the inevitable limits of what we can know, a deep commitment to accountability, and a basic understanding of the interconnection of all things, provides students (all students, albeit in very different ways on the basis of race, class, sexual and gender identities, disability) with a more realistic rendering of their location within structural systems of power and oppression. The pedagogy is geared fundamentally toward an awareness that “bad, sad, and mad” are not only predictable performances that white students enter but that they keep white students from engaging with and critiquing the very systems that shape their whiteness.

Conclusion: The Nature of Change

Throughout this chapter I have posited three claims about humility. One, humility is about honesty and strength. Two, humility involves a recalculation of the scale of self-importance. Three, humility is an inescapable condition for an ethical social existence. In the context of race, racism, and whiteness, a pedagogy of humility provides white students with an avenue to remain present to the violence done in the name of whiteness and to take up a meaningful critical stance toward that violence. It invites and challenges white students to engage the meaning of their whiteness as a dynamic site of struggle and transformation. Further, a pedagogy of humility positions all students as part of that broader interconnected whole Mani writes of, by which I take her to mean our fundamental interdependency of and responsibility to each other. Such positioning moves us past a largely meaningless focus on

individual blame and shame, what Fernandes refers to as “strategies of the ego” (75), and moves us toward a collective vision of and commitment to social change. This vision and commitment does not deny the history and ongoing legacy of whiteness as an exploitive system (or for that matter the histories of other exploitive systems such as heteronormative masculinity), but it does suggest that we are not completely and inevitably determined by that history. Change—both individual and collective—is possible, and in fact, unavoidable. It is the nature of that change, the direction it takes, to which the pedagogy of humility concerns itself. This pedagogy asks that we learn to welcome and sustain humility in ourselves, our students, and all who we encounter, to resist the desire to reassure ourselves of our benign innocence, and to honor that our very existence and growth is dependent upon each.

Notes

1. The title of this chapter quotes Adrienne Rich, “Towards a Politics of Location” in *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives*, eds. Carol R. McCann and Seung-Kyung Kim (New York: Routledge, 2003), 447-459.
2. “White.” *Screen 29 4*: 44-64.

3. For the development of whiteness as a racial norm within US and European contexts see the following historical analysis: Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race vol.1* (London & New York: Verso, 1994); F. James Davis, *Who is Black? One Nation's Definition* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1991); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998); David R. Roediger *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London and New York: Verso, 1991). See also, Ladelle McWhorter's "Where do white people come from?": A Foucaultian Critique of Whiteness Studies" *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 31 (2005): 533–56, for a discussion of development of white racial subject positions within the context of Foucault's development of the biopower.
4. Ruth Frankenburg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*, 169.
5. Mia Bay, *The White Image in the Black Mind: African American Ideas about White People, 1830–1925* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 7.
6. As will become apparent, my points of reference throughout this chapter are drawn from feminist writings, which is why I often refer to this concept of humility as feminist humility.
7. James Baldwin, "The White Man's Guilt." *Ebony* 20 (1964): 47–48.
8. Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider* (Trumansburg, N.Y.: The Crossing Press, 1984), 130.
9. Lorde, 115.
10. Rebecca Auerud, "Thinking Again: *This Bridge Called My Back* and the Challenge to Whiteness," in *This Bridge We Call Home: Radical Visions for Transformation*, eds. Gloria E. Anzaldúa and AnaLouise Keating, (New York & London: Routledge, 2002), 69–77.



White tears: emotion regulation and white fragility

Nabina Liebow^a and Trip Glazer^b

^aDepartment of Philosophy and Religion, American University, Washington, DC, USA;

^bDepartment of Philosophy, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR, USA

ABSTRACT

We contribute to the growing literature on white fragility by examining how the distinctively emotional manifestations of white fragility (which we dub 'emotional white fragility') make it more difficult for white people to have constructive, meaningful thoughts and conversations about race. We claim that emotional white fragility typically involves a failure of emotion regulation, or the ability to manage one's emotions in real time. We suggest that this lack of emotion regulation can contribute to an unjust distribution of burdens that can further entrench moral damage in the context of relationships as well as help support large-scale patterns of white supremacy. Given the serious implications of emotional white fragility, we suggest a number of emotion regulation techniques that one can deploy to mitigate the potential harms wrought by emotional white fragility.

ARTICLE HISTORY Received 26 June 2018; Accepted 18 March 2019

KEYWORDS Emotion regulation; moral damage; racism; white fragility; white privilege

1. Introduction

Robin DiAngelo defines 'white fragility' as 'a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves' (2011, 54). She notes that many white people insulate themselves against racial stress – e.g. by living, learning, and working in predominantly white spaces, or by refusing to engage with the realities of race. As a result, many white people have little practice thinking or talking about race in any kind of sustained, honest, or meaningful way. This leads them to become stressed, or even distressed, and to react in ways that are counter-productive to racial justice.¹

CONTACT Nabina Liebow liebow@american.edu

¹bell hooks identified this phenomenon long before DiAngelo: 'In 1981, I enrolled in a graduate class on feminist theory where we were given a course reading list that had writings by white women and men, one black man, but no material by or about black, Native American Indian, Hispanic, or Asian women. When I criticized this oversight, white women directed an anger and hostility at me that was so intense I found it difficult to attend the class. When I suggested that the purpose of this collective anger was to create an atmosphere in which it would be psychologically unbearable for me to speak in class

© 2019 Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

Picture Steve, a white college student from an upper-middle class family who is presented with the concept of white privilege in a philosophy class. Steve hasn't spent much time thinking about the advantages he has received on the basis of being white, and he quickly discovers that he doesn't like thinking about them. He feels that he is being called a racist, despite the fact that he was raised to respect people of all races. Steve throws up his hand, and before being called on, launches into a monologue about how *he* has overcome myriad disadvantages through hard work and perseverance, whereas *those people* have been given special privileges but haven't made the most of them. After making his points, Steve leans back in his chair, folds his arms, lifts his chin, and mutters, 'QED'. Steve's response exemplifies the concept of white fragility. Since he is not used to thinking about his whiteness, the invitation to do so induces racial stress, which Steve interprets as a threat to his self-image as morally pure. He then responds defensively so as to restore and fortify this self-image.

In response to racial stress, 'white fragility triggers a range of defensive moves' (DiAngelo 2011, 54). DiAngelo clarifies that the response can take many forms, 'including the outward displays of emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and behaviours such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation' (2011, 54). Steve's primary response to racial stress is argumentation. He rationalises his defensiveness as a justified response to an unjustified attack on his moral character. This discursive strategy fits in line with a concept introduced by Alice McIntyre (1997) and refined by Alison Bailey (2015), namely 'white talk'. Bailey states:

White talk is designed, indeed scripted, for the purposes of evading, rejecting, and remaining ignorant about the injustices that flow from whiteness and its attendant privileges... It is a privilege-exercising discourse that usually springs from the lips without notice. White people habitually fall into white talk as a strategy for steering clear of entertaining the possibility that many of our actions, utterances, and thoughts contribute to the perpetuation of racial injustices and that we bear some responsibility for these. (2015, 39 & 41)

In other words, white talk is a discursive strategy that white people (and others) deploy either intentionally or unintentionally to avoid dealing with the realities of racism and white supremacy. Although white talk may succeed in making the speaker feel better, it often does so at the cost of making people of colour feel worse, and often prevents

discussions or even attend class, I was told that they were not angry. I was the one who was angry (hooks 1984, 12–13).

constructive conversations about race from occurring. White talk is connected to white fragility in that white talk is a common discursive strategy that white people draw upon when coping with racial stress.

Our aim in this paper is to explore some of the distinctively *emotional* manifestations of white fragility, using Bailey's (2015) and McIntyre's (1997) exploration of one of its *discursive* manifestations as a guide. White fragility can trigger strong feelings of anger, frustration, disgust, guilt, aggression, loathing, or hostility.² As we'll see in the next section, strong emotional responses to racial stress often have the effect of hijacking an interaction, making the white person's feelings of anger or distress, rather than people of colour's feelings, the focal point of the interaction. We can picture Steve responding to the concept of white privilege not only with discursive *argumentation*, but also with behavioural expressions of *aggressiveness* that signal his unwillingness to confront his own privileges, thereby making it riskier for others to engage him on the topic, or with behavioural expressions of *distress* that signal his inability to handle difficult racial truths, thereby discouraging others from pushing him to confront these truths.

To help focus our investigation, we use the term 'emotional white fragility' to denote the experience and expression of emotion triggered by racial stress.

Emotional White Fragility: The experience and/or expression of emotion that results from white fragility and that makes it more difficult for one to have constructive, meaningful thoughts and conversations about race.

In this paper, we are specifically interested in cases where relationships have been morally damaged by racist behaviour and emotional white fragility gets in the way of morally repairing those relationships. Emotional white fragility can occur in many other circumstances as well, but we will not be exploring those circumstances here.

Our central claims are (1) that emotional white fragility typically involves a failure of emotion regulation, or the ability to manage one's emotions in real time, (2) that this failure enacts or reinforces white supremacy, but (3) that a number of emotion regulation techniques can be

²Rebecca Aanerud (2015) discusses three emotional responses she has encountered when discussing white supremacy with white students: 'feeling bad, sad, and mad.' She suggests pedagogical strategies that promote humility, which can help students to work through these feelings and take a critical stance towards whiteness and white supremacy. Along these same lines, Ruth Frankenberg (1996) describes what the recognition of her own racial privilege felt like to her: 'An inordinate, almost bodily discomfort, perhaps that of twisting and turning to try to get away from, to resist' the realities of being white (14). Both Aanerud and Frankenberg help to demonstrate the varied emotional responses white people can have when confronted with white supremacy, racism, and their own whiteness.

deployed to avoid or mitigate the harms of emotional white fragility. In other words, we see emotional white fragility as an instance in which white people fall short of standards of emotion regulation to which all people ought to be held, and to which people of colour typically are held. As such, we think that the measures we propose for white people to implement are both reasonable and practically within reach.

2. Moral damage and moral repair

Emotional white fragility can appear in many different circumstances, but we shall focus on its appearance within close relationships, including romantic partnerships, platonic friendships, and familial relations. Anecdotally, we have observed that emotional white fragility can erode even the strongest interpersonal bonds, but that individuals are highly motivated to improve themselves in the context of such relationships, making these circumstances ideal sites for intervention. To make sense of the ways in which emotional white fragility can erode close relationships, we draw on the ideas of *moral damage* and *moral repair* from the growing literature on non-ideal ethics.

Margaret Urban Walker (2006) explains that many of our relationships are anchored in our confidence that others share the same normative expectations that we have. By trusting that others will be responsive to shared moral standards, we presume that they will do as they ought to because they recognise this as the right course of action and furthermore that they will accept accountability if they fail. Many relationships are therefore built on a kind of hopeful attitude, 'one that includes a belief in the possibility of responsiveness and a desire for responsiveness' to moral expectations (Walker 2006, 69). When this hope dwindles, relationships are endangered. Elizabeth Spelman writes that

To cease to have hope in the context of moral relations is to cease to believe in the possibility that the norms by which one has been guided are the right ones to live by, that others can and should be trusted to live by them and help sustain them. (Spelman 2008, 229)

A loss of hope as outlined here represents a threat to many relationships. This is because the loss of hope carries with it a termination in trust, which lies at the root of our normative expectations and thus relationships. In contrast, the process of restoring hope and trust is what Walker calls

'moral repair'. These notions of moral damage and moral repair are central to our analysis.

Let us now consider three examples of emotional white fragility, involving three different types of close relationships. Kevin and Kim have been dating for three years. Kevin is black and Kim is white. In conversation one night, Kim refers to a Latinx person by using a racial slur. Kevin mentions that this word is offensive and that Kim shouldn't say it. Kim feels her face turning red and her voice cracks as a surge of anger wells up inside her. 'Oh my God, Kevin, why are you so PC all the time? It's not a big deal. I'm dating you, after all, aren't I? So it's not like I'm racist!' Alarmed by Kim's extreme reaction, Kevin replies that he's not trying to hurt her feelings, but before he can finish Kim stomps away and slams the bedroom door shut. The next time Kevin hears Kim use the racial slur, he says nothing, but resents Kim for it.

In this case, the relationship between Kim and Kevin is damaged in the wake of Kim's emotionally fragile response to Kevin calling her out for using a slur. Moving forward, Kevin might experience a reduced sense of trust in Kim. He might be less certain that she shares the same moral convictions that he does or that she recognises his feelings as having the same importance or weight as hers do. Kim's fragility leaves little room for Kevin's need to feel morally and emotionally supported. Had Kim responded more productively – by acknowledging her mistake and pledging to do better – their relationship may have recovered. But, because Kim's response prevented the moral damage from being repaired and then enacted further damage, the relationship was compromised.

Consider another case: Sam, a white man, and Lakeisha, a black woman, have become friends through their mutual love of comic books. They meet up at a comic book convention, and while flipping through the newest titles Sam holds up a comic book featuring a black superhero and then jokes that the hero's arch-nemesis is probably a white cop and his weakness is probably the chokehold. Lakeisha's stomach churns. She builds up her courage and finally says, 'I can't believe you would make a hurtful joke about that, Sam. I'm really disappointed in you'. Sam's face immediately turns red. His eyes bulge and his lips quiver. With a shaky voice he exclaims, 'Oh no! I am so sorry! I really didn't mean it! Do you hate me? Does this make me racist? Will you ever forgive me?' Sam's display of distress is so strong that Lakeisha comes to his aid. 'It's ok! You're not a racist! I was just upset. I know you were just joking'. Sam and Lakeisha remain friends, but Lakeisha notices that Sam becomes more withdrawn, is less likely to joke around with her, and seems to keep an emotional distance

between them. Lakeisha is saddened that their friendship has taken this turn, but given the way Sam responded to her hurt feelings the last time, she has no desire to bring up the incident again.

Sam's emotional response to Lakeisha's comments functioned to make *him* feel better. It hijacked the conversation, drawing attention away from the place where moral repair was needed: addressing and taking responsibility for a hurtful comment that made light of police murdering black people. Furthermore, Sam's emotional response prevented him from acknowledging any feelings of moral abandonment, hurt, shock, or dismay that Lakeisha might have been experiencing. In addition to failing to repair the damage done by his initial comments, Sam's fragile response further morally damages their relationship by demonstrating his inability to address his interlocutor's needs in the relationship. This lack of support can result in Lakeisha's diminished sense of trust, hope, and confidence in the strength of the relationship. And indeed Sam became more withdrawn and less emotionally engaged with Lakeisha.

Finally, imagine that Shelly, a 20-year-old mixed race college student is talking with her white father about her classes. She mentions she is taking a class called 'Racism in America'. Her father scoffs incredulously, 'you're taking *what?* When Shelly tries to explain what the course is about, her father angrily interrupts her and tells her, 'I didn't raise you to victimise yourself. When Shelly tries to explain that the class isn't about 'victimising herself', her father pleads with her to drop the course and expresses disappointment and frustration: 'I thought I raised you better than this'.

Here, Shelly's father's insistence that talking and thinking about race is a harmful or morally corrupt endeavour shows cracks in presumed shared values between father and daughter. The message that Shelly will receive from an exchange like this – that her father's love is conditional on her not talking about racism – works to drive them apart. In terms of emotional white fragility, his emotional response of anger followed by despair and sadness prevent him from listening to what his daughter is saying or from working to support her.

All three of these examples highlight the ways in which emotional white fragility gets in the way of rebuilding, repairing, or stabilising relationships damaged by racist behaviours or attitudes. Furthermore, emotional white fragility is morally troubling in that it helps perpetuate and sustain white people's racial comfort and inability to confront and deal with racism and racial injustice. The flip side of this effect is that *reducing* emotional white fragility can help repair relationships or at the very least work to avoid further damage. All this leads to the question: How can one avoid

or mitigate emotional white fragility in the heat of the moment?³ In the next section, we will present the conceptual groundwork needed to present a response to this question. But the basic idea is that one can avoid or mitigate emotional white fragility by engaging in various forms of emotion regulation, which enable one to take control of rogue emotions.

3. Emotion regulation

Most of us engage in ‘emotion regulation’ every day, often without realising it. When encountering a stressful situation, we might take a few deep breaths to calm down. When our friend tells us tragic news, we might focus our attention on how to help her so as not to be overcome with our own grief and rendered useless as a source of support. Or we might think about something upbeat and happy to maintain enthusiasm and energy when teaching an early morning class. ‘Emotion regulation is the set of automatic and controlled processes involved in the initiation, maintenance, and modification of the occurrence, intensity, and duration of feeling states’ (Webb, Miles, and Sheeran 2012, 775; see also Eisenberg et al. 2000; Gross and Thompson 2007).

There are multiple processes involved in the regulation of emotion, which target different stages in the unfolding of an emotion. Following James Gross and colleagues (Ochsner and Gross 2014; Suri and Gross 2016), we conceive emotional episodes as ‘W-PVA cycles’. The first stage in this cycle is the World Stage (W). The world provides an individual with objects and events that can excite different emotions, ranging from bears (fear) and death (sadness) to clowns (amusement/terror) and birth (love). The second stage is the Perception Stage (P). For an object or event to trigger an emotion, the individual must perceive it. The Perception Stage is followed by the Valuation Stage (V). Once an individual perceives an object or event, she must interpret it. For instance, fear results from interpreting an object or event as dangerous, sadness results from interpreting it as a loss, amusement results from interpreting it as incongruous, and love results from interpreting it as an object of reciprocal affection. These evaluations can be conscious or unconscious, automatic or deliberate. The final stage is the Action Stage (A). Having perceived and interpreted an object or event, the individual will respond in a variety of ways, ranging from involuntary physiological changes (increased heart rate) to spontaneous

³The best way to mitigate emotional white fragility is via upstream solutions that focus on education, upbringing, etc. But we are focusing here on downstream solutions – that is, solutions to employ when one is already going to or already has experienced emotional white fragility.

behavioural changes (smiles and growls) to coordinated actions (fleeing and fighting).

To complicate this picture a bit, the emotional episode doesn't always end with A; sometimes, a W-PVA cycle can serve as an input for another W-PVA cycle, which in turn can serve as an input for yet another. Everyone has had the experience of dwelling on an emotion. The more one contemplates one's sadness, the deeper and more profound that sadness becomes. In this case, one gets stuck in a cycle of interpreting and reinterpreting sadness as a basis for being sad, which prolongs the episode. Thus, while the initial object of the emotion may be an external object, the emotion can become its own object in subsequent cycles.

Jesse Prinz points out that while psychologists tend to construe emotions broadly as multi-stage episodes, philosophers tend to search for the one component in that episode that is both necessary and sufficient for emotion (2004, 17–18). Thus, a philosopher might say that a person's fear is her appraisal of the bear as dangerous, whereas a psychologist might say that a person's fear is the complete sequence of seeing, appraising, and responding to the bear. The notion of 'emotion regulation' that we adopt in this paper utilises the psychological conception of emotion, and so we shall define an emotion broadly as the PVA part of the W-PVA cycle. Thus, an episode of fear would include the process of seeing a bear, appraising it as dangerous, and then acting on this assessment. Philosophers may wish to construe emotions more narrowly, perhaps as the assessing of the bear as dangerous (the Valuation Stage), and no part of our account is inconsistent with that approach.

As we mentioned before, there are multiple different ways of regulating emotions, and these varied approaches target different stages in the W-PVA cycle. In what follows, we will describe the strategies that research has found to be most effective in regulating our emotions in real time. Imagine that you are camping out deep in the woods, and that you are awoken one night in your tent by the sound of rustling branches. You don't know what is making the sound, but your mind immediately conjures the image of a hungry grizzly bear, prowling for tasty campers, and you begin to feel scared. Your fear is unpleasant, and so you attempt a series of strategies to fight your fear.

First, you might try to distract yourself from the scary sounds outside the tent.⁴ Humming loudly, for instance, will drown out the crunching of

⁴We are intentionally leaving out strategies that target the W phase, such as 'Situation Selection,' or the attempt to alter one's emotional state by seeking out situations that elicit desirable emotions and avoiding situations that elicit undesirable emotions (Webb, Miles, and Sheeran 2012, 775–776; Suri and Gross

dried leaves and the crackling of small branches. This strategy, which targets the Perception Stage in the W-PVA cycle, is called 'Distraction':

1. **Distraction:** The attempt to alter one's emotional state by turning attention away from stimuli that trigger one's present state. (Gross and Thompson 2007, 13; Webb, Miles, and Sheeran 2012, 779)

Notice that the goal may not be to prevent fear from ever taking hold, but rather to eliminate a fear that has already taken hold. The sooner you can expunge those unpleasant feelings, the better.

If this strategy doesn't work, then you may attempt to reinterpret the stimuli that trigger fear in hopes of triggering a different emotion in its place. You may think about how there aren't supposed to be any grizzlies in this part of the country, or that it's most likely a beautiful doe or a cuddly raccoon that's making the noises. You might think that even if it's a bear, it's not likely to attack. After all, you've taken the proper precaution of hanging your food in a bear bag a good distance from your tent, and besides, you saw plenty of wild berries on the trail that would sate the bear's appetite. All of these thoughts target the Valuation Stage of the W-PVA cycle, since you are trying to reinterpret the sounds in a way that will eliminate the thought of danger. This strategy is called 'Reappraisal of Emotional Stimulus':

2. **Reappraisal of Emotional Stimulus:** The attempt to alter one's emotional state by reinterpreting a state of affairs so as to elicit a different emotional state. (Gross and Thompson 2007, 14; Webb, Miles, and Sheeran 2012, 780).

Again, the goal may not be to prevent the initial fear response, but to nip it in the bud, so to speak.

A closely related strategy is to try to take a different perspective on the situation that may elicit a different emotional response. You might think about how much your students will laugh at you when you tell them on Monday that you spent your weekend fearing for your life in a tent. This thought may elicit amusement in place of fear. Or you might think about how a more courageous person would respond to the mysterious noises outside the tent. This thought may calm your fear. This strategy likewise targets the Valuation Stage, and is called 'Perspective Taking':

2016, 457–458). White fragility surely causes people to avoid situations that elicit racial stress, but because we are interested in responses to moral damage that have already occurred, we won't discuss tendencies to avoid morally damaging situations in the first place.

3. Perspective Taking: The attempt to alter one's emotional state by adopting a distinct perspective on a state of affairs. (Ochsner et al. 2004, 484; Webb, Miles, and Sheeran 2012, 780)

If none of these strategies work, then you might try to fight the symptoms rather than the underlying condition. This might involve hiding the way you are feeling, forcing yourself to have a neutral face instead of a grimace or to act so as not to give away your true feelings. In other words, you may attempt to prevent the unpleasant physiological and behavioural manifestations of your fear. You may take large deep breaths in an attempt to calm yourself. You may rub your face to loosen your jaw muscles. You may rub your hands together to keep your fists from clenching. All of these actions target the Action Stage, and are collectively termed 'Suppression':

4. Suppression: The attempt to eliminate an emotion by suppressing its behavioural expression. (Webb, Miles, and Sheeran 2012, 780; Suri and Gross 2016, 458–59)

So far we have discussed four strategies for regulating emotions in real time. These strategies intervene on different stages of the unfolding of an emotion, but all of them seek to alter this emotion's course. As mentioned before, the research indicates that all these methods are in fact effective at regulating emotions.

4. Emotional white fragility

With this framework for emotion regulation in mind, we suggest that emotional white fragility may be understood as a systematic, multi-level failure of emotion regulation. Recall the incident between Sam and Lakeisha. Lakeisha feels wounded by Sam's joke about police brutality, and, rather than letting it pass, she tells Sam how she feels about it. There has been moral damage, but Lakeisha opens up the possibility of moral repair. If Sam comes to understand how his joke affected Lakeisha and why it was morally problematic, then their relationship may not only be repaired, but also strengthened. Sadly, Sam reacts in a way that not only prevents moral repair, but also compounds the damage that his initial comment caused. We suggest that Sam's reaction is characteristic of emotional white fragility. Because he is not used to coping with racial stress, this stress causes him to lose control of his emotions, and to respond in unconstructive and damaging ways, when constructive and reparatory options are also available to him.

First, consider the Perception Stage of his response to being called out. Even though Lakeisha is clearly upset, Sam's attention is drawn to *his own* feelings of distress and moral character. His priority becomes that of ameliorating his own feelings, not understanding and responding to Lakeisha's. Thus, his response works to re-centre the conversation around himself, and indeed Lakeisha ends up trying to make him feel better, which is the opposite of what ought to have transpired. Had Sam engaged in Distraction, trying to ignore his feelings of distress and focusing instead on Lakeisha's feelings of hurt, then he may have calmed his distress, and he could have reacted more constructively and repaired the damage that his initial joke caused. But due to his lack of emotion regulation, his reaction was that of emotional white fragility – unconstructive and further damaging.

Second, consider the Valuation Stage of Sam's response. Sam is focused on his own distress, and he interprets the cause of this distress – Lakeisha's act of calling him out – as a *threat* to his moral standing. He interprets her disappointment as an indictment of his self-ascribed moral purity, which puts him on the defensive. As with the focus of Sam's attention, Sam's valuation of the incident centres it *on him* and his moral reputation. Had Sam realised that Lakeisha was not impugning his character, but rather inviting him to demonstrate his character by apologising, learning from his mistake, and comforting her, then he would not have become defensive. Again, due to his lack of emotional self-control, his reaction was that of emotional white fragility – unproductive defensiveness aimed toward expunging any record of moral fault.

Finally, consider the Action Stage of Sam's response. Sam manifests his distress through a dramatic expression of guilt and sadness that functions as a plea for forgiveness. In the ideal case, even if Sam were distressed by Lakeisha's reaction to his joke, he would suppress the expression of his distress so that he can better attend to and comfort Lakeisha's feelings. But due to his lack of emotion regulation, his reaction is that of white fragility – his expression overshadows Lakeisha's feelings and has the force of demanding that his feelings be attended to first.

In sum, it is the lack of emotion regulation that separates Sam's actual response from the available response that would have repaired the damage caused by his insensitive joke. Had Sam done more to control his feelings, he may have been able to comfort Lakeisha and to take responsibility for his mistake. In the next section, we will explore why this lack of emotion regulation is morally problematic, independently of the immediate moral damage that it causes.

5. Who's regulating? Whose emotions?

Emotion regulation is a form of work. It is effortful and at times exhausting. Too much of it can even lead to burnout (Jeung, Kim, and Chang 2018). Given these facts, we suggest that in relationships among equals, the burdens of emotion regulation ought to be shared equally, unless the members of the relationship consent to an unequal distribution of these burdens.⁵

Imagine that co-workers Ted and Nina learn that their company will soon move from its current location, next to a salad restaurant, to a new location, next to a seafood restaurant. Ted is brimming with excitement, given his love of seafood. Nina, a vegetarian, is disappointed. Despite their opposing reactions, both Nina and Ted manage to share the burdens of emotion regulation equally. Nina suppresses her dismay a bit and thinks about how happy Ted is about the new location. Ted focuses on Nina's disappointment, thus tempering his own delight a bit. As the two discuss the upcoming move, they are careful not to let their own emotions interfere too much with the other person's emotions, and both begin to feel a little more moderately toward the relocation. This regulation enables them to support each other, while also not completely losing sight of their own emotions. As long as Ted and Nina share the burdens of emotion regulation equally, this regulation is morally unproblematic. Of course, there may be some days in their relationship where Nina will fail to emotionally regulate in such a way that causes Ted to do a little more work on this front and vice-versa, but on the whole, neither is expected to emotionally regulate to protect the other person's feelings or relationship more than the other.

Patterns of emotion regulation become morally problematic in cases where there is an *unfair* distribution of the burdens of emotion regulation between parties. Imagine that Kim and Kevin have entered into their relationship with the expectation that both will engage in emotion regulation to a more-or-less equal extent. However, Kevin ends up regulating his emotions a great deal while Kim ends up doing very little. This arrangement is unhealthy, disrespectful, and unfair for Kevin, who has to shoulder the greater burdens.

The insight that patterns of emotion regulation can be unjust allows us to understand what is going on with regard to emotional white fragility

⁵There are many contexts in which an equal distribution of these burdens would be inappropriate, such as in the therapist/patient relationship. But in such contexts there ought to be mutual understanding and consent to the unequal distribution of emotion regulation.

more clearly. In many cases, white interlocutors fail to regulate their emotions in ways that can be detrimental to the relationship. Not only are emotionally fragile white people failing to do their fair share with regard to emotion regulation, their unwillingness to do so can also often result in people of colour having to do *more* than their fair share. For example, after Sam's comment, Lakeisha must not only be exposed to his full display of feelings but must also work to ignore her own feelings in order to comfort and calm Sam.

In this paper, we are interested in a very specific set of circumstances: cases in which the unjust distribution of emotion regulation reinforces oppressive systems such as white supremacy. We maintain that it is unjust when people from oppressed groups are *overburdened* with emotion regulation in a way that supports oppressive social patterns such as white supremacy. Put differently, it is unjust when people from racially privileged groups fail to pull their weight in emotion regulation and when this failure reinforces racial injustice. In these cases, the injustice stems not just from an unequal distribution of burdens, but also from the ways in which this distribution supports and is related to harmful and morally wrong ideologies, institutions, and social organisations.

Evans and Moore's (2015) investigation into emotion regulation in the context of historically white institutions helps to illuminate some of the ways in which people of colour are pressured to engage in emotion regulation to a greater extent than their white counterparts. In particular, employees of colour must choose between engaging in an unfair share of emotion regulation and being seen as fulfilling stereotypes (e.g. the 'angry black man' or the 'minority bitch'), which can threaten their employment status. Since these stereotypes operate to maintain white power by denigrating people of colour as less qualified and emotionally unstable, the decision that employees of colour face about whether to emotionally regulate more than their fair share also often has implications for how they chose to be seen as resisting these harmful tropes.

Evans and Moore report the experience of Tina, an African-American pilot who felt pressured to endure the racist comments of a white co-pilot during a flight:

As Tina evaluated her options for a response, a process that takes both time and energy, she made the conscious decision to disengage from the discussion. While many have the option of leaving a conversation, the spatial reality of experiencing discomfort in the flight deck introduces the notion that Tina not only had to stay in this environment in order to maintain a productive and

comfortable environment, she had to also suppress her emotional distress. (Evans and Moore 2015, 448–49)

In addition to Suppression, Tina also engages in Distraction when she notices people in the airport gawking at the sight of a black female pilot. As she articulates it:

When my co-workers come and walk with me they constantly tell me [about people's reactions]. I know it's there but they think it's funny and they really, really see it. I usually walk through the airport with my head down so that I don't have to make eye contact. When I do look at people, some smile, but most don't know what to do. (Evans and Moore 2015, 447)

By turning her attention away from the gawking onlookers and concentrating on the ground, Tina is able to regulate her discomfort so as not to become too upset. Tina's story provides an example of historic and on-going patterns of racial and gender injustice resulting in unfair patterns of emotion regulation.

While Tina must engage in a great deal of emotion regulation to get through her day and keep her job, her white colleagues are not expected or required to regulate to the same extent, despite the fact that they are not in the kind of relationship with Tina where an imbalance would be morally appropriate. This unequal pattern of emotion regulation – where people of colour are required (both implicitly and explicitly) to regulate more than their white counterparts – helps produce and sustain patterns of white supremacy. Not only are people of colour required to do more emotional work, but also the specific type of emotion regulation required often involves mitigating an emotional reaction to racial injustice. For instance, Tina must resist reacting to her co-pilot's racist comments or to the gawkers in the airport. These unequal expectations with regard to emotion regulation can therefore help to suppress opposition to racism. Tina is not able to voice her concern about her co-pilot's comments or the onlookers' behaviours. As bell hooks states:

To perpetuate and maintain white supremacy, white folks have colonized black Americans, and a part of that colonizing process has been teaching us to repress our rage, to never make them targets of any anger we feel about racism' (1996, 14).

An imbalance in emotion regulation between white people and people of colour can thus help protect and insulate white people from dealing with racism and its implications for them as moral agents.

Because emotion regulation allows us to modify our feeling states, and emotional white fragility is a manifestation of one's feeling state that

contributes to injustice, we propose that engaging in strategies for emotion regulation can not only help white people work to repair relationships damaged by their racist behaviours but can also prevent them from supporting larger patterns of racial injustice. Furthermore, we argue that white people *should* engage in these strategies when they experience emotional white fragility, since a failure to do so can result in racial injustice and white people should strive to act in such a way that resists racial injustice. In the next section, we will describe how emotion regulation can be used to mitigate the harms of emotional white fragility.

6. How to do better

So far we've claimed that white fragility can trigger unproductive emotional responses, that these emotional responses can get in the way of repairing close relationships damaged by racist behaviours, and that they can support larger unjust patterns of racial injustice. Furthermore, we've suggested that these unproductive emotional responses can often be analysed as failures of emotion regulation. Although the person in question may regulate his or her emotions properly in other relational conflicts, white fragility makes racial stress intolerable, and stands in the way of this regulation.

Kim may be more open to other types of justified criticism from Kevin, and may control her emotional response so as to react more constructively, but when Kevin calls her out for using a racist slur, she loses control and reacts unconstructively. Similarly, Sam may normally tend better to his friend Lakeisha's feelings, even when he is the one who hurt them and feels guilty for it, but in this case his feelings of guilt get the better of him and prevent him from being a responsible friend. Finally, Shelly's father may normally be able to set his feelings aside for the good of his daughter, but when Shelly brings up the topic of race, he loses control. In each case, white fragility leads to an unproductive, unregulated emotional response, which does moral damage or which stands in the way of repairing a moral damage. And in each case, increased emotion regulation would enable the person in question to react in more productive ways.

Here we will illustrate how to use the strategies introduced in §3 to mitigate the harms enacted by emotional white fragility. By harnessing these strategies, those prone to emotional white fragility can react more productively to race-based moral damage. To review briefly, emotional episodes unfold over the course of several (iterating) stages: World, Perception,

Valuation, and Action (W-PVA). Each stage of the emotional episode's development represents a point of intervention at which one could engage in differing strategies of emotion regulation. One can intervene at the Perception stage by engaging in Distraction, at the Valuation stage by engaging in Reappraisal or Perspective-Taking, and at the Action stage by engaging in Suppression. Research confirms that all four of these strategies are effective at controlling one's emotions in real time.⁶

'It's not the end of the world.' The first strategy we recommend is Perspective-Taking. When called out for racist or racially problematic behaviour, it is common for white people to react defensively. This reaction is fuelled by the ideology that white people are either vile racists or pure post-racists, and thus allegations of racist conduct are taken to imply that a person falls into the vile racist, rather than the pure post-racist, category (DiAngelo 2012, 193–4). But this ideology is wrong-headed and counter-productive. There are many shades between these two extremes, and it is important for white allies to acknowledge that they often enact and reinforce white supremacy in their daily lives. Although the ultimate goal is the upheaval of white supremacy, the more proximate goal may be the uprooting of harmful habits and attitudes.

When a white person is called out for racist behaviour, and her fragility triggers a strong emotional response, she may be able to bring her emotions under control by considering how an impartial bystander would assess the situation. She might access this perspective by asking, 'What would I think if someone I care about made a racially insensitive remark?' To this question she would probably answer that this person has made a mistake but can repair the damage she has caused. By ascribing this attitude to the impartial spectator viewing the moral damage that she herself has caused, the person may succeed in gaining control of her emotions. She will realise that it's not the end of the world, and that she is fully capable of recovering from her harmful mistake. Her feelings of hostility and guilt may weaken, allowing her to respond to the situation in a more measured and productive way. Where a strong emotional reaction

⁶Webb, Miles, and Sheeran (2012) found that between Reappraisal and Perspective-Taking, the latter is slightly more effective than the former, but other studies have found that Reappraisal is more effective when regulating *negative* emotions (Dandoy and Goldstein 1990; Gross 1998; Suri and Gross 2016, 458). Because white fragility often triggers negative emotions, we will focus on both strategies. Research has also found that Suppression is in general more effective than Distraction, yet studies suggest that in the sorts of interpersonal contexts with which we are interested, Distraction may actually be preferable. This is because Suppression can have the effect of making interlocutors less comfortable or less at ease in the interaction (Butler et al. 2003; Suri and Gross 2016, 459).

may multiply the damage done, a weak emotional reaction may permit moral repair to be accomplished.

Recall Kim's reaction to Kevin asking her not to use a racial slur. She felt attacked, and responded with rage. After expressing her emotions to Kevin, she exited the situation, slamming the door behind her. Not only did she fail to address her wrongdoing, which hurt Kevin, but she further communicated an unwillingness to engage on the topic, which added to the damage. Had Kim paused to re-evaluate the situation, she may have responded differently. She might have thought about how Kevin often calls friends out for using slurs, but that this doesn't mean that Kevin dislikes them or wants to end the friendship. By taking up the perspective of an impartial spectator, Kim might find that her initially strong emotions have weakened, and that what at first seemed like the end of the world is instead a speed bump in an otherwise strong relationship. With her anger under control, Kim might have apologised and pledged to do better. This response would, among other things, acknowledge her transgression and the wound opened by her use of a slur, and set a foundation for reconciliation.

'It's a learning opportunity.' The second strategy we recommend is Reappraisal. Although it can be upsetting to realize that one is responsible for causing moral damage, this realization presents an opportunity for self-improvement. Part of becoming an effective white ally is learning to accept one's moral failings and to use the recognition of these failings as a springboard for moral development.

Emotional white fragility often results from appraising moral concern as destructive criticism, or criticism aimed at maligning one's moral character. Reappraising the concern as constructive, then, can re-orient one's response to it. Rather than feeling the need to defend oneself, tooth and nail, one might instead feel the need to learn from the situation. Feelings of hostility or guilt may thus slowly be transformed into feelings of gratitude or determination.

Kim took Kevin's concern and suggestion as destructive criticism, leading her to lash out and then disengage. But had she taken it as constructive, she might have responded more productively. She might have appreciated Kevin's patience with her, his desire for her to live up to higher standards, and his hopes for a strong relationship grounded in the shared values and ideals.

'First you, then me.' The third strategy we recommend is Distraction, but with an important qualification. One reason why emotional white fragility is harmful is that it works to re-centre a situation around the fragile

person. This person becomes entirely focused on herself, demanding the attention of others too. Kim, Sam, and Shelly's father, despite being the instigators of moral damage, respond in a way that prioritizes their feelings, rather than those they hurt. To prevent this re-centring, the fragile person can engage in Distraction, turning her attention away from her feelings and toward something else that doesn't elicit the same emotional reaction.

The important qualification is that in using Distraction, the fragile person ought not to distract herself from the damage she has done. Although thinking about something positive or neutral that is unrelated to the present circumstances may allow the person to gain control over her feelings, she would do so at the cost of ignoring the harm she has done. Thus, we recommend that the best way to utilise Distraction is to focus on the hurt feelings of the other person or the strength of the relationship between parties instead of one's own vulnerabilities. This approach will give one the opportunity to temper one's strong emotions without disengaging completely from the difficult conversation. In this way, one can still utilise Distraction strategies without becoming distant or evading thinking about the issue at hand. Because there is a pattern of white people failing to fully engage in conversations about race and racism, it's crucial that this strategy is employed in such a way that paves the way for meaningful exchange as well as helps regulate difficult emotions. Because one could use Distraction in such a way that promotes disengagement in an unhelpful way, we caution readers to be mindful when using this approach in the context of emotional white fragility.

'Take a deep breath.' Research shows that Suppression is also an effective strategy for managing emotions in real time. If Kim pauses before reacting to Kevin's admonishment, and takes a few deep breaths, allowing her teeth and fists to unclench and her shoulders to loosen, then she may take control of her feelings. However, we recommend this strategy as a last resort for the sorts of situations we have addressed here, since research suggests that Suppression often makes interlocutors less comfortable and less at ease (Butler et al. 2003; Suri and Gross 2016, 459). This strategy may be productive in other sorts of interactions, but when a close relationship is challenged by a racist comment, one should avoid tactics that will add to the moral damage already caused. Suppression, in other words, might simply exchange one harmful outcome (emotional white fragility) for another.

One can use a mixture of the strategies outlined in this section – alternating and combining approaches – and we recommend doing so when dealing with emotional white fragility. Remember that the significance of the strategies outlined in this section extends beyond the fact that they are useful tools to help mitigate one’s experience of difficult feelings. In addition, these tips for emotion regulation in the context of emotional white fragility can help white people meet their obligation to maintain morally healthy patterns of emotion regulation in the context of their relationships and avoid patterns of interaction rooted in racism.

7. Conclusion

We have argued that imbalances in emotion regulation can represent injustices within relationships and can support large-scale patterns of oppression. Our specific focus has been on emotion regulation with regard to emotional white fragility, and we have presented readers with strategies for emotion regulation in these contexts. One important thing to keep in mind with regard to the strategies we have recommended here is that, while effective to varying degrees, these methods for emotion regulation are not guaranteed to be effective always. Yet, despite this fact, we contend that it is worthwhile and morally decent to attempt to regulate one’s emotions during episodes of emotional white fragility, due to the harms that a failure to regulate emotional white fragility can produce. Engaging in emotion regulation in the cases we have in mind is what one ought to strive to do, given existing obligations already in place concerning one’s interlocutor and avoiding contributing to systems of white supremacy. Thus, what we are suggesting here is by no means supererogatory, but instead what we view as fulfilling one’s moral obligations while in the throes of emotional white fragility.

In instances where relationships are damaged by racist behaviours and emotional white fragility gets in the way of repairing these relationships, regulating one’s emotions is only the first step toward repairing the damaged relationship. Emotion regulation helps to prevent incurring further damage to the relationship and can help position both parties to engage in the reparative work needed to rectify the relationship. In this way, the emotion regulation strategies we have suggested here are important preliminary steps that can help make the work of moral repair more efficacious.

Finally, we would like to end by reminding readers that, in many ways, the strategies of emotion regulation outlined here are ‘downstream’

solutions. In other words, there are things one can do prior to specific instances of emotional white fragility to increase one's tolerance for race based stress and therefore avoid episodes of emotional white fragility all together. However, given that white fragility is common among white individuals and these more upstream strategies take time and work to cultivate, there is a great deal of value associated with the strategies outlined in this paper and we recommend one incorporates them into one's repertoire of strategies for approaching future conversations about race and racism.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

References

- Aanerud, Rebecca. 2015. "Humility and Whiteness: 'How Did I Look Without Seeing, Hear Without Listening?'" In *White Self-Criticality Beyond Anti-Racism: How Does It Feel to Be a White Problem?*, edited by George Yancy, 101–113. New York: Lexington Books.
- Bailey, Alison. 2015. "'White Talk' as a Barrier to Understanding the Problem with Whiteness." In *White Self-Criticality Beyond Anti-Racism: How Does It Feel to Be a White Problem?*, edited by George Yancy, 37–54. New York: Lexington Books.
- Butler, Emily A., Boris Egloff, Frank H. Wilhelm, Nancy C. Smith, Elizabeth A. Erickson, and James J. Gross. 2003. "The Social Consequences of Expressive Suppression." *Emotion* 3 (1): 48–67.
- Dandoy, Alison C., and Alvin G. Goldstein. 1990. "The Use of Cognitive Appraisal to Reduce Stress Reactions: A Replication." *Journal of Social Behavior & Personality* 5 (January): 275–285.
- DiAngelo, Robin. 2011. "White Fragility." *The International Journal of Critical Pedagogy* 3 (3): 57–70.
- DiAngelo, Robin. 2012. *What Does It Mean to Be White?: Developing White Racial Literacy*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Eisenberg, N., R. A. Fabes, I. K. Guthrie, and M. Reiser. 2000. "Dispositional Emotionality and Regulation: Their Role in Predicting Quality of Social Functioning." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 78 (1): 136–157.
- Evans, Louwanda, and Wendy Leo Moore. 2015. "Impossible Burdens: White Institutions, Emotional Labor, and Micro-Resistance." *Social Problems* 62 (3): 439–454.
- Frankenberg, Ruth. 1996. "When We Are Capable of Stopping, We Begin to See: Being White, Seeing Whiteness." In *Names We Call Home: Autobiography on Racial Identity*, edited by Becky Thompson and Sangeeta Tyagi, 3–18. New York: Routledge.
- Gross, J. J. 1998. "The Emerging Field of Emotion Regulation: An Integrative Review." *Review of General Psychology* 2 (July): 271–299. doi:10.1037/1089-2680.2.3.271.

- Gross, J. J., and Ross Thompson. 2007. "Emotion Regulation: Conceptual Foundations." In *Handbook of Emotion Regulation*, 3–27. New York, NY, US: The Guilford Press. January.
- hooks, bell. 1984. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. Boston: South End Press.
- hooks, bell. 1996. *Killing Rage: Ending Racism*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Jeung, D.-Y., C. Kim, and S.-J. Chang. 2018. "Emotional Labor and Burnout: A Review of the Literature." *Yonsei Medical Journal* 59 (2): 187–193. doi:10.3349/ymj.2018.59.2.187.
- McIntyre, Alice. 1997. *Making Meaning of Whiteness: Exploring Racial Identity with White Teachers*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Ochsner, Kevin, and J. J. Gross. 2014. "The Neural Bases of Emotion and Emotion Regulation: A Valuation Perspective." In *Handbook of Emotion Regulation*, 23–42. New York, NY, USA: Guilford Press. January.
- Ochsner, Kevin N., Rebecca D. Ray, Jeffrey C. Cooper, Elaine R. Robertson, Sita Chopra, John D. E. Gabrieli, and James J. Gross. 2004. "For Better or for Worse: Neural Systems Supporting the Cognitive Down- and up-Regulation of Negative Emotion." *NeuroImage* 23 (2): 483–499. doi:10.1016/j.neuroimage.2004.06.030.
- Prinz, Jesse J. 2004. *Gut Reactions*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Spelman, Elizabeth V. 2008. "Moral Repair: Reconstructing Moral Relations after Wrongdoing." *Hypatia* 23 (4): 228–233.
- Suri, Gaurav, and James Gross. 2016. "Emotion Regulation: A Valuation Perspective." In *Handbook of Emotions*, edited by Lisa Feldman Barrett, Michael Lewis, and Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, 4th ed., 453–466. New York: Guilford Press.
- Walker, Margaret Urban. 2006. *Moral Repair: Reconstructing Moral Relations after Wrongdoing*. 1st ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Webb, Thomas L., Eleanor Miles, and Paschal Sheeran. 2012. "Dealing with Feeling: A Meta-Analysis of the Effectiveness of Strategies Derived from the Process Model of Emotion Regulation." *Psychological Bulletin* 138 (4): 775–808. doi:10.1037/a0027600.

Day 2: You & White Fragility

What Is White Fragility?

'White Fragility' is a phrase coined by author Dr. Robin DiAngelo¹¹ and is defined as "a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves." It wasn't until I began directly writing and talking about race that I realised how deeply white fragility runs in the vast majority of white people. So many of the white people who were interacting with my work had so little experience talking about race that any racial discussion lead to them having a total meltdown.

How Does White Fragility Show Up?

Here are a few examples of White Fragility in action:

- White fragility shows up as white people getting angry, defensive, afraid, arguing, claiming they're being shamed, crying or simply falling silent and choosing to check out of the conversation.
- It looks like calling the authorities (the manager, the police, the social media censors) on BIPOC when you are uncomfortable with what they are sharing about race. (I have had my social media posts reported and censored more than a dozen times because of white fragility).
- On social media platforms it also includes deleting what you wrote (another form of running away and pretending it never happened) when you can't handle where the conversation is going.
- White fragility includes crying during racial interactions.
- In essence, white fragility looks like a white person taking the position of victim, when it is in fact that white person who has committed or participated in acts of racial harm.

Why Do You Need To Look At White Fragility?

White fragility prevents you from having a conversation about racism without falling apart. If you cannot talk about racism, especially about the ways in which you have knowingly or unknowingly been complicit in racism, then you will never be able to go beyond a mere superficial understanding of racism. White fragility makes you dangerous to BIPOC. When conversations of racism come up, you jump into defense

mode, which makes you unable to really hear and understand the pain and challenges of BIPOC. Without developing the resiliency needed to talk about racism, your white fragility will always prevent you from being an ally to BIPOC. More than that, your white fragility, which is really fear, can quickly turn into active harm. Like going into fight or flight mode, your white fragility can either cause you to shut down and run away, or to become even more aggressive, violent and harmful to BIPOC. Without understanding your white fragility, you cannot move forward in this work.

Journaling Questions

What have you learned about You & White Fragility?

- How has and/or does your white fragility show up?
- How have you fallen apart or taken the position of victim during racial interactions?
- How have you weaponised your fragility against BIPOC through for example, calling the authorities, crying, claiming you're being harmed (*'reverse-racism!'*, *'I'm being shamed!'*, *'I'm being attacked!'*)?
- What emotional outbursts have you had during racial interactions? Or how have you shut down, walked away, deleted everything and pretended nothing happened and hoped no one would notice?
- How has your white fragility resulted in fight or flight?
- What has your white fragility looked like and why have you acted in that way?
- How fragile are you when it comes to talking about race?

Day 3: You & Tone Policing

What Is Tone Policing?

Tone policing is a tactic used by those who have privilege to silence those who don't by focusing on the tone of what is being said, rather than the actual content. Tone policing doesn't only have to be spoken out loud publicly. People holding white privilege often tone police BIPOC in their thoughts or behind closed doors.

How Does Tone Policing Show Up?

It shows up when white people ask BIPOC to say what they are saying in a "nicer" way. It's saying (or thinking) things like: I can't take in what you're telling me about your lived experiences because you sound "too angry". Or your tone is "too aggressive". Or the language you are using to talk about your lived experiences is making me feel "ashamed". Or the language you are using to talk about your lived experiences is "hateful" or "divisive". Or you should address white people in a more "civil" way if you want us to "join your cause". Or the way you are talking about this issue is not "productive". Or if you would just "calm down" then maybe I might want to listen to you. Or you're bringing too much "negativity" into this space and you should focus on the positive. Or, or, or...

There are so many direct and subtle ways that tone policing takes over, and it doesn't just occur during conversations about race. Tone policing also occurs when you judge BIPOC for not conforming to white norms of communication (e.g. being too loud, using African America Vernacular English or speaking in ways that do not conform with Standard English, etc.).

Tone policing is both a request that BIPOC share our experiences about racism without sharing any of our (real) emotions about it, and for us to exist in ways that do not make white people feel uncomfortable. It is also a demand that racism be presented to you in a form that is more palatable to you, and doesn't make your White Fragility flare up.

Why Do You Need To Look At Tone Policing?

Tone policing reinforces white supremacist norms of how BIPOC are 'supposed' to show up. It is way of keeping BIPOC in line and disempowered. When you insist that

you will not believe or give credibility to BIPOC until they speak in a tone that suits you, even if what they are speaking about is true, then you uphold the idea that your standards as a white person are more superior. When you control the tone of how BIPOC are supposed to talk about their lived experiences with racism and existing in the world, you are reinforcing the white supremacist ideology that white knows best. It is also an insidious way of gaslighting BIPOC. When you insist that BIPOC talk about their painful experiences with racism without expressing any pain, rage or grief, you are asking them to dehumanise themselves. You are expecting them to detach themselves from the true feelings of what it feels like to be discriminated against and oppressed. Asking people not to feel what they feel about their oppression and abuse is cruel and violent. You need to look at the specific ways that you tone police so that you can see the very subtle, often undetectable to you, ways that you reinforce white supremacy. When you can understand how you tone police, you can begin to change your behaviour so that you can allow BIPOC the full expression of their humanity.

Journaling Questions

What have you learned about You & Tone Policing?

- How have you used tone policing to silence, shut down or dismiss BIPOC? What tone policing thoughts have you harboured inside when you've heard BIPOC talk about race or their lived experiences, even if you didn't say them out loud?
- How have you insisted on white norms of "respectability" and "civility" when BIPOC talk about their lived experiences?
- How have you derailed conversations about race by focusing on how someone said something to you, rather than what they said to you?
- How often have you claimed or felt you were "being shamed" in conversations about your or other people's racism?
- How often have you walked away from race conversations because you didn't approve of the tone being used?
- How often have you made your willingness to engage in anti-racism work conditional on people using the "right" tone with you?
- How have you discounted BIPOC's real pain over racism because the way they talk about it doesn't fit with your world view of how people "should" talk?
- How have you discounted BIPOC in general because of the tone that they use when they talk?
- How have you used tone to police BIPOC?

Day 4: You + White Silence

What Is White Silence?

White silence is exactly what it sounds like. It is when people with white privilege stay complicity silent when it comes to issues of race. Tone policing is about how you silence BIPOC. White silence is how YOU stay silent around race.

How Does White Silence Show Up?

Here are a few examples of White Silence in action:

- It shows up when you stay silent (or make excuses/change the subject/leave the room) when your family members or friends make racist jokes or comments.
- It's staying silent when you see your colleagues of colour being discriminated against at work.
- It's staying silent when white people treat your biracial family members in ways they would not treat your white family members.
- It's staying silent by choosing not to engage in any conversations about race.
- It's staying silent by not attending protest marches for Black Lives Matter, immigrants at risk and other marginalized people of colour.
- It's staying silent when your favourite well-known teacher/coach/mentor/author is rightfully called out for problematic behaviour.
- It's staying silent when you witness other white people use their White Privilege, White Fragility or Tone Policing against BIPOC.
- It's staying silent by not sharing social media posts about race and racism in your spaces because of the way it might affect your personal or professional life.
- It's staying silent about your anti-racism work for fear of losing friends, family members and followers.
- It's staying silent by not holding those around you accountable for their racist behaviour.
- It is the deafening silence that has upheld white supremacy throughout all these years. It is the silence that silently gives approval to the horrors of racism.

Why Do You Need To Look At White Silence?

Because silence is not neutral. Silence is looking the other way and protecting your privilege - thus continuing to uphold white supremacy. White silence is violence. White silence protects the system. White silence prevents you from speaking truth to power.

You must look at the ways in which you stay silent, so that you can begin to build the strength and courage to start using your voice. As Audre Lorde said, “your silence will not protect you”. When you stay silent, you stay complicit.

Journaling Questions

What have you learnt about You & White Silence?

- How do you and have you stayed silent when it comes to race and racism?
- How has your silence been complicit in upholding racist behaviour?
- In which situations do you fall silent when it comes to racism?
- Why do you stay silent?
- How do you benefit from white silence?
- How do you do harm with your white silence?

Appendix D

Session Four - Racial Battle Fatigue with Students of Color	
Facilitator(s)	One faculty member, one staff member
Learning Outcomes	<p>After participating in this session, faculty members will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● be able to define Racial Battle Fatigue and microaggressions ● identify causes of racial battle fatigue ● understand how they play a role in the impact of Whiteness on students of color ● learn how to best support their students of color in and out of the classroom
Purpose	<p>This session is designed for participants to hear the counterstories of students of color at a predominantly White institution. Participants will engage in active listening in order to understand the impacts of Whiteness and a predominantly White campus on students of color. Participants will hear how classroom, campus, and interpersonal microaggressions (Sue, 2010) negatively impact the wellbeing of students of color and further contribute to a culture of Whiteness on campus. This session will support participants in their White racial identity development by challenging them to confront the reality of racism in their everyday work life, placing them in the immersion/emersion stage (Tatum, 1994, Helms, 1992).</p>
Allocated time	90 minutes
Materials needed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Chairs for all student panelists ● Group Communication Guidelines (posted as a reminder) ● PowerPoint ● Projector
Setup	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Set up PowerPoint & computer ○ Post Group Communication Guidelines on wall
Session Outline/Details	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Prior to session 3 of the workshop series:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Facilitators will identify 3-5 students of color to serve as panelists for the workshop ○ Facilitators will share with the panelists the questions that will be asked during the panel as well as the goals and learning outcomes for this session ● Racial Battle Fatigue Student Panel (65 minutes) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Facilitators will introduce the session and themselves <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Facilitators will provide a brief overview of Racial Battle Fatigue as the physical, mental, and emotional stress and reactions that people of color have when exposed to predominantly White spaces ▪ Often, people of color feel isolated as well as a lack of belonging when they experience racial battle fatigue ▪ People of color also experience significant physical reactions: their body undergoes chronic stress that can lead to long-term health issues ○ Facilitators will invite panelists to introduce themselves (3-5 panelists max) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ panelists will introduce themselves with their names, academic year, their pronouns, and their major ○ Facilitators will ask the following questions of the panel:

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Question 1: What was your first racialized experience on campus? What happened? How did you respond? How did campus respond?</i> ▪ <i>Question 2: What experiences have you had specifically with your mentor, staff, and faculty members in regard to race?</i> ▪ <i>Question 3: What other experiences have you had on campus that are tied to race? How do these experiences impact you both in the moment that they are happening, and as you look to your future as a member of this community?</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Do any of these experiences affect how you show up in the classroom? How do they affect you?</i> ▪ <i>Any other information/experiences you'd like to share?</i> ○ Facilitators will open the floor for Q&A from faculty members <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 10-minute break ● Reflection and Debrief (10 mins) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Facilitators will hold space for faculty members to ask questions and create discussions about the panel on their own ○ To prompt discussion, facilitators will ask: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>What are your initial thoughts and reactions?</i> ▪ <i>How do the stories shared today relate to your pedagogy and your classroom?</i> ○ The purpose of utilizing a panel format and uplifting student voices of color is to challenge the dominant narrative of Whiteness both within the institution and within the workshop itself. The panel utilizes counterstorytelling, a tenet of Critical Race Theory (CRT) to disrupt the dominant narrative and bring the realities of students of color to light. The panel also will connect these experiences directly with the reading assigned and due during this session: Racial Battle Fatigue and Microaggressions ● Closing (5 min) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Thank you for your participation in today's panel! Next session we have just one reading: Lyiscott (2019)</i> ○ Remember to be working on your Racial Reality assignment!
--	--

22

Challenging Racial Battle Fatigue on Historically White Campuses: A Critical Race Examination of Race-Related Stress

William A. Smith, Tara J. Yosso, Daniel G. Solórzano

The young black reporter looked at me patiently as I paused to gather my thoughts. Noticing that I was clenching my cup, she smiled reassuringly and calmly said, "I know this must be difficult to talk about, but please let me reassure you, my point is to get this out to our readers, to let people know more about what happened, and—" I interrupted, "Well, as I mentioned to you when you contacted me, I don't know exactly what happened, but I do want to make sure that folks know what this man was about. What he was doing. I think the link to what happened is his work—our work." I paused to sip my kava kava herb tea and take my stack of paperwork and notes out of my crocheted bag. Angela, Corky, Huey, and others had warned me about sharing too much information with reporters, but this newspaper had a reputation for serving the black community in Boston for many years. I hoped I was making the right decision to trust this woman. "Well, Monday, March 6, 1972, was for all intents and purposes just another day..."

We open this chapter with a counterstory preview to entice readers to engage in a framework called critical race theory (CRT). CRT draws on many areas of academic scholarship and centers the experiences of people of color to document voices and knowledges rarely taken into account in traditional academic spaces or mainstream mass media venues. CRT scholarship

combines empirical and experiential knowledges, frequently in the form of storytelling, chronicles, or other creative narratives. These counternarratives can often expose traditional educational discourse as racialized, gendered, classed storytelling.

Indeed, traditional stories about race do not seem like stories at all. Such “everyday” narratives perpetuate myths that darker skin and poverty correlate with bad neighborhoods and bad schools. This chapter and counterstory utilize CRT in education to challenge the silences of “race-neutral” storytelling in order to discuss the race-related stress faculty of color confront when navigating through historically white universities.

Racial Microaggressions and Racial Battle Fatigue _____

Racism is structured into the rhythms of everyday life in the United States (Feagin, 2000). Pierce (1970) defines racism as a “public health and mental health illness” (p. 266) based on the delusion or false belief, in spite of contrary evidence, that innate inferiority correlates with dark skin color. He argues that in examining racism “. . . one must not look for the gross and obvious. The subtle, cumulative miniassault is the substance of today’s racism . . .” (Pierce, 1974, p. 516). He further describes these assaults as racial microaggressions. In adapting Pierce’s (1970, 1974, 1980, 1989, 1995) work, we define racial microaggressions as 1) subtle verbal and non-verbal insults directed at people of color, often automatically or unconsciously; 2) layered insults, based on one’s race, gender, class, sexuality, language, immigration status, phenotype, accent, or surname; and 3) cumulative insults, which cause unnecessary stress to people of color while privileging whites. Critical race scholars have expanded on Pierce’s research to address how people of color are experiencing and responding to racial microaggressions within and beyond the academy. For example, Carroll (1998) extends Pierce’s work to describe that being black in the U.S. means living in a society permeated by mundane and extreme racism and punctuated by incessant microaggressions. She finds that African Americans are faced with mundane extreme environmental stress—MEES. Smith (2004a, 2004b) focuses on the stress aspects of racism, explaining that constant exposure to MEES reveals the cumulative effects of racial microaggressions. He argues that the stress associated with racial microaggressions causes African Americans to experience various forms of mental, emotional, and physical strain—racial battle fatigue.

The stress ensuing from racism and racial microaggressions leads people of color to exhibit various psychophysiological symptoms, including sup-

pressed immunity and increased sickness, tension headaches, trembling and jumpiness, chronic pain in healed injuries, elevated blood pressure, and a pounding heartbeat. Likewise, in anticipation of a racial conflict, people of color may experience rapid breathing, an upset stomach, or frequent diarrhea or urination. Other symptoms of racial battle fatigue include constant anxiety, ulcer, increased swearing or complaining, insomnia or sleep broken by haunting conflict-specific dreams, rapid mood swings, difficulty thinking or speaking coherently, and emotional and social withdrawal in response to racial microaggressions or while in environments of mundane racial stressors. Ultimately, these symptoms may lead to people of color losing confidence in themselves, questioning their life's work or even their life's worth.

Indeed, constantly battling racial stress takes a toll on the lives of people of color. Izard (1972, 1977) documented that African Americans tend to perceive incidents of racism as personal threats, and this leads to an increase in their emotional stress level. Krieger and Sidney (1996) reported that 80% of 1,974 black women and men experienced racial discrimination and self-reported attempts to respond to unfair treatment, showing that both experiences of discrimination and efforts to respond to unfair treatment were associated with increased blood pressure. Similarly, Williams, Neighbors, and Jackson (2003) concluded that perceptions of discrimination appear to induce physiological and psychological arousal. Systematic exposures to such psychosocial stressors may have long-term health consequences.

Experiencing racial discrimination as a stressful life event can reduce one's personal sense of control and elicit feelings of loss, ambiguity, strain, frustration, and injustice. Smith (2004b) concluded that this activates a stress-response system, originally evolved for responding to acute physical and emotional emergencies. However, given the pervasiveness of racism in U.S. society and its institutions, this emergency stress-response system is constantly "switched on" to cope with chronic racial microaggressions (and macroaggressions).

The accumulative stress from racial microaggressions produces racial battle fatigue. The stress of unavoidable front-line racial battles in historically white spaces leads to people of color feeling mentally, emotionally, and physically drained. The stress from racial microaggressions can become lethal when the accumulation of physiological symptoms of racial battle fatigue are untreated, unnoticed, misdiagnosed, or personally dismissed. Our critical race counternarrative, which follows, acknowledges experiences with and responses to racial microaggressions and racial battle fatigue reported by faculty of color in predominantly white institutions.

Critical Race Theory (CRT)

CRT provides a useful tool to identify, analyze, and challenge racism in education and society. Through a CRT lens, the ongoing racism on college and university campuses comes into focus, revealing that race conditions have not improved significantly as we move further into the 21st century as compared with reports from the racially tumultuous 1960s (Carroll, 1998; Smith, Altbach, & Lomotey, 2002). Faculty and students of color must cope with daily incidents of racial microaggressions from white students, faculty, and administrators as they daily navigate institutions developed to benefit whites (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Bowman & Smith, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1996; Smith, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000).

Originating in schools of law, the critical race movement seeks to account for the role of race and racism in the U.S. and to challenge the many forms of racism and its intersections with other forms of subordination such as gender and class (Delgado, 1995a). Latina/Latino critical race theorists have expanded the CRT framework in law to discuss issues of subordination on the basis of immigration status, culture, language, and sexuality (Arriola, 1997; Espinoza, 1998). Similarly, a multiracial coalition of scholars have worked since at least the mid-1990s to extend CRT to the field of education and implement its tenets into educational research, pedagogy, curriculum, and policy (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Lynn, Yosso, Solórzano, & Parker, 2002; Solórzano, 1997, 1998; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Tate, 1994, 1997).

Acknowledging CRT's roots in scholarly traditions such as ethnic studies, U.S./third-world feminisms, Marxism/neoMarxism, cultural nationalism, internal colonialism, and critical legal studies, Solórzano (1997) identified at least five tenets shared by CRT scholarship. These tenets acknowledge the critical strengths of other scholarly traditions while they reveal, critique, and address some of these frameworks' blind spots (e.g., Marxism's blind spots regarding race and gender, cultural nationalism's blind spots on gender, class, and sexuality). The basic perspectives, research methods, and pedagogy of CRT in education learn from these academic and community traditions.

- *The intercentricity of race and racism.* CRT starts from the premise that race and racism are endemic and permanent in U.S. society (Bell, 1987) and asserts that racism intersects with forms of subordination based on gender, class, sexuality, language, culture, immigrant status, phenotype, accent, and surname (see Espinoza, 1998).

- *The challenge to dominant ideology.* CRT in education challenges claims of objectivity, meritocracy, color blindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity and asserts that these claims act as a camouflage for the self-interest, power, and privilege of dominant groups in U.S. society (see Solórzano, 1997).
- *The commitment to social justice.* CRT seeks to advance a social justice agenda. Such a goal emphasizes that the larger purpose of educational research, teaching, and policy is the transformation of society through the empowerment of oppressed groups (see Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001).
- *The centrality of experiential knowledge.* CRT recognizes that the experiential knowledge of people of color is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination. CRT explicitly listens to the lived experiences of people of color through counterstorytelling methods such as family histories, biographies, scenarios, parables, *cuentos* (stories), *testimonios*, *dichos* (proverbs), chronicles, and narratives (see Olivas, 1990).
- *The interdisciplinary perspective.* CRT challenges traditional mainstream frameworks by analyzing racism, classism, sexism, and homophobia in historical and interdisciplinary terms (see Delgado, 1984, 1992).

Composite Counterstorytelling

Although CRT scholarship arguably serves counternarrative functions in general, some scholars seek to be more explicit in presenting their research through the genre of storytelling. There are at least three types of such counterstories evidenced in the CRT literature: autobiographical (e.g., Aguirre, 2000; Williams, 1991), biographical (e.g., Olivas, 1990), and multimethod/composite (e.g., Bell, 1987, 1992, 1996; Delgado, 1995b, 1996, 1999, 2003a, 2003b; Yosso, 2006). For our purposes, we focus on multimethod/composite stories. Composite counternarratives draw on multiple forms of “data” to recount the racialized, sexualized, classed experiences of faculty and students of color (see Delgado Bernal, 1998).

The counterstory that follows draws on findings from various research projects to address the experiences and responses of faculty of color to the pervasiveness of racism and racial battle fatigue in and around college and university campuses. Methodologically, we started by finding and unearthing sources of data. Our first form of “data” came from primary sources, namely

interviews with African Americans, primarily professors, at universities across the country.¹

Next, we analyzed secondary data from social science and humanities scholarship, addressing experiences with and responses to racism in higher education (e.g., Allen & Solórzano, 2001; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1996; Willie & Sanford, 1995). In sifting through this literature, we drew connections with the interview data and uncovered the concepts of racial microaggressions (Pierce, 1970, 1974, 1980, 1989, 1995; Solórzano, 1998; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000) and resilience (e.g., Yosso, 2006). To recover and recount the story evidenced in the patterns and themes of the data, we added a final source of data—our own professional and personal experiences.² This included our individual reflections as well as the multiple voices of family, friends, colleagues, and acquaintances. Such experiential knowledge echoed the related research literature and the interview findings, which helped us to better understand the relationship between microaggressions, stress responses, and resistance (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Prillerman, Myers, & Smedley, 1989; Smith, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001).

Once we compiled, examined, and analyzed these various sources of data, we created composite characters to help tell the story. We attempted to engage these characters in a real and critical dialogue about our data from the interviews, related literature, and personal/professional experiences. As such, the characters personify our research and our analysis process. In the tradition of Du Bois (1920) and Freire (1973), the dialogue emerged between the characters much like our own discussions in this process emerged—through sharing, listening, challenging, and reflecting. We differentiate our work from that of fictional storytelling. Certainly there are elements of fiction in the story, but the “composite” characters are grounded in real-life experiences, actual empirical data, and contextualized in social situations that are also grounded in real life, not fiction.

Introducing the Characters and Setting the Scene _____

We tell this counterstory from the perspective of a composite character named Alice Canon, a professor of psychiatry at the University of California–Los Angeles. As part of an interview with a reporter from a black community newspaper, Alice is reflecting on her work with her colleague, Chet Toboa, a professor of psychiatry and education at Harvard University. Professor Toboa disappeared about two years ago, in 1972, and this is one of several trips Alice has made back to Boston. She is continuing to conduct what was a collaborative

research project about the experiences of faculty of color in historically white colleges and universities.³

Guided by CRT's five tenets and the concepts of racial microaggressions and racial battle fatigue, this counterstory invites the reader to approach the counterstory as a pedagogical and empirical case study: to listen for the story's points and reflect on how these points compare with her or his own version of reality (however conceived). We listen in to Professor Canon's interview with a newspaper reporter as she recounts the events preceding the disappearance of Dr. Chet Toboa.

The Supposed Scandal: Questions About Chet's Disappearance

"You probably have read the official versions of this scandal, but the story begins well before Chet went 'missing.'" The reporter wasn't quite convinced, so I showed her a few old newspaper clippings. "It was a scandal that white folks couldn't get enough of for a while."

I showed her the Sunday, April 9, 1972, *Boston Globe* article with the headline of "Harvard Professor Missing." The *Chicago Defender* newspaper and *Jet* and *Ebony* magazines each ran front-page cover stories, under the headlines of, respectively, "Harvard Yard Suspected of Murder"; "1922 or 1972? The Professional Lynching of a Black Professor"; and "The Academic Klan: Powerful Organizations Suspected of Murdering Distinguished Black Professor."⁴ I looked up from the clippings and sarcastically stated, "Most of those in the academic, medical, social science, and black communities knew this was a scandal as soon as the word got out. We were asking questions that no one could answer in their superficial scandal headlines: Was it just the typical race-related hatred for blacks in this hostile era? Was it Professor Toboa's standing up against some of the most powerful institutions in the country? Was it his refusal to accept tenure if his academic department did not hire another minority professor? Was it his role in starting black professional organizations? None of us had answers, but opinions were endless for how this terrible and unexpected situation occurred."

"Of course there were the usual racialized assumptions. Many whites claimed that this had nothing to do with race. Since Chet was a well-respected Harvard professor whose research was international in scope, some felt the only possible explanation was an international conspiracy led by the Soviet Union. Other whites went as far as to suggest that it was spontaneous human combustion that resulted in his disappearance. When they were pushed further on this point to explain what happened to the ashes, they suggested 'the janitor must have swept them up not

knowing what they were.' I always thought that was the funniest theory. Most blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans pointed to some combination of racial conspiracies. Some suggested that orders were handed down from President Nixon to the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover, as one of the director's last assignments before dying in May of that year." I could see the reporter wanted to hear my theory, so I smiled reassuringly and explained, "As you probably know, Chet and I are first cousins and we basically grew up together like brother and sister. My theory isn't so over-dramatic. But let me tell you about our research because I think that's what your readers will really dig."

Alice's Theory About the Disappearance: Introducing a Racialized Research Agenda

"As I mentioned, March 6, 1972, was a relatively ordinary day, at least in Los Angeles. I was back in California, teaching a clinical seminar course and it was about 64 degrees with blue skies. The meeting took place in New York where it was slightly colder than usual. It dipped down to 33 degrees that night when Chet was seen watching Wilt 'The Stilt' Chamberlain assist the Los Angeles Lakers in a win against Willis Reed and his New York Knicks. He attended with Bumpy Johnson, a longtime friend who most folks thought of as a notorious Harlem gangster. Chet and Bumpy met years before when Bumpy gave a generous donation to our aunt who lived in South Carolina. She had been out of work and struggling to make ends meet after some jealously angry white men burned down her modest but successful business. The three white men fingered for the arson mysteriously came up missing, never to be seen or heard from again. Many black folks suspected Bumpy had something to do with it since he was in Charleston visiting shortly after the situation occurred, but—with a certain sense of pride—no one ever said an accusatory word. I think Bumpy actually inspired some of Chet's work. What a case study in racism, that Bumpy. Like too many young black brothers subjected to daily interpersonal and institutionalized racism, Bumpy's initial responses of anger and resentment led to his incarceration for a large part of his youth. Bumpy in turn admired Chet, who had also grown up in Harlem, but had channeled his anger to challenge racism through education and participation in the civil rights movement. Anyway, Bumpy and Chet ended up seeing one of Wilt's last professional basketball games and LA beat New York." I smiled as I held up a picture of me around that time period and another of Chet. The reporter commented that it must have been quite a shock for folks to see a research team made up of a woman with an

Afro and multicolored shawl and a man in a three-piece gray suit, let alone an academic with a gangster like Bumpy Johnson. I responded that the clothes don't make the man, and if anything, Chet's dapper style was not too different from Bumpy's. If she only knew, I mused to myself, remembering that some of my friends had crushes on Chet when we were finishing ninth grade and he was the 6'4" zoot-suit-wearing high school valedictorian.

I explained that Chet and I were developing a U.S. minority mental health research agenda. As professors and clinicians of psychiatry, we had documented the health effects of minorities living and working in extreme conditions or dealing with the daily effects of racism. We had become increasingly concerned with the mental and physiological health outcomes of blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans, especially as they were becoming "integrated" into historically white spaces and institutions. Chet also kept a journal of his private therapy sessions as well as his personal conversations with other black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican professionals, professors, students, and other community members about what he labeled as their experiences with "racial microaggressions." I pulled out one of Chet's earlier articles and read aloud: "Chet defined racial microaggressions 'as subtle, innocuous, preconscious, or (un)conscious degradations and put-downs, often kinetic but capable of being verbal and/or kinetic, and/or purposefully malicious or violent.'"⁵

I continued speaking, "So we were able to trace a rise in a new form of stress-related psychological and physiological disease that resulted from constant experiences with racial microaggressions. Chet's preliminary diagnosis of the cumulative effects of racial microaggressions was 'racial battle fatigue.' Unlike typical stress, racial battle fatigue referred to the cumulative result of a natural race-related stress response to distressing mental and emotional conditions. These conditions emerged from constantly facing racially dismissive, demeaning, insensitive and/or hostile racial environments and individuals. Chet found a pattern that showed that this race-related stress kills gradually and stealthily. It takes an unending toll through various psychosomatic physical ailments, such as hypertension and poor health attitudes and behaviors that combine to give minorities a morbidity and mortality profile similar to those living in the developing world rather than in the industrialized world." The reporter's raised eyebrows indicated she was interested in racial battle fatigue and whether it was connected to Chet's disappearance. I didn't want to let her know that I wondered the same thing myself. My research with Chet initially began after a long conversation during a family reunion

about the source of some of my physical ailments and Chet's high stress levels.

Revealing Experiences of Racial Microaggressions and Symptoms of Racial Battle Fatigue at the Black Faculty Association Meeting: Friday, February 4, 1972

"So the month before the March 6th meeting, Chet was preparing to address the East Coast Black Faculty Association in Mather Hall at Harvard University. As you may know, Mather Hall was named after Increase Mather, who was part of the upper-crust Boston slave owning society and a Harvard-educated preacher. He also presided over Harvard for 16 years as its sixth president (1685–1701). The association held its meetings in Mather Hall to remind them that within the institutional fabric of Harvard and outside of its campus, this multiheaded monster of racism and elitism was ever present, despite their laudable achievements. This special meeting was called to provide an update on the developments toward addressing the growing concerns about the racial violence aimed at black faculty and students at Harvard, as well as other schools across the East Coast and the country. In addition, Chet and I wanted to seek further input on the impending March 6th meeting. Chet was the current chair of the association."

I paused and showed the reporter that I had the actual transcriptions of association meetings because they had been trying out a new system where they audiotaped their meetings and had a volunteer write up the minutes at a later date. I didn't tell her that in retrospect I suspected that one of the newer association members was an FBI informant and he had suggested the audiotaping. Initially, I had told Chet it was odd, but he didn't seem too worried.

As I continued, I referred to the transcripts. "The Sergeant at Arms called the special meeting to order and Dr. Coleman, a black male history professor interrupted and said, 'Get on with it, Jesse. We know why we're here.'" I smiled thinking about how informal this formal group of black scholars could be.

"And then Chet, who was always known to be courteous despite the circumstances, welcomed everyone and explained who would be at the meeting on the 6th. He listed the senior-level administrators from each of the universities across the country that had been invited and who had ongoing campus racial unrest, including Harvard, Cornell University, University of Michigan, University of California–Berkeley, and University of California–Los Angeles. He also noted that key members from the De-

partment of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) would be there. HEW is a federal office that has broad popular support for unprecedented amounts of federal funds that are allocated for social programs, so many people were pleased they accepted the invitation. The list also included the American Council on Education, which is the major coordinating body for all the nation's higher education institutions; the National Institute of Mental Health, which has a major budget to fund research projects, new service initiatives, and train mental health professionals; the American Psychological Association, our professional organization that has significant influence on the national practice of psychiatry; and the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology, which awards the credentials of specialist psychiatrists after the successful completion of its examination."

"Now Chet turned it over to me because even though he was scheduled to be the main presenter Monday the 6th, I had done most of the groundwork in organizing the meeting. We were trying to be strategic and we knew that folks would probably respond more positively to a black man, like you said, in a three piece suit rather than a black woman with an Afro and a reputation for being a rebel-rouser and hanging out with Angela Davis, 'Corky' Gonzalez, Dolores Huerta, Huey P. Newton, Cesar Chavez, Kathleen Cleaver, Stokely Carmichael—who was calling himself Kwame Ture at this point—Carmen Valentin, and Jim Brown, the former NFL fullback. Anyway, I outlined the six major points we prepared for the meeting and Chet passed out mimeograph copies while I spoke. I'll read here my words:

'As some of you may know, Professor Toboa and I have been working together for a few years, following up on our epidemiological findings, which suggest that a positive correlation exists between increased white-black, white-Chicano, and white-Puerto Rican social integration and racial microaggressions. With each civil rights effort, or with each attempt at breaking down barriers of racial segregation in historically white spaces, minority health seems to suffer. We have identified that this experience of dealing with constant racial microaggressions leads to a phenomenon we are calling racial battle fatigue. These negative racial events and life crises clearly contribute to minorities' higher rates of affective disorders. Unfortunately, traditional research and healthcare practices inappropriately focus exclusively on poor diets, culture, poverty, and inadequate education as the

source of blame in black and brown poorer physical health statistics.”

“And here,” I noted, “a colleague raised her hand and asked, ‘Am I understanding correctly that this work is based on the premise that staying at the microsocial, proximal level of analysis offers a better prospect of obtaining ecologically valid and practical knowledge about racial microaggressions, emotions, coping strategies, and the racial battle fatigue phenomena?’ Chet responded, ‘Yes. However, I believe researchers must be free to choose which approach they want to use, proximal or distal, just as it is appropriate to ask which approach provides more useful information and in-depth analysis.’”

I explained to the reporter that many of our colleagues knew the growing bias toward quantitative, large-scale research projects when it came to swaying the interests of major government funders. Then I continued, “These transcripts don’t really pick up on the emotion of the room, but I remember pretty clearly. It was quite tense and so, at first, I emphasized a few words sarcastically to bring a little humor to the situation. I said,

‘We believe that each of these *leading* and *prestigious* institutions’—and Chet looked at me sideways to remind me that some of our colleagues might not appreciate that humor, so I continued on in a more serious tone. ‘These institutions and organizations need to 1) be more cognizant of the needs and interests of minorities; 2) elevate minorities in the hierarchy of each institution; 3) be held responsible for the abundance of unsophisticated, anti-intellectual, racist, and sexist scholarship funded, produced, and rewarded in these institutions; 4) acknowledge that racism and white resistance to integration should be seen as a public health crisis for the stress, violence, and terror it inflicts on the aggrieved; 5) consider classifying racist behaviors as a psychological disorder in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* and 6) eliminate the homosexual classification that considers homosexuality as a physical disease, a “third sex,” or a psychological aberration.’”

I looked up from the transcript and explained, “That last statement caused a mild disturbance in the room. People began to whisper to each other their concern about grouping racism with homosexuality. A young conser-

vative black economics professor, Gleason Golightly,⁶ stood up to make his objections clearly known for the record.” I turned back to reading the transcriptions: “Professor Golightly said,

‘So what you are telling us is that for the purposes of discrimination, sexual orientation—or, more accurately, sexual behavior—must be treated like race. Do you really think that is a legitimate claim? When I got up this morning I was a black man. When I drove my car through South Boston and was stopped, it was because I was a black man. When I go to bed tonight, I will still be a black man. If we are going to treat sexual orientation and race the same, then what you are saying is sexual orientation—read: behavior—is like race, a condition beyond the individual’s control. If you want us, or this group that you will be addressing next month, to accept this kind of reasoning, then why should we stop at this form of sexual passion? If we’re going to ask for special considerations for homosexuals, shouldn’t everybody else’s irrepressible sexual orientations be protected? Shouldn’t adulterers, pedophiles, rapists, and other sorts of sexual aberrants be entitled to the same protections?’”

I sat back in my chair and said, “The room erupted after Golightly finished his diatribe. Whatever discomforts association members may have felt about this issue were replaced with even more contempt for Golightly’s message and him as the messenger. Golightly’s positions usually had an adverse effect for swaying people his way. This was also true for the more conservative blacks who appeared moderate in comparison. The Sergeant at Arms had to call the room to order.”

“Now I could never really hide my disdain for Golightly, but I was always cordial. So I spoke up, and the transcripts actually caught me here. I’d been doing this for years, and usually only if you were sitting very close to me would you hear it. I said, ‘Look here, ‘Notlikely,’ I am not fully comfortable with including this as part of our proposal but for very different reasons than yours. What I do understand is that if we allow these organizations to continue to mistreat and misrepresent one group, then blacks will never be free.’” I told the reporter that at this point the majority of the room rose to their feet to applaud my comments, much to Golightly’s chagrin.

I referred back to the transcripts and explained, “Chet began to talk over the ovation to bring order to the room and said, ‘I will briefly try to

answer part of Professor Golightly's question and show the connection we are trying to draw.' Chet's strategy was not to change Golightly's name, but to stare him down as he challenged his reactionary comments. Chet looked right at Golightly and said, 'Many psychiatrists, psychologists, ministers, priests, rabbis, and even professors believe that homosexuality is a curable condition. However, the various 'cures' they propose are highly offensive and perilous, including castration, hypnosis, nausea producing drugs, electric shock, brain surgery, breast amputations, and aversion therapy. This is no different than the ideology held by the physician Sam Cartwright, who believed that blacks had 'drapetomania' and 'dysaesthesia aethiopsis' which justified our enslavement.'⁷

"Then Chet addressed the rest of the room, using his fingers to infer quotation marks over the questionable words in these racist theories: 'Cartwright also theorized that the black skin of Afro-Americans in conjunction with a deficiency of red blood cells led to smaller brain sizes in blacks, which resulted in both less intelligence and lower morals. The 'cure' for the first disease was 'whipping the devil out of them' to prevent them from 'their crazy desire to run away from slavery.' Cartwright believed that the second disease caused a slave to refuse to work and the 'cure' was to give the slaves harder work to stimulate the blood to the brain and free them from their infliction. Even the so-called father of American psychiatry and one of the 'founding fathers' of this country, Benjamin Rush, believed that the only 'cure' for blacks would be when our skin color turns white. This is why he and others believed that blacks and whites should always be segregated from one another. What we are witnessing today are the modern forms of these ideologies.'⁸

The reporter shook her head in disgust. I described the silence in the room after Chet's statement. "He pretty much put any lingering doubts about whether we were on the right track to rest, but an awkward silence and depression began to cover the room, so I spoke up and told them, 'Look, if we can convince these powerful organizations about the errors of their ways and the troubles ahead, then we can be more effective in influencing national policies and practice about the health consequences of minorities fighting against racism.'"

I paused and explained to the reporter that through our interviews over the years, Chet and I had collected more than 300 personal statements from minority professors across the country in varying fields. So we put up on the overhead projector the major themes we had found so far and asked the association members to think about whether their experiences fit into those themes or if we were any missing patterns that should

be added. As I read a few examples of faculty experiences with racial microaggressions, I also noted the psychophysiological symptoms as each person had described them.

“A black male philosophy professor began the discussion about the pattern of racialized classroom experiences. This older man explained that his wife was concerned because he had been complaining much more than he had in the past and he began swearing and just seemed to be withdrawing both emotionally and socially. He explained,

‘This is a very sensitive area for me. You might guess correctly that there are not many black philosophy professors. So I spend a lot of time sharing my struggles with black professors in other fields and their struggles are all the same. In spite of our efforts to demonstrate competency, black professors are challenged more on our intellectual authority than our white counterparts. In most of these challenges, students question our knowledge directly or indirectly in a way that is inappropriate or disrespectful. These challenges might include arguments on basic points of the discipline. For example, students might argue that the sociological imagination is not defined as I defined it. They might question the validity of lecture material or use more indirect forms of resistance. For instance, this particular white student simply thought he knew everything and that he certainly couldn’t learn anything from me. He went so far as to say, when I was trying to explain something, ‘That’s wrong, that’s just wrong, that’s not true.’ This is very, very difficult because you can’t go off on him because you’ve got to be respectful and you’ve got to be this professional person, but it’s very, very hurtful, particularly from someone who was not an excellent student.’”

The young reporter nodded as if she heard something familiar in the statement. I continued reading the examples. “Here’s a black female developmental psychologist who had been experiencing tension headaches and elevated blood pressure and spoke about constant microaggressions in the classroom. She said,

‘Our white colleagues do not understand how our classroom experiences qualitatively differ from theirs. White students expect the traditional hierarchy of society to prevail in the

class. That is, white male on the top, and black woman on the bottom. And they can't get ready for the fact that a black woman is teaching this class! And that the white males are not in charge. . . . I think that if I were white, that I wouldn't have to go through those sorts of things in my classroom . . . but at every turn I have to remind students that I am the professor. I'm not just the instructor . . . I have a Ph.D. . . . I have to tell students, 'Look. I graduated summa cum laude; I got two master's degrees and my Ph.D. . . . I published these books and these articles, blah, blah, blah,' to let them know that I may be black, but what you think about in terms of what it means to be black is not necessarily what I am, if it's a negative perception . . . being uneducated and being illiterate and not able to think and basically being an affirmative action kind of a person. So those are the kinds of things that I think make my job more difficult. Much more difficult than white professors. And it's unfortunate that the so-called standardized evaluation process that we have been using in colleges and universities does not take these things into consideration. In fact, if you raise the subject, the college will look at you like you're crazy because they don't deal with that. And they're actually being honest because they don't understand the sheer level of complexity on the part of the professor and the student in dealing with these kinds of issues. So I'm not blaming my colleagues. I'm just saying they're really very ignorant. Ignorant about what goes on in my classes and the extent to which I have to use measures above and beyond what they have to use to even survive in the classroom.'"

The reporter continued to nod in agreement and I read one more example of classroom experiences with microaggressions. "This next one is a black female chemistry professor. This very accomplished woman had little confidence in her university and maintained even less confidence in herself. She shared a pretty blatant example with us." I found my place in the transcript and began to read, remembering vividly the pained expression on this woman's face as she shared this incident with us. "She said,

'The first time I walked as an instructor into a classroom in a large research university, I immediately experienced such a racially stressful event. I wrote my name on the board, turned around, and, to my utter dismay, a white male stu-

dent was staring at me with contempt and holding up his middle finger to me. ‘Can this be happening to me?’ I asked myself. I began my lecture, but I was having an out-of-body experience as the young man continued to stare at me in contempt, still ‘shooting a bird’ until, finally, I could no longer pretend that this was not happening. So I walked slowly toward him and deliberately stared him straight in the eye as I lectured. It was the longest walk . . . but it would be one that I would repeat many times in the years to come, in different circumstances.’”

I flipped through the next few pages of the transcription to make sure I was staying on track. I continued, “A few of the professors also shared their experiences that follow in with the theme of a subtle yet stunning and cumulative nature of racial microaggressions. And these here certainly suggest that the cumulative effect of microaggressions is racial battle fatigue. For example, a black male psychiatry professor who admitted to having sleep broken by haunting conflict-specific dreams said,

‘What is it like to be a black person in white America today? One step from suicide! The psychological warfare games that we have to play every day just to survive. We have to be one way in our communities and one way in the workplace or in the business sector. We can never be ourselves all around. I think that may be a given for all people, but us particularly; it’s really a mental health problem. It’s a wonder we haven’t all gone out and killed somebody or killed ourselves.’”

I shared one last example of the overall cumulative effect of racial microaggressions with the reporter. “A black male psychiatry professor reporting insomnia and rapid breathing in anticipation of conflict, explained,

‘If you can think of the mind as having 100 ergs of energy, and the average man uses 50% of this energy dealing with the everyday problems of the world—just general kinds of things—then he has 50% more to do creative kinds of things that he wants to do. That’s a white person. Now, a black person also has 100 ergs. He uses 50% the same way a white man does, dealing with what the white man has to deal with, so he has 50% left. But he uses 25% fighting

being black, with all the problems of being black in America and what it means.’”

“And then I told the faculty, ‘So that’s what brings us to you today, to ask humbly if you would share with us some of your stories so we can add your voices to the testimony we give next month. We would like for these folks to hear your story about the racial attacks—or what we call racial microaggressions—you may have had to endure just trying to be a black professor on a white campus.’” I paused from reading the transcript and shared with the reporter the inspiring scene that followed. “One after another, each professor in the room stood up to share stories of the racial microaggressions they faced on and around historically white campuses. We could see as we had read the examples out loud that these professors were realizing they were no longer struggling with incidents and symptoms of racial battle fatigue in isolation, now they had a name for their pain. Although some were hesitant to share their psychophysiological symptoms in that large group setting, they noted that our dataset reflected their own experiences and remarked that our thematic analysis had reached saturation. Even Golightly conceded to experiencing racial microaggressions. Although he tried to dismiss their effect on his personhood, I noticed he tended to yawn and demonstrate extreme fatigue after drinking multiple cups of black coffee.”

I smiled at the ever-patient reporter and said, “So there it is. The meeting adjourned and each person stayed until they shared their experiences. Chet was frustrated at the multiple experiences of racism his colleagues had been subjected to, but he didn’t let too much of this anger show. Instead, he assured them that their voices would be heard at the meeting Monday the 6th. Many expressed doubt as we headed off campus whether folks from the organizations and universities would really listen, but they thanked me for organizing the meeting and they thanked Chet in advance for bringing their stories and this research to such a forum.”

Will Institutions Listen to and Learn From Effects of Racism? Waiting for an Update: April 7, 1972

So I left a message for Chet the morning of Friday, April 7th, to let him know I had arrived safely from my red-eye flight from California and that I’d see him at the association meeting shortly. I was anxious to hear about any recent reports stemming from the meeting. I didn’t tell the reporter that it was strange that he hadn’t called to give me an update earlier, but I didn’t think much of it because I knew he believed his university phone

and perhaps his home phone had been wiretapped. I also knew Chet usually volunteered at the hospital a few days a month and also visited the prison hospital on occasion, so I figured he may have been busy. He would often remind me of how he would much rather be involved in clinical work, challenging racism as a kind of street therapist who helped young black youth learn to recognize and respond to racial microaggressions before racism took its toll on their mental and physical health.⁹

I described to the reporter that the association meeting was scheduled for every first Friday of the month while school was in session. "So since we hadn't had our usual meeting in March, everyone was in attendance for that April 7th meeting. Most of us assumed Chet would be on time in one of his customary three-piece Brooks Brothers suits and his camel brown Allen-Edmonds shoes, with his calming and reassuring smile despite how grave the circumstances. By the time I got to Mather Hall at 11:50 a.m., the room was packed. Since no one had heard from Chet since last Wednesday, members thought that he had been planning something special in response to what was rumored to be disappointing news. At noon, the Sergeant at Arms called the meeting to order but Chet did not show."

The reporter asked me to pause briefly so she could start a new tape. I took the opportunity to drink some tea as I noted to myself that recounting the story today was the first time that a lump in my throat had not developed. My emotions had grown numb over the years thinking about the racial microaggressions that I have continuously experienced. But I have always gotten exceptionally angry when I think about how Chet was treated.

Once the new tape was recording, I continued, "After waiting for 20 minutes we decided to check his office. Several colleagues volunteered to join me and walk across campus to check on him. As we approached his building, the Cambridge police met us in the hallway. They were looking for Chet's office. One of the Harvard faculty members said that we were on our way to get him for a meeting and inquired what was wrong. An officer indicated that a missing person's report had been filed and they were sent to investigate Dr. Toboa's whereabouts. By this time there's almost a mob of folks heading up to Chet's office. And of course there was no elevator in that building, so we were all crammed together going up the stairs to the third floor! When we got there, the door was wide open. On his desk was an opened envelope, with a return address labeled 'Committee on Campus and Community Culture and Climate.' We learned this letter was delivered via certified mail Tuesday, April 4th, but there was no letter to be found. Instead, there was a note written on the back of the envelope, in what

looked to be Chet's writing. It referred to Supreme Court Justice Brown's opinion in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case of 1896 and simply read: 'It is only in black people's minds that racial conditions in America are oppressive.'¹⁰

I excused myself momentarily to refill my mug with hot water and searched through my bag for another kava kava herb tea as the young reporter looked at the writing on the empty envelope, still sealed in the police protective covering. I brushed away a few tears as I stirred some honey into my tea, lost in my thoughts for a moment before I sat back at the table and continued. "Not much is really known about what happened to Chet. The department secretary reportedly saw him when he picked up his mail earlier that day. No one saw him leave his office or the building, even though folks were there until late in the evening."

"Noticing that there were various awards and certificates strewn all over the floor, the police asked us not to touch anything, and I think that's what caused us to finally start getting scared that something may have happened to Chet. So we were pretty much silent, almost frozen with fear and concern, but you know, right then in the silence of the moment, we heard Chet's little transistor radio playing on the shelf." I closed my eyes and began to sing softly the song that was playing:

"People get ready there's a train a comin'
Don't need no baggage, you just get on board"

I opened my eyes and saw a blank stare from the young reporter, so I explained that Curtis Mayfield and the Impressions recorded "People Get Ready" in 1965. The song symbolically described how people felt in the midst of the civil rights movement, that there was a train coming, that history was moving with a sense of inevitability. I continued singing:

"People get ready for the train to Jordan
Picking up passengers coast to coast
Faith is the key, open the doors and board 'em
There's hope for all those that love Him most"

I paused again to explain that the song goes on from there to issue a warning, and I sang this part to the young reporter as well:

"There ain't no room for the hopeless sinner
Who would hurt all mankind just to save his own
Have pity on those whose chances grow thinner
For there's no hiding place from the Kingdom's throne."

I smiled thinking that since this interview was being recorded, someday my singing might become part of an FBI file, as seemed to be the trend in the last few years with many of my politically active friends. Realizing the reporter was waiting for me to continue, I explained, “Well, as you might imagine, the police quickly regained their composure and finished digging around his office, asking each of us to ‘stay in touch.’ I walked with the other faculty back to Mather Hall and broke the news to the larger group that Chet had gone missing, and many of us were brought in for questioning over the next few weeks.”

The reporter thanked me for my time and confirmed my summer contact information for possible follow-up questions. She noted that this would probably be a series of articles. She hadn’t connected the date Chet received the certified letter, April 4th, with the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., and I was sure that would be a future follow-up question. Both Dr. King and Dr. Toboa were about nonviolent, peaceful resolutions. Both had visions of a better condition for *all* people. Each tried to break down the same system, which took an ultimate toll on each of their lives. I had learned not to worry too much about such ironies, but deep down, I knew it was no coincidence.

Alice’s Epilogue

I walked to a small campus cafeteria to grab a quick bite before heading to the airport. The interview had gone longer than I anticipated. Out of the corner of my eye I saw a familiar face across the yard. It was the janitor I had met in Chet’s building. I thought back to when the university decided to move another professor into Chet’s office and asked me to prepare his work for the archives. It had been such a short time since Chet’s disappearance, yet the office was almost all cleaned out by the time I got there.

The janitor was sweeping up Chet’s office as I arrived. He smiled and tipped his cap. Maybe he recognized my picture from one of Chet’s family photos he used to have in his office, I don’t know, but he knew who I was immediately. Before leaving me to go through the stack of Chet’s papers, the janitor handed me a small book that he said I might find useful. Given the huge task before me, I didn’t even open the book until a few hours later. I realized it was Chet’s personal journal and I wondered how the janitor came across it and why the police never mentioned it. I flipped through it briefly, stopping at one of the pages titled “I almost killed a white man today.” Chet sketched out a scene, which apparently took place at an airport, where a white man verbally accosted him. He had just returned from a trip to Mc-Curdo Base in the Antarctic, where he was studying how military personnel

and scientists adapted and survived the stressors of extreme climates after a year of residency. Chet had mentioned some of this early work to me, and how he was comparing the extreme climates of Antarctica with the extreme climates of racism that blacks had been trying to survive for centuries in the Americas.¹¹ I sighed, thinking of how Chet must have looked in his full-grown beard, snow shoes in his bag, facing an extreme climate of hostility in the Boston airport terminal. Certainly there have been multiple incidents he described to me where he was belittled in front of colleagues with comments like “When I was talking about those blacks, I didn’t mean you, you’re different,” or nonverbal exchanges such as being followed at the supermarket or not served at a restaurant. One night he was detained while walking to his apartment near Harvard. Police insisted that he “assume the position” because he “fit the description” of a burglar. I turned the pages to read a more recent journal entry. It was apparently inspired by the poem “Whitey on the moon,” by Gil Scott-Heron.¹² Most of the lines had been edited from the original poem.

Whitey needs more room

Those rats done sent us all to hell, 'cause Whitey needs more room
 Bit my sister then wished her well, 'cause Whitey needs more room
 Can't live in those precious hills, 'cause Whitey needs more room
 Ten years from now still taking pills, 'cause Whitey needs more room

No relief from the front-line, Black
 One step forward 10 steps back
 Feel my blood pressure going up
 And as if all that crap wasn't enough

Those rats done sent us all to hell, 'cause Whitey needs more room
 Bit my sister then wished her well, 'cause Whitey needs more room
 Never got our 40 acres and a mule, 'cause Whitey needs more room!
 Need national guards just to go to school? Hmm . . . only Whitey's in
 the room!

You know I've just about had my fill of Whitey needing room
 I think I'd like to take my shot and send Whitey—Pow! Bang!
 Zoom!—to the moon.

Thinking back now about that creative entry, I marveled at Chet's multiple hidden talents. For me, the journal was a gentle reminder that things are never quite what they seem. I waved at the janitor, hoping he might have a moment and walk over. The janitor smiled and tipped his cap, but

headed in the opposite direction. My questions would have to wait because I knew the plane would not. As I hailed a taxi to the airport, I realized that something in the janitor's smile back when he gave me Chet's journal and again today gave me an unexplainable sense of calm. The gloomy feelings I had from recounting so many memories of Chet began to ease, like the Boston sky, where the sun had finally broken through the cloud cover only to begin its descent into the horizon.

Discussion

Through this counterstory, we introduce the concepts of microaggressions and racial battle fatigue as a way to examine some of the implications of racism on the health and lifespan of faculty of color in historically white colleges and universities.

Our counterstory characters confirm that a few or even one microaggression may cause serious emotional and physical stress. Yet as Carroll (1998) reminds us, in a society plagued by racism, people of color endure a lifetime of mundane, extreme, environmental stress. In this context, people of color expend a tremendous amount of psychological energy managing and negotiating microaggressions.

The counterstory examines some of the effects of racial microaggressions on faculty of color by allowing brief entry into a moment in the lives of two composite characters—Professors Canon and Toboa. The composite characters analyze and personify data on racial battle fatigue. Indeed, as the black faculty recount their individual experiences with racial microaggressions, their collective experiences begin to demonstrate how a lifetime of microaggressions and their corresponding cumulative stress leads to racial battle fatigue. The psychophysiological symptoms of racial battle fatigue may cause lowered self-esteem, social withdrawal from perceived racial stressors, and many negative health complications, which can diminish one's quality of life and even shorten one's lifespan. The research presented through the counterstory shows that faculty of color report various psychophysiological symptoms as a result of battling an accumulation of racial microaggressions on historically white college and university campuses. Lomas (2003) explains that this tradition of listening to and recounting testimonios (life experiences) of subordinated groups can transform both the storytellers and listeners/readers. She asserts that "in making sense of the text as a whole the reader is forced to go outside the text itself and examine the real world in relation to the text" (pp. 2–3). In format and content, the counterstory told in this chapter attempts to build on the transformative capacity of narratives.

This chapter and counterstory show that people of color experience racial microaggressions, but the cumulative effect of this seemingly innocuous form of racism—racial battle fatigue—remains underresearched. Without further research in this area, the racial battle fatigue symptoms experienced by people of color will remain misdiagnosed or even dismissed. As historically white colleges and universities maintain structural barriers that deny access to students of color while perpetuating a discourse of tolerance and diversity, racial microaggressions and ensuing racial battle fatigue will continue to be an area in need of study. For example, research should address some of the coping mechanisms people of color engage in response to racial microaggressions and racial battle fatigue.

CRT, with its epistemological insistence on recognizing the knowledges of people of color and methodological flexibility in utilizing counternarratives, represents a useful framework for challenging both macro and micro forms of racism in education. Counterstorytelling holds pedagogical potential in its accessible story format embedded with critical conceptual and theoretical content. CRT counterstories can foster community building among subordinated groups by recognizing shared experiences with racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of subordination. The evidence is clear: External stressors can permanently alter physiological functioning. For people of color, racism increases the degree of stress that one endures and this directly correlates to the physiological arousal that is an indicator of stress-related diseases (Smith, 2004b). It is our humble hope that this counterstory and the painful realities of racial battle fatigue shared herein can help strengthen traditions of social, political, and cultural survival and resistance.

Endnotes

- 1) Each interview is from one of four data sources and has been slightly edited only to reflect the language use of the era: Feagin and Sikes (1994), Harlow (2003), Smith (1993–2005), and Smith (2004b).
- 2) We acknowledge that our own racialized, gendered, and classed experiences inform this counterstory. We do not purport to be neutral or objective in the process of sifting through the data and finding themes and patterns.
- 3) We use historically white institutions instead of predominantly white institutions to distinguish that the gross numbers or percentages of white students have less to do with the majority populations than with the historical and contemporary racial infrastructure that is in place, the current campus racial culture and ecology, and how these modern-day institutions still benefit whites at the expense of blacks and other groups of color.

- 4) While the early 1970s were rife with very real racial violence and scandalous headlines, the headlines listed here are fictitious.
- 5) See Pierce (1975, 1995).
- 6) We humbly and gratefully borrow the character of Professor Gleason Golightly from Chapter 9 of Bell (1992). Such a conservative “minority” viewpoint upholds white privilege by blindly clinging to the majoritarian story while dismissing the lived reality of people of color. Although whites most often tell majoritarian stories, people of color often buy into and even tell majoritarian stories. Being a “minority” majoritarian storyteller such as Golightly often means receiving benefits provided by those with racial, gender, and/or class privilege.
- 7) See Citizens Commission on Human Rights (1995).
- 8) See Citizens Commission on Human Rights (1995).
- 9) See Pierce (1970).
- 10) We paraphrase Justice Brown’s majority opinion of the court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537, 538 (1896).
- 11) See Carroll (1998).
- 12) For the original poem, see Scott-Heron (2001).

References

- Aguirre, A., Jr. (2000, Summer). Academic storytelling: A critical race theory story of affirmative action. *Sociological Perspectives*, 43(2), 319-339.
- Allen, W. R., & Solórzano, D. (2001). Affirmative action, educational equity, and campus racial climate: A case study of the University of Michigan Law School. *La Raza Law Journal*, 12(2), 237-363.
- Arriola, E. (1997). LatCrit theory, international human rights, popular culture, and the faces of despair in INS raids. *Inter-American Law Review*, 28(2), 245-262.
- Bell, D. (1987). *And we are not saved: The elusive quest for racial justice*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Bell, D. (1992). *Faces at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Bell, D. (1996). *Gospel choirs: Psalms of survival in an alien land called home*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Bonilla-Silva, E., & Forman, T. A. (2000, January). “I’m not a racist but . . .”: Mapping white college students’ racial ideology in the USA. *Discourse and Society*, 11(1), 50-85.


- Bowman, P. J., & Smith, W. A. (2002). Racial ideology in the campus community: Emerging cross-ethnic differences and challenges. In W. A. Smith, P. G. Altbach, & K. Lomotey (Eds.), *The racial crisis in American higher education: Continuing challenges for the twenty-first century* (Rev. ed., pp. 103–120). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Carroll, G. (1998). *Environmental stress and African Americans: The other side of the moon*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Citizens Commission on Human Rights. (1995). *Creating racism: Psychiatry's betrayal* [Brochure]. Los Angeles, CA: Author.
- Clark, R., Anderson, N. B., Clark, V. R., & Williams, D. R. (1999, October). Racism as a stressor for African Americans: A biopsychosocial model. *American Psychologist*, 54(10), 805–816.
- Delgado, R. (1984). The imperial scholar: Reflections on a review of civil rights literature. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 132, 561–578.
- Delgado, R. (1992). The imperial scholar revisited: How to marginalize outsider writing, ten years later. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 140, 1349–1372.
- Delgado, R. (Ed.). (1995a). *Critical race theory: The cutting edge*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Delgado, R. (1995b). *The Rodrigo chronicles: Conversations about America and race*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Delgado, R. (1996). *The coming race war? And other apocalyptic tales of America after affirmative action and welfare*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Delgado, R. (1999). *When equality ends: Stories about race and resistance*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Delgado, R. (2003a). Crossroads and blind alleys: A critical examination of recent writing about race. *Texas Law Review*, 82, 121–152.
- Delgado, R. (2003b). *Justice at war: Civil liberties and civil rights during times of crisis*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Delgado Bernal, D. (1998, Winter). Using a Chicana feminist epistemology in educational research. *Harvard Educational Review*, 68(4), 555–582.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (1920). *Darkwater: Voices from within the veil*. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace.
- Espinoza, L. G. (1998). Latino/a identity and multi-identity: Community and culture. In R. Delgado & J. Stefancic (Eds.), *The Latin/a condition: A critical reader* (pp. 17–23). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Feagin, J. R. (2000). *Racist America: Roots, current realities, and future reparations*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Feagin, J. R., & Sikes, M. P. (1994). *Living with racism: The black middle-class experience*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Freire, P. (1973). *Education for critical consciousness*. New York, NY: Seabury Press.
- Harlow, R. (2003, December). "Race doesn't matter, but . . .": The effect of race on professors' experiences and emotion management in the undergraduate college classroom. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 66(4), 348–363.
- Izard, C. E. (1972). *Patterns of emotions: A new analysis of anxiety and depression*. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Izard, C. E. (1977). *Human emotions*. New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Krieger, N., & Sidney, S. (1996, October). Racial discrimination and blood pressure: The CARDIA study of young black and white adults. *American Journal of Public Health*, 86(10), 1370–1378.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1996, Spring). Silences as weapons: Challenges of a black professor teaching white students. *Theory into Practice*, 35(2), 79–85.
- Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. F. (1995, Fall). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record*, 97(1), 47–68.
- Lomas, C. (2003, August). *Latina feminisms: Reflections on theory, practice, and pedagogy emerging in telling to live*. Paper presented at the 16th annual MALCS Summer Institute, San Antonio, TX.
- Lynn, M., Yosso, T. J., Solórzano, D., & Parker, L. (2002, February). Critical race theory and education: Qualitative research in the new millennium [Special issue: Critical race and qualitative research]. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1), 3–6.
- Olivas, M. A. (1990). The chronicles, my grandfather's stories, and immigration law: The slave traders chronicle as racial history. *Saint Louis University Law Journal*, 34, 425–441.
- Pierce, C. (1970). Offensive mechanisms. In F. B. Barbour (Ed.), *The black seventies* (pp. 265–282). Boston, MA: Porter Sargent.
- Pierce, C. (1974). Psychiatric problems of the black minority. In S. Arieti (Ed.), *American handbook of psychiatry* (pp. 512–523). New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Pierce, C. (1975). The mundane extreme environment and its effect on learning. In S. G. Brainard (Ed.), *Learning disabilities: Issues and recommendations for research* (p. xx). Washington, DC: National Institute of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- Pierce, C. (1980). Social trace contaminants: Subtle indicator of racism in TV. In S. B. Withey & R. P. Abeles (Eds.), *Television and social behavior: Beyond violence and children* (pp. 249–257). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Pierce, C. (1989). Unity in diversity: Thirty-three years of stress. In G. L. Berry & J. K. Asamen (Eds.), *Black students: Psychosocial issues and academic achievement* (pp. 296–312). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Pierce, C. (1995). Stress analogs of racism and sexism: Terrorism, torture, and disaster. In C. V. Willie, P. P. Rieker, B. M. Kramer, & B. S. Brown (Eds.), *Mental health, racism, and sexism* (pp. 277–293). Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Prillerman, S. L., Myers, H. F., & Smedley, B. D. (1989). Stress, well-being, and academic achievement in college. In G. L. Berry & J. K. Asamen (Ed.), *Black students: Psychosocial issues and academic achievement* (pp. 198–217). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Scott-Heron, G. (2001). *Now and then: The poems of Gil Scott-Heron*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Payback Press.
- Smith, W. A. (1993–2005). *National study on African Americans*. Unpublished interview database, University of Illinois at Chicago and the University of Utah.
- Smith, W. A. (2004a). *Battle fatigue on the front lines of race: Teaching about race and racism at historically white institutions*. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Smith, W. A. (2004b). Black faculty coping with racial battle fatigue: The campus racial climate in a post-civil rights era. In D. Cleveland (Ed.), *A long way to go: Conversations about race by African American faculty and graduate students* (pp. 171–190). New York: Peter Lang.
- Smith, W. A. (2004c). *The impact of racially primed white students on black faculty: Manifestations of racial battle fatigue on historically white campuses*. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Smith, W. A., Altbach, P. G., Lomotey, K. (Eds.). (2002). *The racial crisis in American higher education: Continuing challenges to the twenty-first century* (Rev. ed.). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Solórzano, D. (1997, Summer). Images and words that wound: Critical race theory, racial stereotyping, and teacher education. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 24(3), 5–19.
- Solórzano, D. (1998, January). Critical race theory, racial and gender microaggressions, and the experiences of Chicana and Chicano scholars. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11(1), 121–136.
- Solórzano, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000, Winter/Spring). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Negro Education*, 69(1/2), 60–73.
- Solórzano, D., & Delgado Bernal, D. (2001, May). Examining transformational resistance through a critical race and LatCrit theory framework: Chicana and Chicano students in an urban context. *Urban Education*, 36(3), 308–342.

- Tate, W. F. (1994, October). From inner city to ivory tower: Does my voice matter in the academy? *Urban Education, 29*(3), 245–269.
- Tate, W. F. (1997). Critical race theory and education: History, theory, and implications. *Review of Research in Education, 22*, 195–247.
- Williams, D. R., Neighbors, H. W., & Jackson, J. S. (2003, February). Racial/ethnic discrimination and health: Findings from community studies. *American Journal of Public Health, 93*(2), 200–208.
- Williams, P. J. (1991). *The alchemy of race and rights: Diary of a law professor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Willie, C. V., & Sanford, J. S. (1995). Turbulence on the college campus and the frustration-aggression hypothesis. In C. V. Willie, P. P. Rieker, B. M. Kramer, & B. S. Brown (Eds.), *Mental health, racism, and sexism* (pp. 253–275). Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Yosso, T. J. (2006). *Critical race counterstories along the Chicana/Chicano educational pipeline*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Racial Battle Fatigue for Latina/o Students: A Quantitative Perspective

Journal of Hispanic Higher Education
2014, Vol. 13(4) 303–322
© The Author(s) 2014
Reprints and permissions:
sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav
DOI: 10.1177/1538192714540530
jhh.sagepub.com


Jeremy D. Franklin¹, William A. Smith¹, and Man Hung¹

Abstract

Previous literature demonstrates that as a result of racial microaggressions and hostile campus racial climates, Latina/o students often state they experience psychological, physiological, and behavioral stress responses during and after racialized incidents on campuses. The purpose of this study is to quantitatively test the racial battle fatigue framework for Latina/o students using structural equation modeling. Findings suggest that psychological stress responses for Latinas/os are most impacted by racial microaggressions in the racial battle fatigue framework.

Resumen

Literatura previa demuestra que como resultado de micro-agresiones raciales en campos universitarios con medio ambiente hostil, estudiantes latina/os señalan frecuentemente que experimentan respuestas estresantes psicológicas, fisiológicas y conductuales durante y después de incidentes racistas en campos universitarios. El propósito de este estudio fue el de probar cuantitativamente el marco de batalla de fatiga racial de estudiantes latina/os usando el modelo de ecuación estructural. Hallazgos sugirieron que respuestas de estrés psicológico de latina/os son impactadas más por micro-agresiones raciales en un marco de batalla de fatiga racial.

Keywords

higher education, racial battle fatigue, Latina/o, quantitative, stress, sociology

Introduction

Access to higher education and education in general for Latinas/os in the United States has been a struggle as it has been for fellow racial/ethnic populations (Valencia, 2008).

¹University of Utah, Salt Lake City, USA

Corresponding Author:

Jeremy D. Franklin, Department of Education, Culture, & Society, University of Utah, 1721 Campus Center Drive, SAEC 3280, Salt Lake City, UT 84112, USA.
Email: jeremy.franklin@utah.edu

Barriers to higher education impede access, persistence, and graduation for Latinas/os due to many factors including, but not limited to, structural racism and discrimination (Bonilla-Silva, 2004, 2010; Feagin & Cobas, 2013; Flores & Chapa, 2009; McCabe, 2009). Although Latinas/os, as a multi-ethnic group, are one of the fastest growing ethnic groups, their admittance, graduation, and satisfaction with their collegiate experience has not garnered the attention commensurate with their growth rate (M. H. Lopez & Fry, 2013). Numerous studies demonstrate that Latina/o students continue to experience hostile campus racial climates, racial microaggressions, and added racial stressors unlike their White peers (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Locks, Hurtado, Bowman, & Oseguera, 2008; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Some scholarship has demonstrated that as a result of hostile campus racial climates and racial microaggressions, students of color and more specifically Latina/o students question their academic self-concept, retention to an institution, graduation prospects, and sense of belonging (Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Solórzano, 1998; Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009). Another body of literature, largely outside of education, demonstrated that continual instances of racialized stress and racial microaggressions have a negative impact on the health of Latinas/os and students of color (Hwang & Goto, 2008; Ryan, Gee, & Laflamme, 2006; Yosso et al., 2009). Smith (2004, 2009a, 2009b) provided a framework to help understand the health consequences of continued racialized stress (both subtle and overt) based off literature in the fields of social foundations, education, sociology, and health psychology. Racial battle fatigue (RBF) scholarship has been used to describe the experiences of students of color in post-secondary settings, but the majority of the literature has been qualitative.

The RBF framework investigates how racial microaggressions impact the psychological, physiological, and behavioral stress responses of people of color (see Figure 1 for a visual representation). The purpose of this study is to quantitatively test the RBF framework for Latina/o students using structural equation modeling (SEM) and understand to what degree racial microaggressions impact the psychological, physiological, and behavioral stress responses of Latina/o students. Research on higher education and health outcomes has primarily focused on only a single stress response such as psychological outcomes. Individuals have a multitude of stress responses that may impact their academics and/or health and the RBF framework may help account for the numerous interrelated stress responses. Furthermore, prior research on racial microaggressions and RBF and the resulting academic and health outcomes have primarily been qualitative (Smith, 2004, 2009a, 2009b; Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007; Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2007; Solórzano, Allen, & Carroll, 2002; Sue, Bucerri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007). These critical and crucial studies have provided an important theoretical basis for the RBF framework. This study seeks to further test the RBF framework and see if there is a quantitative relationship between racial microaggressions and various related stress responses among Latina/o undergraduates. We believe this is important because it has been suggested that students who are more emotionally and socially healthy are more likely to succeed in college (Leafgran, 1989) and research demonstrates an association between racialized stress and persistence (Johnson, Wasserman, Yildirim, & Yonai, 2014; Wei, Ku, & Liao, 2011).

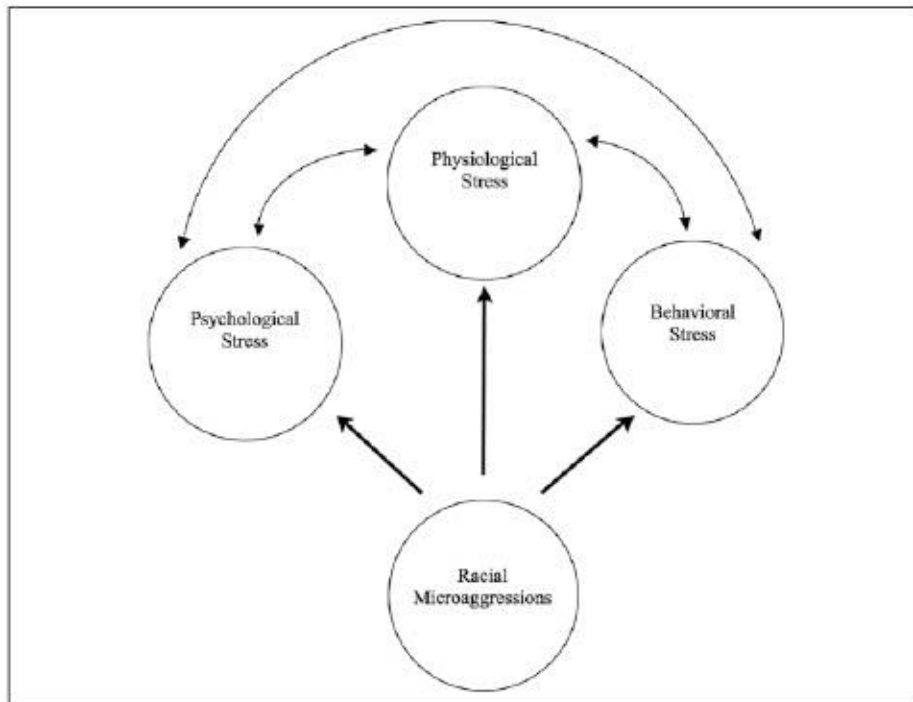


Figure 1. Conceptual racial battle fatigue model.

In the fields of K-12 education and higher education, there is only a limited amount of literature on RBF, racial microaggressions, and racialized stress (Smith, 2004, 2009a, 2009b; Solórzano et al., 2002; Solórzano et al., 2000; Truong & Museus, 2012) compared with the expansive literature in health and social psychology that have extensively studied the connection between discrimination and health (e.g., Harrell, 2000; Soto, Dawson-Andoh, & BeLue, 2011). Harper and Hurtado (2007) argued that higher education scholarship has only minimally provided a linkage between hostile campus racial climates and health outcomes. A greater proportion of higher education literature connects unwelcoming campus racial climates to negative educational outcomes for Latinas/os and students of color (Solórzano et al., 2002).

Research has demonstrated that stress can specifically impact persistence attitudes for students (Johnson et al., 2014; Wei et al., 2011) and another body of literature has demonstrated that perceived discrimination on campus negatively impacts sense of belonging of students of color which can impact retention (Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Johnson et al., 2007). Johnson and colleagues (2014) found that encounters with racism on campus increased students' academic-related stress and their decisions to persist at their higher education institution. These findings were consistent with those of Wei et al. (2011) that the campus environment significantly mediated the relationship between stress of students of color and persistence attitudes. In addition, Neville,

Heppner, Ji, and Thye (2004) found that racialized stress negatively impacted academic performance for students of color. The RBF framework accounts for many higher education-related concepts like retention along with structural racism and stress responses as seen in health, sociology, and social psychology literatures (Smith, 2009a). Unfortunately, there is little research on racialized stress of Latina/os compared with African Americans and other racial/ethnic groups (Hwang & Goto, 2008; Ryan et al., 2006). It is important to study the relationship between racialized stress and health for Latina/o college students in addition to other historically marginalized students. Latinas/os are a critical member of the overall campus environment, culture, and a significant number of minoritized students who are attending and graduating from post-secondary institutions (M. H. Lopez & Fry, 2013). More Latina/o high school graduates are enrolling in college, and previous research indicates Latinas/os experience racial microaggressions and discrimination that can result in poor academic achievement and health outcomes (Johnson et al., 2014; Neville et al., 2004; Soto et al., 2011).

Literature Review

Racial Battle Fatigue

Racial Battle Fatigue is a conceptual framework that builds upon the scholarship of social foundations, sociology, social psychology, and racial stress in health. Particularly important to understanding RBF is the work of Chester Pierce (1970, 1974, 1975a, 1975b, 1988, 1995). Pierce's (1970, 1988, 1995) work on racial microaggressions gave subsequent researchers (see Carroll, 1998; R. Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Feagin & McKinney, 2003; Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Sue, 2010; Sue, Capodilupo, & Holder, 2008) a better understanding on the critical psychosocial and health-related areas that needed further investigation.

Our current understanding was expanded when Smith (2004) developed the RBF framework that placed racial microaggressions within a historical, sociological, and psychological context, explaining the long- and short-term effects of resisting and fighting against racialized stressors. The RBF framework examines the psychological (e.g., frustration, anger, resentment), physiological (e.g., headaches, a pounding heart, high blood pressure), and behavioral (e.g., stereotype threat, impatience, poor school performance) responses from racism-related stressors that are often associated with being a person of color (Smith, 2004, 2009a, 2009b; Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007; Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2007). Fundamental to the RBF framework is the cumulative, negative effect of racial microaggressions or the "everyday verbal, nonverbal, and environmental slights, snubs, or insults, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to target persons based solely upon their marginalized group membership" (Sue, 2010, p. 3). Due to constant preparation, coping, and defending against racial microaggressions, people of color are often physically and emotionally drained (Smith, 2009a). Connecting health psychology and sociology literatures, RBF asserts that racism is a psychosocial stressor that

compromises health outcomes, which impact the educational, social, professional, and interpersonal well-being of people of color.

While RBF is a framework to understand overall health outcomes, racial microaggressions are the individual discriminatory and racist interactions people of color experience daily. The physiological and psychological well-being of people of color has been demonstrated to be negatively impacted by racial microaggressions (R. Clark et al., 1999). While early research on racial microaggressions focused on African Americans (Pierce, 1995; Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Wills, 1978; Solórzano et al., 2000), a growing number of studies have investigated racial microaggressions for Latina/os, Asian Americans, and American Indians (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006; D. A. Clark, Spanierman, Reed, Soble, & Cabana, 2011; Liang, Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2007; Utsey, Chae, Brown, & Kelly, 2002; Yosso et al., 2009). Soto et al. (2011) described how the RBF framework connected discriminatory and racist experiences with health outcomes. The stress associated with being a student and attaining a higher education degree is compounded by additional racialized stress for students of color. Racial microaggressions and resulting RBF reflect the harmful reality that students of color experience on today's college campuses.

Racial Microaggressions

The racial undertones of a campus environment are often referred to as the campus racial climate (Hurtado, 1992). Higher education research has helped to inform us on how the general campus climate differs greatly depending on a person's racial/ethnic makeup as well as other identities (Ancis, Sedlacek, & Mohr, 2000; Hurtado, 1992; Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Pfeifer & Schneider, 1974). A positive or negative campus racial climate can impact the retention, graduation, and the overall feelings of satisfaction for a student (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Today, students are reporting that negative campus racial climates and experiences with discrimination are much more subtle than reported by previous generations (Solórzano, 1998; Yosso et al., 2009); yet research has demonstrated that subtle racism is still damaging to student's overall quality of life and academic productivity (Araújo & Borrell, 2006; Sawyer, Major, Casad, Townsend, & Mendes, 2012; Smith, 2009a, 2009b; Torres, Driscoll, & Voell, 2012).

Pierce et al. (1978) originally defined racial microaggressions as "subtle, stunning, often automatic, and non-verbal exchanges which are 'put downs' of blacks by offenders" (p. 66). Since Pierce's seminal research, many scholars have expanded and adapted the original definition of racial microaggressions (cf. Solórzano et al., 2002; Sue, 2010). Solórzano et al. (2002) expanded this definition to explain how microaggressions are multi-faceted in that they attack "one's race, gender, class, sexuality, language, immigration status, phenotype, accent or surname" (p. 17). In a study of Latina/o students, Yosso et al. (2009) adapted Pierce's work to show how different forms of racial microaggressions were found in the experiences of Latina/o students. This study discovered three types of racial microaggressive experiences: racial jokes, interpersonal, and institutional. Despite facing endless microaggressions, students developed navigation skills to build community with fellow Latina/o students.

Solórzano (1998) studied how racial and gender microaggressions impacted the career paths of Chicana/o scholars. Several types of microaggressions were discovered: (a) non-verbal forms, (b) false assumptions based on stereotypes, (c) overt racial remarks, and (d) low teacher expectations. Sue et al. (2007) extended and classified racial microaggressions into three groups: microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations. These classifications suggest that racial microaggressions are multi-faceted and take on many forms. Many of the implications of racial microaggressions and race-based stress are psychological stress responses.

Racial Microaggressions Impact on Psychological Stress Responses

Previous research investigating psychological distress in college settings for Latina/o students witnessed that students felt alienated and isolated, and experienced greater racialized stress than their White peers (Hurtado & Carter, 1997; J. D. Lopez, 2005; Otero, Rivas, & Rivera, 2007; Solórzano et al., 2000; Villalpando, 2003; Yosso et al., 2009). Stress often comes in multiple forms, but students of color report greater racialized stress that can impact their academic adjustment and sense of belonging (Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Jones, Castellanos, & Cole, 2002). Some studies have demonstrated that Latinas/os experience a debilitating amount of anxiety in college (Otero et al., 2007; Saldaña, 1995; Solórzano et al., 2000; Yosso et al., 2009). In one study, Saldaña (1995) established that Latina/o students reported greater psychological stress associated with their marginalized status as an ethnic minority. Research has also validated that the psychological stress that Latina/os experience in higher education settings are a result of racial microaggressions and this added stress subsequently impacts their health. The racialized psychological stress that Latina/os and other students of color confront is a deleterious and compounded aspect of the college experience that European American students do not face.

There has been growing interest in perceived discrimination and poor health outcomes for people of color (Feagin, 1991; Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Williams, 1996; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000; Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997). Among non-student populations, Moradi and Risco (2006) found that perceived discrimination is linked to increased psychological distress for Latinas/os, and other research has linked discrimination to depressive symptoms for Latinos (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006). While a large number of studies on the linkages between discrimination and health have occurred within community samples, Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, and Roesch (2006) established that discrimination is similar in higher education settings and the larger community.

Racial Microaggressions Impact on Physiological Stress Responses

Physiological stress responses are a component of RBF that accounts for how the body reacts to racial microaggressions and discrimination. In 1996, Krieger and Sidney found that racism and discrimination is positively associated with high blood pressure for historically underrepresented racial/ethnic groups. Other research has revealed that racial microaggressions can increase nocturnal blood pressure for people of color (Brondolo, Gallo, & Myers, 2009). The majority of early research investigated

the association of discrimination and blood pressure on African Americans. Since the earliest studies, growing race-specific and multi-racial/ethnic studies have been published. In an important multi-racial/ethnic study, Ryan et al. (2006) examined a sample of African Americans, Black immigrants, and Latino immigrants. These researchers investigated self-reported discrimination, physical health, and blood pressure and found that participants who reported higher levels of discrimination had higher blood pressure than those who reported low to no discrimination. Among the group of participants, Latino immigrants had the lowest blood pressure, but there was still an association between discrimination and higher levels of blood pressure. In addition, in a study of 40 African American college students, perceived racism in the academic setting predicted an increased level of blood pressure (Hill, Kobayashi, & Hughes, 2007). While there is little research on the physiological responses to racism for Latina/os, some of the research for historically underrepresented students of color proved that a relationship exists that takes a toll on the body in the form of high blood pressure (Blascovich, Spencer, Quinn, & Steele, 2001; Hill et al., 2007). Blascovich et al. (2001) found that Black students who experienced stereotype threat also had higher blood pressure. In conjunction with racism and the subsequent psychological stress responses, a very negative impact on the physical and psychological state of a person can occur.

Racial Microaggressions' Impact on Behavioral Stress Responses

Discrimination and racism do not only invoke psychological and physiological responses consistent with the RBF framework, but it also contributes to certain behavioral stress responses. Reynolds, Sneva, and Beehler (2010) showed how race-based stress impacted the academic motivation of Latina/o and African American students who were members of student organizations like MEChA and the Black Student Union. Thus, stress as a result of racism was negatively correlated with extrinsic motivation and positively correlated with amotivation. Other research found that student organizations often provide support and build community to fight racism and discrimination (Villalpando, 2003; Yosso et al., 2009). Solberg and Villarreal (1997) explained how familial support and social integration are important for Latina/o students.

Prior research has also established how Latina/o students report feeling less comfortable than White peers on college campuses (Gloria & Pope-Davis, 1997; Hurtado & Carter, 1997). Perhaps one of the most widely cited educational behavioral responses is stereotype threat (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Steele and Aronson (1995) conducted a study to explain how implicit stereotypes about the intellectual inferiority of highly invested African American students can produce stereotype threat, and therefore undermine their performance in a testing situation. Stereotype threat is experienced by people of color during "... situations in which other people view them stereotypically in ways likely to increase performance pressures" (Steele, 1997, p. 5). Other scholars have found similar results to Steele's when investigating the influence of stereotype threat on academic performance of Latinas/os (Gonzales, Blanton, & Williams, 2002; Schmader & Johns, 2003). Some scholars have begun to extend the link of stereotype threat beyond academics to health outcomes. In a study by Aronson (2004), he reported that repeated exposure to stereotype threat leads to "disidentification" with a domain of study with

which the student was previously identified. Steele (1992) describes disidentification as the “process that occurs when people stop caring about their performance in an area, or domain that formerly mattered a great deal” (p. 12). Disidentification can lead to unhealthy psychological, physiological, and behavioral responses. The behavior of a person can change as a result of hostile conditions and previous research demonstrates that racism can impact the behavioral stress responses of Latina/os and people of color.

Method

Data

Data were collected from Winter 2011 through Winter 2012. The data set used for this study was part of a larger study titled the Racial Battle Fatigue Scale (RBFS). Data were collected about how often participants experienced racial microaggressions and how the racial microaggressions contributed to psychological, physiological, and behavioral stress responses.

The authors initially used their own personal networks to elicit participation and help distribute the paper questionnaires to their colleagues’ undergraduate and graduate students. Colleagues included professors, university administrators, and graduate students from universities across the United States and national organizations. Colleagues administered a paper questionnaire, but some requested an online questionnaire. Therefore, the researchers created and employed an online questionnaire to increase the sample size. The majority of survey administrators were professors at research institutions. In an effort to further increase sample size, the authors published the online questionnaire link to Listservs, blogs, Twitter, Facebook, and other social networking websites.

Exclusionary criteria included participants below 18 years of age and those who had less than a semester or quarter of undergraduate experience. Questions were asked about racial microaggressions; psychological, physiological, and behavioral stress responses; as well as demographic questions. The psychological, physiological, and behavioral questions asked about personal reactions to racialized incidents as an undergraduate. The initial RBF item bank contained 78 items for measuring stress responses and racial microaggressions—17 psychological items, 23 behavioral items, 21 physiological items, and 17 racial microaggressions items. After data collection was completed, the authors reviewed bivariate correlations of all of the 78 items from the four domains. As a result of poor correlations, variables were narrowed down to 15 psychological items, 14 behavioral items, 10 physiological items, and 13 racial microaggressions items for a total of 52 that were examined using factor analysis. Questions pertaining to racial microaggressions asked participants about how they were treated due to their racial/ethnic background. Examples were as follows: Because of your racial/ethnic background . . . (a) you are treated with less respect than other people, (b) you receive poorer service than other people, (c) people act as if they think you are not smart, (d) people act as if they are afraid of you, (e) people act as if they think you are dishonest, and (f) you have experiences you think are racially discriminatory in nature. Participants would then rate their responses on a 5-point scale from never (1) to very often (5) of how often they felt they received such treatment.

In addition, participants were also asked about the frequency of psychological, physiological, and behavioral stress responses after experiencing racial microaggressions on campus. Examples of psychological stress responses were as follows: feeling apathetic, feeling of helplessness, being on guard, and being more irritable. Some physiological stress responses included increased headaches, indigestion, chest pains, hives, and feeling fatigued. Finally, possible behavioral stress responses were feeling of isolation, performing poorly at work or in school, and lacking an appetite. Each stress response item consisted of five response options: (1) never, (2) almost never, (3) sometimes, (4) fairly often, (5) very often.

The overall sample included 1,261 current undergraduates and former undergraduates from across the United States. To analyze RBF for Latinos, we eliminated questionnaires from individuals who did not identify as Latina/o. In addition, any participants who had more than 20% missing data were eliminated. This resulted in a final sample of 210 completed questionnaires from former and current undergraduate Latino male and female students.

Analysis

A principal components analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001) was conducted on the 52 remaining items from the bivariate correlation analysis. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) index was used to investigate sampling adequacy, which measures item partial correlations. A KMO value, of at least 0.50, signals that it is appropriate to continue with a factor analysis. The number of factors retained was guided by the theoretical concept of RBF while assuring that eigenvalues were greater than one. In addition, visual examination of the scree plot was utilized to determine that the appropriate number of factors was selected. Item loadings less than 0.50 on any factor or items that fail to load uniquely (i.e., cross-loadings > 0.20) on a factor would be eliminated.

To analyze the RBF framework for Latina/o students, we employed SEM. We tested the full structural equation model of the RBF framework with the final observed items that comprised racial microaggressions and psychological, physiological, and behavioral stress responses. As we wanted to clearly understand the causal relationships within the system of variables, we utilized a SEM approach to analyze the full model of RBF (Pearl, 2000; Simon, 1953; Wright, 1921). A full SEM model combines both path analysis (the structural model) and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA; the measurement model). SEM takes into account measurement error, correlated error, correlated independent variables, non-linearity, and interaction. SEM can simultaneously examine the indirect and direct relationships among different variables, which is helpful for this study. The SEM model allows for racial microaggressions to predict psychological, physiological, and behavioral stress responses (see Figure 1; Smith, 2009a, 2009b). We reported standard fit indices to evaluate the fit of the model to the data. Fit indices measure how well the proposed model fits the data (McDonald & Ho, 2002). We utilized three fit indices to evaluate our model: root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), Comparative Fit Index (CFI), and standardized root mean square residual (SRMR). Some scholars recommend that the SRMR should be supplemented with the RMSEA and/or CFI because of some limitations (Hu & Bentler,

1995). RMSEA values that are close to 0.06 indicate a good fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999) while some suggest that a 0.07 indicates adequate fit (Steiger, 2007). For the CFI, a value of 0.95 is the suggested value for SEM models (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Finally, a SRMR value less than 0.08 is considered acceptable (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Results

Demographics

The majority of respondents were current undergraduates (83.8%, $n = 176$). The remaining participants were either graduate students (10.5%, $n = 22$) or were no longer in school, but had some undergraduate experience (5.7%, $n = 12$). About 37% ($n = 78$) of the participants were freshman and 16% ($n = 35$) were sophomores. Two thirds of the participants were female (62.4.1%, $n = 131$). Of the 210 respondents, 98% ($n = 205$) identified as heterosexual. Almost 87% ($n = 178$) of the participants attended a public 4-year institution and 8% ($n = 16$) attended a private 4-year, non-profit institution. About 11% ($n = 24$) of the participants attended a minority serving institution. More than half (51.4%) of the respondents identified as Roman Catholic and more than 75% of the sample had a parent's combined taxable household income of less than \$59,999. The majority of respondents (34.3%, $n = 72$) responded that their politics are moderate and the overall sample leaned progressive. Twenty-two percent of the sample worked more than 20 hours a week. More than 60% ($n = 130$) of the sample intended to complete a graduate or professional degree. While 81.4% rated their general health as "excellent" ($n = 69$) or "good" ($n = 101$), over 50% stated their stress due to racism and discrimination was above what they thought was average.

Item Level Analysis

The range of responses for all items was 1 to 5. Maximum and minimum means scores were 3.27 and 2.03 respectively. Three of the 21 items were negatively skewed with a standard error of 0.168. Kurtosis statistics ranged from -1.306 to -0.076 with a standard error of 0.334.

Sampling Adequacy

The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was between 0.817 and 0.927 for all the factor analyses. The Bartlett's test of sphericity was $p < .000$. Together, the KMO and Bartlett's test statistics indicated that factor analysis assumptions had been met and the data were suitable for factor analytic procedures.

Principal Components Analysis

We initially examined the scree plot to guide our decision on retaining factors (Catell, 1966). Between three and five factors seemed possible after investigating the scree plot. From the 52 items that remained after the bivariate correlation, we

Table 1. Standardized Factor Loading From SEM Model.

Factor and observed variables	Factor loadings
Racial microaggressions	
Respect	0.904
Poor service	0.878
Not smart	0.870
Afraid	0.678
Dishonest	0.777
Racially discriminatory	0.812
Psychological	
Frustrated	0.817
More aware of racism	0.806
Irritable	0.882
Mood change	0.897
Shock	0.780
Disappointment	0.831
Agitated	0.916
Physiological	
Muscle ache	0.856
Back pain	0.918
Sleep disturbances	0.886
Pain in joints	0.700
Behavioral	
Loss of appetite	0.883
Slept too much or too little	0.685
Procrastinate	0.617
Neglect responsibilities	0.672

Note. SEM = structural equation modeling.

conducted a principal components factor analysis that left 21 observed variables as seen in Table 1. All of the factor loadings were greater than 0.600 within a factor and less than 0.200 on other factors. Racial microaggressions was made up of six observed variables, psychological stress was made up of seven variables, physiological was made up of four variables as was the behavioral stress response factor. The four factors include observed variables that reflect the domains that makeup RBF.

SEM Model

After the principle components analysis was completed along with a CFA, we tested the full RBF model. The final model produced adequate to good fit with a RMSEA of 0.070, CFI of 0.945, and SRMR of 0.044 (see Table 2).

Results indicate that path coefficients were generally strong to adequate (see Table 3). When looking at how racial microaggressions impact the psychological stress

Table 2. Model Fit Results.

Sample	Model fit			
	N	RMSEA	CFI	SRMR
Model	210	0.070	0.95	0.044

Note. RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual.

Table 3. Standardized Path Coefficients Between Latent Variables.

Latent variables	β
Racial microaggressions	
Psychological	0.632
Physiological	0.508
Behavioral	0.407
Correlation of factors	
Behavioral	
Psychological	0.381
Physiological	0.269
Psychological	
Physiological	0.344

responses, we see the most pronounced path coefficient being 0.632. The second largest path coefficient was the impact of racial microaggressions on physiological-related stress responses (0.508). Finally, racial microaggressions impacting behavioral stress responses resulted in a path coefficient of 0.407. All of the path coefficients of the RBF SEM model were statistically significant ($p < .000$).

Path coefficients among the latent constructs were moderate to strong. The path coefficient between psychological stress and physiological stress was 0.344. The path coefficient between behavioral stress and psychological was 0.381 and between behavioral and physiological stress responses was 0.269.

Discussion

The findings of this study demonstrate that there is a relationship between the previously theorized components of the RBF framework. Previous scholarship proposed a theoretical relationship among the RBF components grounded in prior research in health psychology, education, sociology, and psychology (Smith, 2004, 2009a, 2009b). This assessment of the RBF framework for Latinas/os college students provides a starting point for future research on RBF for Latina/os and other historically marginalized populations.

The majority of the prior research on students of color in college settings, related to their experiences with RBF, has been qualitative. This study quantitatively links racial microaggressions with RBF-related stress responses for Latina/o students. The results suggest that psychological stress responses for Latinas/os are most impacted by racial microaggressions in the RBF framework. The observed variables that contributed to the psychological latent factor included frustration, being more aware of racism, irritability, mood changes, shock, disappointment, and agitation. As a whole, these factors were significantly impacted by racial microaggressions. This finding supports prior research that found racialized stress negatively impacted the psychological stress responses of Latina/o students and students of color in general (Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Hwang & Goto, 2008; Solórzano, 1998). As a result of psychological stress, students can experience negative social and academic factors that can affect their retention and graduation (Hurtado & Carter, 1997). There are ripple effects for psychological stress that are not limited to just the observed variables that compose the psychological latent variable, but extend to health and other outcomes.

Furthermore, this study found that racial microaggressions contribute to physiological and behavioral stress responses for the Latina/o student sample in this study. Their path coefficients were very similar in size. Some of the physiological stress responses included muscle aches, back pains, and the inability to sleep. The behavioral stress responses included eating less, sleeping less, procrastination, and neglecting responsibilities. Many of these physiological and behavioral stress responses could seriously impact the overall well-being of students. Higher education literature demonstrates that in racialized situations in which students experience racism and discrimination, they report physiological and behavioral stress responses (Hill et al., 2007). Unlike previous studies that are qualitative, this study investigated racial microaggressions and stress responses from a quantitative approach. The findings of this study contributed to the previous qualitative findings that racism and discrimination can negatively impact Latina/o undergraduate students. Prior research demonstrated that Latina/o students often report that they isolate themselves sometimes to combat, survive, and cope with the constant racism and discrimination in the post-secondary settings (Villalpando, 2003). This research quantitatively demonstrates that racial microaggressions can contribute to behavioral stress responses. Steele and Aronson (1995) demonstrated specific behavioral stress responses to perceived racism in academic situations with their work on stereotype threat.

The findings of this study can be helpful when considering the impacts of hostile campus racial climates for Latina/o students that often stretch beyond just academic factors. The health psychology scholarship demonstrates that racially hostile conditions can negatively impact the psychological, physiological, and behavioral stress that can manifest into poor health outcomes. This study provides a linkage to higher education settings. This study also offers a starting point for future RBF research with historically marginalized populations that often report unwelcoming and unsafe learning, living, and working conditions.

Limitations

This study has limitations like all studies. The sample size for this study was small. Future studies should try to expand the sample size. In addition, future studies should see how RBF manifests itself in Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs). HSIs may help lessen racial microaggressions and RBF for Latina/o students. This study was limited in that the data came from a multi-ethnic data set that was not solely targeted at Latinas/os. Future quantitative RBF research should learn from this study and create more targeted questions for Latinas/os and other racial/ethnic populations. Scholars should also investigate gender differences in RBF. This study is only a snapshot of RBF and not a longitudinal investigation. A longitudinal study could track health outcomes over time as a result of RBF. Finally, this study may not be generalizable to other populations. As a result, scholars interested in RBF should include a more diverse sample in their analyses or investigate the RBF that impacts African American, Asian Americans, Indigenous, Pacific Islander Americans, and other minoritized populations.

Implications and Conclusion

This study has a number of implications that are particularly relevant to researchers, practitioners, and those who develop campus programming. For researchers, this study demonstrates that a relationship exists between racial microaggressions and stress responses for Latina/o students. This has implications for future racial microaggressions and campus racial climate research that typically only investigates academic factors and some psychological factors. Scholars should include physiological and behavioral stress responses of students when investigating racism and discrimination for Latina/o and historically underrepresented and marginalized students. In addition, scholars need to look beyond higher education literature when investigating racism and discrimination because the field of health psychology has an extensive research base that can be applicable to college students and can be drawn upon for future studies. Finally, quantitative and qualitative researchers examining RBF can draw on the findings of this study to refine their investigation and further critique our findings especially from different perspectives. Racism impacts all areas of life. Consequently, the field of study for RBF is wide open to build upon those critical areas of life and interpersonal and institutional relationships. Universities and colleges know very little about the additional important domains of the lives of students of color and RBF to be able to provide adaptive coping strategies for dealing with racial microaggressions.

For practitioners, the findings of this research are equally as beneficial as they are for researchers. Practitioners may use this research when evaluating and developing programming for student services. Oftentimes, university administrators only consider the stress of academics as a significant administrative concern while much of the stress associated with racism and discrimination is only addressed by racial/ethnic student groups and sometimes in more progressive and culturally sensitive counseling centers. Practitioners and campus programming administrators will find this research useful when considering how to address racism and discrimination on their campus and how

it impacts students, their health, and sense of belonging to the institution. Prior RBF research has given language around the experiences that people of color experience. Campus counseling centers across the country are adopting this language and the facilitation of coping strategies in its practices. Now more universities and colleges must make specific efforts to target the conditions and barriers that Latinas/os experiences across campuses and eliminate those racial obstacles.

RBF for students of color is a concept that has been studied in its current form for about a decade. Findings demonstrate that there is a relationship among the four RBF domains previously theorized and described by Smith (2004, 2009a, 2009b). Higher education research highlights that Latina/o students experience racism, discrimination, and racial microaggressions in a so-called "post-racial" higher education setting. Unfortunately, there is little to no evidence that racial and ethnic bias will cease to exist anytime soon. The RBF framework provides an alternative way to investigate the damaging effects of racism for Latina/o students and students of color. While academics are at the main interest for higher education institutions, the health consequences for attending these institutions for Latina/o students should also be as great of an interest. As scholars of critical issues join with culturally competent campus practitioners, we need to create welcoming environments for all students. Understanding the entire experiences of Latina/o students and students of color is important if we intend to unveil, expose, and challenge the structural and everyday racism in our higher education institutions.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

References

- Alvarez, A. N., Juang, L., & Liang, C. T. H. (2006). Asian Americans and racism: When bad things happen to "model minorities." *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 12*, 477-492.
- Ancis, J. R., Sedlacek, W. E., & Mohr, J. J. (2000). Student perceptions of campus cultural climate by race. *Journal of Counseling & Counseling Development, 78*, 180-185.
- Araújo, B. Y., & Borrell, L. N. (2006). Understanding the link between discrimination, mental health outcomes, and life chances among Latinos. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 28*, 245-266.
- Aronson, J. (2004, November). The threat of stereotype. *Educational Leadership, 62*(3), 14-19.
- Blascovich, J., Spencer, S. J., Quinn, D., & Steele, C. (2001). African Americans and high blood pressure: The role of stereotype threat. *Psychological Science, 12*, 225-229.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2004). From bi-racial to tri-racial: Towards a new system of racial stratification in the USA. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 27*, 931-950.

- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2010). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States* (3rd ed.). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Brondolo, E., Gallo, L. C., & Myers, H. F. (2009). Race, racism and health: Disparities, mechanisms, and interventions. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 32*, 1-8.
- Carroll, G. (1998). *Environmental stress and African Americans: The other side of the moon*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Cattell, R. B. (1966). The scree test for the number of factors. *Multivariate Behavioral Research, 1*(2), 245-276.
- Clark, D. A., Spanierman, L. B., Reed, T. D., Soble, J. R., & Cabana, S. (2011). Documenting weblog expressions of racial microaggressions that target American Indians. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 4*, 39-50.
- Clark, R., Anderson, N. B., Clark, V. R., & Williams, D. R. (1999). Racism as a stressor for African Americans: A biopsychosocial model. *American Psychologist, 54*, 805-816.
- Feagin, J. R. (1991). The continuing significance of race: Antiblack discrimination in public places. *American Sociological Review, 56*, 101-116.
- Feagin, J. R., & Cobas, J. A. (2013). *Latinos facing racism: Discrimination, resistance, and endurance*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.
- Feagin, J. R., & McKinney, K. D. (2003). *The many cost of racism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Feagin, J. R., & Sikes, M. P. (1994). *Living with racism: The Black middle class experience*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Flores, S. M., & Chapa, J. (2009). Latino immigrant access to higher education in a bipolar context of reception. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 8*, 90-109.
- Gloria, A. M., & Pope-Davis, D. B. (1997). Cultural ambience. In D. B. Pope-Davis & H. L. K. Coleman (Eds.), *Multicultural Aspects of Counseling Series: Vol. 7. Multicultural counseling competencies: Assessment, education and training, and supervision* (pp. 242-262). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Gonzales, P. M., Blanton, H., & Williams, K. J. (2002). The effects of stereotype threat and double-minority status on the test performance of Latino women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*, 659-670.
- Greene, M. L., Way, N., & Pahl, K. (2006). Trajectories of perceived adult and peer discrimination among Black, Latino, and Asian American adolescents: Patterns and psychological correlates. *Developmental Psychology, 42*, 218-236.
- Harper, S. R., & Hurtado, S. (2007). Nine themes in campus racial climates and implications for institutional transformation. In S. R. Harper & L. D. Patton (Eds.), *New Directions for Student Services: Vol. 120. Responding to the realities of race on campus* (pp. 7-24). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Harrell, S. P. (2000). A multidimensional conceptualization of racism related stress: Implications for the well-being of people of color. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 70*, 42-57.
- Hill, L. K., Kobayashi, I., & Hughes, J. W. (2007). Perceived racism and ambulatory blood pressure in African American college students. *Journal of Black Psychology, 33*, 404-421.
- Hu, L.-T., & Bentler, P. (1995). Evaluating model fit. In R. H. Hoyle (Ed.), *Structural equation modeling: Concepts, issues, and applications* (pp. 76-99). London, England: SAGE.
- Hu, L.-T., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling, 6*, 1-55.
- Hurtado, S. (1992). The campus racial climate: Contexts of conflict. *Journal of Higher Education, 63*, 539-569.

- Hurtado, S., & Carter, D. F. (1997). Effects of college transition and perceptions of the campus racial climate on Latino college students' sense of belonging. *Sociology of Education, 70*, 324-345.
- Hwang, W. C., & Goto, S. (2008). The impact of perceived racial discrimination on the mental health of Asian American and Latino college students. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 14*, 326-335.
- Johnson, D. R., Soldner, M., Leonard, J. B., Alvarez, P., Inkelas, K. K., Rowan-Kenyon, H., & Longerbeam, S. D. (2007). Examining sense of belonging among first-year undergraduates from different racial/ethnic groups. *Journal of College Student Development, 48*, 525-542.
- Johnson, D. R., Wasserman, T. H., Yildirim, N., & Yonai, B. A. (2014). Examining the effects of stress and campus climate on the persistence of students of color and White students: An application of Bean and Eaton's psychological model of retention. *Research in Higher Education, 55*, 75-100.
- Jones, L., Castellanos, J., & Cole, D. (2002). Examining the ethnic minority student experience at predominantly White institutions: A case study. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 1*, 19-39.
- Klonoff, E. A., Landrine, H., & Ullman, J. B. (1999). Racial discrimination and psychiatric symptoms among Blacks. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 5*, 329-339.
- Krieger, N., & Sidney, S. (1996). Racial discrimination and blood pressure: The CARDIA study of young Black and White adults. *American Journal of Public Health, 86*, 1370-1378.
- Landrine, H., Klonoff, E. A., Corral, L., Fernandez, S., & Roesch, S. (2006). Conceptualizing and measuring ethnic discrimination in health research. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 29*, 79-94.
- Leafgran, F. A. (1989). Health and wellness programs. In M. L. Upcraft & J. N. Gardner (Eds.), *The freshman year experience* (pp. 156-167). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Liang, C. T. H., Alvarez, A. N., Juang, L. J., & Liang, M. X. (2007). The role of coping in the relationship between perceived racism and racism related stress for Asian Americans: Gender differences. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*, 132-141.
- Locks, A. M., Hurtado, S., Bowman, N. A., & Oseguera, L. (2008). Extending notions of campus climate and diversity to students' transition to college. *The Review of Higher Education, 31*, 257-285.
- Lopez, J. D. (2005). Race-related stress and sociocultural orientation among Latino students during their transition into a predominately White, highly selective institution. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 4*, 354-365.
- Lopez, M. H., & Fry, R. (2013). *Among recent high school grads, Hispanic college enrollment rate surpasses that of whites*. Retrieved from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/09/04/hispanic-college-enrollment-rate-surpasses-whites-for-the-first-time/>
- McCabe, J. (2009). Racial and gender microaggressions on a predominantly-White campus: Experiences of Black, Latina/o and White undergraduates. *Race, Gender & Class, 16*, 133-151.
- McDonald, R. P., & Ho, M. H. R. (2002). Principles and practice in reporting structural equation analyses. *Psychological Methods, 7*, 64-82.
- Moradi, B., & Risco, C. (2006). Perceived discrimination experiences and mental health of Latina/o American persons. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 53*, 411-421.
- Neville, H. A., Heppner, P. P., Ji, P., & Thye, R. (2004). The relations among general and race-related stressors and psychoeducational adjustment in Black students attending predominantly White institutions. *Journal of Black Studies, 34*, 599-618.

- Otero, R., Rivas, O., & Rivera, R. (2007). Predicting persistence of Hispanic students in their 1st year of college. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 6*, 163-173.
- Pearl, J. (2000). *Causality: Models, reasoning, and inference* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Pfeifer, C. M., & Schneider, B. (1974). University climate perceptions by Black and White students. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 59*, 660-662.
- Pierce, C. M. (1970). Offensive mechanisms. In F. B. Barbour (Ed.), *The Black seventies* (pp. 265-282). Boston, MA: Porter Sargent.
- Pierce, C. M. (1974). Psychiatric problems of the Black minority. In G. Caplan & S. Arieti (Eds.), *American handbook of psychiatry* (pp. 512-523). New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Pierce, C. M. (1975a). The mundane extreme environment and its effect on learning. In S. G. Brainard (Ed.), *Learning disabilities: Issues and recommendations for research* (pp. 111-119). Washington, DC: National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- Pierce, C. M. (1975b). Poverty and racism as they affect children. In I. Berlin (Ed.), *Advocacy for child mental health* (pp. 92-109). New York, NY: Brunner/Mazel.
- Pierce, C. M. (1988). Stress in the workplace. In A. F. Coner-Edwards & J. Spurlock (Eds.), *Black families in crisis: The middle class* (pp. 27-35). New York, NY: Brunner/Mazel.
- Pierce, C. M. (1995). Stress analogs of racism and sexism: Terrorism, torture, and disaster. In C. Willie, P. Rieker, B. Kramer, & B. Brown (Eds.), *Mental health, racism and sexism* (pp. 277-293). Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Pierce, C. M., Carew, J., Pierce-Gonzalez, D., & Wills, D. (1978). An experiment in racism: TV commercials. In C. Pierce (Ed.), *Television and education* (pp. 62-88). Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE.
- Reynolds, A. L., Sneva, J. N., & Beehler, G. P. (2010). The influence of racism-related stress on the academic motivation of Black and Latino/a students. *Journal of College Student Development, 51*, 135-149.
- Ryan, A. M., Gee, G. C., & Laflamme, D. F. (2006). The association between self-reported discrimination, physical health, and blood pressure: Findings from African American, Black immigrants, and Latino immigrants in New Hampshire. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved, 17*, 116-132.
- Saldaña, D. H. (1995). Acculturative stress: Minority status and distress. In A. M. Padilla (Ed.), *Hispanic psychology: Critical issues in theory and research* (pp. 43-54). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Sawyer, P. J., Major, B., Casad, B. J., Townsend, S. S., & Mendes, W. B. (2012). Discrimination and the stress response: Psychological and physiological consequences of anticipating prejudice in interethnic interactions. *American Journal of Public Health, 102*, 1020-1026.
- Schmader, T., & Johns, M. (2003). Converging evidence that stereotype threat reduces working memory capacity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 85*, 440-452.
- Sellers, R. M., & Shelton, J. N. (2003). The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 84*, 1079-1092.
- Simon, H. A. (1953). Causal ordering and identifiability. In W. C. Hood & T. C. Koopmans (Eds.), *Cowles Commission for Research in Economics: Monograph No. 14. Studies in econometric method* (pp. 49-74). New York, NY: John Wiley.
- Smith, W. A. (2004). Black faculty coping with racial battle fatigue: The campus racial climate in a post-civil rights era. In D. Cleveland (Ed.), *A long way to go: Conversations about race*

- by African American faculty and graduate students at predominately White institutions (pp. 171-190). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Smith, W. A. (2009a). Campus wide climate: Implications for African American students. In L. Tillman (Ed.), *A handbook of African American education* (pp. 297-309). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Smith, W. A. (2009b). Higher education: Racial battle fatigue. In R. T. Schaefer (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race, ethnicity, and society* (pp. 615-618). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Smith, W. A., Allen, W. R., & Danley, L. L. (2007). "Assume the position . . . you fit the description": Campus racial climate and the psychosocial experiences and racial battle fatigue among African American male college students. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *51*, 551-578.
- Smith, W. A., Yosso, T. J., & Solórzano, D. G. (2007). Racial primes and Black misandry on historically White campuses: Toward critical race accountability in educational administration. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *43*, 559-585.
- Solberg, V. S., & Villarreal, P. (1997). Examination of self-efficacy, social support, and stress as predictors of psychological and physical distress among Hispanic college students. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *19*, 182-201.
- Solórzano, D. G. (1998). Critical race theory, race and gender microaggressions, and the experience of Chicana and Chicano scholars. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *11*, 121-136.
- Solórzano, D. G., Allen, W., & Carroll, G. (2002). Keeping race in place: Racial microaggressions and campus racial climate at the University of California, Berkeley. *Chicano-Latino Law Review*, *23*, 15-112.
- Solórzano, D. G., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Negro Education*, *69*(1-2), 60-73.
- Soto, J. A., Dawson-Andoh, N. A., & BeLue, R. (2011). The relationship between perceived discrimination and generalized anxiety disorder among African Americans, Afro Caribbeans, and non-Hispanic Whites. *Journal of Anxiety Disorders*, *25*, 258-265.
- Steele, C. M. (1992, April). Race and the schooling of Black Americans. *The Atlantic Monthly*, *269*(4), 68-78.
- Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, *52*, 613-629.
- Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *69*, 797-811.
- Steiger, J. H. (2007). Understanding the limitations of global fit assessment in structural equation modeling. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *42*, 893-898.
- Sue, D. W. (2010). *Microaggressions and marginality: Manifestation, dynamics, and impact*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley.
- Sue, D. W., Bucceri, J., Lin, A. I., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2007). Racial microaggressions and the Asian American experience. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *13*, 72-81.
- Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., & Holder, A. M. B. (2008). Racial microaggressions in the life experience of Black Americans. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, *39*, 329-336.
- Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (2001). *Using multivariate statistics* (4th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

- Torres, L., Driscoll, M. W., & Voell, M. (2012). Discrimination, acculturation, acculturative stress, and Latino psychological distress: A moderated mediational model. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 18*, 17-25.
- Truong, K., & Museus, S. (2012). Responding to racism and racial trauma in doctoral study: An inventory for coping and mediating relationships. *Harvard Educational Review, 82*, 226-254.
- Utsey, S. O., Chae, M. H., Brown, C. F., & Kelly, D. (2002). Effects of ethnic group membership on ethnic identity, race-related stress and quality of life. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 8*, 366-377.
- Valencia, R. R. (2008). *Chicano students and the courts: The Mexican American legal struggle for educational equality*. New York: New York University Press.
- Villalpando, O. (2003). Self-segregation or self-preservation? A critical race theory and Latina/o critical theory analysis of a study of Chicana/o college students. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 16*, 619-646.
- Wei, M., Ku, T.-Y., & Liao, K. Y.-H. (2011). Minority stress and college persistence attitudes among African American, Asian American, and Latino students: Perception of university environment as a mediator. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 17*, 195-203.
- Williams, D. R. (1996). Racism and health: A research agenda. *Ethnicity & disease, 6*(1-2), 1-8.
- Williams, D. R., & Williams-Morris, R. (2000). Racism and mental health: The African American experience. *Ethnicity & Health, 5*, 243-268.
- Williams, D. R., Yu, Y., Jackson, J. S., & Anderson, N. B. (1997). Racial differences in physical and mental health socio-economic status, stress and discrimination. *Journal of Health Psychology, 2*, 335-351.
- Wright, S. (1921). Correlation and causation. *Journal of Agriculture Research, 20*, 557-585.
- Yosso, T. J., Smith, W. A., Ceja, M., & Solórzano, D. G. (2009). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate for Latina/o undergraduates. *Harvard Educational Review, 79*, 659-691.

Author Biographies

Jeremy D. Franklin is a doctoral candidate at the University of Utah in the Department of Education, Culture, and Society. His research interests focus on the sociology of higher education. Specifically his research investigates how identities pertaining to race, ethnicity, and gender are related to campus racial climate, racial microaggressions, and racial battle fatigue.

William A. Smith is an Associate Professor in the department of Education, Culture & Society and the Ethnic Studies Program at the University of Utah. Dr. Smith coined the term racial battle fatigue as a theoretical framework to better understand how the biopsychosocial approach is a valuable method for examining the impact of race-related stress to the biological, psychological, and social factors and their complex interactions in the health of People of Color. In addition to racial battle fatigue, his research interests include inter-ethnic relations, racial attitudes, racial identity & socialization, and the impact of student & faculty diversity on university and college campuses.

Man Hung, PhD, is an Assistant Professor at the University of Utah School of Medicine. She specializes in advanced quantitative methods and informatics. Her research focuses on modern measurement techniques and big data analytics.

CHAPTER 1

Microaggressions, Marginality, and Oppression

An Introduction

DERALD WING SUE

MICROAGGRESSIONS ARE THE everyday verbal, nonverbal, and environmental slights, snubs, or insults, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to target persons based solely upon their marginalized group membership (Sue et al., 2007). In many cases, these hidden messages may invalidate the group identity or experiential reality of target persons, demean them on a personal or group level, communicate they are lesser human beings, suggest they do not belong with the majority group, threaten and intimidate, or relegate them to inferior status and treatment. While microaggressions are generally discussed from the perspective of race and racism (Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Willis, 1978; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Sue et al., 2007), any marginalized group in our society may become targets: people of color, women, lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgendered people (LGBTs), those with disabilities, religious minorities, and so on (Sue, 2010).

The most detrimental forms of microaggressions are usually delivered by well-intentioned individuals who are unaware that they have engaged in harmful conduct toward a socially devalued group. These everyday occurrences may on the surface appear quite harmless, trivial, or be described as “small slights,” but research indicates they have a powerful impact upon the psychological well-being of marginalized groups (Brondolo et al., 2008; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001; Szymanski, Kashubeck-West, & Meyer, 2008) and affect their standard of living by creating inequities in health care (Sue & Sue, 2008), education (Bell, 2002), and employment (Purdie-Vaughns, Davis, Steele, & Ditlemann, 2008).

3

Racial, gender, sexual orientation, disability, class, and religious microaggressions deliver hidden demeaning messages that often lie outside the level of conscious awareness of perpetrators. These hidden messages, however, have detrimental impact upon recipients through the contradictory metacommunications they convey. Some sample microaggressions and their hidden meanings are given next (taken from Sue, 2010; Sue & Capodilupo, 2008).

Racial Microaggressions:

- A White man or woman clutches her purse or checks his wallet as a Black or Latino man approaches or passes them. (Hidden message: You and your group are criminals.)
- An Asian American, born and raised in the United States, is complimented for speaking “good English.” (Hidden message: You are not a true American. You are a perpetual foreigner in your own country.)
- A Black couple is seated at a table in the restaurant next to the kitchen despite there being other empty and more desirable tables located at the front. (Hidden message: You are a second-class citizen and undeserving of first-class treatment.)

Gender Microaggressions:

- An assertive female manager is labeled as a “bitch,” while her male counterpart is described as “a forceful leader.” (Hidden message: Women should be passive and allow men to be the decision makers.)
- A female physician wearing a stethoscope is mistaken for a nurse. (Hidden message: Women should occupy nurturing and not decision-making roles. Women are less capable than men.)
- Whistles or catcalls are heard from men as a woman walks down the street. (Hidden message: Your body/appearance is for the enjoyment of men. You are a sex object.)

Sexual Orientation Microaggressions:

- Students use the term “gay” to describe a fellow student who is socially ostracized. (Hidden message: People who are weird, strange, deviant, or different are “gay.”)
- A lesbian client in therapy reluctantly discloses her sexual orientation to a straight therapist by stating she is “into women.” The therapist indicates he is not shocked by the disclosure because he once had a client who was “into dogs.” (Hidden message: Same-sex attraction is abnormal and deviant.)

- Two
sexua
abnor

As indic
that is mar
also reflect
include th

- When
custo
sting
- A bla
to her
you [i
defin
- The
trash
unse

Groups th
in social
people to
negatively
of our so
exclusion
social tru
are const
groups. R
are active
of inclus
desirably
themselves
of their
their bias
heterosex
topics. O
of oppres

religious micro-
men lie outside
idden messages,
the contradic-
icroaggressions
e. 2010; Sue &

- Two gay men hold hands in public and are told not to flaunt their sexuality. (Hidden message: Homosexual displays of affection are abnormal and offensive. Keep it private and to yourselves.)

As indicated previously, microaggressions can be based upon any group that is marginalized in this society. Religion, disability, and social class may also reflect the manifestation of microaggressions. Some of these examples include the following.

wallet as a Black
essage: You and

ates, is compli-
You are not a
own country.)
to the kitchen
es located at the
nd undeserving

- When bargaining over the price of an item, a store owner says to a customer, "Don't try to Jew me down." (Hidden message: Jews are stingy and moneygrubbing.)
- A blind man reports that people often raise their voices when speaking to him. He responds by saying, "Please don't raise your voice; I can hear you perfectly well." (Hidden message: A person with a disability is defined as lesser in all aspects of physical and mental functioning.)
- The outfit worn by a TV reality-show mom is described as "classless and trashy." (Hidden message: Lower-class people are tasteless and unsophisticated.)

MARGINALITY AND OPPRESSION

while her male
idden message:
cision makers.)
en for a nurse.
did not decision-

Groups that are marginalized in our society exist on the lower or outer limits of social desirability and consciousness. Whether racial/ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, LGBTs, or women, these groups are perceived negatively, given less status in society, and confined to existing on the margins of our social, cultural, political, and economic systems. The result is often exclusion from the mainstream of life in our society, unequal treatment, and social injustice. The inferior status and treatment associated with marginality are constant, continuing, and cumulative experiences of socially devalued groups. Racial, gender, and sexual orientation microaggressions, for example, are active manifestations of marginality and/or a reflection of a worldview of inclusion/exclusion, superiority/inferiority, normality/abnormality, and desirability/undesirability (Sue, 2003). Because most people experience themselves as good, moral, and decent human beings, conscious awareness of their hidden biases, prejudices, and discriminatory behaviors threatens their self-image. Thus, they may engage in defensive maneuvers to deny their biases, to personally avoid talking about topics such as racism, sexism, heterosexism, and ableism, and to discourage others from bringing up such topics. On the one hand, these maneuvers serve to preserve the self-image of oppressors, but on the other, they silence the voices of the oppressed. In

walks down the
the enjoyment of

t who is socially
nge, deviant, or

al orientation to
The therapist
he once had a
sex attraction is

other words, keeping oppression from being acknowledged and enforcing a conspiracy of silence allows oppressors to (1) maintain their innocence (guilt-free) and (2) leave inequities from being challenged (Sue, 2004).

Microaggressions reflect the active manifestation of oppressive world-views that create, foster, and enforce marginalization. To be confined to the margins of existence in mainstream life is to be oppressed, persecuted, and subjugated; denied full rights of citizenship; imprisoned or trapped to a lower standard of living; stripped of one's humanity and dignity; denied equal access and opportunity; invalidated of one's experiential reality; and restricted or limited as to life choices (Freire, 1970; Hanna, Talley, & Guindon, 2000; Sue, 2004). Oppression can occur through imposition or deprivation. In both cases, they span a continuum from its direct/concrete nature to those with more symbolic or psychological manifestations and from being consciously perpetrated to being unintentional, indirect, and subtle.

IMPOSITION

Oppression by imposition, force, coercion, and duress has been defined by Hanna and colleagues (2000) in the following way: "It is the act of imposing on another or others an object, label, role experience, or set of living conditions that is unwanted, needlessly painful, and detracts from physical or psychological well-being. An imposed object, in this context, can be anything from a bullet, a bludgeon, shackles, or fists, to a penis, unhealthy food, or abusive messages designed to cause or sustain pain, low self-efficacy, reduced self-determination, and so forth. Other examples of oppression by force can be demeaning hard labor, degrading job roles, ridicule, and negative media images and messages that foster and maintain distorted beliefs" (p. 431).

Most of us can immediately recognize the horror and heinous nature of overt and concrete acts of rape (imposition of a penis), torture (imposition of physical and psychological abuse), murder (taking away life), and unjust imprisonment as obvious forms of injustice and unfairness visited upon individuals and groups. Racial hate crimes, for example, are recognized by an overwhelming number of citizens as abhorrent actions that they strongly condemn. They are the actions of White supremacists such as Klan members and Skinheads. Good, moral, and decent folks do not condone such actions. Yet, acts of oppression by imposition or force *through microaggressions* can be many times more harmful to racial/ethnic minorities than hate crimes (Sue, 2010).

The power of microaggressions lies in their invisibility to perpetrators and oftentimes the recipients. The definition of oppression includes imposing "abusive messages" (microaggressions) that both reflect and perpetuate false beliefs about people of color. Those beliefs cause humiliation and pain, reduce

self-determinacy, deny them health care, and prevent them from that care. They do not believe in their own abilities, their racial/ethnic identity, and their microaggressions.

DEPRIVATION

Oppression as the flipside of an educational and mental well-being (Sue, 2000). In our spiritual and physical lives, we are away from a group's common purpose. American people without an Asian American participatory standards of their culture address the issue of how they are perceived. "Elderspeak" microaggressions reduce self-esteem.

Microaggressions (3) microaggressions illustrates how people of color are the forms of oppression that other people experience.

and enforcing a
innocence (guilt-
2004).
pressive world-
to be confined to
essed, persecuted,
ed or trapped to a
d dignity; denied
ential reality; and
alley, & Guindon,
or deprivation. In
e nature to those
from being con-
sistible.

been defined by
e act of imposing
living conditions
tical or psycho-
anything from a
feed, or abusive
y reduced self-
by force can be
negative media
iefs" (p. 431).
emous nature of
reimposition of
life, and unjust
ss visited upon
recognized by an
at they strongly
s Klan members
ne such actions.
aggressions can
tan hate crimes

perpetrators and
ludes imposing
perpetuate false
and pain, reduce

self-determination, confine them to lesser job roles and status in society, and deny them equal access and opportunities in education, employment, and health care. Most of the pain and detrimental impact of racism does not come from that of overt racists but from ordinary, normal, decent people who believe in life, liberty, and the pursuit of justice for all. They are unaware of their racial biases and prejudices but act them out in the form of racial microaggressions.

DEPRIVATION

Oppression can also take a second form—that of deprivation. It can be seen as the flip-side of imposition and involves depriving people of desired jobs, an education, health care, or living conditions necessary for physical and mental well-being. Food, clothing, shelter, love, respect, social support, or self-dignity can be wrested from any marginalized group (Hanna et al., 2000). In our history, we once banned the Sioux nation from practicing their spiritual and religious traditions, deprived them of their lands, and took away their dignity as Indigenous people in their own country. Taking away a group's humanity and integrity through forced compliance is a very common practice directed toward marginalized groups. When African American students are told to "calm down" and to speak objectively and without emotion because "emotion is antagonistic to reason" and when Asian Americans are admonished because they are too quiet and non-participative in classroom discussions, we are not only imposing Western standards of communication styles upon them but also depriving them of their cultural communication styles. When nursing home attendants address their elderly residents as "sweetie" and "dear," they are unaware of how these microaggressive terms belittle and infantilize the elderly and how they deprive them of their roles as capable and competent adults. "Elderspeak" has been identified as a very harmful and humiliating form of microaggression and can result in a downward spiral for older persons, low self-esteem, withdrawal, and depression (Leland, 2008).

FORMS OF MICROAGGRESSIONS

Microaggressions may take three forms: (1) microassault, (2) microinsult, and (3) microinvalidation (Sue et al., 2007). Figure 1.1 briefly defines each, illustrates their relationship to one another, and lists some common hidden messages/denigrating themes under each category that are directed toward people of color. We use racial microaggressions to illustrate more specifically the forms they take when racism is the primary culprit. Please keep in mind that other marginalized groups either may share or may experience different

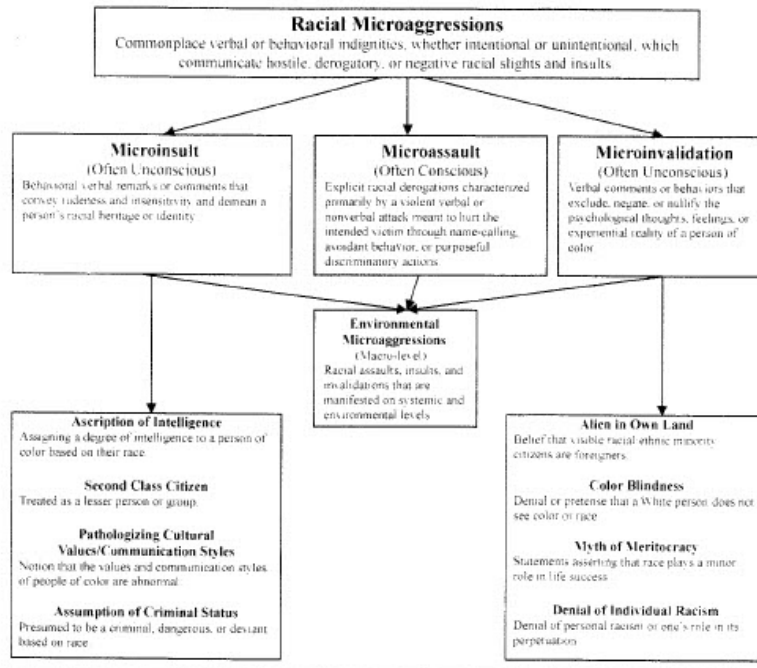


Figure 1.1 Categories and Relationship of Racial Microaggressions. Reproduced from Sue et al. (2007, p. 278).

group-specific themes and hidden messages. Research on gender, sexual orientation, disability, class, and religious microaggressions is needed to identify commonalities and differences that may be directed toward other socially devalued groups.

MICROASSAULTS

Microassaults are conscious biased beliefs or attitudes that are held by individuals and intentionally expressed or acted out overtly or covertly toward a marginalized person or socially devalued group. They differ from the other two forms of microaggressions (to be discussed shortly) in that the perpetrator harbors conscious bias toward an identified and socially devalued group. This bias may be directly and publicly expressed through racist, sexist, or heterosexist statements (using racial epithets or making

catcalls toward (preventing a s giving second-microassaults. tion, physical t The case of) was tortured. represents extr a strong belief when an oppo undemocratic to occur when emotional con bigotry as "ole they have tran (Dovidio & G. Cohen, 1997). groups may fir no guesswork. Unconscious i and prejudicia psychological.

MICROINSULTS
Microinsults a from microass awareness of (verbal/nonve sensitivity, sli orientation, or often unconsci toward the tar with what ap insulting or n For exampl work in his ec race." On the Black student. insulting mess an exception to it disguises a

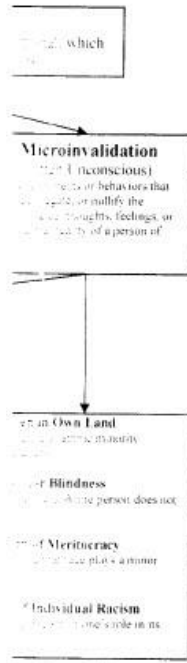


FIGURE 1. Reproduced

gender, sexual orientation, and race is needed to understand the impact of these

that are held by society. They differ from stereotypes in that they are often socially constructed and expressed through language or making

catcalls toward women, for example) or acted out in any number of ways (preventing a son and daughter from dating or marrying outside of their race, giving second-class service to a woman, and so on). In extreme forms of microassaults, LGBTs may experience teasing and bullying in schools, isolation, physical violence, hate speech, and anti-LGBT legislation.

The case of Matthew Shepard, a gay University of Wyoming student who was tortured, beaten, and tied to a fence to die by two homophobic men, represents extreme acts of hate. Conscious-deliberate bigots generally possess a strong belief in the inferiority of a devalued group and will discriminate when an opportunity arises. Because of strong public condemnation of such undemocratic beliefs and actions, overt expressions of bigotry are most likely to occur when perpetrators feel safe to express their biases and/or they lose emotional control. Social scientists have referred to these forms of overt bigotry as “old-fashioned racism, sexism, or heterosexism” and believe that they have transformed into more disguised, subtle, and less conscious forms (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Salvatore & Shelton, 2007; Sue, 2010; Swim & Cohen, 1997). Interestingly, some research suggests that socially devalued groups may find it easier to deal with old-fashioned forms of bigotry, because no guesswork is involved in discerning the motives of the perpetrator. Unconscious and unintentional bias, however, is ambiguous, and subtle and prejudicial actions are less obvious. As we will shortly see, they create psychological dilemmas for marginalized group members.

MICROINSULTS

Microinsults are also forms of microaggressions, but they differ significantly from microassaults in that they likely occur outside the level of conscious awareness of the perpetrator. These are either interpersonal interactions (verbal/nonverbal) or environmental cues that communicate rudeness, insensitivity, slights, and insults that demean a person’s racial, gender, sexual orientation, or group identity and heritage. Microinsults are subtle snubs often unconsciously disguised as a compliment or positive statement directed toward the target person or group. The contradictory communication starts with what appears to be a positive statement but is undermined with an insulting or negative metacommunication.

For example, an African American student who has done outstanding work in his economics class is told by the professor, “You are a credit to your race.” On the conscious level, the professor appears to be complimenting the Black student, while on the other hand, the metacommunication contains an insulting message: “Blacks are generally not as intelligent as Whites. You are an exception to your people.” This type of microinsult does several things: (1) it disguises a racial bias or prejudicial worldview of the perpetrator; (2) it

allows the perpetrator to cling to the belief in racial inferiority, albeit unconsciously; and (3) it oppresses and denigrates in a guilt-free manner.

Microinsults can take many other forms. For example, they can occur environmentally. Men who display nude pictures of women from *Hustler* or *Playboy* magazines in their places of employment (offices, desks, locker rooms, etc.) may be unknowingly contributing to sexual objectification. The hidden message is that women's bodies are not their own and they exist to service the sexual fantasies of men. The impact is to strip women of their humanity and the totality of their human essence (intelligence, emotions, personal attributes, and aspirations) and to relegate them to being only sexual beings. Environmental microaggressions are generally invisible to those in the majority group but quite visible to those groups most disempowered (Sue, 2010). When a Fortune 400 company displays pictures of its past CEOs and presidents and they are all White males, there is a powerful metmessage being communicated to women and employees of color: "You will not feel comfortable working at this company." "You do not belong here." "People of color and women do not belong in leadership positions." "If you choose to stay, your advancement is limited."

MICROINVALIDATIONS

Microinvalidations are similar to microinsults in that they generally occur outside the level of conscious awareness of perpetrators. However, this form of microaggression is perhaps the most insidious, damaging, and harmful form, because microinvalidations directly attack or deny the experiential realities of socially devalued groups (Sue, 2010). They accomplish this goal through interpersonal and environmental cues that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and experiences of the target group.

Color blindness, for example, is one of the most frequently delivered microinvalidations directed toward people of color. It can be defined as an unwillingness to acknowledge or admit to seeing race or a person's color. Such an orientation is predicated on the mistaken belief by many Whites that "not seeing color" means they are unbiased and free of racism. As a result, many Whites engage in defensive maneuvers not to appear racist by either pretending not to see color or by actively avoiding any discussions associated with race (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Despite studies indicating that race and gender are two of the most easily identifiable qualities seen by people, color blindness and gender blindness inundate our everyday interactions. "There is only one race: the human race." "When I look at you, I don't see color." "We are all Americans." "Regardless of your gender or race, I believe the most qualified person should get the job." Such

statements and
 microinsults
 that "the demon-
 stration of power
 to certain groups
 is a denial of per-
 sonal that den-

PSYCH-

In a previous
 psychological
 toward racial
 and socially d
 bias and discr
 and (4) the car
 include a num

CLASH OF REA-

Studies reveal
 sexual orienta
 perception of
 Sue, 2010). For
 be significant
 Whites seem t
 post-Obama t
 are filled with
 discrimination. V
 to top manage
 their male col
 otherwise que
 Men, howeve
 regardless of

Such differ
 pronounced
 hold power a
 greater power
 Straights pos
 likely to have
 greater power
 group's abilit

inferiority, albeit in a subtle-free manner. They can occur in many settings, from *Hustler* or *Playboy* desks, locker rooms, and objectification. They are often subtle and they often strip women of their intelligence, emotion, and ability to be only partially invisible to the eyes of most disempowered groups. Pictures of their lives are a powerful reminder of color: "You do not belong in these positions."

Generally occur in a subtle-free manner. They can occur in many settings, from *Hustler* or *Playboy* desks, locker rooms, and objectification. They are often subtle and they often strip women of their intelligence, emotion, and ability to be only partially invisible to the eyes of most disempowered groups. Pictures of their lives are a powerful reminder of color: "You do not belong in these positions."

Generally delivered in a subtle-free manner. They can occur in many settings, from *Hustler* or *Playboy* desks, locker rooms, and objectification. They are often subtle and they often strip women of their intelligence, emotion, and ability to be only partially invisible to the eyes of most disempowered groups. Pictures of their lives are a powerful reminder of color: "You do not belong in these positions."

statements and their orientation serve to deny the racial, gender, or sexual orientation reality and experiences of these groups. Sue (2010) has suggested that "the denial of differences is really a denial of power and privilege. The denial of power and privilege is really a denial of personal benefits that accrue to certain privileged groups by virtue of inequities." The ultimate denial is a denial that dominant group members profit from the isms of our society and a denial of personal responsibility to take action.

PSYCHOLOGICAL DYNAMICS OF MICROAGGRESSIONS

In a previous publication, Sue and colleagues (2007) identified four major psychological dilemmas or dynamics created by microaggressions directed toward racial groups: (1) the clash of realities between the dominant group and socially devalued group members, (2) the invisibility of unintentional bias and discrimination, (3) the perceived minimal harm of microaggressions, and (4) the catch-22 of responding. The analysis here is being broadened to include a number of different marginalized groups besides that of race.

CLASH OF REALITIES

Studies reveal that culture and group-based experiences (racial, gender, sexual orientation, religious, and class) shape worldviews and influence the perception of reality of various groups (Babbington, 2008; Hanna et al., 2000; Sue, 2010). For example, the racial reality of people of color has been found to be significantly different from that of White Americans (Astor, 1997). Many Whites seem to believe that racism is no longer a significant problem (à la post-Obama race era), while many Blacks continue to report that their lives are filled with constant and continuing experiences of prejudice and discrimination. Women continue to report that sexism keeps them from rising to top managerial positions, that their contributions are not recognized by their male counterparts in the workplace, that they are not promoted when otherwise qualified, and that they encounter the glass ceiling frequently. Men, however, are fond of saying that "competence will rise to the top" regardless of gender and that "you've come a long way, baby."

Such differences in racial, gender, or sexual orientation realities is most pronounced when a significant power differential exists between groups that hold power and those who are most disempowered (Sue, 2003). Whites hold greater power over people of color. Men hold greater power than women. Straights possess greater power than LGBTs, able-bodied people are more likely to have power over those with disabilities, and those with wealth hold greater power over the poor or less affluent. "True power," however, is in a group's ability to define reality (Guthrie, 1998; Hanna et al., 2000; Keltner &

Robinson, 1996). In general, mainstream groups hold the ability to define reality through the tools of education, mass media, and social institutions. When children are taught by parents, the mass media, and schools that LGBTs are sick or deviant, when people of color are portrayed as dangerous and unintelligent, and when women are stereotyped as the weaker sex and less capable in leadership positions, a system of hierarchy and access to privilege and power is established in our society.

Racial, gender, and sexual orientation microaggressions, especially micro-insults and microinvalidations, operate from an imposed reality that is outside the level of conscious awareness when the beliefs, biases, and false assumptions are defined as truth and normative. Thus, if racism, sexism, and heterosexism are believed to no longer be a major problem and if normality is based upon White, male, and "straight" standards, then those who differ from them are defined as abnormal and problematic. We have already indicated that microaggressions are reflections of worldviews of inclusion/exclusion and normality/abnormality. When racial microaggressions are delivered by well-intentioned White brothers and sisters, perpetrators are unlikely to be aware of the biased hidden messages they are sending to people of color. Herein lies a major dilemma. If motives and the insulting messages of perpetrators are outside awareness, how do we make the "invisible" visible? In other words, when a clash of racial realities occurs, whose reality is likely to hold sway? Whose reality will be judged to be the true reality? The answer, unfortunately, is that the group who holds the greatest power has the ability to impose reality on less powerful groups.

Let us try to address these questions from the perspectives of both perpetrators and targets using racial microaggressions as an example. In studies dealing with racial microaggressions in the classroom (Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo, & Rivera, 2009), it was found that (1) racial microaggressions were often instigators to difficult dialogues on race, (2) students of color could identify and define them quite well, (3) White students had difficulties understanding what they had done or said that was racially offensive, and (4) Whites often became defensive and labeled students of color as "oversensitive" and even "paranoid." Additionally, similar findings regarding White professors were found (Sue et al.). They had great difficulty recognizing racial microaggressions committed by White students; more importantly, they were equally baffled in identifying them when they themselves were the perpetrators!

One common racial microaggression delivered by well-intentioned White teachers can be seen in the following example. Black students often report that when they make a particularly insightful or intelligent comment in class, both White students and White professors act surprised. A common reaction by

professors is to
most articul
compliment
many Black
report being
contend. Is
intelligence
intellect. It is
things of
than Whites
in the inter
she is an ex

When tar
nature of re
perceptions
paranoid. In
realities of
denying the
asserted or
accurate ass
Sue, 2003).
not need to
those with
of those wi
understand
reciprocal b

INVISIBILITY

Research (Sue
2002), subt
shown that
biases and
ety; some re
nect prejud
Park, & Ban
people hav
and that of

The conc
aggressions
Dovidio, 2

ability to define social institutions. Schools that LGBT's are dangerous and heterosex and less access to privilege

especially micro-aggression reality that is false, and false norm, sexism, and and if normality is those who differ are already indicators of inclusion/microaggressions are perpetrators are sending to the insulting we make the realities occurs, judged to be the who holds the several groups. receives of both an example. In room (Sue, Lin, racial micro-aggression, (2) students the students had that was racially affected students of similar findings great difficulty students; more than they them-

mentioned White often report that in their class, both their reaction by

professors is to compliment the student with a remark such as "That was a most articulate, intelligent, and insightful analysis." On the surface, this is a compliment that many students, regardless of race, should find flattering. Yet, many Black students report being uncomfortable with the remark, and some report being very offended. The hidden racial microaggressive message, they contend, is that it reflects a belief that African Americans generally lack intelligence and are less capable. Thus, when one of them exhibits insight and intellect, it is surprising and unusual. The microaggressive message does two things: (1) it reflects a biased belief that African Americans are less capable than Whites, and (2) it allows the perpetrator to cling to the widespread belief in the inferiority of Blacks, even in the face of contradictory evidence (he or she is an exception).

When targets of microaggressions attempt to point out the offensive nature of remarks and actions from perpetrators, they are told that their perceptions are inaccurate, that they are oversensitive, or that they are paranoid. In other words, they are out of touch with reality. The experiential realities of those in power are imposed upon less powerful groups by denying their perceptions and life experiences. Interestingly, some have asserted or found that those groups who are least empowered have the most accurate assessment of reality (Hanna et al., 2000; Keltner & Robinson, 1996; Sue, 2003). Such a conclusion makes common sense, as those in power do not need to understand disempowered groups to survive or do well, while those without much power must actively discern the mindset and motives of those with power in order to survive. Women in the workforce must understand the thinking of their male counterparts to do well, but the reciprocal is not true for men.

INVISIBILITY OF UNINTENTIONAL BIAS

Research on aversive racism (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002), subtle sexism (Swim et al., 2001), and heterosexism (Herek, 1998) has shown that socialization and cultural conditioning fosters unconscious biases and misinformation about various marginalized groups in our society; some research even suggests that cultural conditioning can actually connect prejudices to emotions in a neurological manner (Abelson, Dasgupta, Park, & Banaji, 1998). Thus, it is highly possible and even probable that most people have unconsciously inherited the cultural biases of their forebears and that of society.

The concept of aversive racism is central to our understanding of microaggressions (Dovidio, Gaertner, Penner, Pearson, & Norton, 2009; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). Simply defined, aversive racism is a contemporary form of

bias: It is an insidious and less conspicuous form of racism that hides in the assumptions/beliefs/values of well-intentioned people and is difficult to identify in its motivational manifestations. This is especially true when such biases are invisible to perpetrators and are unintentional in nature. According to Dovidio and colleagues, aversive racists truly believe they are nonprejudiced, consciously hold egalitarian values, and would never deliberately discriminate; yet, they are likely to harbor unconscious biases that may result in discriminatory actions. Studies reveal that training and education may be successful in confronting and lessening conscious biases, stereotypes, and preconceived notions but that implicit biases generally remain untouched and unaffected (Boysen & Vogel, 2008).

Because most people experience themselves as good, moral, and decent human beings, they find it difficult to entertain the notion that they may have acted in a racist, sexist, or heterosexist manner. Thus, in addition to holding hidden biases, getting them to confront their prejudices and discriminatory actions threatens their self-image as someone who stands for equality, justice, and respect for everyone. Two layers of resistance are present: (1) the unawareness and unintentionality of their prejudices and discriminatory actions and (2) the need to preserve their self-image as an unbiased and good person. If one's prejudices are unconscious, if one's discriminatory actions are unintentional, and if one's self-image is locked into a belief of one's inherent goodness, the challenges and questions become: How do we make the invisible visible? How do we reach people so that they can become aware of their biases? How do we make people see the harm perpetrated against socially devalued groups in our society? The last question leads us to the third psychological dilemma posed by microaggressions.

PERCEIVED MINIMAL HARM

Even when people acknowledge that they may have made an innocent offensive remark, it is often described as a small slight and the impact is minimized. The recipients of the insults are usually encouraged to "let it go" and "get over it." Such advice, however, is easier said than done and in itself may constitute a microaggression, because it denies the harmful impact and experiential reality of such biases. Indeed, racial microaggressions are often described as banal and minor offenses and as trivial in nature.

Overwhelming evidence exists, however, that far from being trivial, microaggressions have major consequences for marginalized groups. Their cumulative nature and continuing day-in and day-out experience have been found to (1) contribute to a hostile and invalidating campus and work climate (Dovidio et al., 2009; Rowe, 1990; Solórzano et al., 2000), (2) devalue social group identities (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008), (3) lower work productivity

and educational stereotype threat (Spencer, & Aro, Rieppi, Kelly, & (6) assail mental psychological er
Microaggressions: education, and e worldview that i the workplace; t color, for exam certain groups. I other marginali microaggressive aware of the ins groups. Sue (2) manifested thro

1. *Biological a* susceptibility Dowben, 2 model of s could be ad of a major stresses su increased i race-related (microaggr perceived gre believed to Meilahn, & aggressions shown that persons of
2. *Emotional e* directed to emotional w 2009; Morac feelings of a ated with th Ponterotto. has been to

that hides in the
and is difficult to
y true when such
nature. According
they are nonpreju-
ever deliberately
es that may result
education may be
stereotypes, and
main untouched

toral, and decent
at they may have
dition to holding
s discriminatory
equality, justice,
present: (1) the
s discriminatory
an unbiased and
s discriminatory
is a belief of one's
how do we make
an become aware
perpetrated against
ads us to the third

ade an innocent
nd the impact is
ged to "let it go"
done and in itself
mental impact and
essions are often
rare.

ng trivial, micro-
aps. Their cumu-
have been found
ed work climate
devalue social
ork productivity

and educational learning (Salvatore & Shelton, 2007; Sue, 2010), (4) perpetuate stereotype threat (Cardinu, Maas, Rosabianca, & Kiesner, 2005; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002), (5) create physical health problems (Brondolo, Rieppi, Kelly, & Gerin, 2003; Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999), and (6) assail mental health by creating emotional turmoil, low self-esteem, and psychological energy depletion (Sue, 2010).

Microaggressions are also found to create disparities in health care, education, and employment (Sue, 2010) because they are based upon a biased worldview that is manifested in hiring, retention, and promotion decisions in the workplace; that reduces the quality of education received by students of color, for example; and that may result in lower quality of health care for certain groups. Persons of color, LGBTs, women, people with disabilities, and other marginalized groups are subjected to chronic, continuing, and daily microaggressive stressors from well-intentioned individuals who are unaware of the insults, slights, and demeaning actions they visit upon these groups. Sue (2010) has summarized how microaggressive stress can be manifested through four identifiable pathways:

1. *Biological and physical effects:* Stress has been associated with increased susceptibility to illness and may affect the course of a disease (Keltner & Dowben, 2007; Underwood, 2005). Early studies on the life-change model of stress have found that the accumulation of small changes could be additive and become a potent form of stress equal to the effect of a major catastrophic trauma (Holmes & Rahe, 1967). When these stresses summate and act together, they are strongly correlated with increased illnesses and severity. As we have repeatedly emphasized, race-related, gender-related, and sexual-orientation-related stresses (microaggressions) are anything but insignificant. Women who perceived greater job stress related to bias had higher fibrinogen levels, believed to be correlated with coronary heart disease (Davis, Mathews, Meilahn, & Kiss, 1995); LGBTs who experienced greater levels of microaggressions reported more health-related problems; and it has been shown that race-related stress negatively affects the biological health of persons of color (Brondolo et al., 2008; Clark et al., 1999).
2. *Emotional effects:* Racism, sexism, heterosexism, and other forms of bias directed toward socially devalued groups have been shown to affect their emotional well-being, psychological adjustment, and mental health (Buser, 2009; Moradi, Van den Berg, & Epting, 2009; Utsey & Hook, 2007). Anxiety, feelings of alienation, subjective well-being, and exhaustion may be associated with the experience of group-specific microaggressions (Harrell, 2000; Ponterotto, Utsey, & Pedersen, 2006; Sue, 2010). Depression, for example, has been found to be related to gender (women are more likely to report

these feelings and to exhibit a diagnosable disorder; Strickland, 1992). Gender role conflicts; overt, covert, and subtle sexism; subservient roles to men; and lower sense of self-control have all been suggested as possible causes (Hill & Fischer, 2008; Sue, Sue, & Sue, 2010).

3. *Cognitive effects:* The effects of microaggressions can be classified under three processes: (1) attempts to make meaning of an incident with potential microaggressive overtones, (2) disrupted cognitive processing, and (3) stereotype threat. First, when a microaggressive incident occurs, considerable energy is expended toward attempting to make sense of the situation. (Was this a microaggression? Did what happened really happen? Was this a compliment or a slight? If the latter, how should I respond? If I do, what will be the consequences?) Second, these questions or attempts to understand what has occurred cause cognitive disruption, so the person is unable to focus directly on the task at hand. At work, productivity may be affected, or at school, the student may be less likely to solve problems. Third, stereotype threat may be activated in the mind of the person, leading to lowered performance.
4. *Behavioral effects:* Microaggressions can signal a hostile or invalidating climate that threatens the physical and emotional safety of the devalued group, assails self-esteem, and imposes forced compliance (oppression) upon them. Sue (2010) has summarized five behavioral effects of microaggressions when directed toward marginalized groups: (1) hyper-vigilance/skepticism (suspiciousness toward the majority group), (2) forced compliance (surviving or being co-opted), (3) rage and anger, (4) fatigue and hopelessness, and (5) strength through adversity. This last behavioral attribute is related to the development of functional survival skills used to negotiate hostile and demeaning microaggressions directed toward the individual or group.

It is clear from an analysis of the harmful and detrimental consequences of microaggressions that marginalized groups in our society suffer biologically, emotionally, cognitively, and behaviorally. Microaggressions are far from banal and insignificant slights; they are oppressive and harmful to the well-being of many groups in our society.

THE CATCH-22 OF RESPONDING TO MICROAGGRESSIONS

Microaggressions, especially microinsults and microinvalidations, place socially devalued group members in an unenviable position of (1) trying to ascertain the motivations behind the actions of perpetrators and (2) deciding whether and how to respond. Since many microaggressions are likely to be delivered unintentionally and their real motives are not conscious to the

perpetrator, they are ambiguous. On a subconscious microaggression such as "I believe in female job candidates," on the other hand, the statement has shown the writer's bias toward women and offers a clear message of color are seldom a random act, or that minorities are the cause of problems? The result is uncertainty in the mind and hazy. Studies show that energy by diverting attention away from solving in classroom (Sue, Lin, & ...). Second, a catch-22 conflict involves conveying a demeaning message. In the face of a catch-22, a person does not have the feeling of not being able to confront the perpetrator. Sue (2010) choose or are for common reactions:

1. *Attributional:* confusing as to whether an perpetrator is
2. *Response limited:* target, the person express anger, try a rational impact upon
3. *Time-limited:* quickly and instantaneously

Strickland, 1992).
subservient roles
gested as possible

classified under
an incident with
cognitive processing,
the incident occurs,
make sense of the
happened really
then, how should
? Second, these
and cause cognitive
the task at hand.
a student may be
activated in
see.

or invalidating
of the devalued
ence (oppression)
effects of micro-
groups: (1) hyper-
entity group), (2)
rage and anger, (4)
tensity. This last
national survival
aggressions di-

Consequences of
inter biologically,
ns are far from
harmful to the

ations; place so-
ed: (1) trying to
and (2) deciding
s are likely to be
conscious to the

perpetrator, they are usually filled with double meanings and/or are very ambiguous. On a conscious level, dominant group members who engage in unconscious microaggressions believe they are acting in an unbiased manner, complimenting the target, or making a rationale decision. When a statement such as "I believe the most qualified person should get the job" is made to a female job candidate, the job seeker is caught in a double bind: On the one hand, the statement is valid and reasonable, but on the other hand, experience has shown the woman job hunter that it can be used to justify not hiring women and offering such positions to male candidates. When students of color are seldom called upon by a White professor to answer questions, is this a random act, or is the professor operating from an unconscious assumption that minorities are less likely to have intelligent comments or answers to class problems? The term "attributional ambiguity" has been given to motivational uncertainty in that the motives and meanings of a person's actions are unclear and hazy. Studies suggest that attributional ambiguity depletes psychological energy by diverting attention away from other important tasks (problem solving in classrooms and work productivity in the workplace; Cardinu et al., 2005; Sue, Lin, & Rivera, 2009).

Second, a catch-22 is often induced in the recipient of microaggressions. The conflict involves how to respond to the person when a remark or action conveys a demeaning insult or offense.

In the face of an offensive group-specific comment, the target is placed in a "damned if you do and damned if you don't" situation. That is, if the person does nothing, he or she may suffer from a sense of low self-esteem, a feeling of not being true to the self, and a loss of self-integrity. Yet, to confront the perpetrator or to raise the issue may result in negative consequences. Sue (2010) has observed that most marginalized group members choose or are forced to do nothing. He proposes several reasons for this common reaction.

1. *Attributional ambiguity:* As mentioned, the person is thrown into a very confusing and ambiguous situation, making it difficult to conclude whether an offense has occurred. This is especially true when the perpetrator seems to be a well-intentioned individual.
2. *Response indecision:* Even when a microaggression is obvious to the target, the person may be at a loss as to how best to respond: "If I express anger, the perpetrator will only become defensive." "Should I try a rational approach?" "What is the best way to react and point out its impact upon me?"
3. *Time-limited nature of responding:* In most cases, microaggressions occur quickly and are embedded in the larger context of a communication. The instantaneous nature of microaggressions leaves little time to respond.

By the time a response is considered, the conversation or event may have changed or moved on to something else.

4. *Denying experiential reality:* Many marginalized group members may engage in self-deception and deny that their close neighbor, partner, or friend engaged in an offensive action toward them. In most cases, the person has a need to cling to the belief that the microaggressor does not look down (even unconsciously) upon their race, gender, sexual orientation, and so on.
5. *Impotency of actions:* This is a common reaction—the belief that any action taken will not do any good or will have minimal impact on the microaggressor or situation. Individuals may simply give up or develop a sense of hopelessness. On the other hand, some may simply realize that actions will do little good and desire to conserve their energies and efforts for larger battles.

Ever present in the awareness of marginalized group members is the power differential that generally exists between perpetrators and targets. Should a Latina/o student who is the target of microaggressions from fellow White students or even from the professor raise the issue? In this case, the Latina/o student may be outnumbered in the class by fellow White students who will be unable to see the microaggression; they may become defensive, or they may see the Latina/o student as oversensitive. Additionally, the power differential becomes especially clear if a White professor is involved. Questions and thoughts likely to race through the mind of the student include: “Will the professor be offended?” “Will the professor think less of me?” “Will I get a poor grade in his or her class?” “Maybe I should just do nothing and let it go.”

THE WAY FORWARD: ABOUT THIS EDITED BOOK

All interpersonal interactions that involve race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, class, disability, and so forth may be prone to microaggressions. While the concept of racial microaggressions is not new (Pierce et al., 1978), their impact on academic climates (Solórzano et al., 2000), work sites (Sue et al., 2009), mental health (Sue & Capodilupo, 2008), and the development of a working taxonomy (Sue et al., 2007) has gained high visibility in only recent years. As the understanding of the psychological dynamics of racial microaggressions has developed, many other marginalized groups have begun to translate how microaggressions may be tied to group-specific stereotypes, biases, and misinformation. In the book *Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation*, Sue (2010) summarized and offered a conceptual framework to view how three major sociodemographic

groups shared a common experience of ethnocentric microaggressions in our society.

In this edited volume, we attempt to provide a comprehensive overview of microaggressions that presents the most current research on sexual orientation, gender identity, and race. We believe this book is a valuable resource for education, and training, and research on bias and prejudice at the individual, organizational, and societal levels.

While much research has focused on the impact of racism and homophobia on mental health, a growing body of research is defining discrimination as a defining experience for marginalized groups. This research identifies, quantifies, and describes the nature of the subtle and insidious microaggressions that may have a more significant impact on mental health than traditional racism. Furthermore, the research is beginning to identify the impact of microaggressions on the mental health of marginalized groups and the need for further research and education.

The text discusses the impact of microaggressions on mental health care. The research is presented in a way that illustrates the relationship between race, gender, sexual orientation, and mental health, and contrasting the experiences of marginalized groups.

Edelson, R. P., D. A. D. (2010). *Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation*. New York: Springer.

or event may have

group members may
neighbor, partner,
In most cases, the
aggressor does not
gender, sexual orien-

the belief that any
minimal impact on
simply give up or
some may simply
to conserve their

group members is the
actors and targets.
aggressions from
the issue? In this
by fellow White
they may become
negative. Addition-
White professor is
the mind of the
the professor think
Maybe I should

BOOK

sexual orientation,
microaggressions.
terce et al., 1978),
work sites (Sue
the development
visibility in only
dynamics of racial
ed groups have
group-specific
Microaggressions
summarized and
erodemographic

groups shared similarities and differences in life experiences related to an ethnocentric, monocultural perspective that socially devalued certain groups in our society.

In this edited book, *Microaggressions and Marginalized Groups in Society*, we attempt to provide a unique cutting-edge text that expands the concepts of microaggressions to include many marginalized groups in our society. It presents the most recent scholarly research and formulations on race, gender, sexual orientation, gender, religion, class, and disability microaggressions. We believe this text will be in high demand for courses in the social sciences, education, and those that are related to topics of marginality, social justice, and prejudice and discrimination.

While much has been written about contemporary forms of racism, sexism, and homophobia, many studies in health care, education, law, employment, mental health, and social settings indicate the difficulty of describing and defining discrimination that occurs via "implicit bias"; it is difficult to identify, quantify, and rectify because of its subtle, nebulous, and unnamed nature. The subtle isms of our society remain relatively invisible and potentially harmful to the well-being, self-esteem, and standard of living of many marginalized groups in society. These daily common experiences of aggression may have significantly more influence on anger, frustration, and self-esteem than traditional overt forms of racism, sexism, and heterosexism. Furthermore, their invisible nature prevents perpetrators from realizing and confronting their own complicity in creating psychological dilemmas for minorities and their role in creating disparities in employment, health care, and education.

The text discusses the manifestation, psychological dynamics, and impact of microaggressions on the well-being of marginalized groups and will elucidate their role in creating disparities in education, employment, and health care. The text is unique because it (1) pulls together in an integrated fashion the relationship of marginality to group-specific microaggressions (race, gender, sexual orientation, class, and religious orientation), (2) contains both conceptual and qualitative research pieces, and (3) allows for comparing and contrasting similarities and differences between and among multiple marginalized groups.

REFERENCES

- Abelson, R. P., Dasgupta, N., Park, J., & Banaji, M. R. (1998). Perceptions of the collective other. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 2, 243–250.
- Apfelbaum, E. P., Sommers, S. R., & Norton, M. I. (2008). Seeing race and seeming racist: Evaluating strategic colorblindness in social interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95, 918–932.

- Astor, C. (1997). Gallup Poll: Progress in Black/White relations, but race is still an issue. *U.S. Society & Values*. Retrieved February 16, 2007, from <http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itsv/0897/ijse/gallup.htm>.
- Babbington, C. (2008). Poll shows gap between Blacks and Whites over racial discrimination. Retrieved March 15, 2009, from <http://news.yahoo.com/page/election-2008-political-pulse-race-in-america>.
- Bell, L. A. (2002). Sincere fictions: The pedagogical challenges of preparing White teachers for multicultural classrooms. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 35, 236–244.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Boysen, G. A., & Vogel, D. L. (2008). The relationship between level of training, implicit bias, and multicultural competency among counselor trainees. *Training and Education in Professional Psychology*, 2, 103–110.
- Brondolo, E., Brady, N., Thompson, S., Tobin, J. N., Cassells, A., Sweeney, M., et al. (2008). Perceived racism and negative affect: Analyses of trait and state measures of affect in a community sample. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 27, 150–173.
- Brondolo, E., Rieppi, R., Kelly, K. P., & Gerin, K. W. (2003). Perceived racism and blood pressure: A review of the literature and conceptual and methodological critique. *Annals of Behavioral Medicine*, 25, 55–65.
- Buser, J. K. (2009). Treatment-seeking disparity between African Americans and Whites: Attitudes toward treatment, coping resources, and racism. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 37(2), 94–104.
- Cardinu, M., Maas, A., Rosabianca, A., & Kiesner, J. (2005). Why do women underperform under stereotype threat? Evidence for the role of negative thinking. *Psychological Science*, 16, 572–578.
- Clark, R., Anderson, N. B., Clark, V. R., & Williams, D. R. (1999). Racism as a stressor for African Americans. *American Psychologist*, 54, 805–816.
- Davis, M. C., Mathews, K. A., Meilahn, E. N., & Kiss, J. E. (1995). Are job characteristics related to fibrinogen levels in middle-aged women? *Health Psychology*, 14, 310–318.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2000). Aversive racism and selective decisions: 1989–1999. *Psychological Science*, 11, 315–319.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Kawakami, K., & Hodson, G. (2002). Why can't we all just get along? Interpersonal biases and interracial distrust. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 8, 88–102.
- Dovidio, J. J., Gaertner, S. L., Penner, L. A., Pearson, A. R., & Norton, W. E. (2009). Aversive racism: How unconscious bias influences behavior: Implications for legal, employment, and health care contexts. In J. L. Chin (Ed.), *Diversity in mind and action* (Vol. 3, pp. 21–35). Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2005). Understanding and addressing contemporary racism: From aversive racism to the common ingroup identity model. *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(3), 615–639.
- Guthrie, R. V. (1980). A model of culture change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38, 100–104.
- Hanna, F. J., Talley, J. R., & Harrell, J. P. (2008). A model of culture change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95, 100–104.
- Harrell, J. P. (2001). Implications of racism for mental health. *Psychiatry*, 74, 1–10.
- Herek, G. M. (Ed.). (2006). *Gay, lesbian, and transgender health: A handbook for providers*. New York: Springer.
- Hill, M. S., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). Prejudice with sexual orientation: A cognitive-integration approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- Holmes, T. H., & Rahe, R. M. (1968). Social stressors and mental health. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 30, 317–328.
- Keltner, N. G., & Johnson, J. A. (2001). Stress Disorder. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- Keltner, D., & Rieppi, R. (2001). Conflict. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 10, 101–104.
- Leland, J. (2008). *NY Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com>.
- Moradi, B. (2001). A model of internalized homophobia. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- Norcia, C. (2001). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Ortiz, J. (2001). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Purdie-Vaughns, V. (2001). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- contingencies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- mainstream. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- Rowe, M. P. (1998). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75, 1014–1027.
- Salvatore, J., & Spitzer, R. L. (2001). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- Solorzano, D. (2001). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- and campus. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- Steele, C. M. (2001). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- psychology. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- experimental. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- Strickland, B. R. (2001). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027.
- Science*, 1, 1014–1027.

- but race is still an
http://usinfo.state.
- ties over racial dis-
yahoo.com/page/
- preparing White
Education, 35.
- out the persistence of
Lentfield.
- level of training,
trainees. *Training*
- Sweeney, M., et al.
trait and state
Clinical Psychology,
- ceived racism and
methodological
- for Americans and
racism. *Journal of*
- to women under-
negative thinking.
- racism as a stressor
- Are job character-
Psychology, 14,
- we decisions: 1989-
- Why can't we all
Racial Diversity and
- from W. E. (2009).
Implications for
Diversity in mind
- it
- some contemporary
model. *Journal of*
- Guthrie, R. V. (1998). *Even the rat was White* (2nd ed.). New York: Harper & Row.
- Hanna, F. J., Talley, W. B., & Guindon, M. H. (2000). The power of perception: Toward a model of cultural oppression and liberation. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 78, 430-446.
- Harrell, J. P. (2000). A multidimensional conceptualization of racism-related stress: Implications for the well-being of people of color. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 70, 42-57.
- Herek, G. M. (Ed.). (1998). *Stigma and sexual orientation: Understanding prejudice against lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hill, M. S., & Fischer, A. R. (2008). Lesbian and heterosexual women's experiences with sexual- and self-objectification. *Counseling Psychologist*, 36, 745-776.
- Holmes, T. H., & Rahe, R. H. (1967). The Social Readjustment Rating Scale. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, 11, 213-218.
- Keltner, N. G., & Dowben, J. S. (2007). Psychobiological substrates of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: Part I. *Perspectives in Psychiatric Care*, 43, 97-101.
- Keltner, D., & Robinson, R. J. (1996). Extremism, power, and imagined basis of social conflict. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 5, 101-105.
- Leland, J. (2008, October 7). In "sweetie" and "dear," a hurt for the elderly. *New York Times*. Retrieved from www.nytimes.com/2008/10/07/us/07aging.html?=&pagewanted=print.
- Moradi, B., Van den Berg, J. J., & Epting, F. R. (2009). Threat and guilt aspects of internalized antilebian and gay prejudice: An application of personal construct theory. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 56, 119-131.
- Pierce, C., Carew, J., Pierce-Gonzalez, D., & Willis, D. (1978). An experiment in racism: TV commercials. In C. Pierce (Ed.), *Television and education* (pp. 62-88). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Ponterotto, J. G., Utsey, S. O., & Pedersen, P. B. (2006). *Preventing prejudice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Purdie-Vaughns, V., Davis, P. G., Steele, C. M., & Dittmann, R. (2008). Social identity contingencies: How diversity cues signal threat or safety for African Americans in mainstream institutions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94, 615-630.
- Rowe, M. P. (1990). Barriers to equality: The power of subtle discrimination to maintain unequal opportunity. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, 3, 153-163.
- Salvatore, J., & Shelton, J. N. (2007). Cognitive costs of exposure to racial prejudice. *Psychological Science*, 18, 810-815.
- Solórzano, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Negro Education*, 69(1/2), 60-73.
- Steele, C. M., Spencer, S. J., & Aronson, J. (2002). Contending with group image: The psychology of stereotype and social identity threat. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 23, pp. 379-440). New York: Academic Press.
- Strickland, B. R. (1992). Women and depression. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 1, 132-135.

- Sue, D. W. (2003). *Overcoming our racism: The journey to liberation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Sue, D. W. (2004). Whiteness and ethnocentric monoculturalism: Making the "invisible" visible. *American Psychologist*, *59*, 759-769.
- Sue, D. W. (2010). *Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Race, gender, and sexual orientation*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Sue, D. W., & Capodilupo, C. M. (2008). Racial, gender, and sexual orientation microaggressions: Implications for counseling and psychotherapy. In D. W. Sue & D. Sue (Eds.), *Counseling the culturally diverse: Theory and practice* (5th ed., pp. 105-130). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M. B., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist*, *62*, 271-286.
- Sue, D. W., Lin, A. I., & Rivera, D. P. (2009). Racial microaggressions in the workplace: Manifestation and impact. In J. Chin (Ed.), *Diversity matters: Education and employment*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Sue, D. W., Lin, A. I., Torino, G. C., Capodilupo, C. M., & Rivera, D. P. (2009). Racial microaggressions and difficult dialogues in the classroom. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *15*, 183-190.
- Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (2008). *Counseling the culturally diverse: Theory and practice* (4th ed.). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Sue, D., Sue, D. W., & Sue, S. (2010). *Understanding abnormal behavior* (9th ed.). Boston: Wadsworth.
- Sue, D. W., Torino, G. C., Capodilupo, C. M., Rivera, D. P., & Lin, A. I. (2009). How White faculty perceive and react to difficult dialogues on race: Implications for education and training. *Counseling Psychologist*, *37*, 1090-1115.
- Swim, J. K., & Cohen, L. L. (1997). Overt, covert, and subtle sexism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *21*, 103-118.
- Swim, J. K., Hyers, L. L., Cohen, L. L., & Ferguson, M. J. (2001). Everyday sexism: Evidence for its incidence, nature, and psychological impact from three daily diary studies. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*, 31-53.
- Szymanski, D. M., Kashubeck-West, S., & Meyer, J. (2008). Internalized heterosexism. *Counseling Psychologist*, *36*, 510-524.
- Underwood, A. (2005, October 3). The good heart. *Newsweek*, 49-55.
- Utsey, S. O., & Hook, J. N. (2007). Heart rate variability as a physiological moderator of the relationship between race-related stress and psychological distress in African Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *13*, 250-253.

M
M

Appendix E

Session Five - Fugitive Action Framework	
Facilitators	One faculty member, one staff member
Learning Outcomes	<p>After participating in this session, faculty members will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● be able to identify the four I's of oppression ● understand the connection that oppressive structures in education have to American chattel slavery ● identify and acknowledge the ways in which our campus upholds Whiteness in each of the 4 categories presented by Lyiscott (2019)
Purpose	This session is designed for participants to critically look at the state of the campus in regard to race and other social identities. Participants will explore their own racial identity, the campus's perpetuation of Whiteness, and how other marginalized social identities are at risk because of this. Participants will thus begin exploring the impacts and necessity for an intersectional framework as they approach their classrooms and the campus (Crenshaw, 2009).
Allocated time	90 minutes
Materials needed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Projector ● PowerPoint ● Group Communication Guidelines (posted as a reminder) ● Copies of reading <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Lyiscott (2019)
Setup	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Set up PowerPoint & computer ○ Post Group Communication Guidelines on wall

<p>Session Outline/ Details</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Intro/Reflection Question (20 mins) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Question of the day: What's lingering with you since our panel last week? In what ways do you see a need for change on our campus?</i> ○ Introduction question serves as a space for participants to begin thinking about the topic of the day ○ Participants will take 3 minutes to write down their own answer to the reflection question ○ Participants will then take 3 minutes to share with a partner <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ While participants are sharing with a partner, facilitators will walk around and engage in discussion/check in with participants ○ Facilitators will invite faculty members to share their reflections in the large group <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Facilitators will guide discussion and affirm participants' engagement and experiences ▪ Facilitators will address any important or significant political or world events that have taken place during the last week during this time, if applicable, in order to use current news as a learning tool. ▪ This will be helpful in the identity development of White faculty because it will show them that there are events that take place in the world that are related to race every day and it is important to acknowledge those events ● Introduction to Fugitive Action Framework (20 minutes) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Facilitators will lead a large group discussion to connect opening question to the reading and Fugitive Action Framework <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Our reading due today was from Jamila Lyiscott who has adapted the Four I's of Oppression into her own Fugitive Action Framework</i> ▪ <i>What stuck out to you about the reading? What quotes, thoughts, or ideas have stayed with you?</i> ▪ Facilitators should prepare their own quotes and thoughts as they prepare for the session <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>For me, the recruitment of athletes and the ostracization of those students once they arrive on campus struck me. It is familiar to me in my experiences both as a student and an employee at several PWI colleges</i> 2. <i>When Lyiscott discusses college and career readiness, the obsession with bringing people of color into predominantly White spaces and not doing any of the internal work to prepare -- this section reminded me of why I'm so passionate about doing this work with all of you, and why I chose to participate in this workshop series</i> 3. Facilitators will end the discussion with the following thought (if a participant addresses either of these quotes before the end of discussion, acknowledge the significance of these quotes and at the end of the discussion, circle back
--	---

to those important points in order to transition the conversation into the activity)

- *“Access means assimilation” and “Excellence means erasure of the self” -- both quotes hit me hard; our intent is never to strip students of themselves and it’s important to acknowledge the difference between intent and impact. There are ways in which I support both of these statements in my everyday work -- and I need to take some time to analyze and reflect in order to change my behaviors and practices*
- Facilitators will begin transition into the writing and authoring section below, distributing blank sheets that have Figures 8.1, 8.2, and 8.3 on them (Lyiscott, 2019)
 - *This reflection is the perfect transition to our next activity; today we are going to reflect on both the micro and macro levels of oppression (specifically related to racism) using our own institution as an example.*
 - *Figure 8.1-3 as a worksheet are located in the supplemental materials at the bottom of this facilitation guide.*
 - *transition into activity*
- **Writing and Authoring a Future that Combats White Privilege (25 mins)**
 - Facilitators will break participants into 4 groups
 - Each group will be assigned one quadrant of the Fugitive Action Framework:
 - Group one: Ideological racism
 - Group two: Interpersonal racism
 - Group three: Institutional racism
 - Group four: Internalized racism
 - Groups will be given 10 minutes to complete their quadrant using examples from campus (if there are no examples, or if participants are struggling, encourage them to research examples at other colleges)
 - Groups will also identify any solutions to the examples they come up with
 - Once 10 minutes have passed, groups will present their examples to the large group. Groups will also define their area verbally per the definition from the reading and that which is located in Figure 8.1
 - Groups will be given the final 15 minutes of the activity to present their examples and engage in discussion
 1. during presentations, facilitators should ask probing questions that allude to the bigger picture:
 - as participants are presenting, challenge them to explain how their example impacts the micro/individual culture of campus or the macro/systemic part of campus

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ facilitators should practice active listening and connect these pieces for participants when necessary ● 5-minute break ● Writing and Authoring a Future that Combats White Privilege (25 minutes) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Facilitators will transition the conversation and the activity into a second round, encouraging each group to think about the oppressive structures in a more complex way. Facilitators will reference intersectionality (spoken more deeply about in session 1 [social identity conversation] and session 2) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>So, now we want to take the conversation a little bit deeper. We'd like to look at the ways in which the institution oppresses multiple identities at once: we'd like to look at this model with an intersectional lens</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Who remembers the term intersectionality? Would anyone like to define it for the group?</i> 2. <i>Intersectionality: the interconnected nature of social groups in regard to oppression; identities that overlap create multiple layers of oppression that overlap each other, leading to further discrimination and disadvantage</i> ○ Facilitators will break participants into four groups (facilitators can choose the identities that are representative of the campus, i.e. in this example, nationality was chosen because of the large number of international students at this institution) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Group one: race and class ▪ Group two: race and ability ▪ Group three: race and gender ▪ Group four: race and nationality ○ Groups will be given 10 minutes to complete their entire table using examples from campus (if there are no examples, or if participants are struggling, encourage them to research examples at other colleges) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Groups will also identify any solutions to the examples they come up with ▪ Once 10 minutes have passed, groups will present their examples to the large group. Groups will also define their area verbally per the definition from the reading and that which is located in Figure 8.1 ▪ Groups will be given the final 15 minutes of the activity to present their examples and engage in discussion <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. during presentations, facilitators should ask probing questions that allude to the bigger picture: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ as participants are presenting, challenge them to explain how their example impacts the micro/individual culture of campus or the macro/systemic part of campus ○ facilitators should practice active listening and connect these pieces for participants when necessary
--	--

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Utilizing the Fugitive Action Framework will support participants in moving out of the phase of identity development where they feel guilty about the effects of racism on campus and move them to a place where they are able to take it out of the “individual” context. By identifying examples of each form of oppression in regard to racism on campus, participants can see that racism isn’t “all their fault,” but rather that it is the responsibility of everyone on campus to work toward antiracism.● Closing (5 minutes)<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ <i>Thank you for your engagement today!</i>○ Questions, Racial Reality Reflection reminder, and next session reading:<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Blakeney (2005)▪ Teel (2014)▪ Kishimoto (2018)
--	---

3

If You Think You're Giving Students of Color a Voice, Get Over Yourself!¹

*Miss, miss! What the C.O. talkin' about us? They already gettin' in y'all heads right?
Miss, we havin'! I'm a human! We have families. . . .*

—Rikers Island Youth Workshop Participant

The walls on Rikers Island are the same as the walls in my high school. In a facility six security check-points deep, where it takes myself and my team of social justice educators over 1.5 hours to get from the first screening to the classroom where we run a workshop with a small group of incarcerated adolescent boys, the walls are the same style of brick as every inner-city school I have ever attended or visited. While I am struck by the visceral effects of this very concrete reality for these young men who have attended public schools across the five boroughs, I am not at all surprised. Still, within the physical, psychological, and emotional confines of this space that they navigate daily, I am the one who often feels the deep constraints of internalized social attitudes and perspectives about young Black and Brown men, who they are, what they need, and how they should be engaged within the context of the classroom. The possibilities of our time together are tethered to my internal work—the

shedding of any savior complexes and constant collective reflection with the team to live in the tensions and questions of our work as critical educators.

So imagine my horror when on a recent phone call, a white educator who expressed interest in my youth development work squealed with congratulations and awe for the way that we “give so many young people voice.” Her words were deeply disturbing but hardly surprising. Grateful that in our last e-mail I chose the “phone call” over the “in-person” or “FaceTime” option for our meeting, I rolled my eyes and promptly ended the call.

I should not have ended this call. I should have said to this woman was “If you think you’re giving students of color a voice, get over yourself,” then hung up the phone.

So what’s the big deal? Why get caught up on words when you know that kind, well-meaning woman only meant to celebrate the work that you are doing?

Some of the most deeply problematic issues of inequity within the field of education are sustained by well-meaning people embracing progressive politics without intentional frameworks of self-reflection to guide their praxis in a healthy direction.

Here’s the Problem

1. It’s paternalistic. Webster’s defines *paternalism* as “the attitude or actions of a person, organization, etc., that protects people and gives them what they need but does not give them any responsibility or freedom of choice.” The idea of “giving” students voice, especially when it refers to students of color, only serves to reify the dynamic of paternalism that renders Black and Brown students voiceless until some salaried external force gifts them with the privilege to speak. Rather than acknowledge the systemic violences that attempt to silence the rich voices, cultures, and histories that students bring into classrooms, this orientation positions students and,

by extension, the communities of students as eternally in need of institutional sanctioning.

2. **Paternalism was a huge part of the rationale for slavery.** When we operate with the mindset that we are “giving” students voice, we align ourselves with a deeply problematic and historical orientation. So much of the rationale for oppression through slavery, colonialism, and imperialism had to do with “giving” civilization to people who were “less fortunate.” Do not align your pedagogy with the ethos of slavery and colonialism.
3. **They woke up like that.** When the young men at Rikers share their work, I am fully intimidated by their uses of extended metaphors, similes, and other literary devices. But all we did was lend them an ear. They woke up like that. We did not give them a voice. What we gave them was space to be heard. Students navigate powerful spaces of learning every single day in their homes and communities, especially when it comes to students of color, the skills, experiences, and rich knowledge that shape their voices are devalued in the classroom but are still powerful and have absolutely nothing to do with our “salvation.”

Note

1. “If You Think You’re Giving Students of Color a Voice, Get Over Yourself” by Jamila Lyiscott from *Medium* (blog), May 18, 2017, <https://medium.com/@heinemann/if-you-think-youre-giving-students-of-color-a-voice-get-over-yourself-ccb8a684f16>. Copyright © 2017 by Jamila Lyiscott. Published by Heinemann, Portsmouth, NH. Reprinted by permission of the Publisher. All Rights Reserved.

8

Critical Hope in the Context of Crisis

It was 1845 when Frederick Douglass published his *own* narrative of freedom within the heinous climate of American chattel slavery. In a period where virtually all slave narratives were written and authenticated by white abolitionists to assure validity to a white readership, Douglass's title—*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*—was a bold assertion. On one hand, literacy was forbidden for the enslaved, and the larger public imagination could barely fathom a Black person possessing the capacity to master formal English as articulately and as eloquently as Douglass had throughout all his writings. On the other hand, without an included statement of authentication from a white person in the opening pages, as was a standard feature of the slave narrative tradition, Douglass's story would be more readily disregarded as invalid by his white audience, who were already widely skeptical of the slave narratives that were penned and verified by white abolitionists. This commitment to penning his own story was an unapologetic extension of his physical, mental, and linguistic fugitivity from

the systemic oppressions of slavery. This assertion of authorship and authority over his own voice within a historical moment where his very flesh was supposed to be owned by others was a crucial disruption for America's national consciousness, which still rings with deep relevance in today's society where the mainstream ideologies about communities of color that perpetuate social inequities are hardly, if ever, authored by members of those communities. For Douglass, voice, authorship, and his own fugitive literacies became the means by which he attained multiple freedoms throughout his lifetime. A lifetime dedicated to critically explicating the personal and broader systemic violences of slavery through his writings and speeches across the nation. His narrative's description of the indelible impact of slavery conditions on his feet is arguably one of the most compelling examples of this. He writes,

I was seldom whipped by my old master, and suffered little from anything else than hunger and cold. I suffered much from hunger, but much more from cold. . . . My feet have been so cracked with the frost, that the pen with which I am writing might be laid in the gashes.
(Douglass, 1846, p. 72)

As Douglass articulates the context of slavery—harsh winters where the enslaved were forced to sleep outside with barely any clothes on—he conjures up the visceral imagery of brokenness in his cracked feet to paint a picture of how this context played out on his individual person. His next rhetorical move—that of bringing together his pen with his gashes—illustrates how the intimacy of language, voice, and authorship are enmeshed with his story of bondage and freedom. This iterative relationship between pen and feet has resounding symbolic value that at once textualizes the body and animates the text. What this imagery then affords us is the assertion that the social context of slavery in Douglass's time, embodied by his feet, was inextricably

bound to his literate identity, symbolized by his pen. By placing the pen into the brokenness of his feet, a powerful possibility of wholeness is evoked even as the impact of systemic oppression still exists on his broken body. My Fugitive Action Framework builds on this powerful imagery with the conviction that within the crises of our times there is critical hope in the power of authorship.

Fugitivity

"Wait a minute, when we go to high schools to recruit students, we only recruit Black students to be athletes here . . ." The room fell into a thick silence, and a palpable tension crept across the small lecture hall on a tiny college campus in upstate New York. After spending some time with the Fugitive Action Framework, the all-white faculty and staff in the room were confronted with the reality that their institution had some glaring racial disparities that they could no longer ignore. The troubling conversation that just unfolded was around the realization that all their Black and Brown students sit together in the cafeteria (shout out to Beverly Tatum's work!) and do not participate in much else on campus. "You mean you're not going into high schools to recruit Black students to do astrophysics here?" My satirical comment was met with a few scattered awkward chuckles. I continued: "What ideologies, what silent practices and norms are at play here if the already small number of Black and Brown students you have in this Predominantly White Institution are moving in huddled silos?" A small nervous voice chimed in from the back of the room, "I have asked a few of them . . . they said that they don't feel comfortable here."

Because the United States is pretty much as segregated now as it has ever been, glaring statistics that reflect this segregation mark P-16 institutions across the nation, myriad educational inequities emerge out of the racial and economic disparities that cause P-12 schools in lower and working-class communities of

color to be severely under-resourced and structurally stagnated. In response to this, countless efforts to get Black and Brown students of color into college have been celebrated as the hallmarks of success. In our obsession with "college and career readiness," getting Black and Brown students accepted into Predominantly White Institutions (even after being raised within deeply segregated communities and school district) becomes the ultimate goal. And when they get there, they suffer in ways that we have yet to truly address.

We go sooo hard to get Black and Brown youth out of the physical violence of the streets without equipping them for the psychological and emotional violences they will have to navigate to survive within institutions that were originally built without them in mind. In order to survive predominantly white schools, people of color know intuitively that "access" means assimilation and that "excellence" means erasure of the self. Yet, our systems of education are often force-fed to us as politically and ideologically neutral spaces that seek to propel anyone forward if only they would "pull themselves up by their bootstraps." These lies are nothing short of gaslighting for students such as the ones mentioned earlier, who navigate predominantly white contexts with a deep sense of fugitivity.

During American chattel slavery, the vision for freedom was first borne in the mind of the fugitive. In pursuit of that freedom, fugitives had to imagine themselves outside of the narrative that slavery sought to impose on their humanity. Fugitivity was a narrative of its own, one which acknowledged a broken past but was driven by an unrelenting hope for a whole future. Fugitivity disrupted white authority over Black bodies and authored possibilities beyond the permission of white power. Drawing on my research and practice around questions of white privilege, multiple literacies, and racial justice, the Fugitive Action Framework works to confront and transform the authority and authorship of white privilege as it exists on both macro (systemic) and micro (individual) levels within our society. Through principles of

analysis and action, this framework seeks to actualize the agency and healing of the pen as it is laid in the gashes of a history fraught with racial and intersecting oppressions. In the context of our present-day political crises that unabashedly promote white privilege, xenophobia, and hate, the Fugitive Action Framework works in the service of what Jeffrey Duncan-Andrade calls "Critical Hope." I recently read a tweet that said "[H]ope is a narcotic for the oppressed." Empty, flowery abstract notions of hope do nothing for the immediate oppressions weighing on people of color in this country. Critical hope is tangible and active hope. Duncan-Andrade writes,

On the flipside of these false hopes lies critical hope, which rejects the despair of hopelessness and the false hopes of "cheap American optimism" (West, 2008, p. 41). Critical hope demands a committed and active struggle "against the evidence in order to change the deadly tides of wealth inequality, group xenophobia, and personal despair".

(West, 2004, pp. 296-297, quoted in Duncan-Andrade, 2009)

Fugitive Action Framework

My Fugitive Action Framework was adapted from the "Four T's of Oppression" as developed by several grassroots youth organizations.² I came to develop this framework as a tool for working closely through critical analysis, activism, and advocacy work with educators, students, and community members across the nation to acknowledge that oppression in our society functions on both systemic and individual levels as indicated in Figure 8.1. That is, in order to understand the flow and impact of white privilege, one cannot only view the most visible manifestations of social ills as they occur to the naked eye as problematic. Everyday micro-level manifestations of white privilege are symptomatic of much-deeper macro-level issues in our world. It is important to



FIGURE 8.1 Adapted from Global Action Project's 4 I's of Oppression

understand that these levels are interdependent. For example, racist jokes about students in the teachers' lounge occur at the micro level, while disproportionate suspension rates for students of color function at the macro level. Taken together, these two seemingly disconnected issues deeply inform each other. The problem is that even when we do perceive the manifestation of white privilege on the micro level in our everyday realities, we do not account for how situations fit into the larger systemic-level violences that undergird the very fabric of our society.

The Fugitive Action Framework provides a lens for critically analyzing the presence of white privilege and oppression in any social situation. When I became a spoken word artist at the age of 15, I quickly learned that my success in the genre required me to cultivate a poetic lens. I consumed a wide range of poetry and began to consider the metaphorical

value of all phenomena—the way that a plane is borne and must break through the opacity of clouds before it can hit clear skies (perhaps our moments of deepest confusion are necessary before we can have a breakthrough), the way that the branches of trees mirror its roots (perhaps how we branch out into the world is a metaphysical reflection of where we came from), the way that an old cell phone does not have the capacity to download new software updates and old software does not work on new cell phones (perhaps we need to update our archaic educational system so that it has the capacity to sustain an upgrade of equity and justice for all). All around me was poetry. Carefully cultivating this lens reshaped the way that I see the world around me like a pair of glasses, without which I would be blind. This framework is not a solution to white privilege and its ugly cousin, racism. It is not a tool for binding and gagging white privilege, locking it up, and throwing away the key before dusting off our hands and moving on to something else. Instead, this framework invites the cultivation of new forms of racial literacy, that is, developing new skills for “reading” white privilege as it exists in the world and for “writing/authoring” a future that combats white privilege by sustaining cultural pluralism in systemic and individual ways.

The 4 “I’s” of Oppression as they have been previously theorized are Ideological, Institutional, Intersubject, and Internal. The Ideological and Institutional levels speak to the systemic/macro nature of the flow of oppression while the Intersubject and Internal levels speak to the individual/micro nature of oppression:

IDEOLOGICAL Privilege and Oppression: Collective consciousness, norms, silent beliefs and ideas about different groups.

INSTITUTIONAL Privilege and Oppression: The network of institutional structures, policies, and practices that create advantages and benefits for some, and discrimination, oppression, and disadvantages for others (institutions are

organized bodies such as companies, governmental bodies, prisons, schools, non-governmental organizations, families, and religious institutions, among others).

INTERPERSONAL Privilege and Oppression: The ways in which ideological, institutional, and internalized privilege and oppression play out in everyday interactions between members of privileged and oppressed groups. These involve oppressive behavior, insults, or violence.

INTERNALIZED Privilege and Oppression: The process by which a member of an oppressed group comes to accept and live out the inaccurate myths and stereotypes applied to the group by its oppressors; the process by which a member of a privileged group comes to accept and live out inaccurate beliefs of normativity and/or superiority in relation to other groups.

Figure 8.2 offers an example of how the 4 I's of oppression might explain some common in-school practices.

In order to effectively utilize the Fugitive Action Framework to analyze and act against white privilege within and beyond the classroom, we can view the 4 I's as tools for analysis and action by following these steps (Figure 8.3):

Before you begin.

Decide on a racially charged situation that occurred at your institution, in your home, on the news, on social media, and so on. This situation will be the starting point of your analysis.

Learning to "read" white privilege.

The analysis stage of the framework will involve you learning how to read white privilege as it manifests itself across the 4 I's of the framework. Employing the framework with others is ideal, but be sure to determine *ahead of time* whether you would like to do this work in interracial or monoracial contexts.



FIGURE 8.2 Example of how the 4 I's might play out



FIGURE 8.3 Fugitive Action Framework

Ideological Literacy

With your group, analyze the chosen situation for any silent collective norms that center white privilege. For example, this past graduation season, a viral image from a South Carolina high school read "Since graduation is a dignified and solemn occasion, graduating seniors and their guests should behave appropriately." The sign went on to say that anyone who did not comply would be charged a fine of up to \$1,030. Let me save you some time, this sign is racist! To conceive of graduation as a "dignified and solemn occasion" is deeply Eurocentric and marginalizing for the countless cultural practices that view celebrations and milestones as opportunities to turn all the way up. Where I'm from, being dignified and solemn during a time of celebration would be a cause to call security on you! Within this sign, are silent collective norms that are "appropriate" according to white middle-class values. Identifying white privilege as it functions on the ideological level is crucial! It is this level that is most abiding and informed by the dark histories of slavery and colonialism. What we accept as "normal" and "neutral" immediately casts the ways of knowing and of being people of color as delinquent.

Ideological literacy at the level of action is a bit tricky. Ideologies are far more abstract and ubiquitous than the other I's. But by naming the problematic ideologies that perpetuate white supremacy, we can *author* the kinds of ideologies that we envision for racial equity and justice with the knowledge that these ideologies will manifest themselves in powerfully healing ways across the 4 I's.

Institutional Literacy

At this level, it is important to know that institutional policies and practices are undergirded by the very white supremacist ideologies that we all buy into as normal. For example, two young Black girls were suspended from their Massachusetts high school for wearing braids in their hair. Let me save you

some time . . . this is racist! Just as the institution in the previous example acted in the service of ideologies that are saturated with white privilege, these girls were punished for breaking their school's *policy* of what is "appropriate" for hair and dress code. Braided extensions are basically the epitome of Black-girlness. At an institutional level, the ideologies of white aesthetics as appropriate are enforced through institutional policy. Again, developing an "institutional literacy" is a way to "read" the ways that white privilege plays out on an institutional level. It is at this level of literacy that the faculty members in the preceding example were able to "read" that their institution recruits Black students only for their sports teams and then are confused about why all their degree programs lack racial diversity.

Institutional literacy at the level of action means disrupting the institutional policies that propel white supremacy. It means taking the active steps necessary to restructure, rewrite, and reimagine your institution as a racial and culturally inclusive space that does not stop at having bodies of color in the room as long as they behave "appropriately." Rather, institutional literacy at the level of action means that it is time to envision and author our institutions as spaces where white privilege cannot survive.

Interpersonal Literacy

Interpersonal literacy, at the level of analysis, is any opportunity to "read" the relationships in any given situation. For example, when a large white male police officer presses his knee into the back of a 12-year-old Black girl in a bathing suit for being at a pool party in a white neighborhood, there is an interpersonal dynamic that occurs between the officer and the young girl. This interpersonal dynamic is only made possible by a justice system (institution) that blatantly upholds policies and practices that assure us that Black and Brown bodies are disposable (ideology) in this country. Similar interpersonal dynamics marked by white privilege play out in schools between teachers and students. Currently, more than 83% of urban educators are white, yet

the racial disparities between teachers and students that bear on classroom spaces are hardly, if ever, addressed. At this level of analysis, analyze your chosen situation for the interpersonal dynamics at play and try to see how they are legitimated by institutional norms and how those institutional norms are rooted in toxic white privilege ideologies.

Interpersonal literacy, at the level of action, means addressing the interpersonal dynamics that occur in your world in deeply problematic ways. Perhaps you are a person of color who finds yourself enforcing rigid behavioral standards on students of color that are aligned with institutional policies that you are forced to uphold. Perhaps you are a white authority figure who responds differently to the emotional outbursts of white youth vs youth of color. Perhaps you are a parent who is tired of your Black or Brown baby coming home with the feeling that he or she is being over punished and over-labeled for simply being youthful. At this level, the action is meant to reimagine and take action in the areas of the interpersonal dynamics that support white privilege.

Internal/Introspective Literacy

Internal/introspective literacy, at the level of analysis, means doing the deep self-awareness work to learn how white privilege roots itself in our very consciousness. I say "our" because people of color who internalize white privilege as normal, can and do function in ways that sustain white privilege. For me, this is the most dangerous level. What did the 12-year-old girl with an officer's knee pressing into her back internalize about her worth on that day? And for the millions of people who viewed the viral video, what did we internalize about the value of Black bodies in this country? Doing the introspective work to "read" your internal state is key. It is impossible to do the work of acting against white privilege in the world if you are not concurrently doing the work of acting against white privilege in yourself.

At the level of action, internal/introspective literacy is about changing yourself in an anti-racist, pro-cultural pluralism agent of racial justice. It means that you take action against the ideologies, institutional practices, and interpersonal reinforcements that have embedded themselves into your consciousness so that you now function in the service of white privilege (whether you are white or not).

Notes

1. Duncan-Andrade, J. (2009). Note to educators: Hope required when growing roses in concrete. *Harvard Educational Review* 79(2), 181–194.
2. The Fugitive Action framework is adapted from Global Action Project's version of this.

The Four I's of Oppression and the Fugitive Action Framework
(Worksheet)

Definitions

Macro/Institutional	<p align="center">Ideological</p> <p>Collective consciousness, norms, silent beliefs and ideas about different groups</p>	<p align="center">Interpersonal</p> <p>The ways in which ideological, institutional, and internalized privilege and oppression play out in everyday interactions between members of privileged and oppressed groups. These involve oppressive behavior, insults (microaggressions), or violence</p>	Micro/Individual
	<p align="center">Institutional</p> <p>The network of institutional structures, policies, and practices that create advantages and benefits for some, and discrimination, oppression, and disadvantages for others</p>	<p align="center">Internalized</p> <p>The process by which a member of an oppressed group comes to accept and live out the inaccurate myths and stereotypes applied to the group by its oppressors. The process by which a member of a privileged group comes to accept and live out inaccurate beliefs of normativity and/or superiority in relation to other groups</p>	

Figure 8.1, Lyiscott (2019)

Examples

Macro/Institutional	<p style="text-align: center;">Ideological</p> <p>Students of color are only intellectually valuable contributors to society when they align themselves with Eurocentric/White middle-class norms</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Interpersonal</p> <p>The student engages in acts of cultural/linguistic erasure; the student is silent or oppositional; the student passively accepts (interpersonal oppression)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The teacher “gives” a voice (interpersonal privilege)</p>	Micro/Individual
	<p style="text-align: center;">Institutional</p> <p>Pedagogies, policies, and practices that perpetuate savior-complex, ignore knowledges of marginalized communities, and frame students as deficient/delinquent when they are “not competent” by Eurocentric standards</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Internalized</p> <p>“My voice comes from outside of myself and my community; Voice must be given to me by an institution or an authority figure to be valid” (oppression)</p> <p>“Students of color need to be given tools for a voice that sounds like appropriate Eurocentric practices so that we can hear them; I have successfully saved these students of color” (privilege)</p>	

Figure 8.2, Lyiscott (2019)

Completing the table with experiences from our campus

Macro/Institutional	Ideological Racism	Interpersonal Racism	Micro/Individual
	Institutional Racism	Internalized Racism	

Figure 8.3, Lyiscott (2019)

Completing the table with experiences from our campus (*Intersectional lens*)

Macro/Institutional	Ideological	Interpersonal	Micro/Individual
	Institutional	Internalized	

Figure 8.3, Lyiscott (2019)

Appendix F

Session Six - Defining Antiracist Pedagogy	
Facilitator(s)	One faculty member, one staff member
Learning Outcomes	After participating in this session, faculty members will: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● be able to define antiracism ● be able to identify examples of antiracist pedagogy ● understand the ability (and identity) to be White and antiracist ● think critically about how they can implement antiracist practices into their teaching and classroom
Purpose	This session will support participants in their White identity development by providing them examples of how to be both White and antiracist (Utt & Tochluk, 2016). This session will support participants in becoming autonomous on their White identity development journey and will create a community of support for accountability (Tatum, 1994, Helms, 1992).
Allocated time	90 minutes
Materials needed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Group Communication Guidelines (posted as a reminder) ● PowerPoint ● Projector
Setup	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Set up PowerPoint & computer ○ Post Group Communication Guidelines on wall
Session Outline/Details	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Intro/Reflection Question (10 mins) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Question of the day: Why is the work of being White and antiracist important for you?</i> ○ Introduction question serves as a space for participants to begin thinking about the topic of the day ○ Participants will take 3 minutes to write down their own answer to the reflection question ○ Participants will then take 3 minutes to share with a partner <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ While participants are sharing with a partner, facilitators will walk around and engage in discussion/check in with participants ○ Facilitators will invite faculty members to share their reflections in the large group <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Facilitators will guide discussion and affirm participants' engagement and experiences ▪ Facilitators will address any important or significant political or world events that have taken place during the last week during this time, if applicable, in order to use current news as a learning tool. ▪ This will be helpful in the identity development of White faculty because it will show them that there are events that take place in the world that are related to race every day and it is important to acknowledge those events ● Review of the Literature (60 minutes) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Facilitators will break group into small groups/pairs to review readings and pull out key pieces of information to be shared with the workshop in

	<p>presentation form (along with any questions that they may have from the reading)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Each group will read, discuss, and pull out key information from the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Group 1: Blakeney ▪ Group 2: Teel ▪ Group 3: Kishimoto ○ Facilitators will allot 30 minutes for groups to discuss their session and create a mini presentation to share with the large workshop group <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Groups should create connections between their selected reading and past readings in the workshop. Groups should also connect their reading with relevant examples from their experience or ideas that they would like to implement into their experience ○ Facilitators will transition the workshop back to the large group for discussion. Facilitators will allot 30 minutes for each group to present. ○ Facilitators will engage in discussion by asking clarifying questions that allow participants to critically reflect on their own pedagogy and praxis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Example: How does this idea compare or contrast with your own pedagogy?</i> ▪ <i>How does this idea compare or contrast with what you've been taught previously about what's appropriate in the classroom or relevant to your discipline?</i> ▪ <i>Does this thought, idea, for example, connect with any action item you can take in the foreseeable future to better your pedagogy?</i> ○ The purpose of this activity is to engage participants in beginning thoughts about antiracist practices in the classroom. It is also to showcase the development of antiracist literature, and to show that antiracist pedagogy is not a new development to the field, however, it is not too late for participants to start implementing their practices into their classrooms. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Participants will take their break as they need (self-monitoring) ● Closing (5 min) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Thank you for your participation today! Next session is our last session. Reminder that your Racial Reality assignment is due. We will be doing small group work and sharing our racial realities with one another, so please come prepared for that. We will also be creating a system of accountability and brainstorming different ways we can implement some of the things we learned today into our classrooms and pedagogy.</i> ○ <i>Questions?</i>
--	---

Getting Out of the Left Lane: The Possibility of White Antiracist Pedagogy

Karen Teel

University of San Diego

Abstract. *This article maintains that knowledge of the literature on multicultural education and social justice pedagogy is indispensable for white college professors who desire to teach effectively about racial justice concerns. In exploring this literature, I have noticed that many publications either articulate theory or reflect on concrete classroom strategies, while relatively few deploy theory to evaluate specific attempts at teaching for justice. This seems to me a gap worth filling. Speaking as a white, conventionally trained, Catholic theologian, I begin by explaining why I deem it appropriate to employ antiracist pedagogy. I then demonstrate that the literature on multicultural education and social justice pedagogy is essential to this effort by utilizing both types of literature, theoretical and practical, to analyze my own strategies and goals to date. Throughout, I discuss white antiracist theological pedagogy not as an accomplished fact, but as an emerging endeavor. See a companion essay in this issue of the journal (Anna Floerke Scheid and Elisabeth T. Vasko, "Teaching Race: Pedagogical Challenges in Predominantly White Undergraduate Theology Classrooms"), and responses by the authors of both essays, also published in this issue of the journal ("Responses: Toward an Antiracist Pedagogy").*

Whether college professors should teach in a way that sensitizes students to social justice issues and, if so, how we should do this is hotly debated.¹ Many academics are familiar with Stanley Fish's dogmatic insistence that the classroom be restricted to the impartation of information, training in intellectual analysis, and the reasoned exchange of ideas (Fish 2008). According to Fish, the classroom is no place to foster activism, and universities as well as individual professors who endeavor to contribute directly

¹ I thank the College of Arts and Sciences of the University of San Diego for its generous support of this project. The Womanist Approaches to Religion and Society Group and the Feminist Theory and Religious Reflection Group's co-sponsored session at the American Academy of Religion's 2007 meeting graciously welcomed my initial formulation of these ideas. Mary Doak and Lance Nelson provided valuable feedback on a previous version of this article. The workshop "The Gift and Challenge of Difference in the Classroom," sponsored by the Wabash Center for Teaching and Learning in Theology and Religion at the 2010 meeting of the College Theology Society and led by Laurie Cassidy and Maureen O'Connell, furthered my thinking. Sarah Azaransky, Jennifer Gorsky, Evelyn Kirkley, Louis Komjathy, Belinda Lum, Janice Olguin, Emily Reimer-Barry, and Matt Watkins were invaluable conversation partners. I am particularly grateful for Dr. Azaransky's enthusiastic witness to this project. The participants in USD's 2012 faculty learning community on diversity pedagogy were wonderful sounding boards. The editors and anonymous reviewers at *Teaching Theology and Religion* helped me fine-tune the argument. Any errors and omissions are mine.

to students' moral or civic formation are attempting a task that is not properly theirs (2008, 55).

In my view, Fish's framing of the choice as an either/or, in which one must choose between rigorous intellectual training and moral formation, is false.² It lacks a critical awareness of and sense of responsibility to the larger social setting in which education takes place and in which students and teachers alike are inextricably embedded. It is not that Fish wishes to stifle the discussion of controversial issues in the classroom: quite the contrary, he urges professors to focus discussion on any and all rational arguments we deem germane to our fields. Indeed, he maintains convincingly that this is a better use of class time than asking students what they think, which often elicits a lot of half-baked opinions (2008, 39). Yet ultimately, Fish seems to see the academy as a politics-free space, where one takes time out from the world to acquire knowledge and intellectual skills. The phrase "ivory tower" comes to mind.³

Against this apolitical construal of higher education, I see the academy as having arisen from and existing within society in a way that renders the academy both responsible and accountable to society. In my courses, I aspire to create spaces in which students can recognize their roles in social issues, issues that do not conveniently park themselves outside the academy but often arise precisely within classrooms and educational institutions more broadly. I hope my students begin to see themselves as actors, if not as activists, who are involved daily in situations in which justice issues are operative and salient. Since my focus has been on race and racial justice, I have thought of myself as endeavoring to employ an antiracist theological pedagogy.⁴ I aim to move beyond teaching isolated units on racism and privilege, a strategy that indicates that these issues are peripheral to theology, to presenting theology as intrinsically capable of and responsible for compelling Christians to work toward racial justice. In short, I believe that "all theologies are contextual" (de la Torre and Floyd-Thomas 2011, xxiii), and I aim to teach them that way.

This is not easy. Like many whites of my generation, I was raised in a white environment in which "colorblindness" was the unspoken ideal. My family, friends, and peers did not talk about race *qua* race, apparently believing this was the best way to be non-racist.⁵ While this was surely an improvement on the overt prejudice with which many of our parents grew up, it still fell short of equipping us to deal forthrightly with the lasting effects of centuries of legalized slavery and segregation. Only as an adult have I begun to think critically about race, racism, and white privilege, and my awareness has developed academically, through reading and study, more than through face-to-face dis-

²For a particularly cogent statement of the argument that this is a false choice, see Applebaum (2009).

³ Many who do not share Fish's allergy to moral formation in education do imagine the university as a place set apart. Feminist philosopher Sandra Lee Bartky describes her own initial "idea of the university," which she clung to for many years, as "a gathering place for educated people" who had moved far beyond "intellectually primitive" notions such as racism (Bartky 2002, 151–2).

⁴ While this article focuses on racial justice, I hope it will also prompt ideas for teaching about gender, class, sexuality, sexual orientation, and other areas.

⁵ Bonilla-Silva (2006) and Wise (2010) are two thinkers who have demonstrated the inadequacy of this usually well-intentioned approach.

cussions. Moreover, as is common in the humanities, where a terminal degree doubles as authorization to teach college students, I received minimal formal teacher training, and none in addressing cultural pluralism or diversity.⁶ Antiracism and the work of antiracist pedagogy do not come naturally to me but must be learned.

Deciding to approach this task more systematically, I applied for and received a research grant from my institution to study the field of multicultural education. Not surprisingly, some of this literature describes strategies, down to the specifics of curriculum design, for teaching about racism, sexism, heterosexism, and so forth (for example, see Adams, Bell, and Griffin 2007). These materials, however, are intended for discussions in which these issues are the sole focus, whereas I seek also to place racial injustice in theological context, and vice versa (to locate theology in the context of racial injustice). Moreover, the bulk of the literature is rich in theory and anecdotal reports of classroom events, but poor in systematic analysis of specific strategies and experiences.⁷ Barbara Applebaum's comments are atypical only in their directness: "Some may be disappointed . . . because I have not offered any lesson-plans or concrete pedagogical suggestions. There is, however, no formula for how to do [this] pedagogy. I encourage others to share their attempts" (Applebaum 2010, 196–7). I am taking up Applebaum's challenge. I hope others will join me.

I contend that using educational theory to evaluate antiracist pedagogical strategies can render white theologians' efforts more strategic, systematic, and effective.⁸ To make this case, I offer a progress report on my own attempts to implement what is being theorized in the literature on multicultural education, specifically social justice pedagogy.⁹ The argument unfolds in four parts. First, I explain why I personally deem

⁶ In the literature, discussions of teaching theology with attention to racial injustice are scarce. The existing articles (for example, see Andraos 2012; Hill 2005, 2009b; Perkinson 2012; Reddie 2010; Turpin 2008, all published in *Teaching Theology and Religion*) contain mostly anecdotal reflections on various pedagogical strategies the authors or interviewees have tried, usually in seminaries and schools of theology. These thoughtful and thought-provoking discussions generally do not interface substantially with educational theory. However, *Social Justice Education: Inviting Faculty to Transform Their Institutions*, edited by Kathleen Skubikowski, Catharine Wright, and Roman Graf (2009), includes essays discussing innovative implementation of social justice pedagogy in mathematics, foreign language, social science, and writing, much as I aspire to do in theology.

⁷ Ellsworth (1989) stated this critique over twenty years ago in relation to critical pedagogy.

⁸ The literature on multicultural education may also be useful to educators raised in "color conscious" environments (Appiah and Gutmann's [1998] phrase), including most educators of color and a few whites. While of course I cannot speak for them, I suspect that they would tend to need it less than those from "colorblind" backgrounds.

⁹ I use the term "social justice pedagogy" to describe multicultural education approaches that emphasize the urgency of social justice concerns in addition to appreciating the value of diversity. I deploy the phrase "social justice" to signal that important ethical issues are at stake, not to imply that all interested parties would agree on desired outcomes. In the case of racial justice, social science data clearly demonstrate the persistence not only of individual biases but also of quantifiable structural inequities. Accordingly, some might argue that in antiracist pedagogy, it would be appropriate to require of students particular actions, such as participation in a protest, as distinct from observing. I will contend, however, that it is possible – and in college classrooms, necessary – to insist that greater racial justice is needed without predetermining what achieving it would look like. After all, the social, political, historical, and theological complexities of racial injustice preclude simply compiling a to-do list (for example,

it appropriate to practice social justice pedagogy. Second, I describe the students and climate of my institution and discuss strategies I have tried in my courses. Third, I analyze these strategies using some of the relevant literature on multicultural education and social justice pedagogy. Fourth, I explore how certain themes from this literature might further transform my teaching. In conclusion, I discuss several factors that shape attempts to implement antiracist pedagogy. Thus, I demonstrate that knowledge of the literature on multicultural education and social justice pedagogy is indispensable for white college professors who desire to teach effectively about racial justice concerns.

Why Should a Theology Professor Employ Antiracist Pedagogy?

As a white, conventionally trained, Catholic theologian, I have come to believe that it is incumbent on me to invite students explicitly to engage racial justice issues in the classroom. This conviction is informed by the principle that education is always political, by my institution's identity as Roman Catholic, and by my research and teaching in liberation theologies, particularly womanist theologies. Here I comment on these motivators in order to establish the framework for the investigation that follows.

First, contributors to the rich and varied field of educational theory reaching back to W. E. B. Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson have consistently pointed out that there is no such thing as an apolitical classroom.¹⁰ Without rehearsing this history, let me say that I too am convinced that educational realities are inescapably political, including which school a student attends, the resources available at that school, the content of the curriculum, and the pedagogical strategies used to communicate that content. To call these things political is to recognize that they never occur in a vacuum, but always unfold in the context of our larger social world. In any number of disciplines, including my own, syllabi crowded with male European or European-heritage thinkers are considered traditional, even classic. Such syllabi affirm existing social structures of dominance, tacitly if not explicitly,¹¹ and in turn these structures circumscribe both what the learner learns and how effectively she is able to deploy her knowledge in her lifelong endeavors toward her own and others' flourishing. That is, the content and quality of the learner's education directly affects her and others' long-term well-being. Educational choices matter, at every level.

treat everyone the same, object to racist jokes, support affirmative action), as though checking off every item would solve the problem. Antiracist pedagogy, then, is a form of social justice pedagogy that attends to the need for greater racial justice, but without dictating the precise form that justice must take. This restraint is particularly important for white professors, since we typically benefit rather than suffer from racial injustice.

¹⁰ Banks provides a "pioneering" overview of the origins and development of "transformative knowledge and multicultural education" (1996c, ix).

¹¹ In the context of teacher education, Applebaum notes, "Someone can teach about multicultural education from a philosophical perspective with a reading list of almost all white male scholars, and this course will not likely be regarded as biased. Yet a course in which the professor selects a reading list that highlights what scholars of color write on this issue and requires that the students be exposed to scholarship that addresses the ways in which power works and that challenges the 'knowledge' of the

traditional curriculum will often be labeled ‘championing advocacy in the classroom’ or ‘politicized scholarship’ ” (Applebaum 2009, 401).

Thus, I disagree with Fish that “only bad teaching is a political act” (Fish 2008, 70). To argue that higher education should not inculcate values, while ignoring racial inequities persisting not only in society but also at every level of education itself, is disingenuous at best, irresponsible and dangerous at worst.¹² James A. Banks, the contemporary “father of multicultural education,” puts it this way: “Students must become critical consumers of knowledge as well as knowledge producers if they are to acquire the understanding and skills needed to function in the complex and diverse world of tomorrow. Only a critical and transformative multicultural education can prepare them for that world” (Banks 1996b, 22).

Second, I understand my institution’s religious identity to foreground a concern for justice.¹³ Our mission statement declares, “The University of San Diego is a Roman Catholic institution committed to advancing academic excellence, expanding liberal and professional knowledge, creating a diverse and inclusive community, and preparing leaders dedicated to ethical conduct and compassionate service” (University of San Diego, “Mission and Vision Statement”). The emphasis on “community” means that “the University is committed to creating a welcoming, inclusive, and collaborative community accentuated by a spirit of freedom and charity, and marked by protection of the rights and dignity of the individual”; and “compassionate service” means that “the University embraces the Catholic moral and social tradition by its commitment to serve with compassion, to foster peace, and to work for justice. The University regards peace as inseparable from justice and advances education, scholarship, and service to fashion a more humane world” (University of San Diego, “Mission and Vision Statement”). Indeed, USD, while Catholic, declares itself committed to the respectful study of all religions, including as goals productive interreligious dialogue and “cultural equity” (University of San Diego, “Catholic Identity”). USD also states a commitment to Catholic social thought, which is defined as “a rich heritage of wisdom and a living tradition of the Church’s commitment to work for a just and peaceful society” and identified as one of four “strategic directions” for the university (University of San Diego, “Catholic Social Thought”). Although the exact phrase “social justice” does not appear in the mission statement, USD clearly aspires to advance this cause,¹⁴ as does the Catholic Church itself.

¹²For detailed analysis of educational inequities, see Kailin (2002) and Wise (2010, 101–12). Thompson (1997) and Applebaum (2009) argue that responsible education explicitly teaches students to recognize, understand, and think about how to redress the systemic inequalities in U.S. society today. Indeed, Thompson holds that “‘education’ that misprepares students for the actual social conditions that they are likely to encounter” is actually “miseducation,” *à la* Carter G. Woodson (Thompson 1997, 15–16).

¹³Fish might not object here. Having charged with indoctrination a professor who tries to convince his students of the exigency of oppression, Fish notes parenthetically, “It should go without saying that such an accusation would not apply to avowedly sectarian universities; indoctrination in a certain direction is quite properly their business” (2008, 68). I teach at a sectarian institution, and what is more, I teach theology, albeit as an academic discipline and not as catechesis. Yet even if we at sectarian institutions can legitimately strive to cultivate values in our students – and I remain unconvinced that only we should do so – we must still employ a rigorous selection process to choose these values, and consider carefully how best to promote them.

¹⁴USD’s administrators have made much of USD’s designation as an “Ashoka U Changemaker Campus,” celebrating our status as a “hub of social innovation” that is “geared toward improving the human condition” (University of San Diego 2011, 4).

Third, as a Catholic theologian I am deeply concerned with questions about justice and peace. Catholic teaching often links social issues with theological claims. The church teaches, for example, that racism contravenes justice by violating the principles that all human persons are made in the image of God, possess an inviolable dignity, and are members of a common human family (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1979).¹⁵ Pope Paul VI famously said, “If you want peace, work for justice” (1972). In its emphasis on charity and justice, rights and responsibilities, human dignity and the common good, Catholic social teaching exhorts Catholics to follow the example of Jesus who, in his healing and teaching ministry, created a community that made a point of including people society had ignored or discarded. Accordingly, current themes in Catholic social teaching include not only sexual and reproductive issues such as abortion but also war and peace, the economy, immigration, and racism.

As a white Catholic theologian, then, I regularly engage the work of black and womanist¹⁶ theologians as well as other liberationists. Catholic and Protestant womanist thinkers, in particular, articulate a broad call for justice, including racial justice, that is synchronous with Catholic social thought at its best. The U.S. Catholic bishops have emphasized that racism is a sin and have critiqued both individual Catholics and the church’s institutional structures for continuing to commit this sin.¹⁷ The statements of the (mostly white) bishops, however, are generally not as incisive as womanist theologians’ in discussing what this sin means for Christians of various backgrounds or how to cease to commit it.¹⁸ Nevertheless, I experience a great synergy between the inclination of my church toward justice and the work of liberationist thinkers who urge all people and the church toward justice.¹⁹ As I have struggled to teach in an antiracist manner, I have drawn on womanist ethics to develop pedagogical strategies for doing so. Three hallmarks of womanist method stand out for me as I strive to become an antiracist white Catholic theologian and teacher: first, a focus on particularity, attending carefully to personal and social contexts; second, an expansive concern to combat not only racism and sexism but all injustices; and third, a determination to tell the truth about what is going on in society and churches today.

¹⁵ Catholic theologians, including Cassidy and Mikulich (2007, 5) and Massingale (2010, 74), point out that this analysis is quite “thin” in comparison to the bishops’ work on other issues, such as the economy. Tellingly, in a pastoral letter issued five years after *Brothers and Sisters to Us*, the black U.S. bishops mentioned the earlier document only to note that its hopes had gone unfulfilled (Black Catholic Bishops of the United States 1984, 19–20).

¹⁶ Briefly, a womanist is “a black feminist or feminist of color”; Alice Walker crafted the foundational definition of the term (1983, xi–xii).

¹⁷ See especially United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1979. For an overview and discussion of this and other church documents on racism, see Massingale (2010, 43–82). Nothwehr (2008) provides a sweeping view of the Catholic Church’s history on this issue, including substantial excerpts of relevant documents.

¹⁸ For one womanist’s practical advice to white people concerning racism, see Townes (2006, 77–8).

¹⁹ Catholic thinkers who have recently published on racial justice, some of whom are womanists, include Cassidy and Mikulich (2007), Copeland (2002), Hayes (2011), and Massingale (2010).

In all this, I think my heart has been in the right place. Yet good intentions alone accomplish little.²⁰ Having begun to learn about multicultural education, I can say that my approach to antiracist pedagogy, which I now understand as a specific type of social justice pedagogy, has been preliminary and haphazard. I have taken some initial steps, including educating myself about personal and structural racism, diversifying my syllabi to include voices from traditionally underrepresented groups, and introducing the subjects of race and racism as topics appropriate for study in theology courses. While I have consistently worked to improve my methods for presenting and discussing this content, becoming conversant with the literature on multicultural education, especially social justice pedagogy, has opened my eyes to a wider variety of possible strategies.

Initial Attempts at Antiracist Pedagogy

I am young for an academic, being in my late thirties and having begun my first full-time, tenure-track teaching position in 2007. The University of San Diego is a private, Roman Catholic, liberal arts, doctoral institution with an undergraduate population of about 5,500 students. As of this writing, the Department of Theology and Religious Studies, in which I teach, is almost exclusively devoted to the undergraduate core curriculum. Because it is appropriate to my field, and so that all students can succeed without having to endure indoctrination (only about half of USD's undergraduates self-identify as Catholic), I take pains to teach not as a catechist or Bible study facilitator, but as an academic introducing students to a history of ideas, somewhat like philosophy. Most non-Catholic students understand this distinction and proceed through my courses without feeling alienated by the faith-claims that are the subject of investigation.

In terms of diversity, USD resembles other private institutions of similar size.²¹ The fall 2011 entering class was 58 percent female and 42 percent male; our undergraduate student body self-reported as 57 percent white, 17 percent Hispanic/Latino, 6 percent Asian, 2 percent black, 5 percent two or more races, 0 percent American Indian or Alaska Native, 0 percent Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and 6 percent nonresident alien or international (with 6 percent unknown). Eighty-two percent of the faculty are white. USD has an earned reputation for attracting students from wealthy families, but also enrolls a substantial number from less affluent backgrounds. Increased diversity of all types is widely accepted as a goal.

In terms of campus climate, an assortment of student groups is hosted by our United Front Multicultural Center, and in 2010 USD established a Center for Inclusion and Diversity. Moreover, as part of the core curriculum, all undergraduate students must fulfill a diversity (or "D") requirement, which includes taking at least one course in which one-third (or more) of the content concerns the experiences and ideas of traditionally underrepresented U.S. groups. I have consistently assigned readings authored by members of such groups, but because I believe that students should encounter this

²⁰ I am beginning to understand how claiming good intentions protects my cherished image of myself as a "good person," even as I fail to challenge unjust structures (Thompson 2003b; Applebaum 2010).

²¹The statistics in this paragraph, which are rounded to the nearest whole number, are taken from the University of San Diego's internal "Stat Book," maintained by the Office of Institutional Research and Planning and accessible online to USD faculty and staff.

material routinely, I have not requested the “D” designator for my courses. When I raise diversity issues, students are ready to discuss them, albeit surprised to find them highlighted in a theology class.

Initial Strategies

In my teaching so far, I have focused on attempting to model antiracism, rather than on assessing developments in students’ racial attitudes. Accordingly, I have not formulated diversity outcomes for student performance, but have considered my efforts successful when students have been willing to engage the issues. Here are five strategies I have used regularly.

1. *Diversifying the syllabus:* In terms of curricular choices, I have regularly assigned texts by theologians who write explicitly as members of underrepresented groups. This has successfully exposed students to diverse voices. Yet getting students to engage these voices seriously, as distinct from merely becoming aware that they exist, is challenging. This issue will be at the core of my efforts going forward.
2. *Listening and discussion exercise:* To introduce the topics of race and racism, I have had students listen to a story narrated by a young actress and originally aired on National Public Radio’s “This American Life” (National Public Radio 2008). The actress describes working in an upscale toy store’s “doll adoption center,” selling expensive and highly-sought-after dolls that come in white, Asian, Latino/a, and black, and observing white customers’ reactions when the store runs out of white dolls. Being not much younger than the actress and sometimes intimately familiar with low-level retail jobs, students connect with this presentation. Each time I have used it, they have engaged in curious and productive discussions, in particular about how racism is a learned behavior and about whether it is “natural” to prefer to be with people who “look like us.” I believe this success is largely due to the actress’s incisive and appropriate use of humor as she describes a very unhumorous situation.
3. *Self-description:* To encourage students to cultivate their own self-understandings in relation to issues of power and privilege, I present three brief narrative accounts of my own achievements in life: a “bootstraps” version emphasizing how hard I have worked, an “oppressed” version highlighting sexism I have faced, and a “privileged” version exposing some of the unearned advantages I have received. One student remarked, “It never occurred to me that you could be both oppressed and privileged at the same time.” While students always pay attention when I make the subject personal and am willing to self-disclose, they do not necessarily respond by turning the spotlight back on themselves.²²
4. *Data and statistics:* To show that racism is a social or structural problem and not just a question of individual persons with problematic attitudes, I present data from social science research showing that people from nondominant groups regularly experience disadvantages in many areas of society.²³ While some students are readily convinced by this data, others are not. For example, one objected that since

²² On the use of self-disclosure and emotion in the classroom, see Gillespie, Ashbaugh, and DeFiore (2002); hooks (1994).

²³ Online searches quickly locate many relevant studies. I regularly cite Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004), Maldonado (2005–6), and Pager (2003).

black people are “overrepresented” in Hollywood, racism no longer exists. To address such claims, I discuss the concept of tokenism and challenge skeptical students to do their own research and bring it back to the class.

5. “*Freeway metaphor*”: To explain further what I mean by characterizing racism as a social sin for which one can and should take responsibility, I use what I call my “freeway metaphor.” I tell students that enjoying fully all the benefits of membership in U.S. society is like driving on a freeway, which is purportedly open to everyone. Some of us (for example, people of European descent) are already on the freeway, driving at the speed limit. Others of us (for example, people of African descent), for largely historical reasons (this is where the historical and social science data come in), do not have cars, or have cars that do not go fast enough to use the freeway, or are still coming up the on-ramp. Merging into existing traffic may be difficult if the freeway is crowded, yet it is not the responsibility of any single driver on the freeway to make room for the merging driver. It is polite to make room, and may avert an accident, but ultimately it is up to the entering driver to merge safely. If no one on the freeway makes room, however, then while no individual driver is solely responsible, the fact that no new cars can safely enter becomes the fault of all the drivers on the freeway. All become collectively responsible for altering the traffic pattern to facilitate safe entrances for those who also wish to use the freeway. To fail to do so is to perpetuate an unjust situation. Even those in the far left lane, unaware of the would-be merger’s situation, are complicit: they are contributing to maintaining the situation, and thus bear some responsibility for altering it. Students typically find this metaphor helpful in clarifying the concept of structural racism or social sin.

To discover what these strategies do and do not accomplish in terms of antiracist pedagogy, I turn to the literature.

Analyzing the Strategies

The literature on multicultural education and social justice pedagogy falls along a broad spectrum. Pedagogies that try to educate students with an eye to the world in which they will live once they graduate, which – as these pedagogies overtly acknowledge – is the world in which they already do live, go by many names: multicultural education; culturally relevant education; social justice education; antiracist pedagogy; and teaching for diversity, to name only a few. The oldest and broadest descriptor, still very much in use, is multicultural education.²⁴ This multiplication of terms renders the literature somewhat complex to locate and navigate. Many publications on multicultural education and social justice pedagogy appear in venues devoted primarily to education and educational theory, but articles also appear in sociology journals and elsewhere. Much literature deals with elementary and secondary (K–12) education, often with teacher education; a smaller body of literature targets or is written by K–12 teachers trying to implement

²⁴This model has venerable origins in oppressed communities’ efforts to utilize education for their survival, and as such has had the high ambition of equalizing social opportunity more broadly. It is

sometimes used as an umbrella term to describe collectively the various movements listed above. Unless otherwise noted, this is how I use it.

recommended strategies, or inventing their own.²⁵ Relatively few publications address higher education.²⁶

In some circles, multicultural education has come to be seen as passé, inadequate, or misguided. This may be because of the narrow sense in which the term is often employed, as opposed to the broad sense just described. In the narrower sense, multicultural education tries to expose students to the customs and traditions of various cultures, in the hopes that familiarity will breed the opposite of contempt – regard or esteem – or at least a “live-and-let-live” kind of tolerance. Some see this as a watered-down version of what the original multicultural educators had in mind, arguing that it does not sufficiently radicalize students to the reality of the world in which they live. At a basic level, this can represent a failure to teach at all. For example, Julie Kailin describes white elementary school teachers who behave affectionately toward all students and display pictures of black s/heroes such as Martin Luther King Jr. on classroom walls, yet exhibit little facility when it comes to attending to students’ varied needs and talents. Too often, white students thrive while black students are neglected. Kailin calls this “good teachers doing bad things” (2002, 5–12). Surveying the field, she concludes that “approaches to multicultural education continue to be disturbingly superficial” (2002, 63).²⁷ Conversely, critics from the right charge that multicultural education amounts to politically correct pandering to special interest groups, or worse (see Niemonen 2007; Webster 1997). Both types of critic see multicultural education as ineffective, even dangerous. Yet I agree with Banks (1996a, 41) that the fact that multicultural education is not always practiced effectively does not warrant discounting it altogether, but rather indicates the need to keep refining our approaches.

Given the abundance of terms, educational theorists have proposed schemas by which to categorize the various approaches of multicultural education.²⁸ Banks (1996c) presents two. One breaks down “the dimensions of multicultural education” into content integration, knowledge construction, equity pedagogy, prejudice reduction, and an

²⁵ Kailin sets the various approaches to multicultural education in dialogue with antiracist education (2002, 47–64). While Kailin’s research focuses on K–12 teacher education, her holistic approach contextualizes the issues in a manner invaluable for college-level teachers as well.

²⁶ For obvious reasons, this article emphasizes the literature on higher education. Examples include Skubikowski, Wright, and Graf (2009); Adams (1992); Schoem, Frankel, Zuniga, and Lewis (1993); Adams, Bell, and Griffin (2007); and the publications by philosophers of education Thompson and Applebaum, cited throughout this article. Also consider Pence and Fields (1999); Barrish (2002); Gillespie, Ashbaugh, and DeFiore (2002); Bell (2003); the aforementioned articles in *Teaching Theology and Religion* (see note 6 above); and others.

²⁷ Martin Luther King Day and Black History Month are often critiqued as celebrations which commendably introduce black history into the school calendar, but simultaneously keep it contained and separate from the general curriculum. This reinscribes stereotypes of African American history and achievement as limited to experiences of oppression, involving few key actors, and relevant only to black people. For one such critique, see Prashad (2009).

²⁸ Appropriately enough, these schemas take diverse forms. Here are two examples in addition to those discussed in the text. Kailin (2002, 47–9) appeals to G. L. Brandt’s threefold schema describing government approaches to multicultural education as assimilationist, integrationist, and cultural pluralism. Marchesani and Adams (1992; see also Adams and Love 2009) encourage teachers to focus on four interrelated components relevant to social justice education: knowing the students, knowing oneself as teacher, course content, and teaching methods.

empowering school culture (1996d), and the other describes five “types of knowledge”: personal/cultural, popular, mainstream academic, transformative academic, and school (1996b). While Banks’ schemas will be invaluable as I expand my efforts, I find Christine Sleeter and Carl A. Grant’s (2009) schema describing specific teaching approaches most applicable in parsing my attempts.²⁹

Sleeter and Grant describe five different attitudes to multicultural education as it is practiced in the classroom: (1) “teaching the exceptional and culturally different,” seeing minority students as needing to be integrated into “mainstream” society, which is believed to be basically sound; (2) “human relations,” interrupting and reducing overt incidents of intolerance, such as name-calling and racial epithets; (3) “single-group studies,” focusing in depth on a particular perspective, such as black studies or women’s studies; (4) “multicultural education,” treating cultural differences as an asset and working towards more equitable distributions of power within the current system; and (5) “multicultural social justice education,” treating cultural differences as an asset and working to reshape the currently unjust structures of society to empower all people to participate fully. Sleeter and Grant prefer the last approach, which aims to radicalize multicultural education into an activist pedagogy that trains students to recognize and combat various forms of injustice in society, including in their own schools. In distinguishing “social justice” efforts from the others, Sleeter and Grant develop a model whose goals are broadly in line with the aims of what is variously called “social justice education” or “teaching for diversity.” They describe this model as “visionary” (2009, 198).

This schema helps me make sense of what my attempts have and have not accomplished. Like Sleeter and Grant, I reject the first model, the idea that “exceptional and culturally different” students need to be “mainstreamed,” and tend toward the fifth, “multicultural social justice education.” Perhaps most significantly, this schema reveals that diversifying the syllabus is an exposure approach, whether it represents “single-group studies” or more than one group.³⁰ The chief effect of my own syllabus diversification effort has been to make students aware that diversity can affect one’s understanding of Christian symbols and the Christian life; for example, students are intrigued by James H. Cone’s claim that Jesus is black (Cone 1997, 99–126). Such efforts, however, do not automatically translate into “social justice education” or “teaching for diversity” in the sense of empowering students to engage diversity’s challenges productively.

Sleeter and Grant’s schema also helps me to distinguish among presenting material from various groups in a critical and accessible manner (“multicultural education”), dealing with racist or otherwise problematic student comments (“human relations”), and trying to get white students to see how their own racial privilege is illuminated by this material (“multicultural social justice education,” or, in Applebaum’s [2010] phrase, “white complicity pedagogy”).³¹ Playing the radio story, sharing self-narratives,

²⁹ Grant and Sleeter have K–12 education in mind, especially in their volume of curricular suggestions (2008). The approaches discussed here, however, are equally applicable to college-level teaching.

³⁰ Thompson (2002, 439–40) critiques the “exposure approach” in relation to antiracist pedagogy.

³¹ As Rothenberg states, “white privilege is the other side of racism” (2008, 1). I am working to improve my pedagogy around this concept.

presenting social science data, and explaining the freeway metaphor are all ways of showing that U.S. society is structured unjustly, and I have hoped that this knowledge might inspire students to try to do something about it.³² In presenting this material in theology classes, I have aimed to encourage critical reflection on what an adequate Catholic/Christian response (theological, practical, or both) to racism might be.

Thus analyzed, these strategies appear to exhibit rather inchoate and feeble attempts at what Sleeter and Grant call “multicultural social justice education.” It is worth repeating that while I have required students to understand the arguments we consider, I have not graded them on whether they are persuaded. In fact, I have stated repeatedly that they do not have to agree with me or each other about what, if anything, should be done.³³

At this point, a dangerous possibility arises. Having catalogued my efforts, I could congratulate myself for being a “good white person” who is sensitive to diversity issues and nudges her students to think about them. I could decide that is all I can do, indeed more than most (white) people do. It would be easy to ignore the questions lurking in the back of my mind: Should I require, not just encourage, my students to engage questions about racial injustice? and Is it responsible to require students who already “get it” to listen to me trying to persuade students who don’t that race matters? Resisting this temptation, in the next section I turn to thinkers who address such questions head-on, making a compelling case for why a robust form of multicultural education – specifically, antiracist education – is needed and warranted today. Their ideas help me to evaluate my overall approach to antiracist pedagogy.

Rethinking Strategies and Goals

For critiquing my approaches, attitudes, and goals in attempting to employ antiracist pedagogy, the most useful literature I have found is the writing of philosophers of education Barbara Applebaum and Audrey Thompson. Since the 1990s, they have been naming, describing, and evaluating various aspects of antiracist education, especially as it pertains to white teachers and students. Both white, Thompson and Applebaum stand on the shoulders of Paulo Freire, bell hooks, Gloria Ladson-Billings, and others. They do not claim, nor do I claim, to understand social inequities better than theorists of color. Nevertheless, as a white professor with many white students, I find Thompson and Applebaum helpful as “insider” interpreters of the white mind. White people aspiring to antiracism must acknowledge our indebtedness to people of color, but we also need to do some of the work ourselves (see, for example, Harvey, Case, and Gorsline 2004). Given our privileged racial background, we arrive at our commitment to multicultural education differently than our colleagues of color and may experience different challenges in implementing it. Thompson and Applebaum model sophisticated ways for white educators to grapple with the question of why and how we should attempt to teach for justice.

³² I am still working on how to present this material in a way that is equally useful to white students, many of whom are unaware of these dynamics, and students of color, who usually know them well.

³³ I have repeated this assurance in order to keep students' attention. But I may have wrongly conflated engagement and agreement (Applebaum 2010, 91–117); Thompson notes, “Merely catering to students' desire to feel comfortable is not an adequate way to address their discomfort” (2002, 446).

Like the thinkers of color upon whom they depend, Thompson and Applebaum strongly defend the thesis that social justice pedagogy is an imperative in a racialized society. They believe education should require students to face the reality of racialization and empower them to advocate for justice (Thompson 1997; Applebaum 2009, 2010). This systematic defense of social justice pedagogy maintains that one can practice this pedagogy without compromising academic integrity or objectivity (see especially Applebaum 2009), an argument that perhaps only needs to be made to a privileged white audience. While Thompson and Applebaum enumerate relatively few concrete examples and guidelines, they outline a theoretical framework within which it becomes possible to evaluate examples and draft guidelines.

Applebaum wrestles with communicating to students, especially white students, exactly what is amiss in society and why they should be concerned about it. Her elaboration of “white complicity pedagogy” (2010) proposes that white students must be carefully guided to recognize their implication in ongoing systemic injustices, and that this is a necessary step toward dismantling those injustices. This pedagogy aims to show how benefiting from white supremacy is linked to contributing to it; that simply declaring one’s non-support for white supremacy accomplishes very little, although it may bolster one’s sense of oneself as virtuous; that if one is white it is impossible to escape complicity; and that the way forward includes vigilance against denials of complicity. Applebaum shows that approaching such topics directly, and being clear about what is expected, is vital to success.

Thompson’s corpus, also theoretically rich, contains a greater number of practical suggestions. She offers a useful caution in refusing to describe the just society we are seeking. While many proponents of multicultural education appear to presume that the nature of a just society is known,³⁴ Thompson emphasizes that our society is not yet skilled enough at cross-racial or cross-cultural collaboration to determine the specifics of such a vision (see especially Thompson 2003a). Until we reach this point, it reinscribes power and privilege for teachers – who are about 84 percent white in elementary and secondary education, down from 91 percent in 1986 (Feistritzer 2011), and 79 percent white in higher education (National Center for Education Statistics 2011)³⁵ – to take on this task. Instead, Thompson proposes that we train students to think creatively and collaboratively about justice issues, without predetermining what constitutes a good response.

To this end, Thompson advocates performative pedagogy. She encourages teachers to lean less on the knowledge and experiences that students bring into the classroom, and instead transform the classroom into a site where students share new experiences and analyze them collaboratively. This can be done in various ways. One text-based method

³⁴ For example, Kailin does not seek “change for its own sake. The purpose of such change must be to build a more inclusive, democratic, and just society for all. That is the mission of antiracist education” (2002, xv). By not elaborating on what this society would entail, Kailin implies that it is simply obvious.

³⁵ Kailin’s charge that K–12 schools, where people of color are underrepresented in teaching positions and overrepresented in service positions, “are a paradigm of the plantation” (2002, 69), would seem to apply to higher education as well. Yet white teachers are not necessarily less capable of social justice pedagogy than teachers of color; Banks (1996b, 22) points out that “there is enormous diversity among European Americans that is mirrored in the backgrounds of the teacher population, including diversity related to religion, social class, region, and ethnic origin,” implying that this diversity could help to fuel transformative teaching.

is to require students to consider texts against the social backdrop against which they arose and through the perspective, not first of the student who reads the text and reacts to it, but of another established thinker who has grappled with the ideas (Thompson 1997, 34–35). For example, Thompson’s students study the positions taken in the debate between Washington and Du Bois, not as ultimate statements with which to agree or disagree, but as intentional moves against a particular, complex social backdrop. These positions are further illuminated by Toni Morrison or Carter G. Woodson’s interpretations of them. Students work together to make sense of the reasoning behind each perspective.³⁶ A second performative-pedagogy proposal is designed to disrupt dominant “common sense,” the white values often enshrined as part of the educational process. Thompson suggests an immersion model along the lines of foreign language instruction: teaching a class entirely in Black English Vernacular (Thompson 1997, 33). Many professors, myself included, would not actually be able to do this; still, the idea helps to clarify what Thompson has in mind when she advocates performative pedagogy. In these and other ways, Thompson envisions creating shared in-class experiences. By provoking rigorous analysis and discussion, Thompson insists, such experiences can draw students into a subject in which they might not have been interested initially, or might have resisted if faced with it head-on.

Thompson’s strategies have the potential to sidestep common obstacles to teaching for social justice: indifference or resistance from privileged students, for example, or the sense that class members must immediately take sides along “natural” lines of class, race, gender, or sexuality. From her work, I have gleaned a number of principles – cautions, really – that help me critique my efforts. The most significant five, and my reflections, are these:

1. *Stay mindful of context.* Keep in mind the racist structures of society from which students and professor come, in which the institution is embedded, and which shape the classroom unless professor and students work to contravene them (see especially Thompson 1997).³⁷ I have been mindful (in my mind) of society’s

³⁶ At first glance, this suggestion bears a striking resemblance to Fish’s insistence, noted earlier, that unsubstantiated opinions be declared inadmissible in class discussions and only “rational” arguments considered. The vital difference is that Thompson would presumably reject as nonsensical, irresponsible, and dangerous Fish’s notion of “academicizing”: “To academicize a topic is to detach it from the context of its real world urgency, where there is a vote to be taken or an agenda to be embraced, and insert it into a context of academic urgency, where there is an account to be offered or an analysis to be performed” (Fish 2008, 27). Here Applebaum’s distinction between critical thinking and critical pedagogy becomes salient: critical thinking prizes impartiality, rational deliberation, and objectivity traditionally understood, whereas critical pedagogy prizes learning to think outside the box, engaging questions that are often dismissed out of hand because they arise from non-dominant perspectives (Applebaum 2009). Drawing on Nicholas Burbules, Applebaum explains, “For advocates of critical thinking, being impartial is key, and teachers must avoid any advocacy because of the risk of imposing their viewpoint, their values, or their beliefs on their students. Advocates of critical pedagogy, Burbules explains, claim that this ‘impartiality’ functions to support the political status quo that remains as the invisible and uncontested background.... The type of criticality that critical pedagogy promotes involves asking questions that are often not considered possible to think. This type of criticality not only compliments [sic] but also enhances the criticality that critical thinking advocates endorse” (Applebaum 2009, 394). See also Ellsworth’s (1989) critique of critical pedagogy’s reliance on “rationality.”

³⁷ I am rethinking how to present social science data as a result of research by Mazzocco (2006). In attempting to convince college students, who tend to favor “colorblindness,” that it is appropriate and

unjust structures, and have striven to display them to students through the strategies I described previously. But I have not worked to contravene these structures as they manifest in the classroom. I need to think further about this.

2. *Perform, don't preach.* Engage in pedagogy that resembles art or performance, not propaganda, by creating generative in-class experiences that students can analyze together (see especially Thompson 1995; 1997; 2002). Having students listen to the NPR story and presenting narratives describing myself fit here. This helps me to understand why these strategies have worked and to think about creating more such experiences, including with texts.
3. *Leave outcomes open.* Do not pre-emptively specify the outcome, either of any particular student experience or discussion, or of what a post-racist society should look like; allow outcomes to emerge from conversations, and to remain future goals, rather than determining them before students arrive.³⁸ I am definitely guilty of specifying outcomes, although I have not always made them explicit to the students; for example, I have judged my success (as defined earlier) based on whether students have displayed openness to critiquing racial injustice, though, as noted, I have not judged student success (or assigned grades) based on this.
4. *Avoid derailment honestly.* Accept that the process of coming to awareness and facility with issues of racial justice is complex, difficult, and fraught, especially for white students, and do not allow this reality to derail the conversation (see especially Thompson 2002, 446–8; Applebaum 2010, 110–11). I have hesitated to be direct about this for fear of “losing” students. I am now finding that acknowledging it and encouraging students through it prevents at least some from “checking out.”
5. *Remember your limitations.* You too are shaped by racism; don't think of yourself as the exception, the “good white” or “lone hero,” the shining example for your students (Thompson 2003b, 2008). This is an especially important reminder for me; it complements Applebaum's insistence that white people can never escape complicity, though we can try to avoid denying it (2010).

However imperfectly, I am attempting to implement these principles in my teaching. For example, for a recent class session, I had assigned a text by Catholic womanist theologian Diana L. Hayes (2009). In the past, I had begun presenting womanist thinkers by explaining the term “womanist,” and I could always count on some students, usually white, to dismiss them, commenting that since they discuss black women's

necessary to address racial disparities with color-conscious policies, Mazzocco found students needed to grapple with three distinct lines of argument: evidence of current inequalities, explanations of the historical reasons for those inequalities, and a critique of the American notion of meritocracy. If any of these were missing, learners were not convinced, and in some cases their existing beliefs were strengthened. Wise (2010, 167–8) pointed me to Mazzocco's research.

³⁸ Imagine my surprise when, having used my “freeway metaphor” for years and titled this article after it, I discovered Thompson's article “Anti-Racist Work Zones” (2003a), in which she uses the metaphor of a freeway to critique (white) social justice educators' tendency to assume that everyone knows what an egalitarian society would look like. Thompson argues that to talk as though we all know where we are going is disingenuous at best and an abuse of power at worst, since interracial relations have yet to develop to the point where we could discuss how to structure a post-racist society. While I have used my “freeway metaphor” to discuss getting everyone onto the freeway, as distinct from getting to a particular destination, I will be more cautious with it in the future.

experiences, their ideas are irrelevant to other groups.³⁹ In this session, however, I presented Hayes first as a Catholic theologian whose essay exemplifies the officially sanctioned Catholic method of biblical interpretation, and only then went on to explain how her interpretation is also “womanist.” This time, I encountered no overt resistance. Students asked how Hayes’s ideas could apply to non-African American groups, but as a question, not a criticism. We began discussing the insidious use to which European-descended slave owners had put the biblical story of the “curse of Ham” (Genesis 9:18–27): to justify enslaving black Africans on the grounds that Egyptians were the descendants of the accursed grandson of Noah. One student asked, “But how did they know which part of Africa to get the slaves from?” Another replied, “They didn’t. It wasn’t based on logic.” Although I had not insisted we discuss racial justice issues, the material induced the students to consider them, with curiosity rather than defensiveness. Almost inadvertently, I did what Thompson urges: created an experience with a text where the students grappled with serious issues, while doing an end-run around the hang-ups that students often bring into such a conversation. A subtle change in my approach made a significant difference.

Conclusion: A Different Kind of Conversation

My research and experiences persuade me that my initial approach to antiracist pedagogy – trying to sneak it in the back door and hoping to convince students before they notice what I am doing⁴⁰ – has been largely ineffective. In fact, insofar as it generates student resentment, it is counter-productive. Slowly but surely, therefore, I am altering the way I teach. These changes feel frustratingly minute and excruciatingly gradual. As a privileged white person, I have discovered no shortcuts, either to understanding the need for antiracist pedagogy or to enacting it in the classroom.

This is a complex and daunting task, risky to be sure. But given the social, political, and economic functions of higher education in U.S. society,⁴¹ failing to undertake it means actively participating in perpetuating unjust systems. Consider this observation by ethicist Jack A. Hill:

When I began teaching at TCU in 2000, I quickly became aware of a disjunction between the school’s stated mission of ‘educating ethical leaders and responsible citizens for a global community’ and what we professors were actually doing: namely, providing largely white, upper middle class consumers with the skills to

³⁹ As noted, USD enrolls very few black students; I have taught one or two per class, sometimes none.

⁴⁰ I see myself reflected in Bartky’s frank description of her efforts to get students to engage sexism as “‘seductive,’ that is, I try to charm students into liking me so they will like the course, hence take seriously my invitation both to learn something new and in the course of this learning, to subject received opinion to critical scrutiny” (Bartky 2002, 13). Thompson calls this the “charismatic” approach (2002, 442–3).

⁴¹ See Robert Jensen (2005, 20–22) and Patricia J. Williams (1997, 54–55) on how the Greek system both perpetuates racial segregation and produces a huge proportion of our national leaders, including presidents, congresspersons, Supreme Court justices, and CEOs; and Tim Wise (2010, 101–

112) on racial inequities in K–12 education, the quality of which, of course, profoundly shapes students' access to and success in higher education.

carve out for themselves a comfort zone at the center of an otherwise fractious and threatening world. (2009a, 2)

Teaching and learning never occur in a socio-political vacuum. Yet, even once a professor realizes this and resolves to act, factors beyond her personal motivation, knowledge, and skill set will shape her efforts profoundly. Hill's account foregrounds at least three such factors: institutional orientation, faculty commitment, and student disposition.

Some scholars consider institutional support for social justice pedagogy to be crucial. As noted, Banks (1996d) identifies "an empowering school culture and social structure" as a dimension of successful multicultural education. Likewise, describing Middlebury College's decades-long quest to become a "social justice institution," Skubikowski emphasizes that

the socially just classroom needs a socially just academy in order to flourish. Faculty will take pedagogical risks in supportive environments. [M]any faculty feel vulnerable in their efforts to teach social inequity or to try new engaged pedagogies, and they need communication, development, and support. (2009, 97)

Such resources, however, may or may not exist, and some scholars proceed without a guarantee of institutional support. For example, Kuecker shows that allowing his work as an activist to inform his teaching and scholarship is an ongoing struggle because his university, like most, is set up to preclude solidarity with people on the ground: it is an "ivory tower," a place where the pursuit of objectivity is protected from the real world (Kuecker 2009, 47). Consequently, Kuecker believes that to be an "academic activist," one must either eliminate the borders between academy and society or engage in radical pedagogy (2009, 50). Changing an institution takes time, whereas individuals can alter their pedagogical strategies more quickly.⁴²

Still, as Hill notes, most college professors do not emphasize grappling with social justice issues as a primary goal for their students. Institutions that declare a commitment to justice as part of their mission often do not require that this concern be taken up in the classroom. At USD, we are currently rethinking how to educate students for diversity, and it is difficult to build consensus around proposed changes. While my institution has supported my research in this area, I have done it largely on my own. It would certainly be easier to hone antiracist pedagogical strategies in a local community of like-minded colleagues.

Thinking across the academy, it is not clear that most professors, even if willing, would be prepared to implement social justice pedagogies. Many know little about them, and to learn takes time and effort. Furthermore, the ability to implement these pedagogies effectively is not only a question of gaining knowledge. While racial identity development theories, such as those described by Helms (2008) and Hardiman and Jackson (1992), have their limitations (see Thompson 2003b, 14–15), they do show that people move through stages of awareness of personal and structural racism. Some white

⁴² Getting out ahead of one's institution in social justice education can be risky; "radical pedagogy" is not typical pedagogy. Kuecker's institution supports him in the episode he describes, but such stories do not always end thus.

people never do gain much understanding. When educators, including liberal educators, “have not yet developed a critical consciousness about power relationships and institutional oppression or the ability to offer more equitable alternatives,” they “are not ready to be teaching about social justice” (Goodman 2001, 172).

Once the work begins, challenges abound. Many students, especially whites, strenuously resist the idea that the comfort zone to which Hill refers is ill-gotten or illusory, while some welcome it.⁴³ What’s more, professors who want to teach about social justice sometimes exhibit the same avoidance tactics as students (Turpin 2008, 146), perhaps because unsettling feelings of “culture shock,” “self-shock,” and being a “sojourner” arise when a professor of privileged background begins addressing bias in the classroom (Weinstein and Obear 1992, 39–50). Successfully negotiating these intellectual, emotional, and spiritual dynamics requires hard work and the willingness to make, admit, and learn from mistakes.

For myself, I expect implementing antiracist pedagogy to be a career-long process. Keeping this in mind, the next phase of my efforts is coalescing around a new lower-division theology course I am developing. This course affords me an opportunity to synthesize these issues in an explicit and sustained manner. Entitled “Racial Justice: Catholic Perspectives,”⁴⁴ the course functions as an introduction to Catholic theology that considers questions about racial justice rigorously and systematically, as germane to the subject. I am experimenting with applying Banks’ (1996b) “types of knowledge” schema to the course’s theological content. Assignments and learning outcomes will require students to engage racial justice questions actively throughout the course. I am applying to have USD’s diversity designation appended to the course number, so that students can anticipate and receive credit for the work we will do. I hope to begin facilitating a qualitatively different kind of conversation in the classroom, to keep open the possibility of white antiracist pedagogy.

Bibliography

- Adams, Maurianne, ed. 1992. “Promoting Diversity in College Classrooms: Innovative Responses for the Curriculum, Faculty, and Institutions.” *New Directions for Teaching and Learning* 52. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass.
- Adams, Maurianne, Lee Anne Bell, and Pat Griffin, eds. 2007. *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice, Second Edition*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Adams, Maurianne, and Barbara J. Love. 2009. “A Social Justice Education Faculty Development Framework for a Post-Grutter Era.” In *Social Justice Education*:

⁴³Turpin (2008) identifies dynamics that emerge when teaching about social justice to students with a significant degree of privilege. For discussions of student feedback, see also Applebaum (2009, 395, 401), as well as Jones’ (1999) analysis of an attempt to redress power dynamics by separating dominant and nondominant students. Again, I am reminded that as a white person, I have the dubious privilege of being able to decide whether I think antiracism and antiracist pedagogy are important, with little obvious cost to myself if I conclude they are not.

⁴⁴This title is inspired by Massingale (2010), a core text for the course.

- Inviting Faculty to Transform Their Institutions*, ed. Kathleen Skubikowski, Catharine Wright, and Roman Graf, 3–25. Sterling, Va.: Stylus.
- Andraos, Michel Elias. 2012. “Engaging Diversity in Teaching Religion and Theology: An Intercultural, De-colonial Epistemic Perspective.” *Teaching Theology and Religion* 15, no. 1: 3–15.
- Appiah, K. Anthony, and Amy Gutmann. 1998. *Color Conscious: The Political Morality of Race*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Applebaum, Barbara. 2009. “Is Teaching for Social Justice a ‘Liberal Bias’?” *Teachers College Record* 111, no. 2: 376–408.
- Applebaum, Barbara. 2010. *Being White, Being Good: White Complicity, White Moral Responsibility, and Social Justice Pedagogy*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington.
- Banks, James A. 1996a. “The African American Roots of Multicultural Education.” In *Multicultural Education, Transformative Knowledge, and Action: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. James A. Banks, 30–45. New York, N.Y.: Teachers College Press.
- Banks, James A. 1996b. “The Canon Debate, Knowledge Construction, and Multicultural Education.” In *Multicultural Education, Transformative Knowledge, and Action: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. James A. Banks, 3–29. New York, N.Y.: Teachers College Press.
- Banks, James A, ed. 1996c. *Multicultural Education, Transformative Knowledge, and Action: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Multicultural Education Series. New York, N.Y.: Teachers College Press.
- Banks, James A. 1996d. “Transformative Knowledge, Curriculum Reform, and Action.” In *Multicultural Education, Transformative Knowledge, and Action: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. James A. Banks, 335–48. New York, N.Y.: Teachers College Press.
- Barrish, Phillip. 2002. “The Secret Joys of Antiracist Pedagogy: Huckleberry Finn in the Classroom.” *American Imago* 59, no. 2: 117–39.
- Bartky, Sandra Lee. 2002. *“Sympathy and Solidarity” and Other Essays*. Feminist Constructions. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Bell, Lee Anne, 2003. “Telling Tales: what stories can teach us about racism.” *Race Ethnicity and Education* 6, no. 3: 3–28.
- Bertrand, Marianne, and Sendhil Mullainathan. 2004. “Are Emily and Greg More Employable Than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination.” *American Economic Review* 94, no. 4: 991–1013.

- Black Catholic Bishops of the United States. 1984. *“What We Have Seen and Heard”:
A Pastoral Letter on Evangelization from the Black Bishops of the United States.*
Cincinnati, Ohio: St. Anthony Messenger Press.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2006. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Per-
sistence of Racial Inequity in the United States, Second Edition.* Lanham, Md.:
Rowman & Littlefield.
- Cassidy, Laurie M., and Alex Mikulich, eds. 2007. *Interrupting White Privilege: Catho-
lic Theologians Break the Silence.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis.
- Cone, James H. 1997. *God of the Oppressed.* Revised edition. Maryknoll, N.Y.:
Orbis.
- Copeland, M. Shawn. 2002. “Racism and the Vocation of the Christian Theologian.”
Spiritus 2: 15–29.
- De la Torre, Miguel, and Stacey M. Floyd-Thomas, eds. 2011. *Beyond the Pale:
Reading Theology from the Margins.* Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John
Knox.
- Ellsworth, Elizabeth. 1989. “Why Doesn’t This Feel Empowering? Working Through
the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy.” *Harvard Educational Review* 59, no. 3:
297–324.
- Feistritzer, C. Emily. 2011. *Profile of Teachers in the U. S. 2011.* With Stephen Griffin
and Alice Linnajarvi. Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Information.
<http://www.ncei.com/index.html> (accessed October 19, 2010).
- Fish, Stanley. 2008. *Save the World on Your Own Time.* New York, N.Y.: Oxford Uni-
versity Press.
- Gillespie, Diane, Leslie Ashbaugh, and JoAnn DeFiore. 2002. “White Women Teaching
White Women about White Privilege, Race Cognizance and Social Action: Toward a
Pedagogical Pragmatics.” *Race Ethnicity and Education* 5, no. 3: 237–253.
- Goodman, Diane J. 2001. *Promoting Diversity and Social Justice: Educating People
from Privileged Groups.* Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Grant, Carl A., and Christine E. Sleeter. 2008. *Turning on Learning: Five Approaches
for Multicultural Teaching Plans for Race, Class, Gender and Disability, 5th Edition.*
Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons.
- Hardiman, Rita, and Bailey W. Jackson. 1992. “Racial Identity Development: Under-
standing Racial Dynamics in College Classrooms and On Campus.” In *Promoting
Diversity in College Classrooms: Innovative Responses for the Curriculum,
Faculty, and Institutions*, ed. Maurianne Adams, 21–37. San Francisco, Calif.:
Jossey-Bass.

- Harvey, Jennifer, Karin A. Case, and Robin Hawley Gorsline, eds. 2004. *Disrupting White Supremacy from Within: White People on What WE Need to Do*. Foreword by Dwight N. Hopkins. Cleveland, Ohio: Pilgrim.
- Hayes, Diana L. 2009. "Faith of Our Mothers: Catholic Womanist God-Talk." In *Uncommon Faithfulness: The Black Catholic Experience*, ed. M. Shawn Copeland with LaReine-Marie Mosely, S.N.D., and Albert J. Raboteau, 129–146. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis.
- Hayes, Diana L. 2011. *Standing in the Shoes My Mother Made: A Womanist Theology*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress.
- Helms, Janet E. 2008. *A Race is a Nice Thing to Have: A Guide to Being a White Person or Understanding the White Persons in Your Life, 2nd Edition*. Hanover, Mass.: Microtraining Associates.
- Hill, Jack A. 2005. "Teaching for Transformation: Insights from Fiji, India, South Africa, and Jamaica." *Teaching Theology and Religion* 8, no. 4: 218–231.
- Hill, Jack A. 2009a. "The Academy and the Marketplace: In Search of Radical Pedagogies." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Values in Higher Education, Elmhurst, Ill.
- Hill, Jack A. 2009b. "Fighting the Elephant in the Room: Ethical Reflections on White Privilege and Other Systems of Advantage in the Teaching of Religion." *Teaching Theology and Religion* 12, no. 1: 3–23.
- hooks, bell. 1994. *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Jensen, Robert. 2005. *The Heart of Whiteness: Confronting Race, Racism, and White Privilege*. San Francisco, Calif.: City Lights.
- Jones, Alison. 1999. "The Limits of Cross-Cultural Dialogue: Pedagogy, Desire, and Absolution in the Classroom." *Educational Theory* 49, no. 3: 299–316.
- Kailin, Julie. 2002. *Antiracist Education: From Theory to Practice*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Kuecker, Glen David. 2009. "Academic Activism and the Socially Just Academy." In *Social Justice Education: Inviting Faculty to Transform Their Institutions*, ed. Kathleen Skubikowski, Catharine Wright, and Roman Graf, 42–55. Sterling, Va.: Stylus.
- Maldonado, Solangel. 2005–6. "Discouraging Racial Preferences in Adoptions." *UC Davis Law Review* 39, no. 4:1415–1480.
- Marchesani, Linda S., and Maurianne Adams. 1992. "Dynamics of Diversity in the Teaching-Learning Process: A Faculty Development Model for Analysis and Action."

- In *Promoting Diversity in College Classrooms: Innovative Responses for the Curriculum, Faculty, and Institutions*, ed. Maurianne Adams, 9–20. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass.
- Massingale, Bryan N. 2010. *Racial Justice and the Catholic Church*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis.
- Mazzocco, Philip. 2006. “The Dangers of *Not* Speaking about Race: A Summary of Research Affirming the Merits of a Color-Conscious Approach to Racial Communication and Equity.” Ohio State University: Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity. <http://www.racialequitytools.org/resourcefiles/mazzocco.pdf> (accessed October 19, 2013).
- National Center for Education Statistics. 2011. “Postsecondary Education (Chapter 3).” *Digest of Education Statistics: 2010* (NCES 2011-015: April). <http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d10/index.asp> (accessed October 19, 2013).
- National Public Radio. 2008. “Matchmakers, Act III: Babies Buying Babies.” Narrated by Elna Baker. *This American Life* 347 (January 18). Hosted and produced by Ira Glass. <http://www.thisamericanlife.org/radio-archives/episode/347/matchmakers> (accessed October 19, 2013).
- Niemonen, Jack. 2007. “Antiracist Education in Theory and Practice: A Critical Assessment.” *The American Sociologist* 38, no. 2: 159–177.
- Nothwehr, Dawn M. 2008. *That They May Be One: Catholic Social Teaching on Racism, Tribalism, and Xenophobia*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis.
- Pager, Devah. 2003. “The Mark of a Criminal Record.” *American Journal of Sociology* 108, no. 5: 937–975.
- Paul VI (pope). 1972. “Message of His Holiness Pope Paul VI for the Celebration of the Day of Peace, 1 January 1972: If You Want Peace, Work for Justice.” http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/messages/peace/documents/hf_p-vi_mes_19711208_v-world-day-for-peace_en.html (accessed October 19, 2013).
- Pence, Dan J., and J. Arthur Fields. 1999. “Teaching about Race and Ethnicity: Trying to Uncover White Privilege for a White Audience.” *Teaching Sociology* 27, no. 2: 150–158.
- Perkinson, James W. 2012. “Pedagogy Beyond Piracy: Un-Learning the White Body to Recreate a Body of Learning.” *Teaching Theology and Religion* 15, no. 4: 323–337.
- Prashad, Vijay. 2009. “On Commitment: Considerations on Political Activism on a Shocked Planet.” In *Social Justice Education: Inviting Faculty to Transform Their Institutions*, ed. Kathleen Skubokowski, Catharine Wright, and Roman Graf, 117–127. Sterling, Va.: Stylus.

- Reddie, Anthony G. 2010. "Teaching for Racial Justice: A Participative Approach." *Teaching Theology and Religion* 13, no. 2: 95–109.
- Rothenberg, Paula S., ed. 2008. *White Privilege: Essential Readings on the Other Side of Racism, Third Edition*. New York, N.Y.: Worth.
- Scheid, Anna Floerke, and Elisabeth T. Vasko, 2014. "Teaching Race: Pedagogical Challenges in Predominantly White Undergraduate Theology Classrooms." *Teaching Theology and Religion* 17, no. 1: 27–45.
- Scheid, Anna Floerke, Elisabeth T. Vasko, and Karen Teel. 2014. "Responses: Toward an Antiracist Pedagogy." *Teaching Theology and Religion* 17, no. 1: 46–49.
- Schoem, David, Linda Frankel, Ximena Zuniga, and Edith A. Lewis, eds. 1993. *Multicultural Teaching in the University*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Skubikowski, Kathleen. 2009. "Beyond Diversity: Social Justice Across the Curriculum." In *Social Justice Education: Inviting Faculty to Transform Their Institutions*, ed. Kathleen Skubikowski, Catharine Wright, and Roman Graf, 87–99. Sterling, Va.: Stylus.
- Skubikowski, Kathleen, Catharine Wright, and Roman Graf, eds. 2009. *Social Justice Education: Inviting Faculty to Transform Their Institutions*. Sterling, Va.: Stylus.
- Sleeter, Christine E., and Carl A. Grant. 2009. *Making Choices for Multicultural Education: Five Approaches to Race, Class, and Gender, Sixth Edition*. Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley and Sons.
- Thompson, Audrey. 1995. "Anti-Racist Pedagogy – Art or Propaganda?" In *Philosophy of Education: 1995*, ed. Alven Neiman, 130–141. Urbana, Ill.: Philosophy of Education Society.
- Thompson, Audrey. 1997. "For: Anti-Racist Education." *Curriculum Inquiry* 27, no. 1: 7–44.
- Thompson, Audrey. 2002. "Entertaining Doubts: Enjoyment and Ambiguity in White, Antiracist Classrooms." In *Passion and Pedagogy: Relation, Creation, and Transformation in Teaching*, ed. Elijah Miorchnik and Debora C. Sherman, 431–452. New York, N.Y.: Peter Lang.
- Thompson, Audrey. 2003a. "Anti-Racist Work Zones." In *Philosophy of Education: 2003*, ed. Kal Alston, 387–395. Urbana, Ill.: Philosophy of Education Society.
- Thompson, Audrey. 2003b. "'Tiffany, Friend of People of Color': White Investments in Antiracism." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 16, no. 1: 7–29.
- Thompson, Audrey. 2008. "Resisting the 'Lone Hero' Stance." In *Everyday Antiracism: Getting Real about Race in School*, ed. Mica Pollock, 328–333. New York, N.Y.: New Press.

- Townes, Emilie M. 2006. *Womanist Ethics and the Cultural Production of Evil*. New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Turpin, Katherine. 2008. "Disrupting the Luxury of Despair: Justice and Peace Education in Contexts of Relative Privilege." *Teaching Theology and Religion* 11, no. 2: 141–152.
- United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. 1979. *Brothers and Sisters to Us: U. S. Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter on Racism*. <http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/cultural-diversity/african-american/brothers-and-sisters-to-us.cfm> (accessed October 19, 2013).
- University of San Diego. 2011. "Changemakers: What Ashoka Means to the University." Interview with Patricia Marquez and Chris Nayve. *USD Magazine* (Fall): 4–5. http://catcher.sandiego.edu/items/marketing/USD_Mag_Fall2011.pdf (accessed October 19, 2013).
- University of San Diego. "Catholic Identity." http://www.sandiego.edu/about/catholic_identity.php (accessed October 19, 2013).
- University of San Diego. "Catholic Social Thought." <http://www.sandiego.edu/cst> (accessed October 19, 2013).
- University of San Diego. "Mission and Vision Statement." http://www.sandiego.edu/about/mission_and_vision.php (accessed October 19, 2013).
- University of San Diego. "Stat Book." Office of Institutional Research and Planning. <http://www.sandiego.edu/irp/internal/statbook/> (accessed October 19, 2013).
- Walker, Alice. 1983. *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt.
- Webster, Yehudi O. 1997. *Against the Multicultural Agenda: A Critical Thinking Alternative*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Weinstein, Gerald, and Kathy Obeare. 1992. "Bias Issues in the Classroom: Encounters with the Teaching Self." In *Promoting Diversity in College Classrooms: Innovative Responses for the Curriculum, Faculty, and Institutions*, ed. Maurianne Adams, 39–50. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass.
- Williams, Patricia J. 1997. *Seeing a Color-Blind Future: The Paradox of Race*. New York, N.Y.: Noonday.
- Wise, Tim. 2010. *Colorblind: The Rise of Post-Racial Politics and the Retreat from Racial Equity*. San Francisco, Calif.: City Lights.

Copyright of Teaching Theology & Religion is the property of Wiley-Blackwell and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.

Antiracist Pedagogy: **Definition, Theory, Purpose and Professional Development**

A L D A M . B L A K E N E Y

Kennesaw State University

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to define Antiracist Pedagogy and establish it within the sociological framework of Critical Theory. Antiracist Pedagogy is a paradigm located within Critical Theory utilized to explain and counteract the persistence and impact of racism. This paper indicates the need for the establishment of Antiracist Pedagogy within the school curriculum as well as the necessary professional development required to implement Antiracist Pedagogy effectively.

Definition

Antiracist Pedagogy is a paradigm located within Critical Theory utilized to explain and counteract the persistence and impact of racism using praxis as its focus to promote social justice for the creation of a democratic society in every respect.

Antiracist Pedagogy and Multicultural Education are frequently interchanged; however, upon examining the three major models of Multicultural Education (Kailin, 2002): the Assimilationist Model, the Integrationist Model and the Cultural Pluralism Model. Antiracist Pedagogy distinguishes itself critically from Multicultural Education. The Assimilationist Model provides for the merging of immigrants into American culture based on the melting pot theory; however, the distinguishing characteristic of color makes this unacceptable for people of color. The basis of the Integrationist Model is the provision of opportunity for participating in American society; however, this model fails to address the problem of racism's impact on opportunity. The basis of The Cultural Pluralism Model is mutual accommodation for the goal of

productivity, which proceeds to assimilation; however, with regard to people of color, theories associated with cultural depravity surface to explain their failure to follow the socioeconomic patterns of upward mobility. Antiracist pedagogy is expansive enough to include what each of the three models of Multicultural Education excludes. In order for one to assimilate into a society via the Assimilationist Model, one must adopt the racial identity of the dominant culture. When the dominant culture is physically similar, as is the case with European immigrants, the task is possible; however, it is never without the cost of losing cultural customs and traditions and nearly impossible for people of color. The distinguishing feature of color always remains. The distinguishing characteristic of color does not limit Antiracist Pedagogy, and it deals specifically and directly with the problem of racism.

Antiracist Pedagogy makes provision for understanding the impact of race on opportunity as well as the cultural differences associated with upward mobility patterns by focusing on the constructs of these inequalities. Antiracist Pedagogy also addresses the historical constructs that facilitate inequalities and seeks to create an antiracist paradigm that in time will serve to historically condition a new antiracist society. Antiracist Pedagogy includes explicit instruction on confronting racism without reservation or risk of ostracism, both of which are necessary in a society that mandates the purpose of public education as the production of democratic citizenry. Antiracist Pedagogy aims at transformation by challenging the individual as well as the structural system that perpetuates racism (Kailin, 2002). Antiracist Pedagogy avoids a perspective that views the issues and concerns of the group from a holistic perspective due to the intricacies and uniqueness of issues and concerns of each group.

Theoretical Perspective

Antiracist Pedagogy is born out of social oppression and the inability of current social theory to improve the resulting oppression, which requires interpretation from the Critical Theory perspective of sociology. Antiracist pedagogy assists in the elimination of social oppression through the revelation of its oppressive nature, which is in keeping with the goal of Critical Theory. Critical Theory draws on the methods of interpretative theory as well. According to interpretive theory, indi-

viduals act and interact based on perceived meaning; therefore, one cannot expect the elimination of racist behavior without a change in perceived meaning. Antiracist pedagogy has the potential to cause a paradigm shift, which will facilitate a change in perceived meaning. The works of Apple (1979, 2000), Dewey (1987), Freire (1994, 2000) and Giroux (1983, 1992) are prominent in Antiracist Pedagogy.

Antiracist Pedagogy is born out of the meshing of Multicultural Education and Critical Pedagogy. This meshing creates a framework, which allows for the development of ideology associated with Antiracist Pedagogy. The type of ideology associated with Antiracist Pedagogy provides a method for addressing race, ethnicity, power and class. Such an ideology becomes a reflection of an individual consciousness relative to the dynamics of a racist society. In addition, ideology associated with Antiracist Pedagogy reveals the creators of racist ideologies, how long they prevail and whom they serve. The ideology of Antiracist Pedagogy is a tool for analysis, which helps to identify the principles of structure that allow individuals to navigate between the dominant society and daily life events. The ideology of Antiracist Pedagogy has, as its basis the development of consciousness related to how society operates with regard to race. Development of this consciousness is the result of an in-depth comprehension of the impact of racism and the experiences of racism. This also allows for the development of a voice for expressing the impact of racism, which in turn allows analysis of racism.

Freire's conscientization is a level of consciousness that allows you to see yourself as part of the world community. As a member of the world community, you are compelled to transform the world for the betterment of all world citizens. Antiracist Pedagogy allows one to act on the world in an effective manner that yields transformation of the world. Transformation is accomplished through reflection and action, praxis (Freire, 2000). This transformation yields a level of consciousness that culturally and historically conditions the members of the society. The effectiveness of this cultural and historical conditioning results in varying levels of consciousness. Antiracist Pedagogy is also a form of problem-posing education as outlined by Freire (2000) based on praxis and critical perception of reality being dynamic and responsive to transformation. This critical perception of reality is driven by dialogue that "awakens awareness" (p. 127) thereby creating knowledge that is a critical perception of reality capable of explaining reality

(Freire, 1994). Antiracist Pedagogy is a reflection of the oppression defined by the oppressed that allows for a change in the reality of oppression by those impacted negatively by its resulting racism. Praxis on racism takes place among the members within the context of the society resulting in the revelation of the critical perception of the racist society. The resulting knowledge explains and most importantly transforms the society through antiracist behaviors. Praxis on racism allows for the development of levels of consciousness that result in varying levels of antiracist behaviors among the members of the society. Antiracist behaviors allows for historical and cultural transformation of the world theoretically. Antiracist Pedagogy can produce such a transformation, a paradigm shift, resulting in various levels of consciousness that allow members of society to exhibit varying levels of antiracist behaviors; thereby, creating an antiracist paradigm.

Antiracist Pedagogy challenges the individual to take on a Deweyan perspective regarding democracy through inquiry, experimentation and reflection; thereby, providing the opportunity to make changes based on current conditions (Thompson, 2002). Inquiry and experimentation represent action and when coupled with reflection represent praxis. Antiracist pedagogy allows for the consideration of the perspectives of others within their current context, which in turn creates a broadened knowledge base of others and identifies common interests, which is indicative of democratic citizenry. This Deweyan perspective is reflective of the problem-posing educational nature of Antiracist Pedagogy where praxis and the critical perception of reality combine to transform that reality based on the expanded, shared knowledge base and the current conditions.

Purpose and Necessity

Several prevailing catalysts within society, which perpetuate racism and its impact, support the need for Antiracist Pedagogy. These catalysts are opportunities for implementation of Antiracist Pedagogy. Each catalyst provides opportunity for praxis, conscientization and transformation within the context of problem-posing education from the perspective of the oppressed. These catalysts raise the level of consciousness for the oppressed demonstrating Freire's conscientization,

which allows the oppressed to perceive themselves as world citizens and compels the oppressed to act for transformation of the world

Types of Racism as Catalysts

Tatum (1999) defines aversive racism as a form of subtle racism composed of stereotypes and racial biases. Aversive racism in education manifests itself as institutional racism observed in selection of curriculum and teachers; tracking or categorization of students from racially marginalized groups in special education classes at a disproportionate number; and, teaching practices and expectations. Negative images of people of color displayed in popular culture create institutional racism according to Kailin (2002). This type of institutional racism creates a perception of targeted groups as disadvantaged and subject to negative outcomes, which intensify and support racism. These conduits of racism systematically and effectively exclude students from educational opportunities and its concomitant benefits (Irvine, 1991). Presented in a problem-posing context, examples of these types of racism allow for praxis, conscientization and transformation.

Cultural Discontinuity as a Catalyst

Asante (as cited in Irvine, 1991) describes cultural discontinuity as resulting when the cultures of students of color do not match the predominantly-Eurocentric school culture. This mismatch causes clashes of verbal and nonverbal communication resulting in misinterpretation and misunderstanding between teachers and students. Merton (as cited in Irvine) describes self-fulfilling prophecy as the bringing to fruition a false definition based on a communicated expectation; thereby, making the false definition true. Merton believes this concept exists due to structural components of society. In a problem-posing context, members of different cultures view examples of verbal and nonverbal communication from other cultures. These meanings discussed and interpreted through the lens of each culture restructure the structural components of society to create an antiracist self-fulfilling prophecy through praxis, conscientization and transformation.

Perspectives of Race as Catalysts

Banks, Fordham, and Ogbu (as cited in Carter & Goodwin, 1994) purport the significance of race in education from three perspectives. Banks indicates that effective integration of culture and ethnicity into the curriculum can only occur through confronting race and implementing strategies that change negative attitudes towards race. Fordham indicates that students must choose between race and academic success due to the perception that academic success indicates abandonment of racial integrity for whiteness. Ogbu declares that the caste-like status of race is an obstacle to academic success based on the perception that race reflects academic ability. Each of these perspectives is an opportunity for posing problems within context. The impact of negative perspectives on race within a problem-posing context also allow for praxis, conscientization and transformation of negative perspectives to positive perspectives.

Issues and Concerns about Race as Catalysts

Dilg (1999) describes the effect of a course designed to address culture and race on adolescents. The outcomes indicate that adolescents have the desire to know and understand the issues surrounding culture and race. She also indicates that this type of study is “complex, difficult, awkward, painful, and in many ways unfamiliar” (p. 98), but necessary for psychological and social development and commitment to social justice. For example, racial and cultural issues experienced by adolescents represent problems posed within context and allow for a very natural flow of praxis, conscientization and transformation of issues surrounding race and culture. Adolescents would address these issues using praxis. Praxis typically results in consciousness raising, which reflects psychological and social development. Commitment to social justice is a manifestation of conscientization, as it would demonstrate their transformative response to their racial and cultural issues.

Demographics as Catalysts

Rosenberg (1998) indicates a pressing need for Antiracist Pedagogy given the demographics of education. The population of school children is becoming increasingly diverse while the racial composition of

preservice teachers is 90% white. Houston, Ligon, and Rosodo (1998) Houston et al., (1998) indicate that ignoring race instructionally or relationally or focusing exclusively on race can result in under achievement. The effect of these teachers given their white dominant perspective is undeterminable for the diverse populations they will be instructing. For example, what happens when a well-intentioned teacher with a white dominant perspective chooses to ignore race, does she not in effect ignore a part of who the student is? Students may perceive such an attitude as an indicator of their cultural deprivation or incapacity for upward social mobility. Demographics too represent problems posed within context and allow for a very natural flow for praxis, conscientization and transformation. Through praxis, conscientization and transformation teachers can develop attitudes that better support students within their cultural contexts. For example, the teacher presents the current demographics to students in a diverse classroom and explains that her goal is for everyone to function optimally in this diverse setting. In the context, problem becomes discovering how the teacher and the students will work together to achieve the goal of optimal functioning for all.

The use of knowledge, reflection and action defines praxis. Using praxis as its focus, Antiracist Pedagogy is theoretically capable of eliminating these prevailing catalysts of racism in society, ensuring that diversity is promoted and respected and creating a context for promoting social justice and promulgating understanding and acceptance, the fruits of social justice. If indeed the purpose of public education is the production of democratic citizenry, then the implementation of Antiracist Pedagogy serves to counteract the catalysts that persist in perpetuating racism and its negative impact in education. The catalysts presented clearly indicate the purpose and necessity for Antiracist Pedagogy.

Professional Development

An essential factor in the successful implementation of Antiracist Pedagogy is professional development. Untrained teachers will not be able to implement Antiracist Pedagogy successfully due to its foundation in Critical Theory and the significance of the ideology associated with Antiracist Pedagogy. In addition, lack of training will hinder An-

tiracist Pedagogy to a superficial status accompanied by misapplication of its theoretical principals. Crucial to successful professional development in Antiracist Pedagogy is praxis. Effective professional development will address historical and cultural investigation of racism and development of racial identity. Professional development will also encompass methods of teaching and for this reason; it is advantageous to consider culturally responsive instruction with regarding the implementation of Antiracist Pedagogy.

In terms of professional development, Brown (2002) indicates several areas for consideration. From an epistemological perspective, she states that teachers should begin with an investigation of racism from a cultural and historical perspective followed by a personal perspective, reflective of what Freire describes as being in the world. She challenges teachers to discover how racist ideology has influenced and permeated society. Specifically, this entails investigating the theories of racial identity, which describe the personal and interpersonal processes a person progresses through to develop a group identity associated with a particular racial heritage. Knowledge of these theories will assist teachers in dealing with the cognitive dissonance created due to the emotional nature of racism as well as provide them a foundation for the implementation of Antiracist Pedagogy. Another addition, which will support this growing foundation, is a comprehensive understanding of the systemic perpetuating nature of racism and its accompanying language. Brown clearly indicates that workshops are insufficient and that appropriate professional development must consist of praxis. Classroom implementation will require extensive skills in “active listening, conflict mediation, and conflict management” (p. 2). Brown encourages the exposure of preservice teachers to the discussed concepts combined with an extensive liberal arts core in order to prepare them adequately for teaching diverse populations. In order to achieve these goals, professional development and teacher education will require extensive restructuring. It would mean recognizing the significance that changing demographics has on the educational setting. It would mean responding proactively to change rather than the traditional reactive stance educators take when the change becomes a crisis.

Carter and Goodwin (1994) assert that teachers must be aware of their own racial identity before they transform their own expectations, misconceptions, naiveté, presumptions and prejudices with regard to people of color; therefore, Carter and Goodwin (1994) encourage the

implementation of racial identity theory in the curriculum of preservice teachers. Tatum (1999) expands on this concept of racial identity indicating the importance of professional development for effective navigation of the levels of consciousness related to racial identity theory, particularly the development of a white racial identity. Ineffective professional development can result in teachers relapsing to and becoming deeply entrenched in the familiar making the progress null and void. The effectiveness of this type of professional development is also dependent on white teachers finding white allies who can reflect the positive nature of their new reality. Effective professional development on racism results in white teachers having an awareness that is transformative and allows them to engage in praxis with regard to racism. The result for white teachers undertaking this type of professional development is effectiveness in diverse settings, a goal of Antiracist Pedagogy.

Lawrence and Tatum (1997) conducted semester long professional development with white teachers that focused on Antiracist Pedagogy. Two essential factors facilitating its success were explicit intention to discuss race and the dialogic nature of the professional development. An example of explicit intention to discuss race in a dialogic professional development setting would be the presentation of a scenario that involves the interaction between persons of differing races and their interpretation of what took place. The scenario is nonthreatening and provides an opportunity for representatives of the differing races to share their interpretation of the scenario. Participating in this type of dialogue allows for the presentation of different perspectives and interpretations. The end result is transformative when each is able to see the others' point of view. These key factors both exemplify characteristics imbedded in Antiracist Pedagogy due to their provision for praxis, conscientization, and transformation. The outcome of this type of professional development was successful because the participants were able to move beyond intentionality to implementation concerning diversity so that all students were empowered. The participants were also able to extend themselves to students of color and involve their parents. The efforts of the participants resulted in administrative support as well.

The fact that Antiracist Pedagogy is rooted in Critical Theory (Sleeter & Bernal, 2002) necessitates that teachers receive professional development that avoids reduction of Critical Theory to method and technique. In order to effectively develop consciousness relative to the

dynamics of a hegemonic society and participate in analysis of hegemonic behavior, teachers must ground themselves in the ideology associated with Antiracist Pedagogy. Such an ideology provides a method for recognizing and addressing issues of race, ethnicity, power and class. These teachers as adults have solidified belief systems; therefore, the approach must be nonthreatening and nonaccusatory. Children's literature is a very viable method for presenting issues of race, ethnicity, power and class. For example, Deborah Wiles' (2001) *Freedom Summer* provides an accurate depiction of segregation through the eyes of a child, as well as the impact of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Professional development must ensure that practical guidance avoids sacrificing theory as well as the tendency to interpret Critical Theory along the lines of class thereby marginalizing race. Solórzano (as cited in Bernal & Sleeter) encourages the conceptualization of Critical Theory as a developing strategy with the goal of eliminating racism and its impact in society within the context of eliminating other forms of oppression. The complexities of Critical Theory and the ideology of Antiracist Pedagogy dictate that the appropriate context for developing these concepts be praxis driven and problem-posing in order to create a critical perception of a the racist society.

Culturally responsive instruction/pedagogy has two perspectives. One perspective refers to what teachers do in the classroom when they are instructing students, the other to what preservice teachers experience while learning to instruct. Irvine (1992) points to the significantly changing demographics of school culture as a requirement for preservice teachers to be equipped to instruct effectively using culturally responsive instruction/pedagogy. She contends that there should be teacher education courses designed for this purpose. Irvine also contends that this reformation effort must extend to schools in order to create environments that receive and support culturally responsive teachers. Irvine purports that in order for these courses to be effective, preservice teachers must be surrounded by diverse teacher education faculty that exemplify successful incorporation and modeling of culturally-responsive instruction/pedagogy. She encourages schools of teacher education to increase the number of diverse faculty members and to utilize praxis to identify ways their "climates, policies, and formal and informal practices" (p. 87) support or fail to support diverse faculty members. Schools of teacher education create and maintain the prescribed environment by ascribing to Antiracist Pedagogy.

The social relationship between teacher and student define culturally responsive instruction/pedagogy. While there are no specific methods or techniques, there are identifying characteristics. Irvine (1991) describes culturally responsive instruction/pedagogy in terms of high teacher expectation and refusal to group children according to academic, socioeconomic, or social performance. Student failure is corrected by redesign and reteaching to facilitate learning. Brophy and Williams (as cited in Irvine) describe this behavior as a form of coaching characterized by modeling, practice and feedback, praxis. Culturally responsive teachers are extremely efficient classroom managers that utilize strategic planning to meet the needs of students, well organized and maximize instructional time. Ladson-Billings (1994) characterizes culturally responsive instruction/pedagogy according to a different set of characteristics; however, they are reflective of the same social relationship between teacher and student. Fluid and equitable interaction that extends from the school environment to the community environment characterizes this social relationship. This relationship exists within a learning community where the teacher exhibits connection to all students and encourages collaborative learning. This type of social relationship can only exist where there is sufficient dialogue to create a level of consciousness capable of creating a community of learners based on fluid and equitable interaction thereby making it indicative of Antiracist Pedagogy.

Antiracist Pedagogy Professional Development: An Example

Professional development in Antiracist Pedagogy for teachers might begin with dialogue surrounding the dynamics of white social dominance: white is right, white ignorance, white privilege and how they interact to perpetuate a white dominant culture that in turn perpetuates aversive racism manifested as institutional racism. The context of such a discussion would be praxis driven and problem posing. For example, teachers given an example of each of the dynamics of white social dominance would interpret them. After sharing their interpretations, the teachers would view an interpretation from a group or groups that view them as oppressive. The ensuing dialogue should produce conscientization through praxis. In addition, it should provide that critical perception of the racist society and the resulting levels of

consciousness, which inspire teachers to develop antiracist behavior. Development of antiracist behaviors allows for transformation of the world through cultural reconditioning followed by eventual historical reconditioning.

Using a praxis approach with children's literature, teachers can become aware of the impact racism has on society, enabling them to reinforce a critical perception of racist society by encompassing the view of the oppressed. The use of children's literature also provides an effective model of culturally responsive instruction that teachers can observe, then model as they learn to implement culturally responsive instruction in the classroom with students. Children's literature is one of the most effective means for exposing people to the culture of others and promoting respect for differences. It highlights the aspects of individual cultures and provides a means for linking every culture to the curriculum. The easily understood format of children's literature is also a powerful medium for illustrating the negative impact of racism on individuals and society. The result of these types of professional development activities would provide teachers with the skills necessary to prevent institutional racism in schools, and equip teachers with the ability to provide effective culturally responsive instruction/pedagogy.

Conclusion

Antiracist Pedagogy is a complex paradigm established within the sociological framework of Critical Theory. There is a need for the implementation of Antiracist Pedagogy when one examines closely the catalysts within society that perpetuate racism and its impact. Professional development is crucial to successful implementation of Antiracist Pedagogy for the following reasons: the ideology associated with it; development of racial identity; and, ability to instruct using culturally responsive instruction. The example of professional development in Antiracist Pedagogy is not fully developed nor is it inclusive of all required elements for successful development; however, it does expose the deficiencies in the current curriculum and move towards correcting them. The concepts presented in the paper are for advancing the conversation in the field of antiracist education and teacher education as well as providing some concept of what will create a paradigm shift designed and envisioned toward development of an antiracist society.

It also hopes to serve as a call to action for the serious direction of endeavors that lead to an antiracist society.

References

- Apple, M. W. (1979). *Ideology and curriculum*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Apple, M. W. (2000). *Official knowledge: Democratic education in a conservative age*. New York: Routledge.
- Brown, Y. (2002). *A framework for thinking about racism as an equity issue*. Retrieved November 15, 2002 from <http://www.bctf.ca/social/BuildingBridges/support/brown.html>
- Carter, R. T. & Goodwin, A. L. (1994). Racial identity and education. In L. Darling-Hammond (Ed.), *Review of research in education*. (pp. 291-336). Washington, D.C.: American Educational Research Association.
- Dewey, J. (1987). *The later works, 1925–1953*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Dilg, M. (1999). *Race and culture in the classroom: Teaching and learning through multicultural education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Freire, P. (1994). *Education for Critical Consciousness*. New York: Continuum.
- Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Giroux, H. A. (1983). *Theory and resistance in education*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.
- Giroux, H. A. (1992). *Border crossings*. New York: Routledge.
- Irvine, J. J. (1991). *Black students and school failure: policies, practices, and prescriptions*. New York: Praeger.
- Irvine, J. J. (1992). Making teacher education culturally responsive. In M. E. Dilworth (Ed.), *Diversity in teacher education* (pp. 79–92). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Kailin, J. (2002). *Antiracist education: From theory to practice*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of african american children*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Lawrence, S. M. & Tatum, B. (1997). Teachers in transition: The impact of antiracist professional development on classroom practice. *Teachers College Record*, 99, 162–180.
- Rosenberg, P. M. (1998). The presence of an absence: Issues of race in teacher education at a predominantly white college campus. In M. E. Dilworth (Ed.), *Being responsive to cultural differences: How teachers learn*. (pp. 3–20). Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, Inc.

- Sleeter, C. & Bernal, D. (2002). *Critical pedagogy, critical race theory, and antiracist education: Implications for multicultural education*. Retrieved November 6, 2002 from <http://csumb.edu/academic/graduate/education/SletterDelegadobernal.doc>.
- Tatum, B. D. (1999). *“Why are all the black kids sitting together in the cafeteria?”: and other conversations about race*. New York: Basic Books.
- Thompson, A. (2002). Entertaining doubts: Enjoyment and ambiguity in white, antiracist classrooms. In E. Mirochnik & D. C. Sherman (Eds.), *Passion and pedagogy: relation, creation, and transformation in teaching* (pp. 431– 452). New York: Peter Lang.
- Wiles, D. (2001). *Freedom summer*. New York: Atheneum Books for Young Readers.

Copyright of Journal of Curriculum & Pedagogy is the property of Journal of Curriculum & Pedagogy and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.

Race Ethnicity and Education

Race ethnicity and education,
2018 Vol. 21, no. 4, 540–554
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2016.1248824>

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group



Anti-racist pedagogy: from faculty's self-reflection to organizing within and beyond the classroom

Kyoko Kishimoto

department of ethnic and Women's Studies, St. cloud State university, St. cloud, Mn, uSa

ABSTRACT

This article is a synthesis of my own work as well as a critical reading of the key literature in anti-racist pedagogy. Its purpose is to define anti-racist pedagogy and what applying this to courses and the fullness of our professional lives entails. I argue that faculty need to be aware of their social position, but more importantly, to begin and continue critical self-reflection in order to effectively implement anti-racist pedagogy, which has three components: (1) incorporating the topics of race and inequality into course content, (2) teaching from an anti-racist pedagogical approach, and (3) anti-racist organizing within the campus and linking our efforts to the surrounding community. In other words, anti-racist pedagogy is an organizing effort for institutional and social change that is much broader than teaching in the classroom.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 23 august 2015
accepted 17 May 2016

KEYWORDS

anti-racist pedagogy;
identity; institutional
transformation;
organizing; race; social
positions

Introduction

I attended an anti-racist pedagogy workshop (2009–2014) at a predominantly white institution in the Midwest United States. Facilitators were invited from off-campus to teach faculty how to incorporate anti-racist pedagogy into their courses. Although I am a woman of color who teaches about racism, I realized that I was not necessarily implementing anti-racist pedagogy in my classes. Anti-racist pedagogy is not about simply incorporating racial content into courses, curriculum, and discipline. It is also about *how* one teaches, even in courses where race is not the subject matter. It begins with the faculty's awareness and self-reflection of their social position and leads to the application of this analysis not just in their teaching, but also in their discipline, research, and departmental, university, and community work. In other words, anti-racist pedagogy is an organizing effort for institutional and social change that is much broader than teaching in the classroom (Rodriguez and Drew 2009–2014 and Phillips 2013).

In this article, I synthesize my own work as well as conduct a critical reading of the key literature in anti-racist pedagogy. Its purpose is to define anti-racist pedagogy and what applying this to courses and the fullness of our professional lives entails. This article is based on planning and attending the anti-racist pedagogy workshop for six years, having dialogs with the workshop facilitators and colleagues, and analyzing the challenges and successes of incorporating anti-racist pedagogy into my teaching, research, as well as campus/community services. I argue that the faculty need to be aware of

CONTACT Kyoko Kishimoto ✉ kkishimoto@stcloudstate.edu

© 2016 informa uK Limited, trading as taylor & Francis Group

their social position, but more importantly, to begin and continue critical self-reflection, in order to effectively implement anti-racist pedagogy, which has three components: (1) incorporating the topics of race and inequality into course content, (2) teaching from an anti-racist pedagogical approach, and (3) anti-racist organizing within the campus and linking our efforts to the surrounding community.

Multiculturalism, diversity, and color-blind discourse

Multiculturalism, which became prominent in the U.S. in the late 1980s and 1990s, was important in challenging assimilationism and Eurocentrism in the curriculum, but contains some problems (Gordon and Newfield 1996). Multiculturalism acknowledges diversity within and among racial and ethnic groups, but can be problematic in its ‘belief that society is democratic and egalitarian’ (James as cited in Brotman 2003, 210) and its apolitical and ahistorical approach in the discussion of cultures and celebration of diversity (Kailin 2002; Kandaswamy 2007; St. Clair and Kishimoto 2010; Teel 2014). Multiculturalism, in its popular usage in the U.S., views diverse racial and ethnic groups as existing on the same level of power and overlooks race and institutional racism that are the basis of inequality between groups.

The popularity of the word ‘diversity’ is another way of ignoring issues of race and racism. During the backlash against the gains made in the various civil rights movements (e.g. anti-immigration policies, dismantling affirmative action, ‘wars’ on drugs and terror, welfare reform), focusing on culture has become the safer way of discussing diversity that doesn’t challenge the unequal status quo. Diversity is about managing race rather than challenging racism (Ahmed 2012, 52–53; Mohanty 2003, 210–211). At the same time, color-blind ideology, which considers any attention to race as itself racist, is becoming popular, particularly in a ‘post-racial era’ symbolized with the election of President Obama. Color-blind discourse ‘protects racism by making it invisible’ (Kandaswamy 2007, 7). This concept assumes that blatantly racist laws were struck down in the 1960s due to the success of the Civil Rights Movement (Brown et al. 2003) and ignores the advantage that whites hold as a result of historical discrimination and continuing white privilege. Both multiculturalism and color-blindness reinforce the racialized unequal power structure (Kandaswamy 2007; Prashad 2009).

While multiculturalism was important in challenging assimilationism, anti-racist pedagogy, which is informed by Critical Race Theory (CRT), focuses more in-depth on the analysis of structural racism, power relations, and social justice. CRT came out of Legal Studies and some of its tenets are: race and racism are part of the normal operation of society, racism persists because there are those who benefit from it (‘interest convergence’), and race is a social construct through the process of racialization (Delgado and Stefancic 2012, 7–9). CRT is also anti-essentialist by focusing on the intersectionality of identities and recognizes the unique voices of people of color (9–10). In contrast to multicultural education that celebrates diversity, anti-racist pedagogy attempts to teach about race and racism in a way that fosters critical analytical skills, which reveal the power relations behind racism and how race has been institutionalized in U.S. society to create and justify inequalities.

Critical pedagogy, feminist pedagogy, and anti-racist pedagogy are responses to education, which has often been exclusionary and functioned to assimilate students by normalizing dominant knowledge and values through the hidden curriculum (Darder, Baltodano, and Torres 2009, 12; McLaren 2009, 75–76). Education continues to maintain the dominant system through the recent corporatization of higher education, where education becomes a commodity/service, provided by faculty/staff, and consumed by students (Mohanty 2003). At the same time, education can be a site for resisting dominant ideologies, for example, through courses that foster critical analytical skills. These critical pedagogies challenge the hidden curriculum and critique the banking system of education (Freire 1970). In addition, these pedagogies critique the positivist assumptions of knowledge, of an objective and universal truth, which fails to acknowledge the embedded Eurocentrism and male privilege. These approaches critique the power relations in knowledge production, which can be oppressive as well as oppositional and transformative. As Freire (1970) states, ‘[t]he solution is not to “integrate” them [the oppressed] into the structure of oppression, but to transform that structure so that they can

become “beings for themselves” (61). While anti-racist pedagogy recognizes intersecting identities, intersectionality has also been used to flatten differences, and thus, Luft (2009) argues for the strategic usage of single-issue approaches in certain contexts. Thus, in this article, I use race and racism as the primary lens for analysis.

Selected literature review on anti-racist pedagogy

Teel (2014) provides a brief analysis of literature on multicultural education and social justice education, much of which focuses on elementary and secondary education and fewer that focus on higher education (11–12). In particular, Kailin (2002), who analyzes K-12 teacher education, compares multicultural education and anti-racist education and offers examples of anti-racist curriculum and teaching practices.

In terms of anti-racist pedagogy, some literature provide the definition of anti-racist pedagogy (Blakeney 2005; Kailin 2002), and the need for professional development for faculty or school leaders to effectively implement anti-racist pedagogy (Blakeney 2005; Horsford, Grosland, and Gunn 2011). Literature that provides examples of successfully implementing anti-racist pedagogy in schools (DeLeon 2006; López 2008), strategies for incorporating anti-racist pedagogy for particular courses in higher education (Grosland 2013; Kandaswamy 2007; Wagner 2005), and ethics/responsibilities surrounding anti-racist research (Das Gupta 2003; Dei and Johal 2005; Milner 2007), mainly focus on what anti-racist pedagogy would look like for students. Fewer literature focus on the social position of the faculty who is attempting to incorporate anti-racist pedagogy/social justice issues, and what anti-racist pedagogy/research would look like from the faculty’s perspective (Adams and Love 2009; Bell et al. 2007; Milner 2007; Quaye and Harper 2007; St. Clair and Kishimoto 2010) or school leader’s perspective (Horsford, Grosland, and Gunn 2011). Among those, some analyze the social positions of white professors and its impact on anti-racist pedagogy (Lawrence and Tatum 1997; Maher and Tetreault 2003; Powers 2002; Teel 2014; Wagner 2005). According to Teel (2014), very few ‘deploy theory to evaluate specific attempts at teaching for social justice’ (3).

While there has been much research on race and racism in the classroom, teaching, research, and in higher education institutions, a comprehensive article that discusses anti-racist pedagogy in courses across the curriculum and what that approach specifically entails hasn’t been available. The purpose of this article is to further define what anti-racist pedagogy is and demonstrate how the faculty’s awareness and self-reflection of their social position is important in implementing anti-racist pedagogy in the teaching, research, and university/community work. Although the analysis is mainly from the faculty’s perspective, staff and administrators can apply this approach in their work. It is not the definitive article on anti-racist pedagogy, but rather an attempt to synthesize and expand on what has already been written on anti-racist pedagogy.

Anti-racist pedagogy

Faculty’s critical reflection of their social position

When racism is understood only as individual prejudice, racism embedded in institutions is ignored. At the same time, focusing *only* on institutional racism allows individuals benefiting from racism to avoid any responsibility. Awareness and self-reflection of our social positions is important, but it must be understood within the broader context of race and power, and need to be applied beyond the individual in order to make effective institutional change.

The race/class/gender identity of the faculty and the students, course content (especially courses about race, power, and privilege), and the way faculty deliver the content operate in a complicated way in the classroom. This can lead to faculty facing ‘emotional and intellectual challenges’ (Bell et

al. 2007, 381) as well as increasing awareness of their social identities (Adams and Love 2009). In regard to research, Milner (2007) analyzes the researcher's positionality before and during research,

so they can prevent ‘seen, unseen, and unforeseen’ dangers. Interrelated but not linear issues such as, ‘researching the self,’ ‘researching the self in relation to others,’ ‘engaged reflections and representation’ with the community under study, and shifting the understanding of self to the system (395–397), can be applied to professors when reflecting on their positionality in their teaching. Similarly, I argue that in order to effectively incorporate anti-racist pedagogy into courses, awareness and, more importantly, self-reflection regarding the faculty’s positionality has to begin before going into the classroom and that these issues need to be *continuously* revisited alongside the teaching.

But what does it mean for faculty to become aware of their social position and critically reflect on it? Whether the course has racial content or not, a faculty who is aware of the larger context of U.S. society (such as the role of their discipline in perpetuating academic racism) and discusses the significance of race in the U.S., in their discipline, curriculum, and course, may have the analysis of race and power and an awareness of their own social position. But anti-racist pedagogy requires more than knowing one’s racial identity. Self-reflection of the faculty’s social position includes understanding that identities are not static (Tatum 2003), that they possess both privileged *and* oppressed identities (Hurtado 1996), and that their socialization and intersecting identities (including internalized racial superiority and internalized racial inferiority) can have an impact on their teaching, research, university, and community work. These are important further steps in anti-racism work. This self-reflection requires faculty to have the humility to know that they are a work in progress, both as individuals and as professors/scholars/researchers. Anti-racist pedagogy is not a ready-made product that professors can simply apply to their courses, but rather is a process that begins with faculty as individuals, and continues as they apply the anti-racist analysis into the course content, pedagogy, and their activities and interactions beyond the classroom.

Although we may be capable of analyzing power, privilege, and oppression in others, it is much more difficult to apply this analysis to ourselves. For white people as well as people of color, it is easier to succumb to the oppressor/oppressed dichotomy and identify with the oppressed identities and blame the oppressors for all problems. As Kumashiro (2003) says, ‘it is often difficult for researchers to acknowledge their own complicity with other forms of oppression, especially when they are trying to challenge multiple forms of oppression’ (63). However, faculty cannot ask students to become aware and self-reflect on their social positions if we are unwilling to do so ourselves. As ‘Cornel West (1993) explained . . . it is difficult to work for emancipation on behalf of others (and to work to solve problems with and on behalf of others) until people (or in this case researchers) are emancipated themselves’ (Milner 2007, 395).

There is increasingly more written on white faculty’s social positions in the classroom (Lawrence and Tatum 1997; Maher and Tetreault 2003; Powers 2002; Teel 2014; Wagner 2005). The awareness that white faculty are not neutral but are also racialized and gendered is important in revealing the power that they hold in relation to the students as well as the subject matter. In an effort to decenter authority in the classroom, which is often emphasized in liberatory education, the white professor may try to ‘disappear,’ but ‘the fantasy of withdrawal into invisibility is the privilege of whiteness and one of its fundamental strategies of power’ (Powers 2002, 31) because:

On the one hand, such disappearance may simply displace the effects of whiteness to the conversations of the classroom, and on the other it may prevent the white teacher from adequately confronting the implications of his or her own whiteness as it actually operates in engagement with the text and in the operations of the classroom and institution (32).

In addition, without awareness of their racial identity, the white faculty may decenter the discussion of racism and flatten differences by focusing on other aspects of their oppressed identities (when it is important to analyze race), creating negative impacts within and outside the classroom. Sometimes in an effort to teach or research about racism, white faculty may tokenize the successes of people of color, take on the ‘savior’s mentality,’ separate themselves from other white people and/or seek approval from people of color so they can be seen as the ‘good white person,’ but without constant self-reflection, these behaviors, despite good intentions, can actually promote racism and perpetuate power or dominant discourse.

Similarly, faculty of color need to be self-reflexive of our social positions. I want to caution against the essentialist assumption that faculty of color are necessarily incorporating anti-racist pedagogy in our courses simply because of our membership in these racialized groups. Just as white faculty are working through their white privilege, faculty of color are also working through internalized racism, and without self-reflection, we can unintentionally create negative situations. For example, the faculty of color's belief in the simplistic binary of oppressor/oppressed identities, in which we are only victims and incapable of oppressing others, will prevent a deep analysis of how racism works, such as divide and conquer or tokenism. While we may understand these concepts intellectually, without the self-reflexivity, we may not be aware of practicing this ourselves. Upholding the oppressor/oppressed binary may also lead to frustration and lack of patience for students who struggle with white privilege or students of color who deny the impact of racism. The insecurity of the faculty of color, caused or exacerbated by their presumed incompetency because of their race and/or gender (Gutiérrez y Muhs et al. 2012), may also lead us to become overly authoritarian and territorial to establish and justify our presence in the classroom, making it difficult for students to ask questions or challenge ideas they disagree with.

While academic culture promotes specialization and elitism, and does not encourage humility of the faculty, anti-racist teaching highlights learning as a life-long process. This means that even though faculty may have terminal degrees, because of our relative positions of power, we need to be aware and self-reflexive of our social locations. Acknowledging that both faculty and students are on the journey of learning leads to sharing power and building a sense of community in the classroom. To admit that the faculty are 'also in the process of learning' and to acknowledge their oppressed identity as well as their complicity in the oppression of others is a political act. It is important to note that it is riskier for faculty of color, especially women of color, compared to white faculty to acknowledge this because of their already vulnerable positions (Berry and Mizelle 2006; Gutiérrez y Muhs et al. 2012; Kishimoto and Mwangi 2009; Li and Beckett 2006; Mabokela and Green 2001; Stanley 2006; TuSmith and Reddy 2002; Vargas 2002). Faculty of color may need to self-disclose more than white faculty to justify their presence in the classroom, but rather than seeing this as a vulnerability, faculty can use this self-disclosure as an opportunity to invite students to go out of their comfort zones (Kishimoto and Mwangi 2009). Despite our advanced degrees, when discussing the impact of racism on certain communities, faculty need the humility to acknowledge that we can also learn from students and community members who may lack formal credentials but are keenly knowledgeable about how institutional racism operates. Sharing the vulnerability as well as empowering experiences can lead to creating a sense of community in the classroom. It also breaks the elitist and top-down perspective in which faculty are enlightened and only students need to raise their consciousness (Freire 1970). Mutual learning is one important step in acknowledging and reducing the power differential between students and faculty, or academia and the community.

While the awareness of the faculty's social position is important, it may be possible for faculty to incorporate racial content into their courses, even if they may not be further along the 'continuum of the anti-racist positionality of the teacher' (St. Clair and Kishimoto 2010, 23). In other words, it is possible for a faculty to have an intellectual understanding of power relations and racism, and therefore be able to teach racial content in class, without necessarily applying this analysis to their own social position. But implementing anti-racist pedagogy teaching into courses and beyond the classroom requires the faculty's self-reflection of their positionality.

Course content

The first component of anti-racist pedagogy is to challenge Eurocentrism by including racial content into the syllabi, course materials, course activities, and curriculum. In constructing the syllabus or curriculum, the discussion of race or people of color should not be additive (i.e. a topic of one day/week of the semester) or tokenized but integrated throughout the curriculum. The additive approach still marginalizes experiences of people of color, while integrating experiences of people of color throughout the curriculum centers and legitimizes the discussion of race and racism.

One way to discuss race, racism, power, and privilege in any course is to provide political, historical, and economical context to the development of the discipline, rather than looking at knowledge as apolitical, ahistorical, and neutral. How was the discipline developed and what was the political, social, economic, and racial context in the U.S. and the world in which certain theories, research methods, and paradigms became legitimized? What was the role of the discipline within the dominant ideologies of U.S. society? Who was involved in the creation and perpetuation of the discipline, who had access to the disciplines and its knowledge, and who benefited from it? Also important to discuss is who were excluded from the discipline, why they lack access to it, and why they are not benefiting from it. The analysis will reveal the significance of race and racism in the U.S. and their impact on knowledge production.

The course can analyze race as a social construct and examine the process of racial formation in the U.S. (Omi and Winant 1994). Placing the significance of race in a historical and political context will help students understand that racism is not individual prejudice but rather a hierarchical system based on race, created and maintained by the unequal distribution of power and resources. Therefore, it requires analyzing the impact as well as root causes of institutional racism. The deconstruction of myths (such as the ‘American Dream,’ meritocracy, the Model Minority) reveals their functions, which are to justify the unequal treatment of people of color and maintain white privilege. Connecting historical institutional racism with its impact on current policies and experiences also illuminates the persistence of inequality and counters ahistorical understandings of racism. Such analyses help students understand that ‘treating all cultures the same’ or color-blindness will not eliminate racism, but rather allows it to persist.

An anti-racist course will challenge the black/white binary and analyze the heterogeneous experiences within and between racial groups. An intersectional approach (race, class, gender, citizenship status, sexuality, etc.) will be taken without flattening out the differences. Depending on the course, it might be more effective to use a single-issue approach (Luft 2009). In addition, the course will break away from portraying people of color as victims but rather as empowered people with agency. Resistance against racism needs to be defined broader than public, visible, and organized movements to include more private and subtle acts such as survival, everyday wisdoms, oral stories, journal writings, and songs (Collins 2009) as they demonstrate people of color’s awareness of, and opposition to, the unequal power structure. This also means incorporating counter-hegemonic knowledge or ‘counter-narratives’ (Milner 2007, 391). Learning about the agency of people of color is often very empowering for students. But simple celebrations and romanticizing of the triumphs of people of color are problematic without placing them in the context of racism they were/are resisting against. While it is necessary to analyze institutional forms of racism to break away from understanding racism as individual acts, focusing only on systemic forms of racism makes it easy for individuals to evade responsibility for oppression. The realization that individuals may benefit from institutional racism, regardless of their personal stance on racism, can be difficult. In order to have emotional discussions that are constructive (Grosland 2013; Wagner 2005), it is useful for students to analyze the identity formation stages (Tatum 2003), which can help them understand that their emotions of confusion, anger, and fear are a normal process. Learning about anti-racist white people and people of color with agency is important in this process as well. There is much to cover in one semester, and often emphasis is placed on critiquing the racism against people of color. However, students feel disempowered at the end of the semester when they don’t know how they can challenge racism. While it is difficult to make immediate and dramatic changes against the long history of racism, it is important to have discussions on what an anti-racist society would look like and brainstorm examples of everyday things students can do.

Many books articulate the importance of incorporating issues of social justice, diversity, power, and discrimination in courses across the curriculum (Adams, Bell, and Griffin 2007; Branche, Mullennix, and Cohn 2007; Howell and Tuit 2003; Ouellett 2005; Skubikowski, Wright, and Graf 2009; Xing et al. 2007). While it may seem easier to include discussions of race, power, discrimination, and social justice in social science or liberal arts courses, it is also possible to incorporate racial content into

disciplines where race is not the central subject matter, such as math (Bremser et al. 2009; Gutstein and Peterson 2006; Leonard 2008; Nasir and Cobb 2007; Powell and Frankenstein 1997), statistics (Hadlock 2005; Lesser 2007), biology (Graves 2001, 2002; Mukhopadhyay, Henze, and Moses 2007), science (Hines 2003; Li 2007), STEM (Miller 2005; Reddick et al. 2005), or engineering (Bothwell and McGuire 2007; Riley 2003).

Many academics may treat content changes as the ending rather than entrée point for anti-racist pedagogy. However, the content change to incorporate analysis of race and power is not just a given, but only the first step in incorporating anti-racist pedagogy. The really important, but difficult next steps, are incorporating anti-racist teaching methods and anti-racist organizing.

Anti-racist approach to teaching

As described earlier, it is possible to incorporate racial issues in any course, even if race is not the central topic. Nevertheless, anti-racist pedagogy can be implemented in any course regardless of content, as anti-racist pedagogy is about how one teaches. At the same time, one can teach a course on race, but not from an anti-racist perspective using the banking system, enforcing authoritative teaching, promoting individualistic and competitive learning processes, operating from the simplistic oppressed/oppressor binary, or distancing from the discussion at hand.

Therefore, I will be analyzing the second component of anti-racist pedagogy, which is an anti-racist approach to teaching and course delivery that seeks to (1) challenge assumptions and foster students' critical analytical skills; (2) develop students' awareness of their social positions; (3) decenter authority in the classroom and have students take responsibility for their learning process; and (4) empower students and apply theory to practice; and (5) create a sense of community in the classroom through collaborative learning. Anti-racist pedagogy focuses on the process of learning, not necessarily making students reach a uniform and prescribed outcome. In addition, as this approach does not see teaching as neutral or apolitical, it would be important to articulate in the syllabus or at the beginning of the semester that anti-racist pedagogy is implemented in the course. Anti-racist pedagogy is about having an anti-racist approach and analysis in the pedagogy, and selected tenets will be analyzed here.

First, an anti-racist approach disrupts assumptions about positivist thinking, such as 'objectivity' of knowledge and knowledge production. As cited in Milner (2007), 'Ladson-Billings (2000) explained how epistemologies encompass not only ways of knowing and perceiving the world but also systems of knowing the world' (389). Because what happens in the classroom is shaped by racism in the larger society, 'there is no such thing as an apolitical classroom' (Teel 2014, 6). Thus, '[a]nti-oppressive teacher education involves learning to teach the disciplines while learning to critique the ways that the disciplines and the teaching of the disciplines have historically been oppressive' (Kumashiro 2003, 59). Anti-racist teaching challenges the Eurocentric curriculum and the apolitical and ahistorical approaches to education, discipline, and course materials. It pushes us to question what counts as legitimate knowledge, whose knowledge counts, and who has access to the knowledge (Collins 2009). Faculty can begin this process by analyzing power relations in knowledge production within their disciplines in the context of race and racism in U.S. society. This involves providing the context and asking not only the when and how, but also why, racism happened in society, or how and why certain knowledge, theory, or research methods became popular or legitimate in society. Faculty need to convey how various disciplines and research epistemologies may be racially biased, reflecting the worldviews, interests, and power of those who created them (Scheurich and Young 2002). This analysis can happen even in courses where race is not the subject matter. For example, the rise in scientific racism (e.g. Social Darwinism, eugenics, or IQ and race) in science, anthropology, or sociology was to justify racism in society (Graves 2001). Knowledge that was considered 'objective' or 'Truth' could have actually been Eurocentric, served to hide white privilege, and legitimate and perpetuate dominant ideologies. Even disciplines that critique racism and inequalities can be co-opted and become complicit with oppression.

Without self-reflexivity of the professors/researchers, the dichotomous understanding of oppressor/oppressed blinds them to the fact that the oppressed may also be oppressing others. For example, the analysis of the relationship between white women and women of color has revealed racism

by white people and sexism by men of color (Hurtado 1996). The experiences of recent Southeast Asian Americans have led to paradigm shifts in Asian American Studies to add new approaches to the traditional West Coast narratives of Asian American communities (Lee 2009). The difficult but necessary dialogs from within marginalized communities have led to the emergence of new courses on Women of Color or new fields such as Southeast Asian American Studies. Such analysis of race and racism in disciplines and knowledge production provides the students with the critical and analytical skills to understand power relations and how race and difference have been institutionalized in U.S. society to create and justify inequalities.

At the same time, hegemony shouldn't be understood as static, but rather as a power struggle between the dominant and subordinate groups. While knowledge production can be oppressive, it can also challenge inequality in society, for example, in the emergence of disciplines such as Ethnic Studies and Women's Studies. Challenging what is considered legitimate knowledge, therefore, involves looking at which and whose stories and experiences have been ignored and why. This means recovering different kinds of knowledge and to be more inclusive of work by people of color, including art, narratives, journals, interviews, oral histories, writing in other languages, and other non-academic sources (Collins 2009; Kumashiro 2003). While students need to learn how to use scholarly sources, it is important to have a discussion on *why* these other forms of knowledge are often excluded in academia or official histories and what can be done to recover the counter narratives.

Therefore, analyzing the power relations in knowledge production reveals that knowledge and ideologies are not neutral. Similarly, those involved in the knowledge production, including faculty and students in the classroom, are not neutral. Rather than intellectualizing and distancing ourselves from the institutional forms of oppression, we need to situate ourselves within this system, which involves being aware of our social positions.

Second, an anti-racist approach to teaching involves developing awareness of students' social positions and self-reflexivity (Grosland 2013; Wagner 2005). Understanding racism as institutional and systemic is important in breaking away from seeing racism simply as an individual act, but it also becomes easier for students (and faculty) to intellectualize or distance themselves from racism. However, in anti-racist teaching, regardless of course content, students are encouraged to make connections to, and see themselves as part of, the topics being discussed.

It is possible for students to learn new information in class without having their assumptions or worldviews challenged. However, students are especially challenged in courses that deal with race, white privilege, institutionalized racism, and oppression, as these concepts disrupt their assumptions about meritocracy, individualism, and 'color-blindness.' They may resent being required to take the class, disregard the legitimacy of the course/discipline, and accuse the professor of promoting his/her own personal agenda. In this context, how can faculty invite students to challenge their assumptions without alienating them? Anti-racist teaching validates students' everyday experiences, but white students' everyday experiences need to be valued without re-centering whiteness in the classroom, which happens when they avoid talking about white privilege or when white guilt overtakes the class discussion (Duncan 2002; Kandaswamy 2007, 9). The discussion of race should not be restrained to accommodate the comfort of white students and at the expense of students of color (Duncan 2002). Experiences of students of color need to be validated even when they deny racism, but tokenizing must be avoided by revealing heterogeneous experiences within communities of color. It is the responsibility of the faculty to connect the students' personal experiences to 'the political [that] is constituted in social and cultural forms outside of one's own experience' (Giroux as cited in Powers 2002, 33).

While faculty may try to be controlling in their teaching to avoid unexpected situations in class, the uncomfortable moments, crisis, difficulty, or emotions (Grosland 2013; hooks 1994; Kumashiro 2003) are important opportunities for student (and faculty) growth and 'educators have a responsibility not only to draw students into a possible crisis, but also to structure experiences that can help them work through their crises productively' (Kumashiro 2003, 51). It is the *process* of working through these moments that are important (Wagner 2005) rather than achieving the same expected outcome for all students.

One way to raise students' awareness of their social positions is to illustrate the complexity of identities and problematize the oppressed/oppressor dichotomy. The realization that we are *all* racialized is difficult, especially for many white students socialized into seeing themselves as the norm and unmarked. Tatum's (2003) identity formation highlights the different stages that white people and people of color go through as they develop their racial identities. This model is helpful in normalizing the guilt that white people experience when they realize white privilege, or the anger that people of color feel when they acknowledge the impact of racism. The different stages demonstrate how identity formation is neither static nor linear and that the guilt or anger stages are not permanent if students initiate and receive support from allies. In addition, understanding the intersectionality of identities helps students understand that they have both oppressed and privileged social positions, and therefore, we all have (different) responsibilities and roles in challenging racism. This helps white students realize that they can be allies for social change, and students of color that they have agency.

Students' awareness and self-reflexivity of their social position can be developed in any course, for example, by having discussions about the ethics of doing research (or service learning) and accountability to the community being studied (Das Gupta 2003; Dei and Johal 2005; Grounds 2003; Milner 2007). Although the positivist thinking may paint the researcher to be objective and neutral, students must have awareness of the power that the researcher holds. This awareness is important for when they are conducting a class project, or in the future when they become researchers working with different communities, so they don't perpetuate racism or oppression by conducting research for their own gain and at the expense of the community. Other issues to address are: Avoid exposing sensitive information, violating privacies, or perpetuating stereotypes by obtaining the community's consent and including them in the research process. Equalize the power differential by relinquishing researchers' elitism and be willing to learn from community members. Gain the trust of the community and build a mutually beneficial relationship by finding out issues that are important to them (not just what is interesting to the researcher) and be accountable to the community by sharing the information collected, which includes making the research and language accessible to the community. Faculty need to teach these issues to students, but the self-reflexivity of the professor is important because faculty also need to apply this awareness and these analyses in their own teaching and research.

Third, in anti-racist courses, the faculty try to decenter authority in the classroom. Self-reflexivity on the part of the faculty is needed for him/her to challenge the power differential in class. This sharing of power, for example, through involving students in the creation of syllabus, assignments, assessments, and learning process also leads to students taking responsibility for their own learning as they become active learners. The faculty acknowledging that learning is a mutual process between faculty and students further equalizes the power differential. This, however, needs to be complicated in regard to the race and gender of faculty and students. Faculty of color and women faculty will have more difficulty sharing their power as their authority is already challenged in the classroom and may feel pressured to establish control, while a white male faculty whose authority is unchallenged will find it is easier to share their power. In addition, as discussed before, decentering authority does not mean faculty ignoring their social positions and becoming neutral facilitators.

In order to create a conducive environment to have difficult conversations, the notion of 'safe space' is frequently used. A community based on trust must be developed before having challenging discussions where everyone can become vulnerable. However, for students (and faculty) of color who are marginalized, the classroom is not a 'safe space' (Kishimoto and Mwangi 2009). The 'safe space' is also misunderstood to mean a 'comfortable space,' which enables avoiding discussions of white privilege or complicity with oppression. In order for students and faculty to challenge their assumptions, acknowledge their complicity with oppression, and deal with their fears and vulnerabilities, they must be pushed out of their comfort zones. An anti-racist classroom is a space where the unexpected happens, but over time, faculty can become more prepared and flexible to deal with such situations. The faculty need to be aware and self-reflexive of their social position, and rather than providing 'the answer,' facilitate the challenging discussions, validate the students' various emotions while helping them to deepen their analysis, and sometimes placing themselves in the discussions by sharing their

own vulnerabilities, thereby showing that both faculty and students are together in the learning process. Zembylas (2012) talks about the faculty using ‘strategic empathy’ to deal with the discomfoting emotions surrounding classroom discussions of racism expressed differently according to the student’s social position. It is important to engage with these strong emotions without compromising anti-racist values (116). Also, just as one workshop cannot make us anti-racist, one challenging moment in class does not necessarily lead to student growth. Faculty need to strive to facilitate these conversations throughout the semester.

As Wagner (2005) says, ‘the *process* of learning is of critical importance,’ and ‘what is most significant intellectually is not where we end up but how we go about getting there’ (263). Therefore, faculty should start from where the students are and focus on the process, rather than have a prescribed expectation of a uniform outcome. This again requires the courage of the faculty because it goes against the nation-wide assessment movements, which tends to focus on the final product/outcome of the student. Therefore, even in our assessment, we need to come up with *anti-racist* assessments, which focus on the process rather than end results.

Fourthly, ‘[b]oth students and educators need to challenge what and how they are learning and teaching’ (Kumashiro 2003, 55). Students taking responsibility for their own learning process (55) involves student engagement and interaction with course materials. Students shouldn’t be banking information, but rather critically thinking, analyzing, synthesizing, and applying theories to practice. In order to engage students, it is important to make the course content relevant to students’ everyday experiences. As mentioned earlier when discussing the importance of validating students’ everyday experiences, the faculty are responsible for contextualizing the students’ lives within the politics and economics of the larger society, so personal experiences do not negate the existence of white privilege and institutional racism. Bringing in narratives and experiences of white anti-racists and diverse people of color can help expose students to lives beyond their own.

Making course content relevant to students also means linking theory to practice. Critiques of education include academia becoming apolitical and ahistorical, theoretical for theory’s sake, and inaccessible and removed from, with no application to, the real world (hooks 1994, 64). If students are able to apply theories to practice through problem-posing and dialog and figure out solutions or ways to improve their everyday lives, they will feel more empowered. It is helpful if the faculty, who want to incorporate anti-racist pedagogy into their courses, are also active in university committees, academic organizations, or in various communities outside of academia. They can teach more effectively about applying theories to practice when they can share specific examples of ongoing issues happening on and off-campus.

Finally, anti-racist teaching attempts to create a sense of community in the classroom through decentering authority and encouraging collaborative learning rather than individualistic, competitive learning styles. A classroom becomes a trusting space where everyone (including the faculty) is invested in learning together. The class becomes a community where students help each other with concepts and assignments, and are interested in each other’s well-being beyond the class. This requires the self-reflexivity of faculty and students and their willingness to be vulnerable and to challenge each other in deepening understanding of themselves and larger society. This can happen in any classroom regardless of content. A classroom which focuses on the learning process, collaboration among classmates, and dialog will help students understand the importance of allies and support when struggling with difficult projects or concepts. These interpersonal relationships as well as critical analytical skills discussed above become important in anti-racist organizing.

An example of empowering students through collaborative learning is deconstructing racism and critiquing problems, and then ‘rebuilding’ by asking and articulating what an anti-racist society would look like. It is problematic to only focus on dismantling racism and assuming that everyone has a common understanding of an anti-racist society (Teel 2014, 15; Thompson 1997, 17). Working towards a goal requires a vision, and talking only about the problems of racism leaves students feeling powerless. Again, what is important is the collaborative *process*, the dialog between students, as they discuss the world they want to strive for.

There are various tenets to anti-racist ways of teaching, but Kumashiro (2003) cautions that even anti-oppression educational knowledge/practice is limited and not free of contradictions. We need to avoid simply repeating teaching or research that we think ‘works,’ or risk being complicit in the oppression. We need to acknowledge that anti-racist pedagogy is not a cookie-cutter teaching model that can be applied to every classroom. Constant self-reflection of the professor’s social position as well as the pedagogical process is required to deal with the unexpected situations in the classroom as well as the diverse student body and varied course content.

Anti-racist organizing for institutional change

According to Rodriguez (2013), ‘[Anti-Racist] Pedagogy emerges out of a social movement and its main focus is organizing for community, and institutional transformation, not transactional change (reform).’ Therefore, anti-racist pedagogical approach is effective when intentionally incorporated beyond the classroom teaching and into faculty’s other spheres of influences, such as work in their department, research in their discipline, and interaction and work in their college, university, and community.

As few faculty hold high positions in the university, organizing becomes a movement from the bottom up, especially if the institution they work at is not committed to social justice. In their interactions with students, other faculty, staff, administrators, and community members, faculty can utilize anti-racist pedagogical values to build relationships and organize to create a better institution and community. It is not about imposing anti-racist values on others, but practicing those values themselves so others can also benefit from it. In the following section, I will provide a few examples where anti-racist organizing can be implemented. In these instances, faculty’s self-reflection, anti-racist values, collaboration, and visioning are important.

In an effort to increase the recruitment and retention of students of color, faculty need the critical analysis to understand the reasons for their underrepresentation in certain disciplines, or the barriers on campus and home that impact the students’ academic life and graduation. Having a color-blind or multicultural analysis that fail to take into account the effect of racism will lead to the revolving door of students of color. While efforts are needed for their recruitment, the students’ marginalization in the classroom, academic policies, institutional structures, and other areas on campus need to be analyzed so the institution can be transformed into a welcoming place for all students. A delicate balance needs to be struck between providing the necessary support for students of color and students taking responsibility for gaining the education and skills essential in navigating the world after graduation. Similarly, the hiring and retention of faculty of color need to be understood as contributing to academic excellence rather than simply increasing diversity.

Faculty need to critically look at the recruitment process and re-examine where the position to hire are being advertised. The root cause for the underrepresentation of people of color in certain disciplines also needs to be investigated as simply publicizing the position widely will not lead to application of diverse candidates. After hire, faculty and administration need to create an environment that retains faculty of color. For example, faculty of color should not be tokenized as it puts undue burden on them to speak for all people of color, which may also prevent them from critiquing the institution for fear of retaliation in the tenure and promotion process. Tokenization also creates division among communities of color, as the tokenized individual, intentionally or not, becomes the gatekeeper. In the tenure and promotion process, racial and gender dynamics and identity politics in the classroom as well as the students’ subjectivity in the teaching evaluations need to be taken into account for faculty of color or those who teach about race because they receive more negative evaluations (TuSmith 2002). Contributions of faculty of color in committee work and search committees, mentoring of students of color, and community organizing need to be valued as much as publications and scholarship. Faculty and administrators need to go beyond implementing color-blind policies and have awareness of their social positions and apply critical analytical skills to see how race and gender impact the recruitment and retention as well as the tenure and promotion of faculty of color. Such understanding will create a more welcoming place for faculty of color.

A power analysis needs to be applied to tensions between faculty rather than seeing them as personality conflicts. Especially when the conflict is between people of color, the supervisor often fears taking sides for fear of being called a racist. However, racism, which tokenizes of people of color and creates divisions within communities of color, is what created this tension in the first place. Therefore, white supervisors/administrators/colleagues hiding behind neutrality only perpetuates white privilege. People of color also need to reflect on their actions and be aware of their complicity in oppressing others. Awareness of social position and self-reflexivity for all faculty is important in this situation.

In curriculum development, search process, committee work, or in the interactions with colleagues, students, and community members, organizing and using anti-racist values towards reaching a common vision is essential. Institutions may operate from the culture of fear and scarcity, which promotes individualism and competition. However, collaboration fosters community, collegiality, and dialog, rather than territoriality, competition, and protection of power and status. Anti-racist organizing involves sharing, helping, and collaborating rather than competing and taking from others. It follows an open, transparent, and democratic decision-making process, rather than secretive, exclusionary, and manipulative procedures. Anti-racist organizing is about equalizing power differentials by being fair, inclusive, accountable, and ethical to one another. We need to have the humility to listen and learn from others and to constantly self-reflect on our white privilege or internalized racism.

Applying anti-racist pedagogy in our work with our colleagues and committees in our department, college, and university means having the critical analytical skills, being aware and self-reflexive of our own social positions, applying power analysis, decentering power and authority, incorporating collaborative and democratic decision-making processes, and creating a sense of community. It is a more open, transparent, and inclusive process rather than one that is controlling, secretive, and exclusionary. However, this is very difficult work and requires the ongoing support of colleagues and institutions (Lawrence and Tatum 1997; Skubikowski 2009; St. Clair and Kishimoto 2010; Teel 2014; Wagner 2005).

Conclusion

Anti-racist pedagogy is not a prescribed method that can simply be applied to our teaching, nor does it end with incorporating racial content into courses. More importantly, anti-racist pedagogy is an intentional and strategic organizing effort in which we incorporate anti-racist approaches into our teaching as well as apply anti-racist values into our various spheres of influence. It requires the professor's humility, critical reflection of our social position, and commitment as we begin and continue to confront our internalized racial oppression or internalized racial superiority and how those impact our teaching, research, and work in the university and community. This is an ongoing process that strives for institutional change, and requires the collaboration and support of anti-racist educators across disciplines.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Victor Rodriguez and Emily Drew for their extensive insights and comments, and Darlene St. Clair for the numerous conversations on anti-racist pedagogy.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.



References

Adams, Maurianne, Lee Anne Bell, and Pat Griffin, eds. 2007. *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

- Adams, Maurianne, and Barbara J. Love. 2009. "A Social Justice Education Faculty Development Framework for a Post-Grutter Era." In *Social Justice Education: Inviting Faculty to Transform their Institutions*, edited by Kathleen Skubikowski, Catharine Wright and Roman Graf, 3–25. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing LLC.
- Ahmed, Sara. 2012. *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Bell, Lee Anne, Barbara J. Love, Sharon Washington, and Gerald Weinstein. 2007. "Knowing Ourselves as Social Justice Educators." In *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice*, edited by Maurianne Adams, Lee Anne Bell, and Pat Griffin, 381–393. New York: Routledge.
- Berry, Theodora Regina and Nathalie Mizelle, eds. 2006. *From Oppression to Grace: Women of Color and their Dilemmas within the Academy*. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- Blakeney, Alda M. 2005. "Antiracist Pedagogy: Definition, Theory, and Professional Development." *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy* 2 (1): 119–132.
- Bothwell, Michelle K. and Joseph McGuire. 2007. "Difference, Power, and Discrimination in Engineering Education." In *Teaching for Change: The Difference, Power, and Discrimination Model*, edited by Jun Xing, Judith Li, Larry Roper, and Susan Shaw, 147–166. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Branche, Jerome, John Mullennix, and Ellen R. Cohn, eds. 2007. *Diversity Across the Curriculum: A Guide for Faculty in Higher Education*. Bolton, MA: Anker Publishing Company, Inc.
- Bremser, Priscilla, Chawne Kimber, Rob Root, and Sheila Weaver. 2009. "Mathematics of, for, and as Social Justice." In *Social Justice Education: Inviting Faculty to Transform their Institutions*, edited by Kathleen Skubikowski, Catharine Wright and Roman Graf, 131–147. Sterling, Virginia: Stylus Publishing LLC.
- Brotman, Shari. 2003. "The Limits of Multiculturalism in Elder Care Services." *Journal of Aging Studies* 17: 209–229.
- Brown, Michael K., Martin Carnoy, Elliott Currie, Troy Duster, David B. Oppenheimer, Marjorie M. Shultz, and David Wellman. 2003. *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 2009. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Darder, Antonia, Marta P. Baltodano, and Rodolfo D. Torres. 2009. "Critical Pedagogy: An Introduction." In *The Critical Pedagogy Reader*, edited by Antonia Darder, Marta P. Baltodano and Rodolfo D. Torres, 1–20. New York: Routledge.
- Das Gupta, Tania. 2003. "Teaching Anti-Racist Research in the Academy." *Teaching Sociology* 31: 456–468.
- Dei, George J. Sefa, and Gurpreet Singh Johal. 2005. *Critical Issues in Anti-Racist Research Methodologies*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- DeLeon, Abraham P. 2006. "Beware of 'Black' the ripper! Racism, Representation, and Building Antiracist Pedagogy." *The Social Studies* 97 (6): 263–267.
- Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic. 2012. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. 2nd ed. New York and London: New York University Press.
- Duncan, Patti. 2002. "Decentering Whiteness: Resisting Racism in the Women's Studies Classroom." In *Race in the College Classroom: Pedagogy and Politics*, edited by Bonnie TuSmith and Maureen T. Reddy, 40–50. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Freire, Paulo. 1970. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder.
- Gordon, Avery F., and Christopher Newfield, eds. 1996. *Mapping Multiculturalism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Graves, Joseph L., Jr. 2001. *The Emperor's New Clothes: Biological Theories of Race at the Millennium*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Graves, Joseph L., Jr. 2002. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Teaching the Biology of Human Variation and the Social Construction of Race." In *Race in the College Classroom: Pedagogy and Politics*, edited by Bonnie TuSmith and Maureen T. Reddy, 299–314. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Grosland, Tanetha J. 2013. "An Examination of the Role of Emotions in Antiracist Pedagogy: Implications, Scholarship, and Practices." *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 35 (4): 319–332.
- Grounds, Richard A. 2003. "Yuchi Travels: Up and Down the Academic 'Road to Disappearance'." In *Native Voices: American Indian Identity & Resistance*, edited by Richard A. Grounds, George E. Tinker and David E. Wilkins, 290–317. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas.
- Gutiérrez y Muhs, Gabriella, Yolanda Flores Niemann, Carmen G. González, and Angela P. Harris, eds. 2012. *Presumed Incompetent: The Intersection of Race and Class for Women in Academia*. Boulder, CO: Utah State University Press.
- Gutstein, Eric, and Bob Peterson, eds. 2006. *Rethinking Mathematics: Teaching Social Justice by the Numbers*. Milwaukee, WI: Rethinking Schools, Ltd.
- Hadlock, Charles R., ed. 2005. *Mathematics in Service to the Community: Concepts and Models for Service-Learning in the Mathematical Sciences*. Washington, D.C.: The Mathematical Association of America.
- Hines, S. Maxwell, ed. 2003. *Multicultural Science Education: Theory, Practice, and Promise*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- hooks, bell. 1994. *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York: Routledge.
- Horsford, Sonya Douglass, Tanetha Grosland, and Kelly Morgan Gunn. 2011. "Pedagogy of the Personal and Professional: Toward a Framework for Culturally Relevant Leadership." *Journal of School Leadership* 21: 582–606.

- Howell, Annie, and Frank Tuitt, eds. 2003. *Race and Higher Education: Rethinking Pedagogy in Diverse College Classrooms*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review, Reprint Series No. 36.
- Hurtado, Aída. 1996. *The Color of Privilege: Three Blasphemies on Race and Feminism*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Kailin, Julie. 2002. *Antiracist Education: From Theory to Practice*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Kandaswamy, Priya. 2007. "Beyond Colorblindness and Multiculturalism: Rethinking Anti-Racist Pedagogy in the University Classroom." *The Radical Teacher* 80: 6–11.
- Kishimoto, Kyoko, and Mumbi Mwangi. 2009. "Critiquing the Rhetoric of "Safety" in Feminist Pedagogy: Women of Color Offering an Account of Ourselves." *Feminist Teacher* 19 (2): 87–102.
- Kumashiro, Kevin K. 2003. "Against Repetition: Addressing Resistance to Anti-Oppressive Change in the Practices of Learning, Teaching, Supervising, and Researching." In *Race and Higher Education: Rethinking Pedagogy in Diverse College Classrooms*, edited by Annie Howell and Frank Tuitt, 45–67. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review, Reprint Series No. 36.
- Lawrence, Sandra M., and Beverly Daniel Tatum. 1997. "White Educators as Allies: Moving from Awareness to Action." In *Off White: Readings in Race, Power, and Society*, edited by Michelle Fine, Lois Weis, Linda C. Powell, and L. Mun Wong, 333–342. New York: Routledge.
- Lee, Erika. 2009. "Asian American Studies in the Midwest." *Journal of Asian American Studies* 12 (3): 247–273.
- Leonard, Jacqueline. 2008. *Culturally Specific Pedagogy in the Mathematics Classroom: Strategies for Teachers and Students*. New York: Routledge.
- Lesser, Lawrence M. 2007. "Critical Values and Transforming Data: Teaching Statistics with Social Justice." *Journal of Statistics Education* 15 (1). <http://www.amstat.org/publications/jse/v15n1/lesser.html>
- Li, Guofang, and Gulbahar H. Beckett, eds. 2006. *"Strangers" of the Academy: Asian Women Scholars in Higher Education*. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing LLC.
- Li, Judith. 2007. "Challenges and Rewards of Teaching DPD in a Science Curriculum." In *Teaching for Change: The Difference, Power, and Discrimination Model*, edited by Jun Xing, Judith Li, Larry Roper, and Susan Shaw, 115–126. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- López, Nancy. 2008. "Antiracist Pedagogy and Empowerment in a Bilingual Classroom in the U.S., Circa 2006." *Theory Into Practice* 47: 43–50.
- Luft, Rachel. 2009. "Intersectionality and the Risk of Flattening Difference: Gender and Race Logics, and the Strategic Use of Antiracist Singularity." In *The Intersectional Approach: Transforming the Academy through Race, Class, and Gender*, edited by Kathleen Guidroz and Michele Tracy Berger, 100–117. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Mabokela, Reitumetse Obakeng, and Anna L. Green, eds. 2001. *Sisters of the Academy: Emergent Black Women Scholars in Higher Education*. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- Maher, Frances A., and Mary Kay Thompson Tetreault. 2003. "Learning in the Dark: How Assumptions of Whiteness Shape Classroom Knowledge." In *Race and Higher Education: Rethinking Pedagogy in Diverse College Classrooms*, edited by Annie Howell and Frank Tuitt, 69–95. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review, Reprint Series No. 36.
- McLaren, Peter. 2009. "Critical Pedagogy: A Look at the Major Concepts." In *The Critical Pedagogy Reader*, edited by Antonia Darder, Marta P. Baltodano and Rodolfo D. Torres, 61–83. New York: Routledge.
- Miller, A. T. 2005. "The Multicultural Lab: Diversity Issues in STEM Classes." In *Teaching Inclusively: Resources for Course, Department & Institutional Change in Higher Education*, edited by Mathew L. Ouellett, 451–459. Stillwater, OK: New Forums Press.
- Milner, H. Richard, IV. 2007. "Race, Culture, and Researcher Positionality: Working Through Dangers Seen, Unseen, and Unforeseen." *Educational Researcher* 36 (7): 388–400.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 2003. *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Mukhopadhyay, Carol C., Rosemary Henze, and Yolanda T. Moses. 2007. *How Real is Race: A Sourcebook on Race, Culture and Biology*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Education.
- Nasir, Na'ilah Suad, and Paul Cobb, eds. 2007. *Improving Access to Mathematics: Diversity and Equity in the Classroom*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. 2nd ed. New York and London: Routledge.
- Ouellett, Mathew L., ed. 2005. *Teaching Inclusively: Resources for Course, Department & Institutional Change in Higher Education*. Stillwater, OK: New Forums Press.
- Powell, Arthur B., and Marilyn Frankenstein, eds. 1997. *Ethnomathematics: Challenging Eurocentrism in Mathematics Education*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Powers, Peter Kerry. 2002. "A Ghost in the Collaborative Machine: The White Male Teacher in the Multicultural Classroom." In *Race in the College Classroom: Pedagogy and Politics*, edited by Bonnie TuSmith and Maureen T. Reddy, 28–39. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Prashad, Vijay. 2009. "On Commitment: Considerations on Political Activism on a Shocked Planet." In *Social Justice Education: Inviting Faculty to Transform their Institutions*, edited by Kathleen Skubikowski, Catharine Wright and Roman Graf, 117–127. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing LLC.

- Quaye, Stephen John, and Shaun R. Harper. 2007. "Faculty Accountability for Culturally Inclusive Pedagogy and Curricula." *Liberal Education* 93 (3):32–39.
- Reddick, Lois A., Wayne Jacobson, Angela Linse, and Darryl Yong. 2005. "A Framework for Inclusive Teaching in STEM Disciplines." In *Teaching Inclusively: Resources for Course, Department & Institutional Change in Higher Education*, edited by Mathew L. Ouellett, 435–450. Stillwater, OK: New Forums Press.
- Riley, Donna. 2003. "Employing Liberative Pedagogies in Engineering Education." *Journal of Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering* 9 (2): 137–158.
- Rodriguez, Victor. 2013. "Ideal Type Taxonomy." *Anti-Racist Pedagogy Across the Curriculum Workshop*. St. Cloud, MN: St. Cloud State University.
- Rodriguez, Victor, Emily Drew. 2009–2014. Amy Phillips. 2013. *Anti-Racist Pedagogy Across the Curriculum Workshop*. St. Cloud, MN: St. Cloud State University.
- Scheurich, James Joseph, and Michelle D. Young. 2002. "Coloring Epistemology: Are Our Research Epistemologies Racially Biased?" In *Anti-Racist Scholarship: An Advocacy*, edited by James Joseph Scheurich, 51–73. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Skubikowski, Kathleen. 2009. "Beyond Diversity: Social Justice Education across the Curriculum." In *Social Justice Education: Inviting Faculty to Transform their Institutions*, edited by Kathleen Skubikowski, Catharine Wright and Roman Graf, 87–99. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing LLC.
- Skubikowski, Kathleen, Catharine Wright, and Roman Graf, eds. 2009. *Social Justice Education: Inviting Faculty to Transform their Institutions*. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing LLC.
- St. Clair, Darlene, and Kyoko Kishimoto. 2010. "Decolonizing Teaching: A Cross-Curricular & Collaborative Model for Teaching about Race in the University." *Multicultural Education* 18 (1): 18–24.
- Stanley, Christine A., ed. 2006. *Faculty of Color: Teaching in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities*. Bolton, MA: Anker Publishing Company, Inc.
- Tatum, Beverly Daniel. 2003. *Why are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? And Other Conversations About Race*. New York: Basic Books.
- Teel, Karen. 2014. "Getting Out of the Left Lane: The Possibility of White Antiracist Pedagogy." *Teaching Theology and Religion* 17 (1): 3–26.
- Thompson, Audrey. 1997. "For: Anti-Racist Education." *Curriculum Inquiry* 27 (1): 7–44.
- TuSmith, Bonnie. 2002. "Out on a Limb: Race and the Evaluation of Frontline Teaching." In *Race in the College Classroom: Pedagogy and Politics*, edited by Bonnie TuSmith and Maureen T. Reddy, 112–125. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- TuSmith, Bonnie, and Maureen T. Reddy, eds. 2002. *Race in the College Classroom: Pedagogy and Politics*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Vargas, Lucila, ed. 2002. *Women Faculty of Color in the White Classroom*. New York: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers.
- Wagner, Anne E. 2005. "Unsettling the Academy: Working Through the Challenges of Anti-Racist Pedagogy." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 8 (3): 261–275.
- Xing, Jun, Judith Li, Larry Roper, and Susan Shaw, eds. 2007. *Teaching for Change. The Difference, Power, and Discrimination Model*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Zembylas, Michalinos. 2012. "Pedagogies of Strategic Empathy: Navigating Through the Emotional Complexities of Antiracism in Higher Education." *Teaching in Higher Education* 17 (2): 113–125.

Appendix G

Session Seven - Strength in Community: Accountability & Action	
Facilitator(s)	One faculty member, one staff member
Learning Outcomes	<p>After participating in this session, participants will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● learn the experiences and understand the racial realities of their peers ● participate in critical reflection about their teaching practices ● develop an action plan to continue antiracism work after the workshop ● identify their community connection to hold themselves and each other accountable
Purpose	This session is designed to close the entire workshop series. Participants will take the time to read and reflect upon their own racial realities and share them in community with their peers. Participants will also connect on the basis of shared disciplines or shared interest in order to create action steps and accountability systems for next steps, post-workshop.
Allocated time	90 minutes
Materials needed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Projector ● PowerPoint ● Group Communication Guidelines (posted as a reminder)
Setup	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Set up PowerPoint & computer ○ Post Group Communication Guidelines on wall
Session Outline/Details	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Intro/Reflection Question (10 mins) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Question of the day: How do you feel you have grown over the last six weeks?</i> ○ Introduction question serves as a space for faculty members to begin thinking about the topic of the day ○ Faculty members will take 3 minutes to write down their own answer to the reflection question ○ Participants will then take 3 minutes to share with a partner <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ While participants are sharing with a partner, facilitators will walk around and engage in discussion/check in with participants ○ Facilitators will invite faculty members to share their reflections in the large group <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Facilitators will guide discussion and affirm participants' engagement and experiences ▪ Facilitators will address any important or significant political or world events that have taken place during the last week during this time, if applicable, in order to use current news as a learning tool. ▪ This will be helpful in the identity development of White faculty because it will show them that there are events that take place in the world that are related to race every day and it is important to acknowledge those events ● Sharing our racial realities (60 minutes)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Participants will break into groups of three and find a private space to read their racial realities ○ Each participant will read their own story aloud to their group members ○ Group members will give feedback, ask questions, and provide responses to the person sharing their story ○ Each group member will be given 20 minutes to read their piece in its entirety and hold discussion about their piece with group members ○ The purpose of this activity is to share community and to practice active listening <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 5 minute break <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Continuing the conversation & community support (10 minutes) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Facilitators will assign groups based on shared disciplines <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ General Ed ▪ Social Sciences ▪ Humanities ▪ Natural Sciences ▪ Business ▪ (etc.) ○ Groups/pairs may combine if there are not enough people represented from each group ○ Groups are to take 5-7 minutes to brainstorm about the ways in which they would like to move forward within their discipline or in their personal lives using what they've learned in this workshop ○ Facilitators will call the group back together and ask groups to share 1-2 ideas that they came up with in order to support others through their brainstorming process <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Closing (5 minutes) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Facilitators will share the things that they have learned, the things that have impacted them over the last six weeks and they will share the things they hope for in the future ○ Facilitators will thank all participants for engagement and participation in the workshop ○ Facilitators will distribute workshop evaluations to participants
--	--

**The Journey to Antiracism
Workshop Evaluation
[Month, Year]**

Evaluation of Workshop Content

- 1. I feel that as a result of this workshop, I am now able to discuss my identity and position as a White person and faculty member**

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

- 2. I have a new understanding of the history of racism in higher education**

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

- 3. I understand the meaning and implications of a Predominantly White Institution in higher education**

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

- 4. I feel comfortable addressing negative emotions from White colleagues and students about race**

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

- 5. I can define racial battle fatigue and I understand the impact that it has on students of color**

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

- 6. I learned the multitude of ways that racism occurs on both the micro/individual level and the macro/institutional level**

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

- 7. I understand the meaning of antiracism and antiracist pedagogy**

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

- 8. I have identified action steps to move my antiracism journey forward**

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

- 9. Facilitators of this workshop were prepared and knowledgeable about the content**

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

10. Please outline your experience and any feedback about workshop content here.
