

2001

# The metaphysics of discrimination

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**The Metaphysics of Discrimination**

**A Thesis**

**Presented to**

**The Faculty of the Department of Philosophy**

**San Jose State University**

**In Partial Fulfillment**

**of the Requirement for the Degree**

**Master of Arts**

**By**

**Mark S. Monroe**

**December 2001**

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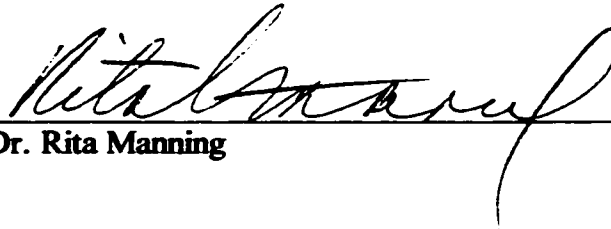
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## **Forward and Dedication**

Throughout this thesis it may appear that I am being very critical of the United States and the American experience. The fact of the matter is I am. The reason is not that I believe that Americans are evil people or that America is the worst place on the planet to live. The opposite is true; I have spent over 20 years of my life in the defense of this country. There is, however, room for improvement and the need to take off the mask that discrimination can place on a nation.

I would like to thank a number of people that helped me to survive the process of writing this thesis. First of all I would like to thank my sister Cathy Monroe, Dr. Rita Manning, Dr. Michael Katz, and Dr. James Lindahl who had to endure countless number of rewrites. Dr Jim Toudio, for making one comment to me, during a side conversation, that changed my focus. The conversation was about the works of Michel Foucault and he said, "The trick is knowing what to do once you have found out it was a lie. That knowledge is a powerful force. You have to make the choice of using the force to create chaos or use it to build upon." From the Air Force Reserve Command my debt and gratitude goes to Major General Joseph McNeil and Lieutenant Colonel Nancy Griffen for guidance and insight into issues to which I am often blind.

Last but not least I have to thank my wife and children for putting up with this process and me for the two years I spent writing. It is for them that this work is so important.



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My excellent friend, you are an Athenian, a citizen of this great city, so famous for wisdom and strength, and you take every care to be as well off as possible in money, reputation and place then are you not ashamed not to take every care and thought for understanding, for truth, and for the soul, so that it may be perfect?

Plato

## **Introduction**

The topic that was originally selected to be the focus of this thesis was the philosophical implications related to the phenomenon of sexual harassment and gender discrimination. The reasons this topic was chosen were that it has contemporary importance and that the subject crosses the line between empirical knowledge and metaphysical analysis. The problem was the subject of sexual harassment and gender discrimination could not be fully explained without first explaining the fundamental aspects of discrimination. As the British empiricist George Berkeley once pointed out, "We know a thing when we understand it; and we understand it when we can interpret or tell what it signifies."<sup>1</sup> In simple terms, without a basic knowledge of the broad subject of discrimination, it is impossible to engage intelligently in a meaningful discourse on the focused topic, in this case, sexual harassment and gender discrimination.

There is a plethora of scholarly literature that speaks specifically about the subject of sexual harassment and gender discrimination. The discourse that surrounds the subject is often misguided because the authors want to separate sexual harassment and gender discrimination from other forms of discrimination. Without the tie back to the basic definition of discrimination, this discourse on the topic is never really able to grasp the essence of the subject. In an attempt to grasp the essence of the subject matter, the focus

of this thesis shifted from the specific manifestation, gender discrimination/sexual harassment, to the broad spectrum of discrimination.

This thesis assumes that the most fundamental aspect of discrimination is the effect that discrimination has on the self. Once an understanding of the effect on the self is established, the specific form of discrimination becomes clear. Consequently, how the self is constituted is one of the central questions of this thesis. How people come to identify themselves and how discrimination can alter their identity of the self are the primary issues to be explored. All of this exploration is being done because if there is no understanding of how discrimination affects the self, there can be no understanding of discrimination.

Traditionally a research project on discrimination would primarily be on the empirical effects that discrimination has on the target or victim of the discrimination. This thesis will generally work within that tradition, and then it will take it one step further by looking at the effects that discrimination has on the self of the discriminator. This path was chosen based on the belief that the effect of discrimination on the *metaphysical* self of the discriminated and the discriminator are similar. The major difference is that the effects on the discriminator are seen as more damaging to the meta self and have more long-term effects. In no manner should it be construed that this thesis is making the claim that the effects of physical discrimination are the same for both the empirical selves of the discriminator and the discriminated.

The first six sections will be devoted to the task of developing a common starting point by explaining exactly what is meant by the term “discrimination”. The following

three sections will be a brief look at the make up of the self. With a common understanding of discrimination and of self established, the final task, and main part of this thesis, will be to understand the long and short term effects of discrimination on the self.

The goal to be accomplished within the limited space of this thesis is to gain an understanding of how the self is affected by the act(s) of discrimination and how the self of the discriminated and discriminator are changed when these acts of discrimination occur. Once that understanding is established, there will be access to the many different specific manifestations of discrimination. Discrimination remains one of the most talked about and completely misunderstood concepts of our time. Because of this lack of understanding the remedies assigned to discrimination, no matter what form they take have failed to reach their respective goals.

As a side note, this thesis also makes the contention that the fastest way to ensure an affirmative action or any other program designed to bring about equality is going to fail is to force a bigot to have quotas. The reason for this probable failure is the bigot will use the law to show how second class everyone that does not fit into their demographic group is, even if that means they have to destroy their business in the process in order to prove their point. Logic and rationality appear to have little to do with discrimination and the law can do very little to stop it or eliminate its essence. Even with the laws in place it is easily possible for an organization to be in complete compliance with all Affirmative Action laws and regulations and still not have a diverse work force and have discriminatory practices in hiring/firing/promotions, etc. From the

discriminatory workplace practices in America to the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia,<sup>2</sup> discrimination is an empirical manifestation of a metaphysical problem.

### **Section 1: History**

The objective of the first six sections is to clearly define what is meant when this thesis uses the term discrimination. The approach to the definition of discrimination comes from a several diverse traditions. The ultimate goal of the thesis is the understanding of a subject that can be thought of as being both metaphysical and empirical. The background information relies heavily on the work of Aristotle, Kant, King and others; at the same time it will also be dependent on historical events, the law, and precedents set in different courtrooms across the country. The history and the law will be used to help establish a commonality among the many different forms of discrimination.

Even though this analysis focuses primarily on American history, law, and how specific forms of discrimination have developed in America, it does not mean that the end product will apply only to America. More specifically, this is not a study of how white males have discriminated against blacks' unlike many discussions on the subject of discrimination. Discrimination is not simply a black and white issue or male versus female issue and it never was. This thesis is an exploration into the phenomenon of discrimination in a very broad sense of the term. The American experience is being used here because of how easy it is to gain information on it and the multiplicity of groups that live there. The end product can be applied to any number of western and non-western

societies. The conclusions reached will not be based on any one society or any single point in time.

Before proceeding, there are two terms used at the end of the introduction that everyone reading this thesis may not be familiar with. The two terms represent the two realities that subjects of this thesis exist in. A claim of this thesis is that discrimination is not just an empirical problem, but a metaphysical phenomenon. Over the course of philosophical history these two simple words have been at the core of many heated debates about reality. Whether or not reality is based on the empirical world or the metaphysical has caused many sleepless nights for the likes of Kant, Descartes, Berkeley, Plato and others. However, for the current discussion only a basic definition of the two words is going to be offered. Empirical means sensory data or the physical world. Metaphysical means simply, beyond physical.

So when this thesis speaks of discrimination it does so in both the empirical and metaphysical sense of the word. One way to think about this dichotomy is to look at discrimination as if it were a cancer within a society. The empirical manifestation of discrimination is the cancer. The metaphysics of discrimination is the multitude of symptoms and the causes of the symptoms of the cancer. Left untreated it will consume the entire society much like cancers will consume an organism. But just cutting out the cancer does not mean that the organism has been cured. To fully eliminate the cancer, one must address the symptoms and the causes of the symptoms. In this analogy the cancer is the empirical manifestation of discrimination and the symptoms and causes are the metaphysical aspects. Just like the medical community understands what a cancer

looks like, society knows what discrimination looks like. The medical community does not yet completely understand all the symptoms or causes of cancer; society does not yet fully understand all the symptoms and causes of discrimination.

The rest of this section will be devoted to developing a “definition” of discrimination versus building a “conception” of discrimination. The reason behind this tack is the way that discrimination has been defined in the past has lead to the general misunderstanding of discrimination today. If this first step of defining discrimination is unsuccessful the rest of the thesis will be meaningless. Once a definition of discrimination has been secured then the task will be to see how the conception of discrimination interacts in the world.

On the surface looking for an overall definition of discrimination is a very broad, general, and daunting task. It is almost an unrealistic goal for an author to set for himself or herself. To help make this a workable project, the scope of the task at hand needs to be redefined and narrowed. The participants on all sides<sup>2</sup> of the argument need to reexamine the basic definition of discrimination so they are, at least, talking about the same subject. To start the narrowing process, I will begin with the dictionary definition of the word “discrimination”.

Quoting the dictionary is not something that is normally done in the context of a philosophical paper. A dictionary captures the culturally accepted definition(s) of a word. This definition is used to explain a particular phenomenon. The way that any given phenomenon occurs in the world is manipulated to fit neatly one of the established definitions. The reality is the phenomenon does not always fit the established definition



of a word. So the dictionary can give a distorted view of any word. However, in this case the dictionary is the perfect launching point to begin the discussion and investigation. Because the understanding of discrimination is so vague, the dictionary definition may provide a stable enough platform from which to build a more comprehensive common understanding of discrimination.

According to the *Random House Webster's College Dictionary* "Discrimination: 1) the act or instance of discriminating. 2) action or policy based on prejudice or partiality: *racial discrimination*. 3) the power of making fine distinctions; discriminating judgment."<sup>3</sup> The manner in which the dictionary traditionally speaks of discrimination is set up into the three separate definitions of the word. Each definition applies to particular instance of usage for the word discrimination. Breaking away from that tradition, this thesis is suggesting that the three definitions should be thought of as three components of one definition. The three dictionary definitions of discrimination; the act, the ability to discern a difference, and the power to make the distinction, are the three component parts of one definition of discrimination. In any comprehensive discussion about discrimination these three components should be present. The act has to be committed, and the person committing the act has to have the power to do so. In addition the person committing the act has to be able to distinguish the difference between him/her self and the self that belongs to others. All three components are, in essence, actions; some notable event must first happen for it to be classified as discrimination.

These three components will work as the foundation of the broader understanding of discrimination. At this stage however, the components being used are still very vague

and not very useful, because they build a definition that is still far too broad. For example, is the ability to discriminate between foods a bad thing? All three components of the dictionary definition of discrimination are present in the question. But, in this context the obvious answer is no; the ability to discriminate between foods based on personal tastes is a reasonable and morally neutral skill. Often this simple-minded argument is used and is successful at making any serious dialog on the subject confusing.

The next layer that is to be built upon this foundation moves the discussion from the dictionary to another part of the library consisting of law and history books. The transition to the legal definition of discrimination will be based primarily on the Civil Rights Act of 1964,<sup>4</sup> the events leading up to it, and consequences of the passing of that act. The Civil Rights Act is an attempt to place empirical parameters on the scope of discrimination. For the purposes of this thesis the Civil Rights Act will help to focus the discussion in a particular direction. In order to build a meaningful definition of discrimination the focus is going to be on the verbiage found in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The stated purpose of Title VII is to ensure equality is afforded to the individuals in a protected class in areas of employment. The protected classes found within the make up of Title VII are a person's national origin as well as race, color, religion and sex. Title VII states that the act of employment discrimination is an adverse action (hiring, promotion, termination, job assignment, and termination) that is based solely on whether a person belongs to a protected class and such an act is illegal. In the 1970's this definition was broadened to give a more precise understanding to "sexual harassment", a form of gender discrimination. Sexual harassment needed the extra

attention because there were some empirical aspects of sexual harassment (Quid Pro Quo) that do not exist with other forms of discrimination. Since its inception, the Civil Rights Act continues to expand to include more protected categories, for instance age. Each state has the capability to add its own protected categories to the list like sexual preferences and weight. A new category that was just introduced in federal employment is discrimination based upon genetic screening.<sup>5</sup> Even though the Civil Rights Act and the Employment laws have been adjusted over the years, their primary focus has been on how the act, the power, and the ability to discern in a limited number of categories may affect an individual's ability to work.

Currently the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP), a subdivision of the Department of Labor (DoL), through a memorandum of understanding with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) has been charged with ensuring that businesses and corporations doing business with the federal government of \$50,000 annually and who employ 50 or more people at any given location, uphold the intent of the Civil Rights Act. The OFCCP does this through random audits of companies, inspecting the effectiveness of the company's Affirmative Action plan to ensure that a company is in compliance with applicable laws. Contrary to the common misperception among many companies, the OFCCP is not a labor advocacy organization. The OFCCP does place some limits on what a business or corporation can do in the employment decisions. When the OFCCP defines discrimination they introduce two terms which address the different effects of discrimination:

## **Discrimination**

See "Disparate Impact," "Disparate Treatment," and Chapter 7.

### **Disparate Impact**

A theory or category of employment discrimination. Disparate impact discrimination may be found when a contractor's use of a facially neutral selection standard (e.g., a test, an interview, a degree requirement) disqualifies members of a particular race or gender group at a significantly higher rate than others and is not justified by business necessity or job relatedness. An intent to discriminate is not necessary to this type of employment discrimination. The disparate impact theory may be used to analyze both objective and subjective selection standards. Same concept as adverse impact. See definition of adverse impact.

### **Disparate Treatment**

A theory or category of employment discrimination. Disparate treatment discrimination may be found when a contractor treats an individual or group differently because of its race, color, religion, sex, national origin, handicap or veteran status. An intent to discriminate is a necessary element in this type of employment discrimination, and may be shown by direct evidence or inferentially by statistical, anecdotal and/or comparative evidence.<sup>6</sup>

Chapter 7 of the OFCCP's *Compliance Manual*, further defines what is meant by discrimination. Again, it is placing limits as to what can be considered as discrimination in the eyes of the federal government. It also starts by stating a key point that not all unfair treatment can be considered discriminatory:

#### **7C00 DISCRIMINATION DEFINED**

Discrimination is unfair, but not all unfair treatment is discriminatory. Something more than simple unfairness (i.e., unfairness not based on a prohibited factor) is necessary to constitute illegal discrimination. At its most elementary level, employment discrimination is established by showing a nexus between an adverse action (e.g., a termination) and a prohibited factor. The different theories (or categories) of discrimination are different ways of looking at an adverse action which you have observed and determining whether there is a nexus between that action and some prohibited factor.<sup>7</sup>

Throughout the OFCCP definition of discrimination there can be found the three basic components of discrimination. There is the act or action, the ability to do the act and the power to do so. The type of discrimination that the Civil Rights Act and the OFCCP are focusing on is primarily based upon superficial and often just visual differences between people. These differences of concern are usually outside the control

of any member of a group, for example race, gender, and age. Even illegal religious discrimination is often based on physical expressions of the religions. The narrow focus is caused by the fact that the physical aspects of discrimination are the only areas that laws can address. So what the OFCCP has done is place definite limits as to what actions can and cannot be called discrimination. However, it can do nothing to stop or adjust personal discrimination or a person's discriminatory thoughts.

There were several key events in American history that led to the development of the Civil Rights Act. One such event was the centuries that the institution of slavery was allowed to manifest itself in the American South. Slavery is not just an American phenomenon; it has been apart of the world and human landscape for thousands of years. References to the practice of slavery can be found in many different religious and historical documents. But in America the practice of slavery took on a particularly violent and dehumanizing twist than was normally associated with other occurrences of slavery. In other places and times in history when slavery was practiced, often there were means for the slave to earn freedom and the slave was able to maintain some level of human dignity, self-respect, and identity. This was not the case in America. In America the slave was a slave no matter what. In the following quote Dr. King explains the basic treatment a slave could expect in America.

The Negro family for three hundred years has been on the tracks of racing locomotives of American history, dragged along mangled and crippled. Pettgrew has pointed out that American slavery is distinguished from all other forms of slavery because it consciously dehumanized the Negro. Greece and Rome, for example, slaves preserved dignity and a measure of family life. Our institution of slavery, on the other hand, began with the break-up of families on the coasts of Africa. Because the middle passage was long and expensive, African families were torn apart in the interest of selectivity, as if the members were beasts. In the ships' holds, black captives were packed spoon fashion to live on a voyage often lasting two to six months in a space for each the size of a coffin. If water ran short, or famine threatened, or a plague broke out, whole cargoes of

living and dead were thrown overboard. The physical torture was sufficient to murder millions of men, women and children. But even more incalculable was the psychological damage.<sup>8</sup>

The practice of slavery would not have been able to flourish as it did in America without other key events occurring relatively at the same time. One such critical event that took place with the creation of the United States was the legitimization by law of the institution of slavery and the status of slaves in the Constitution. The African American's station in the American landscape was forever institutionalized with what was to become commonly referred to as the three-fifths rule. "Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons." This Article was the end result of a compromise between the Northern and the Southern states, which simply said if a person had any Negro blood in them they were to be counted as only three-fifths human. By expressing this clause as such, the community at large was allowed to legally deny any rights to people of African decent as well as the children of mixed racial parentage.<sup>10</sup>

The country as a whole demonstrated, through the government, that it had the power and the ability to disenfranchise a group of people based solely on skin color. In fact, a court case in 1766 may have established the groundwork for this clause. A woman with mixed racial heritage, by the name of Jenny Slew from the Massachusetts Colony, sued her owner, John Whipple in order to gain her freedom. The basis for her suit was the claim that she was kidnapped and then wrongly enslaved. During the course of two

trials the issue of kidnapping started to be overlooked and the issue became one of parentage. As it turns out, Jenny's mother was white, and because of her mother's race Jenny ultimately was able to win her freedom. In attendance at the trial was future President James Madison. The trial made such an impression on him that he even noted the trial in his personal diary. Framing the three-fifths clause as it was in the Constitution insured that no one of Negro blood would be able to file or seek relief for any similar sorts of a claims in the court system again.

The debate surrounding the three-fifths rule focused on human rights, states rights, and the right of the federal government to rule. When it came to human rights the Southern states could not acknowledge the slave as a whole person, because a person under the new constitution had the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These three rights were completely inconsistent with the institution of slavery as it developed in the South. The paradox is created when the illusion of a democracy was placed within a rigid caste system.

The argument was pressed by the South and accepted by the North that when dealing with the slaves in the first person, they should be treated purely as property. If they were property the federal government had little ability to interfere with a legitimate business transaction. Thus, as property, the slave would not have access to any legitimate institutional body that would acknowledge their humanness. During the course of the debate that was enshrining in law the slave's status, another dynamic was introduced that involved the South's insistence that they should be able to count the slaves as individual persons when it came to figuring out the number of congressional

seats each state would have. The Representatives from the Northern states disagreed, but their objection was not made on the grounds that the institution of slavery was morally wrong. The North's objection came in the form of a pragmatic argument, that the Southern states could not have it both ways. Either the slave was a person with rights or they were a non-person with no more rights than cattle and therefore counted for nothing more than cattle. Out of that debate, the three-fifths compromise was born. The founders of the Constitution were more concerned with the creation and stability of a new country, so the rights of what was claimed to be a relatively small number<sup>11</sup> of people were overlooked in what was considered at the time to be a practical and reasonable compromise. It has been debated whether or not the members of the Continental Congress believed that the issue of slavery would be peaceably resolved at a later time. In actuality this small clause in the Constitution has had a profound effect on a great number of people and its effects can still be felt today, long after the clause was forcibly eliminated from the Constitution after the Civil War.

A similar thought process could be seen in the 1857 Supreme Court case, Scott vs. Stanford<sup>12</sup>, usually referred to as the "Dred Scott" Case. Scott sued his current owner for freedom because his former owner took him from Missouri to Illinois and then to the Wisconsin Territory, which was considered free soil under the Missouri Compromise. Scott claimed he was entitled to be free by virtue of having been in a territory where his freedom was protected under the law. Justice Taney wrote the majority opinion for the court, in which he claimed that Scott in fact did not have the right to sue. The reasoning that was set forth was Scott was a Negro whose ancestors had been slaves, non-citizens,



and consequently he never, nor could he ever be, considered a freeman and a citizen of the United States. Thus, Scott could not have access to a system that should have protected him. It was also determined in this case that Congress did not have the right to interfere with interstate commerce just because a slave (property) went into a territory where slavery was prohibited. That did not mean that the slave (property) was free. The slave was still subject to the laws of the state that enslaved them. At this point in American history with the active blessing of the U.S. Government, the African American population was still not viewed as entirely human.

The following excerpt from Chief Justice Taney's majority opinion will clearly demonstrate the prevailing attitude of the Supreme Court at that time. It was the Court's belief that the founding fathers intended that the slave population and their descendents remain in servitude to that white population:

The language of the Declaration of Independence is equally conclusive.--"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among them is life, liberty; and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.' The general words above quoted would seem to embrace the whole human family, and if they were used in a similar instrument at this day would be so understood. But it is too clear for dispute, that the enslaved African race were not intended to be included, and formed no part of the people who framed and adopted this declaration; for if the language, as understood in that day, would embrace them, the conduct of the distinguished men who framed the Declaration of Independence would have been utterly and flagrantly inconsistent with the principles they asserted; and instead of the sympathy of mankind, to which they so confidently appealed, they would have deserved and received universal rebuke and reprobation. Yet the men who framed this declaration were great men—high in literary acquirement—high in their sense of honor, and incapable of asserting principles inconsistent with those on which they were acting. They perfectly understood the meaning of the language they used, and how it would be understood by others; and they knew that it would not in any part of the civilized world be supposed to embrace the negro race, which, by common consent, had been excluded from civilized Governments and the family of nations and doomed to slavery....<sup>13</sup>

The opinion of the court was obvious, that the Negro was not to be considered a human worthy of the basic human rights of any civilized government or real human. There has been some debate about the reason why the court heard the case in the first place. Many believe the only reason that the Court took on the case was to settle the issue once and for all times by establishing the ruling that the Negro's place in life was less than human. However, by listening to the case, the Court in essence had to grant that the slave had risen to the status of an individual. No matter what the verdict was and no matter what the majority opinion said, the Court had acknowledged for that instance in time that Scott was a person with at least the right to petition the court system for a redress of constitutional governance.

In another important Supreme Court case, Plessy vs. Ferguson<sup>14</sup> (1896), the discussion again was centered on racial equality. This case is the primary text where the idea of separate but equal came onto the American scene. In this case Justice Brown wrote the opinion of the majority: "We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with the badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it...If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane."<sup>15</sup>

With Justice Brown's opinion there is a new spin on an old idea. If one race thinks that a law makes them feel inferior, it is not the fault of the law but that of the individual. The move he makes is a very powerful one; it is a tactic that gets individuals

to internalize their status and makes them feel as if their own hand was the cause of their station in life. Justice Brown, like Justice Taney before him, clearly thinks that the issue itself shows the inferiority of the Negro race. Again the court had to recognize the descendent of the slave as a person with rights in order to hear the case. Even when the court claimed that the laws being disputed were not in violation of a person's civil rights, it acknowledged that the person had civil rights that could be violated.

In both of the preceding court cases, Scott v. Sandford and Plessy v. Ferguson, in order to maintain the status quo, the courts had to concede some ground. It is these concessions that the court made that helped to frame the legal environment in which the second Civil Rights Act could be created. The first Civil Rights Act was born out of the Civil War. For a short period following the war a concerted effort was made to comply with the intent of the Act. But a new set of unjust laws came into existence after the Civil War. These new laws were designed to undermine the intent of the 1866 Civil Rights legislation and return society back to the days before the civil war. The Jim Crow<sup>16</sup> laws, as they were commonly referred to, were the laws of the land and they existed in both the Southern and Northern states. These laws were attempts to place limits upon specific groups of people, the former slaves, and to continue to treat them as a means to an end and not as ends in themselves. The mentality of the population within some states never changed from the 1600's or 1700's. Former slaves were never allowed to be recognized or acknowledged as real humans, so their sense of self could never be redeveloped. They were the means of production, the machinery that picked the cotton or worked in the factory. This is not to say that whites did not work in dehumanizing

jobs, the major difference was that the white male was still able to retain his status as a white male, therefore human, while the Negro was never allowed to be human.

During the Post Civil War period the African American population was still considered as less than human in the eyes of the society at large.<sup>17</sup> When the Civil War “freed” the slaves it could be argued that it did so only superficially in name. Shortly after the Civil War there were some gains made towards equality. But those gains were lost with the end of the Reconstruction period beginning in 1877. The power structure that existed in both the South and North still differentiated that segment of the population as less than the population in power. Even the states that had anti-slavery laws on the books prior to the start of the Civil War differentiated the population based on skin color. Many abolitionists disagreed with the practice of slavery on moral grounds but still considered the Negro to be inferior to the white. If a society is predisposed to a particular action, in this case a caste system based on skin color, it does not matter what the law and the legal system states, the society will act in accordance with the predisposition of its legitimized citizens.

In this new millennium<sup>18</sup> the country is over 100 years older since the passing of the first Civil Rights Act.<sup>19</sup> There is one question that has to be asked over and over again. Why do we still have discrimination if we have and have had laws on the books for sometime that proclaim such acts are illegal? Different groups will approach this question with extremely separate agendas. The question is asked by one group to see if they can fix or improve the laws and their enforcement. This first group believes that the

laws do not go far enough to eliminate the disparity which past discriminatory acts have caused and therefore the laws need to be reworked.

Another group asks the question of why we still have discrimination as the focal point of their argument of why Civil Rights laws should be struck down. This second group makes the claim that even with more than a 100 years of Civil Rights legislation and protection, whites are still superior to all. Therefore it just proves that the disparity that still exists between the races is just the natural order of things. The laws should be eliminated because they are going against nature. A third group to enter into the conversation approaches the issue from the belief that the laws are no longer needed; that any disparity that may have existed at the time of the creation has long since disappeared from the human condition. Since the laws have done their job and outlived their usefulness, they should be repealed.

It is in center ground among these different agendas that a clue can be found as to one reason why there is still discrimination in the world today. The law and the legal system can only apply to what it can empirically judge, which is the physical act of discrimination. It cannot deal with many of the difficult metaphysical aspects that discrimination presents. A government cannot legislate against the power or the ability to mentally differentiate. The one aspect that all discrimination laws have in common is they can only be invoked when an action harmful to a person or group has been performed. Once an act has occurred then discrimination laws can be invoked only when it has been shown that the discriminatory act has unreasonably interfered with a person's ability to make a living, has caused the individual some sort of monetary damage, or has

denied him/her access to some basic human needs, such as housing and education. This is even true with the new “hate crimes” legislation. Before anything can be done legally there has to be an action. In the eyes of the laws there is no discrimination without a preceding illegal action.

In addition the anti-discrimination legislation has to be consistently enforced to be effective. Without real and consistent enforcement the law’s power becomes superficial in nature and essentially ineffective. There has been a great deal of discussion on the effectiveness of these laws and whether or not there has been adequate enforcement. Many people will legitimately claim that when it comes to housing, education, legal protection, and employment, the agencies that have been charged with the responsibility of enforcement are failing to do so adequately. The failure of these agencies is not the sole fault of the people working at the various agencies. The people who work in these governmental agencies, as a general rule, want to do a good job. But they have many difficult challenges that are outside of their control. The agencies are designed to be organizationally ineffective and a bureaucratic nightmare making it virtually impossible to efficiently and effectively process claims of discrimination or harassment. In some agencies there is a year to a year and a half backlog of cases waiting to be assigned to an over worked and understaffed investigator. Once a case is assigned to someone, then the process continues to take time to come to a ruling. If an agency finds in favor of the Respondent, then the Complainant has the right to take it into the court system. Once in the court system it could take years before a final decision is reached, as was the case in a case in San Antonio TX.

A class action suit had been filed in 1968 by a resident of San Antonio named Demertrio Rodriguez and by other parents on behalf of their own children, who were students in the city's Edgewood district, which was very poor and 96 percent nonwhite. Although Edgewood residents paid one of the highest tax rates in the area, the district could raise only \$37 for each pupil. Even with the 'minimum' provided by the state, Edgewood ended up with only \$231 for each child....Some hope of change was briefly awakened in the fall of 1989 when the front-page headlines in the *New York Times* and other leading papers heralded the news that the school funding system in the state of Texas had been found unconstitutional under state law....Demertrio Rodriguez put his hand on his chest to fight back the tears as students, teachers and community leaders cheered his vindication and their victory. As the crowd rose to applaud the 64 year old man. Rodriguez spoke in halting words: 'I cried this morning because this is something that has been in my heart....My children will not benefit from it.....Twenty-one years is a long time to wait'.<sup>20</sup>

But even after waiting over twenty years for a victory, the fight for equal funding in the Texas public school system was far from over. "Twenty-three years after Demertrio Rodriguez went to court, the children of the poorest people in the state of Texas still are waiting for an equal chance at education."<sup>21</sup> As this case shows often the legal system reacts too slowly to help the ones that filed the original charge. The barriers that are in place are very effective in maintaining the status quo.

## **Section 2: Metaphysics of Discrimination**

Laws are designed to and can only address the empirical manifestation of the discriminatory act. They can not be reasonably expected to do no more than that unless there is a desire to develop a thought police. The problem is the essence of discrimination is not in its empirical manifestation, but in discrimination's metaphysical roots. If discrimination were a purely empirical phenomenon then the laws that are currently on the books, which are being enforced by various governmental agencies would have effectively been able to put a halt to the act or at least they would have been able to effect significant progress in eliminating acts of discrimination.

Many people will adamantly disagree with the last statement, claiming that there has been significant progress in race and gender relations made over the past thirty years alone. The examples that they will often point to is the increase number of minorities and women that have “made it” within the American schematic. They will often refer to people like former pro basketball player Michael Jordan, former chief of staff Gen. (Retired) Colin Powell,<sup>1</sup> or pro golfer Tiger Woods as examples of success, and suggest that these individuals are “a credit to their race.”

There can be no argument that these individuals have been and continue to be successful in the careers they chose. But, they too are limited in the actions that they may take because of their skin color. Tiger Woods after winning the 1997 Master’s golf tournament was the butt of a racial joke by one of professional golf’s leading “gentlemen” player, Fuzzy Zoeller.<sup>2</sup> In addition there have been limits placed on Gen. Powell’s political activity based solely on his skin color. In the 2000 American Presidential campaign the religion of the Vice Present candidate became a hotly debated subject. Because the Demarcate Vice Presidential candidate was of the Jewish faith there was much speculation whether he was going to favor “Jewish” issues over “American” issues. This discussion did not occur with the Vice Presidential candidate for the Republican party, who was a Christian. The message being sent is only Christian means American and being Jewish or any other religion means to be foreign or having their loyalties elsewhere.

Even calling a minority a “credit to their race” has the implication of saying that the rest of their race or the majority of their race is not worthy of credit. So, while it may



be true that there has been some promising progress made in this country over the past two or so decades, it would not take much to lose all the progress that has been made to date. To show how close to the surface blatant race discrimination is this thesis will use two examples coming from modern statutes found in various state constitutions.

The first example is taken from the Constitution of the State of Alabama, Article 102, which states: “The Legislature shall never pass any law to authorize or legalize any marriage between any white person and a negro, or a descendent of a negro.” Even though current federal law makes this article an unenforceable, the fact that it remains an active part of the State of Alabama’s constitution in the year 2001<sup>3</sup> says that the State of Alabama still believes that segregation of the races is a fact of nature, and as a fact of nature segregation should also become a fact of law.

What a government enters in and elect to leaves in their constitution is an indicator of how that government will react against allegations of discrimination and intolerance. There are many examples of how a state can create an environment of religious intolerance through its laws. Many states have it clearly stated in their state constitution and statutes that they favor a Christian worldview and another religious point of view can be considered a criminal offense.

**M.G.L. - Chapter 272, Section 36**

**General Laws Of Massachusetts**

**Part IV.**

**Crimes, Punishments And Proceedings In Criminal Cases.**

**Title I.**

**Crimes And Punishments.**

**Chapter 272. Crimes Against Chastity, Morality, Decency And Good Order.**

**Chapter 272: Section 36. Blasphemy.**

**Section 36. Whoever willfully blasphemes the holy name of God by denying, cursing or contumeliously reproaching God, his creation, government or final judging of the world, or by cursing or contumeliously reproaching Jesus Christ or the Holy Ghost, or by cursing or**

contumeliously reproaching or exposing to contempt and ridicule, the holy word of God contained in the holy scriptures shall be punished by imprisonment in jail for not more than one year or by a fine of not more than three hundred dollars, and may also be bound to good behavior.<sup>4</sup>

As with the excerpt from the Alabama constitution, there are federal laws in place to counterbalance this state law. Without the counterbalance on the basic laws, America could easily revert back to a state of overt social segregation based on race, gender, or religious ideology within a period of five years. Even with the empirical controls in place, the ability of Civil Rights legislation to control discrimination is constantly being challenged, and there are movements that are designed to eliminate the control. In the current social political environment the protective laws become nothing more than stopgap measures. They are stopgap because they relate to only the empirical understanding of discrimination. With that in mind the intent of this section is to begin building that metaphysical understanding, the first step, by showing the source of discrimination's immoral status.

In the 1800's Immanuel Kant formulated a moral philosophy which provides a reason for morally objecting to discrimination. In the *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*; he refers to the ethical treatment of a person. "Act in such a way that you always treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of any other, never simply as a means, but always at the same time as an end."<sup>5</sup> According to Kant the only moral way people should treat each other is as individuals and not as things that are to be manipulated for someone else's personal gain.

What does it mean to treat someone as a means to an end and not an end in themselves? The phenomenon that Kant is talking about determines whether a person is to be

treated as an object or as a subject. To treat a person as an end in themselves is to treat persons as individuals and recognize them as subjects. In contrast, to treat a person as a means to an end is not to recognize a person's individuality and to treat the individual as an object. Treating a person as an object can be seen in one of the popular myths of the American business schematic in which the employer has to treat the workers as a human resource. If humans are resources this implies they are something to be used and when their use is gone, the employer is able to discard the resource without any serious thought, analysis, or consideration of moral consequences. The business world disposes of the human resource just like it would any other resource that has lost its perceived value to the organization. In many states this is called "employment at will" meaning that the employer is under no obligation to keep a worker. Karl Marx believed that this business schematic is the by-product of a capitalistic system in which human self worth is a devalued commodity. This devaluation of a human's self worth occurs when businesses focus solely on the bottom line and look at their workers as objects of production rather than as individual subjects.

The same structure that is predominant in the business setting is also true of the social schematic. Like most businesses, society can be thought of as a pyramid – the lower layers of the structure exist solely for the purpose of supporting the next layers of the building. In essence society as a whole is using the lower layers as a resource upon which the rest of society is built. The lower the level of society people finds themselves, the more they tend to become expendable and invisible.

In every act of discrimination, the discriminator, in one form or another, is using the discriminated as a means to some end and until the discriminator achieves their desired end, they will not consider the discriminated to be a subject. The goal of the discriminatory act is to have, for that moment in time, the control and power over another. This power over the individual has the effect of diminishing the target thus denying someone his or her access to wholeness of being. In 1948 the United Nation (UN) released its *Universal Declaration of Human Right*, which contain a number of Articles that acknowledge the right of the individual to live in an environment, which promotes wholeness of the person. In Articles 1 through 6 lay out the based grounding to the recognition of a person;

Article 1: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2: Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3: Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4: No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5: No one shall be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6: Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.<sup>6</sup>

These Article are in agreement with and expand upon the principles in Kant's Categorical Imperative. When followed these Articles provide a blue print for the moral treatment of people. When Kant's Categorical Imperative is ignored or violated, the result is an act of discrimination in its purest form and all of the Articles of the UN Declaration will in some manner be violated. The act of discrimination denies the

individual the opportunity that is essential to the process of self-actualization. Discrimination allows the dominant person, group, or class to transform the subject into an object to be manipulated any way that the dominant class wants. Kant's Categorical Imperative and the UN *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* are looking at the end result of discrimination and they provide the moral reasoning why people should not discriminate against each other. But, they do not explain what discrimination is or what is its cause.

What is missing from most discussions about discrimination is the formula that encompasses the three fundamental parts of discrimination: power; time; and authority. The formula looks like this: discrimination = power + time + authority ( $d=p+t+a$ ) which is not the same as power + time + authority = discrimination ( $p+t+a=d$ ). This formulation works only one way and it is not necessarily true when worked in the other direction. To have discrimination a group or individual must have the power, the time and the authority to establish and maintain a dominant position. However, if a group or person has power, time and authority, it does not necessarily mean that the group will be guilty of practicing discriminatory acts. The old saying that "Power corrupts and absolute power absolutely corrupts" is not necessarily true.

### **Section 3: The Structure of the Formula**

The goal of this section is to explain the different component parts to the discrimination formula just mentioned ( $d=p+a+t$ ). In some cases they are also inter-related by being sub-components of other components. Each has a specific role to play in

this phenomenon called discrimination and the phenomenon cannot exist without all three components being present.

One of the most misunderstood concepts intimately involved with the issue of discrimination is power. Power is usually associated with negative authority. As Michael Foucault pointed out, “one identifies power with a law, which says no, power is taken above all as a carrying force of prohibition.”<sup>1</sup> When people think of power the first thing that comes to mind is the way that power limits them.

Having power by itself does not mean that there is discrimination. Power without the other components just means that the ability to sustain control exists. But that control is fleeting, and without time and authority, power will have to resort to negative force in order to exert itself. That negative force in time will breed discontent and revolt. If all power did was say no, it would soon lose its ability to manipulate and control the general population. Frederick Engels saw this when he wrote the essay *The Role of Force in History*, “Let us now apply our theory to the contemporary German history with its practices of violence and blood and iron. This will enable us to see clearly why the policy of blood and iron was bound to be successful for a time and why it is bound to fail in the end”.<sup>2</sup> Engels understood that excessive negative force would in time, work against itself. An iron-fisted ruler can only exist for a limited period of time. Niccolo Machiavelli, who advocated cruelty over compassion in a leader, “whether it is better to be loved than feared, or the reverse. The answer is that one would like to be both the one and the other; but because it is difficult to combine them, it is far better to be feared than loved if you cannot be both”.<sup>3</sup> Even he could see that totalitarianism was not the

preferred method of rule for the state. "I conclude, therefore, that when a prince has the good will of the people he must not worry about conspiracies; but when the people are hostile and regard him with hatred he must go in fear of everything and everyone."<sup>4</sup> The control that the tyrant exerts over a population is superficial; once the fist has been removed the people go back to their old habits in very short order.

For power to have longevity it needs to be perceived as saying yes, even if it is just saying yes to limited privileges or perceived privileges. Foucault notes, "What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it includes pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourses. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression."<sup>5</sup> If all power did was say no, then the masses would in time revolt or find a way to undermine the power thus undermining the authority behind the power. In the process of controlling power needs to be seen as saying "yes", even if that "yes" is just an illusion of freedom and choice.

Authority differs from power in the fact that it does not necessarily rest in a body, for example, the thesis committee has the authority to determine the worth of this thesis. That ability has been vested in the committee by the university; and the university has received its authority from the state; and the state theoretically has received its authority from the people through the electoral process. The committee therefore has its authority sanctioned by the people of the state, so they then have the power over the career of a young philosopher. In a social structure, authority often rests in the state and the

sovereign. They have been granted the authority to make laws and regulate the lives of the citizens with the implied consent of its citizens. It does not matter where the sovereigns claim to get authority, either constitutional electoral process, the divine blessing of God(s), or an accident of birth. Their authority stems from the willingness of the citizens to allow them to rule. Without that willingness the sovereign's control will soon diminish. No matter what level authority resides, the same rules apply to all sovereigns, there has to be the willingness by those being ruled to let the authority exist. Authority is the support system behind the power. Without the support power is only temporary.

Power and authority in and of themselves are not bad things. Simply stated, power is the ability to sustain a position over a period of time. As time goes by that ability or power increases, if the perceived authority supports the power. The more it is perceived that the authority supports the power the stronger the power becomes. Power with the support of authority is a self-perpetuated phenomenon. For the ability to hold a position over a substantial period of time, the power must have the authority to hold that position. The three components of time, power, and authority<sup>6</sup> are interwoven with each other.

Time is simply the years, days, minutes, and seconds of a person's mundane life, and time is on the side of power and authority when they are not challenged. In the speech *The American Dream* Dr. King discusses one of the effects time has on the institution of discrimination.

First is the myth of time advanced by those who say that you must wait on time; if you 'just wait and be patient,' time will work the situation out. .... Even a superficial look at history



shows that social progress never rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless effort and the persistent work of dedicated individuals. Without this hard work, time itself becomes an ally of the primitive forces of irrational emotionalism and social stagnation.<sup>7</sup>

Over time the practice of discrimination or any social schematic begins to take on the appearance of being the natural order of things. People start to forget, and soon they are unable to remember when things were different. Once the act or practice appears to be natural it gains even more legitimacy within a social system. To change a perceived legitimate practice takes a force from outside of that social schematic to provide the motivation for the shift. If a group/country/individual/firm is acting in accordance with a perceived legitimate practice within their known social system, then their actions have the stamp of approval by the recognized authority. This recognition comes from the traditional source of knowledge and is just a perception. But, in this area perception is reality and if a group has approval from the recognized authority then any act that they commit becomes a legitimate act. Even the act of genocide can, and has been, legitimized within a closed society in this manner.

Until the rest of society understands the true nature of discrimination, every time a barrier comes down a new one will take its place. So long as there is a gap within the self any variable will do for the creation of an excuse for discrimination. In 1971 at Stanford University an experiment was conducted with mostly white male, middle class, college students. The administrators of the experiment divided the subjects into two groups. One group was given guard uniforms and dark glasses, the other group of students was given prisoner clothing. The guards were allowed to make up the rules that the inmates had to follow. The only guidelines the guards were given was that they could

not use physical force against the prisoners, but they were otherwise given freedom to maintain control any way they felt was appropriate. Almost immediately after the start of the experiment the two groups fell into their respective roles. The guards became very aggressive while the inmates withdrew back into the shadows. The experiment was scheduled to last over the course of several weeks, but it had to be terminated within one week for safety issues.

The guards had so completely fallen into the roles that they were treating the inmates as less than human and in some cases crossed the line and were committing acts of physical violence. The violating acts of physical violence occurred when the guards thought they were not being watched, but in fact the researchers choose not to react to the physical acts of violence, which were clearly against the established rules and safety parameters of the experiment. The guards' behavior had become so cruel that the administrators feared for the physical safety of the inmates. The artificial environment that the university created had no race, gender, or religion yet a society of inequality was created within a week. The effects of that experiment stayed with the individuals involved for months and years after the experiment had ended.

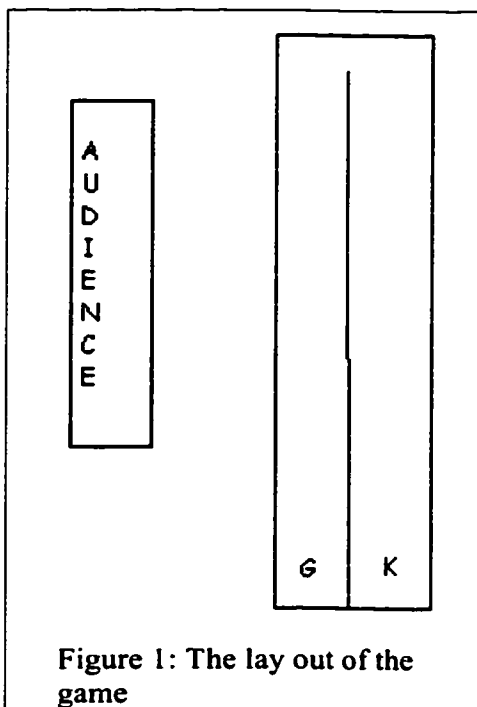
In the experiment the prison guards had on their side all three components of the formula. They had authority on their side in the form of the research scientist. From that authority came the power to control the inmates as they saw fit. Time played on the side of the guards as well. As time passed and the passive permission of the authority figures became apparent, the guard's power over the inmates increased, until the guards were seen as the authority figures.

The research scientists played a pivotal role in how the artificial environment developed. They originally established the ground rules for the guards and then slowly those standards were relaxed, to the point of being forgotten. The researchers became caught up in the matrix of the experiment. It was not until a known person from outside of the enclosed group of researchers came in and challenged what was happening that the experiment ended. Even though the outsider in this scenario was a well respected and known to the group of researchers, her challenge to the sanity of the experiment was met with resentment and resistance.

It was stated earlier that it takes an outside force to produce a shift in an accepted entrenched practice. As the prison experiment shows, the outside force does not necessarily have to manifest itself in the form of physical violence. Unfortunately, physical violence is often perceived as the needed energy to create a shift in power. Violence or the threat of violence can be an avenue for change. However there can be substantial change made with no physical violence. Movements of nonviolence have been effective in the past for creating social change. But the group that is pushing for the social change will always meet with a violent resistance to that change. Just how much physical violence is experienced is dependent on the amount of change being attempted. Also the violence that is experienced does not always take the form of physical violence.

#### **Section 4: A Game**

This section contains a thought experiment that is designed to help explain some of the dynamics associated with discrimination. Imagine a state sponsored game being played between two people, Player G and Player K. Players K and G are two males with no real significant economic or biological differences between them. The differences that do exist are minor and they should not impede or enhance the performance of either



player. The other participants in this game include an audience watching this contest and the contest judge. The prize for the winner of this contest is a big pot of gold, worth millions of dollars. The winner of this game will theoretically be taken care of for the rest of his life. The loser of the contest will receive nothing.

Players G and K are at the starting line of a 100 kilometers<sup>8</sup> track that is inside of a large building. There is a wall that separates the two players and no sound will carry over from one track to the other. Instructions will be piped in over a loud

speaker system to each player once the players are on their respective track. This way the contestants will be informed of any changes that may occur and will receive further instructions. The action that is happening on the racetrack is directly linked back live without editing to television monitors that the audience can see. Members of the

audience can hear what is said to each contestant and they can see how each contestant is treated. The Players can see or hear the audience reactions to the activities of the game.

Here are the basic rules for this contest, for every contest must have rules if it is to be fair:

Rule 1: The judge makes all the rules.

Rule 2: The contestants must follow the rules of the judge.

Rule 3: If a rule is broken the judge will assess a penalty as fairly as he sees fit.

Rule 4: If there are any questions see Rule 1.

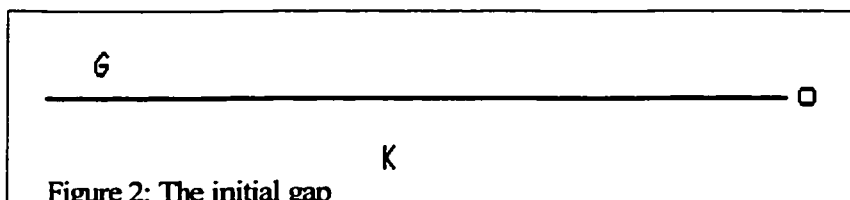
The object of this game is simple; each contestant must walk at a normal pace to the other end of the track. The first one there gets to keep the pot of gold for themselves. This is a winner-take-all type of contest; there will be no sharing of the gold. Since one person wins it all or no one gets the gold, the contestants can not help each other. In the event of a tie the judge will determine who gets the pot of gold.

Both of the contestants have heard these instructions and are asked to step inside their respective lanes. Once inside their lanes are sealed off. Player G notices that he can see Player K and he also notices that he can hear Player K too. Player G is not given any explanation from the judge why his lane was not the way he thought it should be. What Player G does not know is that Player K can not see him nor hear what goes on in his lane. To Player K the lane looks exactly as he expected. There were two walls; a ceiling and a speaker system. To Player K there appears to be nothing wrong with the situation; everything is as it should be. When Player G does question the judge about the layout,

the judge tells him is that he need not worry about the other Player but should focus his energy on himself.

As the two contestants get ready to begin, the judge comes up to Player G and informs him that he must low crawl the distance of the track. Because of the situation in his lane, Player G knows that these instructions were not given to Player K. As he starts to protest the judge reminds him of the rules and tells him that if he did not want to suffer a penalty, he should do as the judge says.

The race begins. As it may have been predicted, Player K has a fairly large lead in no time at all. Player K is standing upright and walking at a very fast pace. In the beginning the members of the audience are quiet, because they do not understand the rules of the game; so they make the assumption that they are missing some important



information about the dynamics of the game. After a significant period of time passed and when

no justification for the actions of the judge is given, the audience starts to become outraged at the blatant attempt to ensure that Player K is the winner of the contest. The audience begins to voice some protest over what is happening. So the judge, sensing the potential for a riot exists, tells Player G to stand up and start walking at a “normal pace”. At this time Player K is almost  $\frac{1}{2}$  the way through the course. He (K) can see the finish line, but he does not know where Player G is in relation to his position. Player G, in an attempt to gain some ground, starts to walk at a very fast pace. The judge stops him and

reminds him that the rules clearly state that he is to walk at a normal pace. The penalty is to go back to the start line. Player G complies with the ruling, but is swearing under his breath. The judge hears the words and assesses another penalty of sitting still for ten minutes so Player G has time to “think about” what he has done.

Again the audience raises its voice at the unfair treatment of Player G. Player K is  $\frac{3}{4}$  the way through the race and Player G has not been allowed even to start. So the judge announces that he is a fair man and that “each Player will be treated the same”. He promises he will no longer *actively* interfere with the progress of Player G. To prove his point the judge stops Player K and takes down the wall between them. It is at this point that Player K can finally see and hear what is happening to Player G and both Players can see and hear the reactions of the audience. Player K wonders at first why the other player is so far behind. The judge informs Player K that, “he does not know for sure but he suspects that the other Player (G) must be lazy and cannot follow the rules”. According to the judge they each had received the same rules then stated, “Look where you are in comparison to the other Player.” With the information supplied to him by the judge, Player K concludes that Player G must not want the prize or has been caught cheating so many times that he has been sent back to the beginning of the race. Either way it was Player G’s own fault for where he was.

The race is restarted Player K again places his sights on the prize and starts walking at a very fast pace. Player G sees this and takes off at the same pace. But he knows that the separation is too great for him to ever catch up, so he starts to run, which he knows it is a violation of the established rules. The judge again stops Player G and

this time fines him half the distance back to the start line. When Player G asks about the pace that Player K has taken, the judge stops Player K and penalizes him two steps back. The judge's rationalization is that this was Player K's first offense and that he had been a model player up to this point. The two-step penalty was enough to ensure that justice was served. At the same time the Judge penalizes Player G six more steps back for arguing with the Judge.

Player K understands the events that just happened to himself and he has observed the interaction between the judge and the Player G, and at this point Player K's assumptions about Player G seem reasonable. Player G must be cheating and breaking the rules. That is why Player K is where he is and Player G is where he is. Player K the fairness of the contest is no longer an issue of concern for him. To Player K knows that penalties are handed out on both sides when the rules are broken, so what the judge told him about Player G must be true.

The audience again raises its voice, much to the surprise and distress of Player K. They are saying something that Player K does not understand; they are claiming that the contest is unfair. Player K starts to get upset; how dare they say that he was not earning what he was about to get. Player K knows that he has walked every single step in this race and that he is complying with the rules that were given to him.

The audience wants the judge to either restart the race or bring Player G up to where Player K is standing, much to the dismay of Player K. Player K angrily responds to this action and he verbally protests by stating; "Hey, I had to work to get where I am!



Why are you giving him a free ride up here? I did not get any special treatment, why should that person?"

Here ends the Game

The model of the game was used to illustrate the multiplicity of components that come into play with discrimination. The first component was showing that effects of past discrimination last much longer than the original act of discrimination. The second is that some players do not know or see the other person being discriminated against. There is nothing in their experience that will allow them to see the disparity of treatment. Third, Player G did not know that Player K could not see him. Fourth, it can be seen how the cycle of discrimination can be influenced from the outside. The fifth condition is that the authority figure has the ability and the power to manipulate the system, and the authority's power is dependent on the force that has acted in opposition to it, namely the audience.

How did time play against Player G? When they both started out Players G and K were relatively equal. However, each time that the Judge impeded the progress of Player G the net effect was he doubled the distance between the two players. When Player G was going back; Player K was allowed to proceed relatively unimpeded. So when the barriers were theoretically "brought down" and both players were allowed to compete "under the same rules" the gap between them was so great that it could not be bridged under the current scheme.

When the barrier that was separating the two Players was taken down, Player G was so far behind that there was nothing within the established rules he could do to make

up lost ground. At the same time the attitude of Player K becomes understandable once it is understood that his perception of the world was manipulated by the actions of the judge. To Player K everything appeared to be as it should have been, it was almost natural that Player G was that far behind. As Mill notes, "But was there ever any domination which did not appear natural to those who possessed it." Given Player K's station in the game he could not possibly see what had already happened or how the prior actions taken by the judge were to his advantage.

When Player K is accused, or perceives that he is being accused, of being favored, Player K takes that to mean that people are saying that he did not earn his position, his station in life. To him it is frustrating. He perceives himself as a hard working individual and someone who plays by the established rules. When someone tells him that he has been given an unfair advantage, the response will be something like, "Advantage to what? I have earned everything that I have." In a sense, this is a true enough statement. Player K did participate in the game within the rules that were given to him and he did move down the track under his own power. He just could not see that his trip down the road was relatively unhindered by the judge, while Player G on the other hand had many obstacles to overcome to end up in the same place that he started.

Much of the discrimination that is going on presently can be directly linked to events that happened many years in the past, and that past action is what is being perpetuated by actions today. Because of the judge's hindrance of Player G, the difference between the two players towards the end of the game could never be made up. Now if the game is transposed onto real life, the separation that was created by the

institution of slavery, the subjugation of women, or the attempted genocide of the Native American provides us with historical parallels. These parallels can be seen in areas concerning education, housing, law enforcement, employment, and health care. Left to its own devices discrimination is a force that is self-perpetuating and self-fulfilling.

The next question to be explored is, what makes up the barrier that separated the two players? Why is it that some people just cannot see the problem? A recent newspaper article stated that 59% of white Americans believe that minorities are to blame for their present situation and they are the only ones that can be the fix their own problems.

The poll also found that 59 percent of African Americans want government to improve conditions by increasing affirmative action programs, 59 percent of whites believe that minorities should help themselves.

“White Americans don’t see a major problem,” said Newport, “so they don’t see any need for governmental intervention.”<sup>10</sup>

30 years before this article was printed Dr. King made a similar observation about how fast the dominant group can loses interest in the struggle for equality:

The majority of white Americans consider themselves sincerely committed to justice for the Negro. They believe that American society is essentially hospitable to fair play and to the steady growth towards a middleclass utopia embodying racial harmony. But unfortunately this fantasy of self-deception and comfortable vanity. Overwhelming America is still struggling with irresolution and contradictions. It has been sincere and even ardent in welcoming some change. But too quickly apathy and disinterest rise to the surface when the next logical step are to be taken.<sup>11</sup>

Dr. King’s point is the lead group can not see or does not want to see the group that is behind them. They want to have a sense that the disorder caused by the inequality has been corrected and the chaos that existed has ended.

Player K was, for the purposes of this mental exercise, an average person who is generally honorable and believes in fair play. Racism or differential treatment has never

been an issue with him. The reason that it has not been a problem is that in the past it has never **knowingly** affected his life. He was never **not** given something based solely on the color of his skin or his gender. In fact in many cases those two factors, gender and race, worked unknowingly in his favor. He also never **actively** discriminated against anyone.

He can not know directly what it means to be consistently discriminated against. As Hume writes, “If you tell me, that any person is in love, I easily understand your meaning, and form a just conception of his situation; but never can mistake that conception for the real disorders and agitations of the passion.”<sup>12</sup> A person cannot put himself or herself in the place of another person and know what the other person is feeling. The best that he/she can hope for is an understanding of how the other is feeling, and that is very different.

In 1965 Dr. King clearly recognized the problem with the invisible barrier and how it affected race relations. He wrote: “The white population is a stranger to the ghetto. Negroes are not only hemmed in it; whites are shut out of it.”<sup>13</sup> The white population was, and still is, systematically denied access to poverty except through a carefully controlled lens of the media. The media is able to paint a picture of life in the ghetto that supports and promotes the stereotypical mainstream understanding. The media is another recognized source of authority figure, which has the power to manipulate Player K's worldview. Based on the information available to him, Player K acted in a rational manner. Everywhere he turns there is information that validates his belief system. All the interactions that helped to create his worldview are seen from

inside the mask; the mask is a barrier that prevents him from seeing what was really happening. In the game when the audience asked for the return of his pot of gold, Player K fought back. His inability to see is built upon basic foundation of ignorance and stereotyping. The ignorance comes from the lack of life experiences, which would allow him to see. The stereotyping comes from basing one's beliefs about a group of people on the actions of, or the experiences with a few people.

There are mechanisms in place that secure a mask on the majority of the population. The mask primarily fits the dominant classes; they generally do not prevent the oppressed group from looking up and out. The wall that was created in the game was a one-way looking glass where Player G could hear and see what was happening to Player K, but Player K could not see or hear what was happening to Player G.

Poor people do not need to be reminded that the contest is unfair. 'My children,' says Elizabeth, a friend of mine who lives in a black neighborhood of Boston, 'know very well the system is unfair. They also know that they are living in a rich society. They see it on TV, and in advertisements, and in the movies. They see the President at his place in Maine, riding around the harbor in his motor boat and playing golf with other wealthy men. They know that men like these did not come out of the schools in Roxbury or Harlem. They know that they were given something extra. They don't know exactly what it is, but they have seen enough, and heard enough, to know that men don't speak like that and look like that unless they have been fed with a silver spoons and other things that cost a lot...'<sup>14</sup>

The media, in the form of movies, television shows and magazine articles, clearly show what the haves have. It is the window through which the poor and the excluded may look in and see what it is they are missing. There is no window for the haves to see into, to reveal what they have over others. There is no reflection down that would allow them to see the faces of the others.

Another part of the barrier is that fact that Player G does not know that Player K's view has been blocked. Player G's resentment increases, because he believes that

something that completely obvious is purposely being blatantly ignored. In Player G's mind there has to be a reason for Player K's action, because it is not logical, unless Player K had a predisposed dislike of Player G. Then Player K's actions are perceived to be discriminatory. With the increase in resentment comes an increased opacity in the barrier, making it harder for either side to see what is happening on the other side of the barrier.

The judge played the pivotal role in the process of validating Player K's belief system. It was the judge who gave Player K a penalty when he broke the rules, even though it was not as stiff as the penalties that Player G received. More over, he allowed Player K to bend the rules and proceed with little impediment. It was he that planted the seed of doubt in Player K's mind about Player G's ability and willingness to win the contest. The judge, who was the perceived legitimate and presumed "impartial" authority in this story, was able to manipulate the perception of reality in both Players. The judge was able to accomplish this only because both Players recognized his authority. One Player would see the world as fair and just while the other would see it as a farcical and unjust. But even the one that perceives the world as being unjust is still compelled to follow the rules enforced the authority figure, the judge.

In the end the barrier is not a physical object and it never has been. The barrier is a manifestation of different discourses over history. This manifestation has been built up over time; it is probably the strongest substance in the known universe. Biologically speaking there is no real difference between the racer. Race is a social and legal fiction that was created to help justify differential treatment of people. In the past this position

was advanced in the name of science, and many scientific studies were conducted to help support the idea that the races were biologically different. The premise behind the Nazi super race was that white, blond-haired Aryans were genetically superior to all other races. However recent studies in the Human Genome project have discredited these theories:

Skin color, cultural history and life experiences may differ, but there are no significant genetic differences between people, regardless of race or ethnicity, according to the scientists who decoded the human genome. In June, rival research teams from Celera Genomics of Rockville, Md. and the International Human Genome Sequencing Consortium tied in a contest to successfully sequence the entire set of hereditary instructions for human beings -- all 3.1 billion units of information. Since then, the scientists have set about interpreting the data and what it might mean for the future of science and medicine.

One of Celera's main discoveries is that people of differing ethnicities are virtually indistinguishable from one another at the genetic level. '[T]he Celera genome sequence ... represents some of the diversity of human kind,' Craig Venter, chief scientific officer at Celera Genomics, said in a statement. 'We are confident that our sequence will help to demonstrate that the human genome will not aid those who want to perpetuate racial prejudice.'<sup>15</sup>

One side benefit of the Genome project, it shows that the superficial easily distinguishable differences, which are traditionally used to differentiate people, i.e. skin color and gender, are not substantive differences at all. Maintaining a social/economic status could be the real reason many of the traditions and stereotypes were created. In the effort to maintain a position the stereotypes are being pushed and promoted by the recognized authority figures within a given society.

In the game the judge, who was the authority figure, had the power to manipulate the reality of the contest. The foundation for his power could have been generated from a number of different sources, i.e. money, family, race, gender, religion, or political. The key is power has to first come from or be granted by a recognized legitimate source of

authority. In this case the legitimization of the power came from the audience and the players. They had, at some level, agree to what the judge could or could not do.

If the audience did not interfere with the development of the game, would the judge have changed the way that he was controlling the game? If there were no other outside influences, probably not, unless the game was developing into something that was not to his liking. There would not have been any reason for him to change. If the game were to continue over time, the longer the judge remains in his position, the more legitimate the judge's authority over the game would have become. The relationship the judge has with both the audience and the Player is paradoxical, on the one hand he is dependent on the audience and the players for his power. But it is because of his power in the game that the judge is able to appear to be authoritative. He ends up legitimizing his own power and authority.

The judge appeared to be responsive to the demands of the general population; they were able momentarily to divert power away from, or limit, the extent of the judge's control. If the audience remained silent or if they had become complacent, that would have been a signal to the judge and the players that the audience agrees with the judge's actions. The judge was able to gauge the acceptability of his actions based upon the reactions of the audience. When it comes to discriminatory acts, silence on the part of the target or on the part of the society at large is usually interpreted as a gesture of consent in the mind of the perpetrator. This reasoning is a form of denial on the part of the discriminator. The discriminator's thought process reasons that if the target or society really objected to their actions then they would make their objections known.



Since any objections by the either target or society are not vocalized in a manner in which the discriminator can hear, to the discriminator it means that the discriminator's actions have been accepted.

The game also shows that the power and authority of the judge is not absolute. It can, and is, affected by outside forces. A web or interplay of relationships is required to create the reality of the game/life. Change any one of the strands on the web and the outcome of the contest will be permanently altered. Some strands have a greater effect on the outcome than others. This interplay of events that can manipulate the way the game is played out shows the complexity of the issue at hand. The question that has to be examined is why did the judge make the distinction between the two players in the first place? The underlying ontology reveals that there is a more complex explanation of the initial discrimination. To unravel this ontological explanation requires beginning with the intended effects of discrimination.

### **Section 5: The Same Old Arguments**

The arguments supporting discrimination never really change with the passage of time. This is true no matter who is the object of discrimination and who is the discriminator. To establish a pattern over a period of time, court records provide an excellent place to start looking and the United States Supreme Court has some of the best records to see the pattern of arguments being used. A recent case, United States vs. Virginia et al. (1996) shows an example of how the same arguments are revisited from the dust of the archives to be used over again. In this case the United States Government had taken the state of Virginia to court because of its admission policies to Virginia Military Institute (VMI). Since its inception VMI was an all-male college, which the

federal government believed to be in violation of Title VI and the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment. As a solution to the violation the state of Virginia proposed the creation of Virginia Women's Institute for Leadership (VWIL). This would be a separate, but equal, institution that would offer the same courses to females as VMI did for males. In its majority opinion the Court once again recognized the fallacy of a separate but equal school.

Virginia maintains that methodological differences are justified by the important differences between men and women in learning and developmental needs, but generalizations about 'the way women are,' estimates of what is appropriate for most women, no longer justify denying opportunity to women whose talent and capacity place them outside the average description."<sup>1</sup>

The state of Virginia also argued that necessary adjustments that would be required for the inclusion of women into VMI would surely "destroy VMI's program". What the lawyers for Virginia were saying was that it was not the state of Virginia or VMI's fault that men and women were different, by their very nature women and men simply learn differently. The difference between men and women requires differential treatment. It is a natural divide and according to the state of Virginia it should not to be taken as a deficiency in women.

Going back in history a person is readily able to see some of the same arguments were used. In the 1896 Supreme Court case Plessy v. Ferguson the idea of creation separate but equal facility was thrust onto the American landscape, only this time it was being applied to divide races.

The statute of Louisiana, acts of 1890, c. 111, requiring railway companies carrying passengers in their coaches in that State, to provide equal, but separate, accommodations for the white and colored races, by providing two or more passenger coaches for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger coaches by a partition so as to secure separate accommodations; and providing that no person shall be permitted to occupy seats in coaches other than the ones assigned to them, on account [p\*538] of the race they belong to; and requiring the officer of the passenger train to assign each passenger to the coach or compartment assigned for the race to which he or she belong; and imposing fines or imprisonment upon passengers insisting on going into a coach or compartment other than the one set aside for the race to which he or she belongs; and conferring upon officers of the train power to refuse to carry on the train passengers refusing to occupy the coach or compartment assigned to them, and exempting the railway company from

liability for such refusal, are not in conflict with the provisions either of the Thirteenth Amendment or of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.<sup>2</sup>

Brown v. Board of Education is another place where the roots for arguments used in the VMI case originated from. To the Topeka Board of Education it was perfectly understandable and rational to keep the two races separate because there are learning differences that exist between the races. The school districts in this case were claiming that they were not discriminating against the African American children, because, they claimed that the districts were providing the children with a separate but equal school system. The Kansas City Board of Education claimed that besides the demographics of the classroom, there would be no real notable difference in the educational experience in the two schools.

In an important footnote in this case of Brown v. Board of Education the courts did find that the separate but equal system was an educational program based on misleading social science evidence, which provided the basis for a discriminatory act.

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system.<sup>3</sup>

The three court cases being referenced show that over the span of a hundred years the argument had not changed at all. The foundation for each of the arguments comes down to one group claiming they were better than another group, and that the difference between the groups was not the result of any law or institution, but nature and hence it was just natural to keep the two in separate locations. Even in the modern school system

the arguments that were used to show the fallacy in separate but equal systems are stilled being ignored when it comes to the setup of school districts. The way that school districts are set up and funding allocated has the net effect of creating separate and unequal schools. This even true in states where it has been mandated that spending between school districts shall be less than 1%.

The current public school system claims that the inequality, which currently exists within the system, is not blatant racism or designed along race lines. The defense of these claims lies in the fact that the schools are laid out along geographic lines verses economic or racial lines. It just happens that the poorer schools end up in the poorest neighborhoods. Even in states where equal spending between schools is mandated, the inadequacy of the physical building serves as enough of a barrier to the creation of an equal school system. The newer schools can spend fewer of their allotted dollars on building maintenance and repair. They are able to spend more money on books, programs, and teachers, while in the poorer schools the same allotted fund go directly into building maintenance and there is little left over for books, programs, and teachers. It should not be surprising that the newer schools are located in suburban white middle class neighborhoods, while the poorer schools are located in the inner city in predominantly minority neighborhoods.

Since the passing of the Civil Rights Act there have been countless examples of how old arguments are being recycled over and over again. The recent public discourse about the fitness of women to serve in combat military roles is an example how the process of recycling arguments manifests itself. In this example many of the arguments

that are being used in the attempt to limit women from being fully integrated into the role of fighter pilot are the very same arguments used to support the claim that African Americans were not capable of flying fighters during World War II. The argument was the same: they<sup>4</sup> do not have the mental and/or physical capacity for the job. In both cases once they were given a chance they performed comparably to their counterparts. There was a notable difference in the way the two groups are treated. The way mistakes and the achievements are recognized differs between the majority and minority pilots. If a mistake is made by the group trying to gain entrance, that mistake was amplified. For example when a woman military pilot crashes her flight records are often made public, which is not the normal practice when a male pilot crashes<sup>5</sup>. If the group attempting to gain entrance does an excellent job, that excellence is minimized or forgotten. For example the flying record of the Tuskegee Airmen was the best of any escort group during World War II, yet for many years after the end of the war the Tuskegee Airmen were not recognized for their accomplishment or their contributions to the war effort.

Some of the people arguing for the segregation of men and women in military institutions would have been the same people taking part in the civil rights protests against the segregation of blacks and whites in this country. They now see no problem with segregating women into a subordinate role.

The point of this section is the basic foundation for arguments in favor of discrimination rarely changes. The same excuses have been used to exclude, repress, and exterminate people for centuries. What does change is the face of the target of the

discrimination. Over time groups that have been the target of discrimination can and have become the discriminator.

### **Section 6: What is it?**

At this point in the thesis there needs to be a quick recap of where the thesis is at in terms of understanding discrimination. The reason for this detour is to ensure that the map being developed remains clear and easy to read, in relation to where it has started and where it plans to go. In summary, the empirical act of discrimination is a physical action on the part of a group or an individual that makes an individual or a member of another group appear “less than” the other. In its essence, discrimination is the inability of one group (the dominant one) to see the other group as completely human. At this point in the process the concept of discrimination is really that basic and it applies to all forms of discrimination. It does not matter whether the discourse is about the limited number of minorities in executive positions in corporate America, the number of sexual harassment cases being filed with the EEOC or the genocide of people in Central Europe. All forms of discrimination have the same basic characteristic.

With their actions, is the discriminator’s attempt to make the discriminated less than they are. If the target, through the process of internalization, believes that they are less than fully human then they have helped in the perpetuation of the myths associated with discrimination. Once the target has internalized the myths, they then tend to live in accordance with that standard of self. That means that if the person has accepted the myth that they are less than and as such they deserve less from the society that they exist in, then they will live down to that expectation, and expect less out of the society. They

will become the stereotype that has been placed on them. To get the target to accept living down to the standard is the outcome that the discriminator wishes for, because that makes the position of the discriminator secure and justified.

If the objective of discrimination is to perceive the other as less than, then the question becomes why? Why would the dominant, want or need to perceive the other as less than? If discrimination is an attempt to deny access of members of the oppressed group to their whole self, then a possible motivation for this action is that it is an attempt to fill a gap within the self of the discriminator.

The idea that there is incompleteness within the self of members of the dominant groups is an issue that is often ignored by research about discrimination. It is the one issue that needs to be fully explored. Members of the dominant groups will almost always reject this hypothesis because the dominant group believes that they have the strongest and securest sense of self. The public persona within the society will also reflect the perception of completeness of self of the dominant group. The incompleteness of self will be the next major building block that will help support the rest of the thesis. To understand how this gap in the self relates to the understanding of discrimination, further detailed discussion is needed to explain what the self is. That same discourse also needs to include what is meant by incompleteness of self, how this incompleteness can be transferred from the discriminator to the discriminated, and how these metaphysical concepts interact with the empirical forces that create the environment in which discrimination can exist and flourish.

## **Section 7: A Short Introduction to the Self**

As a way of introducing this section a quote is going to be used that will be referred to throughout this section. In a section of his autobiography, Howard Thurman wrote about the reality that many African American parents of the early 1950's had to face at one time or another in this country. These situations were created as a direct result of the Jim Crow laws that existed in the Southern states and the *de facto* segregation of the North. This social reality forced many minority parents into explaining to their children the inequality that existed all around them, in a land that proudly claimed that, "All men were created equal" and held that standard up to the world as a model everyone should live up to. His dilemma was how, as a father, does he tell his children that they cannot play on a swing just because of their skin color?

As soon as Olive and Anne saw the swings, they jumped for joy. 'Look, Daddy, let's go over and swing!' This was the inescapable moment of truth that every black parent in America must face soon or late. What do you say to your child at the critical moment of primary encounter?

'You can't swing in those swings.'

'Why?'

'When we get home and have some cold lemonade I will tell you.' When we were home again, and had our lemonade, Anne pressed for the answer. 'We are home now, Daddy. Tell us.'

I said, 'It is against the law for us to use those swings, even though it is a public school. At present, only white children can play there. But, it takes the state legislature, the courts, the sheriffs and policemen, the white churches, the mayors, the banks and businesses, and the majority of the white people in the state of Florida—it takes all these to keep two little black girls from swinging in those swings. That is how important you are! Never forget, the estimate of your own importance and self-worth can be judged by how many weapons and how much power people are willing to use to control you and keep you in your place they have assigned you. You are two very important little girls. Your presence can threaten the entire state of Florida.'

Legally speaking and according to popular mythology the master/slave relationship in this country theoretically concluded with the ending of the Civil War and the passage of the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment in 1865. There is a large segment of the population that sincerely believes all inequality began to be effectively legislated out of the



American landscape over a century ago with passage of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment. This same group also believes that any remaining major inadequacy was completely legislated away again with the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1963. Therefore, they have a very hard time trying to understand any modern dialog concerning the subject of discrimination or inequality. They understand that there once was a problem in America with equality, but to them the Civil Rights Act, affirmative action and woman's liberation movement took care of all that. The problem is not one that they have to deal with. The reality of the situation is the effects of the relationship between the master and the slave have long outlasted the legislation and that relationship can still be seen in the social interactions in today's society. In the 1950's the master/slave attitude permeated every aspect of human existence in America. Mr. Thurman was able to take the situation he found himself in which was essentially negative and transform it into a positive interaction for himself, his children, and anyone else that had the same skin color as he. In his explanation to his children he was able to see the real nature of discrimination and the fear that is inherent in the institution that was designed to be damaging to his own self and the self of his children. The fear that was inherit in the institution was not the fear that the institution was attempting to instill into Mr. Thurman and his children, but rather the fear that the dominant class had when they saw Mr. Thurman and his children.

But, even with their father's positive reinforcement, the message that they were second-class citizens in the richest country in the world was something that he could not protect his children from completely. Interactions such as the ones that Mr. Thurman and his children experienced on the playground that day affect how the individual self as well

as the group self, is constituted. It also effects how they see and are seen by the world. It is within the individual self where the myths of discrimination become engraved and naturalized for both the discriminator and the discriminated.

Going a little further back into American history (1855), the *Narrative of Sojourner Truth*, relates to the reader how Sojourner remembers as a young woman how natural the *process* of slavery first appeared to her.

At this time she looked upon her master as a *God*; and believed that he knew of and could see her at all times, even as God himself. And she used sometimes confess her delinquencies, from the conviction that he already knew them, and that she should fare better if she confessed voluntarily: and if any one talked to her of the injustice of her being a slave, she answered them with contempt and immediately told her master. She then firmly believed that slavery was right and honorable.<sup>2</sup>

Being born into the *institution* of slavery she had little opportunity to have the experiences necessary in life that would allow her to question the relationship or her role within the system. No one within her circle of life could convince her that life should be any other way. Thus the relationship between the master and the slave appeared to her as the natural order of things. It was not until later in life did she realize the falseness and the fallacies associated with the *practice*<sup>3</sup>.

Yet now she sees very clearly the false position they were all in, both the masters and the slaves; and she looks back, with utter astonishment, at the absurdity of the claims so arrogantly set up by the masters, over being designed by God to be as free as kings; and at the perfect stupidity of the slave, in admitting for one moment the validity of these claims.<sup>4</sup>

It was her life's experiences that changed how she was to realize her own self. It was those same life experiences that helped to direct how her self developed from that point on. Her worldview was altered from seeing the institution as a natural order to seeing it as a fallacy. It not only helped her to see the fallacy, it helped her to articulate it so other people could see the fallacy too.

Other people with similar or with relatively similar life experiences as Sojourner developed very differently. The question is why do people with similar life experiences develop and become constituted so differently? During her life there were many people with similar life experiences as Sojourner's, who never got past the naturalism of the master/slave relationship. Then there were some at the other extreme who immediately saw the unnaturalness of the master/slave relationship and either passively or actively resisted it. If the only variable that existed with discrimination were life's interactions, a person would reasonably think that it should be fairly easy to accurately predict how the self would manifest itself in the empirical world. However, this is an unrealistic expectation given the multitude of interactions that happen on a daily basis. Finding a point far enough away from the event, as Nagel called it, a view from nowhere, so that you could see all possible interactions would be a considerable challenge. Given the limitations associated with being human, a view from nowhere is in all probability an unobtainable goal.

The quotations that were selected to start this section focused on how the self becomes constituted in an environment where one is considered less than another simply based on the color of one's skin. The view of the self that has been promoted so far discussed how the self becomes constituted in the different relationships that the self enters into. But the identity is not dependent upon any one of the relationships in particular. Hegel believed that the master and the slave come to realize themselves only in relationship to the other. According to Hegel the master comes to the relationship as the essential figure but as such his existence as a self is still dependent on the bondsmen.

In these two moments, the master gets his recognition through an other consciousness, for in them the latter affirms itself as unessential, both by working upon the thing, and, on the other hand, by the fact of being dependent on a determinate existence; in neither case can this other get the mastery over existence, and succeed in absolutely negating it. We have thus here this moment of recognition, viz. that the other consciousness cancels itself as self-existent, and, *ipso facto*, itself does what the first does to it. In the same way we have the other moment, that this action on the part of the second is the action proper of the first; for what is done by the bondsman is properly an action on the part of the master. The latter exists only for himself, that is his essential nature; he is the negative power without qualification, a power to which the thing is naught. And he is thus the absolutely essential act in this situation, while the bondsman is not so, he is an unessential activity. But for recognition proper there is needed the moment that what the master does to the other he should also do to himself, and what the bondsman does to himself, he should do to the other also. On that account a form of recognition has arisen that is one sided and unequal.<sup>5</sup>

With this movement Hegel is explaining that in a master/slave relationship each party brings something to that relationship. More over, both are required for the relationship to exist, and both parties internalize their roles. He is saying that each party comes to know itself through the other. So what happens to the self of the master and the self of the slave once the bondsman/slave has been emancipated from his/her servitude?<sup>6</sup>

The self is a subject which has to constantly act and react to many different forces. How the self interacts with these forces determines in part how the self has been constituted in the past, in the present, and in the future. One theory that many philosophers believe is that the self exists only in direct relation to the not self. The follow excerpt is from *The Oxford History of Western Philosophy*, which is describing Johann Gottlieb Fichte's view on the self.

The self is 'determined' or 'limited' by the not-self, which in turn is limited by the self. It as though self-consciousness were traversed by a movable barrier: whatever lies in the not-self has been transferred there from the self. But since the origin of both self and not-self is the act of self-position, nothing on either side of the barrier is anything, in the last analysis, but self. In the not-self, however, the self is passive. There is no contradiction in bring this passive object under such concepts as space, time , and causality, so situating it in the natural order. As subject, on the other hand, the self is active, spontaneously 'positing' the objects of knowledge. The self is therefore free, since the concepts of the natural world (including causality) apply only to that which posits, and not to the subject which determines them.

All activity of the not-self (including that which we should describe as causation) is transferred there from the self.<sup>7</sup>

Hegel had a similar view of the self. His view was basically that the self was waiting to come into conflict with the not self or the other. *The Oxford History of Western Philosophy* describing Hegel's view states:

Self-consciousness awaits the 'moment' of opposition. The world is merely passively uncooperative with the demands of appetite; it may also actively *resist* them. The world then becomes genuinely *other*: it seems to move the object of my desire, to compete for it, to seek my abolition as a rival.

The self has now 'met its match', and there follows what Hegel poetically calls the 'life-and-death struggle with the other', in which the self begins to know itself as will, as power, confronted by other wills and other powers. Full self-consciousness is not the immediate result of this: for the struggle arises from the appetite, and the self has yet to *find* itself (to determine itself as an object of knowledge).<sup>8</sup>

The not self which is being referred to consists of more than just other people; the not self also can be seen as forces in the world. These forces can generally be placed into two categories: physical and social forces. These forces act upon the self on two plains of existence, the empirical plain and the metaphysical plain. Another way to describe or label these two plains of existence is to refer to them as the public and private self.

What is the public self of a person's presence in the world? Included in this categorization are a person's skin color, gender, height, weight, and physical environment. It is the external physical world that is and surrounds the body. The physical forces can act on all aspects of the physical self. An example of a physical force may include everything from a bomb exploding, living in a cube from 8-5, or being born female in a male dominant society. Each environment has a different effect on how the self reacts to situations and other people. This difference in effect is caused

mainly by the timing of the physical events and how the social forces play against the physical self.

The private self is how the individual thinks and perceives him or herself and the world around them. Another way to think about the private self, for lack of a better term, is to view it as the soul of the person. It controls how the physical self will interact in the physical world. This model is not saying that the body and the mind are two separate entities or that the one could possibly ever exist without the other. They are two parts of the same whole being that have different functions.

Many postmodern thinkers believe that humans are nothing but social creations formed solely from social forces and interactions. The postmodern thinkers are not generally saying humans have no physical bodies. They believe only our society and social interactions determine who or what we are perceived to be. The self is seen through the post-modernist eyes as a complex web of interactions and intersections,

	Physical	Social
Private Self	Indirect	Direct
Public Self	Direct	Indirect

Figure 3: How the forces interact with the self

which help to create the fabric of the self. How the web is designed is not consistently applied to every person and no two people have exactly the same web design.

The social forces that affect the meta or private self do so in generalities and not specifics. The social forces take a generalized description of a group and fit the description on to the individual. Social forces do not affect or interact with each individual within a group in exactly the same way. There are no two people who can experience the exact same set of interactions, although there are people who experience

similar sets of interactions. This is why two people from the same demographic makeup will experience instances of interactions differently. Going back to the quote at the start of this section, how Howard Thurman handled that situation was very different than the way that many other people would have handled it. Most interactions are a combination of the physical and the social forces. Rarely is there pure physical or pure social force acting in any given scenario. Referring back to the quote at the start of this section. The forces at play during that interaction were both physical and social in nature. They played upon the public and private selves of Mr. Thurman and his children. The thing to remember is that there are two forces—physical and social are in constant interaction with the two parts of the self, the public and private. The physical forces act upon the public self directly and the private self indirectly. The social forces act upon the public self indirectly by manipulating the physical forces and act upon the private self directly.

The conflict provides the catalysts for the self to be shaped, but it is not until the self reflects inwards that a true understanding of the self evolves.

### **Section 8: The Effect**

The first seven sections of this thesis were written with the intent of supporting the following statement. At the core or essence of discrimination is the violent taking away from, and the attempted assimilation and incorporation of the self of another. The act is an attempt to control the way other people are perceived. Once the discriminator can control how another person is perceived they are then able to control the actions of that person. By controlling the actions of the other, the discriminator is able to manipulate how their peers and others perceive the target of the discrimination. The

actions associated with discrimination are publicly observable, but these actions have at their core the needs of an internal private self.

Following the end of World War II, the French philosopher Jean Paul Sartre wrote the essay *Anti-Semite and Jew*. The essay was an attempt on his part to understand the make up of an anti-Semite person and what were the motivations behind their actions. During the time period immediately following the end of the war Sartre had made the observation that the French Jews were being completely left out of the public discourse. They were so completely excluded that it appeared as if Jewish people had never existed in France before, after, or during the war. All the suffering that the French Jew experienced at the hands of the Nazi during the war was systematically being negated in the panoptic view of the public rhetoric, just as was any participation in the French resistant movement the Jew may have been involved in. It seemed rather odd to Sartre that a country which had just experienced occupation and later emancipation from an intolerant aggressor would incorporate many of the same tactics of the Nazi forces that invaded their land.

Some extremist movements some 60 years after the end of the war are using many of the same tactics that were discussed by Sartre. Only the later extremists are promoting the position that the holocaust the Jewish people suffered through during World War II was nothing more than an elaborate propaganda plot by the Jews to trick the world. The end goal of this illusion against “white Aryans” is to make the true Aryan hate himself. Only the true members of the Aryan race can see through the Jew’s elaborate hoax. But as evil as the Aryan extremist believes that Jewish people are,



according to Sartre, the anti-Semite of yesterday and today still needs the Jew. During the course of his essay, Sartre described exactly why the anti-Semite needed the Jew as a target of discrimination in an attempt to justify their own existence.

To this end he finds the existence of the Jew absolutely necessary. Otherwise to whom would he be superior? Indeed, it is vis-à-vis the Jew and the Jew alone that the anti-Semitic realizes that he has rights.<sup>1</sup>

Without a target for their discrimination, anti-Semites are unable to find their own identity of self. This inability to find or to have access to their complete self identity is what this thesis refers to a gap in the self. Although the majority of Sartre's essay is devoted to the relationship between the anti-Semite person and the Jewish population, at the same time Sartre also recognizes the Jewish person is a target of convenience for the anti-Semite. A person's identity as being Jewish really only plays a minor role in the discriminatory acts of the anti-Semite. Sartre understood that his description of the anti-Semite would fit any form of discrimination that is currently being discussed in this thesis.

The Jew only serves him as a pretext; elsewhere his counterpart will make use of the Negro or the man of yellow skin. The existence of the Jew merely permits the anti-Semite to stifle his anxieties at their inception by persuading himself that his place in the world has been marked out in advance, that it awaits him, and that tradition gives him the right to occupy it. Anti-Semitism, in short, is fear of the human condition.<sup>2</sup>

The anti-Semite is driven by the fear of their own lack of understanding of the human condition, which in part is a fear of the unknowns that exist in life. It is a mechanism by which the anti-Semite believes that they can control at least one part of their life. This fear guides the anti-Semite person to act out in manner that they believe will hide their fear or incompleteness from the public gaze. Sartre builds upon this idea of fear to create a more focused picture of the anti-Semite.

We are now in a position to understand the anti-Semitic. He is a man who is afraid. Not of the Jews, to be sure, but of himself, of his own consciousness, of his liberty, of his instincts, of his responsibilities, of solitariness, of change, of society, and of the world—of everything except the Jews. He is a coward who does not want to admit his cowardice to himself; a murderer who represses and censures his tendency to murder with being able to hold it back, yet who dares to kill only in effigy or protected by the anonymity of the mob; a malcontent who dares not revolt from fear of the consequences of his rebellion.<sup>3</sup>

So according to Sartre the racist/sexist/anti-Semite person is someone with a weak sense of self-identity. The anti-Semite is afraid and needs fulfillment of their own self identity. But he is not saying that they have completely no sense of self, someone has to “be in there” to be afraid of the world. What the anti-Semite is missing is a robust, positive sense of self. The anti-Semite requires the ones that have been labeled as “other” so they may create or establish and maintain their own positive self-identity. Judith Butler makes a similar claim when she is saying that white heterosexual males need homosexuals to create their identity.

What would it mean, on the other hand, to consider the assumption of sexual positions, the disjunctive ordering of the human as ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’ as taking place not only through a heterosexualizing symbolic with its taboo on homosexuality, but through a complex set of racial injunctions which operate in part through the taboo on miscegenation. Further, how might we understand homosexuality and miscegenation to converge at and as the constitutive outside of a normative heterosexuality this is at once the regulation of racially pure reproductive?<sup>4</sup>

Sartre is also claiming that the trait of compensating for the fear of incompleteness will potentially manifest itself only publicly when the racist/sexist/anti-Semitic person is working within a crowd or group. This way the anti-Semite is able to hide their own shortcomings behind the curtain of the crowd away from the direct gaze of the public. They gain the anonymity of the masses; in their attempt to gain a sense of self they become as faceless as people they oppose. This behavior is true even if they appear to be acting alone in public. First of all they will still have the protection of the crowd itself. They will use the public as a shield to hide from their fear of lacking an adequate self. When it appears they are working alone, there will always be a whole ideological support system that is right behind them working just out of sight of the public gaze. Again that support system is there as a patchwork for their own incompleteness. In addition, racists need the crowd to validate their position and their self. The reaction that they are looking for is a violent negative reaction from those they have labeled as other. Without the validation from others, their actions would be for nothing. Their false sense of self grows off the negative feedback.

Karl Marx and others make the claim that this feeling of personal inadequacy in the self and the need to create social imbalance is a direct result of the economic condition caused by the capitalist system. "A Negro is a Negro. He only becomes a slave in certain relations. A cotton-spinning jenny is a machine for spinning cotton. It becomes capital only in certain relations. Torn from these relationships it is no more capital than gold itself or money or sugar the price of sugar."<sup>5</sup> What Marx is saying, is that it is not until a certain number of economic conditions are met that the Negro is

transformed into a slave. It is because of these economic conditions that a member of the worker class feels as an incomplete person. Marx could see this relationship develop in the history books of the London Library. When Western Europeans were first introduced to the southern African continent, they found a vast complex civilization. It was a civilization that rivaled their own and one that the original explorers thought would make a very powerful ally. According to Marx, it was not until the need for the mass formation of a cheap labor force that the African became a commodity.

Marx was a materialist who understood better than most the potential positive and negative effects that the capitalist system could and does have on the individual person and a society. His theory of economics details what happens to relationships between people and the relationship a person has with their own self within the schematic of the capitalistic system. One of the primary relationships that were of concern to Marx was the relationship between the worker and the owner of the capital and how that relationship affected the worker. As the worker produces more capital for the owner the less value they (the worker) has. In this process the worker becomes more alienated from their labor and thereby becoming alienated from themselves, thus creating a gap in the self.

that the misery of the worker increases with the power and volume of his production; that the necessary result of competition is the accumulation of capital in a few hands .... the society divides into two classes of property *owners* and property less *workers*.....The worker becomes poorer the more wealth he produces and the more his production increases in power and extent. The worker becomes an even cheaper commodity the more goods he creates. The *devaluation* of the human world increases in direct relation with the *increase in value* of the world of things. Labor does not only create goods; it also produces itself and the worker as a *commodity*, and indeed in the same proportion as it produces goods.....The *alienation* of the worker in his product means not only that his labor becomes an object, assumes an *external* existence, but that it exists independently, *outside himself*, and alien to him, and that it stands opposed to him as an

autonomous power. The life which he has given to the object sets itself against him as an alien hostile force.<sup>6</sup>

According to Marx the workers lose more and more of their personal skills as technology progresses. With the loss of their skills comes a loss of their self identity. This progresses to the point where the process is made so simple that a child could do many of the essential job-related operations. Although Marx's model is based on an industrial capitalistic society, in a modern, high speed, high tech, capitalistic society or metacapitalism the speed of this devaluation increases ten fold.

In the metacapitalist order, such companies are rewarded with super high P/E ratios. The authors believe that Old Economy companies like Ford will win similarly high P/E in the future if they can adopt the Cisco model.

Yeah, you might say, but somebody still has to make the stuff. Are the guys who get their hands dirty destined to become just hewers of wood and drawers of water in the New Economy?

Not necessarily. The smartest suppliers, too, have huge growth potential. Car parts manufactures like Dana Corp. are moving up the value chain, building whole modules to be assembled into finished cars. "Eventually," predicts Means, The car companies may ask themselves: 'Why bother to even do the assembling?'

The suppliers too can cut inventories, outsource nonessential activities and get a new economies of scale.<sup>7</sup>

The point of the article is, as corporation and businesses evolve into e-commerce one of the major things that they will be able to do is reduce their labor costs. The labor costs are decreased at a rate similar to the simplification of the process. Marx has a very dread prediction of where the over simplification of the work process will lead a society. "But the simplification of machinery and of work is used to make workers out of those who are just growing up, who are still immature, children, while the worker himself has become child deprived of all care. Machinery is adapted to the weakness of the human being. In order to turn the weak human being into a machine."<sup>8</sup> This continual

simplification and devaluation of the work process creates a need within the person, which is not easily replaceable.

The dynamic of capitalism that Marx has established is not being disputed in this thesis. However, the discussion can become a chicken-or-egg type of debate, when deciding which one came first. Did the gap within the human condition come first or was it the capitalistic system that created the gap and then learned to survive and grow off the interactions of the gap? Is it the economic system that causes the effect or is it the effect that causes the economic system? Is it the need for total actualization of the self that serves as the catalyst for human kind to evolve into an economic system, where one of the basic principals is a reduction of the self to a commodity and where even the individual can no longer recognize the true self? It could be easily argued that even Marx would agree that it was the human condition that created the existing economic system.

George Carlin takes a humorous look at how the social caste system that is based on one's social status works. He also is showing how the lowest level of the social system is there to help manipulate the middle. "The upper class keeps all the money and pays none of the taxes, the middle class pays all the taxes and does all the work, and the poor are there just to scare the shit out of the middle class, keep them showing up at those so called jobs".<sup>9</sup> What level or strata persons find themselves in will determine certain sets of expected behavior, or a generalized perception of that person. Mr. Carlin was pointing out in rather blunt terms the power that a social/economic system has in its ability to manipulate people. An economic system manipulates the individual in such a

way that the measure of a person's worth is based on the capital they currently possess or the capital they have immediate access to.

so that the man who has no credit not only has the simple judgment passed on him that he is poor, but also the moral judgment that he possesses no trust or recognition, thus that he is a social pariah, a bad man. Also the poor man undergoes this humiliation in addition to his privation and has to make a humiliating request for credit to the rich man for credit from the rich man.<sup>10</sup>

It is the establishment of a social order based upon money and economic net worth. The more money that a person or a group possesses the higher on the economic ladder they go. By making economic status the primary determinate of social status is where many people are mistaken in their reading of Marx's ideology. Marx never said that a person's economic status was the only variable that determines where a person shall fit on the social ladder. Social norms in conjunction with economic status are the key players in the placement on the social stepladder. The prevailing social norms will often outweigh the economic status of the individual. It is easy for the anti-Semite or racist to totally ignore a person's economic worth to support their preconceived notions of a person. In fact the anti-Semite or racist will use a person's economic status against them, claiming they stole what they have from a deserving real person.

A side effect of the capitalistic system is the creation of an economic caste system that does rank individuals according to their economic station in life. It makes the lower levels of the system dependent on the upper levels of the system to supply the means for survival. The resulting caste system is a manifestation that affects and is affected by the social forces within that system which makes it very difficult for a person to move from one level of the system to the next higher. While it may be hard to move up it is fairly easy for a person to move down a level.

Within this make up of a caste, someone from the social elite will have a superior notion of self worth when compared with someone from a lower caste. In this regard the social order becomes a very important part of how a person comes to identify him or herself. A gap is created when a person believes that they should be a part of the social elite but they do not have the economic status to get them there. Therefore they need another method to elevate their status on the social stepladder.

By treating the Jew as an inferior and pernicious being, I affirm at the same time that I belong to the elite. This elite, in contrast to those of modern time which are based on merit or labor, closely resembles an aristocracy of birth. There is nothing I have to do to merit my superiority, and neither can I lose it. It was given once and for all. It is a *thing*"<sup>11</sup>

The desire to have more is not based solely on economic conditions or survival needs. The sociality consciousness tells the masses that social status is desirable. The driving social norms have a profound effect on the way the self of the other is viewed within a society. In reality the prevailing social norms control the general population more effectively than any set of formal laws ever could. Because social norms are self regulating and self-imposed, the effect reaches down into every aspect of the individual's life. The norms govern the habits, routines, traditions, and religions of a society. These norms are able to control the person at the extremities of their existence. The social order or social contract is an essential part of any civilization and it serves as the requirement to bring about order from chaos. However the danger is that the system often forgets the individual and maintains order for the shake of order or it becomes a tool that maintains order for the sake of the social elite. As John Stuart Mill put it:

The will of the people, moreover, practically means the will of the most numerous or the most active *part* of the people; the majority, or those who succeed in making themselves accepted as the majority; the people, consequently, *may* desire to oppress a part of their number; and precautions are as much needed against this as against any other abuse of power..... Society can



and does execute its own mandates: and if it issues wrong mandates instead of right, or any mandates at all in things with which it ought not to meddle, it practices a social tyranny more formidable than many kinds of political oppression, since, through usually upheld by such extreme penalties, it leaves fewer means of escape, penetrating much more deeply into the details of life, and enslaving the soul itself.<sup>12</sup>

Mill believed that the perceived majority had greater control of the everyday aspects of human interaction than any government could. Depending on the offense, the social norms are often more unforgiving than any set of laws. In any society there are a number of social taboos, which may not be illegal, but if one is accused of violating them it can mean social and economic suicide. Homosexuality is one such taboo; being accused of being homosexual can mean the end of a career or becoming a social outcast. It does not matter whether or not the person being accused of being homosexual actually is homosexual, the mere fact that they were labeled as one may be enough to end a career or lower a person's standing within a community. The society has many tools at their disposal that will help validate or invalidate the status of a person. In the case of homosexuality, the societal tools are religious and medical professionals. For years religious leaders have made the claim that homosexuality was immoral and against "God". While at the same time there are members of the medical community that are looking for the "gay gene" and some medical professionals have gone as far as to say that homosexuals are biological mistake. This ideology continues even though the American Physiological Association has dropped homosexuality as a diagnosis of a disease. All these mechanisms are designed to compensate for the fear of a behavior that is outside of the mainstream. Since the behavior is outside the mainstream it is deviant, and as deviant it is something to be feared. A problem with trying to understand discrimination is that

the attempt to control the individual will take on many different forms and is caused by a gap on one or more levels of self.

Sartre thought discrimination was the result of a discriminator's low self-esteem. Taking a Marxian approach to the problem the low self-esteem may be the by-product of a low social/economic status. But, if self-esteem was dependent on social/economic status then a person of social and economic status would have no reason to discriminate. Though Sartre mistakenly claims that the anti-Semite comes from the lower middle and lower class of the dominant society. There are plenty of examples of bigots, racist, and sexists that exist among the social elite of many societies. Thus the cause of the initial gap can come from many different sources.

During the civil rights movement of the 1950's and 60's, one of the problems that the leaders had was the inability to develop an effective means of combating discrimination that stemmed from a gap in the private self. When the discrimination happens on a physical or public level it is relatively easier to develop a counter strategy to combat it. Such was the case with the strategy used during the Montgomery bus boycotts. Montgomery Alabama in the early to mid 1900's was a city which had developed certain rules, one of which designated where people could sit, based on race, while riding on public transportation. In this instance the institutional discrimination that the civil rights movement was combating had manifested itself on a physical plain. So a physical counter attack plan, boycotting public transportation, proved to be an effective strategy to remedy the situation.

When the Civil Rights movement started to fight the discrimination in the Northern states, it was faced with a more difficult process. The discrimination was subsurface; it was of a private nature. The Northern states had effectively segregated its cities and schools without the aid of laws that openly blocked integration all the while claiming to be morally better than the South. Even ignorance of others can be combated over time with education and open discourse. But to close the gap in someone's private self is a harder process to undertake, especially when the person does not realize it or they are unwilling to admit that there is a gap within the self to be filled.

In the South segregation was a legislated and very formal system, while in the North a system of segregation was just as pervasive, and effectively implemented by social norms. During the Civil Rights movement, Dr. King and many other leaders were often more frustrated with the reception that they received in the North. At least in the South they were acknowledged and were met with physical resistance. The physical resistance was an acknowledgement that they existed, even if that existence was only a threat. By contrast in the North they were met with an air of total indifference. It was as if they did not exist. Even though the Jim Crow laws were not technically in effect in the North, the social norms did just as an efficient job of segregating the population. Cities were effectively designed to keep the populations separated. Today we can still see a social structure, which maintain the segregation in this country. Two centuries after Mill, Michel Foucault wrote about the same dangers,

The system of right, the domain of the law, are permanent agents of these relations of domination, these polymorphous techniques of subjugation. Right should be viewed, I believe, not in terms of legitimacy to be established, but in terms of the methods of subjugation that it instigates...In the very first place, it seemed important to accept that the analysis in question should not concern

itself with the regulated and legitimate forms of power in their central locations, with the general mechanisms through which they operate, and the continual effects of these. On the contrary it should be concerned with power at the extremities, in its ultimate destinations, with those points where it becomes capillary, that is, in its more regional and local forms and institutions...What is needed is a study of power in its external visage, at the point where it is in direct and immediate relationship with that which we can provisionally call its object, its target, its field of application, there—that is to say—where it installs itself and produces its real effects.<sup>13</sup>

Foucault further describes the extent to which social power invades to the subatomic level of the individual person's life. It is at the extremities of the social interaction where the greatest control of the individual self exists. By extremities he meant the events that make up the mundane everyday existence of the mass population -- how people designed their living spaces or what role was proper for little boys and which ones are proper for little girls. They are the day-to-day activities to which people do not give a second thought. These mundane acts have evolved to become the traditions, routines, normative behavior, etc. of the society. It is at the extremities level where the individual person is the most vulnerable to control and manipulation. It is at the extremities that the control and manipulation appear to be the natural order of things. When presenting a change in a social system, if the authority can make the change appear to be a natural part of life, then the action becomes socially acceptable. For example, with little apparent moral consequences, the majority of people in the United States usually do not give a second thought to the basic design of a home. The design is basically the same; there is an area for food preparation, a recreational area, and one room for the parents to sleep in and another for the children to sleep in. This design is usually true no matter if the home is an apartment or a house. To the majority of the population, the layout of a home just described is the natural way a house should be. It

just makes sense. These same people are surprised and taken aback when someone suggests that the design is not necessarily the natural way at all and that one room with a large enough place is all that is really required for shelter. Socialization tells people that one room for a home is not enough. The layout of the home becomes an issue by which someone is judged.

That same controlling socialization is in effect when it comes to determining gender roles. For many years the roles that were assigned to women and men appeared to be the natural order of things to the majority of the population. When the paradigm started to shift and it was not apparent to everyone that the traditional gender roles were natural and not everyone in the society was able or willing to adjust to the shift. There is a significant portion of the population, both female and male, which still publicly believes in the “traditional” roles of men and women. The roles that are being assigned to women and men or the different races of a society represent the constructed natural order in life. These socially constructed orders often serve as an expressed form of individual discrimination. The ultimate goal of discriminators is to have their actions or views appear to be supporting the natural order of the universe.

Working from the assumption that if discrimination is the *attempt* by one party or group to take away a part of the self from another party or group, the effect of such action, over time, can be seen as permanent in one sense, and as temporary in another to both the subject of discrimination and the discriminator. For the affect to be temporary the discriminatory behavior or action must not have evolved into a systematic alienation, since the target must be able to hold on to most of their original identity of self. If the

interaction is short term, then the net effect on the target can be said to be “temporary”. Because the change being introduced is foreign to that particular system, the system will tend to reject it. Thus over time the target may relearn most of what it means to be its original self. Saying that the effect is only temporary does not mean that the target can completely go back to the way that they were before the encounter. The target stands a better chance of recapturing the majority of their former self, but she/he cannot possibly recapture it all. An example of this kind of interaction occurs when indigenous people first met the western explorers and missionaries. The initial interactions had only a minor affect on the constructed self of the indigenous people. If the indigenous people were strong, they would have been able to repel attempts of subjugation on the part of the intruders. If the foreigners left completely after only a few contacts, then the indigenous people for the most part could go back to life as they knew it.

Once a change has been introduced into any human system, the system can never completely go back to the way it was. In that sense, the change is also permanent. A part of the original self is no longer a part of the current self, and a Darwinian type of evolution of the individual and race has taken place. The evolution that occurs may or may not be beneficial to the target, but the change has happened. In the end what is produced in the encounter is a new self. This newly created self, however, stands a better chance of reconstituting itself back to the old self<sup>14</sup> earlier on in the process rather than later. If the emancipation does not occur relatively early the original self is lost and a major gap is created.

From a metaphysically point of view, in the end, the net effect of the discriminatory action on the discriminator is much the same as it is for the target of the action. If it is assumed that discrimination is an act of taking of the self, then the sole root of discrimination is an attempt to complete an incompleteness of self within the discriminator. The problem is the incompleteness of self can usually be found in the realm of the private self, with it manifesting as an action in the public self. Often the physical manifestation and the gap in the private self have no logical correlation to each other. The gap that exists within the private self can be there with or without the knowledge of the host. The majority of the time the gap in the self is there without the conscious knowledge of the host subject. This means that the racist/sexist/supremacist/anti-Semite does not necessarily know or understand that their views are racist/sexist/supremacist/anti-Semitic. To them their views are just the way it is and race, gender, religion, etc. have nothing to do with it.

Each individual would like to believe that they represent a complete person, where all levels of their own self are intact and in perfect balance with others and their surrounding environment. The gap in the self for some is small and as such it may never manifest itself negatively physically or publicly. However in others the gap is very large and exists on many levels of the self and manifests itself constantly in the public eye. Racists are often time is in complete denial or unaware of their own shortcomings of self. They are taken aback when someone they perceive to be a part of their group does not share their same worldview. For example when a white racist runs into a white that does not agree with racism, an automatic defense system is initiated and the racist rationalizes

the disagreement by placing the other person in the conflict in another lesser group category.

Every individual person's self evolves very differently from any other person's self. People move through life on a different time line. They all encounter life's interactions in a different order and with differing intensity. In this sense the individual is truly an individual. For ease of identification and structuring, social structures have traditionally tried to group people into little boxes based upon skin color, place of origin, and their gender, or some other characteristic that is easily distinguishable on sight. On the surface, each socially created group is superficially distinct when it is compared to another group. What the social ordering does not take into consideration is that each person within a given group is distinct from other members of the same group. While it must be stated that the difference in the perceived public self is greatest between groups, there are no two individuals exactly alike. It becomes apparent that it is a fallacy to treat everyone within a socially constructed group as if they were the same. A blanket statement as; "All \_\_\_\_ act like \_\_\_\_", is a statement based on the superficial groupings and is completely false statement no matter how the blanks are filled. Basing an action against one person upon the some preconceived generalization of the socially constructed group is the most common form of discrimination.

The attention of this thesis is going to momentarily shift to the concept of the gap. Without an understanding of this gap it would be very hard for anyone to comprehend the overall subject being discussed. The gap is not a physical manifestation on the person of the subject. It is analogous to a physical wound, but this is a wound to, for lack of a



better term, the soul or the metaphysical self of the person. This self defines the way the person acts and perceives him or herself in the physical world. The gap referred to is an incompleteness in that perception which may not always be understood by the subject.

If a gap exists in the self, the overriding need is the attempt to fill that hole. If there is a small gap, an equal portion from another is needed to fill the hole. So an equal portion is taken away from another. If the gap is larger, more is required to fill in the space. What the discriminator is attempting to take away is in exact relation to what is missing. But the fit within the discriminator is never exact or airtight, because there is now a part of a self attached to the self that is alien to the particular self<sup>15</sup>. A foreign object is being introduced and forced into the system, and this new foreign object creates a new set of interactions over time. However, the patch is foreign, so eventually it will not stay and what is left is a larger gap within the self.

One way to explain this process is it to think of the person (either the discriminator or the target) as a wooden wagon wheel traveling down an old west dirt trail. Imagine the wheel with what would appear to be a small gap or chip on its outside edge. If the gap is not filled, the hole will become wider with each revolution of the wheel until the gap is so large that the wheel becomes inoperable. To prevent the gap from widening, the owner of the wheel attempts to fill or patch the hole. This action is taken to address the sense of incompleteness, to literally smooth out the ride. If the fit of the patch is not perfect or the wrong material is used, then the potential for more damage to the wheel is greater. With a bad patch, the rate of the breakdown may become faster than if nothing was done to the gap at all. If the material used to fill the gap does not

constitute a proper fit then as time goes by, the gap widens and the level of the manifestation of discrimination intensifies. The intensity of the physical manifestation is dependent upon the strength of the patch and shape of the wheel to begin with. Very few people have been able to reach such a level of enlightenment of the self so that there is no gap in their self. However, the size of the initial gap is different in each person.

In reference to the Game, what was one of the gaps that Player K had? (Player K was the one that was being favored by the Judge). Player K was ignorant of the discrimination or the disparity of treatment that the other, Player G, was experiencing. So when the physical wall that divided them was brought down, he did not know, nor could he understand, what was going on with himself, the other player, or the audience. Player K's initial ignorance over Player G's position was not entirely his fault. From his vantage point in life, he had played by the generally accepted and established rules and he perceived that the other player had not. Player K acts upon unknown or wrong information and, if left unchecked, the ignorance of Player K can be compared to a chip in a wheel. Every time the wheel completes a rotation the gap becomes a little wider and deeper. What starts out as a small surface gap can work its way down to the core of the person. Left unattended the gap becomes larger and larger until the individual is left with a limited view of the world, and with very little of the original self left intact.

Ignorance about the other, from a first person experience, is the hardest gap for the individual self to recognize. What it is asking the person to do is see through or beyond the barriers that their life's experiences has built. The manner in which the barriers were constructed makes it nearly impossible to see the gap. It is asking the

individual to step outside of his or her self to see how the world views them and more importantly how they view the world. Often a person does not accept or realize there are valid conflicting worldviews. So asking someone to step outside of his or her current paradigm is not always a reasonable expectation.

This is especially hard for a person who lives in an area that is exclusively homogeneous. In a homogeneous group, everyone within the group will, in general, seem to be just a reflection of each other, especially to someone looking at the group from the outside. From within the group, the members will be able to easily make the distinction from each other and often they will have trouble acknowledging the similarities within the members of the group. For example take a white male raised on a farm in the rural Midwest of America. He is raised on “traditional<sup>16</sup>” values and leads what is considered by his community to be a normal life for that area. He gets into trouble every once in a while, but, “Boys will be boys.” He is considered to be a very kind and generous young man, and in his mind harbors no ill feelings against anyone. During his first 18 years of existence he has never once left the region. Because the group that this young man has to deal with is a mirror reflection of himself and he is a reflection of the group, until he has contact with “others” there is little for him to question. His actions and the actions of his circle of friends seem natural to him and his life’s experiences have given him no reason to believe otherwise. The lack of real contact with “others” enables the stereotypes of other groups to become the reality of the young man’s world. So when he comes in contact with someone from one of those other groups, his reaction is in accordance with all of his life’s lessons. The gap increases

when he does not allow for anything new to penetrate the stereotypes and preconceived notions. People do not want to give up the stereotypes that they hold; because a part of the stereotypes have become a central part of their selves. The stereotypes have become how they define the world and hence how they define themselves.

The creation of a gap and/or the filling of a gap does not happen with just one interaction between two people. Many interactions have to take place when a person/group is trying to dominate another group(s). These interactions take place over a great period of time often spanning several generations, one generation passing to the next all the fears and stereotypes, thus extending the life of discrimination. Over time many different power relationships come in and out of existence. When these relationships arise there are shifts in the power structure. It is at these intersections where the dominated can gain some power back from the dominator, and this is especially true when the dominated still have a strong sense of self. Likewise, it is especially difficult when the dominated has lost their sense of self.

On the following page is a letter written in 1902, by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to a Superintendent of a school in California. In this letter it is easy to see the empirical manifestation of discrimination that has many of its foundations in social ignorance. The Commissioner is basing his advice to the Superintendent on a Western European way of looking at the world and a socialization process that told him everything related to the Native American culture is either heathen or unhealthy. He is using his position of authority to further the ignorance of others while the Superintendent seems to have become a tool in the perpetuation of his distorted belief system.

Department of the Interior  
Office of Indian Affairs  
Washington, January 13, 1902<sup>17</sup>

The Superintendent,  
Greenville School,  
California.

Sir;

This Office desires to call your attention to a few customs among the Indians which, it is believed, should be modified or discontinued.

The wearing of long hair by the male population of your agency is not in keeping with the advancement they are making, or will soon be expected to make, in civilization. The wearing of short hair by the males will be a great step in advance and will certainly hasten their progress towards civilization. The returned male student far too frequently goes back to the reservation and falls into the old custom of letting his hair grow long. He also paints profusely and adopts all the old habits and customs which his education in our industrial schools has tried to eradicate. The fault does not lie so much with the schools as with the conditions found on the reservations. These conditions are very often due to the policy of the Government toward the Indian and are often perpetuated by the superintendent's not caring to take the initiative in fastening any new policy on his administration of the affairs of the agency.

On many of the reservations the Indians of both sexes paint claiming that it keeps the skin warm in winter and cool in summer; but instead, this paint melts when the Indian perspires and runs down into the eyes. The use of this paint leads to many diseases of the eyes among those Indians who paint. Persons who have given considerable thought and investigation to the subject are satisfied that this custom causes the majority of the cases of blindness among the Indians of the United States.

You are therefore directed to induce your male Indians to cut their hair, and both sexes to stop painting. With some of the Indians this will be an easy matter; with others it will require considerable tact and perseverance on the part of yourself and your employes (sic) to successfully carry out these instructions. With your Indian employes (sic) and those Indians who draw rations and supplies it should be an easy matter as a non-compliance with this order may be made a reason for discharge or for withholding rations and supplies. Many may be induced to comply with the order voluntarily, especially the returned student. The returned students who do not comply voluntarily should be dealt with summarily. Employment, supplies, etc., should be withdrawn until they do comply and if they become obstreperous about the matter a short confinement in the guard-house at hard labor, with shorn locks, should furnish a cure. Certainly all the younger men should wear short hair, and it is believed that by tact, perseverance firmness, and withdrawal of supplies the superintendent can induce all to comply with this order.

The wearing of citizen's clothing, instead of the Indian costume and blanket, should be encouraged.

Indian dances and so-called Indian feasts should be prohibited. In many cases these dances and feasts are simply subterfuges to ever degrading acts and to disguise immoral purposes. You are directed to use your best efforts in the suppression of these evils.

Very respectfully,  
W.S.Jones  
Commissioner

A review of history will help to expose some of the ignorance that the Commissioner had about different practices of the Native American. In defense of the Commissioner he is being judged with 21<sup>st</sup> century eyes, while he was basing his assumptions about the customs of the Native American people upon his own understanding of this world and what was considered to be good/evil. This letter is an example of a physical manifestation of an internal gap, and throughout it there are clues as to where the gaps originate. This type of gap can sometimes be closed through education and awareness of others, but again there has to be some cultural awareness in the society to help foster the educational process. If the master/slave concept is firmly entrenched within the depths of society then it will become very difficult for many people to go beyond that concept.

The letter can be broken down to at least five different assumptions that the Commissioner was making. Assumption 1: The wearing of long hair is not a sign of civilized behavior. Assumption 2: Life on the reservation was at fault for the regression of the young people to a more primitive state. This logic was used as a part of the justification for separating of Native American families by shipping the children off to mission schools. Assumption 3: The wearing of face paint again was another sign of their primitive uncivilized ways. To help support this assumption the Commissioner turned to the all-knowing God of science to help support his position. Assumptions #4 & #5: The wearing of traditional clothing and the participation in traditional feast and celebrations again is proof that the children are less than civilized.

The Commissioner also provides a remedy to put a halt to these practices and save the children from themselves. His solution is enforcing a strict and immediate prohibition against the practices in question. The penalty for non-compliance with the restrictions is the denial of basic life needs. The Commissioner thought if he could force the children to change their practice, then shortly thereafter the soul will soon follow. He was not too far off the mark; the agency can change the practice over a span of a couple of generations. Soon the practices will become forgotten by most of the population with the ones that do remember the practice remember only a few bits and pieces.

The external layers is only a small percentage of the gaps that exist within a person. The clue to the core of this ignorance comes towards the end of the Commissioner's letter where he states; "You are directed to use your best efforts in the suppression of these evils." That line offers a hint that the discrimination does not exist on a superficial level with the Commissioner. Its essence comes from the private inner layer of the self. This interaction helps to establish the groundwork for the perpetuation of the discrimination. With each passing incident the gap widens.

That gap which was expanded by the Commissioner will be passed on to the people who come after him. As was the gap given to the Commissioner by those who came before him. The next passage is a part of a conversation that was had with a Lakota woman as a part of an unpublished study of Native American culture. The Native American culture remains a completely foreign culture to many people in modern America. It is the oldest culture in this country and also has the distinction of being one of the most misunderstood cultures. This passage was picked because it is an example of

what can happen when the gap of ignorance that is passed on is left unchecked. It also shows how the power relationships can shift during the course of a short interaction in an seemingly unbalanced relationship. In the following exchange the nuns clearly thought that they had the authority to carry out their actions, because they had God and the United States Government on their side. The narrative is about an experience a Lakota woman had while she was attending a Catholic mission school in the western part of South Dakota.

The conversation is describing the violent takeover of the spirit of the Native American population. The process being used is working on both the physical and the mental being of the self. During the course of the conversation many of the same assumptions as the Commissioner were being used, with the remedy to the perceived problem being direct physical violence.

Speaking our language was not allowed, it was outlawed just like everything associated with our way of life. If you were caught speaking it you were punished. I remember one time there was these two sisters talking to each other in our language. That was all they were doing, just talking and laughing.

The Nuns came. The oldest girl, in an attempt to protect her younger sister told the Nuns that it was her fault. She was the one who was speaking the language. Two of the Nuns grabbed her, one on each side. The third Nun began to slap her face. All the time they tried to get the girl to confess that her sister was speaking the language too. But never once did the girl betray her sister.

For awhile the girl took the punishment in silence there was very little else that she could do. The Nuns had her in a tight grip so there was no running away. In time she had had enough and fought back the only way that she could, by cussing the Nuns. The more she cussed the harder they beat her. They beat this poor little girl right in front of her sister until she was bleeding from the nose and mouth.

The Nuns did not know that I was watching them and when they did discover that I was watching, the beating still did not stop. They continued on for several minutes. It was as if they were saying, we know what is best for you, even if we have to beat it into your heads so you understand it."<sup>18</sup>



The event that was just described did not happen during the late 1800's or the early 1900's. It occurred often on the reservation in the late 1960's and early 1970's. It was not until 1972<sup>19</sup>, with the passing of the Native American Self Determination Act, that the Native American population was allowed to regain some control of their own existence. This process of domination and subjugation that the nuns were actively participating in had been on going for centuries. At the time of the incident it had been almost 100 years since the end of the "Indian Wars"<sup>20</sup>. During that 400 plus year period there was a systematic attempt made by the dominant population to eradicate the existence of Native American people. At first it was a campaign of physical genocide and when that failed it turned into a spiritual genocide campaign. The focus of the spiritual genocide was the elimination of anything that resembled Native American culture.

On one level the takeover that was occurring was visibly happening on a physical plane. The Nuns were openly beating the young woman for a violation of a physical rule, the speaking of their native language. Later the beating intensified when the girl violated another physical rule: she failed to comply with the order to implicate her sister. The beating intensified once more when she again broke another physical rule, by using profanity towards the nuns. All these events happened on, and in, relation to a physical plane of existence. The underlying message and real push for the violence existed on a non-physical plane. The underlying message was that everything that was Native American was wrong or evil. The Nuns had two very powerful forces working on their side, God and the United States government.

The young girls in the narrative were in their own way actively resisting the process of domination by the nuns and they had won several small victories. The first victory was the retention of their language. The second victory was refusing to give in to the pressures and abuse that they were subjected to at the hands of the nuns. The nuns were unable to break their link to their spirit, their identity or their bond to each other. However, over time the domination and control over the young girls will take hold and the impression from the interaction will be internalized.

Change or damage<sup>21</sup> to the public self is superficial, but this is not true with the private self. Once damage occurs at the level of the private self the effects are more fixed. When the abuse and discrimination lasts over generations, it penetrates to the inner core of the being and changes the essence of the individual. The process of change is complete, so that not only the discriminator believes the social construct but also the discriminated believe in the internal message that their culture is inferior. They believe that there must be some truth in the words that they have heard since childhood, that there must be some reason for the treatment they see their parents receive. There must be some truth in the way the establishment treats them. Words and actions over time become perceived as a part of the natural course of life. It is at that point, when the relationships are viewed as natural that the power over them is complete. It is at that point when the process of subjugation has become self regulating and self-perpetuating.

### **Section 9: Creating the Invisible Self**

This section is going to look at those who fall outside of any given societal economic protective umbrella and the process that renders this segment of the population

virtually invisible to the general public gaze. Again America is going to be used as the example, but the analysis, as throughout this thesis, can be applied elsewhere in the world. If nothing else this section will be a demonstration of the ultimate in objectification of a person--when a validated person can look directly at an unvalidated person and literally not see them. The collective mind and gaze of a society shuts the unvalidated persons out and no longer recognizes them as anything. The unvalidated are treated as if they have become ghosts among the living. Physical examples of this behavior can be observed in people interacting at any mass transit terminal in any major metropolitan area. In the environment of the transit terminal, there will be people and non-people passing each other. The people will be trying to appear as if they are too busy, rushing from here to there, or too important to see the non-people. The validated person is a member of the general public and the unvalidated person is a member of the homeless population.

Claims about the homeless being invisible give rise to a number of legitimate questions. How can it be said that these non-people are invisible when they exist in every city or town across the country? How can it be said that they are invisible when around election time they always come up as an intensely debated campaign issue? The politicians continue the debated until election time goes away and the TV cameras are pointed in another direction. After the election is over, the cameras again are focused on the homeless, only this time it is right around the holiday season when it becomes fashionable to help feed them a meal.<sup>1</sup> With all this political and media attention, how

can it be legitimately claimed that the homeless are still treated as non-human and invisible?

Part of the reason is in the fact that this group has been so completely objectified by the media, the politicians, and public debate that they no can longer exist as human. The homeless are transformed into statistics, so they are things to be counted. Even the social actor, who may be sympathetic to the plight of the poor, becomes a contributing factor to the further objectification. By writing about the poor and the homeless, the author is helping to objectify this group of people and contribute to their invisibility. Just by making them the focus of a study, the author has taken them from being subjects and reduced them to the status of objects.

In America, statistically speaking, three groups have been consistently denied complete access to the American experience and find themselves in the invisible class. The American experience means to have access to qualified teachers, to have well paying jobs, and to have adequate housing. The American experience is the middle class mythology that is commonly associated with America. The excluded groups have been corralled into obscure places and shielded from the general public, until they have in essence become invisible to the world. These groups consist of the African American population, the Native American population, and the Hispanic population. This claim is being presented with the knowledge that other groups have been and still are suffering from discrimination, e.s. anti-Semitic treatment, and exist in the ranks of the invisible class in America. However, historically almost every group that has relocated to this America has started out in the ghettos, but they were able to gain access to the middle

and upper class privileges in society. One key difference between the groups is the way they were introduced into the American system. Most other ethnic groups and races came over here of their own design or they came as a result of being forced out of their own homeland. When every ethnic group first arrived in America they were seen as competition for limited resources. But, eventually they were able to gain acceptance into the system to become upwardly mobile.

Admittedly the above narrative is an over simplification of the assimilation process that in many cases took generations to accomplish. For many groups the break in to the system did not happened until 1952 with the passing of the McCarran-Walter Act, which stated that a person's ethnicity could no longer be used as a determining factor in a person's application to be a naturalized citizen. Before 1952 a person from other than central Europe could not immigrate to America and become a naturalized citizen.

African Americans on the other hand were brought to this country as property, with no more status and sometimes less status than cattle. The Native Americans were seen as obstacles to progress and expansion that were to be overcome and exterminated. The Hispanic people were the original landowners in many parts of the southwest, and for the most part when their land was incorporated into the country their land was taken away from them. The image that was placed upon them was one of laziness and ignorance. These groups were introduced into the system as either as enslaved, defeated, or unworthy people. It is the image of being subservient that is still very much a part of the American mental social landscape. The label and image has had the power to control the actions of the whole society for centuries. It has not only helped to shape how they

are viewed by the society at large, it helps develop the mirror that these groups use to view and judge themselves.

Contrary to popular mythology, the invisibility of the poor is not just limited to these minority groups just mentioned. A look at the raw numbers produced by the United States government shows that the vast majority of people on public assistance are white (non-Hispanic).<sup>2</sup> The disparity is that the percentage of African American, Native American, and Hispanics in their respective populations on public assistance is disproportionate when compared to their white counterparts on public assistance. The other major difference is a white person on public assistance is viewed by the rest of the population as an exception to the rule. As a person, they must have done something wrong to be in that position that they find themselves in. Or a more likely question asked is, how could that have happened to someone presumed to be good? An African American, Native American, or Hispanic on public assistance is viewed as the norm. There is a social preconception that a minority member is presumed to be bad and therefore their badness leads to their wrongful conduct, which is the reason they are on public assistance. This perception exists no matter what the facts may say; the image that was created every night on the six o'clock news of the minority welfare mother still exists as the norm. The rhetoric is that as a race they are somehow defective and the ones not on public assistance are seen as just being lucky. For the minority members that were able to break into a position of authority, the prevailing perception associated with their success is that they got where they are only through Affirmative Action programs. In this manner, even if they are successful, they can still be looked down upon.

In America the poor live in a dichotomous world, on the one hand it is expected that they should be poor and blamed their own situation in life. The story line goes something like this, "There are plenty of jobs out there to be had, and if they were not so lazy they could get a job if they wanted to". The myth continues: if you work hard, follow the rules, and commit yourself to your work, then you will survive. The reality is that many of the poor are what is referred to as the working poor. Many of the jobs that are available pay so little that a single person could not survive on the paycheck, let alone a person with a family to support. The working poor are lumped into the same general category as the non-working poor. The disenfranchised are also to be blamed for all the social ills of a nation. Finally the homeless have become the symbol of what will happen to you when you do not follow good old American values.

In her book *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*, Patricia Williams, a Stanford law professor, gives the perfect example of how a society creates the illusion of invisibility and how an individual can help to perpetuate the illusion. The illusion is maintained even when the event is something that unfolds plainly in the face of the society. She tells a story of how one day she saw a homeless person whom she thought was sleeping on a subway bench. During the moments that immediately followed she came to the realization that the man was not really sleeping but had died on the bench. Her other realization was she was not alone in this discovery and later denial. She describes a man who also saw the person.

Then I looked at the face of another man who had seen what I saw, both of us still walking, never stopping for a second. I tried to flash a worry at him. But he was seeking reassurance, which he took from my face despite myself. I could see him rationalize his concern away, in the flicker of an eye<sup>3</sup>

It was only because of Ms. Williams' heightened self awareness that the man who died on the bench did not remain invisible to her. But he was invisible to all the other people in the subway that day. The other man in the scenario that Ms. Williams was referring to, had probably had seen countless number of homeless people sleeping in the subway. He rationalized that the dead man was really just asleep, and it served as another example to him of how the homeless were just cluttering the public places of the city. At that moment his disgust for the homeless magnified and his stereotypical views were validated. The vast majority of the people in the subway that day saw nothing, with the homeless remaining invisible. Most of them would act horrified if they heard on the news that a dead man was found in the subway that day. But very few of them would have been able to connect the news report to the man on the bench that day.

The phenomenon that Ms. Williams was describing in her book she calls "soul murder". It is not only the death of the physical body of the individual, but the killing off of the concept of the individual as an individual. This is the status of those people at the bottom of the social economic stepladder. They are no longer human; they have been stripped of everything that is to be considered human. When the process of stripping the humanity away is allowed to take place the person essentially never existed in any sense.

Williams describes in her book countless acts of violence done against humans. These acts of violence are minimized in the public eye because the victims belonged to this invisible class. In her examples often times the victim will go through a transformation. They are transformed from being the victim to the criminal. Once this criminalization transformation is complete, the issue in the public eye becomes they deserved what ever it was they got.

In the early morning hours of December 20, 1986, three black men left their stalled car on Cross Bay Parkway, in Queens, New York, and went to look for help. They walked into the neighborhood of Howard Beach, entered a pizzeria, ordered a pizza, and sat down to eat. An



anonymous caller to the police reported their presence as 'black troublemakers'; a patrol car came, found no trouble, and left. After the men had eaten, they left the pizzeria and were immediately surrounded by a group of eight to ten white teenagers who taunted them with racial epithets. The white youths chased the black men a distance of approximately three miles, beating them severely along the way. One of the black men died, struck by a car as he tried to flee across a highway; another suffered permanent blindness....In fact, in the wake of Howard Beach, police and the press rushed to service the public's interest in showing what unsavory dispositions the victim had.<sup>4</sup>

The violence against the victim and the later transformation of the victim into the criminal is important to the process of invisibility. It is also essential for creating a sense of complacency within the middle class. In the game that was described in section 4, the audience represents the middle class. Many actions that were done in the game by the Judge were for the benefit of controlling the audience. If the scenario of the game is changed to where the judge is able to control what images the audience saw, then the Judge gains a new level of power. By selectively controlling the information that is presented to the audience, the judge can control how they as a group react. That way the Judge can control how the two Players are to be viewed and valued by the audience. In time the Judge will be able to control how the two Players view themselves.

One of the strangest terms in America today has got to be "Middle Class Americans". There is some confusion as to what constitutes the middle class. It is generally agreed that the middle class begins with anyone who lives above the poverty line. There is no consistency as to what is the top end of the middle class, though figures usually run between \$60,000 to \$100,00 annual household income. The vast majority of the work force exists in this middle. Here in the middle is a class of people that has to be obsessed with the problem of surviving day to day, and fighting their way to a different level of the middle. The middle is always living with the fear that they could very easily end up in the bottom third of the population. The middle class is by design a highly competitive place. The rules are very cut-throat and it is where the people who are in positions of limited power are willing to do most anything to keep everyone else out and

eliminate anyone's chances of reaching the point where they are. The current economic system has very limited space in the middle and even less room at the top for many people. The reality of the system rarely matches up to the mythology; people do not often move upwards between classes. But a downward move is not all that uncommon.

The issue of social classification as it pertains to the homeless is being raised here because homelessness/poverty/unemployment can be seen as a reason for the continuation of racism and sexism and every other ism out there. The current capitalistic system has built into it the need for an unemployed class. To a significant number of economists the unemployed are used as a leveling tool to control the inflation rate. Logic tells this particular group of economists that; "The government should increase the level of unemployment because it will slow the rate of inflation."<sup>5</sup> Other economists discount that theory and say that unemployment is wasteful misuse of a resource and counter to the goals of capitalism. Supporters of this other line of thinking believes that the goal of capitalism is to have full employment thus fully utilizing all available resources. But even the economists supporting the full employment idea will still have to accept some level of unemployment within the current economic schematic. This is even true in a period of so called full employment. "One way of defining **full employment** is to identify some level of unemployment as 'normal' or acceptable and only count unemployment in excess of that amount. A level of 5 to 6 percent is currently considered normal."<sup>6</sup> So even at full employment there is a large segment of the population unemployed. When economists speak of full employment they mean everyone, except for the 5-6 percent, who wants to be employed. When unemployment figures are reported, there are many people that are not included in the figures. The groups which normally fall off the unemployment figures include the homeless, people who are incarcerated, those who have either given up looking for a job or are perpetually on

public assistance, and certain ethnic groups that have recently immigrated to the country. So estimates of real unemployment during periods of full employment can be as high as 10 to 15 percent when these factors are included in the equation. That number can go even higher when the working poor are entered into the formulation. Of course all of these figures are dependent on how accurate the census is, which many claim grossly misrepresents the population.

The interesting thing about Capitalism is it is a system that really does not care what the color of a person's skin is nor does it care what sex the worker is. As a system it just needs a cheap labor pool from which to draw. One way of creating that cheap labor force is to maintain a class or a group of people that the middle (working) class can oppose and fear. That way the workers focus their attention on the actions of the lower class. The middle often blames the lower class, and those considered as "other", for many of the problems that face them. "Those who compose the fringe of society have always been the acceptable scapegoats, the butt of jokes, and the favored whipping boys" A key factor about those being whipped is they can not have a face, if they have face then they become visible individuals. If the outcasts are now individuals then they have rights and protections due them. The faceless and the nameless do not have rights.

In American being in the "middle class" constitutes a strange paradox for a person to exist in. On the one side, they generally believe the American mythology that their hard work is what got them where they are and will take them where they want to go. If a person were able to get a position of authority and power, it is because they were the most qualified for that position. It becomes a real blow to their ego when they find out that a major contributing factor for getting their position was the color of their skin or what exists between their legs.

The mythical and social sense of fair play makes the middle class want to believe in equality of competition. But people have to have the jobs in order to buy what they have been told they need to survive in this country. The higher the tax brackets the more perceived needs an advertising agency creates for the person. There is an internal tug of war that goes on between the need for survival and the sense of fair play. According to Maslow's famous theory of needs, the need for survival will win the fight every time. This turns the competition into an "anything goes" free-for-all, with an "ends justify the means" mentality.

The model of invisibility described above works well when applied to a minority group. But it falls short when it is used to describe the process for making white middle class females invisible. The paradox is that white women are perceived to belong to the middle class. They are in the work force in significant number, and they are white, yet they too are invisible. Except when the woman becomes the object of desire and in that case the body becomes visible while the subject remains invisible. The step that makes them invisible may be different than it is for the other minority groups. But there is a common factor in making the homeless, women, and minorities invisible. That factor lies in the devaluation of the person's economic and social worth.

There are a couple of methods that have been traditionally employed for the devaluation of a woman's economic worth. First is by making it economically more expensive for a woman to maintain a professional appearance. For example there are a major differences in the cost that a woman pays for dry cleaning, hair styles, and the clothing required to show that she is serious about being in business. These items by themselves start out to be a minor cost, but increase when they are added altogether. They soon begin to have a significant impact on a person's personal bottom line.

Another method is just by paying the person less for the same job, a disparity that the Equal Pay Act was supposed to remedy.

A third method is the devaluation of the position(s) that women are moving into in great numbers. If the position has a lesser value to the company overall, then it makes completely rational business sense to pay the person less. After all it is not that the woman that is being paid less, it is the position that is worth less. The opposite is true historically when men take over a career field that was dominated by women. There the social and economic value of the position has historically increased with the male dominance of the institution. Again a quick look at history gives several examples of this phenomenon in action. The clerk/administrative position is an example of a career that was once dominated by men, and it was a position of worth. As more and more women entered into the work force and into the administrative area, the monetary worth of the position has dramatically decreased. Today's advances in technology help increase the speed in which the position is devalued. The paperless revolution is helping to not only decrease the value of the position, but technology is helping to eliminate the need for the position at all. More and more "professionals" are doing much of their own administrative tasks, decreasing the need and value of the administrative specialist.

The medical profession can serve as an example of career field that was once dominated by women, then shifted to men and now is in the process of shifting again. In the early developmental years of the scientific medical profession the male medical practitioner found that its greatest competitor were the local lay healers or homeopaths. These lay healers came from the poor rural areas and they were primarily women. When men started to move into practicing medicine with the support and backing of the state and church, the poor women that practiced medicine were labeled as witches.

The other side of the suppression of witches as healers was the creation of a new male medical profession, under the protection and patronage of the ruling classes. This new European medical profession played an important role in the witch-hunts, supporting the witches' persecutors with "medical" reasoning:

....Because the Medieval Church, with the support of kings, princes, and secular authorities, controlled medical education and practices, the Inquisition [witch-hunts] constitutes, among other things, an early instance of the "professional" repudiating the skills and interfering with the rights of the "nonprofessional" to minister to the poor. (Thomas Szasz, *The Manufacture of Madness*)

The witch-hunts left a lasting effect: <sup>8</sup>

Later when the American Medical Association (AMA) was gaining power over the profession, there was a prohibition against an AMA member referring with a practitioner of non-scientific medicine. "Physicians violated the AMA code of ethics if they consulted with sectarian physicians or female or black doctors."<sup>9</sup> The implied meaning behind this prohibition was that only white males were capable of practicing real medicine, and everyone else was selling snake oil. In the modern medical era women were regulated into the nursing role, which not only paid considerably less, but also perpetuated the belief that the woman's role was to be submissive to the man, in this case the doctor. It was expected that the nurse would follow the doctor's orders without question.

In many areas the midwife is making a return to the child birthing process, so now the doctor does not have to be present for the birthing process. Except at the critical moment when the nurturing traits of the woman are no longer needed and the situation demands his professional skills. This reappearance of the midwife represents only a small part of a movement in the medical profession. Other types of homeopathic medicine are making their way back into the medical main stream. At the same time there is an increasing number of women and minorities that are becoming doctors. As enough women and minorities enter into the ranks of the "Doctor", to where it can be said that they are in the career field in significant number, the power in the profession will begin to shift away from the doctor. The power in that profession is shifting away

from the medical practitioner to the bureaucrats within the insurance industry. In the former Soviet Union the prestige, power, and personal financial worth of being a physician decreased dramatically as the number of women practicing medicine increased significantly.

As demonstrated by this section a society has many tools at its disposal to make a person invisible and if it fails to make the person completely invisible, it has the means to selectively decrease the value that the individual has for society. In the next section there will be a discussion about what happens when the invisible become visible to a few in the mainstream. The abolitionist movement was born out of a reaction by some to the oppression that they saw.

#### **Section 10: The Weekend Abolitionist**

The title for this section was derived from the mechanism that many people from the dominant class use to help them justify their inaction or limited action against visible discrimination. The weekend abolitionist is not necessarily a “bad person”. They are just wrapped up with surviving their own game of life. In good faith they want to help others, but they give assistance only when it is convenient for them. Sometimes the weekend abolitionist will even go so far to state, sometimes even in a public form, their displeasure for the inadequacies that they see around them. On a rare occasion they will offer up short-term solutions that they believe will make the problem go far enough away so it is no longer visible to them. When weekend abolitionists do present a plan, their solutions to the problem are often just as bad, if not worse, than the problem. Part of the difficulty is the weekend abolitionist does not have a real sense or historical understanding of the ones they want to help nor do they have a good understanding of

themselves. It is this lack of historical understanding that is the root cause of many of the problems.

When working with the weekend abolitionist, even the small victories for an oppressed class can cause major problems and setbacks. There is a causal chain of events that often happens with a weekend abolitionist when things do go exactly the way they had planned. Often the assistance that the weekend abolitionist offers comes in the form of arrogance, ignorance, and pity, which can appear to be overly aggressive and demeaning. When the assistance appears to be aggressive this can cause many unforeseen and unfortunate problems with the interaction.

An example of this can be seen in the relationships the Native American population had with other people. A large portion of the Native American population has a life experience of being beaten, both figuratively and literally, by people who claim they know what is best for them. The list of people who have beaten them is extensive, ranging from the federal government to various religious groups and organizations. If being beaten by people from the dominant class who claim to know what is best, is the life experience of a people, then even a friend from the privileged class, who comes in too aggressive, can be easily mistaken for the enemy. This mistake can be the cause of an angry response from the group that is being helped. That angry response can act as a point of frustration on the part of the weekend abolitionist who thinks they are trying to help. The level of frustration increases tenfold if the person trying to help does not understand the historical significance of the situation. So instead of becoming an ally,



the weekend abolitionist too begins to contribute to the perpetuation of the stereotypes and discrimination.

Another strike point occurs when the people being helped can see that the nature of the efforts being presented has the surface appearance of being only a token gesture. Or the changes is so minor that it means that no real permanent change has or will occur. In the following quote Howard Thurman talks about his frustration with a group of weekend abolitionist.

During my senior year, Dr. Hope invited me to go with him to an interracial meeting at the Butler Street branch of the YMCA (Colored). Present at the meeting, together with a small group of black leaders from the colleges and the wider community, were a handful of southern white liberals. One of these men reported on his efforts to change the seating in the city auditorium on the occasion of a concert by Roland Hayes. Traditionally, Negroes sat only in the balcony or at the very back of the auditorium. This man had persuaded the city fathers to change the seating arrangements so that the line separating the races would be vertical rather than horizontal. The center aisle would be the demarcation line upstairs and down, whites on one side and we on the other. I was so impatient and disgusted with this bit of racial legerdemain that I walked out of the meeting. Dr. Hope followed me. He put his hands on my shoulders and said, 'Thurman, I know how you feel about what is going on in there, but you must remember that these are the best and most liberal men in the entire South. We must work with them. There is no on else. Remember.' I did remember, and his advice helped me grow in understanding.<sup>1</sup>

A part of Dr. Thurman's frustration with the abolitionist at the meeting was drawn from the fact he could not see how the changes or victories they claimed to have won would make any real difference in the way people were being treated. His other frustration was that the people that were suggesting the plan and claiming the victory were acknowledged to be the best friends that minorities had in that geographic region. The change that they were proposing was somewhat like rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic. They had won an aesthetic change, however the change would serve to make no real difference in the lives of the people that Dr. Thurman was representing. In affect the changes being proposed were superficial--in this case, allowing colored people to be

seated in a theater in a section closer to the whites. The two groups would still sit in different sections of the theater. All the change did was change the segregation line from horizontal to vertical, but the segregation line remained firmly intact.

These changes did more for the ones proposing change than the ones it claimed to help. It helped the weekend abolitionist to feel good about himself. For some of the weekend abolitionists the limited change that were won helped create blinders to the full extent of the problem. At the same meeting many of the abolitionists present would have been taken aback and angered if Dr. Thurman was able to articulate his feelings and emotions to them.

According to Sartre, one of the worst offenses of the weekend abolitionist is the creation of the illusion that “everything is all right”. By pretending as if everyone is acting in accordance with his or her own rights, the weekend abolitionist is enabling the discriminator and validating their actions.

Thus anti-Semitic opinion appears to us to be a molecule that can enter into combination with other molecules of any origin whatsoever without undergoing any alteration. A man may be a good father and a good husband, a conscientious citizen, highly cultivated, philanthropic, *and* in addition an anti-Semitic. He may like fishing and the pleasures of love, may be tolerant in matters of religion, full of generous notions on the condition of the natives in Central Africa, *and* in addition detest the Jews. If he does not like them, we say, it is because his experience has shown him that they are dangerous, because certain historical factors have influenced his judgement. Thus this opinion seems to be the result of external causes, and those who wish to study it are prone to neglect the personality of the anti-Semite...<sup>2</sup>

In this quote Sartre was trying to demonstrate how the main stream of a society attempts to make the discriminator, in Sartre’s example the anti-Semite, into an acceptable person. This is accomplished by pointing out, in all other aspects of their life, the anti-Semite is really a good person. They could be a family man and a hard working contributor to the society as a whole. Since everyone has at least one flaw in his or her

personality, society should not be too critical of the anti-Semite. In modern times many have made the same claims about how America deals with racist/patriot/extremist organizations. The collective public consciousness does not want to acknowledge the existence of any problem. This is especially true when the racist/patriot/extremist has their face, and is someone they can relate too.

This strategy of creating an acceptable discriminator, is a self-protecting mechanism of the society. There is no one person or group of people sitting in a dark room controlling the moves of every person in the society to create this phenomenon. To take a term from Hobbes, the society becomes its own Leviathan, a living, breathing organism that has a self preservation instinct. A part of that survival instinct is to minimize the impact that the activities of the extremist/racist/sexist/anti-Semite that looks like the perceived look of the Leviathan has. Just as is over reacting to the extremist/racist/sexist/anti-Semite that has a face different from the Leviathan. If white males are the extremist/racist/sexist/anti-Semite the Leviathan will try to minimize the impact of their views. If the extremist/racist/sexist/anti-Semite has the face of a minority member then the Leviathan will distort their views to show how dangerous they really are.

Sartre introduces a new level of abolitionist a little more determined than the weekend abolitionist. He refers to these people as Liberal Democrats. The major difference between the Liberal Democrat and the weekend abolitionist mentioned above is commitment. Where the weekend abolitionist commitment is short-term, and contingent on a whim or a fad, the Liberal Democrat has more staying power. The

Liberal Democrat is more persistent and is willing to take their argument out in public, and they are willing to deal with any resistance they may encounter in the process. According to Sartre the Liberal Democrat brings to the table another plan for dealing with discrimination, which is just as dangerous as doing nothing. In the end their plan has essentially the same effect as the racist or the anti-Semite. The Liberal Democrat's plan is the creation of a utopian-based idea of the colorblind society. The basic premise of a colorblind society is that if we treat everyone as if they were the same there would no longer be any discrimination. At first glance this appears to be what the goal of any equality effort should be, however wanting everything to be the same is very different from wanting everyone to be considered equal and receive equal benefits of being a member of a society.

The Utopian society has been a topic of discussion for many years. Thomas More wrote one of the more famous books on the subject, simply called *Utopia*. In his perfect society everyone willfully does his or her assigned task for the good of the whole. In an effort to prevent their tasks from becoming too boring every once in a while people will switch tasks. Within his society there would be no class or authority, the community would simply rule itself.

A superficial review of this plan can make it appear as if it is the perfect solution to the problem. If everyone were the same, i.e. sexless, raceless, religionless, and so on then there would be no need for nor would there be anything to base the discrimination on. However, there are several fundamental problems with this plan and the fact that it has several built in biases. The thing that has to remain in the forefront is that the Liberal

Democrats are white, Judeo-Christian, middleclass, males and as such they will bring with them to the table a set of assumptions and values, many of which they may not recognize they have.

The Liberal Democrats who promotes this line of thinking, again, as with the weekend abolitionist, generally has honorable intentions. They truly believe that this will bring about the end of discrimination. However when promoting this position they fail to realize or understand the true nature of discrimination. Based on their life experiences, Liberal Democrats have come to the realization that discrimination is based solely on superficial characteristics found in the human condition i.e. race, gender and religion. So logically, if you remove the superficial variables then everyone should be treated the same. Again, this makes logical, reasonable, and rational sense. If the society does not like a certain effect (in this case discrimination), then all they have to do is discover the root cause of discrimination and eliminate it. With that simple formula the problem of discrimination should be easily solved for all time. The mistake comes from not understanding the true nature of the problem to be solved, thus the wrong course of action is identified. With the problem having been poorly framed, then it is understandable how the wrong cause has been identified. The superficial variable that the Liberal Democrat is focusing on is really only a footnote to the larger problem. By removing one variable—let's say race—another variable will take its place, for example genetic makeup.

To be fair to the Liberal Democrat, the idea of a color blind society needs to be further defined. A colorblind society is one in which differences in the individual person

are not allowed to be recognized, therefore there can be no distinct individual. The model forces members of different demographic groups to become assimilated<sup>3</sup> into the mainstream of the societal norm. In establishing the model for that norm, the right and opportunity for individual identity is taken away from everyone. Sartre explains the problem with this idea: "The former wishes to destroy him as a man and leave nothing in him but the Jew, the pariah, the untouchable; the latter wishes to destroy him as a Jew and leave nothing in him but the man, the abstract and universal subject of the rights of man and the rights of the citizen."<sup>4</sup> When he is referring to the former Sartre is talking about the anti-Semite and the latter refers to the Liberal Democrat. For completely different reasons and methods the Liberal Democrat is, in essence, attempting to accomplish the same thing that the racist and the anti-Semite are. The anti-Semite wants to deny the existence of a person, the Liberal Democrat is committing a murder of the soul. By killing off the soul they are effectively denying the individual unrestricted access to the self, which is the goal of the anti-Semite.

Another problem that arises with a color blind society is who in the society gets the privilege and advantage of establishing what the norm is to be? The fight centers on what becomes the standard and who gets to establish that standard. Establishing the norm is the same problem that most societies face today. The group that is able to establish the norm comes to the game with a natural advantage, they already know how to play the game. Even with the colorblind society there will be a pecking order, based on how well a person is able to assimilate into the norm. The norm for success in America has been long established. It is the white male, with a white wife, two kids, and

a successful job. This works wonderfully for a TV sitcom or movie, however in the real world this is becoming the abnormal, if this was ever really normal. The problem has been that this model has been a forced fit on the society and it has never been the reflection of the whole society.

### **Section 11: Anger/Hate**

Change is turning into Fear  
Fear is melting into Hate  
With Hate you Justify Your Crimes  
A Crime Compassion can Erase<sup>1</sup>

One of the last objectives of this thesis is to answer a question that was asked in Section 7: “So what happens to the self of the master and the self of the slave once the bondsmen/slave has been emancipated from their servitude?” This question is asked because too often the conversations on discrimination only focus on the present situation. Sometimes the discourse moves into what the next step should be. But, the look at the third and fourth steps are almost always missing from the discourse. There has to be a discussion about the possible dangers that may be in store for the groups that are being emancipated. This is not to say that they should not proceed with their efforts; the opposite is true. These groups should continue to push for equity. What is being suggested is that the group(s) being emancipated needs to think ahead so it does not make the same mistakes as their oppressors. Discrimination, like power, left unchecked can become a self-perpetuating, destructive phenomenon. To understand the potential for perpetuating the effects of discrimination, a general discussion is needed to explain the dangers involving when hate/anger, on the part of the discriminator or the discriminated, is used to justify an action.

While it cannot be denied that anger and hatred are powerful catalysts for change, the effects of anger and hatred on the individual are often overlooked when conducting the analysis of change. There are many dangers involved with these emotions when they are not properly managed. The main danger is the hate and anger will be in control of the person and their actions. Allowing hatred and anger to control actions has a very similar effect on the self of the discriminator and well as the discriminated. In the long term the net effect is negative and serves to harden the stereotypes and perpetuate discrimination.

John Dewey who arguably was one of the most prolific and widely read Americans of his time, wrote volumes<sup>2</sup> on almost every aspect of the human condition. His works took into consideration facts about human behavior and life that were often overlooked by many other contemporary thinkers. The quote that follows was selected because it begins to build an understanding of the dangers associated with hate and anger. It shows how a person working from a position motivated by hatred and anger will be blind to their own shortcoming:

It puts hate in place of attempts at understanding; hate once aroused can be directed by skillful manipulation against other objects than those which first aroused it. It also leads us to think that we are immune from the disease to which others have given way so long as the evil things we see in totalitarianism are not known to be developing among us. The belief that only such things operate to harm democracy keeps us from being on our guard against the causes that may be at work undermining the values we normally prize. It even leads us to ignore beams in our eyes such as our own racial prejudices.<sup>3</sup>

Dewey's warning applies to the population as a whole, but it is mainly designed to provide a warning to the dominant class to understand the reasoning and motives behind their actions. Using hatred as a justification will make a person unable to understand and blind them to the consequences of their actions. His quote can also be used to show the danger associated with acts of violent resistance in the name of justice



by an oppressed group that are motivated by anger and hatred. Anger and hatred can blind them so much so that they become what they hate, the oppressor. The psychological change occurs when the oppressed pick up the behavioral patterns of the oppressor. If given the opportunity to gain power over the oppressor, the oppressed will treat others as they were treated.

An example of this behavior can be seen in another social experiment. This time the experiment was conducted by an elementary school teacher Jane Elliott, in a small town in Iowa late 1969. The experiment was designed to help her explain to the students in her class what all the social unrest that was occurring around race relations was all about. The foundation for this experiment was created the morning after Dr. King was assassinated. It was hard for her to explain the concepts behind the unrest and anger because in rural Iowa the children had nothing in their life experiences that they could compare it to. At that time in rural Iowa there was no real demographic mix, which was primarily made up by white households. Her challenge was to give the students something that would help them understand the phenomenon that was going on in the urban centers around America.

She had to figure out a way to show the children how discrimination was really based on arbitrary characteristics. In an interview, Ms. Elliott explained how this was accomplished. So she “Split them according to the colour of their eyes. And I discriminated against the people with the wrong colour eyes. And I treated them as we treat Hispanics, Chicanos, Latinos, Blacks, Asians, Native Americans, women, people with disabilities, gays and lesbians in my country.”<sup>4</sup> The dominant group got special

privileges like they were the first ones in line for lunch, or they could stay out on the playground just a little longer. The other group had to wait in line until the dominant ones had gone through, plus they had to take orders from individual members of the dominant group. This went on all day and after a little time the children started to fall well into their roles. By the end of the day the dominant group was showing no mercy to the other group.

The next day the teacher had a surprise for the students she reversed the roles. The group that was once the dominant one was now subservient while the subservient group was now able to come out of its shell. The new dominant group had no trouble picking up on the new rules of the game, in fact the thought process was not, "I did not like being treated that way, so I will treat them better than they treated me." It was more like, "I didn't like the way I was treated so now it is time for payback." Again this happens if hatred and anger are the sole motivating forces behind the change. In the superficial environment of Ms. Elliott's experiment, the changes were introduced into the system very fast. So the shift from dominant to subordinate happened very quickly. In reality the change happens over an extended period of time. Because this process takes place over a long period of time and the transformation is so subtle the oppressed will not even know they are making the transition.

Ms. Elliot also recognizes that there is a difference between an angry response and people who are consumed with hatred and anger, just as there is a difference between racism and reactions to racism. Again from the interview with Ms. Elliot:

Now some of you are thinking what about people of colour, they don't like us either, they're, racist too. People of colour don't dislike me because of the colour of my skin. They're not

relating to that. They're relating to a history of abuse for people of colour by those who look like me.

That's the first thing I learned when I did this exercise with my third graders the first time. There's a big difference between racism and angry reactions to racist behavior.<sup>5</sup>

The point that Ms. Elliot was making is that valid anger by itself does not necessarily lead to the transformation. However anger left unchecked will make the person more susceptible to the transformation process. The individual may start out with an angry response to racism, and that anger can be easily manipulated to serve another purpose. Hence the other point Dewey was making: that a person motivated by hatred can be easily manipulated to stand up for a cause that they do not believe in. They become blinded by the emotion and cannot see the real intent of the manipulator. History shows how the mass population can be manipulated so that they will support the systematic murder of millions of people that used to be their neighbor. In Germany during World War II a large portion of the German population was needed to support the assembly line extermination efforts concentrated on the Jews and any other people that were considered to be social outcasts. The same systems can be seen in the genocide campaigns in Bosnia and several southern African countries of today.

Unexpected relations can manifest themselves when anger, hate, or fear motivates any group's actions. For example, some African American leaders are very well versed at spouting anti-Semite rhetoric. In their fear and hatred of the Jewish population they have inadvertently aligned themselves with the same people that despise the African American population (Ku Klux Klan). This creates a situation where the leaders of two opposing extremist organizations will praise each other.

Fear and hatred of the “other” are extremely powerful tools in the process of motivating and manipulating the general population. They are the fundamental tools that any military organization uses to get their soldiers to kill or make them willing to accept the fact that they too may be killed in the performance of their duties. It is the process that makes the enemy less than human, it transforms the enemy into something that is less than an animal, to the point that the enemy is demonizing them into a *thing* that is to be feared and hated. Killing it becomes an acceptable, and even honorable course of action. The killing becomes acceptable because what the soldiers are exterminating is something that does not deserve to live in the first place.

Once these tools have been employed, it becomes very difficult to reverse the process. In American history the mass public had their fears and angers manipulated to condone the mass murder and genocide of the different Native American nations. Newspaper accounts of the uprising often overestimated the number of white settlers killed, while at the same time inventing labels for the Native Americans such as red skin, savages, or heathens. That image of the savage and heathen can still be seen today. In the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)’s new headquarters in Washington D.C. there is a mural by Frank Albert Mechau called "Dangers of the Mail". The mural is, “depicting American Indians assaulting naked white women and stabbing white men in the back”,<sup>6</sup> and perpetuating the image of the savage Native American. This same behavior can be seen in the dehumanization and demonization of Americans in the terrorist training camps around the world. The list goes on and on.

Another recent example of the extreme end of how far this can go was seen with the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and surrounding countries. Centuries of fear, hatred, and suspicion manifested themselves in acts of violence and mass murder. Once the NATO troops restored some semblance of order to the region, the group that once was the target of the aggression and genocide was now being accused as the group that was committing the same types of violence and murder. They were picking the same types of targets as their former aggressors did, such as churches, businesses, and unarmed civilians. These individuals, acting as a group, let the anger, rage, and the overriding need for vengeance rule their actions. Reason, logic or compassion was left out of the thought process.

Dr. King, who was building off of the tradition of nonviolence, recognized the danger associated with letting anger and revenge dictate any group's action. He often wrote about the need of the civil rights movement to resist the temptation of violence and remain peaceful. He saw that peaceful civil disobedience was the most effective tool for implementing long-term change.

Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.<sup>7</sup>

He was calling on the people in the Civil Rights movement to have all of its actions morally rise above those they were opposing. He feared that once the movement started down the road of violence and intolerance, it would be a mistake from which they could not recover. In the end he feared that they would end up lower than those they were opposing.

When presenting an argument of nonviolent resistance to an oppressed people it is going to be a very hard sell. It is hard to convince someone who has been shot at, or has been kicked, or has had the established legitimate authority set upon them, not to react violently back. The instinctive response when someone is about to strike is to block the blow and strike back with more force. After time the instinct becomes strike before being stricken. The following three passages are from the beginning of Malcolm X's autobiography, in which he describes his first memories and interactions with white people. This first quote is in the opening paragraph of the book.

When my mother was pregnant with me, she told me later, a party of hooded Ku Klux Klan riders galloped up to our home in Omaha, Nebraska, one night. Surrounding the house, brandishing their shotguns and rifles, they shouted for my father to come out...The Klansmen shouted threats and warnings at her that we had better get out of town because 'the good Christian white people' were not going to stand for my father's 'spreading trouble' among the 'good' negroes of Omaha"<sup>8</sup>

The event just described happened around the early 1920's. After his father returned home it was decided that it would be safer for the family to move away. The next situation occurred a couple years later when the family moved away from Omaha.

Shortly after Yvonne was born came the nightmare night in 1929, my earliest vivid memory. I remember being suddenly snatched awake into a frightening confusion of pistol shots and shouting and smoke and flames. My father had shouted and shot at two white men who had set fire and were running away. Our home was burning down around us...the white police and firemen came and stood around watching as the house burned down to the ground.<sup>9</sup>

He then relates to the events that happened in 1931: "My father's skull, on one side, was crushed in, I was told later. Negroes in Lansing have always whispered that he was attacked, and then laid across some tracks for a streetcar to run over him. His body was cut almost half."<sup>10</sup> With these as the first three vivid memories of a young man, how can that child be convinced that violence will only lead to his own destruction?

Dr. King knew that it was imperative that people understood the effects of violence and his reasons for providing this warning. First, there is the very real and practical reason of fear of the magnification of physical violence in retaliation. Acts of violence committed by a few, on the behalf of the overall oppressed class, will serve as justification of violence against the mass of the oppressed. His life's experiences had shown him that there is an empirical reason for this concern. The dominant class or group motivated by hatred and fear will use as an excuse for excessive violence the violence perpetrated by a few. Again there are examples of this all over the world and through out history. When Nat Turner (1831) led a slave revolt which killed about 60 white people, not only were he and his men captured and killed, but hundreds of blacks in that region were also killed in the aftermath. Their only crime was being at the wrong place at the wrong time and having the wrong skin color. Many of those killed were hung by vigilante groups that formed in response to the uprising.

A vigilante group is not always the source of the magnified physical response. Frequently it is the accepted legitimate authority that delivers the force. That authority can be in the form of the federal, state or city governments. More recent event such as the reaction to the LA riots (1992) after the Rodney King trial, is an example on a national level of this behavior and how it has been used as the justification for police buildups across the country.

The minority group does not even have to be guilty of any violation to have violence reflected back upon them. A recent (1995) example of this behavior was the violence that was directed towards Arab Americans right after the bombing of the

Federal Building in Oklahoma City. There was a rash of violent crimes committed against Arab Americans following the news of the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City. The justification for the violence was the belief, which was supported by initial news reports, that the bomb was planted by an Arab terrorist organization. There was very little said about the victims of the vigilante violence even after it was became common knowledge that the bombing was committed by a white middle class American male, claiming to be a true patriot. Physical violence initiated by or believed to be initiated by a deviant group against the norm will always be met with physical force magnified back and out.

Another contemporary example of this phenomenon can be seen in the homophobia that has gripped the United States. Fear of what has been deemed different and dangerous, has led to grizzly acts of violence and murder. In the case of violence against homosexuals an old tool is reintroduced which it can be referred to as the transfer of blame. It is where other acts of violence are blamed on homosexuals in an attempt to justify the violence against homosexuals and the labeling of them as deviants. The acts of violence that the homosexual is being blamed for are usually acts that they had either nothing to do with or where the person's sexuality is only a minor factor. Here is a recent example. The boys that perpetrated the acts of mass murder at Columbine High School, Co. (1998) were labeled in the press, by other students, and by the general public as homosexual, when in fact there was never any evidence to support the claim and even if there were there was no reason to think that their sexuality had anything to do with their actions in this case. The article shows how the production of blame begins:



In the day following the shooting, Drudge<sup>11</sup> put two stories on his Web site based on nothing more definitive than a posting from a self-proclaimed 'gay biker' praising the shooting as 'a bunch of our fellow homosexuals [who] decided that they had enough.' Drudge seized on the black nail polish favored by goths as further evidence that the killers were part of a pack of murderous poofs. That was proof enough for Jerry Falwell of Tinky Winky<sup>12</sup> fame; he reportedly called Harris and Klebold gay on *Geraldo Live*.<sup>13</sup>

The general public needed to have an explanation why this unspeakable event happened. Since the perpetrators of the crimes were white males from apparently stable middle class homes there had to be another defect in their character. Homosexuality was picked because it has been constructed as a defect in the moral makeup of a person, so that it was not a stretch for the heterosexual public to believe that a homosexual would commit such a crime. Other unexplained violent crimes are often linked to homosexuality. The implication of the rhetoric is that only a homosexual would commit such a crime. Judith Butler describes how the label of "Queer" works.

The term 'queer' emerges as an interpellation raises the question of the status of forces and opposition, of stability and variability, *within* performativity. The term 'queer' has operated as one linguistic practice whose purpose has been the shaming of the subject interpellation. "Queer" derives its force precisely through the repeated invocation by which it has become linked to accusation, pathologization, insult. This is an invocation by which a social bonds among homophobic communities is formed through time. The interpellation echoes past interpellations, and binds the speakers, as if they spoke in unison across time. In this sense, it is always an imaginary chorus that taunts 'queer'.<sup>14</sup>

The name "Queer" no longer means homosexual; it means to have a defect in character and it is used to put down anyone that does not make the grade. This was the method by which the members of the Trench Coat Mafia were transformed into being homosexual. Again Judith Butler describes this process:

Here it is not only a question of how discourse injures bodies, but how certain injuries establish certain bodies at the limits of available ontologies, available schemes of intelligibility. And further, how is it that those who are objected come to make their claim through and against the discourse that have sought their repudiation?<sup>15</sup>

Language is used as the vehicle to bind the person so any behavior deemed deviant can be linked to them. To assign these acts of violence to homosexual behavior is only one example of how acts artificially get linked to a superficial trait. Replace homosexuality with race and the same effect can be seen. Certain extremist individuals or groups use the perceived defective trait as an excuse and as the right to reflect a magnification of the violence back. Hobbes believed that this state of back and forth violence is only a reflection of the true natural state of humankind. He was firmly committed to the idea that man, left to his own devices, would be in a constant state of war with his fellow man. The only possible hope of escape from this reality is unconditionally assigning the care of the state to the sovereign. Even then it is not a total escape, but it is more like a reprieve. The totalitarian sovereign is only a temporary stay of the violence. As soon as the sovereign is gone the old behaviors will resurface quickly. He gives three reasons why man has no choice but to stay in a state of constant war.

So that is the nature of man, we find three principall causes of quarrell. First. Competition; Secondly Diffidence; Thridly, Glory.

The first maketh men invade for gain; the second, for safety, and the third, for Reputation. The first use of Violence, to make themselves Masters of other mens persons, wives, and children, and cattell; the second, to defend them; the third, for trifles, as a word, a smile, a different opinion, and any other signe of undervalue, either direct in the Persons, or by reflexion in their Kindred, the Friends, their Nation, their Profession, or their Name.<sup>16</sup>

Hobbes' arguments are ones that can not be ignored. As in Hobbes' time, today there is too much empirical evidence, such as the events in Eastern Europe, that would support his claims. This thesis is not trying to make the claim that man is necessarily in a constant state of war against itself. Rather it is saying that a person, who is not aware of the integrity of their self, is susceptible to the kind of behavior Hobbes believed to be so

natural. So while humans may have an apparent propensity for violence, violence against one's self is not necessarily a part of human condition. Again violence is only the empirical manifestation of the problem.

Another reason for Dr. King's warning against violence was that he could see where the road of violence and hatred would lead. Violence against others leads to the continuation or the perpetuation of domination and discrimination. It would not only negatively affect the Civil Rights movement, but it would take the individual's soul.

The ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral, begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy. Instead of diminishing evil, it multiplies it. Through violence you may murder the liar, but you cannot murder the lie, nor establish the truth. Through violence you may murder the hater, but you do not murder hate. In fact, violence merely increases hate.<sup>17</sup>

Instead of solving the problem anger and violence can create that initial gap in the self of the oppressed A gap which can not be easily mended. In time the metaphysical self of the oppressed would be no different then the oppressor.

There is no doubt that hatred and anger are powerful tools for establishing change, however they can cause more change than any one person would want to or could handle. With any revolutionary movement there has been considerable debate about the use of violence and force to help facilitate the change. Some thinkers believe that violence is the most important aspect for implementing a change in paradigms. Groups that believe in the use of physical violence motivated by hatred honestly believe that their actions are justified because of the demonizing process discussed earlier. This is not to say that some level of physical resistance is not a useful or a necessary tool for positive change. However, physical resistance by itself can take on many forms. The difference between physical resistance and the physical violence spoken of earlier is the

type of action involved and the emotion behind the action. Physical resistance is a long-term approach, with long-term results. While physical violence is short term, both in length of action and results. During the LA riots (1992 and 1965) the reaction of the crowds was immediate, explosive, and short term. The same can be said of the reaction by the state to the violence; it was immediate, explosive, and short term. The same can also be said about changes that were intuited in the wake of the violence; they too were immediate, explosive and short term. The Watts of the 1960's is not that much different then the Watts of the 1990s or the Watts of the new millennium.

Because there is the propensity for violence everyone has to be aware of their self to avoid it. An unaware self is susceptible to the negative energy associated with anger. Anger will help create the blindness that will not allow individuals to see where their emotion or the group's emotion is taking them, just as the blindness will not allow the dominant group to see or admit how their position in life has been a benefit to them.

It has been asked; can a person from a minority group ever be accused of discriminating against a member of the majority group? There are two polar opposite answers to this question. One is "Hell Yes" and the other is "Hell No". To get to the answer of this question all a person has to do is look at how the definition of discrimination that has been developed so far. A more reflective approach to this question is required versus a reactive response. Returning to the basic definition of discrimination--a person, usually from the dominant group, is trying to incorporate a part of the self of the other to make the other less than and make their self complete. Many people could and have argued that the sole force behind the actions of minority groups is

to make themselves equal, to, not greater than the white dominant class. In a sense the actions of a minority member could not be considered as discriminatory.

However when equity is not the goal and the real goal is to become another form of the dominant, then the answer is yes. Given the way that the definition of discrimination has played out so far, the race, gender, religion, sexuality, etc. of the discriminator is not the essential factor in the equation. So it is possible for a minority member to discriminate against a non-minority member, just like it is possible for a minority member to discriminate against another minority member, just like it is possible for a non-minority member to discriminate against another non-minority member. The point is the race of the individual doing the discriminating and the one being discriminated against is not central to discrimination. As long as there is a dominant figure and a target, there can be discrimination.

The danger that happens when a group has been the consistent target of discrimination is that they can, at the very least, become metaphysically what they are fighting. This perpetuation is a result of continual discrimination thus creating a gap in the self of the discriminated. A cycle starts to repeat itself. Richard Wright tell of this process:

We were now large enough for the white boys to fear us and both of us, the white boys and the black boys, began to play our traditional racial roles as though we had been born to them, as though it was in our blood, as though we were being guided by instinct. All the frightful descriptions we had heard about each other, all the violent expressions of hate and hostility that had seeped in us from our surroundings came now to the surface to guide our actions.<sup>18</sup>

This passage out of Richard Wright's book *Black Boy* is one of many telling passages in the book that shows the cycle. The cycle shows how the roles of the two

groups appear to be natural to both groups. In an earlier passage in the book he explains how a young Mr. Wright and his friends treated Jews:

I had never seen a Jew before and the proprietor of the corner grocery was a strange thing in my life. Until that time I had never heard a foreign language spoken and I used to linger at the door of the corner grocery to hear the odd sounds that Jews made when they talked. All of us black people who lived in the neighborhood hated Jews, not because they exploited us, but because we had been taught at home and in Sunday school that Jews were 'Christ killers.' With the Jews thus singled out for us, we made them fair game for ridicule.

We black children—seven, eight, and nine years of age—used to run to the Jew's store and shout:

*Jew, Jew, Jew*  
*What do you chew?....*

And when the baldheaded proprietor would pass by, we black children, poor, half-starved, ignorant, victims of racial prejudice, would sing with a proud lilt:

*A rotten egg*  
*Never Fries*  
*A cheating dog*  
*Never thrives.*

There were many more folk ditties, some mean, other filthy, all of them cruel. No one ever thought of questioning our right to do this; our mothers and parents generally approved, either actively or passively. To hold an attitude of antagonism or distrust towards Jews was bred in us from childhood; it was not merely racial prejudice, it was a part of our cultural heritage.<sup>19</sup>

The point of the two quotes from Mr. Wright's book is to show how at this early stage in their lives these young men already had the racial rhetoric down to where it had appeared to be natural. In the dynamic that was established they were not only the victims of discrimination, they had become the discriminators. They, the black boys, had become the racists, and they were acting accordingly to the lessons taught to them. Again history will show that discrimination/racism/sexism and a whole host of other isms are not just the domain of white Anglo-Saxon males. This phenomenon of discrimination knows no racial or gender boundaries. It is just as infectious and dangerous for all those who come into contact with it regardless of their race/sex/religion. The only way to avoid succumbing to it is through knowledge of the individual and where their own

prejudices lie. Once the gaps within the self are filled then there can be no discrimination.

To summarize this section; if a group or individual is using for their moral maxim, “the ends justifies the means” alone, they will never reach their intended end. Their actions may be so out of line with their objective that there is no possibility of reaching the objective. A balance has to be sought between the need to fight against oppression and overextending that need until they become the oppressors. There needs to be a balance between the ends and the means to that end.

*Knowing other is wisdom;  
Knowing the self is enlightenment.  
Mastering others requires force;  
Mastering the self needs strength.<sup>20</sup>*

### **Section 12: The Completed Self**

With all that been said so far in this thesis there are many questions that still loom. Will humankind ever be able to evolve past the ever-existing vale of ignorance? Will the species ever be able to get to a state where discrimination no longer exists? There is no short, quick, or easy answer these questions, but there is an answer. However the answer for the near future is probably not. The major stumbling block that is preventing the making of a complete human is the inherent Catch 22 in the process. Humans have the innate ability and the overriding need for self-identification and awareness. It is this ability and need for self-identification that is central to the creation of all forms of the phenomenon of discrimination. With individuality there will always be the potential for prejudicial action and discrimination. The trait of individuality is the ability to describe ourselves as a self, and to be able to know that my self is different

from the other's self. This trait, to be able to distinguish between the self and the not self, can be the grounding for the initial gap in the self. A natural reactive response to this concept would be to say that the Liberal Democrats were right in their endeavor to create a colorblind society. Herein lies the Catch 22. One of the tenants of equality or the movement against discrimination is the right to exercise the ability for individual subjects to have their own sense of identity. It is ensuring that each individual voice will be equally representing each individual subject. Each subject will be able to develop his or her own sense of identity.

To be able to distinguish my own self from the self which is not mine, is the ability to be able to discern a difference between "I" of the individual and the "I" of others. Going back to the original definition of discrimination, the ability to discern a difference is a key component of discrimination. At the same time, to be able to actualize yourself as an individual is a fundamental human need, right, and practice. It is the one human right that all other rights necessarily arise from. If there is no access to the individual self then there are no other rights, which can apply to the individual. If persons lose their individuality, they can no longer be considered subjects. If the person has become an object, an object is a material thing that has no rights.

The ability for persons to identify with their own self is something that they can not be given away, even if the subject has honestly been compelled to think that they want to. After extensive socialization of a person, the subject is still able to identify him or her self as an individual at some level of existence. It could be possible that the awareness of self-identification is not present at a recognizable conscious level. As a



member of a larger social group, the individuals can be manipulated and controlled to act in a fairly predictable manner. Much like cattle. Spook one cow and the herd runs. Keep them calm and the herd moves straight to the slaughterhouse with no problem. Social control is greatest when the self does not realize the control mechanisms exist and are active. The tighter the overt social control is the more the individual strains to resist it. Even the Borg Collective<sup>1</sup> cannot completely eliminate the individual identity. The socialization experiment that was developed in George Orwell's novel *1984* shows that even in the most totalitarian controlling societies the individual will exist. The individual will find some way to resist the overt control.

His eyes refocused on the page. He discovered that while he sat helplessly musing he had also been writing, as though by automatic action. And it was no longer the same cramped awkward handwriting as before. His pen had slid voluptuously over the smooth paper, printing in large neat capitals—

DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER  
DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER  
DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER  
DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER  
DOWN WITH BIG BROTHER

over and over again, filling half a page<sup>2</sup>

The ability to have self-identification is something that can not be simply socialized away, or completely minimalized into submission, nor should it. The self is the only thing that cannot be completely socialized away, but it can be socialized into a slumber. Even if the self is sound asleep, the seed for self awareness is always there just below the surface. Whether that seed will grow into a complete awareness of self is a different issue.

Even Descartes, with his famous skeptical experiment could not completely reduce the self to nothing. The one thing and the only thing that he could prove without a

doubt is that above all else humans can identify themselves as individual thinking beings. “Here I make my discovery; thought exists; it alone cannot be separated from me. I am; I exist—this is certain.”<sup>3</sup> When he eliminated everything else he discovered that there has to be an “I” that is experiencing the world. This is true even if everything being experienced in the world was just an illusion. With the existence of an “I”, there exists the building blocks for discrimination. At the same time there is also within each individual the potential to reach a total self. This confrontation is created because there exists an “I” that is an unfinished work and it is up to the individual to complete the work.

Having the ability to recognize that there is a self does not mean that everyone will come to realize the complete self. As stated earlier, very few people ever reach a level of total awareness of the self. The majority of the population does not have the time, the energy, nor the reason to question their current existence. All the social forces talked about throughout this thesis come into play to prevent or assist in total actualization of the self. It is difficult for a person to go against those forces and often it can appear to be pleasurable to simply just go along with the social forces. This is especially true if these social norms are perceived as being favorable. Once an individual starts to push back against the social norm, the norm will push back with tremendous force. To go against the social norm takes dedication, focus, and determination to the task at hand and it can be a very exhausting process. Because of the force that it takes very few people will ever reach a level of total awareness of the self. Which means that within each person exists, at least on some level, a gap in the self.

Some would, and maybe justifiably so, accuse this thesis of supporting some sort of nihilistic philosophy right now. It would reasonably appear as if this thesis is trying to promote the philosophy that there is no hope in ever bridging the gap within the self or between people. The appearance stems from the apparent contradiction that exists: there cannot be a complete person without an individual subject, but it is individuality that is the basis for discrimination. If that were true then why should people try to move forward when it is impossible to reach a point of completion? To espouse that line of thinking would be completely irresponsible. A world of change can be achieved when an individual has knowledge of the self, a knowledge of how to care for the self, and a sense of knowledge of others. Once an individual has this knowledge then the opportunity to grow and learn appears.

This thesis is not trying to advocate the position that a person can not reach a state of total actualization of the self, or a state of total enlightenment of the self. Given our current level of evolution it is unlikely that the mass majority of the population will reach that level of consciousness of the self. Yet, it is possible, no matter how improbable, for a person to reach that level of awareness. If a person does reach a level of total awareness of the self and is able to sustain it, a new set of questions will arise. Would a totally self-actualized person still be capable of discrimination? If they were able to discriminate, then at what point does it become acceptable to do so?

The answer to the first question is that it is impossible for a person who has reached that level of total actualization of the self to discriminate, if a self-actualized person is a complete person and the essence of discrimination is the taking of self from

another person to fill a gap within the self. So if my self were complete on all possible levels--physical, social, mental, spiritual--then there would be no need for me to take the "self" from someone else. That would be a contradiction in terms. A similar question was asked of Michael Foucault during an interview in which he was talking about actualization of the self and care of the self.

Q: Does not the care for self, released from the care for other, run the risk of "absolutizing itself"? Could not this "absolutization" of care for the self become a kind of exercise of power on others, in the sense of domination of the other?

MF: No, because the risk of dominating others and exercising over them a tyrannical power only comes from the fact that one did not care for one's self and that one has become a slave to his desires. But if you care for yourself correctly, i.e., if you know ontologically what you are, if you also know of what you are capable, if you know what it means to be a citizen in a city, to be the head of a household in an *oikos*, if you know what things you must fear and those that you should not fear, if you know what is suitable to hope for and what are the things on the contrary which should be completely indifferent for you, if you know, finally that you should not fear death, well, then, you cannot abuse your power over others, There is therefore no danger.<sup>4</sup>

What is at stake here is so much more than just a simple language game. If a person reaches a point of total actualization of the self, there would be no need for them to discriminate. A self fulfilled person there would have no gap within their self for them to fill. That is not to say that an incomplete person may interpret a self actualized person's actions as being discriminatory. This is where self awareness and self confidence becomes confused with arrogance and ignorance. The total actualized self may appear to be excluding themselves from certain aspects of society. The reasons and the effect are different from a person who is discriminating against that same segment of society. The motivation behind the discriminator is the need to have themselves included in the society while they exclude the other's self from their circle.

The complete actualized self is not looking to take anything away from others and cannot place itself above any other. When the total actualized self comes into contact with the other self there is an exchange between the two selves. This exchange happens anytime two individual subjects interact with each other; each participant walks away with a part of the other. In a normal exchange each party knowingly or unknowingly gives of their own self to the other and the exchange is fairly even. If an interaction includes a person with a large gap, the exchange tends to be very one-sided. The side with the larger gap attempts to take advantage of the other and gives nothing back in return. With the complete actualized self, each encounter with another self is a free and equal exchange. There is learning and incorporation of new sensations with each interaction. Not only will the total actualized self not forcibly take a part of the self of the other; they are able to defend against the efforts of the incomplete self to assimilate them.

To reach this state of total self actualization the individual will have to have a balance between the self and the not self. It is theoretically possible for individuals to momentarily reach a state in which they exist as individuals and exist as all else at the same time. In certain sects of eastern thought it is believed that a person can be as one with the entire universe and still remain her or him self. In Hermen Hess' novel, *Siddhartha*, the narrator describes how the phenomenon existing with the universe might look if it could manifest physically.

He no longer saw the face of his friend Siddhartha. Instead he saw other faces, a long series, a continuous stream of faces—hundreds, thousands, which all came and disappeared and yet all seemed to be there at the same time, which all continually changed and renewed themselves and which were yet all Siddhartha.<sup>5</sup>

Siddhartha, as an individual still existed but, when people saw him they also saw a part of everyone that they had ever encountered. When he reached complete awareness of self, the line between his self and not self was gone. For that moment Siddhartha existed as the individual and he existed as the parts of this universe. But this state of existence is only temporary and can not be sustained over an indefinite period of time. It is only when the line between the self and the other is dissolved that it can be truly said that discrimination is eliminated. The balancing act that has to occur is not completely losing the self to others.

The answer to the second question is, at no level does discrimination become OK. It may become acceptable to a specific sector of a particular society to discriminate. But going back to Kant's rationalization, at no time should it become morally acceptable to use a person as a means to an end or deny anyone the right to a self. Again, the way that discrimination and the complete self have been defined this becomes a non-issue if a person reaches a level of a complete self.

### **Section 13: The Component Parts**

Up to this point in the thesis there has been a large quantity of (hopefully) quality discourse over the many different components and relationships that are present in the make up of the phenomenon of discrimination. With that in mind, before proceeding to the closing section a final review is required to ensure the road map that was initially laid out is still clear and to see if a complete definition and conception of discrimination was ever achieved. The first point that has to be made is no one component that was

discussed gets to take total credit for the creation and perpetuation of this phenomenon called discrimination. There are multitudes of factors working in conjunction with each other, which produce the environment in which discrimination can exist. But these factors never work to the same degree in each occurrence of discrimination. This ambiguity makes dealing with discrimination almost an art form, because with each individual the weight that each factor has in the development of the person is different. That is why any one-size-fits-all type of solution to discrimination only works to a limited degree and why the majority of these efforts fail completely.

Referring back to Sections 2 and 3, the first component of the discrimination puzzle was placed on the table. That piece was the formula that has to be present for an action to be considered discriminatory,  $d=p+t+a$ . For an action to be an act of discrimination there has to be power, time, and authority. The discriminator must have the power to create and maintain a discriminatory position. They must have the time to maintain that position and they must have the authority, either directly or indirectly, to hold the position.

After several more sections and a mental exercise this thesis put forth a second piece of the puzzle. This piece relates to the metaphysical reason behind the act of discrimination. That reason is the attempt by one group to place another group in a lesser position in life so they are able to control them. The motivation for this need for control is to replace or fulfill a gap located within the self of the discriminator. The gap in the self is a self-perceived inferiority on the part of the individual. There are multitudes of factors, which contribute to the creation of the gap in the self. These factors include both

physical and social forces working in conjunction with each other. In an attempt to seal the gap, the discriminator tries to transfer their sense of inferiority to a target. At the same time the discriminator takes a part of the self of the target in an attempt to replace the part that is missing in his or her own self. This way the discriminator unconsciously believes they will complete their own self. A side effect of the process is leaving targets of the discrimination with a gap in their selves. The incorporation is never complete and the gap within the discriminator continues to expand, so they have the need to look for another target. The attempted transfer is successful in leaving a gap within the self of the target. It is through this process that discrimination becomes a self-perpetuating phenomenon.

The fourth piece of the puzzle was about the two forces, Social and Physical Forces, that help shape an individual. Social forces are the tradition, routines and norms that make up human kinds everyday existence. Social forces affect, control, and mandate human interaction more effectively than any legal system ever could. The social forces are what tell people what they should like and dislike. In an interview, Jane Elliott expressed how these likes and dislikes can manifest even when there are little real interactions between different groups.

My all white Christian third graders in Iowa knew every negative stereotype you have ever heard about any group of people of colour. They have never been around people of colour. Yet they knew all these stereotypes. Where did they learn them? They learned them from people like me. They dislike people, they judge people, based on the amount of a chemical in their skin.<sup>1</sup>

The physical forces include the physical universe that the individual lives in. This includes where on the planet they are, what social class they are born into, and their physical stature. The physical forces include the sensory data, which is used to help



validate the norms created by social forces. Social forces and physical forces are not mutually exclusive forces, they work in conjunction with each other.

The fifth piece of the puzzle that comes into play is the economic condition and a Marxian analysis of the problem. Any economic system is going to have an effect on how the individual self is constituted and how the society evolves. The capitalistic system, by design, has a social ordering of the upper, middle and lower classes. Each of these classes has an essential part to play in the economy. Within the capitalistic system there has to be a group relegated to the lower class. The lowest class supports the middle class; the middle class is there to support the upper class. The easiest ways to create and maintain that class is to place value or devalue on an arbitrary trait, such as skin color or gender. The excluding factor that is used to exclude can very easily change to any number of both physical and nonphysical traits.

The sixth piece takes into consideration how hatred and anger play into the matrix. The understanding of how hate and anger effect discrimination is a critical piece of the puzzle which is often either overlooked or completely misunderstood. With anger and hatred the eyes of the individual can be blinded to the true nature of their actions. This blindness is true for both the discriminator and the discriminated. The environment in which anger and hatred thrive is one that is filled with fear and instability. The fear and instability also feed into the creation of prejudices and the assigning of negative stereotypes.

The seventh piece of the puzzle is the manifestation of a complete self. For discrimination to no longer exist, the individual person has to be a complete self. The

complete self is a being that is in balance, not only internally, but with the world around them. Unlike the belief of some philosophers, the self is not necessarily in constant competition or conflicts with the not self. The self works in conjunction with the not self; it is not fighting the exchange of self; the exchange naturally happens.

When the pieces of the puzzle are completely placed on the table, a person sees the complexity of the components that come together under the heading of discrimination. The pieces work in conjunction with each other to form an environment in which discrimination can exist. It has been said throughout this thesis, and will be repeated here, that just because humans have the propensity to discriminate, it does not necessarily mean that they will. The problem is that social scientists, Marxists, feminists, etc. want only to focus in on one or two pieces of the puzzle, without taking the whole thing into consideration. This narrow focus is the modern way of doing business. Focus on a narrow problem, implement a quick fix, once the fix is in place, then state that the problem no longer exist and victory is claimed. Unless there is a focus on all the parts the phenomenon will remain firmly fixed in the human landscape.

Without the holistic approach discrimination will not leave the human condition, because a complete self can not exist in an environment of economic injustice. A fair and just economic system can not be sustained where the players are not complete. Neither a complete self nor a just economic system will evolve if the society and the physical forces oppose it. Each component needs to be complete so it will not adversely affect the other component parts.

When viewing the problem from a holistic vantage point it becomes clear the position that this thesis is trying to promote is that evolution and not revolution should be the object of study when conducting research in human relations. Even a purely Marxian analysis of the problem will show that the problems associated with capitalism are a natural part of the evolution to a true community. The seven component parts of discrimination work as agents in the continuing evolution of the human race.

#### **Section 14: The Closing**

The quotes and references used in this section come from very different sources, but they share a common theme in that they are intended to help tie everything up. The first will act as simple reminders of where the blind acts of discrimination and intolerance can lead a person and/or a society, especially if no act of counter resistance is taken when the process of discrimination is just beginning. In the end there will be no one left to question the practice. The second is related to the first step in a long-term solution to problem. One that is so simple in concept yet it is almost impossible in practice.

At the close of World War II a German pastor, upon reflection, expressed the need for people to take action and challenge the existing power structure. By turning a blind eye to the oppression that one person or group is suffering under, one may very quickly become the group oppression is directed towards later on. If no one is willing to help the other then all the oppressor has to do is pick off one group at a time until there is no one left to challenge them in authority and power.

In Germany, the Nazis first came for the Communists, and I did not speak up, because I was not a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak up, because I was not a Jew. Then

they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak up, because I was not a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I did not speak up, because I was not a Catholic. Then they came for me... and by that time, there was no one to speak up for anyone.

-- Martin Niemoeller, Pastor,  
German Evangelical (Lutheran) Church

A modern version of this quote comes from a young Marine, only this time the observation comes from someone who was inside an organization that wanted to be the oppressor. For many years this Marine practiced an actively discriminatory lifestyle. He and his wife had been a long time member of racially extremist organizations. After hearing his sons repeat his racial views, he asks a simple question while he was attending a meeting with his friends. "What if tomorrow we find out that we have won, then what?" The point he wanted to make, what happens the morning they find that all the people that they oppose had either left or they had been killed? In his proposed hypothetical situation there is no one left for the group to hate and that should be the end of it. He was hoping that the answer would be to start a new government, build a better society, etc. To paraphrase the answer that he received, "Then we will start on hair color". It was at that precise moment in time he understood that the cause was just a mask be the real purpose behind their group's actions. The rhetoric his group ended up being no more than just a smoke screen. There would be no end to the types of people they could oppose. Because with hate there will always be the next victim.

But, if it is true that hate is not a necessary part of the human condition, where does the human race go from here? How does a society and a race work past a system of inadequacies and injustices that are so completely ingrained into the human social order? What can be done to improve human relations when people are coming from diverse

dialectic points on the map? The following quote by Patricia Williams is in reference to a long-standing disagreement that she had with her sister when they were young. The disagreement stemmed from what each of them perceived to be the color of the highway. One of them thought that the road was black while the other saw it as purple. It was not until much later in life did she realize that her sister was talking about the same thing as she was. Her dilemma was, if it took her that long to understand her sister, the possibility of understanding someone else seemed remote. But, she does offer a possible answer to the dialectic problem. It is not an answer that we will see take effect soon. According to her it will take generations.

If it took years for me to understand my own sister, probably the best that Peter and I can do -- as friends and colleagues, but very different people -- is to listen intently to each other so that maybe our children can bridge the experiential distance. Bridging such gaps requires listening at a very deep level, to the uncensored voices of others<sup>1</sup>

This is the key to it all: it is the first step in the creation of an equal society. That is to be able to get beyond our social construction, and to get to a point where we can actually **listen** to what the other has to say and understand them. All real listening will do is help establish a dialog between two people. Once a dialog is established and the two are really communicating then there is a chance for a change. But, if either party stays in the same racial roles they feel they have been assigned then there will be little if any progress made.

Many people would disagree with the preceding paragraph. That discourse with some is impossible, that someone with extreme views of reality has no reason to change their argument. The great thing about being a racist, sexist, anti-Semite, etc. is they are not bound by the limits of logic or reason for the formulation of their arguments. Red is

green, blue is purple, and  $2+2=5$  are perfectly acceptable arguments, because their world is not governed by logic or reason; it is ruled by sensory perception and emotion. The perception is twisted and the emotion is fear. Many believe that they can not change an extremist's worldview. For the change to happen the racist has to come to the realization that their worldview may be wrong. But, how is that realization ever going to change if the racist/extremist is not engaged? This thesis is not promoting verbal or physical confrontation; it is promoting a discourse between opposing views. The two approaches are very different.

The formula for the elimination of discrimination is a multifaceted system; it includes the ability to have deep meaningful discourse with people whose belief system is different. It will take a complete understanding of how the social economic plays in the type-casting of people. In the end it will take the individual person having a complete understanding of the their own self, and how that self interacts, manipulates, and is manipulated by the world around them.

### **Afterward**

In closing one thing must be made absolutely clear is that the intent of this thesis is not to put out a call to end all Affirmative Action Laws and Programs. By themselves these laws and programs are not the solution, the government can not just wave a magic wand and legislate away discrimination, but they are part of the solution. Discrimination and inequality will not just fade quietly away from the human condition. So many factors are needed to help move the human race past the point where it is felt that discriminatory practices are needed. However there are no quick fixes to this problem. It

took human kind over 100 million years<sup>2</sup> to reach this stage of development; it may take a few more for real progression to settle in. However they are an essential part of the process.

The second point that has to be stated is discrimination is not just white American male practice. There are no races, genders, religions, etc that are immune to the effects and causes of the disease of discrimination. The modern day examples are endless, from the slave trade in the Sudan, to cultural puritanism of Japan, to the ethnic cleansing of Balkans, or to the lingering attitudes between the Crow and Dakota Native American nations. Discrimination does not care who is considered to be the dominant group. It just needs a victim and the rights circumstances and it will exist and flourish.

At this point in human evolution it would appear that humans believe there has to be something for them to hate or fear. When the old categories of discrimination have left, new and obscure forms of discrimination will raise from the mud and the muck to take their place. For example genetic screening will become the issue that replaces race screening, and harassment about a person's weight will replace sexual harassment and so on. In the end any type of discrimination is still an attempt to control the self of the other to fill the gap in the discriminator.

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14. *Stanford Prison Experiment.* <http://www.prisonexp.org/>
15. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights.* <http://www.un.org/overview/rights.html>

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## **Introduction**

<sup>1</sup> George Berkeley, *Siris*. <http://www.utm.edu/research/iep/b/berkeley.htm> . section 305

<sup>2</sup> It would not take much for latter to become the former, meaning what happened in Bosnia and that region of the world could easily happen in America, in a relatively short period of time.

## **Section 1**

<sup>1</sup> Or any other group that is not white, heterosexual, Christian, Anglo-Saxon or male for that matter.

<sup>2</sup> Too often it is forgotten that it is rare that only two sides to argument exists. With problems that face human relations there exists a multitude of competing positions. Usually the discussion will eliminate all voice except for two.

<sup>3</sup> Random House Webster's College Dictionary. (Random House New York, 1992). 384

<sup>4</sup> As a side note the first Civil Rights Act was past in 1886

<sup>5</sup> Genetic screening has be found in violation of the Executive Order 13145 signed by President Clinton on February 8, 2000 and the Americans with Disabilities Act.

<sup>6</sup> *Compliance Manual.* <http://www.dol.gov/dol/esa/public/regs/compliance/ofccp/how2/ofcpch1.htm>

<sup>7</sup> *Compliance Manual.* <http://www.dol.gov/dol/esa/public/regs/compliance/ofccp/how2/ofcpch7.htm>

<sup>8</sup> Martin Luther King Jr. *Where do go from here.* (New York, Evenston, London: Harper and Row Publishers. 1967). 104

<sup>9</sup> Article I Section 2 US Constitution, changed by section of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment

<sup>10</sup> The majority of the children from interracial relationships had a Negro mother and a white father.

<sup>11</sup> In some states the population of slaves out numbered the number of free persons

<sup>12</sup> *Scott v. Sanford*, 19 How. (60 U.S) 393 (1857)

<sup>13</sup> *Scott v. Sanford*, 19 How. (60 U.S) 393 (1857)

<sup>14</sup> *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896)

<sup>15</sup> *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896)

<sup>16</sup> "The origin of the term 'Jim Crow' applied to Negroes is lost in obscurity...the term became an adjective in 1838" Woodward, C. Vann. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Oxford University Press,1974). 7

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<sup>17</sup> Both Northern and Southern

<sup>18</sup> The year 2000

<sup>19</sup> 1886

<sup>20</sup> Jonathan Kozol, *Savage Inequalities*. (New York: Harper Perennial, 1992). 214, 225, and 229

<sup>21</sup> Jonathan Kozol, *Savage Inequalities*. (New York: Harper Perennial, 1992). 229

## **Section 2**

<sup>1</sup> Now the Honorable Mr. Colin Powell Secretary of State

<sup>2</sup> It is a tradition that the winner of the Masters gets the honors of picking the menu for the following year's dinner. Mr. Zoeller making the racially off handed remark that everyone should get used to eating "fried chicken and collard greens"

<sup>3</sup> The state of Alabama is currently in the process of having that article removed. But even that effort is being met with resistance.

<sup>4</sup> General Laws Of Massachusetts; Part Iv. Crimes, Punishments And Proceedings In Criminal Cases. Title I. Crimes And Punishments

<sup>5</sup> Immanuel Kant, *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*. trans by H.J. Paton. (New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, London: Harper Torch Books, 1948), Page 94

<sup>6</sup> *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*; <http://www.un.org/overview/rights.html>

## **Section 3**

<sup>1</sup> Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980). 119

<sup>2</sup> Fredrick Engel, *The Role of Force in History*. (New York: International Publishers, New York, 1968). 29

<sup>3</sup> Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*. Translation George Bull. (London: Penguin Books, 1981). 96

<sup>4</sup> Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*. Translation George Bull. (London: Penguin Books, 1981). 104

<sup>5</sup> Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980). 119

<sup>6</sup> Authority can equate to what Foucault called Right

<sup>7</sup> Martin Luther King Jr. *The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King Jr.; I have a Dream*. Editor James M. Washington (New York: First Harper Collins Publishing. 1986). 213

## **Section 4**

<sup>8</sup> Yes, that means the building is at least 62 miles long. But the game of life takes a long time to complete.

<sup>9</sup> John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women*. (London: The M.I.T. Press, 1970). 13

<sup>10</sup> *Race Issues Still Splits Americans: Gallup Polls Says*; Sacramento Bee, 11 June 97; A15

<sup>11</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr. *The Essential Writing and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.; Where Do We Go From Here*. (Haper San Francisco, 1991). 557

<sup>12</sup> David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*. edited by Eric Steinberg. (Hackett Publishing Company; 1993). 10

<sup>13</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr. *The Essential Writing and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.; The Next Stop the North*. Editor James M. Washington (New York: First Harper Collins Publishing. 1986). 191

<sup>14</sup> Jonathan Kozol, *Savage Inequalities*. (New York: Harper Perennial, 1992). 179

<sup>15</sup> Jordan T. Pine, *Race Doesn't Matter When It Comes To Genes, Scientists Find*.

<http://www.diversityinc.com/insidearticlepg.cfm?SubMenuID=290&ArticleID=2444>

## **Section 5**

<sup>1</sup> U.S. v. Virginia, 1996

<sup>2</sup> Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896)

<sup>3</sup> Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)

<sup>4</sup> The they being referred to is either the African American pilots of World War II or the female fighter pilots of today.

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<sup>5</sup> Examples of this behavior can be seen in the way the military handled the deaths AF Captain Amy Lynn Svoboda (May 1997), Army Major Therese Rossi Clayton (March 1991), and Navy Lieutenant Kara Hultgreen. Each were killed flying military aircraft and each had their personal records handed to the press.

### **Section 7**

<sup>1</sup> Howard Thurman, *With Head and Heart, The autobiography of Howard Thurman*. (San Diego, New York, London: Harvest Book, 1979). 97

<sup>2</sup> Sojourner Truth, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth*. (Mineola: Dover Publications Inc., 1997). 14

<sup>3</sup> Yes, I know that I called slavery a process, an institution, and a practice, all the above are true

<sup>4</sup> Sojourner Truth, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth*. (Mineola: Dover Publications Inc., 1997). 14

<sup>5</sup> G.W.F. Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Mind*

<http://www.ets.uidaho.edu/mickelsen/texts/Hegel%20Phen/hegel%20phen%20ch%204%20A.htm>

<sup>6</sup> Section 11 will expand upon this idea.

<sup>7</sup> Anthony Kenny, editor. *The Oxford history of Western Philosophy*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). 195

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Kenny, editor. *The Oxford history of Western Philosophy*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). 205

### **Section 8**

<sup>1</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*. (New York: Schocken Books, 1976). 28

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*. (New York: Schocken Books, 1976). 54

<sup>3</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*. (New York: Schocken Books, 1976). 53

<sup>4</sup> Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter*. (New York, London: Routledge, 1993). 167

<sup>5</sup> Karl Marx, *Karl Marx Selected Writings. Wage-Labour and Capital*. Edited by McLellan, David. (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). 256

<sup>6</sup> Erich Fromm, *Marx Concept of Man*. (New York: A Fredrick Ungar Book, 1992). 96

<sup>7</sup> Michaels, James W. *Meta Capitalism: An Economy on Steroids*: Fobes: Volume 166 Number 2: July 17, 2000. 24

<sup>8</sup> Erich Fromm, *Marx Concept of Man. Needs of Production and Division of Labor*. (New York: A Fredrick Ungar Book, 1992). 143

<sup>9</sup> George Carlin. *Jammin' in New York*, (Paramount Pictures) 1993

<sup>10</sup> Karl Marx, *Karl Marx Selected Writings. On James Mill*. Edited by McLellan, David. (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). 114

<sup>11</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*. (New York: Schocken Books, 1976). 27

<sup>12</sup> John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*. (New York, Toronto, London, Sydney, Auckland: Bantam Book, 1993). 6

<sup>13</sup> Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980). 96

<sup>14</sup> New Coke, then new Coke/old Coke, then it was the New Coke that was the Old Coke, but it still is different from old Coke.

<sup>15</sup> Who's on first

<sup>16</sup> By traditional, meaning what is generally accepted by main stream white Christian

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.bluecloud.org/misunder.html>

<sup>18</sup> The timing of this event was mid 60's early 70 the time of the interview was June 1998

<sup>19</sup> It was not until 1972 that the Native American Religious Freedom Act was past

<sup>20</sup> Generally the massacre at Wounded Knee has been used to signify the end of the Indian Wars

<sup>21</sup> it can be seen as either depending on your point of view

### **Section 9**

<sup>1</sup> As if one meal a year is enough.

<sup>2</sup> The numbers for public assistance White 1,632,000 white and 928,000 black, and 621,000 Hispanic  
Source: US Census Bureau <http://www.census.gov/prod/99pubs/99statb/sec12.pdf>

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- <sup>3</sup> Patricia J. Williams, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*. (London: Harvard University Press. 1991). 2
- <sup>4</sup> Patricia J. Williams, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*. (London: Harvard University Press. 1991). 60
- <sup>5</sup> Ryan Amacher and Holly Ulbrich. *Principles of Economics, 5<sup>th</sup> Ed.* (New York: South-Western Publishing Company, 1977). 110
- <sup>6</sup> Ryan Amacher, and Holly Ulbrich. *Principles of Economics, 5<sup>th</sup> Ed.* (New York: South-Western Publishing Company, 1977). 29
- <sup>7</sup> Patricia J. Williams, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*. (London: Harvard University Press. 1991). 27
- <sup>8</sup> Bamara Ehrenreich, and Deirdre English. *Witches Midwives and Nurses: A History of Women Healers*. (New York: The Feminist Press, 1974). 6
- <sup>9</sup> E. Richard Brown, *Rockefeller Medicine Men*. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1979). 88

### **Section 10**

- <sup>1</sup> Howard Thurman, *With Head and Heart, The autobiography of Howard Thurman*. (San Diego, New York, London: Harvest Book, 1979). 37
- <sup>2</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*. (New York: Schocken Books, 1976). 8
- <sup>3</sup> Resistance is futile.
- <sup>4</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew*. (New York: Schocken Books, 1976). 8

### **Section 11**

- <sup>1</sup> Melissa Ethridge. *I Could Have Been You; Your Little Secret*. (New York: Island Records, Inc. 1995)
- <sup>2</sup> Some would say too much
- <sup>3</sup> John Dewey, *Freedom and Culture*. (New York: Paragon Book, 1979). 35
- <sup>4</sup> Interview with Jane Elliot. <http://www.wedfronds.com.au/b2elliot.html>
- <sup>5</sup> Interview with Jane Elliot. <http://www.wedfronds.com.au/b2elliot.html>
- <sup>6</sup> Candice Choi, *American Indians Blast EPA For Housing Offensive Mural*. DiversityInc.com. Nov. 20, 2000:  
[http://www.diversityinc.com/insidearticlepg.cfm?SubMenuID=330&ArticleID=2017&CFID=663851&CF\\_TOKEN=1761993](http://www.diversityinc.com/insidearticlepg.cfm?SubMenuID=330&ArticleID=2017&CFID=663851&CF_TOKEN=1761993)
- <sup>7</sup> Martin Luther King Jr. *The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King Jr.. I Have a Dream*. Editor James M. Washington. (New York: First Harper Collins Publishing. 1986). 218
- <sup>8</sup> Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. as told to Haley, Alex. (New York: Ballantine Books, 1965). 1
- <sup>9</sup> Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. as told to Haley, Alex. (New York: Ballantine Books, 1965). 3
- <sup>10</sup> Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. as told to Haley, Alex. (New York: Ballantine Books, 1965). 10
- <sup>11</sup> The author is referring to Matt Drudge
- <sup>12</sup> The author is referring to an incident where the conservative evangelist accused that one of the characters of a children's television show, TeleTubbies, was gay because the character sounded like a small boy, was purple, and carried a purse.
- <sup>13</sup> Richard Golsten, *The Faggot Factor; Village Voice*.  
<http://www.villagevoice.com/feature/9918/goldstein.shtml>
- <sup>14</sup> Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter*. (New York, London: Routledge, 1993). 226
- <sup>15</sup> Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter*. (New York, London: Routledge, 1993). 224
- <sup>16</sup> Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*. (London: Penguin Classics, 1985). 185
- <sup>17</sup> Martin Luther King Jr. *The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King Jr; Where Do We Go From Here?*. editor James M. Washington. (New York: First Harper Collins Publishing, 1986). 594
- <sup>18</sup> Richard Wright, *Black Boy*. (Cleveland, New York: The World Publishing Company, 1945). 72
- <sup>19</sup> Richard Wright, *Black Boy*. (Cleveland, new York: The World Publishing Company. 1945). 53

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<sup>20</sup> Lao Tsu, *Tao Te Ching*. Translated by English, Jane and Gia-Fu Feng. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989). Verse 33

### **Section 12**

<sup>1</sup> Non Star Trek fans will not get the reference

<sup>2</sup> George Orwell, *1984*. (New York: Penguin Books, 1949). 18

<sup>3</sup> Immanuel Kant, *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*. Translated by H.J. Paton. (San Francisco, London: Harper Torch Books, 1948). 19

<sup>4</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Final Foucault*. Edited by Bernauer, James and David Rasmussen. (Cambridge, London: The MIT Press, 1991). 8

<sup>5</sup> Herman Hess, *Siddhartha*. (New York, Toronto, London, Sydney, Auckland: Bantam Books, 1971). 150

### **Section 13**

<sup>1</sup> Interview with Jane Elliot. <http://www.wedfronds.com.au/b2elliot.html>

### **Section 14**

<sup>1</sup> Patricia J. Williams, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*. (London: Harvard University Press. 1991). 150

<sup>2</sup> Give or take a year or two