Systems Thinking and Race
Workshop Summary
June, 2011

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PLEASE NOTE: *The companion Word document, Systems Thinking and Race: Exercises, contains blank worksheets for all of the exercises provided as examples in this Systems Thinking and Race: Workshop Summary.*

SYSTEMS THINKING AND RACE OVERVIEW

In this training, we will discuss Systems Thinking, Communication and Power.

To understand **Systems Thinking**, we will focus on how issues and problems are interconnected and offer tools to help identify strategic points of intervention. We will delve into the concepts of Structural Racialization, opportunity structures and situatedness and how to use them to reveal interconnections between outcomes, build possibilities for collaboration and identify points of intervention.

To understand **Communication**, we will examine the unconscious mind and implict bias and why understanding implicit bias is important not only for effective communication, but also for identifying possible interventions. We will also introduce more effective ways to talk about race and about issues that have been racialized.

To understand **Power**, we will focus on case studies in which empowerment and organizing has enabled communities to change how they are situated relative to each other and relative to decision-making tables. We will look at how working towards universal goals grounded in targeted strategies, can support and strengthen cross race, cross class, and cross-cultural alliances that reinforce our shared commitment to proactively address the long term impact our different group experiences continue to have on outcomes today.

Power
(Transformational Change)

Systems Thinking
(Structural Racialization)

Communication of Ideas
(Implicit Bias)
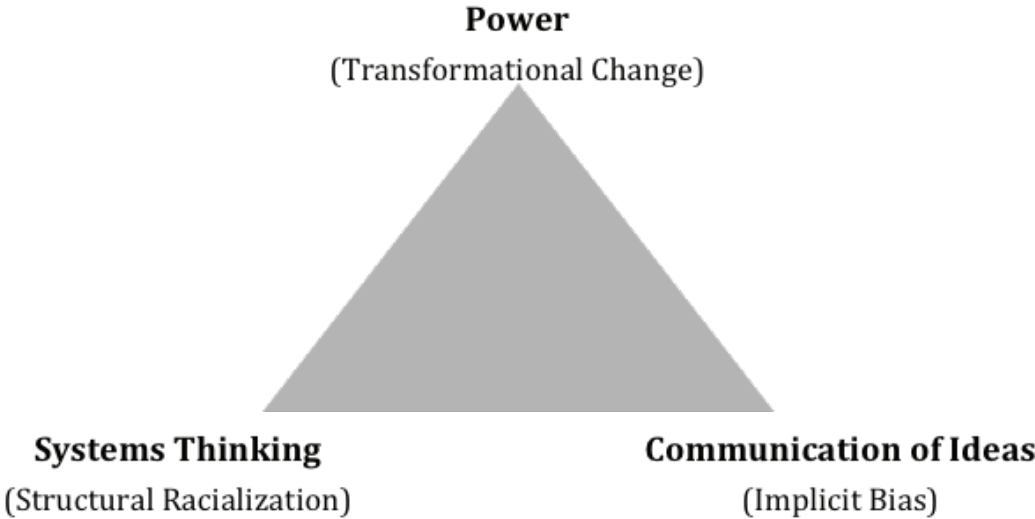
STRUCTURAL RACIALIZATION

Race is like a diamond; it has many facets, and shinning light on it helps to reveal its complexity. Its value and meaning are social constructs, and the assignment of value and meaning have concrete ramifications on people's lives.
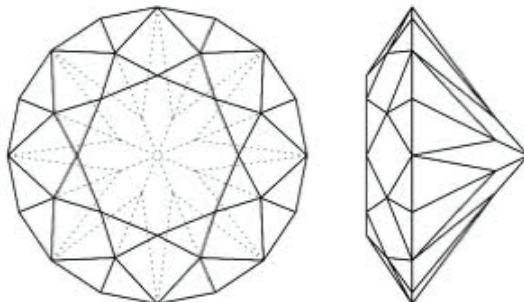
Racism manifests itself in multiple spheres of our lives and takes many forms, including internalized, interpersonal, institutional, and structural. In most conversations, people think about racism as a problem between two or more individuals. From a systems perspective, different facets of racism work interactively to reinforce a system that racializes outcomes. In other words, interactions between individuals are shaped by and reflect underlying and often hidden structures that shape biases, create disparate outcomes even in the absence of racist actors or racist intentions. The presence of structural racialization is evidenced by consistent differences in outcomes, whether you are looking at education attainment, family wealth, or life span, that correlate with the race of the community.

Unequal Opportunity Race[i]

SPHERES OF SYSTEMIC RACIALIZATION

STRUCTURAL:
Dynamic, cumulative among institutions, durable

INSTITUTIONAL:
Bias in policies & practices in a school, agency, etc

INTERPERSONAL:
Bigotry and implicit bias between individuals

INTERNALIZED:
Beliefs within individuals, including stereotype threat
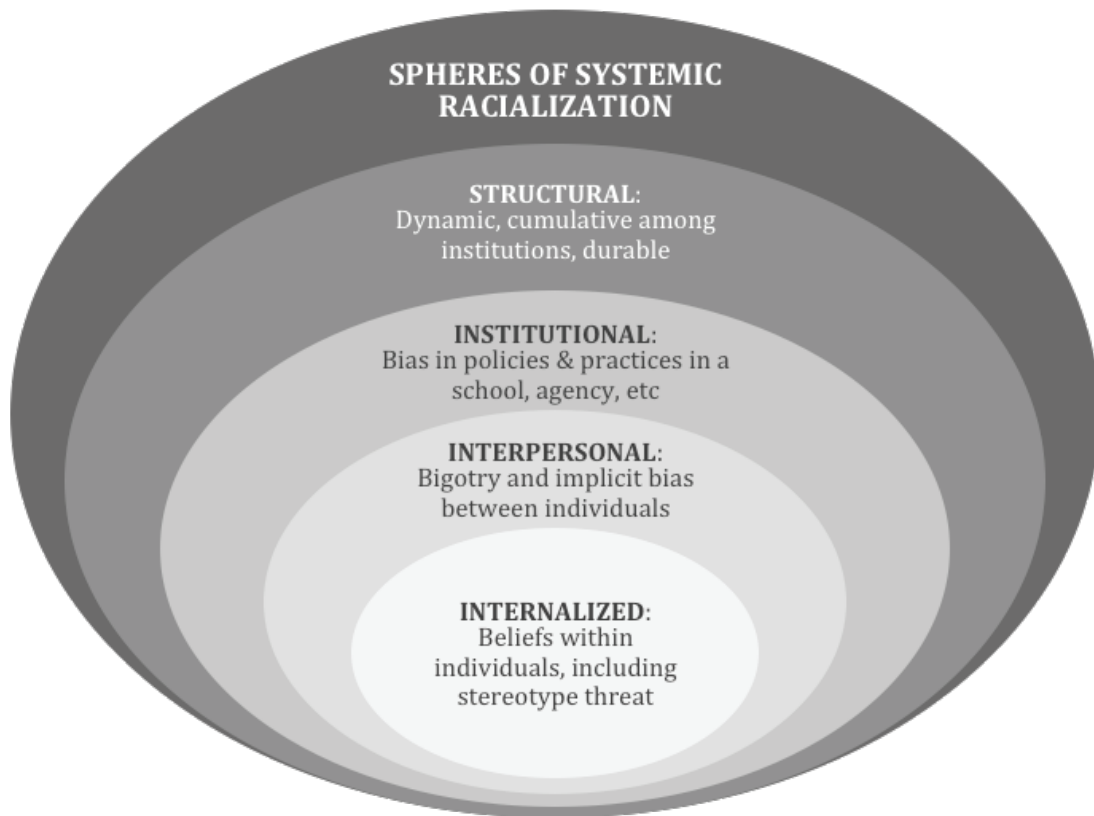
For the purposes of this discussion, we will primarily focus on Structural Racism or Structural Racialization. We use the term Structural Racialization because it connotes the dynamic process that creates cumulative and durable inequalities based on race. Structural Racialization influences and often determines an individual's or a group's position in and in relation to physical, social and cultural opportunity structures (e.g., where you live, who you know, what is considered normal).

Structural inequity describes a dynamic process that generates differential outcomes based on class, race, gender, immigration status, etc. Structural inequities work well for a few, but in fact work against most people. The outcome of Structural Racialization is a highly uneven geography of opportunity that constantly changes and evolves, and does not require explicitly racist actors. Our challenge is to identify the most effective ways to change or interrupt the processes that create inequity.

A structural analysis is a powerful tool that can be used to examine how historical legacies, individuals, institutions and structures work interactively as a system to distribute advantages and disadvantages along racial lines.[ii]

Examining Facets Racialization[iii]

Instructions: Using your own experience, think of at least one example of each of these types of racialization. Notice which examples are easier for you to think of and which ones are more hidden and harder to identify.

EXAMPLE: EDITHA, FILIPINO AMERICAN

Internalized - Beliefs within individuals
As a child, it seemed like many people in my ethnic group (Filipino) were not "successful". Now, I have doubts about my own ability to succeed
Interpersonal – Prejudice between individuals
When I went to visit my high school counselor mid-year Junior year, she recommended that I drop the Advanced Placement courses I was taking because my schedule was "too hard"—even though I was receiving A's in all of my classes. Had I followed her advice, I would not have qualified to take the Advanced Placement exam and receive college credit for work done in high school. None of my white peers received this advice.
Institutional – Bias within an agency, school, etc
At the racially diverse, public high school I attended in mid-80s, I was one of a handful of non-white students enrolled in the advanced track, College Prep courses in English, Math, and Foreign Language. Of the non-white students, even fewer were African American. The History department had decided not to track courses. As a result, history classes reflected the diversity of our school and city. The other departments' apparently neutral policy to track courses had differential racial impact.
Structural – Dynamic and cumulative among institutions
Due to bigotry in hiring practices, my father did not have access to high quality employment. This meant that we rented in a neighborhood with mediocre public schools. In order to access good schools, I had to have an out of district permit or use a friend's address to register. Parent access to work limited the neighborhoods we could live in, which largely determined which schools I could attend, which, in turn, impacted my access to future education, work and housing options.

FACES OF OPPRESSION

Marion Young's *Five Faces of Oppression* offers a multi-faceted framework that helps us to see the relationships between different forms of oppression. It also helps us to recognize that different groups of people experience one or more of these faces throughout their lives: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural dominance, and/or violence. Understanding this can support coalition building to end oppression.

Exploitation is "the steady process of the transfer of the results of the labor of one social group to benefit another social group. These relations are produced and reproduced through a systematic process in which the energies of the have-nots are continuously expended to maintain and augment the power, status, and wealth of the haves." The term 'menial labor', which suggests the work of servants, is a form of "racially specific exploitation."[iv]

Marginalization is the process of creating a whole category of people who are "expelled from useful participation in social life and thus potentially subjected to severe material deprivation and even extermination." In the U.S. the work of creating marginalization is performed by our systems of incarceration, immigration, reservation and detention.

Powerlessness is the lack of "authority, status, and sense of self that professionals tend to have. The status privilege of professionals has three aspects, [college education, relative day-to-day work autonomy and social status associated with cultural preference of the professional class, or 'respectability'] the lack of which produces oppression for nonprofessionals."[vi]

Cultural Dominance "involves the universalization of a dominant group's experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm . . . Those living under cultural imperialism find themselves defined from the outside [by] those with whom they do not identify and who do not identify with them."[vii]

Violence is "is less the particular acts [of violence] themselves . . . than the social context surrounding them, which makes them possible and even acceptable. What makes violence a phenomenon of social injustice, and not merely an individual moral wrong, is its systemic character, its existence as a social practice. Violence is systemic because it is directed at members of a group simply because they are members of that group."[viii]

Illuminating people's different and shared experiences of oppression encourages collective action with others whose experiences may be slightly different. For example, Asians and Asian Americans

are extremely diverse in religion, language and culture. Overall, in terms of income and education, Asian Americans are the highest-ranking group in the U.S., but subgroups within the Asian American population have very different experiences. In particular, Cambodian, Laotian, Hmong per capita income is below Blacks, Latinos and American Indians and is only half that of whites.[ix] A failure to look closely at how sub-groups are situated within a larger group would cause us to overlook significant variation and potential ground for common interest. And despite economic and educational success, Asian Americans, just as other communities of color, continue to experience cultural dominance and violence directed towards them as a result of actual or perceived group identity.

Case Study: The Story of the United Farm Workers

Despite the end of the WWII era Bracero program in 1964, which had been established to bring Mexican agricultural workers into the United States to replace native-born workers, growers in California and across the United States continued to underpay farmworkers ($.90/hour) and disregard State Labor Laws (no restrooms, rampant child labor, segregation by race, to name a few violations). This brought down wages for both native and non-native farmworkers and caused tensions between native workers, who were Filipino, Chicano, Anglo and Black, and non-native workers from Mexico.

In 1965, Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) composed mainly of Filipinos, Chicanos, Anglos and Black workers, led by Dolores Huerta a Chicana, and Larry Itliong, a Filipino, decided to strike against grape growers, first in Coachella, then in Delano. During the Delano strike, growers started to bring in Mexican workers from the area to resume the grape harvest. AWOC leaders, approached Cesar Chavez, founder and leader of the newly formed National Farm Workers Association that represented immigrant farmworkers, about joining forces. By the end of the year,

they were able to reach a plan that was beneficial to everyone and the workers not only demanded an increase in pay, but also demanded the right to unionize.

As the struggle continued, Cesar Chavez successfully reached out to millions of consumers living in cities by sending union volunteers to organize friendly urban groups, such as unions, community groups, and faith based communities. Specifically, this led to support from the Black Panthers in the boycott against grocery store chains that sold non-union grapes as well as support from the United Auto Workers Union.

By joining forces, the two unions became significantly stronger, eventually forming one union, The United Farm Workers in 1966. UFW subsequently joined the AFL-CIO. UFW's continued organizing efforts eventually led to sponsoring ballot propositions that, even while failing, spurred the enforcement of existing laws, and helped to elect political candidates of their choice.[xi]

By recognizing shared fate and unified by a two part strategy to build a union and a civil rights movement, UFW was able to build a strong cross race, cross class organizing effort that resulted in better wages, job stability, health benefits, better working conditions, access to credit, new leaders, new allies, and increased power to influence and participate in political processes at the state and federal levels, all of which increased opportunity.

EXAMINING PATTERNS OF RACIALIZATION

Instructions: Using the collective knowledge of your small group of 3-4 people, think through how immigration and labor histories and policies have affected different races and ethnicities in the United States. What patterns do you notice? How are these experiences structurally similar? Who (or what) benefits? How are patterns continuing to evolve and change?

EXAMPLE: OBSERVATIONS MADE BY ONE GROUP OF PARTICIPANTS

Group	Immigration History	Labor History
Alaskan Native	Community immigrated over Bering Strait, 10,000 years ago	Land and natural resources taken by European corporations and immigrants. Denied access to work, traditional and new.
African American	Community enslaved and brought to North America by force. Migrated to North and West after WWI. Now, voluntary immigration from Caribbean, Europe, Africa	Agricultural slave labor, low wage, no wage share-croppers, factory line labor, continued limited access to private sector work, access to private professional sectors for a few
Asian American	Some immigration before 1924, closed for 40 yrs, reopened in 1965. Deportation, internment in some communities, confiscation of property (WWII & post 9/11)	Agricultural & low wage labor pre 1924, post 1965 family members of earlier migrants, limited access to quality work. Small businesses, government jobs, limited access to private sector
Latino/Hispanic American	Pre 1849 arrived with Spanish to colonize. More recently, political, economic refugees from Mexico, Caribbean, etc	Post 1850, lands taken or purchased by Europeans. Refugees: Low wage labor, incl. agricultural, small businesses, government jobs, some in professional sectors

SYSTEMS THINKING

Typically, organizations focus on a single-issue or on a narrow set of closely related issues. We work on housing, or air quality or health, in communities that are defined by immigration, race, and class. By focusing on one issue, such as housing, air quality, or health, we try to explain differential outcomes for entire segments of the population, such as what groups of people live in substandard housing, breathe contaminated air, or have poor health outcomes. This approach uses a 'one dimensional' understanding of an issue. Since issues are multi-dimensional, we need to use multi-dimensional thinking to consider and strategize about differential outcomes.

To illustrate our meaning, imagine a caged bird. By examining one bar of the cage, we cannot explain why the bird cannot fly. However, on evaluating the multiple bars arranged in specific ways that reinforce each other, we see that the effect of the bars is structural and cumulative such that the bird is trapped.

If the bird falls ill because of poor air quality, and is unable to fly away, the owner might fault the bird; however, the illness of the bird trapped inside a particular environment should be seen as evidence that the environment is inappropriate, and that the system that trapped the bird is not working.

Systems Thinking is a way of understanding how institutions that effect opportunity are arranged, and to what result. In other words, Systems Thinking examines the order of structures that give or take opportunity from particular groups of people, the timing of the interaction between these Opportunity Structures, and the relationships that exist between them. With this multi-dimensional thinking, or, 'Systems Thinking,' we can understand the context that produces consistently different housing, air quality, health, economic, and educational outcomes in different communities, and strategize on multiple fronts to change these outcomes.[xii]

If we think about issues in isolation, we would consider A separately from B, for example housing separately from air quality, thinking that once we fix A, we can direct our energies towards fixing B. In practice, this often results in one group working on issue A and another working on issue B, and not working together even though A and B are linked.

In a Systems Thinking worldview, A is connected to B, C, D and E in such a way that causation is reciprocal, mutual and cumulative. If the caged bird cannot fly away when it needs to or cannot get what it needs to thrive, a Systems Thinking doctor would examine the cage.
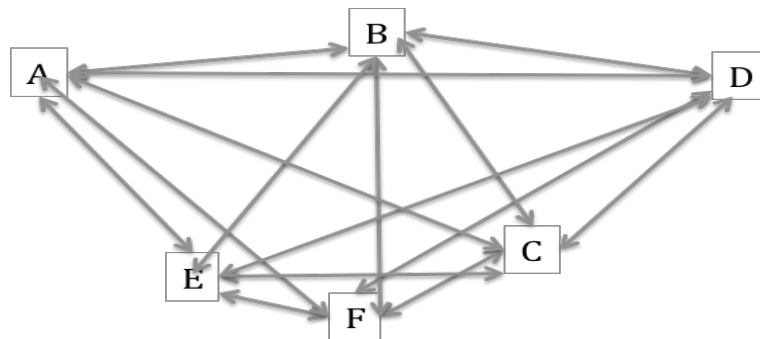
Systems Thinking is a set of principles that helps us make sense of a system of behaviors and the associated complex of outcomes. For example, it can help to reveal how the health outcomes of a community are not simply a result of individual choices, but rather, are a function of opportunities, access to work, access to quality education, availability of high quality and affordable housing, and reliable transportation.
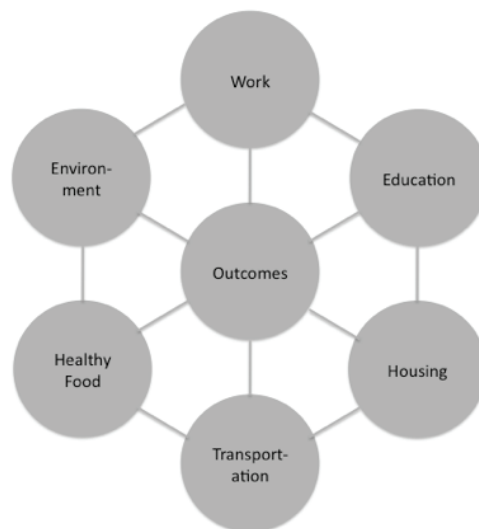
Systems Thinking Diagram

SYSTEMS THINKING DIAGRAM

Instructions: Choose a health outcome that your small group or your organization is working to change. How are other issues linked and interconnected to your central issue?

EXAMPLE: NATIONAL DOMESTIC WORKERS ALLIANCE

A. **Diagram these links in a systems diagram.**
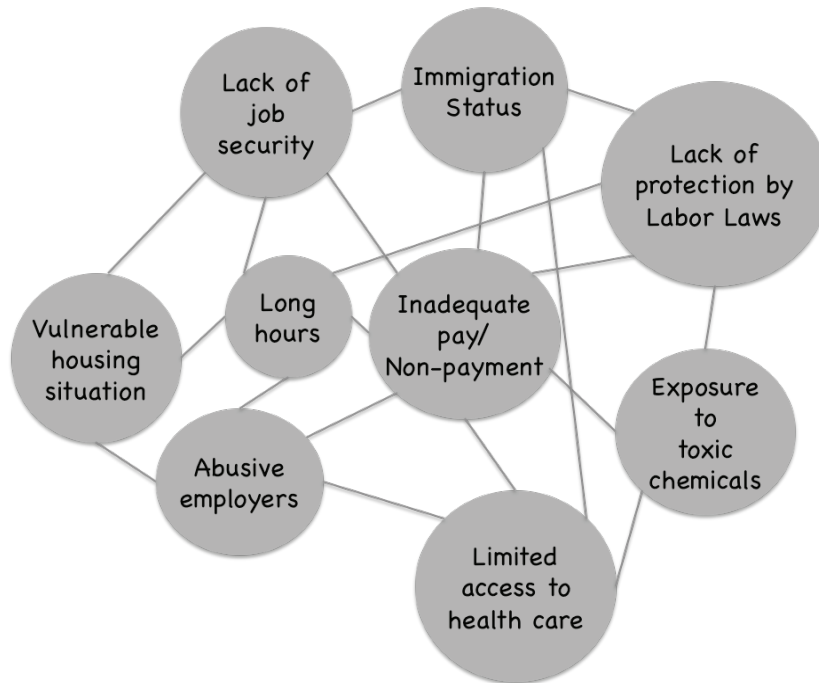
B. **What action could you take on one of these interconnected issues that would solve a problem more typically associated with your issue? Are there other problems that might be solved by this action as well?**

If Domestic Workers are able to change laws so that they are protected by Labor Laws, many of these problems would be addressed and domestic workers would have the right to seek protection where they were not.

Case Study: Structural Racialization and Government's Role

Structural inequity was built over time and continues to evolve. A series of *mutually reinforcing* federal policies, across multiple domains, have contributed to the disparities we see today.

This 1936 security map of Fresno shows the red zones in which households and businesses could not get mortgages or business loans.[xiii]

Beginning in the 1930s, the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) had homeownership policies that supported a practice that we now call "redlining".

> "If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes. A change in social or racial occupancy generally contributes to instability and a decline in values."[xiv]
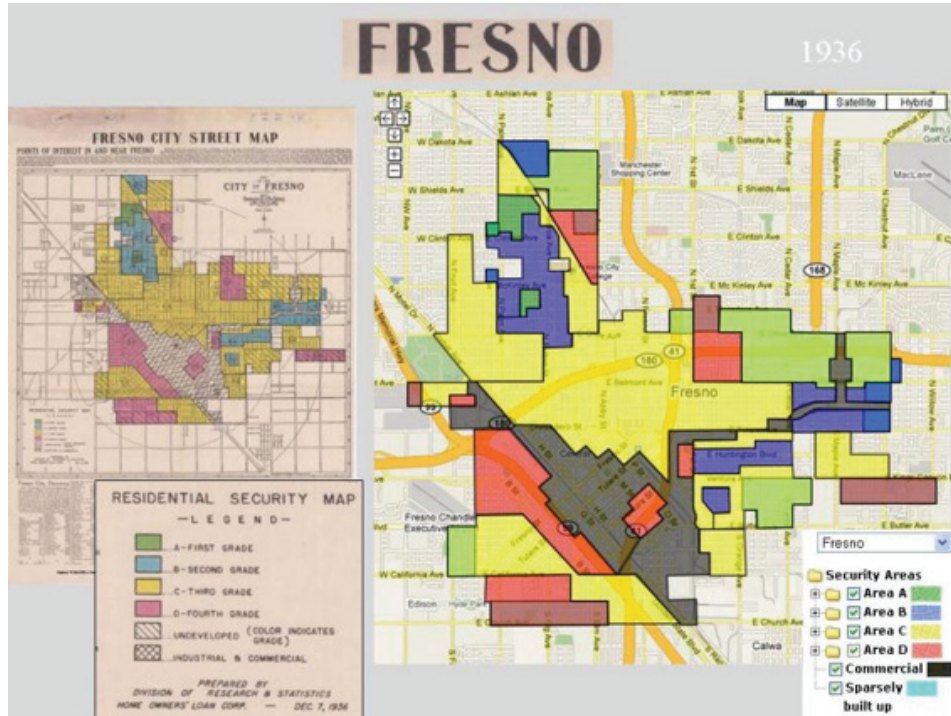
Redlining was a practice through which some neighborhoods, typically African American neighborhoods, were labeled undesirable for investment. Consequently, banks would not make loans for homes or businesses in those neighborhoods. In other words, a prospective homebuyer could not access loans to buy a home in a redlined neighborhood, and a homeowner in a redlined neighborhood could not get loans to make improvements to their home. This, of course, prevented racialized groups of people from being able to invest in their neighborhood or build assets for their

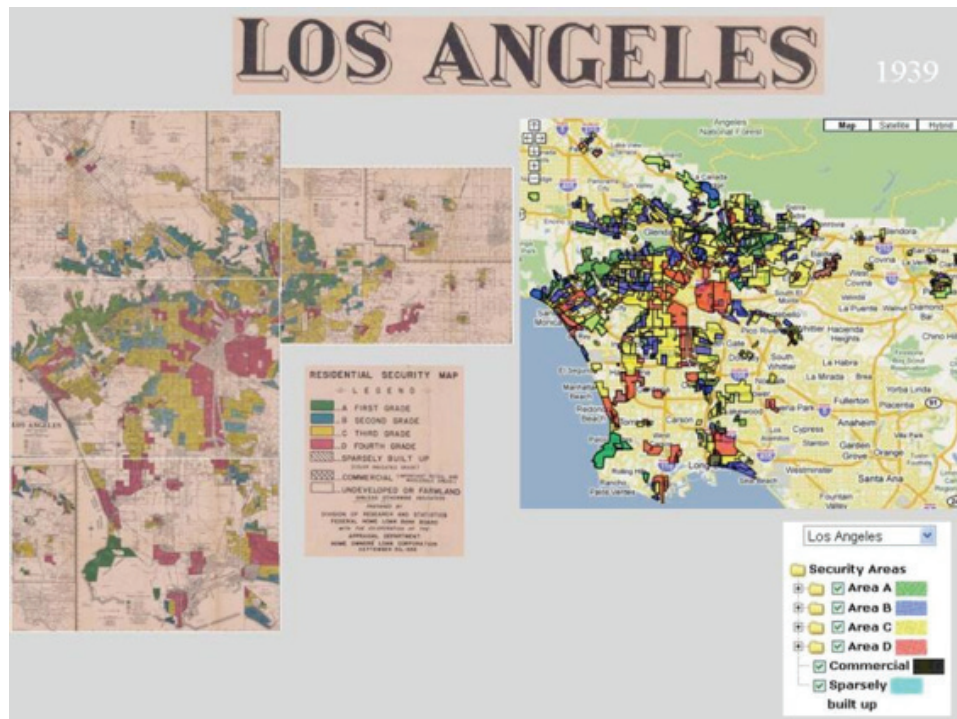family and businesses; it also caused people with more resources to leave those neighborhoods and invest elsewhere.

This 1939 security map of Los Angeles shows the red zones in which households and businesses could not get mortgages or business loans.[xv]

Historic Redlining continues to impact opportunity today. The areas of lowest opportunity today are the same areas that were redlined beginning in the 1930s. Leading up to the current Fore-closure Crisis, neighborhoods that were previously redlined were viewed as market opportunities for banks and were targeted for sub-prime mortgages. A subprime mortgage is a loan with higher interest rates designed for individuals with low credit ratings and who present a higher risk of non-payment for the bank. Targeting previously redlined neighborhoods, not individuals, for subprime mortgages is in essence reverse redlining.

In Los Angeles, Bank of America and Citigroup are more likely to deny loans for communities of color than for non-minority neighborhoods. In Los Angeles' neighborhoods of color, the number of prime loans, which are loans made to individuals with good credit, went down by 25% between 2006 and 2008. Similarly, in San Diego, Bank of America, Downey Savings and Loan and Wells Fargo are more likely to deny loans in communities of color than in non-minority neighborhoods and the number of prime loans in these neighborhoods decreased by 25% between 2006 and 2008.[xvi]

Similarly, in Oakland, CA, Notices of Default, indicating unsustainable mortgage lending, are concentrated in communities with the highest concentrations of people of color. Big bank lenders made 70% of their high-cost loans in these neighborhoods.[xvii]

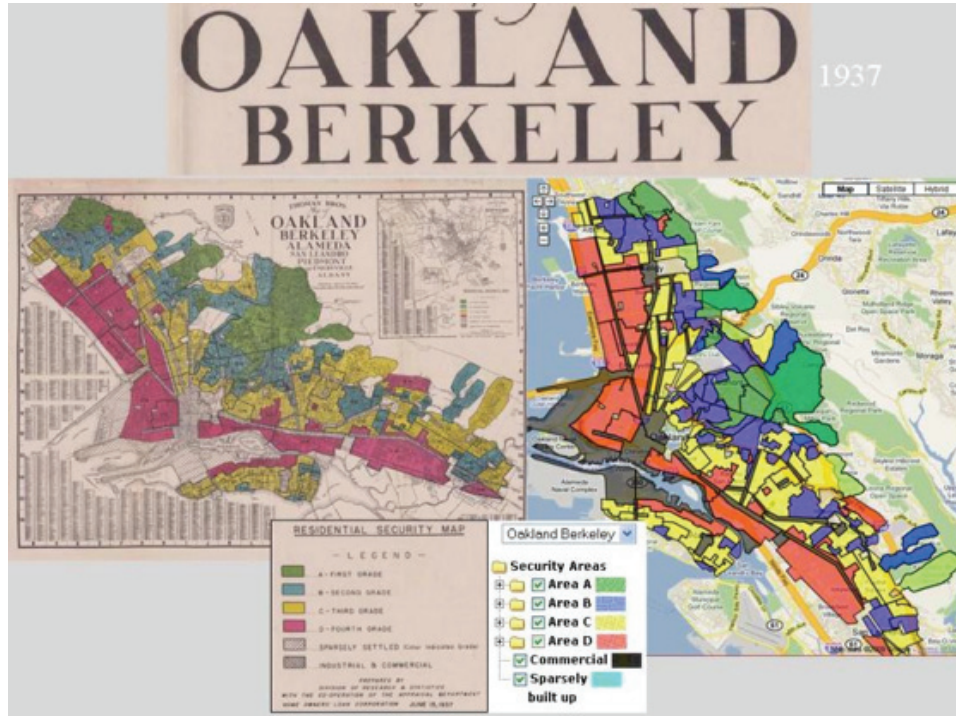*This 1937 security map of Oakland shows the red zones in which households and businesses could not get mortgages or business loans.[xviii]*

In the wake of the Foreclosure Crisis, banks are unwilling to work out loan modifications in these neighborhoods and, once again, credit is unavailable. For example, in Oakland, there were an average of 22 foreclosures for every loan modification made each month in a 2009 sample report. In the United States overall, there were only 7 foreclosures for every loan modification.[xix] Historically redlined neighborhoods are experiencing re-redlining.

> • Foreclosures can lead to community decline. One study found that an increase of 2.8 foreclosures for every 100 owner-occupied properties was associated with a 6.7% increase in violent crimes in those neighborhoods.[xx]

Since institutions continue to support, not dismantle, the status quo, we continue to see racially inequitable outcomes even when there are good intentions behind policies or ostensibly neutral profit motives behind actions, even when there are no racist actors.

MATCHING PROBLEM ANALYSIS WITH INTERVENTION STRATEGY

Instructions: Referring to the discussion of housing, think about different levels of analysis you could use to understand the problem. Brainstorm possible interventions for each level of analysis. Try to focus your efforts on Institutional and Structural levels for this exercise.

EXAMPLE: HOUSING AND THE FORECLOSURE CRISIS

Level of Analysis:	Problem:	Possible Intervention:
Individual *Fix the individual*	Individuals sign loan documents that they don't understand	Borrower education
Institutional *Fix the institution*	A particular bank won't make loans in historically red-lined neighborhoods	Organize a local, regional or state action, file a law suit, etc to force that particular bank to change its lending policies
Structural *Fix the system*	All of the major lenders in the area have stopped giving loans or will only give sub-prime loans in historically red-lined neighborhoods	Work with national alliances working to increase and enforce fair lending practices, community reinvestment act, etc. through community organizing and advocacy at the state and national level
Global *Fix the global system*	Loans are no longer held by local or even national banks, but are owned by foreign governments	Work with national and transnational organizations to increase regulation of multinational corporations, and reduce regulation of transnational population migration.

OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

Opportunity structures are factors that mediate our access to opportunity; they can be physical, social, or cultural, and they function to produce racialized outcomes. Opportunity structures are critical to opening pathways to success, such as high quality education, healthy and safe environments, stable housing, sustainable employment, political empowerment, and positive social networks.[xxi]

Conversely, lack of access to opportunity structures inhibits access to pathways to success. Living in low opportunity areas (areas with few or weak opportunity structures) generates unhealthy levels of stress, and correlates with high levels of lead exposure associated with irreversible loss of cognitive functioning, higher levels of violent offending among juveniles, and increased levels of childhood aggression and social maladjustment.[xxii] As a result, opportunity structures, whether robust or weak, are mutually reinforcing and influence racial identity.

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              Social

Physical               Cultural

            Outcomes
               &
            Behaviors
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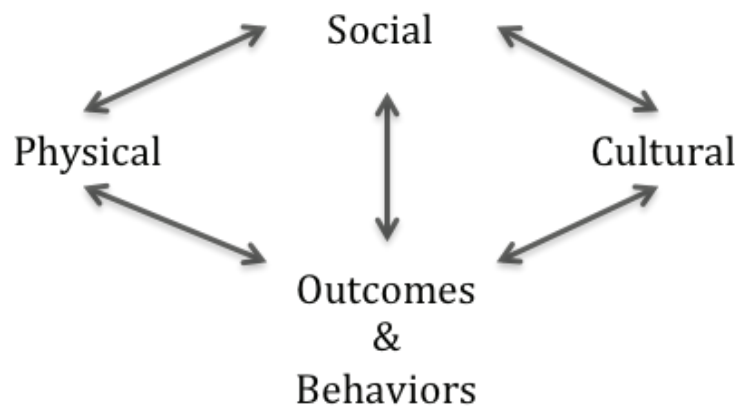
Physical opportunity structures may include commercial districts offering well paying jobs, quality schools, parks and green spaces, and distance from industrial areas (and accompanying air pollutants). Physical opportunity structures can be mapped to show how opportunity segregates along regional, racial and social lines. Opportunity Maps show the durable effects of redlining, and other historical forces that have determined which groups of people occupy what spaces.[xxiii]

Social opportunity structures include social connections: Who you know and how well connected they are to decision makers, potential employers, etc. Our network of social relationships and the resources they connect our communities to, such as jobs, credit, legislative action, affect our access to power.

For example, consider prison guards, a highly organized group with access to capital and legislative pull; they are able to make collective demands on institutions. Formerly incarcerated people, though a larger group, are situated differently with regards to social opportunity structures and have less access to collective influence. Some groups may be considered "invisible" in a community, such as the working poor, and other groups may be organized, but keep their efforts internal, such as some ethnic associations of recent immigrants.

Cultural opportunity structures are shared norms, values, and goals that are reinforced within groups. For example, in groups living in areas with few opportunity structures, attending institutions of higher education may be rare – this may be both an issue of access, the effect of physical and social opportunity structures, and reinforced by cultural norms, such as the expectation that young people may not graduate high school.

Racialized

- In 1960, African American families were 3.8 times more likely to be concentrated in high poverty neighborhoods than poor whites
- In 2000, they were 7.3 times more likely

Spatialized

- Marginalized people of color and the very poor have been spatially isolated from opportunity via
- Reservations, Barrios, Ghettos
- Jim Crow Laws
- Man made and natural geographic boundaries, e.g., Appalachian Mountains, freeways
- Incarceration (Internment, Detention, Prison, etc)

Globalized

- Economic globalization
- Climate change
- The Credit and Foreclosure Crisis

Opportunity is racialized, spatialized and globalized.

TELLING YOUR OPPORTUNITY STORY

Instructions: In small groups of 3-4 people, take a few minutes to jot down some notes in response to the questions below. Share your opportunity story as a way to tell a story about your *community*.
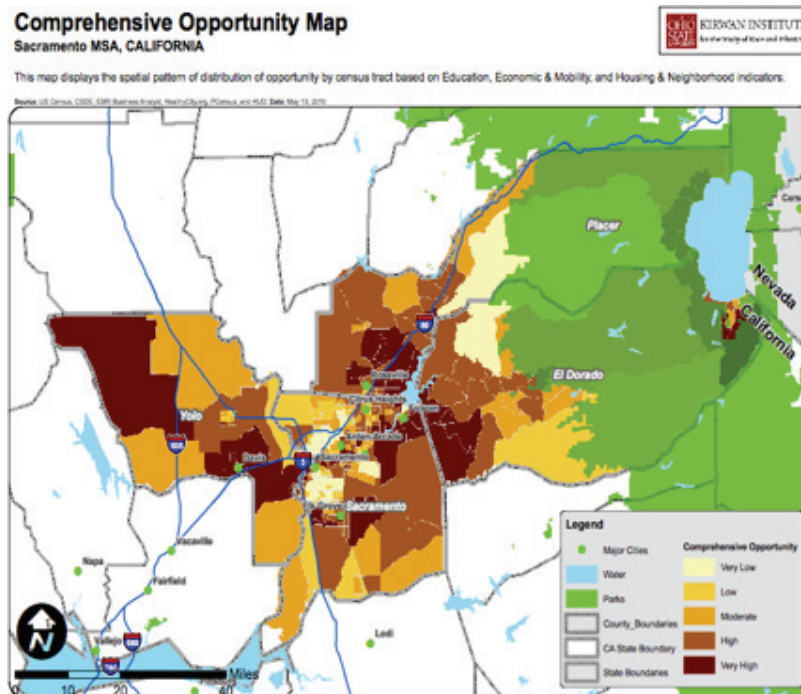
EXAMPLE: LAILA, ALASKA NATIVE AND WHITE

	What **created** access to opportunity?	What **restricted** access to opportunity?
Individual: How has this shaped the story of your life?	Affirmative Actions hiring practices in the 1990's made finding well-paying work in the tech industry more possible, where I found mentors and excelled. I was among the first in my family to do intellectual, rather than manual, labor.	Growing up mixed heritage in Alaska meant dealing with an extraordinary level of prejudice and deep poverty. Native Alaskans found employment almost solely in the fishing industries and lumber mills. In those industries, there was also discrimination towards people of mixed heritage.
Inter-generational: How do your parents' and grandparents' opportunity stories shape your life?	I come from resilient people who have survived multiple attempts at complete genocide. I come from people who have done what it takes to survive on so many counts.	Impact of colonization on my family continues: Land was stolen, mass genocide, violence. Traditions & language were made illegal and are now lost. As a result, my community lives in extreme poverty with few ways out and is over-policed. We lack of meaningful work, have high rates of alcoholism, depression and suicide.
Community: How will your story shape the story of your children?	Federal tribal scholarship programs mean that access to higher education is greater for my generation, and hopefully will remain so. Access to education and work has enabled me to invest time and resources to help my community	The legacy of restricted access to opportunity continues to affect my family. There is little financial wealth for future generations. This makes it difficult to use opportunities opened up by scholarship programs, since going to school full time requires not working.

OPPORTUNITY MAPPING

Mapping is a powerful tool for looking at the spatial (and thus racial) distribution of inequity. Maps allow us to understand and communicate volumes of data at a glance through layering. Educational outcomes, for example, are a product of many inputs; using social science research, we can identify factors that correlate with educational performance, and by mapping these factors, we can visually represent the relative access or isolation of neighborhoods from educational opportunity.

Mapping the geographic distribution of opportunity helps to evaluate where opportunity mismatches exist in a community and help to design interventions that move people to opportunity. For example, school assignment policies can be created using indicators, such as educational attainment and median household income of neighborhoods, to draw attendance zones and boundaries, or to create controlled choice plans that increase pathways to opportunities for neighborhoods that would otherwise be isolated.

Comprehensive Opportunity Map
Sacramento MSA, CALIFORNIA

This map displays the spatial pattern of distribution of opportunity by census tract based on Education, Economic & Mobility, and Housing & Neighborhood indicators.

Voluntary school integration plans using multiple indicators have been successfully implemented in Jefferson County, KY, in Berkeley, CA, in Montclair, NJ, and in Chicago, IL. These school districts use indicators such as median household income, racial composition of neighborhood, educational attainment of parents or neighborhood, average neighborhood income, household poverty rates, number of free and reduced lunch subsidies, percentage of single parent households, percentage of owner occupied homes, and percentage of English as Second Language students.

Other criteria are also taken into consideration by these school districts, including: parental choice within residential zone, siblings, special needs, ESL, proximity lottery, and Supplemental Education Services by census block. Districts typically have two to four attendance zones and some also have magnet schools.

Case Study: Berkeley Unified School District

The Berkeley Unified School District's three-attendance zone model with controlled choice provides a good example. Berkeley is residentially segregated by race and class, with white families and families of highest income being concentrated in the hills, and families of color and families with lowest income concentrated in South Berkeley (See maps: BUSD, 2011).[xxiv]

In 1968, Berkeley Unified became the first school to begin desegregating its schools,[xxv] and in 1995, a new student assignment method was put into action in order to continue school integration in the face of continued residential segregation. School catchment area boundaries were drawn across residential segregation lines, running from the hills to the bay, so that each of the three catchment areas included diverse neighborhoods. Students were assigned to schools based on the demographics of their home neighborhood so that the student bodies of each school would proportionately represent the diverse racial, socioeconomic and parental education attainment makeup of Berkeley.
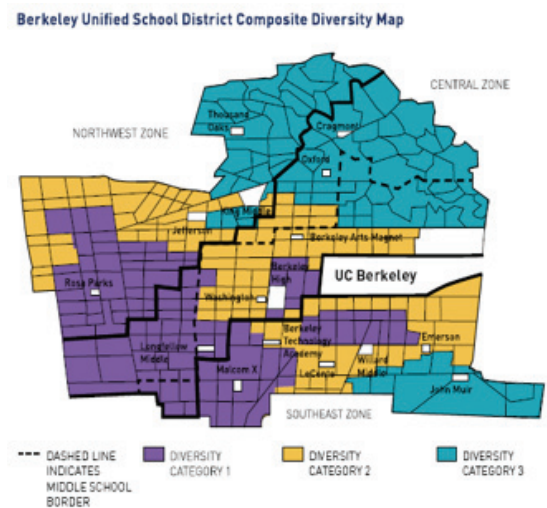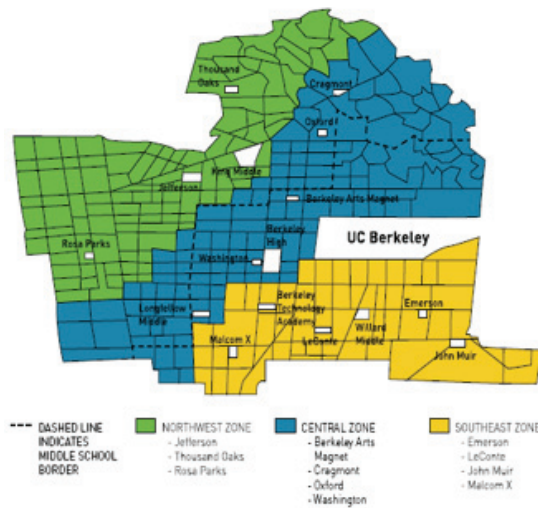
The Berkeley Unified School District was sued twice by the Pacific Legal Foundation over the use of race as a factor in assigning students to schools; however, it was upheld both times that in the case of voluntary school desegregation, race can be considered, so long as no individual student's race determined their placement. Berkeley Unified School District's method of assigning racial, socio-

economic, and parent educational attainment categories to neighborhoods and assigning students from each neighborhood accordingly has been successful in meaningfully integrating the schools while preserving the civil rights of the students.

Though challenged in ACRF v. Berkeley Unified School Districts, the California Court of Appeals upheld BUSD's plan:

"We conclude that the particular policies challenged here—which aim to achieve social diversity by using neighborhood demographics when assigning students to schools—is not discriminatory. The challenged policy does not use racial classifications; in fact, it does not consider an individual student's race at all when assigning the student to a school."

Case Study: School to Prison Pipeline

The school-to-prison pipeline illustrates how physical, social, and cultural opportunity structures interact to marginalize racialized segments of our population.

Redlined neighborhoods, which are overwhelmingly neighborhoods of color, over a course of decades have suffered a lack of investment, translating into lower property values, depleted social networks (a factor in finding employment), and compromised resources for an education system funded by local property taxes. For example, Oakland Unified School district has approximately $12,000 less per classroom per year than Piedmont City Unified School District,[xxvi] which is a predominantly white city geographically located within Oakland. Added to this disparity in school funding are the fewer opportunities that economically marginalized neighborhoods offer their students upon graduation; it becomes less meaningful for students in less resourced neighborhoods to stay in school.

At the same time that their schools are underfunded, racialized students are disproportionately pushed out of the school system. Although research shows that African American students act out at approximately the same rate or less than white students, they are punished more severely for less serious behaviors.[xxvii] These punishments translate into higher rates of removal from schools: African American students are three times more likely than white students to be suspended . Suspensions make it harder for students to engage with course material, and students who are suspended are more likely to leave school before graduation – what was once called 'dropping out' is within this context being called a mass 'push-out' of racialized students. Students who are suspended are then more likely to end up in the juvenile criminal justice system;[xxix] thus the school-to-prison pipeline.

Exacerbating this push-out of racialized students from schools are zero-tolerance policies, which allow schools to arbitrarily punish students (which disproportionately results in the punishment of racialized students), and test-based accountability systems such as 'No Child Left Behind,' which encourage schools to push out low-performing students; suspension rates for students who perform poorly on standardized tests (disproportionately racialized students) are higher on testing days.[xxx]

The Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) has among the highest drop out rates in the country – more than 50% of students do not graduate.[xxxi] Here, again, racialized students are disproportionately pushed out: while African American students represent 24% of LAUSD's student population, they receive 44% of the suspensions, and 48% of involuntary transfers. Involuntary transfers are meant to be a last-resort measure to keep difficult students in the school system by transferring them across districts; however, evidence suggests that these transfers are used more liberally than intended, particularly for racialized students.[xxxii] Involuntary transfers often translate to farther distances to travel and class time missed, and students who change schools are less likely to graduate.[xxxiii]

This disproportional lack of opportunity for racialized students to access quality education signals a failing school system, and corresponds with a thriving and lucrative prison industry; California in fact boasts an incarceration rate that is significantly higher than the national average. The fact that taxpayer dollars are being invested in the prison system while at the same time being cut from the education system is related; it is the students who are underserved by the education system that end up in the prisons, at a cost to the tax payer of $45,000 per inmate, per year, in California.

Why is this allowed to happen? Political power may be one clue: prison guards' unions are powerful lobbying bodies that contribute large sums to election campaigns of both parties; their interests are being served as prisons are continually built and the incarcerated population grows. The race-based fear fueled by government and the media of young black men, Muslim men and undocumented immigrants, increases the social acceptability of the use of violence and the prison system as a means of social control. Our cultural context which affirms negative stereotyping lessens our inclination to actively question the economic or political motives when school policies, or immigration policies – such as Arizona's SB 1070 – result in the use of incarceration to control and permanently marginalize racialized segments of the population.

MATCHING PROBLEM ANALYSIS WITH INTERVENTION STRATEGY

Instructions: Referring to the discussion of the *school to prison pipeline*, think about different levels of analysis you could use to understand the problem. Brainstorm possible interventions for each level of analysis. Try to focus your efforts on Institutional and Structural levels for this exercise.

EXAMPLE: SCHOOL TO PRISON PIPELINE

Level of Analysis:	Problem:	Possible solutions:
Individual Fix the individual	Students of color lack self confidence, parents lack knowledge about navigating school system, teachers lack cross cultural competency	Develop programs to develop student self confidence, parental knowledge about education system, cross cultural competency among teachers
Institutional Fix the institution	A particular school or school district has particularly biased teachers and/or biased enforcement of school discipline policies, and/or a particular school is under-resourced	Organize a local action, or file a law suit, etc to force that particular school or school district to require cultural competency training for teachers, change its school discipline policies, and fundraise within the community to supplement financial resources
Structural Fix the system	The way that financial resources are allocated and teacher school assignment are made result in fewer dollars and least experienced teachers being assigned to schools in neighborhoods with fewest external resources, higher concentrations of poverty, parents working multiple jobs, etc resulting in higher drop out rates, fewer continuing to college, etc	Through an inside-outside strategy, including community organizing and leadership development, work with school district to redesign how funds are allocated and how teacher school assignments are decided district wide to insure that resources and teachers are assigned with the goal of providing all communities with the support that they need for educational success.

BUILDING STRUCTURES THAT UNIFY

Instructions: In your small group, develop a **common or shared goal** that a wide range of people can aspire to together. What targeted strategies will different groups of people need in order to achieve that shared goal? Are there subgroups within groups that also need to be addressed in a targeted way?

EXAMPLE: SCHOOL TO PRISON PIPELINE

Common Goal:

Joyful and meaningful education for all children

Targeted Strategies:

Group: Middle class children of all races

- Resources and supports to cultivate, retain and nurture good teachers & administrators

Group: Low Socio-economic status children

- Resources and supports to cultivate, retain and nurture good teachers & administrators
- **Nutritious meals, stable housing, medical care**

Group: African American children

- Resources and supports to cultivate, retain and nurture good teachers & administrators
- Nutritious meals, stable housing, medical care
- Curriculum and pedagogical approaches that counter unconscious impact of pervasive negative stereotypes

Group: Recent immigrants

- Resources and supports to cultivate, retain and nurture good teachers & administrators
- Nutritious meals, stable housing, medical care
- Curriculum and pedagogical approaches that counter unconscious impact of pervasive negative stereotypes
- **English language supports, First language supports, interpretation and outreach in parent's first language**

1) Resources and supports to cultivate, retain and nurture good teachers & administrators
2) Nutritious meals, stable housing, medical care
3) Curriculum and pedagogical approaches that counter unconscious impact of pervasive negative stereotypes
4) **English language supports, First language supports, interpretation and outreach in parent's first language**

IMPLICIT BIAS

People's conscious values and beliefs play only a small role in how they process information and make decisions;[xxxiv] many biases affecting behavior reside in the unconscious mind. This has important ramifications for both how we analyze problems and how we develop effective communication strategies for addressing issues with racialized associations. In other words, people who *consciously* value racial equality can act and make decisions based upon racial biases *without even being aware* that they have any biases at all. When a person's actions or decisions are at odds with their intentions, we call this Implicit Bias or Unconscious Bias.[xxxv]

Revealing the Unconscious Mind

To have a clearer sense of how the mind works, try these tests:

A. Reading out loud, what colors are the following lines of text?[i] *

1. Vqeb peow	1. sky	1. Dirt	1. Green	1. Green
2. Cvur zxyq	2. grass	2. Sunshine	2. Blue	2. Brown
3. Vhrn wwte	3. dirt	3. Sky	3. Brown	3. Yellow
4. Xoc jbni oew	4. Sunshine	4. Grass	4. Red	4. Red
5. Zre ytu vee	5. Stop sign	5. Stop sign	5. Yellow	5. Blue

B. Awareness Test: How many passes does the team in white make?

[WATCH: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oSQJP40PcGI]

 *Variation on the Stroop Test.

The Unconscious Mind: Some Basic Neurology

A part of the brain, called the limbic system, categorizes what we perceive. One part of the limbic system, the amygdala, is responsible for strong emotional responses such as fight or flight responses. When the amygdala perceives a potential threat, it rapidly makes a biased or prejudiced judgment and reacts as if preparing for fear or hostility against what it perceives to be out-groups.[xxxvii] The region of the brain responsible for rational thought, the Pre-Frontal Cortex, is much slower than the amygdala. While we are hardwired to rapidly categorize in-group vs. out-group, we are soft-wired for the *content and meaning* assigned to those categories.

Cognitive psychologists explain that schemas, such as black/white, young/old, male/female are cognitive structures that help us make decisions quickly.[xxxviii] Though schemas are unconscious and, as a result, we are largely unaware that they exist, the meanings attributed to these schemas are

culturally derived. For example, when you meet someone the mind very quickly *and unconsciously* assigns that person to a racial category, which then triggers all of the implicit and explicit meanings culturally associated with that racial category, or racial schema, and thus shapes your subsequent interactions.[xxxix]

A growing body of research suggests that discrimination and bias are a collective phenomenon. That is, bias is social, and is not limited to isolated *individuals*. Using the Implicit Association Test (IAT), a test developed to measure the strength of an individual's automatic association between concepts (for example, male or female) and attributes (for example, kind or logical), researchers are able to track response time required for a test taker to match pleasant and unpleasant words with images of individuals.

More than 2/3 of test takers, which includes members of the stigmatized group, register bias to-wards stigmatized groups.[xl] The chart below compares the results of test takers' self reported pref-erence (or explicit bias) to measures of their unconscious preference (or implicit bias) when asked which of two groups they prefer. The results demonstrate that implicit bias against nonwhites is pervasive.[xli]

	Explicit Bias Self-reported Preference for (%):			**Implicit Bias** Measured by a test Preference for (%):		
Comparing Images of:	Non-white	Neutral	White	Non-white	Neutral	White
Black & White	12%	**56%**	32%	12%	19%	**69%**
Asian & White	16%	**57%**	27%	11%	26%	**63%**

In effect, implicit bias is a bit like bacteria in water. Just because you can't see it, doesn't mean that it isn't there and doesn't need to be dealt with. And just as we would not rely on managing bad bacteria in water on an individual basis, but would rather take a collective public health remedy, we should think similarly about implicit bias.[xlii] We continue to need mechanisms to make these uncon-scious processes conscious.
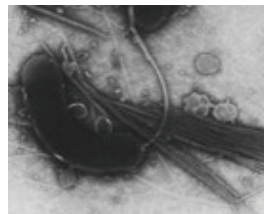
Cholera bacterium

PROBLEM ANALYSIS AND IMPLICIT BIAS

Unconscious biases are reflected in institutional arrangements and are reinforced by the outcomes of these institutional arrangements. Prejudice, thus, becomes persistent. For example, a common prejudice is "women aren't good at math." Because that prejudice is prevalent, many women choose not to take math classes, and thus the prejudice itself leads to a corresponding outcome.

Case Study: Testing in Schools

Individual merit is a common argument used in the public discourse to justify "colorblind" admissions to school. For example, we often hear variations on this theme:

"In the US, Black students do not perform as well as white students on standardized tests."

Factually, the statement is correct. But what does it suggest? An understanding of implicit bias helps us recognize that the statement without further explanation is likely to lead to the conclusion that Black students are inherently not as capable as white students.[xliii] However, if we use a Structural Racialization analysis, we are able to make visible the connection between housing, concentrated poverty and under-resourced schools on test outcomes, not to mention bias embedded in the tests.

Finland has eliminated examination systems that had previously tracked students for middle schools and had restricted access to high schools, in the context of other key changes. What were the outcomes of these changes? Finland is now graduating over 90% of high school students with consistently high rankings on international standards.[xliv]

Since structures *normalize* 'how things are', we have accepted the normalization of testing in the U.S. We don't broadly question the practice of testing in American schools. If we continue to accept the testing structure without question, we will continue to focus on alleviating the test achievement gap rather than trying to identify ways that the structure itself needs to be changed to change outcomes. What if testing is the problem? What if we need to find alternative measures of success that are not based on individual merit?

The Structural Racialization analysis enables us to demonstrate the impact of institutional arrangements and policies on group outcomes: discrete parts of systems interact to yield cumulative effects. Racialized outcomes do not require racist actors, but rather are inherent to the existing system.[xlv] Recognizing implicit bias challenges the "colorblind" frame by acknowledging that as a result of our current physical, social and cultural opportunity landscape, our unconscious minds

carry unconscious implicit biases that contribute to our decision-making. Thus, implicit bias gets in the way of our ability to even ask the right questions about the causes of differential outcomes. Pairing a Structural Racialization analysis with an understanding of implicit bias, we are more likely to diagnose the problem accurately and identify effective interventions.

Questions we can ask ourselves that have the potential to help us be more effective in identifying the source of a problem include: what are prevalent biases and stereotypes that impact your issue area? Do any of these biases prevent you from seeing the structural, *non-individual*, basis of the outcomes? What do Structural Racialization and implicit bias suggest for identifying problems and developing solutions in the work that you do?

COMMUNICATION AND IMPLICIT BIAS

Since racial categories and the meanings of those categories are constantly changing and being re-configured, implicit bias research has important implications for how we approach communication strategies. People, individually and collectively, thrive on making meaning. Thus, understanding how language and messages shape reality and the perception of reality becomes critical, as does understanding how framing (mental filters used to make sense of the world) and priming (exposure to a stimulus that influences response to a later stimulus) impact how information is processed in both the explicit and the implicit mind.

Not only do we need to ask *what* people think about an issue, we also need to understand the processes behind *how* they think in order to communicate effectively about difficult topics such as race. Recent research suggests that it is possible to develop messages that both reinforce our conscious values while also addressing unconscious biases, thus enabling people to make decisions based on their conscious values, rather than based on their unconscious biases.[xlvi]

Drew Westen writes, "people act on their conscious motives when they are focusing their conscious attention on them. Conscious motives can override unconscious ones, as when we remind ourselves to be tolerant, compassionate, or fair-minded when we have just met someone who has triggered a stereotype. But conscious motives only direct behavior as long as they are conscious."[xlvii]

When we tell our stories, we need to:

- **Lead with values** by reminding people of their conscious values when their conscious values and unconscious emotions are in conflict,
- **Define "we"** to foster empathy and identification with those who have been wronged, rather than reinforcing an us vs. them mindset,[xlviii]
- **Reframe** opponents' legitimate critiques into a story that creates a "national calling" to do something about collective indifference, and
- **Offer an alternative** or a solution to the problem facing us

To not talk about race is to talk about race. Race appears in the media in multiple ways—sometimes it is explicit, other times it is implicit. For example, consider the media discussion and images used in the discussion of Arizona's immigration law SB1070, which would make the failure to carry immigration documents a crime and gives the police broad power to detain anyone suspected of being in the country illegally.[xlix] In the best cases, the discussion explicitly focuses on upholding the law using race neutral language, but even in these cases, the visual and implied discussion implicitly

racializes and demonizes specific groups of people who are the targets of the law. In this way, media not only legitimizes the practice of racial profiling, even though many, if not most, people who "fit the profile" are legal residents, naturalized citizens or citizen by birth, but also, it side steps examining systemic circumstances that motivate people to leave their families and countries of origin in search of work.

This is the environment in which we work. It is not "race neutral". The question is not *if* we should talk about race, but *how* we should talk about race. Race neutral tactics may seem to have appeal, however, the way forward is not race-neutrality, but rather, racial fairness. Colorblindness will not end racism.

Research has shown that suppressing or denying prejudiced thoughts can actually increase prejudice rather than eradicate it: "instead of repressing one's prejudices, if one openly acknowledges one's biases, and directly challenges or refutes them, one can overcome them."[i] Since media tends to reinforce negative stereotypes, researchers have tried and found that repeatedly exposing people to admired African Americans helps counter pro-white/anti-black bias in Implicit Association Test results. Similarly, an even more productive strategy is to show both admired African Americans and infamous whites.[ii] In other words, it is important to use images and stories that both counter negative stereotypes, and visually reinforce a vision of shared prosperity.

How we frame issues of race matters. Consider the false dichotomies we often use when we think and talk about race: Black/White; Post-racial/Civil Rights; Race is not important/Race matters. These binaries are actually frames or mental lenses that are used to quickly make sense of the world.

Post Hurricane Katrina media coverage provides a particularly stark example in which the Black/White frame reinforces implicit bias that pits Black against White to the detriment of building unity and community in a time of collective need. Yahoo News published two similar photographs on the same day, using racialized terms to describe the images:

A. "A young [African American] man walks through chest deep flood after **looting** a grocery store in New Orleans"

B. "Two [white] residents wade through chest-deep water after **finding** bread and soda from a local grocery store after Hurricane Katrina"

Alternatively, the excerpt below from Barak Obama's speech, *A More Perfect Union*, demonstrates the use of effective ways to talk about race and build unity:

> I am the son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas. I was raised with the help of a white grandfather who survived a Depression to serve in Patton's Army during World War II and a white grandmother who worked on a bomber assembly line at Fort Leavenworth while he was overseas. I've gone to some of the best schools in America and lived in one of the world's poorest nations. I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slave owners - an inheritance we pass on to our two precious daughters. I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins, of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents, and for as long as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible.[liv]

The above examples demonstrate that how messages are framed affects how they are perceived. The first example is divisive, while the last example exemplifies the principles offered in the *Race Matters*: *How to Talk About Race Tool Kit*, which emphasizes the importance of creating empathetic space and building connections through personal narratives.

Techniques to Use
DO:
- **Frame using the norms and values of your audience**
- **Emphasize 'We', 'Us', and 'Our'**
- **Acknowledge** individualism is important and the healthiest individuals are nurtured by a community invested in everyone's success,
- **Underscore shared values**

Approaches to Avoid
Do NOT:
- **Present disparities only**
- **Frame using Us vs. Them**
- **Separate people** in need from "everybody else"
- **Glide over fears**
- **Dismiss** individual efforts

Why is it difficult to talk about race? Race is difficult to talk about because race itself is complex and is linked to individual and national identity. As a society, we lack shared knowledge and information about how race and racialization have evolved over time for different groups of people and what the consequences of racial inequality are for all groups of people.

Moreover, the United States has a long history of violence, repression and injustice directed towards people of color and towards people, of all races, who speak up against injustice. Talking about race can also surface feelings of resentment, guilt and hostility. Anyone who speaks about racism runs the risk of being labeled a racist—by both people who are for and against ending racism. And, of course, talking about race requires practice and learning how to navigate through implicit bias. How can we talk about race so that we are able to actively envision a "true Democracy"?

To change implicit biases, we need to be aware of implicit bias in our lives, provide alternative stories and images that de-bias, attend to implicit bias when designing messaging and choosing language, and engage in proactive, cultural and structural affirmative efforts.

Case Study: Challenging Bias with Shared Values

The American Values Institute developed highly effective, tested messages designed to reduce the effect of unconscious racial bias in decision making among non-college educated, white voters. One strategy focused on reinforcing shared values and the second strategy focused on making unconscious biases conscious. Both strategies had the effect of shifting decision making from reactive unconscious processes to conscious rational processes.

Revealing Biases, Lifting Shared Values

> What unconscious **biases** are challenged by the videos "All God's Children" and "I am an American"? What conscious **values** are reinforced? What **anxieties** are made conscious?

"Team USA" and "All God's Children":
http://www.youtube.com/user/a4americanvalues#p/u/2/2xXOzXJSTbY

"I am an American":
http://www.westenstrategies.com/ads/political-ads.html

Lifting Up Values in Your Stories

Instructions: Research suggests that these values are deeply held in the United States:

Equity	Linked Fate	Opportunity	Security	Redemption
Mobility	Liberty	Fairness	Community	Unity

Since research strongly suggests that order matters when talking about structural racialization, try using this framework to develop your story.[lvi]

EXAMPLE: SCHOOLS

Lead with Values	All students should have access to good teachers and well resourced schools.
Counter reality that reinforces "WE"	However, today, there are not enough resources going to our schools. There are many low-income rural white communities that do not have access to highly qualified teachers. In urban areas, many black and Latino schools are also under resourced and have inexperienced teachers. Even middle class, suburban schools are feeling the strain of inadequate resources.
Define "WE" to be inclusive	We, as a state, are failing our students.
Values based, National calling to act	This is not only unfair it is not smart for our state or our country.
Offer/Solution	We need to assure that all students have the opportunity to go to a well-resourced school with high quality teachers.

SITUATEDNESS AND TRANSFORMATIVE POWER

We come from different places—different neighborhoods, different countries, different cultural backgrounds, different class backgrounds, different educational backgrounds, and so forth. As a result, we are all situated in different ways, and one person's *situatedness* or a community's situatedness is always relative to another's.[lvii]

In order to work together for transformational change, we need to reveal our situatedness and *create* common interests that change our situatedness relative to each other, which will enable us to work together to change the structure. We need to make the connections that help to reveal that a) our interests are "situational", b) not all tensions are personal, and c) some tensions are structural.

In traditional approaches to building power, we look for existing common interest. This can lead to transactional power, or power based on a time-limited exchange that leaves the underlying structure intact. If, on the other hand, we recognize the different ways that we are situated within a structure and thereby reveal the multiple ways the problem is created and re-created, we can respond with interventions that transform the structure itself. This builds transformative power.

While personal and social responsibility are important, and should remain in our advocacy and analysis, our approaches need to consider the structures and systems that are creating and per-petuating disparities. By doing so, we can challenge policies, processes and assumptions to create lasting change. Transformative thinking leads to transformative power.

Among the first steps in creating transformative change, is creating a space for constructive dia-logue. Constructive dialogue is inclusive of all groups and enlists our different and evolving stories and knowledge in the process of making change. Overcoming structural tensions between groups requires leadership, constructive dialogue, trust, and new frames.

Are We All Equally Situated?

Three people are out to sea when you find out that a big storm is coming in. Your plan is to set out to pick everyone up in six hours. Will your plan work equally well for everyone?
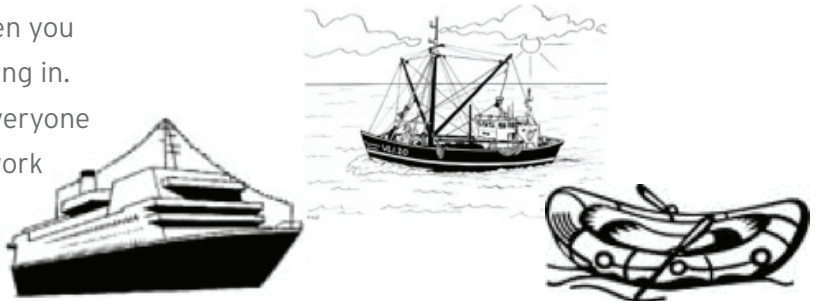
Case Study: SEIU Janitors for Justice Campaign, Los Angeles

Between 1983 and 1986, building owners in Los Angeles increasingly chose to hire non-native Latino immigrants, many of whom where undocumented, rather than continue to hire native union janitors, who were largely African American, to clean their buildings. This caused wages to drop from more than $7.00 per hour with family benefits to $4.50 per hour with no benefits. It also caused tension to rise between Black and Latino workers and between native and non-native workers.

The Union was concerned that if they did not include undocumented workers in the union, the union's effectiveness would continue to erode. Eventually, the union decided to invite undocumented immigrants into its ranks. This decision changed the structure of tensions among these different groups and transformed how Blacks and Latinos were situated relative to each other. This joint effort was able to bring Janitors wages back up to $6.80 per hour with full family benefits. Unfortunately, by the time new agreements were made, most African American janitors had left that sector.

More recently, SEIU janitors, who are now mostly Latino, have been instrumental in raising standards for the mostly African American security officers who work in the same buildings. The security officers are now organized in their own union, SEIU SOULA (Security Officers United of Los Angeles).[lviii]

The outcome of changing the structure of the union revealed the silent structure that had been operating to divide workers. The real beneficiaries from tensions among workers were the corporations, not the workers. By joining forces, the workers' situation was changed, interests were changed and the structure was changed.

Silent Structures that Divide

Instructions: With members of your community, think through the following questions.

EXAMPLE: SEIU JANITORS FOR JUSTICE

A. **Are there tensions between groups in your organization or community? Who benefits most from these tensions?**

African Americans and Latinos in our community weren't getting along:

African American janitors' jobs were threatened by undocumented, immigrant Latino/a workers and undocumented, immigrant workers were not allowed to join the Union. This was even creating tension between African American and Latino/a citizens. The building owners were benefiting from these tensions because they could force wages down.

B. **Are any of these tensions structural? Are there ways that you could remove or reduce these tensions by changing the structures? (i.e. change membership requirements, so that interests and structure change)**

Many of these tensions were structural. When SEIU changed membership requirements so that undocumented immigrants could join the union, Latino and African American workers could unite in their efforts to protect job security and wages. Now the janitors (mostly Latino) are working to organize the security guards (mostly African American) who work in the same buildings.

TARGETED UNIVERSALISM

Typically, policies are designed to be "universal" and apply equally to all individuals, based on an assumption that all individuals will receive equal benefit. In other words, universal policies assume that "a rising tide lifts all boats". For example, school funding. The assumption is that if all children have the opportunity to go to school, each child will have an equal chance to obtain higher education.

However, Systems Thinking and Structural Racialization analysis shows that different communities, and hence, the individuals that comprise those communities, are situated differently relative to each other due to many factors, including history, education, language, and access to community assets. Thus, in practice, universal policies create access to opportunity differentially. In other words, a rising tide brings less benefit or even brings hazard if your boat is leaky or if you do not have a boat at all.

Targeted Universalism[lix] is a frame for designing policy that acknowledges our common goals, while also addressing the sharp contrasts in access to opportunity between differently situated subgroups. Structurally transformative policies need to address these contrasts and measure success based on outcomes, rather than just intentions.

For example, the Oakland Unified School District has a universal goal to provide elementary and secondary education to the children of Oakland. Originally, OUSD's school funding policy was based on the salaries of the teachers at that school. This meant that the schools in the Oakland Hills, which have student bodies experiencing the fewest challenges and barriers, not only had the teachers with most experience, but also received the most funding. Conversely, the newest, most inexperienced teachers were placed in the most challenging and under-resourced schools.

A few years ago, OUSD moved from this unequal resource allocation system to an equal allocation plan in which school funding is based on the number of students attending the school.   However, since this policy does not take into account how different schools, communities and thus students are situated, this, ostensibly 'equal' distribution of resources, results in unequal outcomes. Currently, OUSD is evaluating a plan to resource schools based on the number of students and the needs of the community it serves.[lx]

Case Study: The Story of Domestic Workers United

Domestic Workers United (DWU) organizing began in playgrounds, parks, and other sites outside of the workplace, where domestic workers would meet, and has grown to a membership of more than 4,000 members . After 6 years of organizing by DWU,[lxii] the New York Domestic Workers Rights Bill passed in August 2010, giving the estimated 200,000 domestic workers in New York a 40 hours work week, overtime, unemployment insurance, temporary disability benefits, and other protections against workplace abuses.[lxiii]

In 2007, DWU and 12 other local domestic worker organizations from around the country formed the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA). NDWA now has 30 member organizations in 11 states and 17 cities. NDWA and the local domestic worker organizations have forged a campaign to bring about a domestic worker's rights bill in California: in June 2010 California legislature passed a resolution calling for protections for domestic workers, and they are working to pass the CA Domestic Worker Bill of Rights, similar to that in NY, by fall of 2011.[lxiv]

Domestic workers have specifically been excluded from the right to collective bargaining, minimum wage, and overtime under major US labor laws: the National Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act. These Acts, which are still the key legislation protecting employee rights today, were crafted in the wake of the New Deal, and written to exclude the racialized work sectors of farm work and domestic work as concession to Southern legislators.[lxv] Today, these work sectors are still racialized, though the demographics of workers has shifted from an African American majority in the 1930's and 40's to a dominantly immigrant workforce today. A 2007 survey of domestic workers in San Francisco estimated that 98% of domestic workers in San Francisco are women, 94% are

Latina, and 99% are foreign born.[lxvii] In Northern California, it is estimated that 93% of domestic workers are female, 67% Latina, and 73% born outside the US.[lxviii]

Domestic workers are also excluded from worker's compensation and many other workplace protections in most states[lxix] which is particularly salient in light of the isolated and reportedly hazardous work they perform: they often work in their employer's home as the sole employee, so are particularly vulnerable to abuse and rights violations. A survey of domestic workers in California and New York showed that 1 in 5 domestic workers are verbally abused by their employers, 1 in 10 experience violence,[lxx] and in California, 33% of those workers stated that immigration status contributed to employee abuses.[lxxi]

The power of NDWA to affect legislative change is due in part to their ability to unite support across traditional boundaries of race, class, and national borders. NDWA has pulled together a coalition that crosses the racial and cultural heterogeneity of domestic workers, who come from all over the world. Similarly, NDWA has crossed class boundaries by gaining strong support from employers of domestic workers who have organized an allied lobby force; thus pressure on legislators comes not only from vulnerable or marginalized workers, but also from wealthier citizens and employers.

By using a targeted universalism approach, the National Domestic Workers Alliance is able to address the different and particular needs of a wide range of communities and, at the same time, create a unified, values based campaign that has the power to craft, advocate and move policy change.

Matching Problem Analysis with Intervention

Instructions: Referring to the discussion of *dignified working conditions*, think about different levels of analysis you could use to understand the problem. Brainstorm possible interventions for each level of analysis. Try to focus your efforts on Institutional and Structural levels for this exercise.

EXAMPLE: NATIONAL DOMESTIC WORKERS ALLIANCE

| Level of Analysis:	Problem:	Intervention:
Internalized *Beliefs within individuals*	Domestic Workers don't always value their work and themselves.	Leadership development, story telling to lift up and validate experiences and the importance of their work.
Interpersonal *Bigotry between individuals*	Domestic workers treated badly by their employers. Lack power, work in isolation, often new to U.S.	Make sure that domestic workers know their rights, how to document unfair treatment, service to find better employment when necessary.
Institutional *Bias within an agency, school, etc.*	Long history of employer abuse of domestic workers in the U.S. Domestic workers are often recent immigrants and don't have language skills needed to get help.	Raise awareness about the importance of domestic work & dignified work conditions. Make it socially unacceptable to abuse workers through demonstrations, lawsuits, etc. Demand more languages from service providers.
Structural *Cumulative among institutions, throughout society*	Federal policies exclude domestic workers from collective bargaining and other worker's rights, a continuation of the U.S.'s racialization of domestic and agricultural labor. Many domestic workers' immigration status is precarious and thus, workers are at risk if they seek help.	Federal labor and immigration policies must be changed to give domestic workers the same rights as other workers and other people who reside in the U.S. Advocacy on this issue must target domestic workers, employers, and policy makers on community, state, federal, and international levels.

Building Structures that Unify

Instructions: In your small group, develop a **common or shared goal** that a wide range of people can aspire to together. What targeted strategies will different groups of people need in order to achieve that shared goal? Are there subgroups within groups that also need to be addressed in a targeted way?

EXAMPLE: NATIONAL DOMESTIC WORKERS ALLIANCE

Common Goal: Respect, recognition, fair labor standards for domestic work

Targeted Strategies:

Group: U.S. Citizens
- Inclusion in US labor law: 40-hour week, overtime, benefits, etc.
- Paid sick days, vacation days, maternity leave
- Legally binding employment contract, collective bargaining
- Skilled labor career track

Group: Immigrants

Above and . . .
- Immigration status independent of employers
- Pathway to Citizenship

Group: Live-in workers

Above and . . .
1) Right to privacy, to prepare one's own food, to come and go at will
2) Workplace regulation and inspection

Group: Part-time workers

Above and . . .
3) Standardized pay
4) Worker career development

Group: Undocumented Immigrants

Above and . . .
- Guidelines for respectful employment practices
- Materials and resources available in multiple languages

Group: U.S. Citizens
- Education to end racism and sexism that lead to devaluing of work
- Policies for collective responsibility to care for those who need care
- Policies to address cost of direct care / divestment from group care

STRATEGIES FOR GROWING TOGETHER

In order to grow together, we need to think in new ways, talk in new ways, and act in new ways.

ACT

THINK   **TALK**
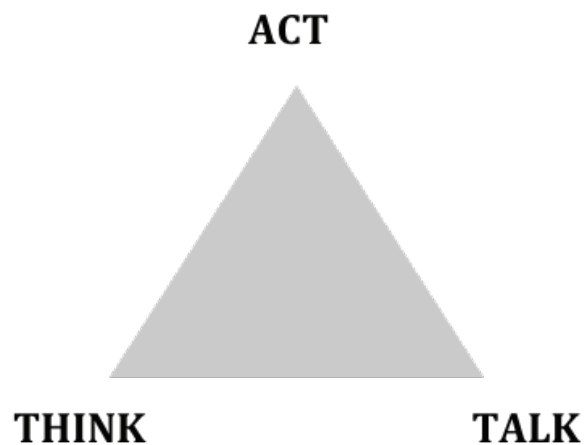
Think in New Ways

We need to find new ways to think about making change. We need to:

- Focus on *systems and structures* to identify systemic level interventions for systemic and structural problems
- Focus on understanding relative *situatedness* to open up opportunities for long term collaboration and relationship building
- Focus on changing *community situatedness* relative to decision-making

Talk in New Ways

We need to find new ways to talk about race. We need to:

- Focus on *structures and systems* rather than on explicit individual level action and reaction
- Focus on the *subconscious & the implicit bias*
- Focus on *relationships* that build collaboration and engage in real discussion
- Focus on *targeted universalism strategies*–a frame for dialogue that can move the conversation beyond disparities and towards shared outcomes.

Act in New Ways

We need to act in new ways using a Structural Racialization analysis. We need to:

- Focus on *engagement and empowerment*, because the less resourced a community is, the more critical organizing becomes
- Focus on using *targeted universalism* to connect people and groups to opportunity
- Focus on *building institutions* that engage with the community in partnership to shape the offer itself (policy, services, etc.)

SYSTEMS THINKING AND RACE GLOSSARY

Implicit or Unconscious Bias occurs when a person's actions or decisions are at odds with their intentions.

Opportunity Structures are social, physical and cultural components that shape outcomes and behaviors and help individuals and communities lead fulfilling lives.

Racial Schemas are the racial categories into which we map individual human beings. Implicit and explicit racial meanings associated with that category are then triggered when we interact with that individual

Racialized describes persons, outcomes or results that are defined by race.

Racism is a social-political construct used to group people and differentially allocate resources of society based on that grouping. It is helpful to think about racism as manifesting in four ways: *Internalized* racism which includes beliefs within individuals, *Interpersonal* racism which includes bigotry between individuals, *Institutional* racism which includes bias within an agency, school, etc., and *Structural* racism which is cumulative among institutions, and throughout society.

Racist actor describes an individual with malicious bigoted intent.

Situatedness describes resources (opportunity structures) available to individuals or groups relative to other individuals or groups in society.

Structural inequity describes a dynamic process that generates differential outcomes based on class, race, gender, immigration status, etc.

Structural Racialization describes the dynamic process that creates cumulative and durable inequalities correlated with race.

Structural Transformation describes transforming the structure that creates and perpetuates disparities.

Systems Thinking is a way of examining social outcomes that takes into account the cumulative effects of seemingly independent factors

Targeted Universalism is a frame for designing policy that acknowledges our common goals, while also addressing the sharp contrasts in opportunity between differently situated sub-groups.

Transformative Power is power used to transform the structure itself (as compared to *transactional power* which used to get something out of the existing structure).

ANNOTATED RESOURCE LIST:

Systems Thinking

http://kirwaninstitute.org/publicationspresentations/publications/
- Systems Thinking and Race primer – July 2009.
- Post-Racialism or Targeted Universalism – Feb 2009.

www.racialequitytools.org/resourcefiles/young.pdf
- Young, Iris Marion, (2010) "The Five Faces of Oppression" in Adams, M., Blumenfeld, W., Castaneda, C., Hackman, H. (Eds.) *Readings for Diversity and Social Justice: Second Edition*. New York, NY: Routledge.

http://www.arc.org/content/view/594/1/
- Collection of Essays: "Compact For Racial Justice: An Agenda for Fairness and Unity." Includes essays on the criminal justice system, immigration, health, economics, Civil Rights.

Structural Racialization

http://kirwaninstitute.org/publicationspresentations/
- Presentation material on racialization of housing/credit/opportunity – Sept 2008.
- Presentation material on opportunity mapping – Sept 2008.

http://world-trust.org/mirrors-of-privilege-making-whiteness-visible/
- Trailer and discussion guide to film: "Mirrors of Privilege: Making Whiteness Visible."

http://www.arc.org/content/view/742/167/
- Video discussing link between race and public policy (10 minutes).

http://www.arc.org/content/view/744/167/
- Handout: Racial Equity Impact Assessment Tool (2 pages).

http://monthlyreview.org/1205wing.htm
- Wing, Bob, (2005) "Crossing Race and Nationality: The Racial Formation of Asian Americans 1852-1965" *Monthly Review*, Vol. 57, No. 7

http://www.pbs.org/race/000_General/000_00-Home.htm
- Website for PBS's three part documentary, "Race: The Power of an Illusion"
- Resources, conversation guide

Alexander, Michelle. (2010) <u>The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness.</u>
New York, NY: New Press.

Cumulative Causation

http://www.answers.com/topic/cumulative-causation
- Explanation of cumulative causation, including example diagram, after Gunnar Myrdal.

Targeted Universalism

http://www.insightcced.org/
- Insight Center for Community Economic Development: research on economic security, including racial wealth gap.

http://www.oregonmetro.gov/index.cfm/go/by.web/id=231
- Making the Greatest Place: Portland, Oregon Regional Plan

Implicit Bias

http://americansforamericanvalues.org/
- Information about implicit bias, summaries discussing implications for criminal justice, healthcare, mental health, hiring, videos to disrupt implicit bias.

http://www.hiddenbrain.org/
- Information about Shankar Vedantam's recent, accessible book on implicit bias.

https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/
- Virtual laboratory in which to test your own implicit bias.

http://www.westenstrategies.com/ads/political-ads.html
- Americans for American Values Obama campaign advertisements speaking to conscious and Unconscious Values.

http://transforming-race.org/archive.html
- Video by Center for Social Inclusion: Talking Effectively about Race and Policy in an Obama Era – Jacob Faber, Lynda Turet, Maya Wiley – Session 4.

Westen, Drew (2007) The Political Brain: The Role of Emotion in Deciding the Fate of the Nation. New York, NY: Public Affairs, Perseus Book Group
- See Chapter 10: Racial Consciousness and Unconsciousness

Steele, Claude (2010). Whistling Vivaldi and Other Clues about How Stereotypes Affect Us. W. W. Norton & Co.

Transformational Power

http://www.grassrootspolicy.org/power
- Essays and handouts on power mapping: building political power, examining expressions of power, power and social change.

Shining the Light: a Practical Guide to Co-Creating Healthy Communities
- Report and exercises on building political power, examining unconscious bias and social change.
- Geared towards faith communities

http://www.oregonmetro.gov/index.cfm/go/by.web/id=231
- Making the Greatest Place: Portland, Oregon Regional Plan

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