



# Rethinking White Privilege in the Age of White Supremacy and Ethnic Nationalism

Presenter: **john a. powell**

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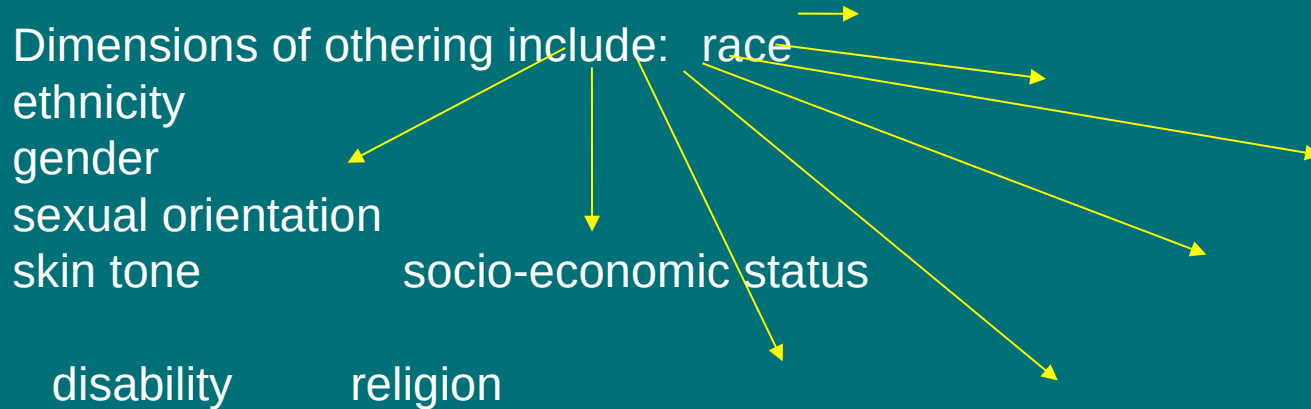
**Director, Haas Institute for a Fair & Inclusive Society**



**The problem of Othering is the problem of the 21st century...**

# Othering, defined...

**"Othering"** is a set of common processes that engender marginality and persistent inequality across any of the full range of human differences. It is the failure to recognize someone full humanity at the conscious, unconscious or structural level.

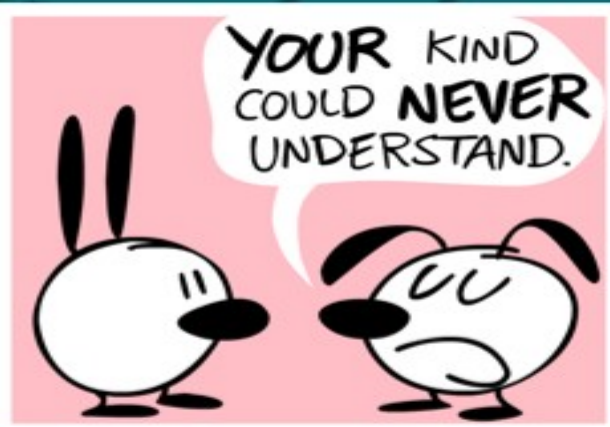


# The Opposite of Othering is not “Sameing,” it’s Belonging

Belonging or being fully human means more than having access.

Belonging entails being respected at a basic level that includes the right to both contribute and make demands upon society.





A close-up photograph of many glossy spheres arranged in rows. Most are red with a black stripe, but one sphere in the middle ground is a solid, vibrant blue, standing out from the rest.

The opposite of Othering is *not* saming but belonging.



EXCLUSION

INTEGRATION

INCLUSION

Bridge — Listen, engage, organize, love.

# Othering is a Global Issue



# Othering Breaks the Bridge to Opportunity

## QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

- 1.What work does othering do and for whom?
- 2.How does it impact where people are situated within our public imagination?
- 3.How can practices of belonging build the bridge toward more equitable outcomes?

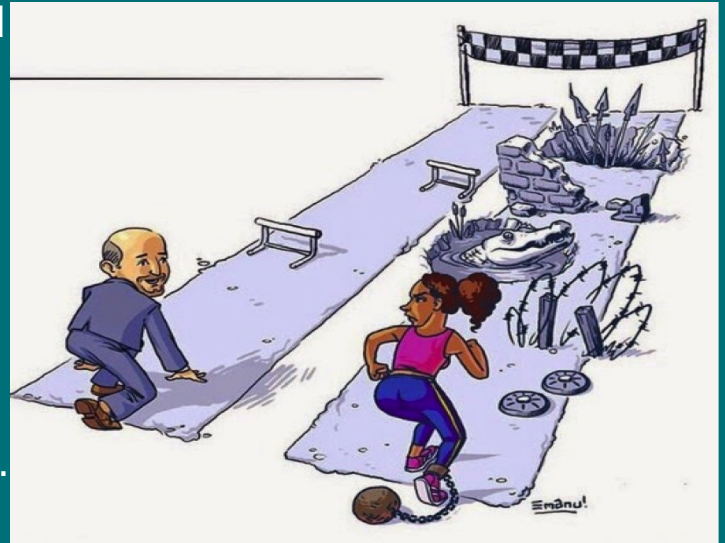


# The Multiple Forms and Expressions of Othering

Othering is a broad concept that expresses itself in many forms. Consequently, not all othering is the same. This keynote will cover the following forms and expressions of othering:

- Privilege
- Authoritarian dynamics
- Openness as personality trait

Each of these concepts are related, but represent different phenomena and thus, different interventions.



# Privilege and White Privilege Explained...

Privilege is a right or immunity granted as a particular benefit, advantage, or favor. It is a type of power that can be individual, group-based, institutional, structural, and systemic.

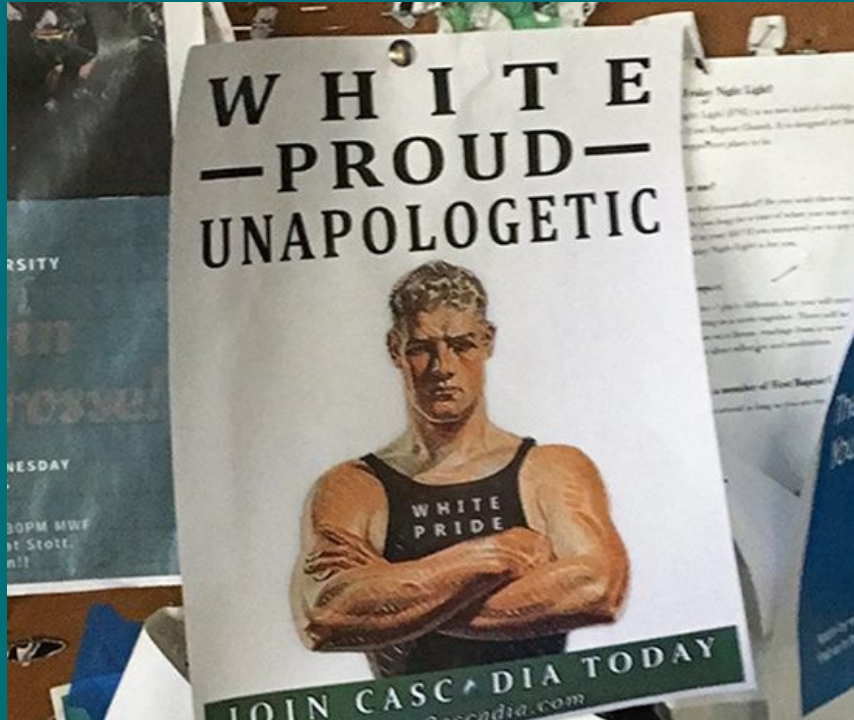
White privilege is a transparent preference for whiteness that saturates our society and shapes the way we navigate and interact with the world around us. White privilege serves several functions; mainly (1) it maintains an ideology of white supremacy ; and (2) it provides white people with unearned “benefit” at the expense of poc; thus, creating real advantages for whites, often in the form of immunities to certain challenges.

# Examples of the “perks” of White Privilege

- Higher pay than non-white counterparts.
- Higher rates of call backs for job interviews and loan and mortgage rate approvals.
- A criminal justice system that is designed to protect whiteness against the “other”.
- The complimentary shampoo at hotels generally works with the texture of my hair. Well, not my hair, but my assistant wrote this part...



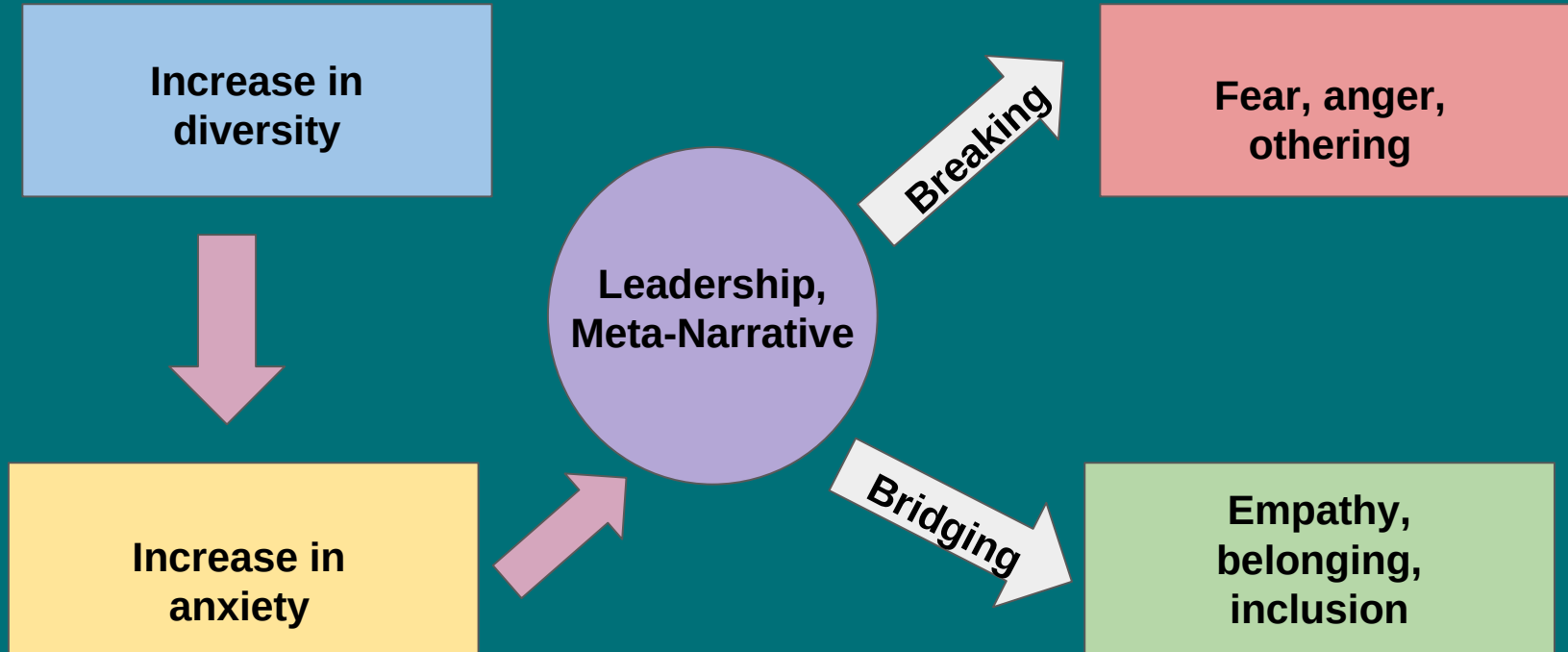
# White Privilege and White Nationalism



The rise of white nationalist groups around the world has created a more explicit expression of white privilege. Specifically, white nationalism has strengthened white privilege in the most overt manner. And, in a sense, brings us back in time to the earlier and more damning era of claiming white supremacist in words and practice.

**How Did we get here???**

# What's Happening in 2018?

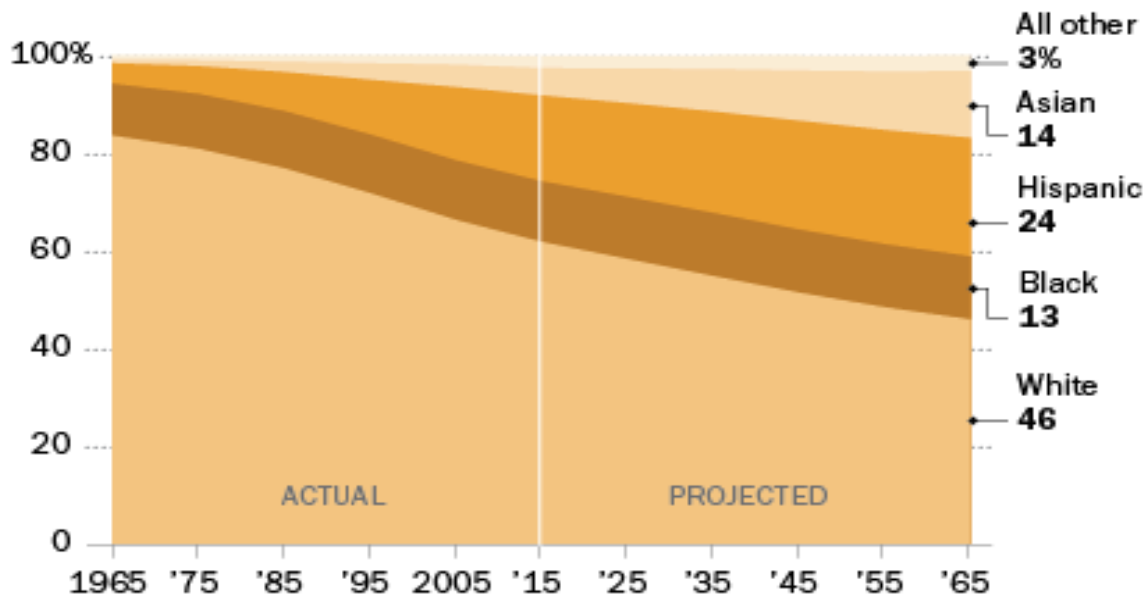


The fastest growing segment of the population in the U.S. is interfamilies.

As racial and ethnic diversity increases, so does our anxiety.

## The changing face of America, 1965–2065

*% of the total population*

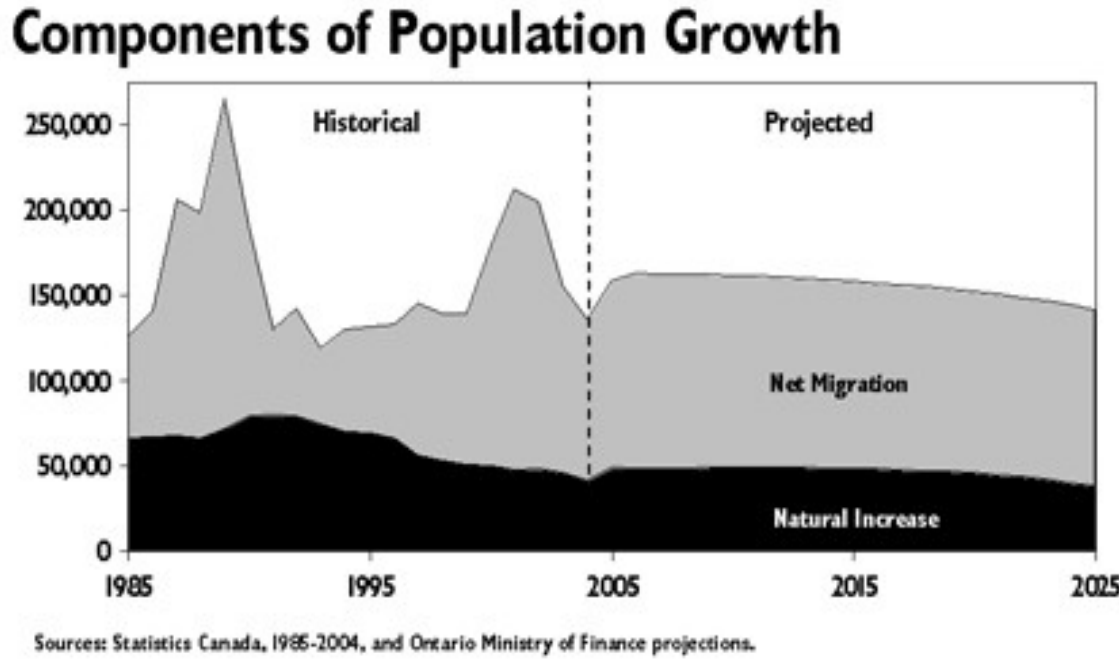


Note: Whites, blacks and Asians include only single-race non-Hispanics; Asians include Pacific Islanders. Hispanics can be of any race.

Source: Pew Research Center 2015 report, "Modern Immigration Wave Brings 59 Million to US, Driving Population Growth and Change Through 2065"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

# The Changing Face of Canada



“By 2031, one in three Canadians will belong to a visible minority. One in four will be foreign-born, the highest proportion since the end of the last wave of mass immigration that began around 1910...”

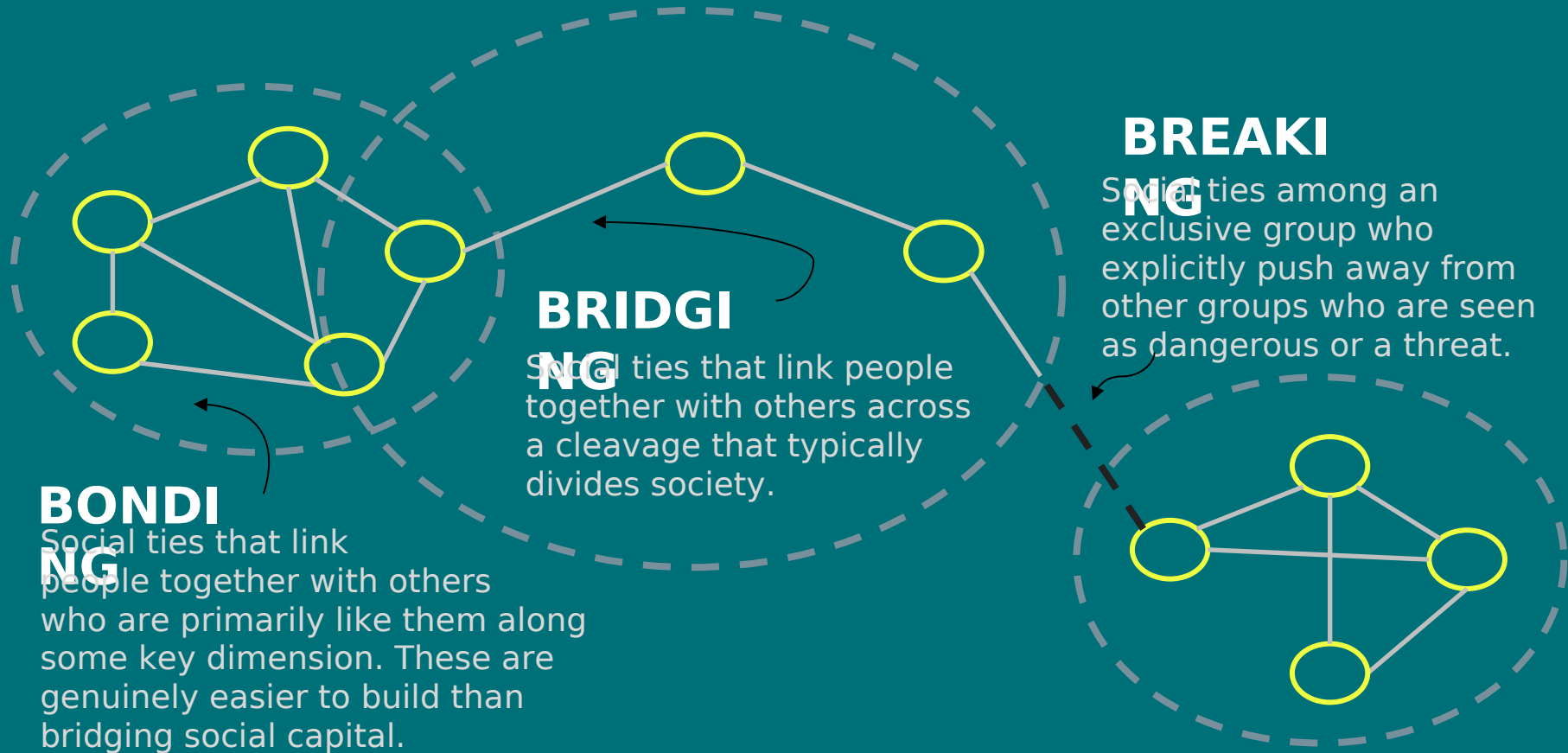
- Joe Frisen, demographics reporter for The Globe And Mail.

# Why does Anxiety Increase when Diversity Increases?

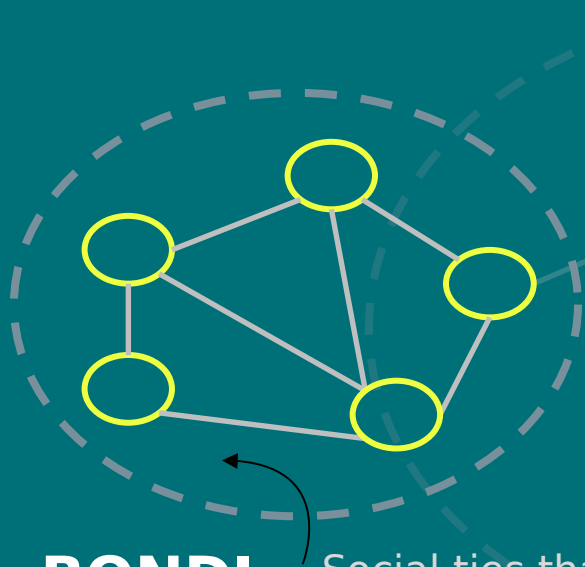


In part, because the predominant narratives warn of a dangerous increase in competition for resources. In reality, social status and social capital are not limited resources like fossil fuels and freshwater.

# Putnam's types of social capital:



# Examples of bonding social capital:



## BONDING

Social ties that link people together with others who are primarily like them along some key dimension. These are genuinely easier to build than bridging social capital.

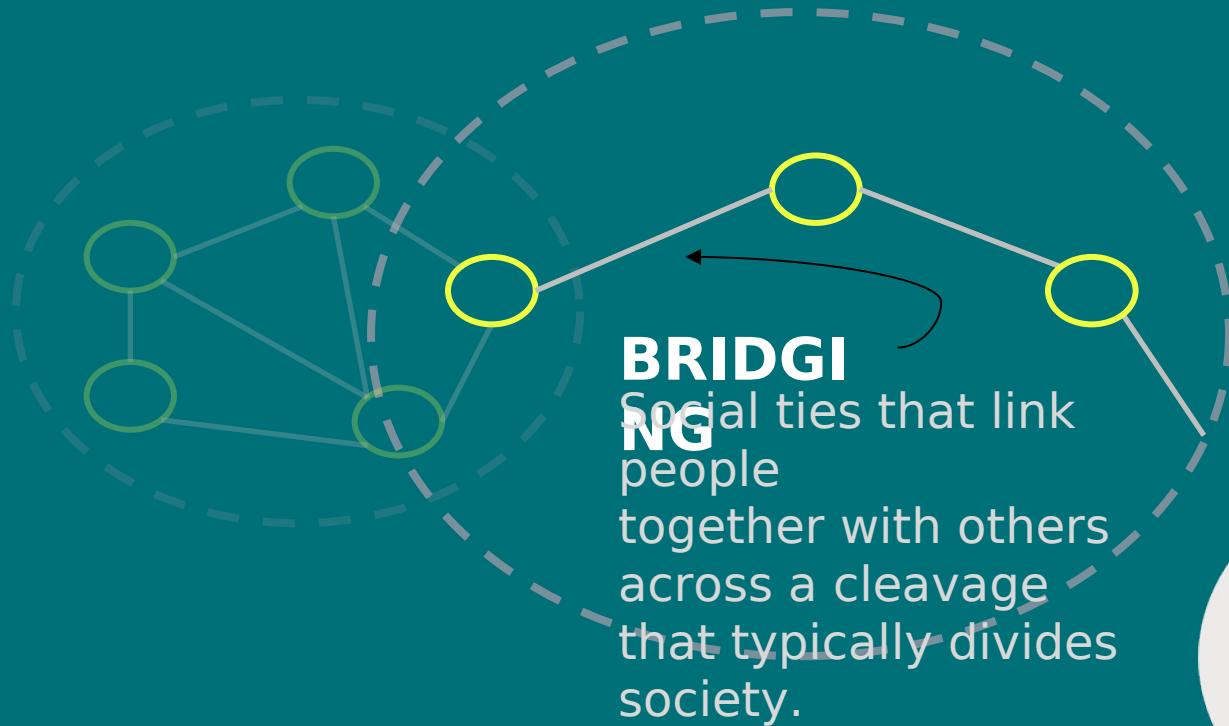


FAMILY



NEIGHBORHOOD

# Examples of bridging social capital:



LGBT  
Q



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# Examples of breaking social capital:



WHITE NATIONALISM

## **BREAKING**

Social ties among an exclusive group who explicitly push away from other groups who are seen as dangerous or a threat.



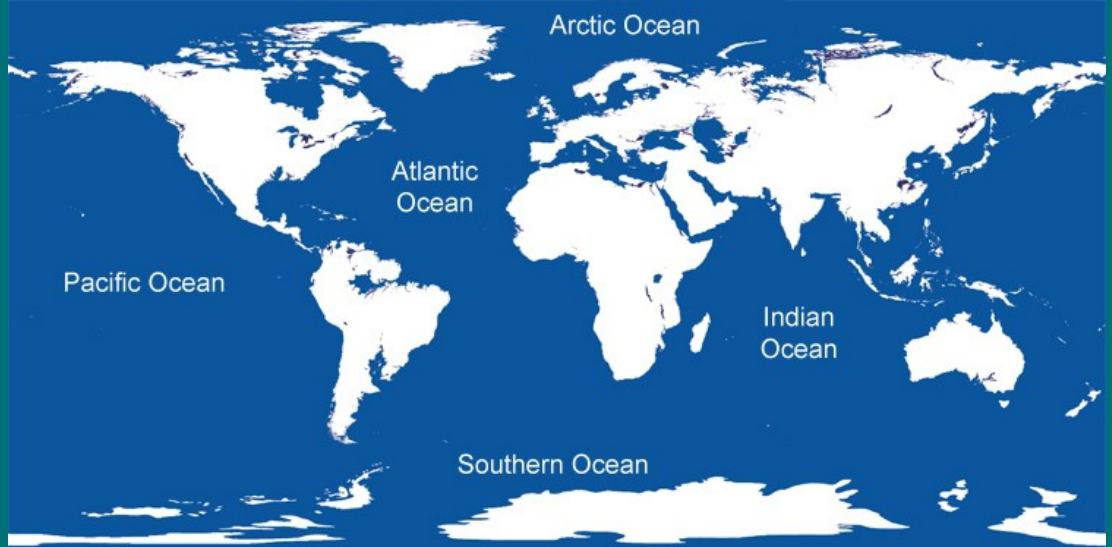
# Rob Ford and Donald Trump ♥ Breaking Narratives



# Canada vs. the U.S. -- Similarities & Differences

Canada's motto is "From Sea to Sea," whereas the United States' motto is "In God We Trust."

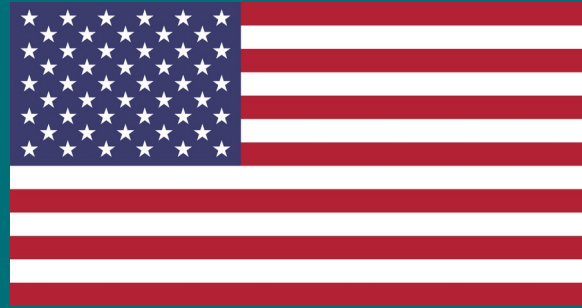
"From Sea to Sea" represents a bridging narrative, whereas "In God We Trust" represents a bonding and often breaking narrative.



# IN GOD WE TRUST

# Canada vs. the U.S. -- Similarities & Differences

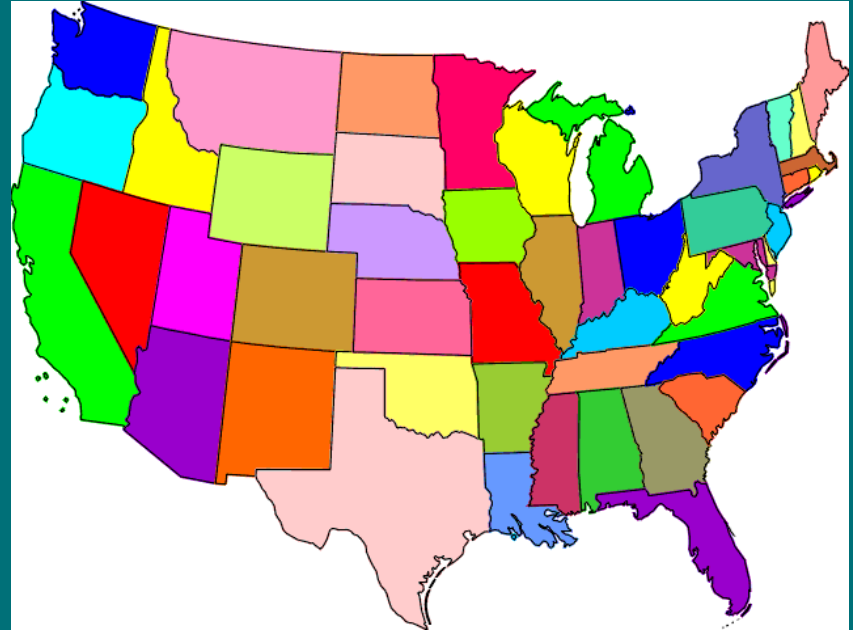
French and English are the official languages in Canada while in the U.S., English is the official language.



In the U.S. non-English speaking citizens are largely seen as “others.” By refusing to recognize any other language as an official language, the U.S. sends a clear message about what it means to be an American and belong in the U.S.

# Canada vs. the U.S. -- Similarities & Differences

The U.S. is also more geographically and politically divided than Canada. While Canada has 10 Provinces and 3 Territories, the U.S. has 56 political divisions (50 States, 1 Federal District, and 5 major overseas territories.)



# Canada vs. the U.S. -- Similarities & Differences



Photo courtesy: Cold Lake Sun

Despite these differences and indications that Canada is more inclusive than the U.S., Canada is seeing very similar rates and rises in rates of hate crimes and extremist groups. Why is this so?

# Aren't Identity Politics to Blame?

Not so much. At least in the U.S., the debate often turns on the issues of racial and economic anxiety. These issues are framed as broad issues vs. identity politics, but this is a misunderstanding. The issue is about bridging or breaking.



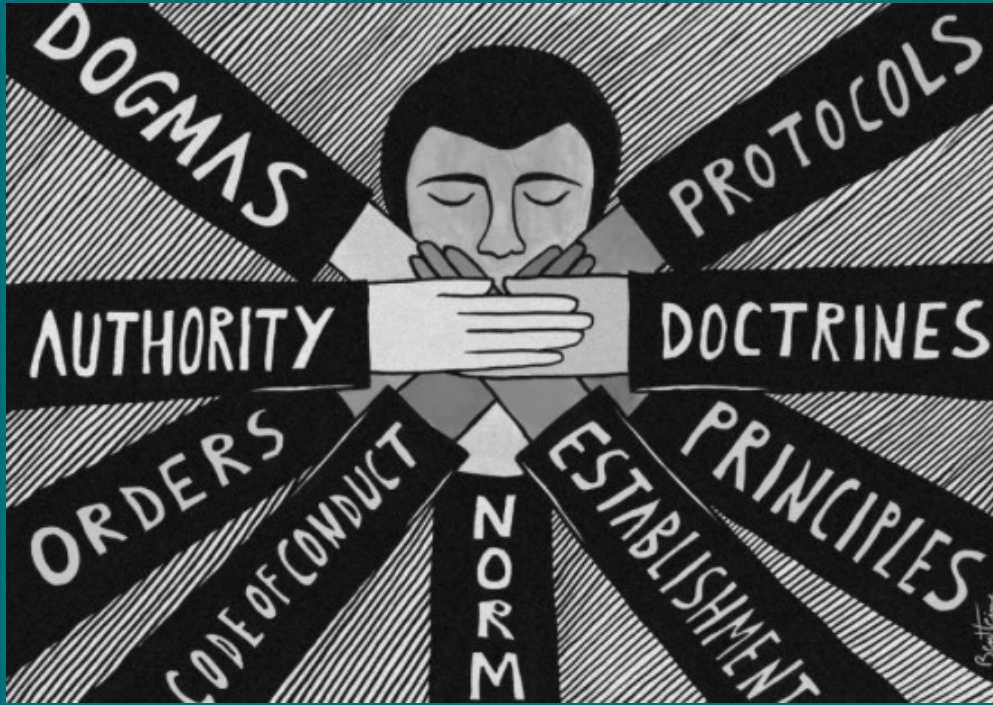
# Trends that Divide in the U.S., and Probably in Canada too...

“Three trends—polarization, media change, and the rise of what many people see as threats to traditional social order—have contributed to a growing divide within American politics. It is a divide between those who place heavy value on social order and cohesion relative to those who value personal autonomy and independence.” – Christopher Federico, Stanley Feldman, and Christopher Weber, “Remaking Partisan Politics through Authoritarian Sorting,” (forthcoming)





# So, What is Authoritarianism?



According to Stenner, authoritarianism “is the principal determinant of intolerance of difference across time and space and domain, that is, across any stretch of history, all cultures and every aspect (including racial, political, and moral intolerance.” -Karen Stenner (2009) *Three Kinds of “Conservatism”*, *Psychological Inquiry*, 20:2-3, 142-159.

# Authoritarianism, Continued...

Authoritarianism has long been measured on a scale that is based on four survey questions about which childhood traits parents prefer to see in their offspring. The four questions include:

- (1) Independence vs. respect for elders;
- (2) curiosity vs. good manners;
- (3) self-reliance vs. obedience; and
- (4) being considerate vs. well-behaved.

Can you guess which choices indicate authoritarianism?



# The Role of Authoritarianism in Politics.



Choosing respect for elders, good manners, obedience, and being well behaved are the authoritarian choices.

In 1992, 62% of white voters who ranked highest on the authoritarian scale voted for George H.W. Bush, whereas in 2016, 86% of white voters who ranked highest on the authoritarian scale supported Donald Trump. **Why is this?**

# The Rise of Hate Speech and the Politics of Fear



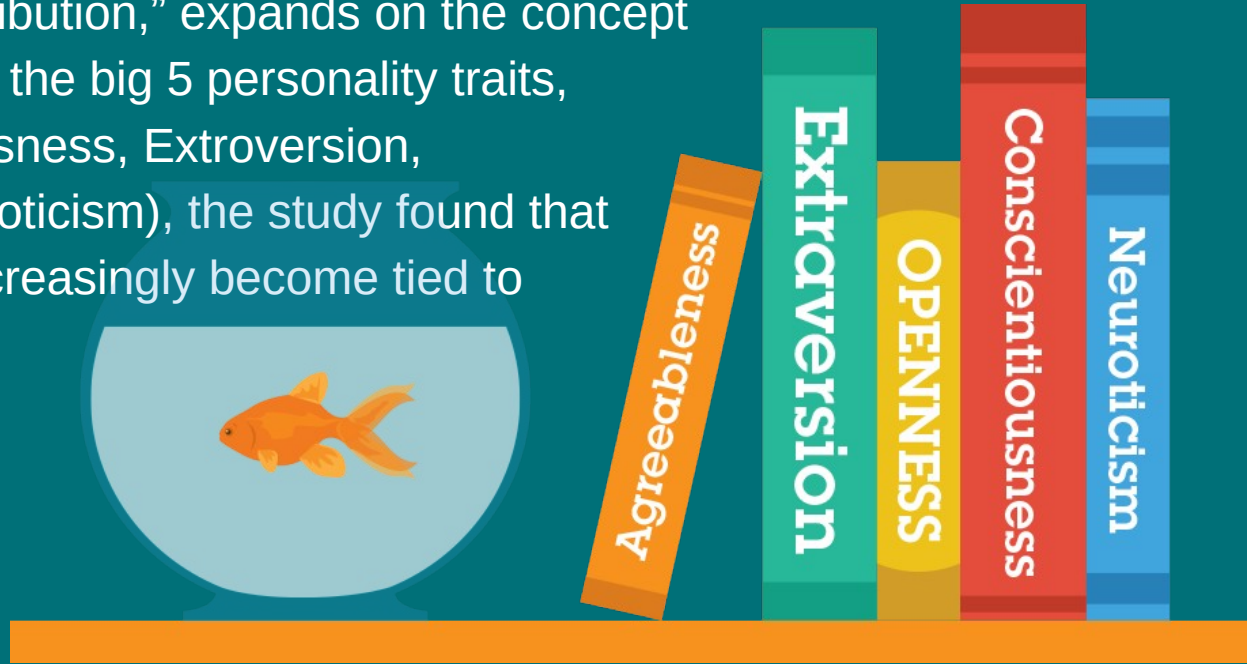
# Changing Narratives & their Political Consequences

Stenner identifies authoritarians as the type of conservatives that are most likely to base (and change) their opinions depending upon “...the experience or perception of threatening or reassuring conditions.” **This is profoundly important as it implies authoritarians can change with changing narratives.**



# Openness as an Indicator of Authoritarianism?

A study by Federico, Christopher Johnston, and Howard Lavine titled “Open versus Closed: Personality, Identity, and the Politics of Redistribution,” expands on the concept of authoritarianism. Using the big 5 personality traits, (Openness, Conscientiousness, Extroversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism), the study found that party allegiances have increasingly become tied to openness.



# Openness & Authoritarianism, continued...

Johnston summarized these findings by saying “...those low in openness value social cohesion, certainty, and security. Individual differences in openness seem to underpin many social and cultural disputes, including debates over the value of racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity, law and order, and traditional values and social norms.”

**Increase in breaking  
narratives, fear, and  
anger...**

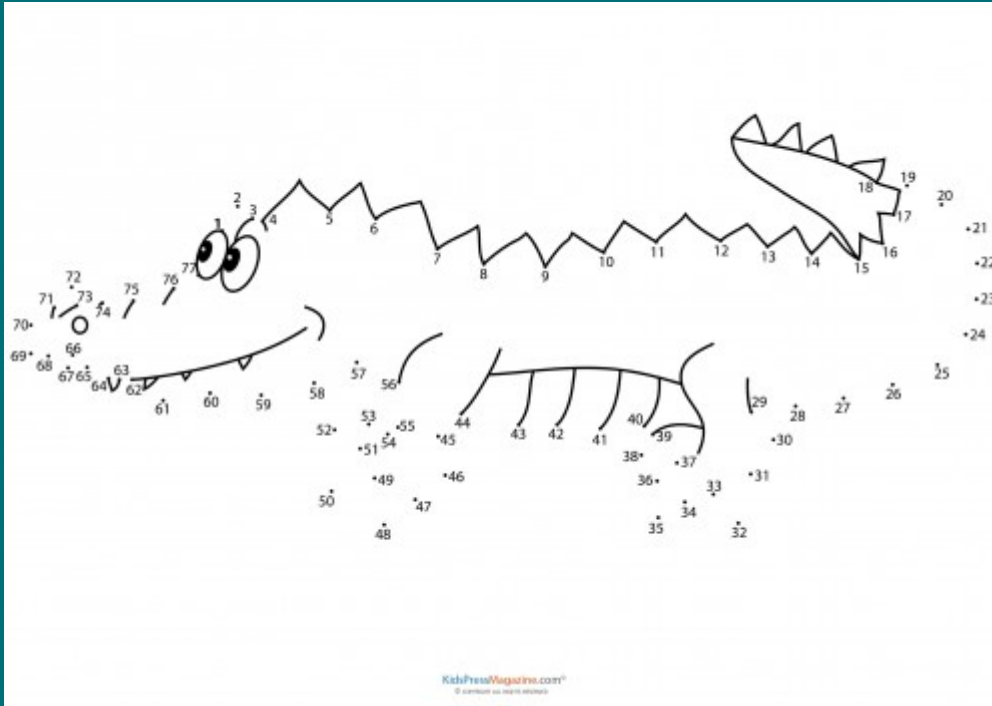
**Leads to**

**An increase in  
authoritarianism and a  
decrease in openness.**

# Moving Forward

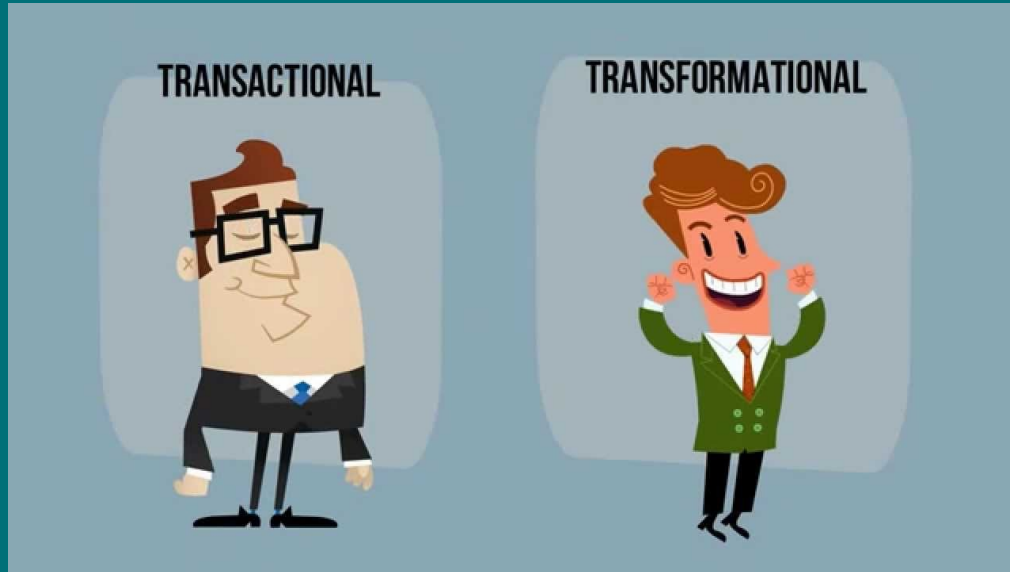
1. Do segment mapping
2. Engage in bridging practices, policies and stories
3. Develop a new story of belonging with a larger inclusive we
4. Engage in empathic listening
5. White and privilege might be redundant; What the alternative
6. Help folks negotiate change
7. Move toward belonging

# Connecting the Dots...



To connect the dots, together, these studies show that the less open-minded are more authoritarian and engage in othering by using more breaking narratives in their social, cultural, and political lives.

# Transformative vs. Transactional Change



Transactional change is reform within a given or extant structure or system, whereas transformative change is system level or structural change. To be effective, our collective work must be transformative, power-building, and must change the existing narrative.

# Examples of Transactional vs. Transformative Change

**Example 1:** Increasing the number of African-American officers on the Ferguson Police Department v. changing the training, practices, and local accountability/civilian oversight of the local police department, including curbing the use of traffic fees and fines to fund municipal services.

**Example 2:** A race-conscious admissions policy that increases the number of students who are members of historically disadvantaged or under-represented groups v. a 'democratic merit' (See Guinier) admissions policy that does not rely on SAT or other traditional 'merit' criteria.

**Example 3:** Increasing the number of members of a transit or health board from underserved communities v. redesigning the structure of the board to better serve those communities.

# Moving Forward: Power- Fragmented vs. Organized



# Moving Forward: Power and Coalition Building



Coalitions move us from a transactional level to a deeper level. A transformative paradigm offers broad opportunities for coalition building. Coalitions which bridge traditional institutional, class, geographic, racial, ethnic and denominational boundaries. Coalitions which recognize our shared fate.

# Power and Coalition Building, continued...



In general, successful and lasting multiethnic and multiracial coalitions require an engaged leadership and followers.



Leadership and coalition building will be vital to create the political momentum for change.



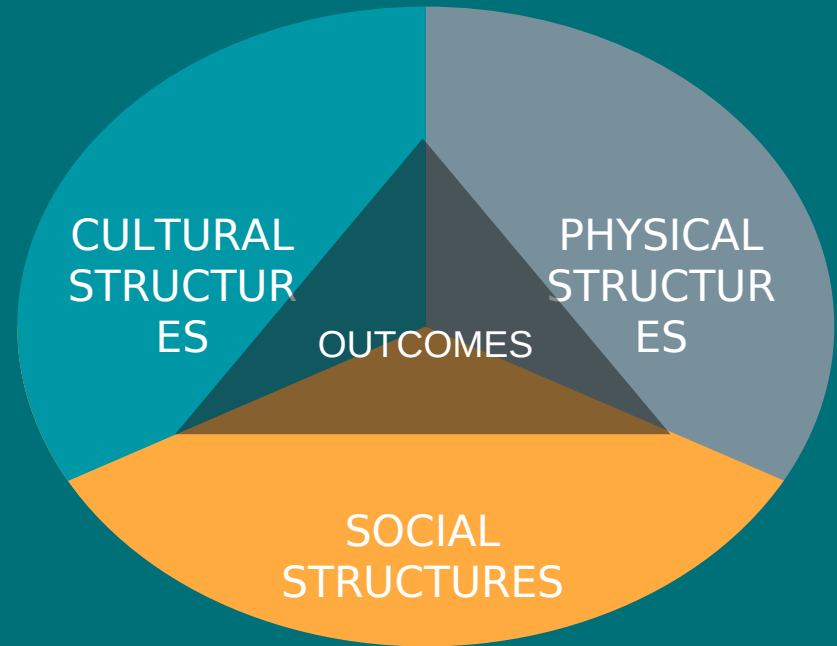
Regional actors must have an inclusive series of conversations that foregrounds equity.



Capacity to coordinate and move various initiatives forward must be developed.

# Moving Forward: Systems Thinking

- We are all situated within structures—cultural, physical, and social.
- These structures interact in ways that produce a differential in outcomes.
- Understanding structures as systems requires looking for patterns and relationships.
- Systems thinking also necessitates focusing on outcomes rather than intents or inputs.



# Moving Forward: Structural Inclusion



## SEPARATION

Stairs do not work for people in wheelchairs.



## PERMEABLE

Steps advantage some and disadvantage others.

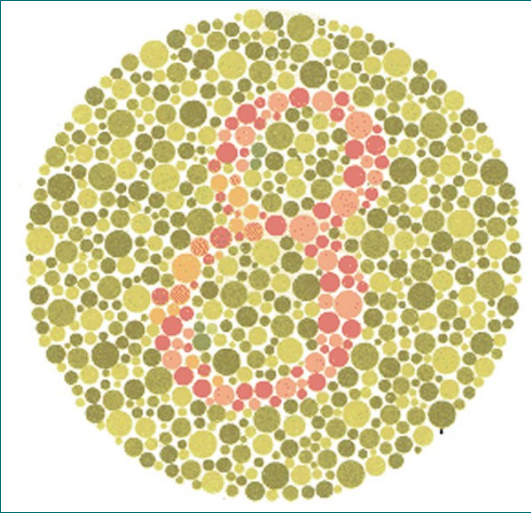


## CONNECTION

Acknowledging different groups' needs results in unexpected benefits for the whole community.

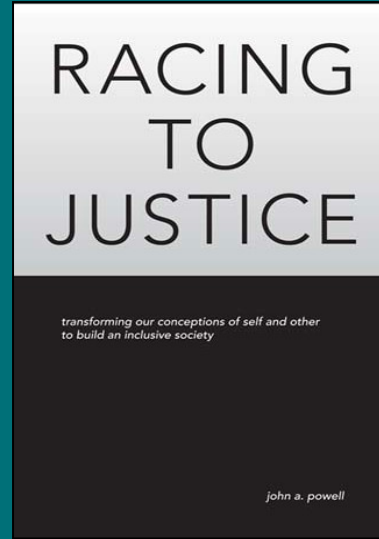
We need to create structures and policies that bridge instead of break.

# Under what conditions is bias more likely, continued...



Colorblind ideology: Suppression, dismissal, and avoidance do NOT reduce bias.

It only takes 100 milliseconds (one tenth of a second) for our brains to categorize someone by race, and about 150 milliseconds to categorize someone by gender.



<http://www.iupress.indiana.edu/catalog/806639>

Visit <http://newsocialcompact.org/> for more information!

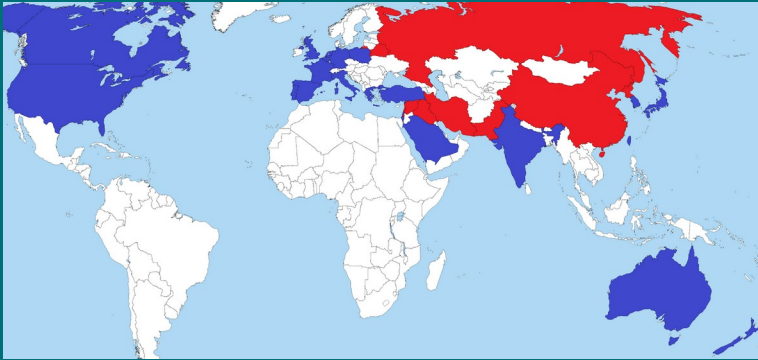
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# Appendix of extra slides

# Allies?

It's everyone's fight.



VS.



# Othering, continued...

Virtually every form of discrimination or group-based inequality across any social cleavage manifests a form of "othering." Although the axes of difference that undergird othering vary and are deeply contextual, they contain a similar set of underlying dynamics, discursive heuristics, and structurally reinforcing mechanisms.



# Moving Forward: The Role of Implicit Bias

The human brain processes 11 million bytes of information per second.

We attend to this information consciously and subconsciously.

The human brain is consciously aware of only 40 bytes of information per second, at best.

This is because only 2% of emotional cognition is available to us consciously.



See David Brooks, *The social Animal* (2011)

# How our brains make sense of the world



The subconscious makes sense of the millions of bytes of information we perceive by.....

- 1.Sorting into categories
- 2.Creating associations
- 3.Filling in the gaps where there is partial information

Together, these processes become habits.

# Racial Anxiety and Cognitive Depletion...



Racial anxiety is discomfort about the experience and potential consequences of interracial interaction. When people worry and overthink their actions, cognitive depletion sets in and their executive function becomes impaired.

# Transactional Leadership



Transactional Leadership: The approach emphasizes getting things done within the umbrella of the status quo; almost in opposition to the goals of the transformational leadership. It's considered to be a "by the book" approach in which the person works within the rules. As such, it's commonly seen in large, bureaucratic organizations.

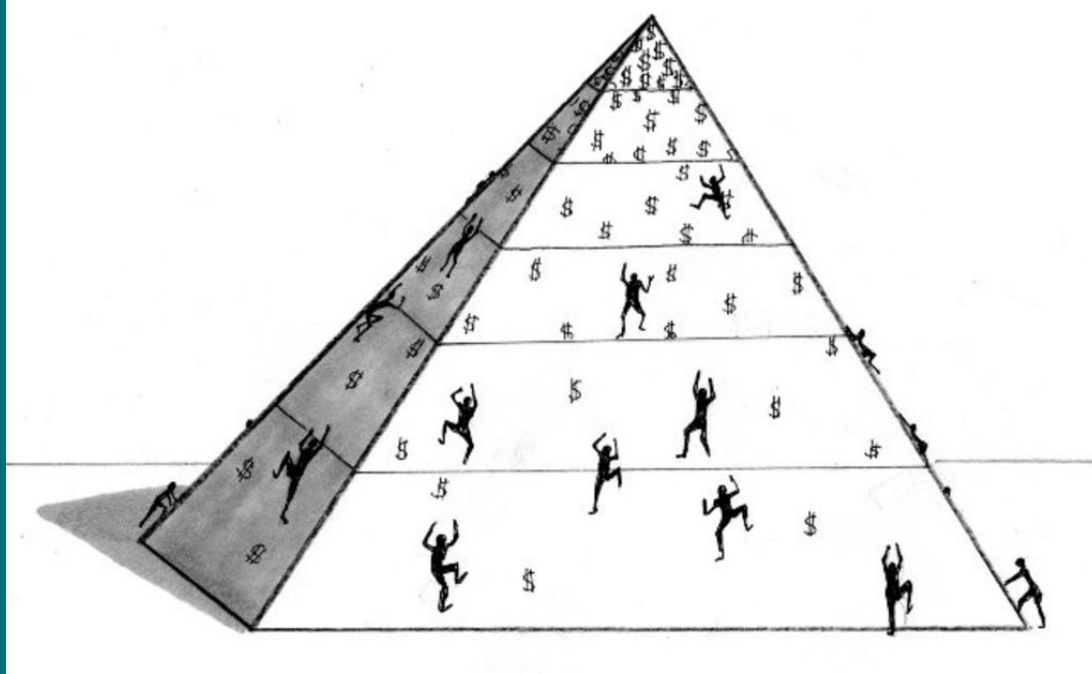
# Moving Forward: Transformational Leadership

Transformational leadership is about implementing new ideas; these individuals continually change themselves; they stay flexible and adaptable; and continually improve those around them.

Transformational leaders have been written about for thousands of years--being both praised (Christ and Buddha) and cursed (Attila the Hun and Genghis Khan).



# Structures and Systems: Vs. “Meritocracy”



Meritocracy assumes we are the product of our efforts alone. But, we are the product of much more...