

Pathways to Racial Healing and Equity in the American South

A Community Philanthropy Strategy

Equity ★ Fairness ★ Justice ★ Liberty

One America



The University of Arkansas Clinton School of Public Service is the first graduate program in the nation offering a Master of Public Service (MPS) degree. The program is designed to help students gain knowledge and experience in the areas of nonprofit, governmental, volunteer, or private sector service work and strengthen their commitment to the common good.

The Center on Community Philanthropy at the Clinton School has a vision to expand the knowledge, tools, and practice of community spawned and community driven philanthropy. The Center promotes community philanthropy as the giving of time, talent, and treasure that when invested in community results in positive change and long-lasting improvement.

The Center is unique in its mission to study philanthropic concepts and acts emerging from within communities. It is a place for learning about philanthropy in a way that becomes understood and practiced by a new wave of donors, foundation board and staff members, community leaders, and policy decision-makers.

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Pathways to Racial Healing and Equity in the American South: A Community Philanthropy Strategy was edited by Paula J. Kelly.



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Table of Contents

Page	Foreword
2	<i>Charlotte Lewellen-Williams</i>
Page	Introduction
3	<i>Susan A. Hoffpauir</i>
Page	Establishment of the University of Arkansas at Little Rock Institute on Race and Ethnicity: An Anchor Institution Takes on the Big One
4	<i>Joel E. Anderson</i>
Page	Racial Healing, Social Equity, and Immigrant Integration in the American South: Lessons from Community Organizing for Community Philanthropy
12	<i>Manuel Pastor</i>
Page	How Implicit Bias and Structural Racialization Can Move Us Toward Social and Personal Healing
32	<i>john a. powell</i>
Page	Confronting Racism, Past and Present, to Heal Ourselves and Heal the World
44	<i>Minnijeane Brown Trickey</i>
Page	Pathways to Promote Racial Healing and Equity in the American South: Opportunities for Community Philanthropy
48	<i>David R. Williams</i>
Page	Epilogue
60	<i>James L. “Skip” Rutherford III</i>



Foreword

The Clinton School Center on Community Philanthropy continues our commitment to diversity and equity, cornerstones of the University of Arkansas Clinton School of Public Service. Our program promotes community philanthropy as an approach to social change and we believe that racial healing and inclusion are among the most challenging and important social issues of our time.

In 2010, the Center on Community Philanthropy expanded our “Scholars in Residence” program and designed a new category of scholar to explore the intersection of racism, systems inequity, and community philanthropy. Each scholar joins the Center for a one-week residency at the Clinton School of Public Service. During that week, he or she writes an essay on community philanthropy, interacts with students and faculty, and, ultimately, presents his or her scholarship to a Clinton School audience. The goal of gathering these scholars is to use their collective knowledge to catalyze broader acceptance of community philanthropy as a means of healing racial divisions and improving the lives of vulnerable people everywhere.

We are excited to introduce this compendium from the 2010-2012 Race and Equity “Scholars in Residence” at the Center on Community Philanthropy at the University of Arkansas Clinton School of Public Service. Each scholar’s work presented in this compendium represents a unique view of community philanthropy as an approach to race reconciliation and social justice, addressing the topic *Pathways to Racial Healing and Equity in the American South: A Community Philanthropy Strategy*. The scholars’ papers illuminate the creative ways in which community philanthropy can be a conduit for remedies to encourage recognition and understanding and to promote racial healing among communities across the Delta region.

We are especially honored to present this body of work in recognition of the 15th anniversary of President William Jefferson Clinton’s speech at the University of California in San Diego that launched his national initiative on race, “One America in the 21st Century.” We believe this spotlight on race is an important part of his legacy that should endure as an area of focus at the Clinton School of Public Service.

We hope that these case studies and stories move you to create meaningful relationships and new connections across race, ethnicity, gender, and class within your communities. We encourage you to commit to working toward racial healing and equity for all people. This work is made possible through generous grants from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation and the Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation.

Charlotte Lewellen-Williams, DrPH MPH, Associate Professor of Public Health and Director, Center on Community Philanthropy, Clinton School of Public Service, University of Arkansas



Introduction

The mission of the University of Arkansas Clinton School of Public Service, in part, is to educate and prepare professionals in public service who work to ensure equity, challenge oppression, and effect positive social change. One way we realize our mission is through the work of the Center on Community Philanthropy.

Part of a growing number of university-based programs that study civic engagement as demonstrated by sharing and giving in a community context, the Center on Community Philanthropy is unique in its focus on philanthropic concepts and acts emerging from within communities themselves. The Center provides leadership in promoting issues and concepts related to community-based philanthropy as a powerful tool in social, economic, and political change; conducts research on and publishes about innovations in community philanthropy; and has a strategic approach to convening with the goal of creating better connections among philanthropists, nonprofits, for-profit organizations, and stakeholders across all community sectors.

This compendium, *Pathways to Racial Healing and Equity in the American South: A Community Philanthropy Strategy*, highlights the Center's ability to bring together a diverse group of scholars, experienced public servants, students, and members of the community to discuss difficult—and often contentious—issues related to race and equity. Each “Scholar in Residence” brings his or her unique lived experience to the continuing conversation about how to acknowledge the often violent history of race in the American South. Yet they also suggest myriad ways we can move forward toward healing with the help of community philanthropy. One common theme is the importance of recognizing that these painful issues affect all of us, as a community. Therefore, true solutions and progress can only come from pulling together as a community to have the hard conversations, and from working together to build mutual trust and respect.

The 2010-2012 scholars have approached *Pathways to Racial Healing and Equity in the American South: A Community Philanthropy Strategy* from varied perspectives. As you read this collection of their papers, I hope you'll be moved, challenged, and, ultimately, inspired to join this vital conversation.

Susan A. Hoffpauir, Associate Dean, University of Arkansas Clinton School of Public Service

Joel E. Anderson

Chancellor of the University of Arkansas at Little Rock



Joel E. Anderson, Ph.D., is Chancellor of the University of Arkansas at Little Rock (UALR). He was Scholar in Residence at the Center on Community Philanthropy at the University of Arkansas Clinton School of Public Service in December 2010. Under Dr. Anderson's leadership, UALR significantly expanded its engineering and nursing programs and established its Nanotechnology Center. Chancellor Anderson also launched the university's first comprehensive fund-raising campaign, "It's Time for UALR," that raised more than \$100 million in new campus resources. Dr. Anderson serves on the Executive Committee of the Little Rock Regional Chamber of Commerce, as well as on the Board of Directors of the Arkansas Research Alliance, the Arkansas Advanced Initiative for Math and Science, the Downtown Little Rock Partnership, and Fifty for the Future. He received a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Michigan and completed the Institute for Educational Management at Harvard University.

Establishment of the University of Arkansas at Little Rock Institute on Race and Ethnicity: An Anchor Institution Takes on the Big One

On November 12, 2010, the University of Arkansas Board of Trustees approved a proposal from the University of Arkansas at Little Rock to establish the University of Arkansas at Little Rock Institute on Race and Ethnicity. The Institute is a university initiative to take on and eliminate racial and ethnic prejudice and discrimination—which have constituted the biggest barrier to community and state progress ever since Arkansas achieved statehood in 1836. In terms of community and state challenges, race is the big one. The Institute represents a long-term commitment in response to this perennial, seemingly intractable, strategic issue.

Community Philanthropy – Anchor Institution

The Institute is an example of community philanthropy initiated by an anchor institution. The origin of the idea, the framing of the Institute's mission, the formulation of its goals, and the development of the Institute's program of work all reflect a consensus of campus and community judgments as to what needs to be done.

The University of Arkansas at Little Rock (UALR) is an anchor institution dating from 1927. Today, the university has 1,300 full-time employees and 600 part-time employees, with a physical plant investment of many millions of dollars. It is not going to go out of business, nor will it move out of state. Given the longevity of universities, the odds are high that UALR will be in operation here in Little Rock a century from now.

To understand the development of the Institute, one must understand that UALR is an engaged university, a university that has embraced its community—as evidenced by its inclusion in the elective Carnegie Classification of Engaged Universities. We see ourselves as partners with the community. Faculty and staff in academic departments, offices, and centers across campus have extensive interactions with the community. This engagement benefits the community and enriches our teaching and research.

Community leaders, both public and private, have told us through the years that they want the university to help solve major community problems. Examples of issues in which UALR has been engaged include education, transportation, drinking water, wastewater, community revitalization, economic development, the shortage of jail

space, the shortage of nurses, and the push to bring an engineering school to central Arkansas.

According to Dr. Charlotte Lewellen-Williams, Director of the Center on Community Philanthropy at the Clinton School of Public Service, community philanthropy is “the giving of time, talent, and treasure that when invested locally is characteristic of positive change and lasting development.”

UALR, because of its deep involvement with the metropolitan community, is constantly engaged in community philanthropy—the university invests time, talent, and treasure and works with the community to address significant issues. We do this because we know that if the community prospers, the university prospers; and if the community suffers, the university suffers. The university is not an island unto itself within the city.

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Planning the Institute

The planning process and the resulting design of the Institute reflect the values and assumptions of community philanthropy. A central piece of this story is the Chancellor’s Committee on Race and Ethnicity. This group first began meeting in September 2006 after I extended an open meeting invitation to faculty and staff who had an interest in issues of race—particularly the economics of race. The first meeting led to a second gathering, and the meetings became regular events. Since then, they have occurred most Monday afternoons during the fall and spring semesters. Participation has always been voluntary.

In the fall semester of 2010, there were 20 regulars in the group. Throughout, a core of 15 or 16 people has included faculty from history, law, social work, public administration, speech communication, mass communication, political science, teacher education, criminal justice, and sociology. The group includes the chancellor’s chief of staff, one dean, one associate vice chancellor, three department chairs, a research librarian, a survey researcher, a grant writer, a student union director, and a web services coordinator. As the semesters have come and gone, other faculty, staff, and students have been regulars at the table—for a semester or a year.

This group, remarkable in its breadth and depth, started with the economics of race and then moved on through a considerable variety of subjects and events, aided by shared readings, external guests, and videos. The group has been educational and inspiring for all concerned and has developed a strong esprit de corps. It had no official name until a year or so ago. Originally known informally as the “Monday afternoon group,” the key group in originating and planning the Institute now has become known as the Chancellor’s Committee on Race and Ethnicity.

After two years of very informative, frank, and constructive Monday afternoon conversations, the Chancellor’s Committee reached the conclusion that if UALR was going to mount a sustained effort that would have permanent impact, it needed to institutionalize its commitment to achieving racial and ethnic justice. An Institute on Race

and Ethnicity would be a powerful symbol of the university's commitment and serve as a place to build strength and focus resources in a center of excellence. It would also make it easier to connect with individuals and organizations in the community who also were addressing racial and ethnic prejudice and discrimination.

In the spring of 2009, all members of the Chancellor's Committee, working in biracial pairs, conducted face-to-face interviews of 20 individuals in the community, seeking their assessments of the community's progress regarding race and what steps should be taken.

Members of the Chancellor's Committee, in addition to researching the nature and work of a number of institutes and centers at universities across the nation, made visits to four sites:

- The William F. Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation at the University of Mississippi
- The Benjamin L. Hooks Institute for Social Change at the University of Memphis
- The Institute on Race & Poverty in the University of Minnesota Law School, and
- The Roy Wilkins Center for Human Relations and Social Justice in the University of Minnesota's Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs.

Two professional colleagues were invited as consultants to share their experience in leading similar institutes or centers: Dr. Richard T. Hughes, who heads the Ernest L. Boyer Center at Messiah College outside Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; and Dr. Catherine Meeks, who led initiatives at Mercer University and Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia.

The capstone planning activity was a two-day retreat at the Winthrop Rockefeller Institute on Petit Jean Mountain in July 2010. The retreat was remarkable in that of the 40 people—20 from the university and 20 community representatives—who accepted the invitation, 39 attended (and the 40th was prevented from doing so by a medical emergency)! This group specifically focused on the planning of the Institute on Race and Ethnicity and included representatives from businesses, government agencies, foundations, nonprofits, and the faith community. One of the most notable presences was former U.S. Secretary of Transportation Rodney Slater.

In short, the UALR Institute on Race and Ethnicity did not spring full-grown from the mind of Zeus. It came concretely from the deliberations of the Chancellor's Committee on Race and Ethnicity that started more than a year and a half before its formal establishment, with numerous community representatives participating along the way.

Mission Statement and Focus

The mission statement of the Institute, developed during several meetings of the Chancellor's Committee with the usual agony of principled debate and tortured group editing, emerged nicely as follows: "The mission of the Institute on Race and Ethnicity is to seek racial and ethnic justice in Arkansas by remembering and understanding the past, informing and engaging the present, and shaping and defining the future."

The mission statement reveals the focus of the Institute. It is limited to racial and ethnic justice in Arkansas. The primary racial and ethnic groups in Arkansas are white

(78.5 percent), African American (15.5 percent), and Latino/Hispanic (5.4 percent), plus all others combined (4.3 percent). [Note: The categories in the *American Community Survey* are not entirely discrete and, therefore, total more than 100.]

The population figures show that in order to have the greatest impact, the largest concentration of resources must be on prejudice and discrimination related to African Americans. Further, as Catherine Meeks has written, “We still have more work to do in regards to African Americans than any other group because of our history of slavery and the fallout from it.”

We are mindful that Little Rock was the location of one of the most notable events in the Civil Rights Movement—the desegregation of Little Rock Central High School in 1957. A half-century later, the Little Rock Nine have grandchildren and the Little Rock School District still struggles to provide quality educational opportunities to all students, more than two-thirds of them African American.

Until approximately two decades ago, there was no third racial or ethnic group in Arkansas of any notable size beyond white and African American. That has changed, however, with the rapid growth of the Latino-Hispanic population in the state. The Institute’s second focus will be on this new group, which faces discrimination and injustice on multiple fronts—made worse by the paralysis of the United States Congress in regard to national immigration policy.

We anticipate that from time to time faculty and students will want to address the interests of a smaller ethnic group within the state. The presence of UALR’s Sequoyah National Research Center assures that Native American issues also will receive attention. Such endeavors will be regarded enthusiastically by the Institute and will be supported, although the primary allocations of resources will go to issues and activities related to the two large minority groups noted above.

The mission statement also identifies the geographic area of activity as Arkansas. This is consistent with the fact that UALR is a state university supported by the taxpayers of Arkansas. Moreover, we are of the opinion that too broad a focus stretches resources and lessens impact. The Chancellor’s Committee also understands that the primary focus of energy in the early years should be close to home, with efforts to be undertaken elsewhere in the state as invitations are received and once sufficient capacity has been developed.

Five Key Premises

There were five key premises underlying the design of the Institute.

We start with a point of view. We start with the strong conviction that racial and ethnic prejudice and discrimination exist, that racial and ethnic justice has not been achieved. The moral issue is settled. Racism exists and is wrong, sinful, and evil; we are not indifferent to it. At the same time, we are quite open to different points of view regarding the sources and nature of these problems and what should be done about them.

The mission of the Institute on Race and Ethnicity is to seek racial and ethnic justice in Arkansas by remembering and understanding the past, informing and engaging the present, and shaping and defining the future.

We can achieve change. We make the optimistic assumption that undergirds every democratic system, that people—particularly people of goodwill—will be able to develop constructive responses to the problems they face with the benefit of good information and thoughtful discussion.

The problem we face is large, and the roots of the problem are broad and deep. Yet racial or ethnic prejudice is not a part of the human condition that must be accepted as a given. Babies are not born with racial or ethnic prejudice; they learn it. Nor are all societies characterized by prejudice. Therefore, we will mount a broad-based, long-term effort to eliminate this scourge.

The university should provide leadership. UALR is an anchor institution in our community that has the advantages of stability, longevity, and prestige in taking on racism. The university can serve as a convener and it is a safe place for discussion of sensitive subjects. It boasts marvelous human resources—faculty, staff, and students—with relevant expertise across many academic disciplines. We will invest our resources within the community.

The community is an essential partner. The community includes many people of goodwill and boasts formidable resources, including organizations—governmental, religious, nonprofit, business—that also are working to eliminate racial and ethnic prejudice and discrimination. We have witnessed the wisdom and experience they bring to the cause. We want them to keep doing what they are doing. We will partner with people and organizations in our community to strengthen their efforts as we strengthen our own.

Institute Goals

The planning process led to the conclusion that the challenge was formidable and a multi-faceted approach to eradicating racism was required if we wanted to speed progress to a better future. We identified six goals for the Institute on Race and Ethnicity.

Goal 1: To foster sustained awareness of the issues of race and ethnicity.

The first barrier to overcome is that many people do not believe there is a problem. Even among those who concede there might be a problem, no one wants to talk about it. A code of silence is at work in our community with regard to race and ethnicity, so the theme of the annual *Survey of Racial Attitudes* has been, “You have to face it to fix it.” Perhaps the most frequent negative reaction I have received to our annual surveys over the last seven years has been, “Why don’t you just leave it alone? Why re-open old wounds?” The reality, however, is that the wounds have never healed. The fact that all is not well needs to be broadly understood. Goal 1 will be accomplished through the annual *Survey of Racial Attitudes*, conferences, notable speakers, an online presence, and radio and television programming—including on the university TV channel and public radio station.

Goal 2: To provide research-based information and informed policy recommendations on issues of race and ethnicity.

You have to be able to see a problem clearly to solve it. To see a community problem clearly requires good information and data. Many people do not know what structural

racism is and are not interested in addressing it, because it is hard to paint a picture of structural racism with data showing its impact at the community level. We can speak in generalities or cite national data, but those can be easily dismissed. Instead, we need to be able to describe local problems and opportunities using sound and relevant data. When we cannot provide a clear picture and an informed path to improvement, we will only succeed in making people feel bad and defensive.

The University of Arkansas at Little Rock is also a Doctoral/Research University in Carnegie Classifications. As a research university, UALR can address an issue through highly-trained faculty with their research expertise, plus ambitious graduate and undergraduate students. This research capability and the opportunity for multi-disciplinary approaches to an issue is perhaps the unique asset of the university as compared with other stakeholders. The Institute's staff will include a number of full-time researchers who will provide leadership and coordinate its research function. Faculty across campus will be able to become affiliated with the Institute as Faculty Associates, greatly expanding the available expertise. Dozens of faculty are expected to do so.

We also envision a role for the Institute in developing a repository for civil rights research in Arkansas. In Goal 2, UALR will bring to bear the full breadth of research and applied solutions that a comprehensive university can offer regarding racial and ethnic justice.

Goal 3: To build bridges and seek reconciliation through dialogue among people of different racial and ethnic groups.

Conversations about discrimination and injustice, particularly across racial and ethnic lines, are not easy. Yet people understand each other better—what they have in common and what they do not—if they can sit around a table and talk face to face. We will take lessons from the William F. Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation at the University of Mississippi. The Winter Institute has an outstanding record in promoting dialogue and encouraging reconciliation in a number of Mississippi communities where horrible civil rights crimes occurred during the 20th century.

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There is an additional reason for the Institute to stimulate dialogue. I have found through my own previous experiences in working with the community to address community problems that the people who are in the trenches often have the answers, if you listen closely. Sometimes these individuals do not realize what significant insights they have offered or how helpfully they have framed puzzling problems.

Goal 4: To provide formal study opportunities for students to learn about race and ethnicity through courses, related projects, and independent scholarship.

To provide study opportunities for undergraduates, a subcommittee of the Chancellor's Committee is developing a minor in Race and Ethnicity—18 to 21 credit hours that students can couple with a major in any other academic discipline.

The future lies with young people, and student involvement is a priority of the Institute. Research projects, programs, meetings, and special events organized by the Institute will give UALR and Clinton School students remarkable learning opportunities. Oral history projects, archival work, and identification of civil rights markers in Arkansas are examples of opportunities in just one discipline—history—that have been noted by the Chancellor’s Committee on Race and Ethnicity. Students will also initiate valuable projects of their own.

Goal 5: To serve as an information clearinghouse for campus, community, and statewide initiatives and activities related to race and ethnicity.

A significant amount of activity is occurring in Arkansas related to issues of racial and ethnic justice. As a service to stakeholders in the community and around the state who are addressing problems of race and ethnicity, the Institute will provide a statewide online repository of information on initiatives and programs being conducted by civic groups, nonprofits, colleges and universities, and others. By sharing data and information, including a calendar of events, UALR will strengthen relationships among those working toward racial and ethnic justice in Arkansas.

Goal 6: To hold the University of Arkansas at Little Rock accountable for becoming a diverse, multi-ethnic community characterized by an absence of institutional racism.

Members of the Chancellor’s Committee strongly believe that UALR should have its own house in order. The Institute will review, recommend, and support the actions UALR takes to lead by example in creating a diverse community. This will include attending to existing policies and practices, monitoring faculty and student recruitment and retention, and surveying employees and students regarding their experiences in the campus community.

Concluding Reflections

Three things distinguish the University of Arkansas at Little Rock Institute on Race and Ethnicity. First, the Institute has been developed and hatched by a remarkable campus group, the Chancellor’s Committee on Race and Ethnicity. Therefore, the initiative is integrated into the academic fabric of the university to a degree we have not seen elsewhere.

Second, the planning group has recognized and accepted that the problem of racial and ethnic injustice is a community problem that requires a community solution—not a university solution. Involvement of the community in the planning has been sought and received and has been comfortable to all stakeholders.

Third, the Institute embodies a broad-based response to the challenge we face as a community and state. It can be called a comprehensive model that takes into account the nature of the challenge. It represents an intention to push hard across a wide front. Although small solutions can mitigate circumstances, they cannot solve big problems. Racial and ethnic prejudice and discrimination constitute big problems and must be matched with big solutions.

Given the challenge, as we pursue these six goals we must develop a fresh agenda on race and ethnicity. To solve an ingrained community problem with deep roots, we must bring the whole community along. We must endeavor to develop an agenda that can be embraced by persons across the whole political spectrum.

The university understands its own relevant assets as an anchor institution and, in the spirit of community philanthropy, is going to invest its time, talent, and treasure in this long-term community effort. We do not claim to have all the answers in advance. The Institute on Race and Ethnicity being put in place at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock will always be a work in progress. While we anticipate that we will learn lessons and adjust course as we go along, we have done much planning. Our overarching goal is a better community for everyone, regardless of race and ethnicity. We are convinced we can achieve that goal sooner, rather than later.

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Manuel Pastor

Professor of Sociology and American Studies & Ethnicity, Director, Program for Environmental and Regional Equity, and Director, Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration, University of Southern California



Manuel Pastor holds a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst and his research has generally focused on issues of the economic, environmental, and social conditions facing low-income urban communities—and the social movements seeking to change those realities. His most recent book, *Just Growth: Inclusion and Prosperity in America's Metropolitan Regions*, co-authored with Chris Benner, argues that growth and equity can and should be linked, offering a new path for a U.S. economy seeking to recover from economic crisis and distributional distress. Previous volumes include: *Uncommon Common Ground: Race and America's Future*, with Angela Glover Blackwell and Stewart Kwoh; *This Could Be the Start of Something Big: How Social Movements for Regional Equity are Transforming Metropolitan America*, with Chris Benner and Martha Matsuoka; *Staircases or Treadmills: Labor Market Intermediaries and Economic Opportunity in a Changing Economy*, with Chris Benner and Laura Leete; and *Regions That Work: How Cities and Suburbs Can Grow Together*, with Peter Dreier, Eugene Grigsby, and Marta Lopez-Garza. Dr. Pastor speaks and writes frequently on demographic change, economic inequality, and community empowerment. In January 2002, the California Center for Regional Leadership named him Civic Entrepreneur of the Year and in 2012, the Liberty Hill Foundation in Los Angeles named him the Wally Marks Changemaker of the Year, in recognition of his many research partnerships with social justice organizations.

Racial Healing, Social Equity, and Immigrant Integration in the American South: Lessons from Community Organizing for Community Philanthropy

Introduction

Those of us from California like to think we are the future of the nation—after all, we host some of the nation's most dynamic high-tech industries, we have led the country in terms of environmental protection, and we export pop culture trends (for better and for worse) to America and the world.

We've also seen ourselves (and been seen) as a harbinger of the future in another fundamental way: the demographic shifts in California between 1980 and 2000 are roughly the demographic shifts the United States will experience between 2000 and 2050. In many ways, our experience foreshadows the American experience in the years to come (again, for better or for worse). We can learn a great deal from our adjustments and accommodations during that period—an era fraught with fights over immigration, Affirmative Action, and other “hot” racial issues. Yet there is also something different about every area in the country and the way in which residents there will experience, interpret, and reshape the nation's shifting demography and self-conception.

The South is one such special place. It is partly because with some exceptions (Florida and Texas) the new demographics of the country—the rapid growth of Latinos and Asian Pacific Islanders, driven historically by immigration and now by U.S.-born ethnic groups—have come a bit late to most of this region. But it is also because the new racial complexity introduced by diverse groups and the challenge of integrating immigrants

Acknowledgments: Thanks to Vanessa Carter, Jared Sanchez, Mirabai Auer, and Janeane Anderson for their long-distance support with the data, case studies, and writing of this paper. Thanks also to the leadership and staff of the Center for Community Philanthropy for their hospitality during my visit; y'all lived up to that Southern reputation for warmth, concern, and good humor.

is occurring on the basis of an extraordinarily riven history of race relations defined largely by a black-white paradigm, including the legacy of slavery, Jim Crow, and political polarization by race.

How does a rising immigrant presence play out in the context of these more traditional racial fault lines? What does “racial healing” mean when a new group has a limited sense of the regional past while established residents have a low degree of familiarity with the new populations, not to mention an uneven—and often fractious—history of racial accommodation? What are best practices that can facilitate immigrant integration and a healthier and more inclusive South? And what role can philanthropy, particularly community philanthropy, play in this process?

It’s a long set of questions for a short number of pages, but I will try to do justice to the topic with a paper split into three parts. The first section covers the changing demographics of the South, trying to show distinctions among various states, but also some commonalities that cut across the region. The second section lifts up best practices in one aspect of immigrant integration—the sort of race relations work that helps to build a more welcoming reception, build specific transformative ties between African Americans and immigrants (important because of underlying economic tensions between the groups), and encourage civic engagement on the part of immigrants themselves. The last section offers implications for philanthropy in a top ten list that hopefully can prove more useful than the usual sprawling list of recommendations.

A few caveats, though. First, I do not presume that immigrant integration is the central issue with regard to racial healing in the South. A place so wounded by the scars of separation and subordination has a great deal else to talk about and a significant amount of damage to undo. The focus on immigrants is simply because this is a newer phenomenon in this area—and because progress on immigrant integration may help to facilitate progress on other issues of race relations, partly by creating a new set of allies for those pursuing a broad social justice agenda.

Second, I do not think of racial inclusion or “racial healing” as primarily an issue of better and more heart-felt conversations. Certainly, that is a part of it and creating the “safe places” to talk through differences is part of the way forward for communities and the nation. Racial healing must tackle not just attitudes and prejudices, but also the structural racism that makes it difficult for certain groups, particularly African Americans, to get ahead in our society. Similarly, learning to welcome the newcomer with an open heart and an open mind is a positive first step—but that needs to be matched by programs that help immigrants learn English, get driver’s licenses, enroll their kids in public schools, participate in civic decision-making processes, and secure a firmer place in the American economic and social fabric.

What does “racial healing” mean when a new group has a limited sense of the regional past while established residents have a low degree of familiarity with the new populations, not to mention an uneven—and often fractious—history of racial accommodation? What are best practices that can facilitate immigrant integration and a healthier and more inclusive South? And what role can philanthropy, particularly community philanthropy, play in this process?

Third, a rose may be a rose may be a rose, but the South is a thousand melodramas being played to different musical scores, against varied social backdrops, and in the context of specific histories of racial relations. I know that—and not only respect this unique territory but also understand that outsiders, no matter how much we may usefully add to the debate, will never capture all the nuances of what is needed (particularly in such a short paper). Yet, something may be gained by some broad-stroke analysis and outsider perspectives, and this paper is offered humbly in the hopes that it may further the goal of racial healing and immigrant integration in one of America’s most critical regions.

The Changing Demography of the South

The major driving force in demographic change in the United States in the last several decades has been the growth of immigrants and their children. While the share of African Americans in the U.S. populace has remained roughly constant between 1970 and today (and is projected to remain constant in the years to come), the share of Latinos and Asians has been on a dramatic upswing (see Figure 1). Until recently, this has been driven largely by new immigration, although the flow is now tapering off. Future demographics, however, will be driven by the children and grandchildren of this immigrant wave.

Immigrants have been part of the change and the traditional thinking has been that the influx of new migrants has been to a very particular and limited set of locations. Indeed, immigrants have been part of the makeup of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and other major “gateway” cities for centuries. However, over the past two decades, immigrants have been dispersing into new places within our metropolitan landscapes, as well as to new states in the nation.

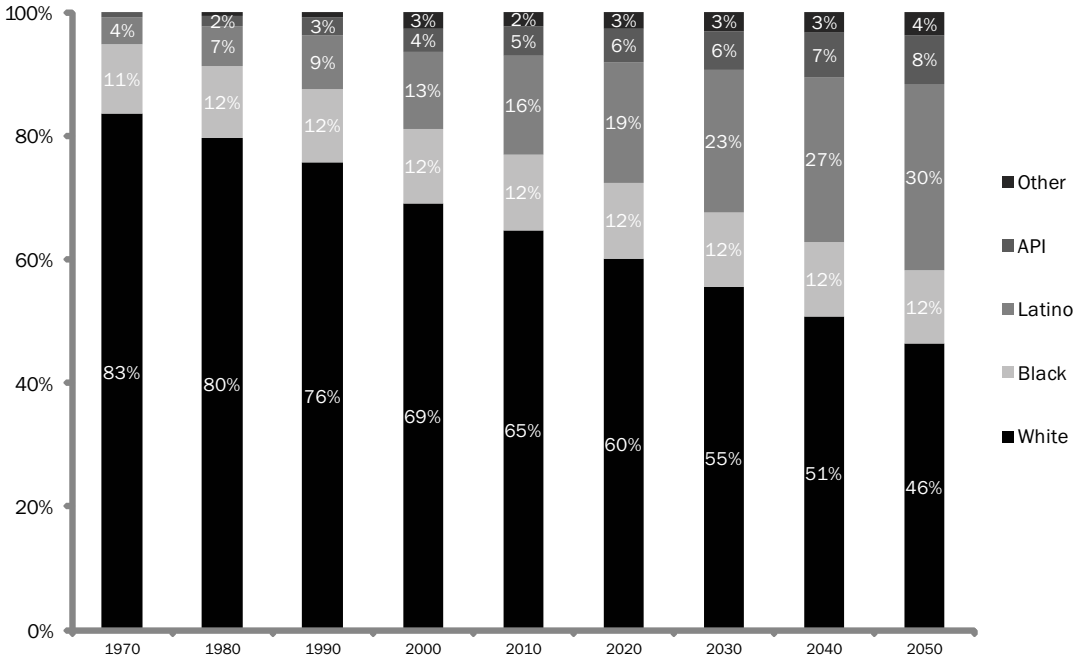


Figure 1. Changing Demography of the United States, 1970-2050

Within metro areas, a surprising development has been the transformation of the suburbs: rather than arriving in the central city and eventually migrating to suburbs as economic success occurs—a process called “spatial assimilation” (Massey & Denton, 1985)—many immigrants are leapfrogging directly to suburbs. The second set of new places includes new states altogether (Singer, 2004; Zúñiga and Hernández-León, 2006)—and one of the key new locales has been the South, particularly the so-called “Deep South.”

Of course, to examine the demographic changes in the South, it is important to first define what we mean by the South—and just how deep it might be. This is tricky territory: it is likely that more serious bar fights than academic fights have been waged about the definition, or at least about which place is more Southern than another place. We could avoid the conflict (wouldn't that be nice?) by simply ceding to authority and adopting the definition the Census uses for the South: the South Atlantic states of Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, and Delaware, the East South Central states of Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Tennessee, and the West South Central States of Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

But really? Delaware? A place we associate more with Joe Biden's Amtrak rides to Washington than with a history of King Cotton and frayed race relations? And if we are trying to understand immigrant integration, is it really right to lump together Florida and Texas—both of which have long-standing experience with immigrant communities—with places like Alabama and Georgia, where this is a very new phenomenon?

No definition is likely to please everyone, but for the purposes of this paper, we build on a definition of the South offered in the key paper *Social Justice Organizing in the U.S. South*, produced by the Institute for Southern Studies in Durham, North Carolina (2009). Its definition was created with an eye to where in the South racial conflicts and economic inequalities are sharpest and, hence, where the challenges and needs are greatest. The states included were Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and both Carolinas. In this paper, we add to that definition Arkansas (heck, I'm writing this for the Clinton School!) and Tennessee—partly for geographic continuity, partly because it was also a Confederate state. Indeed, this set of states, along with the more immigrant-rich areas of Florida and Texas (which we compare them to below), represent all but one (Virginia) of the states that comprised the Confederacy. I will call the larger grouping, including Florida and Texas, the South (sorry, Virginia), and the smaller grouping the “rest of the South.”

So what is the picture of demographic change in the South overall (as I have defined it)? Figures 2 to 5 show the demographic change, both from 1980 to 2010 and then projected forward to 2040 for the South as a whole, then the “rest of the South” (excluding Texas and Florida). The figures make clear that the South as a whole will actually become majority-minority by 2030—but this shift will be driven by big changes in Texas and Florida, with Texas already having a majority of people of color and Florida likely to get there in about ten years.

This suggests that there are really two Souths. The bookends of Texas and Florida have already experienced significant demographic transitions, and the rest of the South is poised for a slower, but nonetheless important, transition as immigrants and their

children settle in and make their lives. Putting aside Texas and Florida, in the 1980s the states in the rest of the South started with one or two percent shares of Latinos and then grew dramatically by 2010: Georgia to 9 percent, North Carolina to 8 percent, Arkansas to 6 percent, and South Carolina to 5 percent, Alabama and Louisiana to 4 percent, and Mississippi to 2 percent (from 1 percent). Most of these places also have about 1 or 2 percent of the population of Asian descent—Louisiana has 2 percent, partly because of a Vietnamese presence that we discuss below in the case studies.

Driving that change has been immigration. We show below maps for 1980 and the latter years of the first decade of this century for the percent immigrant-by-census tract in the “rest of the South.”¹ As can be seen, there was a dramatic geographic spread of the foreign-born population throughout the South during this period.

The recency of this change can also be seen in the recency of arrival of immigrants themselves. Figure 6 looks at the decades of arrival for immigrants in Texas, Florida, and the “rest of the South.” In Florida and Texas in 2010, nearly two-thirds of the immigrants had been in the country for more than a decade; only slightly more than half had been

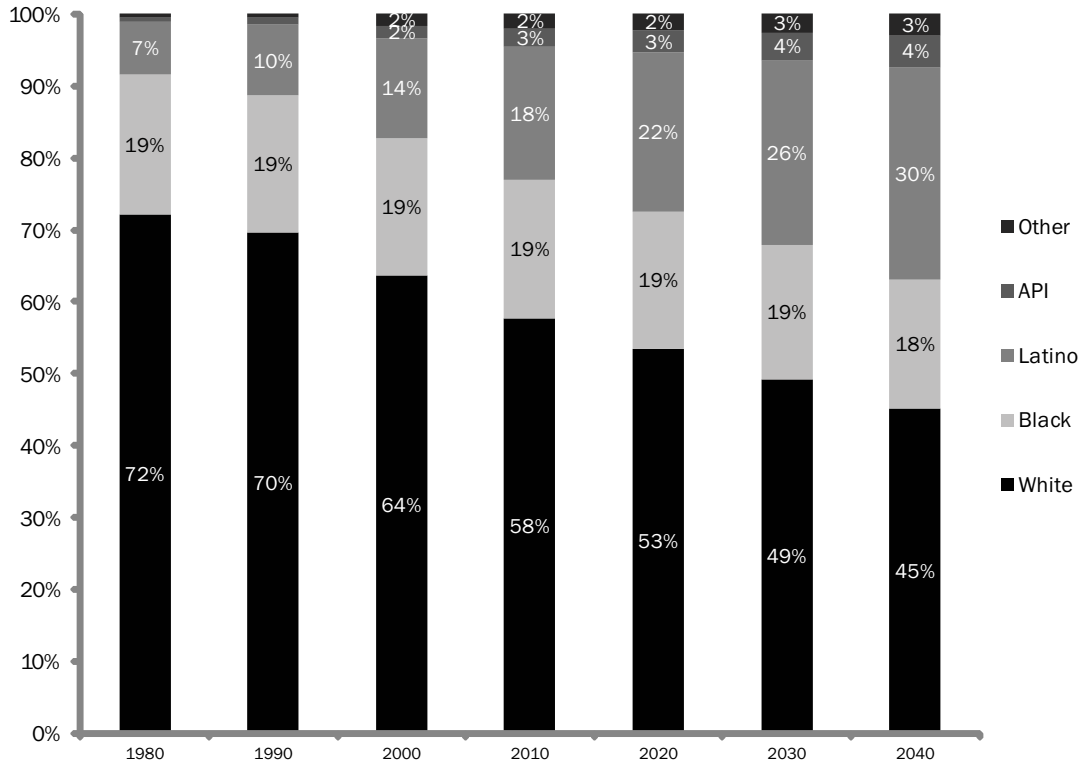


Figure 2. Changing Demographics of the South (including Florida and Texas), 1980-2040

¹We are constrained to the time period of 2005 to 2009 because the nativity data was not collected in the short form distributed to all residents in the 2010 Census. Data on percent immigration comes from the *American Community Survey*; 2005 to 2009 was the first five year “roll-up” in which answers to the long form questionnaire, which includes nativity questions, was first generated for the census tract level.

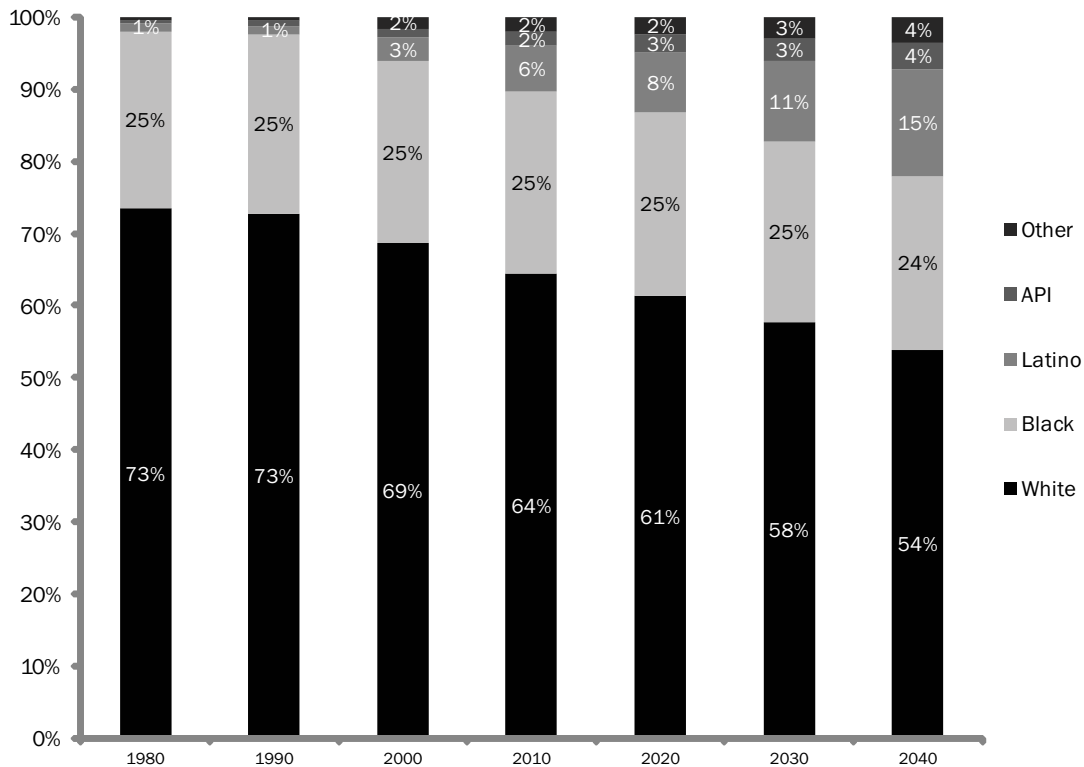


Figure 3. Changing Demographics of the Rest of the South (excluding Texas and Florida), 1980-2040

there for that long in the rest of the South. These, in short, are new populations, rapidly growing and likely to be associated with the sort of social disruptions that occur when change occurs.

Another aspect of change is the source of immigrants to the South. What’s particularly remarkable about the Deep South (including Arkansas and Tennessee) is the way Mexican immigration exploded from practically nowhere, as evidenced in Figure 7. Note Arkansas, where the share of immigrants has remained under 10 percent, but that population has become markedly Mexican. While the graph below only reports on Mexican origin immigrants, other Central American (i.e., Honduran and El Salvadorian) and Asian (i.e., Indian and Vietnamese) immigrants also make up important, but smaller, shares. The pattern in Louisiana was a bit different; up until 2010, Vietnamese immigrants made up the largest share of newcomers.²

What this means is that there is not only a recency of immigration—something that can cause disruptions—there is also a particular racialization of immigration (Pastor

²One factor contributing to the rise of Mexican and Honduran immigrants to Louisiana (17 percent and 14 percent of all immigrants in 2010, respectively) was the jobs generated by Hurricane Katrina cleanup. The New Orleans Workers Center for Racial Justice (profiled below) is working to secure protections for these workers and those of all backgrounds in post-Katrina New Orleans.



Figure 4. Percent Immigrant by Census Tract in the Rest of the South in 1980

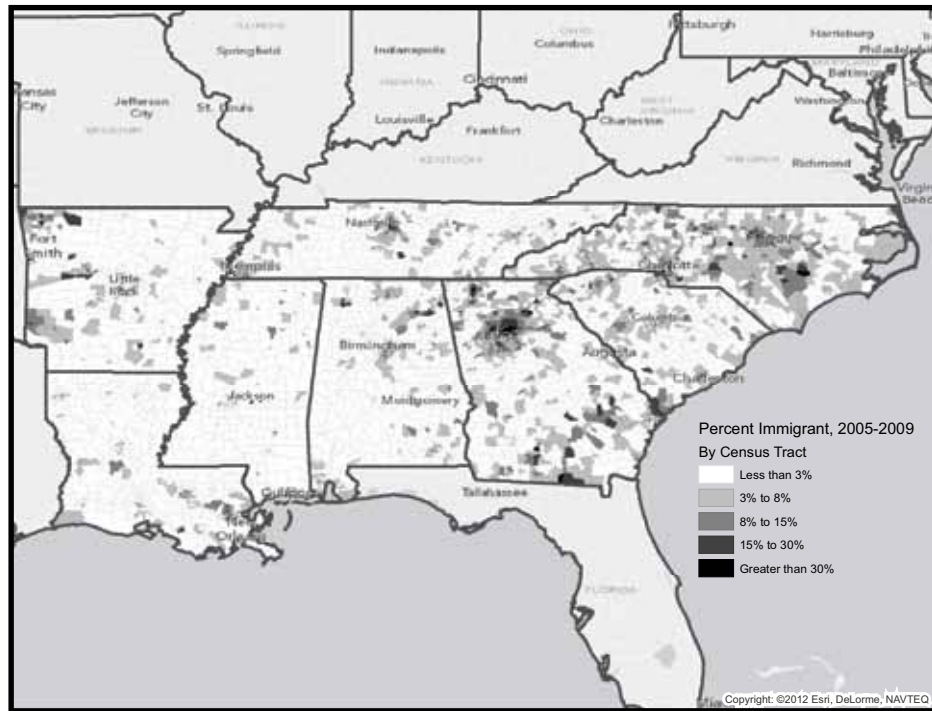
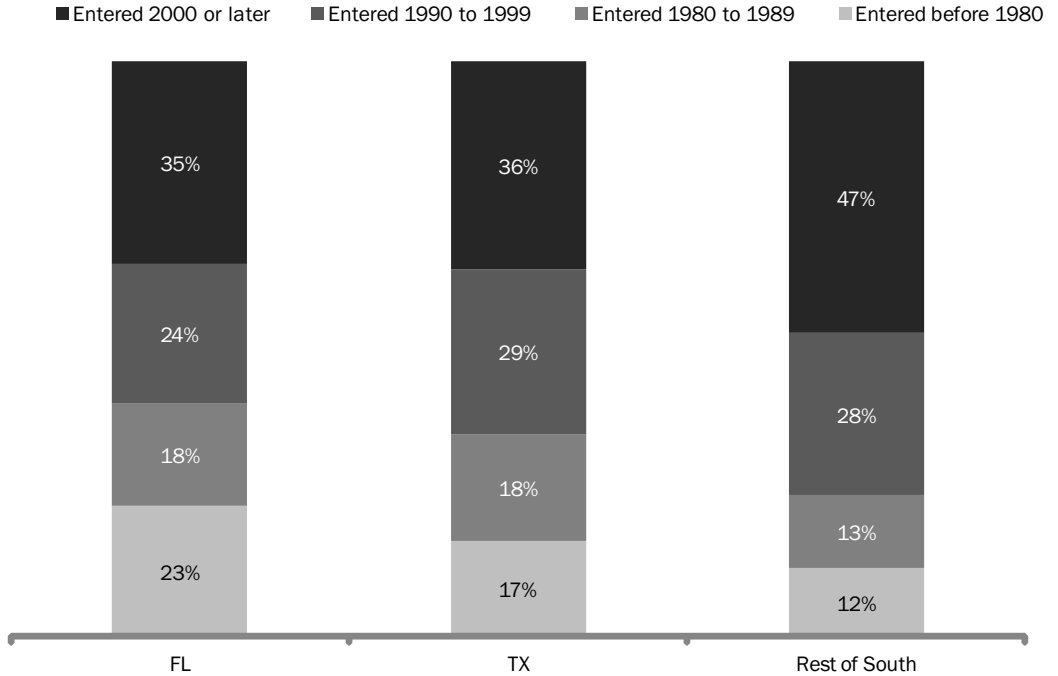


Figure 5. Percent Immigrant by Census Tract in the Rest of the South, 2005-2009

and Mollenkopf, 2012). In many of our Southern states, German, Canadian, and English immigrants were the largest shares of (long-term) immigrants before Mexicans rose in prominence. Because of the predominance of the Mexican (and other Latin American) population, immigration in the current period has become associated with newcomers of a very specific type and stereotype. One articulation of this stereotype, the “Peter Pan fallacy,” is that all the newcomers are young (and never age), something that prevents older residents from seeing both the complexity of family relations and the fact that the future of the economy and society may be reliant on exactly how much those new immigrants and their children are able to achieve (Myers, 2008).

Another thing that matters about this Mexican-based stereotype is its effect on other typically disinvested groups—particularly African Americans, a population heavily concentrated in the South. Indeed, the share of blacks in the population of what we are calling the “rest of the South” is about twice the share of the country as a whole. The South is one of the few areas of the country where in the last few decades there has been consistent growth in the black population, as some have drifted back to where they (or usually their parents) were born. What does it mean for the presence of immigrants to be growing in this context?

It can mean tension in a way that requires a kind of racial healing—black and brown—that has not been part of the lexicon of the South. After all, some have argued that immigrants (in this case, implicitly synonymous with Latinos) are essentially taking jobs that would otherwise go to African Americans. Nationally, this is not an argument that holds much water. Most fine-grained studies find that immigrants have both



Source/Notes: Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE) analysis of data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS). The definition of the “rest of the South” includes the following states: Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana.

Figure 6. Recency of Arrival for the Foreign-Born in Florida, Texas, and the Rest of the South, 2010

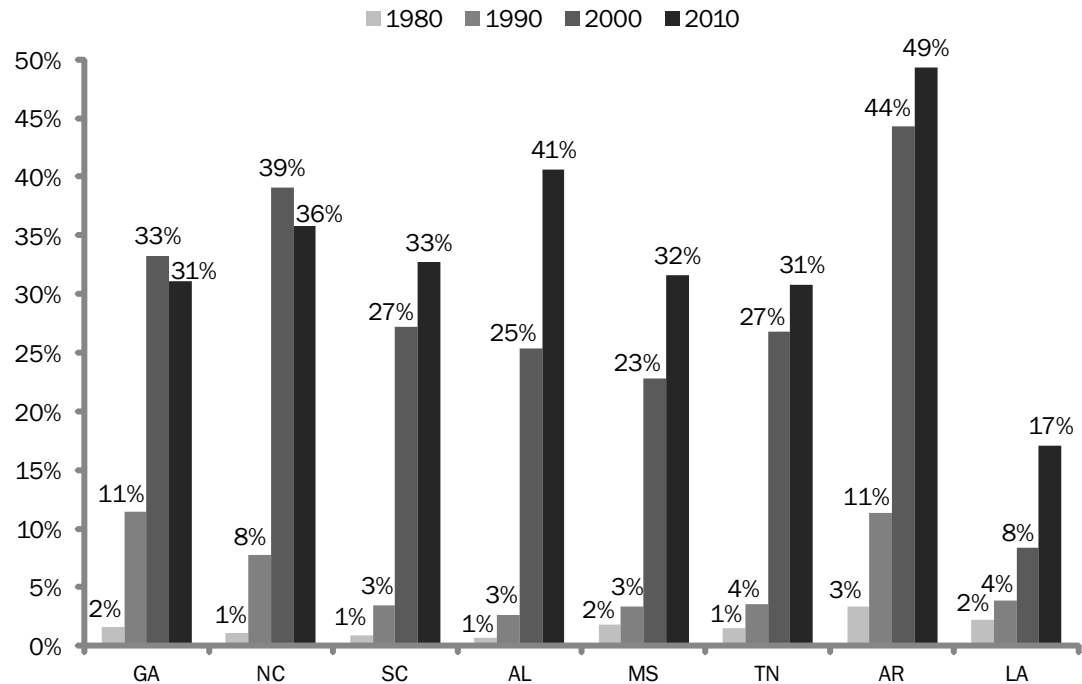


Figure 7. Share of the Immigrant Population from Mexico by State in the South, 1980-2010

complementary effects (augmenting the workforce and expanding the economy) and substitution effects (displacing particular individuals along the way)—and economists across the ideological spectrum agree that the complementary effects swamp the substitution effects. While there are generally net gains, the negative impacts of immigrants via direct competition are actually most strongly felt by U.S.-born Latinos in similar occupations and industries (Catanzarite, 2004).

In a study on California, a place where immigration has deep roots, my colleagues and I found that immigrants only have a noticeable impact on African Americans at the very bottom of the skill ladder, particularly with regard to certain types of occupational displacement. We also found that there were potential and real gains from the ways in which immigrants, particularly undocumented immigrants, help to expand regional labor markets, including for African Americans (Pastor, De Lara, and Scoggins 2011). In that same study, as in others, the main losers (when there were some) were immigrant Latino workers.

But one thing is very important to note: in California, new immigrants and existing immigrants, particularly Latinos, share the bottom of the labor market with African Americans and bear the closest resemblance to each other in terms of labor (and hence are most subject to the substitution effect). And in the national studies, the loss of employment in one location may be more than offset by a gain in another location—but that does little to take the edge off the feelings of those who were displaced. In a place where immigration is new, the competition effect is likely to be felt more strongly by existing residents, and this explains some of the black-immigrant economic tensions in the South.

Such tensions are exacerbated by the tendency of some employers to discriminate against African Americans, as well as by the social networks Latino immigrants employ to seek jobs. Such social networks actually help lower search costs for workers and companies alike: workers can rely on their families and friends rather than classified ads, while employers know that employees making recommendations for hires are likely to make good recommendations, lest they erode their own reputations. This social network effect can be entirely benign in its intent *and* exclusionary in its practice, resulting in a situation where workplaces shift over from one ethnicity to another.

While the economics are complex, the issues of political displacement are a little more straightforward. African Americans in California fought hard and long for positions of political leadership and have been concerned by the growing political clout of the Latino population. However, partly because so many immigrant Latinos are not citizens and may not even be authorized, much of their political influence depends on the ability to form coalitions. So while there are specific locations of political conflict, particularly in small jurisdictions like Compton, California (Vaca, 2004), there is also a sense that building a broader political base could benefit both blacks and Latinos (Meier, et al., 2004; Mindiola, Jr., Niemann, and Rodriguez, 2003; Pastor, De Lara, and Scoggins, 2011).

The Southern dynamic has similar possibilities, partly because careful cultivation of immigrant allies at this early stage of the game could win steady friends over the longer haul of Southern demographic change. Whether this longer-term view of positive political benefits will win over a shorter-term view of problematic economic costs will determine the shape of new alliances for inclusion. Further, whether white Southerners simply transfer racial animus to a new group (as unfortunately seems to be the case in certain states) or use this change as an opportunity to more fully address the broader issues of racial healing is also still unknown.

What we do know is that some groups in the South have been taking a lead for a whole new approach—one which seeks to improve the warmth of welcome and build ties between communities face-to-face, race-to-race, and place-to-place. It's an approach that recognizes that concerns about educational and employment opportunities can be put together in an agenda for "everyday social justice" that brings people together, instead of drives them apart (Pastor, De Lara, and Scoggins, 2011). It's hard, slow, and usually uncelebrated work, but it sows the seeds of a new growth around equity and healing.

Getting it Right

Across the country, organizations are working to incorporate immigrants into the fabric of America and to promote what we call "immigrant integration," by encouraging economic mobility for, civic participation by, and receiving society openness to immigrants. The reasons for doing this work are many: doing so upholds our values for openness and inclusion, immigrants contribute to our economy so their strength is our strength, and civic engagement that involves the voice of many—and not just the few—is the very stuff of democracy. Also, as noted above, some groups believe that inclusion of immigrants now can be part of a broader and more inclusive effort for social justice.

The most important of these efforts are those "on the ground"—that is, in the community. We often find effective coalitions at an elite level: despite their own

self-interests, political figures from different ethnic groups may recognize their common interests. In addition, professionals networking in the polite (and somewhat sanitized) worlds of the university, philanthropy, and traditional civic institutions may find it easier to follow Rodney King's famous admonition: "Can't we all just get along?" It's a bit more difficult to do this in schools, workplaces, and communities, where economic pressures are sharp and the sense of competition can be acute.

But it is happening, and not just in places like Los Angeles, where multiracial organizing has become a new norm. In key locales in the South, community organizers and others are helping the region shed its legacy of hostility and retain and improve its reputation for hospitality. Mississippi, for example, is a state with a relatively small share of immigrants, who are both rubbing elbows with African Americans and, since many of them arrived in the 1990s, just themselves naturalizing or having children come of age as new voters. This changes the underlying political calculus: Mississippi is the blackest state in the country, but it is still short of a majority. Coupling a black political base with the emerging Latino community, particularly given the racially polarized party affiliations in the state, is a route to a stronger and bigger set of constituencies for policies more aligned with social and racial equity.

Partly as a result, the Mississippi NAACP also has been a national stalwart in defending immigrant rights, and was early to condemn restrictive legislation in Arizona and elsewhere. The Black Caucus in the state's legislature fought to defeat over 200 anti-immigrant bills that were being considered during the past decade and helped to stop the momentum of anti-immigrant laws that swept the South in 2012 (Bacon, 2012).

But in Mississippi, it is not just an elite affair: the Mississippi Immigrants' Right Alliance (MIRA)—established in 2000—has brought together grassroots leaders for ongoing fights for worker and civil rights. For several years running, MIRA and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference co-hosted the United Colors of Mississippi conference, an opportunity to encourage dialogue between immigrant and black communities in order to break down myths and stereotypes, build community, and improve community advocacy and mobilization efforts. This underlying and broad constellation of forces has allowed black legislators to take stands on issues like English-only bills—and incorporating immigrants is seen as part of the continuing work to deconcentrate power and create the basis for a more justice-oriented agenda (Bacon, 2012).

In Louisiana, Hurricane Katrina did more than ravage the region—it also drew a new migrant population to help with the reconstruction. As noted in the data discussion above, until 2010 Vietnamese immigrants were the largest single share of immigrants, and then immigrants of Mexican origin became the largest share. During the rebuilding's early years, these day laborers frequently experienced abuse, abandonment, and wage theft at job sites and the New Orleans Workers' Center for Racial Justice was formed in response to these problems. While the Center engages directly in immigrant issues, with their Congress of Day Laborers and their participation in the National Guestworker Alliance, its STAND with Dignity work embodies its larger commitment to racial and social justice. STAND's low-income resident and worker members work "to ensure the rights of workers and residents to return and recover."³ The group has

³For more on STAND with Dignity, see <http://nowcrj.org/about-2/stand-with-dignity>.

been at the forefront of dignified evacuation of low-income residents in subsequent hurricanes and has ensured the quality of shelters afterward.

In Alabama, HB 56—the state’s copycat version of Arizona’s draconian SB1070—brought together African Americans, immigrants, and whites in a unique way: On the 47th anniversary of Bloody Sunday in March of 2012, the Edmund Pettus Bridge was crossed not just in remembrance of the Civil Rights Movement, but in protest of the criminalization of immigrants.⁴ Just months before, a coalition of immigrant and African American organizations, including the Alabama New South Coalition, Alabama Arise, Alabama AFL-CIO, Hispanic Interest Coalition of Alabama, and the American Civil Liberties Union of Alabama, had come together to address the state immigration law, the lack of jobs, voting rights, poverty, and their root causes. A link was made between the anti-immigrant present and the Jim Crow past: State Senator Hank Sanders (D-Selma) suggested that Alabama was “going back to the past.”⁵ Around the same time, at a more grassroots level, the National Day Laborer Organizing Network, Southeastern Immigrant Rights Network, and the Alabama Coalition for Immigrant Justice convened grassroots groups from Arizona, Tennessee, New Orleans, Georgia, Florida, and new leaders from across the state of Alabama—and the Black Alliance for Just Immigration was in the mix, building bridges with the black community.⁶ Moreover, when the AFL-CIO organized a delegation of black labor leaders, some observed that HB 56 was more than anti-immigrant, but generally put all “brown people” in peril and felt eerily similar to efforts of decades past.⁷

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In Tennessee, the Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition (TIRRC) has been setting an example for how to welcome immigrants and refugees, in this case

⁴Towns, Eleni. “The New Values Voters: Immigration.” Center for American Progress, October 2, 2012, www.americanprogress.org/issues/religion/news/2012/10/02/40336/the-new-values-voters-immigration.

⁵White, David. “Alabama civic groups plan summit on immigration law, unemployment, more.” *Birmingham News*, November 7, 2011, http://blog.al.com/spotnews/2011/11/alabama_civic_groups_plan_summ.html.

⁶Cardenas, Eva. “Fear and Organizing in Alabama, Barrio Defense Training Defense Training Journal.” *Turning the Tide*, November 5, 2011, <http://altopolimigra.com/2011/11/05/fear-and-organizing-in-alabama-barrio-defense-training-journal>.

⁷Fausset, Richard. “13 Arrested in Protest Against Alabama’s Immigration Law.” *Los Angeles Times*, November 16, 2011, <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/nov/16/nation/la-na-alabama-immigration-20111116>. White, Elon James. “Black Leaders Get Closeup View of Alabama’s New Jim Crow.” *Colorlines*, November 22, 2011, http://colorlines.com/archives/2011/11/black_leaders_get_closeup_view_of_alabamas_new_jim_crow.html.

more directly building ties with the white population. TIRRC contributed to the defeat of the “English-Only” referendum, upholding Nashville’s image as a welcoming, world-class city. As part of a two-year effort, TIRRC conducted a media campaign in response to Nashville’s proposed “English-only” ordinance in the city council, drawing attention to the personal testimonies of Somali, Sudanese, and Kurdish refugees and helping public figures understand the negative impact such a policy would have on all immigrants and refugees in Nashville. In all, TIRRC mobilized more than 10,000 new American voters and helped lead the largest citywide coalition in history. Former director David Lubell went on to found Welcoming America—an organization with national reach that is setting best practices around increasing the warmth of welcome to immigrants. One of its early initiatives was the promotion of *Welcome to Shelbyville*, a film that documents the opportunities and complexities of incorporating new immigrants in a small town in Tennessee.⁸

In North Carolina, faith-based organizers are using a broader agenda—similar to the “everyday social justice” framing mentioned earlier—to bring together black and brown youth. Named to remind others of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the Beloved Community Center:

- is aware of and concerned about the pressure and difficulties that youth and young adults of color face
- seeks to reduce violence within and among Latino and black gangs, and
- feels that if African Americans and Latinos unite, they can bring greater political and moral pressure on law enforcement officials to improve the way they deal with people of color.

The Center describes itself as advocating on behalf of, standing with, and fighting for “the least, the lost, and the left out”—youth and adults who face injustice and oppression as their daily reality. For faith-based groups like these, “spiritual underpinning can help anchor alliance-building work” (Black Alliance for Just Immigration, 2010).

Through all of these organizations weaves the common thread that social justice is not about just immigrants’ rights. In the field of black-immigrant organizing, there’s a certain rub felt when African Americans are asked to participate in immigrant rights’ work, but receive little in return. In particular, some question why they should work toward immigrant rights when there’s still so much to be done to make real the promise of the Civil Rights Movement. What these case studies show is that those who are “getting it right” bring together the black and immigrant communities with shared values and shared benefits—that is, both communities practically benefit from advocacy although there may be some give-and-take in the process. We think this supports a notion of “everyday social justice” that holds this work together—it’s about a common vision for better communities affecting the partners’ everyday lives at an everyday (or grassroots) level.

⁸Snyder, Kim. *Welcome to Shelbyville*. BeCause Foundation and Active Voice, 2009, www.welcometoshelbyvillefilm.com.

This sort of common understanding does not happen automatically and really represents a new sort of “racial healing.” After all, immigrants are arriving in new places that already have a history of racial wounds and healing that newcomers are unlikely to understand. The civil rights struggle for African Americans in the South is a continuing thing—and immigrant advocates must ensure that their communities understand these struggles and how they have set the stage for immigrant progress. But immigrants, too, have their own histories, and African Americans can benefit by learning about how the economic desperation and political dysfunction of many of our southern neighbors (in this case, south of the Rio Grande) have propelled a movement that is by choice only in the most limited sense of that word.

Without helping communities understand these contexts, animosities can arise: African-Americans will worry about displacement and immigrants will focus just on inequities being committed against them, both in the workplace and in their communities. But organizing that helps people share histories and experiences—a model developed by the Miami Workers’ Center in some of their organizing bringing together African Americans, Haitians, and Latin American immigrants in that rapidly changing city—can inform the work ahead and help to make real the dream of a “beloved community” (Pastor and LoPresti, 2007).

A Role for Philanthropy

I have offered thus far a demographic portrayal of the changing South and a discussion of community organizing and outreach efforts that seek to promote immigrant integration as part of a racial healing and social justice agenda. But this is, after all, being written for the Center on Community Philanthropy—and it is incumbent on us to offer some lessons for those who might have the financial resources to support the efforts above and the civic resources (via networks and leadership positions) to be an active part of immigrant integration.

I offer below a set of recommendations that I think would be relevant for philanthropy. I do so with great humility, as I know that I have not “lived the South” and that views like mine need to be nuanced by the wisdom (and the wounds) of local experience. Still, the experience I have studying this issue in depth in other locations with longer trajectories of immigrant presence might be useful and help the South to learn from the best practices—and worst mistakes made—in other areas.

With a bow to David Letterman—and recognition of potentially drifting reader attention—I do this in the form of a succinct top ten list of things community and other philanthropists might consider. They are:

1. Support Welcoming Initiatives that Engage Longtime Residents

Welcoming immigrants is a natural expression of the region’s already hospitable culture. Tennessee has already seen great success with this—both in Nashville and Shelbyville, as mentioned previously. While economic and civic integration can take some time and can be highly complex, welcoming initiatives are more straightforward—it’s essentially getting longer-time residents to meet and greet newer residents in informal

and lightly structured ways. Best practices exist, many of them being codified by Welcoming America (www.welcomingamerica.org). Bringing residents together builds relationships that can form the basis of visioning a more inclusive America. To boot, convening residents is an opportunity to incorporate the arts in the form of sharing cultural practices, cuisine, and other customs. Community philanthropy has plenty of opportunities in this arena.

2. Encourage Civic Engagement by Immigrants

Civic engagement is deep in the social fabric of the South—and it took on a whole new meaning with the activism of the Civil Rights Movement. Immigrant integration requires an engaged populace and this will mean improving naturalization and registration for eligible immigrants. This work is already under way and is more important than ever as voter suppression is threatening the electoral process for immigrants and non-immigrants alike. Those not (yet) eligible for official citizenship can still engage: In Los Angeles, immigrants have been holding their children's schools accountable, joining unions to promote better workplace standards, and knocking on doors to encourage those who can vote to do so. Civic engagement is at the heart of our nation's ability to fulfill the promise of democracy—and community philanthropy can help by promoting citizenship, parental engagement, and other activities.

3. Invest in Black-Immigrant Coalition Building

At the heart of any effort around immigrant integration has to be a commitment to native-born communities that are still struggling—particularly African-American communities. Oftentimes, immigrants enter these exact communities and the supporting institutions need funding to adjust and expand services to new populations. Moreover, funding these institutions and communities will demonstrate a commitment to African Americans that will quell fears about losing scarce resources and, in so doing, will decrease interethnic tensions (Pastor and Ortiz, 2009). Resources should also be directed to building black-immigrant coalitions at the grassroots, which means funding relationship-building, as well as practical policy campaigns that will impact both communities.⁹ Community philanthropy has a key role in building these very specific bridges of understanding and cooperation.

4. Invest in Grassroots Organizing and Community Building

As noted, grassroots organizers are doing the hard work of racial healing on the ground. Elite coalitions have their place, but only organizers get at the discontents felt in neighborhoods. In interviews of over 100 grassroots leaders across the country (as part of a family of projects on social movement building), they constantly say that day-to-day base-building work is their bread and butter and that funding it is a constant battle. This is particularly the case in the South, where the infrastructure for social justice is reportedly slim (Institute for Southern Studies, 2009). By its very nature, community philanthropy is a form of community organizing and the field can help by continually asking what share of its resources are going to this sort of grassroots work.

⁹For more on this, see the Black Alliance for Just Immigration (2010) and Pastor, et. al (2011).

5. Promote the Right Economic Story

One story of the economy goes that there is not enough to go around and we are struggling for an ever-shrinking slice of the pie—or cobbler, since it's the South. Another goes that there is plenty to go around, but it's a matter of building a more robust economy and making sure that the opportunity to contribute to and receive from its plenty is shared equitably. Nowhere is this better exemplified than with immigrants, who are accused of displacing workers. In reality, these groups are largely a complementary workforce with some very specific displacement that could be adjusted for with the right policy package—which would include better education for all, stringent anti-discrimination enforcement, higher wage floors, and the like. We must get the story right and promote it in a way that diffuses tensions, especially given the economic stress under which many Americans have been living since 2008. Community philanthropy can help by promoting a narrative of abundance, rather than one of scarcity.

Community philanthropy needs to be in the lead on making the case that the South offers a new and important intersection between racial healing, social equity, and immigrant integration—and that national funders should get on board.

6. Promote Ties with Business

While those concerned with racial healing are rarely connected to the business sector, it is central to American life. Wage levels, workplace discrimination, health care, and the like are directly under the business sector's control. While working with business may be anathema to many activists, that is exactly what is needed. And immigrants may ease the way: Businesses have been strong supporters of immigration reform, especially in the light of workforce losses that come with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids. In Utah, the business sector helped to create the Utah Compact, which has had a goal of creating a more civil conversation and more productive policies around immigrants in the state. Philanthropy can be an important bridge between the for-profit and non-profit sectors.

7. Fund Additional Research

Research is fundamental to making practical changes in the outcomes for people of color in particular and disadvantaged communities in general; it is always important to identify the problems and offer solutions that have a strong evidence base. The data presented above only begin to scratch the surface with regard to the scale and complexity of change—and more would be better. *Social Justice Organizing in the U.S. South* highlights the level of disconnection between research and organizers in the South, making this a place for important investment (Institute for Southern Studies, 2009). Universities have a role here, as do community philanthropy programs that make a bridge between the academy and the community.

8. Develop an Immigrant Integration Scorecard

If immigrant integration matters—and I have argued that it does—then it’s important for the South to see improvement in this area. My colleagues and I have found that immigrant integration and healthy, resilient regions go together, so it’s in the best interest of the region to have some friendly competition. We have recently developed a California Immigrant Integration Scorecard that measures immigrant integration across four categories and 10 regions in the state. The Scorecard highlights regions that are doing well, so that others can look to them for best practices. It also suggests a statewide agenda for immigrant integration that, among other things, would target investments in places with little infrastructure for integration.¹⁰ As the South gets started with this work, now is the time to lay a baseline analysis—and community philanthropy can help.

9. Act as a Civic Leader

Oftentimes philanthropy is either too controlling or too demure and struggles to find just the right role. That role, I suggest, is as a civic leader that both funds the right type of work and convenes the right type of organizations. The point here is not to force a marriage of unlikely partners, but to bring together organizations and facilitate with a purpose. For example, the California Community Foundation convenes the Los Angeles Council on Immigrant Integration with the explicit goal of promoting immigrants in the region through a multi-sector collaboration. This is not a sort of neutral meeting of the minds, but an intentional coming together that has made practical impacts on policy. So while funders should remain hands-off, to a large degree, they would do well to do more than simply fund.

10. Insist to National Philanthropy that the South is the Future

With the country changing in ways that have often outpaced the South, it may be easy to think that this region is a backwater where change will come slowly, if at all. But this is not entirely consistent with history: from the South came the Civil Rights Movement and a vast (albeit uneven) expansion of human rights in the country. Moreover, given the likely slowing of demographic change in more mature areas, the South is one of the locales where change will occur in the next few decades. At the same time, the South is very under-resourced in terms of national philanthropic dollars; more attention goes to the coasts. Community philanthropy needs to be in the lead on making the case that the South offers a new and important intersection between racial healing, social equity, and immigrant integration—and that national funders should get on board.

Conclusion

When some people hear the words “racial healing,” they go running for the doors, partly because they think a person using that expression might just be running to the past. Indeed, the term can evoke a sense of grievance, legacy, and pain—and suggest that it might be a pain as you try to get better during the healing process.

¹⁰See the California Immigrant Integration Scorecard at <http://csii.usc.edu/CAimmSCORECARD.html>.

But there's an important way in which racial healing is all about the future, rather than the past. After all, if you examine the nation's demographics, you quickly realize that the upcoming generation is no longer white—indeed, 2011 was the first year in which the majority of births were to people of color, and by 2020, the majority of all youth will be kids of color.

Given that shift, there is plenty of reason to get busy on the racial healing front. After all, racial healing really has two complementary senses—creating better relations among groups and changing the structural conditions that produce racial inequality. And this is more relevant than ever: we cannot afford an America in which the newest working Americans have been left underprepared by inadequate schools and job training programs, partly because racial distance and difference has led to an older generation not willing to make the public investments that were once made for them.

In preparing for this changing America, immigrant integration is central. While the newest generations are dominantly U.S.-born, they do have parents—and how those parents fare in this society will determine the trajectory of their children and of the nation as a whole. Like racial healing, immigrant integration also has two complementary meanings or senses. The first is attitudinal: Americans must strive to be a welcoming nation, immigrants must strive to achieve and adjust, and we must all strive to build better relationships between long-standing residents and new arrivals. Fortunately, the case studies above have demonstrated a wide range of community-building best practices that can guide us on that front.

The second meaning of immigrant integration is structural. The country knows full well the basic recipe for immigration reform—a combination of tighter border controls, a path to legalization, and a more regulated (and larger) legal flow of labor for the future. Yet we seem to have let anxiety about the changing complexion of America get in the way of developing solid policies that will serve all of America. And just as important as what we do (or fail to do) on immigration policy: we have a significant presence of foreign-born residents now and we are not promoting the integration of those individuals.

In an earlier era, we counted on key institutions like unions, municipal governments, and political machines—and even a widespread military draft—to facilitate immigrants' economic mobility and civic integration. In today's more fragmented society, we have a more haphazard approach, seeming to hope that there will be few consequences to underfunding adult English as a Second Language classes, hiking the fees to pursue naturalization, and engaging in draconian enforcement schemes that frighten both documented and undocumented immigrants (many of whom may live in "mixed status" households).

After all, racial healing really has two complementary senses—creating better relations among groups and changing the structural conditions that produce racial inequality. And this is more relevant than ever: we cannot afford an America in which the newest working Americans have been left underprepared by inadequate schools and job training programs, partly because racial distance and difference has led to an older generation not willing to make the public investments that were once made for them.

But with our very national future relying on the social and economic integration of these immigrants and their children, we need a more intentional approach. This is true all over the United States and perhaps particularly important for the South for two reasons. First, this is a new group arriving in the context of already riven race relations; getting it right for them could widen the conversation about how to deal with some of the original sins of racism against African Americans in the region. Second, the demographic change is happening later and slower in the South—and so the region can borrow from other regions’ experiences even as it begins to develop a set of best practices (like Welcoming America) that others will want to emulate as well.

In moving toward this new future, community philanthropy has an important set of roles. I have mentioned some of them above: act as a convener, invest in grassroots efforts, draw attention to the region, develop inter-community bonds, and help to secure the support of business to support immigrant integration. But another key role will be simply to find and broadcast new innovative approaches that merge the concerns of racial healing, social equity, and immigrant integration.

There is a long road ahead—but there is an old saying, rephrased from a poem by Spanish poet Antonio Machado, that you “make the road by walking.” The basic meaning: even when the path isn’t clear, your commitment should be and the way will be revealed. Those working on immigrant integration in the South are exploring new territory in a racial landscape scarred by old wounds. It’s tough, but admirable, work—and we (and they) can learn from their slips as well as their successes. I trust that this paper will be a small but helpful contribution to the learning needed to build a stronger, more inclusive region and nation.

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j o h n a . p o w e l l

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How Implicit Bias and Structural Racialization Can Move Us Toward Social and Personal Healing

This article is intended to deepen community philanthropists' understanding of our current racial terrain and provide insights into how to navigate it effectively. Community philanthropists can play an especially critical role at the intersection of resources, conception, innervation, and translation, as well as practice. If we are to better understand and address the pressing—but confusing—needs related to race in our society, all three are needed. This paper is principally focused on the conceptual confusion, with some implications for practice. In 2012, nearly four years after Senator Barack Obama was elected president, many would concede that the historical significance of our nation's first black president did not usher in an end to racial challenges in America. In fact, President Obama's first term has shown that issues of race in the 21st century are still salient and have become increasingly complex. Especially in the American South, broad shifts have been made in the visibility and social acceptability of "racism," yet what those shifts mean for how race works today remains unclear.

Our new racial paradigm can be described as layering—we are adding to, rather than displacing, the old ways of behaving and thinking about race. These new racial dynamics that we inhabit are often confusing because of our failure to develop new language and tools to make sense of this complex emerging reality. Without a clearer understanding of the complexities of the racial dynamics at play today, racial healing and justice will continue to be elusive. In order to identify and support efforts that have the potential to promote racial healing and justice, we must ground ourselves in an understanding of our emerging racialized world. Fortunately, we have many tools—some new—that can help us in this effort. This article will build on some of my previous work in an attempt to describe our new racial reality and some of these tools.

Introduction

This article focuses on two approaches that can inform how we currently understand and address issues of race. One approach is structural marginalization. The other is implicit bias, which draws from mind science. Before turning to these approaches and the new language they offer, let us look at our racial terrain and how the salience

of race is enforced and contested. While the election of President Obama was a monumental step, it did not signal an end to America's racial challenges. Approximately 43 percent of white Americans voted for President Obama in 2008. The vote was geographically uneven, with only 10 percent of whites in the South voting for President Obama. Although it was significant that slightly more whites overall supported an African American for president than supported the previous Democratic presidential nominee, we will examine what this means in terms of racial dynamics and regionality later.

In recent years, we have seen not just a continuation of racial stratification and disparities, but—in some instances—an *increase* in racial disparities. For example, the wealth gaps between whites and blacks and between whites and Latinos have almost doubled in the last few years. Between 2005 and 2009, the ratio of median net worth between blacks and whites went from 1:10 to 1:20 and that ratio between Latinos and whites went from 1:9 to 1:18.¹ Racial disparities in incarceration rates, health, home ownership, education, and life expectancy also continue to strengthen the claim that race still matters in the United States. Yet, for the most part, negative racial attitudes continue to decline, even in the South. With some exceptions, there seems to be an improvement in racial attitudes without an improvement in racial conditions.

This apparent contradiction calls for an explanation, though among the many attempts to reconcile these simultaneous realities, some are themselves contradictory. One explanation is that racial attitudes have not really improved that much, yet people's willingness to express racially negative positions has declined—people know better than to say what they really think. While there is some evidence that this reasoning holds true, even the shift in acceptability of negative racial beliefs could signify an improvement.

Another explanation is that although attitudes and conditions may not move at the same speed, improved racial attitudes will lead to improved conditions. The notion that we will see a change in conditions soon cannot be easily proved or disproved, but evidence suggests it is largely wishful thinking. For example, as stated above, in important areas such as wealth, racial disparities and stratification have clearly gotten worse. Despite this deterioration, there is little public willingness to address these conditions. In fact, some polls suggest that people feel the government is doing too much for the racial other and that the victims of racial policies today are more likely to be white. Still another popular position, especially with the right, is that opportunity is now open for all. Here the blame for racial disparities is placed on those who are not succeeding, through arguments about behavior and “dysfunctional culture.” This culture of poverty position ignores the large body of evidence that even for the most qualified person of color, there are large discriminatory barriers in labor and employment. For example, a candidate

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¹Kochhar, R. et. al. “Wealth Gaps Rise to Record Highs Between Whites, Blacks and Hispanics.” Pew Research Center, 2011, <http://pewresearch.org/pubs/2069>.

with a black-sounding name and a college degree is less likely to be called back for an interview than a white candidate who has dropped out of high school and has a criminal record.² Even in health care, there is wide consensus across research studies that broad disparities within the quality of care cannot be explained by factors other than race and ethnicity.

If all of this is accurate, can we say racial practices have gotten better or worse or remained stable? Has our language about race become more sophisticated and egalitarian, while practices persist unchanged? The picture that we are presented, with its murky and multiple alternatives, seems somewhat plausible. To begin understanding how race operates within this context, we must accommodate all of the facts discussed above:

- There seems to be a general improvement in racial attitudes
- Racial disparities persist—or may be worsening in some areas—that cannot be accounted for by factors other than race, and
- Discriminatory practices persist in many arenas and institutions that can't be fully explained away by culture of poverty arguments.

Simultaneously, a significant number of white Americans are willing to support a black man holding the most powerful position in our country.

Before we attempt to sort this out, we have to be clear what it is we are discussing. Part of our difficulty, if not confusion, is with the very concept of race. People are increasingly willing to assert that race is not a biological reality and is merely a social construction. Following this logic, some assert that since race is not real, we should simply stop talking about it and focus on real things. However, this position is not supported solely by the claim that race is not a biological fact. Race may be—and I would argue it is—a social fact, even if it is not a biological fact. That something lacks a biological basis does not make it socially insignificant. Many would assert there is no scientific basis for religion, yet few would assert that it is not socially real. Evidence increasingly indicates that how we think about and experience the self may be scientifically unsound. Yet no one has suggested that we drop the self or religion from our lives, and we may not have the capacity to do this even if we wanted to. Part of the confusion is equating biology with reality.

Being “Raced”

If race is not a biological fact, what is it? Much of what we call race is non-phenotypical; all of what we call race is non-biological. Race is the result of a fluid set of concepts and practices that are constantly shifting. An examination of our historical census data shows that racial categories have changed substantially from decade to decade, even if we fail to notice these shifts in our daily lives. Race can shift and change substantially in a short period of time, but these shifts do not mean an end to, or even an improvement in, racial practices and meaning. As Austin Allen writes, “However one may choose to define the term ‘racial’—it concerns the historian only as it relates to a pattern of oppression (subordination, subjugation, exploitation) of one group of human beings by another.”³

²Pager, D. “The Mark of A Criminal Record.” *American Journal of Sociology*, March 2003.

³Allen, A. *Origins of the Dred Scott Case: Jacksonian Jurisprudence and the Supreme Court, 1837-1857*. University of Georgia Press, 2006.

John O. Calmore also points out how shifting constructions of race align with hierarchies of power: “[R]ace’ is a fluctuating, decentered complex of social meanings that are formed and transformed under constant pressures of political struggle.”⁴ While both authors recognize race as a social construction, they draw attention to the iterative process of being “raced,” noting that our constructions of race suit particular purposes at particular times. While the use of race as a social construction has been given much attention, the process that constructs and creates it has been largely ignored. Race is a process. We constructed race to suit particular purposes at particular times and we have shifted and changed our definitions of race, redrawing boundaries of whiteness and the wages associated with it.⁵ We give race meaning when we replicate racialized behaviors and fuel the racialized systems. Our constructions of race sometimes signify religious beliefs, sometimes phenotype, sometimes origin or language.

New Tools and New Language

Our constructions of race shift over time, yet they always signify distributions or redistributions of power. For example, Italian and Irish immigrants during the 19th and early 20th century were treated as non-whites—an idea that strikes most whites today as bizarre. Even though race initially reflected the needs of the powerful elite, it is contested and redefined by all segments of society—even those who are meant to be otherized by race.⁶ Tracing the evolution of the meaning of race from the country’s founding to the present day, we see that whiteness is not at all biological. Race is not static or inevitable. As it comes into being, it quickly becomes a means for conflict and contestation. Generally, the idea of race is more an idea of whiteness—as a system of privilege and exclusion related to non-whites. The idea of white privilege to the detriment of others strongly indicates that race is not merely a biological fact, but instead is a structure within a system of meaning that shifts and changes. Whiteness—and therefore what is meant by race—is constantly changing, and we are changing it. But race, especially in the context of the United States, has never been just about whites and non-whites. Whiteness has largely operated as a middle stratum with non-whites at the bottom and the elites at the top. Race and whiteness largely came out of the needs of the elites to control and manage society. In the early colonies, the elites did not consider themselves whites, nor did they consider the middle stratum to be part of the elites. This complexity still gives meaning to the way race functions in our society, with racial construction and power operating not from a black/white dichotomy, but rather from a triumvirate in which elites use race as a social function. But race can also be a site of resistance. Historically, racial others have used race to challenge and make visible the very assumptions imposed by white dominance.

Part of our difficulty in seeing and understanding race is that we try to use static concepts and language to describe fluid, shifting practices and processes. The astute reader might object that language is also fluid. While this is true, this is often not our experience.

⁴Calmore, J. “Critical Race Theory, Archie Shepp, and Fire Music: Securing an Authentic Intellectual Life in a Multicultural World.” *Southern California Law Review*, July 1992.

⁵Roediger, D. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. Rev. ed. Verso Books, 1999.

⁶Omi, M. & Winant, W. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. Routledge, 1994.

We inhabit language in a way that sometimes makes it difficult to experience much of its fluidity. My point in this article is that our language and way of thinking about race has not kept pace with our changing and conflicting *experiences* of race. In fact, despite assertions of race being socially constructed, that is not our lived experience. For the most part, we continue to experience and practice race as if it were biology. It is not unusual for the layperson and the elite to talk about black and white blood. Nor is it uncommon for us to organize our lives in ways that indicate that we continue to think of race and reproduce race as a social fact.

I want to shift from the way we think and talk at one level (our systems and structures) to how we think, feel, make judgments, and organize our institutions at another (our hidden or implicit mind). Structural—or structured—marginalization and implicit bias both are exploding fields and each offers powerful insights. While there is some resistance to each approach and some misguided tensions between the two, the use of these approaches allows us to better understand the apparent contradictions of race and deepen our efforts to build a healthier, more inclusive society.

Structural Marginalization

Structural marginalization can take on many forms. In the context of race, it is often described as structural racism. However, I prefer the term structural racialization. Using the term “racism” is often confusing when talking about structures, because racism is often associated with individuals who consciously hold racist views and are willing to act on them. In the context of racial disparities and structures, conscious racists are less significant since they represent about 15 percent of the overall population and their numbers are declining. Racism is a term of high moral indictment—people and groups are likely to resist being labeled as racist and will thereby create a battleground out of the charge itself, rather than focusing on the condition or incident that caused injury. One may experience an act as racist and look for racist motivation or animus behind the act without finding it. What if there is no such motivation, but the act produces undesirable racial outcomes?

I refer to these acts or practices as *racialized* and to the processes by which they occur as *racialization*. Structural racialization describes the ways in which interactions between and among institutions create disparities and shape life outcomes along the lines of race and class in the absence of intent. As Andrew Grant-Thomas and I have written, structural racialization “emphasizes the powerful impact of inter-institutional dynamics, institutional resource inequities, and historical legacies on racial inequalities today.”⁷ A focus on structural racialization or marginalization acknowledges that race is built into the structures of our society, and is part of the fabric of the institutions and policies that organize and guide our lives, if not our thinking. To those looking at the United States as outsiders, racial differences are immediately apparent in education, housing, and wealth. In our current context, these disparities are not simply tied to intentional discrimination or to the individual failings of minorities or specific groups, but are a product of structural racialization. This process of racialization is embedded into the

⁷Grant-Thomas, A. & Powell, J.A. “Structural Racism and Color Lines in the United States.” *Twenty-First Century Color Lines: Multicultural Change in Contemporary America*. Eds. Andrew Grant-Thomas and Gary Orfield. Temple University Press, 2008.

very fabric of our society, and racialized acts and processes affect us at every level of society—from that which may be assumed to be external or far away from the individual to the very personal realm of our own actions and thoughts.

One does not understand structures or systems by looking at intent. Instead, we have to examine what they actually do—how they operate and what the outcomes are. Certainly a system or structure could be established for the purpose of excluding or discriminating. However, most structures produce racialized outcomes without intent. Indeed, we often hear about the “unintended consequences,” which suggests that outcomes frequently are other than what is planned. Was suburbanization intended to support white flight and re-segregate urban schools? From a structural perspective, this question is of little importance. The important question is “Did suburbanization contribute to the re-segregation of urban schools?”

A number of political philosophers have asserted that as society becomes more and more complex, our lives will increasingly be mediated by structures.⁸ In *A Theory of Justice*, John Rawls stated that if one wants to know if a society is just, do not focus on the minds of individuals but on the background institutions and their interactions.⁹ When we look at our structures and their interaction, we see a number of processes and relationships that marginalize non-white groups.

A clear example of how structural racialization operates in the absence of intentional racism is the continuing segregation of neighborhoods and its relationship to wealth. Our neighborhoods today are as segregated as they were when FHA’s underwriting manuals contained language that labeled African American families as “adverse influences” on property values.¹⁰ Under this system, the FHA would not lend to African American families in white areas. Racially homogenous neighborhoods were the ideal under the guidelines.¹¹ For this reason, white families were not given loans if they chose to move into African American neighborhoods and private lenders refused to lend to families trying to integrate neighborhoods under these rules long after the FHA ended their redlining practice, leaving a distinctly racial imprint on neighborhoods across the United States.¹²

The effects of redlining and housing discrimination have had profound impacts on the racialization of wealth. The new wealth that came to be associated with white and middle-class households was largely created after World War II in the form of suburban home ownership. The suburbs did not just create a new place for whites to live—they created white wealth, a new white identity, and a place for business to move. As the government invested in this new white space, it divested from the place consigned to people of color. This process left behind many low-income minorities in impoverished and highly segregated inner-city communities. These communities were segregated not only from whites, but also from the emerging boom in opportunity that would come to define modern America.

⁸Young, I. M. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton University Press, 1990.

⁹Rawls, J. *A Theory of Justice*. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971.

¹⁰powell, j. a. “Race, Place, and Opportunity.” *The American Prospect*, 2008, <http://prospect.org/article/race-place-and-opportunity>.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

The highway system is a great example of structural marginalization. The advent of the highway system further segregated the inner cities from the suburbs, since affluent families could afford cars. The rise of automobile transportation reduced the need for bus transportation from suburbs to the city, and then even from different parts of the city. The wealthier one was, the easier it was to live outside of the city lines or in the “good” part of town. The flight of wealthy—mostly white—individuals from the cities diverted money from city school districts to suburban schools. Since K-12 education is funded largely through property taxes of the areas surrounding the schools, impoverished neighborhoods have impoverished schools, while wealthy neighborhoods have wealthy schools. Through no small fault of housing segregation, it is far more likely for a poor minority student to attend a high-poverty school than it is for a poor white student to attend a high-poverty school.¹³ High-poverty schools have higher dropout rates and lower numbers of advanced placement classes, which are vitally necessary for admission into top colleges. Without a college education, young people in the United States are far less likely to have a high-paying job that will allow them to move “up” in the world and out of impoverished neighborhoods. Those people—mostly families of color—within the city were left with little access to local jobs, transportation, and adequate education. Our structures of school, highway, and public services funding are all tied to place. Because place was historically racialized, the structure replicates racial disparities in the absence of intent.

One might object that even if all of this is true, why call it structural racialization and not just racism? Clearly intent can and, at times, does play a part, but it is certainly not the whole story. As suggested above, structural racialization does not require intent and implicit bias is not fully conscious. But as stated earlier, much of how race works today can best be understood as layering. So while intent explains less and less of racial dynamics, it has not disappeared. Let’s look at the situation today. In recent decades, the government and banks have tried to extend some opportunities to the non-white community with limited success. The sub-prime effort in the late 1990s and beginning of the 21st century has been called “reverse redlining” by some observers.¹⁴ During the heyday of the housing boom, efforts—including the passing of the Fair Housing Act and the CRA—tried to open up credit and the housing market to those who had been discriminated against. While this expansion was intended to help blacks and Latinos, often it did the opposite because not enough attention was given to the interaction between systems and structures. Good sound efforts were layered onto existing structures without understanding or dismantling these structures.

For example, the largest federal affordable housing program is the low-income housing tax credit.¹⁵ This block grant program that allows states to administer most of the benefit is explicitly race neutral, but prefers to build in impoverished areas. The result is that governments and private businesses are using public support to continue to deepen racial isolation and exclusion from opportunity—even as they try to address these issues.

¹³Orfield, G. et al. “Statement of American Social Scientists of Research on School Desegregation to the U.S. Supreme Court in *Parents v. Seattle School District* and *Meredith v. Jefferson County*.” *Urban Review*, March 2008.

¹⁴Reece, J. & Rogers, C. *Subprime Loans, Foreclosure, and the Credit Crisis What Happened and Why? A Primer*. Kirwan Institute, 2008.

¹⁵Roisman, F. “Mandates Unsatisfied: The Low Income Housing Tax Credit Program and the Civil Rights Laws.” *University of Miami Law Review*, July 1998.

Bringing this lens back to the sub-prime effort, race neutrality again resulted in racialized outcomes. Because the white community was a mature housing community, the black and Latino communities were seen as open markets for an influx of mortgage capital. But this occurred at the same time as new products, such as mortgage-backed securities and adjustable rates, were being introduced. A flow of badly conceived products flooded these markets of color, so when the crash occurred it had devastating effects—not just on individual borrowers but on entire communities. Cities such as Cleveland brought lawsuits against subprime lenders based on the impacts on its tax base. The wealth disparities that had been slowly closing between whites and blacks and Latinos exploded, and the response to the housing crisis has largely avoided addressing the disparate impact on those hard-hit communities.

Reliance on self-reporting is limited because what we believe and feel *consciously* may directly contradict what we are experiencing *unconsciously*. In fact, this phenomenon is most likely to occur when our unconscious feelings and judgments are inconsistent with our aspirations, as often happens in the context of race.

Remember that many whites already believe too much is being done for non-whites. Structures and systems teach us that causality is not linear, but multifaceted. What seems like the distant past can—and often does—have a powerful impact on the present and future. If a structural dynamic is not fundamentally disrupted, it is likely to continue. It does not need the intent or animus of a particular actor to reproduce. Racial justice will not be achieved by focusing on ending discrimination if we limit discrimination to acts that individuals consciously engage in. Unfortunately, some Americans have a difficult time seeing and understanding structures, because we are what Charles Tilly calls methodological individuals. We look for individual explanations and causes behind all acts, blinding us to structures and systems. We also like to believe we are in control. Finally, because structures have long half-lives, they are hard to identify and comprehend with our short attention spans. We have difficulty seeing how what happened in the 1940s and 1950s is relevant today. Too often, it is.

Mind Sciences: Implicit Bias

Another approach that can help us understand this new racial terrain comes from mind science's discoveries about the unconscious, and specifically, about implicit bias and stereotypes. Researchers have begun to recognize that most of our cognitive and emotional responses to our environment happen without our awareness. Scientists estimate that while we can process eleven million bits of information per second, we can only *consciously* process up to about forty bits of information per second.¹⁶ Moreover, the forty or so of which we have conscious awareness will be heavily affected by prior exposures to images and metaphors. These exposures become part of our subconscious mind when certain associations are established in neural pathways as schemas. Psychologists have known for 100 years that only 10 percent of discrimination can be explained by the conscious mind. So how do we explain the other 90 percent?

¹⁶Norretranders, T. *The User Illusion: Cutting Consciousness Down to Size*. Penguin Books, 1999.

Each of us has conflicting schemas or associations that are fairly—but not completely—malleable. For example, our networks related to hope or fear can be salient at any given time and what is salient will be substantially influenced by cues we pick up (or are offered) from our environment. The process of being given cues is called priming. Because many of our cues—as well as the environment that helps structure the pathways in our brains—are social, many of our unconscious associations are social as well. They are internal, but not private in the ordinary sense.

Our increasing ability to use technology to measure this kind of brain activity means that we no longer have to rely so heavily on self-reporting, which has been the primary source of evidence about racial attitudes and their improvement. Reliance on self-reporting is limited because what we believe and feel *consciously* may directly contradict what we are experiencing *unconsciously*. In fact, this phenomenon is most likely to occur when our unconscious feelings and judgments are inconsistent with our aspirations, as often happens in the context of race. Thus, applying the insights of this emerging science to social cleavages and stratifications such as race, gender, and other areas subject to often powerful socially constructed attitudes allows us to gain a better understanding of the dynamics that produce and exacerbate these cleavages—as well as insights about ways of overcoming them. Someone may consciously report a positive racial belief while unconsciously operating from an implicit negative racial belief or association. What an individual tells us may not be consistent with what he or she will do. It is not so much that the person is not telling us what he or she really thinks, as that one can only report on what one has direct conscious knowledge of.

The idea of “not noticing race,” or color blindness, for example, is a phenomenon that may or may not happen at the conscious level. However, most Americans are not only race-sensitive, but also have racial biases that impact their feelings and decisions at levels of consciousness of which they are unaware. We cannot decide that we will not unconsciously notice race, though we can—through more extensive and loving interactions—grow beyond these biases. Some observers have argued that although older people may see race and harbor racial biases, young people growing up today in a more tolerant and diverse world are less likely to see race or harbor racial biases. In *The Hidden Brain*, Shankar Vedantam discusses experiments that tested this premise. Dr. Frances Aboud asked children in a Montreal preschool to look at pictures of one white and one black subject. She then read positive and negative words to the children, such as honest, nice, cruel, or ugly. Students consistently associated positive traits with the white figure and negative traits with the black one. Dr. Aboud was interested in how these associations had developed in the children: Were they from negative stereotypes from their families or school? Dr. Aboud determined that they were not. Instead, these negative unconscious associations were coming from the larger social environment—what children saw on television or in their day-to-day experiences. However, older children tested this way had learned not to consciously express such negative stereotypes, although these negative associations likely continued to operate at an unconscious level.¹⁷

This is not unconscious racism or prejudice in the ways that we often think of them. It would be absurd to claim that young children are racist. Negative racial associations are socially and culturally embedded: these are not only, or even primarily, individual thoughts. Indeed, because these biases are socially communicated and supported, groups

¹⁷Vedantam, S. *The Hidden Brain: How Our Unconscious Minds Elect Presidents, Control Markets, Wage Wars, and Save Our Lives*. Spiegel & Grau, 2010.

such as women and people of color—who have been the objects of unconscious bias—will nevertheless also bear it toward members of their own and other traditionally subordinated groups. Group-based bias on the part of members of less-favored groups generally will not be as high or as strong as that of the dominant group, nor is it stable. This type of bias can be shifted by priming, such as through exposure to images that evoke empathetic (or merely non-negative) responses to people of color or to women.

Unfortunately we are more often primed to have negative associations with African Americans, and this affects us not only in relatively superficial responses, but also in our ability to correctly process specific information. To discover the impact of presenting positive images of black children to the preschoolers in her study, Dr. Aboud had a story read to them that featured a wonderful and heroic black child named Zachariah. While the students remembered Zachariah's glorious deeds, they most often misattributed them to the two white friends he had rescued in the story.¹⁸

The associations and bias that derailed these children were built up through stories and metaphors that need not be explicit. Research on positive and negative priming strongly calls into question the strategy of trying to avoid racial issues by not talking about them. Evidence indicates that efforts to adopt a color-blind approach actually can *increase* racial anxiety and negative outcomes, causing the loss of innumerable possibilities for connection, mutual support, and fairness.

Implicit or unconscious biases not only affect our perceptions, but our policies and institutional arrangements. Therefore, these biases influence the types of outcomes we see across a variety of contexts: school, labor, housing, health, criminal justice system, and so forth. Prejudice can lead to problematic outcomes in many areas. These racialized outcomes subsequently reinforce the very stereotypes and prejudice that initially influenced the stratified outcomes.

Racialized Space

Evidence clearly demonstrates that Americans, especially white Americans, are feeling greater racial anxiety as the country becomes more diverse. Robert Putnam and others worry that this anxiety is growing in the United States and Europe and will undermine support for public infrastructure as the public becomes less white.¹⁹ While much of the anxiety will take place at the implicit level, it can also be exploited by those who understand its potential for political and economic gains—even if they are not themselves racist. For example, many whites have had and continue to have a deep fear and ambivalence about association with the racial other. Consider the response to the *Brown* decision, especially in the South, which occurred before the development of a public stance

Negative racial associations are socially and culturally embedded: these are not only, or even primarily, individual thoughts. Indeed, because these biases are socially communicated and supported, groups such as women and people of color—who have been the objects of unconscious bias—will nevertheless also bear it toward members of their own and other traditionally subordinated groups.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Norretranders, T. *The User Illusion: Cutting Consciousness Down to Size*. Penguin Books, 1999.

rejecting white dominance and racial inferiority. A more recent example would be the Republican National Committee acknowledging that in the past they have used images to increase and exploit racial resentment and anxiety in whites. These anxieties cannot be dealt with by just consciously ignoring them. In fact, part of their strength is that we are not fully conscious of them. In another article, I have written that these anxieties and fears are not just about material or economic well-being, but about being itself.

I have suggested that the hard edge of whiteness is about exclusion, separation, and dominance and that this space or way of being is implicitly and explicitly being called into question. The challenge we now face is that we have never had a robust public that was also inclusive. Without such a public space, we not only suffer racial injustice, but the collapse of the public and the middle class. Some mistakenly believe that we can abandon the public in favor of the private. I have written extensively about this mistake and will only touch on it here.²⁰ First, we should notice that the public has become less attractive to many as it has become more diverse. This shift is also related to the strong disaffiliation of white with non-white that implicates a conservative white identity. As we divested from the public, as we did from the urban two generations ago, the public became less attractive for reasons other than just who is in it. Yet the problem is more pronounced than this description suggests. The apparent escape is to the *imagined private*—where one is beyond the reach of the government and the forced affiliation with the non-white and non- or barely American.

Elsewhere, I have suggested that rather than two domains (public/private) there actually are four: public, private, non-public/non-private, and corporate.

- The *public* is similar to what one might imagine, a place of public collective action where citizens come together and an increasing number are welcome.
- The *private* is a place to retreat. Initially a place where one could commune with God or the sacred away from the reach of government and the collective, the private has become a place of maximum freedom beyond the reach of the government's eye or action.
- In the *non-public/non-private*, one is denied a public voice, cannot take collective action, and has no place to retreat to free and unencumbered. This is and has been the place occupied by the slave, the woman (before 1920), the undocumented immigrant, the homeless, ex-felons, and, until recently, the disabled. Those who do not belong—the most vulnerable and marginal—are forced to dwell here.
- The fourth domain is the *corporate*, which until the Civil War was seen as an extension of the state, existing for public good. The corporate has never fit well into the other three categories and when it is forced into the human space, humans are pushed out.

These four domains are interactive and dynamic. As the corporate space becomes misaligned, the public and private suffer and the non-public/non-private expands. If this trend continues, we lose the space not just for the racial other, but also for citizens and the middle class as well.²¹

²⁰powell, j.a. and Menendian, S. "Beyond Public/Private: Understanding Excessive Corporate Prerogative." *Kentucky Law Journal*, 2011-2012.

²¹Ibid.

Bridging the Public and the Private, the Structural and the Implicit

I discussed the apparent tensions between structural racialization and implicit bias above. Community philanthropy can support catalytic interventions that have the potential for broad social impact. Some believe that a focus on implicit bias makes the problem of race mainly a personal and psychological problem, at the expense of the structural and material. Others worry that talk of structures takes us back to a crude structuralism that denies the agency of individuals. While both worries are understandable, they are misplaced. The unconscious is not the private individual place that the structuralists imagine, but rather a social place in powerful interaction with the surrounding environment. The unconscious exists in a recursive relationship with structures, simultaneously helping to constitute and being constituted by structures and the environment. If community philanthropists are to aid in the development and implementation of projects that address implicit bias, we need to support work that focuses not on the individual psychology, but that engages the structures that allow for those biases to persist. Likewise, community philanthropists need to consider the surrounding environment and its role in creating associations that constitute and organize the unconscious social mind—which guides the thoughts and actions of individuals and groups.

Similarly, those who worry about the loss of agency need not be overly concerned. Recognizing that the individual with complete agency is a myth does not mean we know nothing of ourselves and cannot make informed choices. Instead, these choices must be informed by the patterns we see in ourselves and in our environment. If we are to have *meaningful agency*, it means engaging with our environment and structures—even as our environment and structures influence who we are and our life chances. While we cannot be completely responsible for ourselves, we must be partially responsible for our social environment. When we understand this relationship, the apparent tension between the unconscious bias work and the structural work dissipates.

Equally important, if we are to assume the project of racial justice and healing, it cannot be located inside of us as a psychological project, nor can it be outside of us in structures. In fact, an adequate understanding of the inter- and intra-relationships between structures and the mind suggests the sharp boundary between the inside and out is itself a mistake. This emerging language of structures and the unconscious moves us to a new understanding of race, of our society, and of ourselves. We will gain access to ourselves as we relate to others and to our environment. It is only then that community philanthropists and other change agents can begin to discuss and support efforts that work toward racial healing and a truly just society.

Research on positive and negative priming strongly calls into question the strategy of trying to avoid racial issues by not talking about them. Evidence indicates that efforts to adopt a color-blind approach actually can *increase* racial anxiety and negative outcomes, causing the loss of innumerable possibilities for connection, mutual support, and fairness.

Minnijean Brown Trickey

Teacher, Writer, and Motivational Speaker



Minnijean Brown Trickey is one of the nine African American students who collectively resisted the opposition to the desegregation of Little Rock Central High School in 1957—an act of great historical importance that has been featured in numerous documentaries, magazines, television specials, and other media. Since making this courageous stance for social justice as a young woman, Brown Trickey has maintained a lifelong commitment to peacemaking, youth leadership development, diversity education and training, cross-cultural communication, and gender and social justice advocacy. She holds a Bachelor of Social Work in Native Human Services from Laurentian University and a Master's of Social Work from Carleton University. Brown Trickey served in the Clinton Administration as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Workforce Diversity and continues to be active as a teacher, writer, and motivational speaker. Minnijean Brown Trickey is the mother of three sons and three daughters.

Confronting Racism, Past and Present, to Heal Ourselves and Heal the World

As a social worker and a citizen, I claim to be the perennial community philanthropist devoting time, skill, and love to bring about the beloved community, sometimes by accident of fate and other times by choice. I admit to being a social worker who is touchy, feely, bleeding-hearted and as committed to empowerment as the worst stereotype of social worker implies. I believe in the adage, do no harm.

Based on what I have come to know, I believe unequivocally that those considered least among us tell us who we are, what our real values are. They are our mirror image. We may describe some as vulnerable, but their vulnerability is ours as well.

My actions have found me walking side by side with the least among us: Inuit and Aboriginal peoples in different parts of the world, youth, the incarcerated, the homeless, immigrant and refugee women, rich or poor schoolchildren of every rainbow hue, those with disabilities, victims of violence, and the list goes on. They are my friends, my neighbors, those I work with, and even my family. This is not a list to glorify myself, but a set of descriptors to indicate my range of experience and contact. Based on what I have come to know, I believe unequivocally that those considered least among us tell us who we are, what our real values are. They are our mirror image. We may describe some as vulnerable, but their vulnerability is ours as well. I translate that to mean if others are not free, then I am not free.

If they are us and we are them, the service we render as allies, advocates, activists, and community philanthropists can heal us and, ultimately, heal the world. But we can only heal the world by knowing something about the embedded social problems that plague us and those we serve.

Reflecting on Racism

At the base of Elizabeth Eckford's statue on the State Capitol grounds in Little Rock, an inscription of her words proclaims, "If we have honestly acknowledged our painful but shared past, then we can have reconciliation." Eckford is absolutely correct. Our past has predicted our future.

In my role as an educator—and to my own satisfaction—I had to find the definitive definition of racism, to find the ideas that have plagued us for centuries to help myself and others understand the intractability and resonance of racism in our lives. It is crucial to understand the source of racism and how deeply it is embedded in all our social relations. It is also important to see racism as bigger than individual acts against individuals. The definition I selected serves adequately for most forms of oppression and is the concept delineated by antiracism scholar Philomena Essed. In *Understanding Everyday Racism*, Essed states:

[K]eeping in mind that “race” is an ideological construction with structural expressions (racialized or “ethnicized” structures of power), racism must be understood as ideology, structure, and process in which inequalities inherent in the wider social structure are related, in a deterministic way, to biological and cultural factors attributed to those who are seen as a different “race” or “ethnic” group. “Race” is called an ideological construction, and not just a social construction, because the idea of “race” has never existed outside a framework of group interest. . . . Furthermore racism is a structure because racial and ethnic dominance exists in and is reproduced by the system through the formulation and application of rules, laws, and regulations and through access to and the allocation of resources. Finally racism is a process because structures and ideologies do not exist outside the everyday practices through which they are created and confirmed. These practices both adapt to and themselves contribute to changing social, economic, and political conditions in society.

During the framing of this nation, the social existence of blacks was determined at three-fifths of persons and as property. Legal scholar Richard Kluger describes this process as the “original sin,” the ideological creation of non-citizens of this glorious experiment that was to become the United States. Kluger states, “There it was stated in the most reasonable and monstrous fashion. White supremacy and black degradation were institutionalized within the very framework of the new government.” It follows—as indicated by Essed—that laws, rules, and policies must support ideology. The rage to preserve persons as property must be codified.

The Dred Scott decision ruled that the framers had no intention to include blacks as citizens. In this decision, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Roger B. Taney concluded that Negroes were “beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations, and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect” (Kluger). The list of ways that blacks were excluded includes the court decisions, Black Codes, Jim Crow Laws, Sundown Laws, and local ordinances that barred blacks from suburbs, isolating them in cities. We have so many euphemisms for segregation, “inner city,” “reservations,” “internment,” even “the hood.”

If they are us and we are them, the service we render as allies, advocates, activists, and community philanthropists can heal us and, ultimately, heal the world. But we can only heal the world by knowing something about the embedded social problems that plague us and those we serve.

Do we wonder where our racist attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors come from? This is not designed as a history lesson, but as a reminder. We who are here today can be guilt-free, because we did not decide those things—they were decided for us. Guilt is inert. But the legacy is alive and well, in segregation, mass incarceration, unequal schools, poverty, and mistrust. Deb Reich, in her book *No More Enemies*, states it clearly, “it’s not the people . . . it’s the paradigm . . . loyalty to an idea can persist long past the time when any neutral observer knows that the idea is dead.”

If we as community philanthropists understand that we are saving ourselves, then according to Reich, our efforts have “this new orientation that would help liberate people whose lives as someone’s designated enemies have been grossly stunted, while other people are privileged at their expense. The new orientation could also liberate many of the unfairly or accidentally privileged from the spiritual wilderness of unearned advantage in which they pass their days.”

Moving Forward

In *Talking to Strangers*, Danielle Allen tells us that one of the first lessons we teach children is “don’t talk to strangers . . . but democracy requires vulnerability before one’s fellow citizens.” How can we talk to each other when we insist on using such terms as *different*, *strange*, and *alien*—terms that sound to me like other, not like me, not us, dangerous, a stranger. Difference, if we rethink Essed, is structured into our psyche—structured, but not inherent. We must remember this if, as we often claim, we consider that we want the same things for our families and ourselves as others do.

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Did we create slavery? No, we did not. But we are the beneficiaries of the wealth creation made by persons who worked uncompensated for centuries. Did we declare war on the indigenous peoples? No, we did not, but we live on the land we took from them and use its natural resources, while many of their descendants live in abject poverty on reservations. Did we create famines? No, we did not, but we can admire the resilience of the more than 40 million men, women, and children who are refugees in the world. Many refugees walked for countless miles to escape the ravages of famine or war. Some even watched their children die in their arms, yet they kept walking.

I have a good friend with Doctors Without Borders who worked in a refugee camp somewhere in Africa. She describes herself as an uptight white woman doctor who went to help—and of course, she did help. Yet she attributes her personal and professional transformation to a moment in the midst of suffering and tragedy when she was told, “You must dance!” And dance she did, with the women who insisted upon joy amid misery. This is no more or no less

than an example of how we deal with adversity, find ways to be resilient, and remain basically human in the face of overwhelming odds. Our responsibility is to tap into those strengths, and to honor those struggles.

Reich insists “that the decision, the intention to move toward no more enemies does not mean that every person walking the earth is suddenly good, benign, compassionate, and looking to promote the greater good for everyone. But by labeling them enemies, we only intensify and prolong the lack of harmony and synergy.” If we remember these truths, rather than denying them, could we do something about them?

We must know our painful shared history in order to stop repeating it. We can teach and learn. The challenge is great, as we fan out as philanthropists. Remember, and be ready to dance.

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Pathways to Promote Racial Healing and Equity in the American South: Opportunities for Community Philanthropy

This article will outline some of the critically important ways in which community philanthropy can promote racial healing in the American South and beyond. However, in order to identify the leverage points for intervention, we need to be clear about the complex nature of contemporary racism in the United States. Accordingly, the article highlights salient aspects of the current racial terrain before offering recommendations for moving forward.

In order to comply with Article 1, Section 2, and Paragraph 3 of the U.S. Constitution, the very first American Census in 1790 enumerated whites and only those Indians who paid taxes, with blacks enumerated as three-fifths of a person. Although this “three-fifths rule,” as it came to be called, reflected a compromise between the North and the South in terms of the appropriate basis for taxation and political representation, it nonetheless captured the actual status of persons of African descent in the United States. As a social category, race has reflected differential access to status, power, and desirable resources in our society. For much of the history of the United States, African Americans (or blacks), American Indians, and many immigrant populations have—either by law or custom—received inferior treatment in major societal institutions.

Race in the United States: Progress and Challenges

At the same time, there have been important changes in the status of disadvantaged racial populations in the United States. In 2012, Barack Obama is the president of the United States and Sonia Sotomayor, a Hispanic female, is a Supreme Court justice. The racial attitudes of whites also have changed in vital ways, and new legislation prohibits discrimination. For example, let us consider the domains of housing and employment. In 1963, 60 percent of whites agreed with the statement that “White people have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods if they want to, and Negroes should respect that right.” By 1996, only 13 percent of whites supported a similar statement, documenting a substantial shift within the white population in the endorsement of the principle of equal opportunity in terms of housing (Schuman, et al., 1997). In addition to changes in attitudes, the Fair Housing Act of 1968 (Title VIII) made it illegal to refuse to sell or rent to—or to otherwise make unavailable or deny a dwelling to—any person because of race.

A similar change is evident if we examine racial attitudes about equality in employment. In 1944, a majority of whites (55 percent) indicated that white people should have the first chance at any kind of job. By 1972, only 3 percent of whites agreed with that statement; 97 percent of whites indicated that blacks should have the same opportunity as white people to get any kind of job (Schuman, et al., 1997). Again, changing attitudes and federal law were at work: The Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Title VII) also prohibited an employer from firing, refusing to hire or promote, or in any way limiting an employee's compensation or job conditions because of his or her race.

The Principle-Implementation Gap

Despite overwhelming support for the principle of equality, there is less support for policies that would actually implement equal access to housing and employment. In 1973, 67 percent of a national sample of whites indicated that they would support a law that would guarantee a homeowner a right to decide to whom to sell his house—even if he preferred not to sell to blacks. By 1996, 33 percent of whites would still grant a homeowner that right. Similarly, in 1964, 38 percent of whites indicated that the federal government should ensure that black people get fair treatment in jobs, and 13 percent indicated that they lacked enough interest in the question to favor one side over another. By 1996, the percentage of whites supporting federal intervention to ensure fair treatment in jobs declined to 28 percent, while the percentage expressing no interest in the question increased to 36 percent (Schuman, et al., 1997). Thus, although there has been increasing support over time for the principle of equality and for laws that seek to implement equality in housing and employment, there is greater support for the principle of equality than for legislation upholding its implementation.

Discrimination Persists

Despite the positive changes in racial attitudes, overwhelming evidence demonstrates the persistence of discrimination in contemporary America. In 2001, sociologist Devah Pager sent pairs of young, well-groomed, well-spoken college men with identical resumes to apply for 350 advertised entry-level jobs in Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Pager, 2003). Two of the males were black and two were white. In each team, one man said that he had served an 18-month prison sentence for cocaine possession. For both blacks and whites, a criminal record led to fewer callbacks for a job (17 percent versus 34 percent for whites and 5 percent versus 14 percent for blacks). Stuningly, the study found that it was easier for a white male with a felony conviction to get a callback for a job than a black male whose record was clean. When this study was replicated in New York City in 2004, 17 percent of the applications from the white felons received a positive response, compared to 15 percent from the Hispanics with a clean record and 13 percent from the African Americans with a clean record (Pager, Western, and Bonikowski, 2009).

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Another study conducted in 2001 and 2002 documented that African Americans can face discrimination in employment if their name is perceived to be black. Researchers Marianne Bertrand and Sendhil Mullainathan (2004) studied the most common names that white parents gave their children and the most common names that black parents gave their children. They identified distinctively white names, such as Allison, Emily, Brad, and Greg, and distinctively black names, such as Latisha, Aisha, Jamal, and Darnell. They then mailed 5,000 fictitious applications to 1,300 ads for white-collar job openings in Boston and Chicago with black names and white names. There was no explicit identification of race in these applications. Bertrand and Mullainathan found that applicants with white first names received 50 percent more callbacks for interviews than identical resumes with black first names.

Discrimination Harms Health

Research has also documented that subjective experiences of discrimination are stressors that have direct negative consequences for health. In recent studies, discrimination contributes to a broad range of health problems, ranging from violence, sexual dysfunction, and poor sleep quality to increased abdominal fat, high hemoglobin A1c, coronary artery calcification, fibroids, breast cancer, high blood pressure, and mental health problems (Williams and Mohammed, 2009). Studies have also found that discrimination is adversely related to health care seeking and adherence behaviors, and to increased risk of using multiple substances, such as tobacco, alcohol, and illicit drugs.

A striking example of the negative effects of discrimination comes from a study of Arab Americans. After September 11, 2001, a well-documented increase in discrimination and harassment of Arab Americans was at a very intense level for six months. Diane Lauderdale (2006) found that Arab American women in California had an increased risk of having low birth weight babies and preterm births in the six months after September 11, compared to the six months before. Women of other racial and ethnic groups in California had no change in birth outcome risk during the same time period.

A 2003 report published by the prestigious Institute of Medicine summarized hundreds of studies that indicate that across virtually every therapeutic intervention, ranging from high technology procedures to the most basic forms of diagnostic and treatment interventions, minorities receive fewer procedures and poorer quality medical care than whites (Smedley, Stith, and Nelson, 2003). These differences persist even after differences in health insurance, socioeconomic status, stage and severity of disease, co-morbidity, and the type of medical facility are taken into account. Moreover, they exist in contexts such as patients with Medicare and among persons in the Veterans Health Administration, where differences in economic status and insurance coverage are minimized.

One example of bias in medical care is evident in research done by Dr. Knox Todd. As an emergency room physician at UCLA's emergency department (ED), he did a chart review of 139 patients with isolated long-bone fracture (a broken bone in the arm or leg) who had been treated in the ED. Todd found that 55 percent of Hispanic patients received no pain medication, compared to 26 percent of non-Hispanic whites (Todd, Samaroo, and Hoffman, 1993). As a good researcher, he considered other factors that could have caused this, including sex, primary language, insurance status, occupational injury, time of arrival at the ED, total time in the ED, and hospital admission. After examining all of these factors, a patient being Hispanic was the strongest predictor of receiving no pain medication. When Todd repeated the same study in Atlanta, he found that black patients

with a broken bone in the leg or arm were less likely to get pain medication than white patients (Todd, et al., 2000).

Making Sense of Contemporary Discrimination

How is it possible that highly trained medical professionals who go to work with good intentions can nevertheless produce a pattern of care that is riddled with discrimination? How can we explain discrimination in employment, housing, and other sectors of society? Research suggests that a phenomenon known as unconscious (or unthinking) discrimination based on negative stereotypes is likely to be a major contributor to this pattern (van Ryn, et al., 2011). This research indicates that negative stereotypes can be activated automatically (without intent) and without any awareness of their activation or of their impact on one's perceptions, emotions, and behavior. These stereotypes are typically activated more quickly and easily than conscious cognition, and these processes can occur even in persons who do not endorse racist beliefs. So although individuals may consciously and sincerely believe that they are not prejudiced, their automatically activated biases can lead to discriminatory behavior that they would personally oppose. Thus, one cannot rely on the stated racial attitudes of whites or the mere existence of laws prohibiting discrimination to ensure that discrimination does not occur.

Negative Stereotypes Persist

Considerable evidence indicates that high levels of negative stereotypes persist, which is an ominous indicator of the likelihood of discrimination in society. In 1990, the *General Social Survey*, a respected national social indicators study, asked several questions about racial stereotypes. It found that 29 percent of whites viewed blacks as unintelligent, 44 percent viewed them as lazy, 56 percent believed that blacks prefer to live off welfare, and 51 percent believed that blacks are prone to violence. Comparatively, 6 percent of whites viewed whites as unintelligent and 5 percent viewed them as lazy, and just 4 percent believed that whites prefer to live off welfare and only 16 percent believed that whites are prone to violence. These questions were asked on a seven-point scale from a positive to a negative stereotype, with 4 on the scale representing agreeing with neither side. Strikingly, very few whites endorsed positive stereotypes of African Americans. Only 20 percent of whites viewed blacks as intelligent, 17 percent viewed them as hard-working, 13 percent as preferring to be self-supporting, and 15 percent as not prone to violence. In contrast, 55 percent of whites viewed whites as intelligent and 55 percent viewed whites as hard-working (Davis and Smith, 1990; Williams, 2001).

These national data on stereotypes also indicated that whites tended to view blacks, Hispanics, and Asians

How is it possible that highly trained medical professionals who go to work with good intentions can nevertheless produce a pattern of care that is riddled with discrimination? How can we explain discrimination in employment, housing, and other sectors of society? Research suggests that a phenomenon known as unconscious (or unthinking) discrimination based on negative stereotypes is likely to be a major contributor to this pattern.

more negatively than themselves. Blacks were viewed more negatively than other groups, however, and Hispanics were viewed twice as negatively as Asians. Jews were viewed more positively than whites in general and Southern whites were viewed more negatively than whites in general. These data were collected in 1990. Have these views changed over time? Data are available on two of the stereotypes since 1990. In 2006, 33 percent of whites agreed that blacks were lazy, down from 44 percent in 1990. However, the percentage of whites endorsing the view that blacks were hard-working changed from 17 percent in 1990 to 16 percent in 2006, indicating that there had been no increase in positive perceptions, only a higher proportion of whites sitting on the fence by endorsing the “neither” category. Some progress was evident on the intelligence stereotype, with whites endorsing the view that blacks were unintelligent declining from 29 percent in 1990 to 15 percent in 2006. Similarly, whites agreeing that blacks were intelligent increased from 20 percent in 1990 to 27 percent in 2006 (Smith, Marsden, and Hout, 2011).

A 2004 study by Maria Krysan, Reynolds Farley, and Mick Couper (2008) found that negative stereotypes play an important role in undergirding discrimination. As part of this study, white residents in the Detroit and Chicago areas viewed a 35-second video of five different neighborhood social class levels: 1) lower working class; 2) upper working class; 3) blemished middle class; 4) unblemished middle class; and 5) upper middle class. The neighborhoods had actors representing the residents. All of the actors were dressed similarly and doing exactly the same thing, but they were all white, all black, or a mix of white and black residents. The study found that whites in the study rated racially mixed and black neighborhoods more negatively on the cost of housing, safety, future property values, and the quality of schools. Whites who more frequently endorsed negative racial stereotypes about blacks rated neighborhoods with blacks more poorly. The study indicated that whites’ perceptions of the desirability of these neighborhoods were based not on observable features; instead, their perceptions of neighborhood quality were shaped by negative racial stereotypes.

Thinking with our Hearts

Recent research underscores that our emotions play a much larger role in decision-making in general, and in inter-racial interactions and attitudes in particular, than we usually give them credit for. The absence of positive emotions toward racial minorities is a key contributor to beliefs and behavior with regards to race. Thomas Pettigrew has identified the absence of positive emotions as a powerful component of subtle prejudice (Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995). A study of Detroit-area whites by David Williams and colleagues (1999) found that the absence of positive emotions about blacks was the strongest predictor of opposition to affirmative action in employment and opposition to an active role of government in reducing racial inequalities. The lack of positive emotions was measured by two items that captured the absence of feelings of sympathy and admiration for blacks. Importantly, a low level of positive emotions about blacks was a stronger predictor of opposition to affirmative action and government than age, gender, income, education, individual and group self-interests, political party preference, beliefs about individualism, social dominance, conservatism, traditional prejudice, and modern prejudice.

Similarly, Pettigrew and Meertens found that across four countries in Europe, the absence of positive emotions was a strong predictor of opposition to policies regarding stigmatized immigrant groups. This measure of subtle contemporary prejudice was a stronger predictor than measures of traditional prejudice. A recent meta-analysis concluded that feelings are

a good covert indicator of prejudice and a predictor of discriminatory behavior (Talaska, Fiske, and Chaiken, 2008). They found that emotional prejudices toward minority groups are more closely related to actual discriminatory behavior than are beliefs and stereotypes. Thus, an individual's emotions regarding a stigmatized group are one of the strongest predictors of their actual behavior toward that group.

Racism in Culture

Negative racial stereotypes do not come out of a vacuum, but rather are deeply embedded in the culture of American society. A study by Weisbuch, Pauker, and Ambady (2009) documents how deeply embedded racism is in our culture and how profoundly we are affected by it. Because racial biases are often communicated subtly via facial expressions and body language, they studied the characters in 11 popular television shows. The study found that characters on these shows exhibited more negative nonverbal behavior (facial expressions and body language) toward black characters than toward status-matched white characters. The study found that exposure to nonverbal bias increased viewers' bias—even though patterns of nonverbal behavior could not be consciously reported. Thus, hidden bias in televised nonverbal behavior accounts, in part, for white viewers' own bias.

Similarly, a study by Phillip Goff and colleagues (2008) found that despite widespread opposition to racism, a dehumanizing bias that associates blacks with apes persists. In this study, black or white male faces were subliminally flashed on a screen for a fraction of a second to “prime” the student participants. Researchers found that subjects could identify blurry ape drawings much faster after they were primed with black faces than with white faces. Furthermore, subjects' ability to identify apes was facilitated by black male faces but inhibited by white male faces. In a second study detailed in the same scientific article, the researchers show that this dehumanization matters. An examination of the media coverage of 153 defendants convicted of capital crime in Pennsylvania between 1979 and 1999 found that newspaper stories described black convicts (8.3 mentions) with more ape-like words than white convicts (2.2 mentions). Ape-like words used in the articles included: animal, barbaric, beast, brute, clan, crouch, hairy, howl, hunt, jungle, monster, pounce, predator, prowl, and savage. Moreover, blacks implicitly portrayed as more ape-like were more likely to be executed (12.7 mentions) than those whose lives were spared (6.2 mentions). There was also a similar trend for whites. These relationships remained after statistical adjustment for number of articles, defendant socioeconomic status, victim socioeconomic status, crime severity, aggravating circumstances, and mitigating circumstances.

Opportunities for Community Philanthropy

There is clearly a need for concerted efforts to confront and eliminate racial prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination in all areas of society. That is, effectively addressing prejudice and discrimination will require concerted efforts by multiple sectors of society to address larger racial healing in major societal institutions. Community philanthropy can be a leader, initiator, convener, and catalyst for this change. Several priorities are outlined below.

Raise Awareness Levels

First, community philanthropy needs to play a leadership role in raising awareness levels of the deeply embedded, subtle forms of prejudice that are pervasive and unrecognized. Currently, we don't even know we have a problem. Visitors to the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles

are presented with two doors. One of the doors is labeled “prejudiced.” The other door is marked “unprejudiced.” If a visitor tries to enter the door marked “unprejudiced,” the visitor finds that the door is locked and it is not possible to enter the museum through that door. The following message is then projected on the “unprejudiced” door: THINK... NOW USE THE OTHER DOOR. This reflects the museum’s attempt to communicate in dramatic fashion that we are all prejudiced to a greater degree than we normally acknowledge. We have all been affected by the culture in which we were raised, and to some degree, we have been affected by the larger stereotypes of our culture.

One of the failures of much of our approach to prejudice and discrimination currently is that we tend to focus on discriminatory intent. Given that the vast majority of white Americans favor non-discrimination in principle, it is often difficult to identify discriminatory intent. Therefore, racism appears to be commonplace in society, but few individuals believe that they engage in discriminatory behavior. Much contemporary discrimination may be due to careless and negligent behavior, rather than deliberately hateful behavior. Community philanthropy should lead to place this issue on the national agenda and should call on other leaders in society to use the “bully pulpit” to focus on racism. President Clinton explicitly called attention to the problem of racism and in June 1997, he established “One America in the 21st Century: The President’s Initiative on Race.”

Intensive and systematic educational campaigns about the nature of contemporary prejudice and discrimination are needed. The awareness levels of the public and the professional community must be raised. Although information alone has its limits, educational campaigns can accomplish much. For example, Ken Warner shows that in the case of tobacco, per capita consumption in the United States has declined over the course of the past century whenever there was a major media campaign on the negative effects of cigarette smoking (2000). We must raise public awareness to ensure the needed sensitivity toward these issues exists and to secure a new commitment to addressing the lingering effects of racism.

Enable Individuals to Address Racism

Second, and relatedly, community philanthropy needs to create opportunities that enable well-intentioned individuals to respond to and confront instances of racially prejudiced beliefs and discriminatory behavior. A 2006 CNN poll found that large pluralities of American adults think that racism is a serious problem in the United States (66 percent of whites and 84 percent of blacks), with half of blacks and a quarter of whites saying that they had personally been a victim of racial discrimination. Although very few people (12 percent of blacks and 13 percent of whites) believe that they have racial biases, more than four out of ten (43 percent) blacks and 48 percent of whites indicate that they personally know someone who they believe is racist. Given the familiarity of American adults with racism (presumably racism of the traditional type), individuals can have enormous potential to respond to and address racism that emerges in their daily lives. Much of this potential likely remains unrealized because individuals may lack the skills and/or motivation to confront racism in an effective, but non-threatening, manner.

A study by Kawakami and colleagues (2009) suggests that confronting racism may be an exceedingly difficult challenge. It documented that in striking contrast to how people think that they would act, when actually faced with real instances of racism, most individuals do not confront racists or become upset by racist behavior. In this experiment, researchers

divided 120 non-black students into three groups. One group watched a video of a racist incident—in which a black actor slightly bumps into a white actor’s knee while leaving the room—while another read about it. The white actor responds with one of three scenarios, saying either, “Typical, I hate it when black people do that,” or “Clumsy N-----,” or nothing. The students were then asked to choose one of the two actors for a teamwork assignment. These two groups of students were upset by the racist behavior: 75 percent who read about the incident and 83 percent who watched the video of the incident said they would choose the black actor for the assignment.

The third group of students was placed in a room with a black actor and a white actor and actually witnessed the incident. Their reactions were completely different: *none* of them were upset by it, *none* of them intervened to correct or disparage the white actor for his remarks, and 71 percent chose the white actor as their partner for the assignment. That is, the people who witnessed the event in person were less offended than those who watched or read about it. Failing to feel outrage, they appeared to rationalize the racist comment as acceptable. Importantly, the study shows that how people think they would feel and act in response to a racial slur is drastically different from their actual reaction. When faced with actual racism, people’s spontaneous feelings and behavior may reflect a latent bias toward blacks that prevents them from having a negative emotional reaction and confronting racist behavior.

Promote Interracial Contact

Third, community philanthropy needs to take a leadership role in creating a psychosocial environment that promotes interracial contact and creates the conditions and “safe contexts” where interracial contact will flourish. In the United States, interracial contact continues to be uncomfortable—and even stressful—for many (Richeson and Shelton, 2007). Too often for both whites and racial minorities, interracial contact is a source of stress. Whites are often worried about not appearing to be prejudiced, while minorities are frequently concerned about being a target of prejudice or discrimination, or about being viewed in a stereotypical manner. These concerns can produce anxiety for individuals from both groups. This discomfort highlights the need to promote interracial interactions early and often, whenever and wherever possible. Efforts should be made to create contexts where minorities feel that their group is valued, and where the focus for whites is not on avoiding the risk of appearing prejudiced but on developing friendships, learning across cultures, and creating a new dialogue that promotes better understanding.

Gordon Allport’s classic volume, *The Nature of Prejudice*, describes his contact hypothesis, which argues that intergroup contact is an important strategy to reduce prejudice. He describes several key conditions that must be met for intergroup contact to be effective:

- First, the different groups must be equal in status
- Second, they must have a commitment to a common goal or goals
- Third, there must be cooperation among members of both groups to promote their shared goals, and
- Fourth, there must be support and encouragement from persons in positions of authority.

The conditions Allport outlines clearly suggest that simple contact is not enough. Some evidence suggests that intergroup contact that fails to meet these stringent criteria can

promote exceptionalist thinking: a group member sees their friend from the other group as different from the other members of his/her group, but retains the categorical negative beliefs about that individual's group. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) recently reviewed studies that evaluated the contact theory of prejudice. They concluded that intergroup contact works to reduce prejudice based on race, as well as other prejudices, such as those based on ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, disability, and mental illness.

Reduce Racism in the Larger Culture

Fourth, community philanthropy must play a leadership role in convening relevant stakeholders and experts to establish a coordinated and sustained mass media campaign to redefine race in American culture. A concerted effort to address discrimination requires efforts to change the larger cultural values and images that undergird it. As a society, we should make it a priority to address and eradicate racial prejudice that is deeply embedded in our culture. These prejudices give rise to racial inequalities that fly in the face of cherished American principles of equal treatment in society.

The media can influence our worldviews, normative expectations, attitudes, and stereotypes. The media can also affect our emotions and the degree of empathy we feel toward particular groups. Societal-wide reductions in prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination will require large-scale adoption and implementation to alter deeply embedded cultural beliefs about race.

Deeply ingrained cultural ideas persist, such as the notions interpreting things that are light as good and positive and things that are dark as bad and negative. Taking an example of the role of skin tone and political behavior from recent history, photos of presidential candidate Barack Obama were digitally altered to be darker or lighter in skin tone. Undergraduate students were shown the altered and unaltered photos. Liberals were more likely to view the lightened photo of Obama as most representative. Conservatives were more likely to view the darkened photo as most representative. How this played out: viewing a lightened photo as more representative predicted both the student's intention to vote for Obama and an actual vote for him (even after the study was adjusted for political views and measures of prejudice). However, political affiliation did not affect digitally lightened or darkened photos of John McCain (Caruso, Mead, and Balcetis, 2009).

A study by Elizabeth Levy Paluck provided evidence that creative use of the media can reduce intergroup prejudice and conflict. The study evaluated the impact of a year-long field experiment in Rwanda: a radio soap opera employed humor, drama, popular proverbs, and traditional songs to influence listeners' beliefs about the roots and prevention of prejudice and violence. Compared to a control group who listened to a radio soap opera about health, the perceptions of social norms and behaviors for listeners in the intervention group changed with respect to intermarriage trust, open dissent, and empathy. Behavioral changes were observed that were consistent with increased willingness to speak up and dissent if appropriate, and to cooperate with each other. Interestingly, there was no change in personal beliefs about prejudice and violence. The magnitude of change, even though significant, was modest. For example, the likelihood of a person advising in-group marriage decreased from 50 percent to 40 percent (Paluck, 2009).

Research is needed to identify the most effective strategies to reduce negative stereotypes, racial prejudice, and discrimination in the general public and within

specific societal institutions. Current approaches to cultural sensitivity may not address the systemic problem of discrimination, but may instead enhance and accentuate negative stereotypes. Some cultural sensitivity training focuses on the distinctive behavioral patterns of subgroups in the population and, therefore, appears to focus primarily on the “strange” behavior of clients of a different background, which can lead to increased stereotyping. More research is also needed to identify the most effective strategies for raising awareness of, increasing sensitivity to, and effectively addressing unconscious discrimination.

As a society, we lack data on effective strategies to reduce racism at both the individual and institutional levels. While many books have been published on the topic and many programs address cultural diversity and tolerance, little systematic data is available about the conditions under which particular strategies are more or less effective. Given the growing body of evidence that indicates that racism adversely affects health in multiple ways, more systematic efforts to evaluate and assess the impact of various strategies to reduce racism are warranted. Strong incentives need to be put in place to encourage leaders to make improvements in tolerance central to their various organizational missions.

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Address Institutional Racism

Fifth, community philanthropy needs to take a leadership role in working with the public, private, and voluntary sectors to identify feasible and optimal strategies to create the political will and support to dismantle institutional racism. Residential segregation is an enduring institutional legacy of racism that has multiple effects that perpetuate racial inequality in society (Williams and Collins, 2001). Segregation restricts socioeconomic mobility by limiting access to quality elementary and high school education, preparation for higher education, and employment opportunities. Segregation is also associated with residence in poorer quality housing and in neighborhood environments that are deficient in a broad range of resources that enhance health and well-being, including medical care. The concentration of poverty in segregated environments can lead to exposure to elevated levels of chronic and acute stressors at the individual, household, and neighborhood level, including economic hardship and criminal victimization.

Concluding Thoughts

On the evening of Dr. Martin Luther King’s assassination, Senator Robert Kennedy challenged the nation: “What we need in the United States is not division; what we need in the United States is not hatred; what we need in the United States is not violence and lawlessness, but is love, and wisdom, and compassion toward one another, and a feeling of justice toward those who still suffer within our country, whether they be white or whether they be black.” Community philanthropy can work to make this dream come true!

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Epilogue

This compendium, *Pathways to Racial Healing and Equity in the American South: A Community Philanthropy Strategy*, represents a continuation of the scholarly work from the Center on Community Philanthropy at the University of Arkansas Clinton School of Public Service. The Center hosts “Scholars in Residence” around a common topic. While in residence, these scholars engage with students, teachers, civic leaders, and citizens. Also, each scholar is featured in the Clinton School’s free public lecture series, and his or her lecture is

posted online at www.clintonschoolspeakers.com. I encourage you to watch each of them.

This year’s topic of racial healing and equity has personal significance because of the unique roles both Little Rock and President William J. Clinton have played in this area. On September 25, 1957, nine courageous African American students, dubbed “The Little Rock Nine,” desegregated Little Rock Central High School. These students changed the course of American history, leading to what some have described as America’s greatest constitutional crisis since the Civil War. Nearly forty years later, on June 13, 1997, President Clinton issued Executive Order 13050 creating an initiative on race. The next day, he outlined the initiative’s goal of “One America in the 21st Century” in a major speech at the University of California at San Diego.

These papers, including a call to face difficult truths from Minnijean Brown Trickey, a member of the Little Rock Nine, provide important perspectives for advancing the ongoing pursuit of “One America.” Please take time to read them and discover how their work may help inspire yours:

- Learn from Joel E. Anderson’s account of the origins and goals of UALR’s Institute on Race and Ethnicity and meet his challenge: “To solve an ingrained community problem with deep roots, we must bring the whole community along.”
- Fulfill the roles Manuel Pastor envisions for community philanthropy: “act as a convener, invest in grassroots efforts, draw attention to the region, develop inter-community bonds, and help secure the support of business to support immigrant integration.”
- Ponder John A. Powell’s request that community philanthropists aid in the development and implementation of projects that address implicit bias, including by influencing the surrounding environment.
- Embrace the multifaceted approach outlined by David R. Williams for community philanthropy “to combat racism by raising awareness levels, enabling individuals to address racism, promoting interracial contact, reducing racism in the larger culture, and addressing institutional racism.”

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. said, “One of the most agonizing problems within our human experience is that few, if any, of us live to see our fondest hopes fulfilled. The hopes of our childhood and the promises of our mature years are unfinished symphonies.”

As you conduct your own life symphony, may the words of these Clinton School “Scholars in Residence” be sources of strength and encouragement.

James L. “Skip” Rutherford III, Dean, University of Arkansas Clinton School of Public Service

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