From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	1/5/2021 11:09:05 AM
To:	undisclosed-recipients:
BCC:	melchor.crystal@oakwoodschools.org; geubanks@xeniaschools.org; dmrobins@daytonpublic.com; bgood@daytonpublic.com; dlmullin@daytonpublic.com; razelins@daytonpublic.com; maryann.morgret@mcapps.org; fultz.elaine@oakwoodschools.org; erogers@daytonpublic.com; jkcain@daytonpublic.com; mysbaker@daytonpublic.com; madisonjeziorski@citizenschools.org; amimel@daytonpublic.com; kristen.ruzicka@mcapps.org; tstomps@daytonpublic.com; cjhowes@daytonpublic.com; sledge.becky@oakwoodschools.org; betsy.chadd@bss.k12.oh.us; vgkimbal@daytonpublic.com; candice.sears@mcesc.org; NLMCSHER@daytonpublic.com; rkgunter@daytonpublic.com; JGRABEMA@daytonpublic.com; mruzicka@daytonpublic.com; lnbryant@daytonpublic.com; SFMurphy@daytonpublic.com; tmmonroe@daytonpublic.com
Subject:	Equity Book Study Pre-Work

Hi,

Thank you for joining the WOSC Equity Book Study. This book study will be centered around *Some of My Best Friends are Black* by Tanner Colby. If you elected to receive a copy of the book as part of your participation registration and costs, Stacy Southard will be distributing the texts on 1/5/2021 to each district's point of contact. This means you should have your book in hand by Wednesday or Thursday.

I am excited to further explore integration and equity with you in the coming weeks as we unpack Tanner Colby's book. As we all know, equity and equality are complex topics. When I was contacted about hosting an equity book study, I gave A LOT of thought as to where I wish I could have started in my written education on racial equity. I gave A LOT of thought as to what gave me the courage to examine my perspective of the world and what gave me the energy to continue. I gave A LOT of thought as to how awesome it could be if I started my personal journey with others committed to looking deep within their own social constructs and changing the world for the better (something ingrained in us educators).

I chose this book because it resonated with the here and now. It gave me much to think about and did not emotionally accost me (which is a powerful experience but definitely not the best way, for me, to build immediate momentum). I find Mr. Colby's writing style is engaging and amusing. More than once the humor carried me through a couple tense pages. Understanding history and implications of race in the United States is necessary for us in education no matter how hard we may individually find it to be. It is hard to weave together so many perspectives. It is hard to separate a good person from a racist thought and/or act. It is hard to understand systematic racism. It is hard to examine who taught us and understand the lens the "teacher" saw the world through. In short, understanding the history of race and equity requires us to question many aspects of our understanding of our childhood and adulthood. I am excited that you are embarking on this journey with us. I am excited for your conviction to further grow and explore integration in America!

Participating in this book study is one of those situations where you only get out what you put in. The first step is that you are here. The second step is that you commit to practicing compassion, grace, and patience... for yourself and others as we are all on our own journey and we all have unique and valued life experiences. The third step is to do the work. Look at your calendar and set aside the time you need to thoughtfully read and reflect each week (we will read about 80 pages per week). Allow yourself time to "sit" in the information. Value the opportunity to evolve your understanding of the world around you. Commit to growing. Then actively join us weekly for our

discussions. We will spend our time together unpacking Mr. Colby's words and unpacking how this information further shapes us and how it can inform our service. Attendance will be taken at the beginning and end of each session. It is expected that you will have read the assigned section and actively participate in the discussion group for the duration of each session. I look forward to meeting you and growing with you in the coming weeks. To prepare for our first meeting, the pre-reading assignments are listed below. Please have these completed when you log-on January 12, 2021 from 3:30-5:30pm.

Homework:

1. Read the Preface- Take a moment to gain perspective of our author's own racial journey and understanding of integration.

2. Read Part 1:Chapters 1-5

I look forward to seeing you for our first session: **January 12, 2021 from 3:30-5:30 PM**

Join with Google Meet
meet.google.com/mua-yrih-jgp

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	1/5/2021 12:05:34 PM
To:	undisclosed-recipients:
BCC:	cfranks@sainthelenschool.org; theodorecm@crgrp.com; melchor.crystal@oakwoodschools.org; patterson.sarah@oakwoodschools.org; judge.rachael@oakwoodschools.org; betsy.chadd@bss.k12.oh.us
Subject:	Equity Podcast Introduction & Pre-Work

Good afternoon,

Thank you for joining the WOSC Equity Podcast Study. This study will be centered around *Scene on Radio Podcast's Season 2: Seeing White*. You can access this podcast through most app stores or through the links in the homework section. Transcripts are available on the linked pages.

I am excited to further explore equity with you in the coming weeks as we unpack John Biewen's fourteen episodes. As we all know, equity and equality are complex topics. When I was contacted about hosting some equity studies, I gave A LOT of thought as to where I wish I could have started in my written education on racial equity. I gave A LOT of thought as to what gave me the courage to examine my perspective of the world and what gave me the energy to continue. I gave A LOT of thought as to what conversations were most enlightening and inspiring.

I chose a rather unconventional approach by suggesting a podcast study. But this series is well worth it! This will be my fourth time listening to most of these episodes. I find John Biewen's style of investigative journalism and narrating engaging, respectful, and enlightening. Understanding history and implications of race in the United States is necessary for us, no matter how hard we may individually find it to be. It is hard to weave together so many perspectives. It is hard to separate a good person from a racist thought and/or act. It is hard to understand systematic racism. It is hard to examine who taught us and understand the lens the "teacher" saw the world through. In short, understanding the history of race and equity requires us to question many aspects of our understanding of our childhood and adulthood and this is hard. I am excited that you have chosen to commit to this journey with us. I am excited for your conviction to further grow and explore the history of race and equity in America!

Participating in this study is one of those situations where you only get out what you put in. The first step is that you are here. The second step is that you commit to practicing compassion, grace, and patience… for yourself and others We all have unique and valued life experiences and we all have to unpack these experiences and perceptions in a safe and supportive environment (hint, this is our group). The third step is to do the work. Look at your calendar and set aside the time you need to thoughtfully listen and reflect each week. I do not recommend listening to all weekly podcasts in one sitting. Gift yourself time to "sit" in the information. Value the opportunity to evolve your understanding of the world around you. Commit to growing. Then actively join us weekly for our discussions. We will spend our time together unpacking these fourteen episodes and unpacking how this information further shapes us and how it can inform our service. Attendance will be taken at the beginning and end of each session. It is expected that you will have completed the assignment in advance of the session and actively participate in the discussion group for the duration of each session. I look forward to meeting you and growing with you in the coming weeks. To prepare for our first meeting, the assignment to be completed in advance of our first session is listed below (you will note, I provided a schedule for all podcasts to help in your planning).

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January 20, 3:30-5:30 PM	<u>Episode 2:</u> How Race was Made (28 min) <u>Episode 3:</u> Made in America (33 min) <u>Episode 4:</u> On Crazy We Built a Nation (36 min)
January 27, 3:30-5:30 PM	<u>Episode 5:</u> Little War on the Prairie (63 min) <u>Episode 6:</u> That's Not Us, So We're Clean (41 min) <u>Episode 7:</u> Chenjerai's Challenge (15 min)
February 3, 3:30-5:30 PM	<u>Episode 8:</u> Skulls and Skin (47 min) <u>Episode 9:</u> A Radical Cleansing in America (29 min) <u>Episode 10:</u> Citizen Thind (39 min) <u>Episode 11:</u> Danger (46 min)
February 10, 3:30-5:30 PM	<u>Episode 12:</u> My White Friends (40 min) <u>Episode 13:</u> White Affirmative Action (48 min) <u>Episode 14:</u> Transformation (44 min)

Our meeting link for all meetings:

Join with Google Meet

meet.google.com/rxy-pimq-cgq

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

From: Tina Wingate [wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org]
Sent: 1/5/2021 3:23:49 PM
To: sandi.preiss@mcesc.org
Subject: Equity Podcast

Dear Ms. Preiss,
I have not receive the email that was sent out today for the Equity Podcast Seminar that my colleagues
received. I was enrolled in the October session that was postponed and rescheduled to start next week.
I also did not receive an invitation to Google Meet.
I work for Oakwood City Schools.
Please advise me as to what I might need to do at this time.
Thank you.
Sincerely,
Tina Wingate
wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org
Phone #(937)768-2705

Sent from my iPhone

From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	1/5/2021 4:44:56 PM
To:	Southard, Stacy [stacy.southard@mcapps.org]
CC:	wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org
Subject:	Fwd: Equity Podcast

Stacy,

Can you help Ms. Wingate? I will send her the introductory email, assuming that you will take care of getting her registration for the podcast series squared away.

Thank you,
Sandi Preiss
---------- Forwarded message ---------
From: **Tina Wingate** <wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org>
Date: Tue, Jan 5, 2021 at 3:23 PM
Subject: Equity Podcast
To: <sandi.preiss@mcesc.org>

Dear Ms. Preiss,
I have not receive the email that was sent out today for the Equity Podcast Seminar that my colleagues received. I was enrolled in the October session that was postponed and rescheduled to start next week.
I also did not receive an invitation to Google Meet.
I work for Oakwood City Schools.
Please advise me as to what I might need to do at this time.
Thank you.
Sincerely,
Tina Wingate
wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org
Phone #(937)768-2705

Sent from my iPhone

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	1/5/2021 4:46:47 PM
To:	wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org
Subject:	Equity Podcast Introduction & Pre-Work

Hi Tina,

While Stacy takes care of registration, here is the pertinent information you will need for our upcoming time together.

Thank you for joining the WOSC Equity Podcast Study. This study will be centered around *Scene on Radio Podcast's Season 2: Seeing White*. You can access this podcast through most app stores or through the links in the homework section. Transcripts are available on the linked pages.

I am excited to further explore equity with you in the coming weeks as we unpack John Biewen's fourteen episodes. As we all know, equity and equality are complex topics. When I was contacted about hosting some equity studies, I gave A LOT of thought as to where I wish I could have started in my written education on racial equity. I gave A LOT of thought as to what gave me the courage to examine my perspective of the world and what gave me the energy to continue. I gave A LOT of thought as to what conversations were most enlightening and inspiring.

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Our meeting link for all meetings:

Join with Google Meet

meet.google.com/rxy-pimq-cgq

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

From:	Tina Wingate [wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org]
Sent:	1/5/2021 6:59:02 PM
To:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Subject:	Re: Equity Podcast

Thank you for your help Sandi.
Tina Wingate

Sent from my iPhone

> On Jan 5, 2021, at 4:45 PM, Sandi Preiss <sandi.preiss@mcesc.org> wrote:

Stacy,

Can you help Ms. Wingate? I will send her the introductory email, assuming that you will take care of getting her registration for the podcast series squared away.

Thank you,
Sandi Preiss
---------- Forwarded message ---------
From: **Tina Wingate** <wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org>
Date: Tue, Jan 5, 2021 at 3:23 PM
Subject: Equity Podcast
To: <sandi.preiss@mcesc.org>

Dear Ms. Preiss,
I have not receive the email that was sent out today for the Equity Podcast Seminar that my colleagues received. I was enrolled in the October session that was postponed and rescheduled to start next week.
I also did not receive an invitation to Google Meet.
I work for Oakwood City Schools.
Please advise me as to what I might need to do at this time.
Thank you.
Sincerely,
Tina Wingate
wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org
Phone #(937)768-2705

Sent from my iPhone

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant

Montgomery Educational Service Center

Message

From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	1/12/2021 8:15:18 AM
To:	undisclosed-recipients:
BCC:	lnbryant@daytonpublic.com; bjustice@southernohioesc.org; tmmonroe@daytonpublic.com; JGRABEMA@daytonpublic.com; melchor.crystal@oakwoodschools.org; madisonjeziorski@citizenschools.org; bgood@daytonpublic.com; tstomps@daytonpublic.com; erogers@daytonpublic.com; mruzicka@daytonpublic.com; amimel@daytonpublic.com; geubanks@xeniaschools.org; NLMCSHER@daytonpublic.com; vgkimbal@daytonpublic.com; dmrobins@daytonpublic.com; sledge.becky@oakwoodschools.org; SFMurphy@daytonpublic.com; fultz.elaine@oakwoodschools.org; mysbaker@daytonpublic.com; jkcain@daytonpublic.com; rkgunter@daytonpublic.com; candice.sears@mcesc.org; maryann.morgret@mcapps.org; dlmullin@daytonpublic.com; cjhowes@daytonpublic.com; razelins@daytonpublic.com; betsy.chadd@bss.k12.oh.us; stacy.southard@mcapps.org; donnie.phelps@bss.k12.oh.us
Subject:	Urgent: Equity Book Study Meeting Room Change

Good morning,

Due to continued issues with video and sound in Google Meets we will be switching our Book study sessions to utilize the Zoom Meeting Platform. Our meeting link for all upcoming Book study sessions will be:

Join Zoom Meeting
https://us02web.zoom.us/j/7905870944?pwd=cTJBMGlWdUpqWTdna0RUVkV6Mzg5QT09

Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: Community
Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: 092559366

I look forward to seeing you this afternoon for our first session from 3:30-5:30.

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	1/12/2021 8:31:28 AM
To:	undisclosed-recipients:
BCC:	melchor.crystal@oakwoodschools.org; stacy.southard@mcapps.org; wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org; judge.rachael@oakwoodschools.org; theodorecm@crgrp.com; patterson.sarah@oakwoodschools.org; katie.weber@bss.k12.oh.us; emily_eilerman@arcanum-butler.k12.oh.us; betsy.chadd@bss.k12.oh.us; donnie.phelps@bss.k12.oh.us; cfranks@sainthelenschool.org; paige.lewis@bss.k12.oh.us; marykay.marsh@bss.k12.oh.us
Subject:	Urgent: Equity Podcast Study Meeting Room Change

Good morning,

Due to continued issues with video and sound in Google Meets we will be switching our Podcast study sessions to utilize the Zoom Meeting Platform. Our meeting link for all upcoming Podcat study sessions will be:

Join Zoom Meeting
https://us02web.zoom.us/j/7905870944?pwd=cTJBMGlWdUpqWTdna0RUVkV6Mzg5QT09

Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: Community

I look forward to seeing you tomorrow afternoon for our first session from 3:30-5:30.

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	1/12/2021 7:36:52 PM
To:	undisclosed-recipients:
BCC:	cjhowes@daytonpublic.com; razelins@daytonpublic.com; geubanks@xeniaschools.org; vgkimbal@daytonpublic.com; tmmonroe@daytonpublic.com; NLMCSHER@daytonpublic.com; madisonjeziorski@citizenschools.org; sledge.becky@oakwoodschools.org; lnbryant@daytonpublic.com; betsy.chadd@bss.k12.oh.us; mysbaker@daytonpublic.com; rkgunter@daytonpublic.com; maryann.morgret@mcapps.org; fultz.elaine@oakwoodschools.org; JGRABEMA@daytonpublic.com; melchor.crystal@oakwoodschools.org; SFMurphy@daytonpublic.com; donnie.phelps@bss.k12.oh.us; amimel@daytonpublic.com; dlmullin@daytonpublic.com; tstomps@daytonpublic.com; dmrobins@daytonpublic.com; erogers@daytonpublic.com; mruzicka@daytonpublic.com; bgood@daytonpublic.com; bjustice@southernohioesc.org; jkcain@daytonpublic.com
Subject:	Equity Book Study Part 2

All,

Thank you for an absolutely wonderful afternoon session! I hope that you left our book study session feeling more comfortable with understanding the unintended of (unfortunately) intended impact and consequences that make up our history or school integration. Your conversation today reflected that of a community of change agents, committed to bettering our world through learning, feeling, sharing, and thinking. Thank you for making this a priority in your busy schedule in one of the most hectic times of our professional and personal lives.

In preparation for our next meeting, here are the promised details:
1. We will meet next Tuesday (January 12) from 3:30-5:30 pm at our Zoom link:

https://us02web.zoom.us/j/7905870944?pwd=cTJBMGlWdUpqWTdna0RUVkV6Mzg5QT09
Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: Community

2. To prepare for our next meeting, please watch:
A. Housing Segregation & Redlining in America: A Short History
https://youtu.be/O5FBJyqfoLM?t=41. It is a short video but incredibly dense so you may want to watch it more than once.

AND

B. After you watch the video introducing redlining please complete Part 2: Planning for Performance.

3. Per our discussion today here are some resources you may be interested in. I highly encourage you to take the time to go through this content to make the most of our time together.

Revisionist History Podcast: Mrs. Buchanan's period of adjustment

The Brown Bag Paper Bag Test

Marginalized groups diagram that I have used when leading discussions

What is Code Switching

Thank you!

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	1/13/2021 12:44:44 PM
CC:	Southard, Stacy [stacy.southard@mcapps.org]
BCC:	katie.weber@bss.k12.oh.us; patterson.sarah@oakwoodschools.org; betsy.chadd@bss.k12.oh.us; wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org; cfranks@sainthelenschool.org; marykay.marsh@bss.k12.oh.us; donnie.phelps@bss.k12.oh.us; theodorecm@crgrp.com; judge.rachael@oakwoodschools.org; emily_eilerman@arcanum-butler.k12.oh.us; melchor.crystal@oakwoodschools.org; paige.lewis@bss.k12.oh.us
Subject:	Late Registrations: Equity Podcast Introduction & Pre-Work

All,

It was brought to my attention that there were a couple late registrations to our Podcast Study series that starts this afternoon at 3:30pm. Below you will find the introductory email for our upcoming time together. I understand that if you are just now receiving this information, you will not have had time to listen to our first podcast (16 min) long. I apologize for any confusion. I look forward to seeing you all this afternoon.

Best,
Sandi Preiss

---------- Forwarded message ---------
From: **Sandi Preiss** <sandi.preiss@mcesc.org>
Date: Tue, Jan 5, 2021 at 12:05 PM
Subject: Equity Podcast Introduction & Pre-Work
To:

Good afternoon,

Thank you for joining the WOSC Equity Podcast Study. This study will be centered around *Scene on Radio Podcast's Season 2: Seeing White.* You can access this podcast through most app stores or through the links in the homework section. Transcripts are available on the linked pages.

I am excited to further explore equity with you in the coming weeks as we unpack John Biewen's fourteen episodes. As we all know, equity and equality are complex topics. When I was contacted about hosting some equity studies, I gave A LOT of thought as to where I wish I could have started in my written education on racial equity. I gave A LOT of thought as to what gave me the courage to examine my perspective of the world and what gave me the energy to continue. I gave A LOT of thought as to what conversations were most enlightening and inspiring.

I chose a rather unconventional approach by suggesting a podcast study. But this series is well worth it! This will be my fourth time listening to most of these episodes. I find John Biewen's style of investigative journalism and narrating engaging, respectful, and enlightening. Understanding history and implications of race in the United States is necessary for us, no matter how hard we may individually find it to be. It is hard to weave together so many perspectives. It is hard to separate a good person from a racist thought and/or act. It is hard to understand systematic racism. It is hard to examine who taught us and understand the lens the "teacher" saw the world through. In short, understanding the history of race and equity requires us to question many aspects of our understanding of our childhood and adulthood and this is hard. I am excited that you have chosen to

commit to this journey with us. I am excited for your conviction to further grow and explore the history of race and equity in America!

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Our meeting link for all meetings:
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Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: Community

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Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	1/14/2021 9:13:52 AM
To:	undisclosed-recipients:
BCC:	judge.rachael@oakwoodschools.org; cfranks@sainthelenschool.org; wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org; patterson.sarah@oakwoodschools.org; katie.weber@bss.k12.oh.us; melchor.crystal@oakwoodschools.org; emily_eilerman@arcanum-butler.k12.oh.us; paige.lewis@bss.k12.oh.us; theodorecm@crgrp.com; marykay.marsh@bss.k12.oh.us; donnie.phelps@bss.k12.oh.us; betsy.chadd@bss.k12.oh.us
Subject:	Part 1: Follow up Equity Podcast
Attachments:	Part1.SeeingWhite.Definitions.pdf; Why Talk About Whiteness. Part 1 PodcastResource.pdf

All,

Thank you for a thought-provoking afternoon session! I hope that you left our podcast study session feeling motivated to learn more about the complex history of race and the subsequent social constructs that we all live within. Your conversation today reflected that of a community of change agents, committed to bettering our world through learning, feeling, sharing, and thinking. Thank you for making this a priority in your busy schedule in one of the most hectic times of our professional and personal lives.

<u>In preparation for our next meeting, here are the promised details:</u>
1. Homework:
Listen to Podcasts:
<u>Episode 2:</u> How Race was Made (28 min)
<u>Episode 3:</u> Made in America (33 min)
<u>Episode 4:</u> On Crazy, We Built a Nation (36 min)

2. References that were mentioned throughout our time together (I highly, recommend reading "a", in advance of our next session)
a. <u>Article exploring the punishing impact of racism on black men in America</u>
b. <u>Marginalized groups diagram that I have used when leading discussions</u>
c. Definitions from last night's presentation are attached
d. <u>White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible KnapsackBy Peggy McIntosh</u>
e. Courtesy of Paige: <u>https://www.coursera.org/learn/antiracism-1/course-inbox</u>
f. Courtesy of Paige: Why talk about Whiteness article, attached

3. I look forward to seeing you, next Wednesday from 3:30-5:30 pm
<u>Click Here for Zoom Meeting</u>
Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: Community

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Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

Antiracism: the work of actively opposing racism by advocating for changes in political, economic, and social life. Anti-racism tends to be an individualized approach, and set up in opposition to individual racist behaviors and impacts

Cultural racism: refers to representations, messages and stories conveying the idea that behaviors and values associated with white people or "whiteness" are automatically "better" or more "normal" than those associated with other racially defined groups. Cultural racism shows up in advertising, movies, history books, definitions of patriotism, and in policies and laws

Institutional racism (aka Systemic racism): specifically to the ways in which institutional policies and practices create different outcomes for different racial groups. The institutional policies may never mention any racial group, but their effect is to create advantages for whites and oppression and disadvantage for people from groups classified as people of color.

Microaggression: The everyday verbal, nonverbal, and environmental slights, snubs, or insults, whether intentional or unintentional, which communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to target persons based solely upon their marginalized group membership.

Racism: Historically rooted system of power hierarchies based on race— infused in our institutions, policies and culture—that benefit White people and hurt marginalized people.

Structural racism: The normalization and legitimization of an array of dynamics – historical, cultural, institutional and interpersonal – that routinely advantage Whites while producing cumulative and chronic adverse outcomes for people of color.

Structural white privilege: A system of white domination that creates and maintains belief systems that make current racial advantages and disadvantages seem normal.

White privilege: Refers to the unquestioned and unearned set of advantages, entitlements, benefits and choices bestowed on people solely because they are white.

Why Talk About Whiteness?

Race & Ethnicity
See all articles *from this issue*

MORE IN THIS ISSUE

Editor's note: The author of "Why Talk About Whiteness?" is a white anti-bias educator. While the material in this story is relevant to all readers, many of the challenges the author poses are directed at white readers, hence the use of "we" and "us" in certain places.

"I don't think I've ever come across anything that has made me aware of my race. I don't believe there is any benefit of anybody's particular race or color. I feel like I've accomplished what I've accomplished in life because of the person I am, not because of the color of my skin."

These are the observations of a white female participant in *The Whiteness Project, Part I*, an interactive web-based collection of voices and reflections of Americans from diverse walks of life who identify as white. Her statement illustrates why educators, activists and allies doing racial justice work are increasingly focused on the importance of examining whiteness: It's impossible to see the privilege and dominance associated with white racial identity without acknowledging that whiteness *is* a racial identity.

This fundamental disconnect between the racial self-perceptions of many white people and the realities of racism was part of what motivated documentary filmmaker, director and producer Whitney Dow to create *The Whiteness Project*. "Until you can recognize that you are living a racialized life and you're having racialized experiences every moment of every day, you can't actually engage people of other races around the idea of justice," Dow explains. "Until you get to the thing that's primary, you can't really attack racism."

Dow's work, among other activism and scholarship focused on whiteness, has the potential to stimulate meaningful conversations about whiteness and move white folks past emotions like defensiveness, denial, guilt and shame (emotions that do nothing to improve conditions for people of color) and toward a place of self-empowerment and social responsibility.

Whiteness, History and Culture

Why does whiteness fly beneath the race radar? The normalization of whiteness and the impenetrable ways it protects itself are cornerstones of the way institutions function in the United States. In a 2015 interview, Pulitzer Prize-winning writer Junot Díaz said of the United States, "We live in a society where default whiteness goes unremarked—no one ever asks it for its passport."

This poses a challenge for educators committed to racial justice. We know it's important to make space in our classrooms to explore students' cultures and identities, but when it comes to white students, many are left with questions about how to talk about group membership and cultural belonging. These questions stem in part from the fact that, while it's true whiteness is seen as a social default, it is *not* true that whiteness is the absence of race or culture. As one male participant in *The Whiteness Project* puts it, "As a white person, I wish I had that feeling of being a part of something for being white, but I don't."

One place to start is by acknowledging that generations of European immigration to the United States means that our country is home to the most diverse white population anywhere in the world. Differences between Jewish, Irish, Italian, Greek, Polish or German culture matter—a lot—to those who identify as *ethnic* whites. Part of "seeing" whiteness includes caring about these rich histories and complicating our discussions of race by asking questions about the intersection of ethnicity and race.

In her work on white racial identity development, diversity expert Rita Hardiman explains that, as white people become more conscious of whiteness and its meaning, we may simultaneously struggle with two aspects of identity: internalized dominance and the search for cultural belonging. The search for culture draws some white people to multiculturalism and appreciation of other cultures and heritages. Others find roots outside the container of race, woven into proud family histories. A small minority cling violently to their white cultural identity, sometimes with tragic consequences. (In any case, it is important to note that the ability to trace one's genealogy is an inherited privilege not enjoyed by most African Americans, the majority of whom are descendants of enslaved people.)

Reconciling the meaning of white culture can be complicated by the fact that being white has not always meant what it means now. Whiteness—like all racial categories—is a social construct: Its meaning is culturally and historically contextual. The physical characteristics we now associate with whiteness have been artificially linked to power and privilege for the purpose of maintaining an unjust social hierarchy.

Attorney, scholar and anti-racist educator Jacqueline Battalora of Saint Xavier University studies the legal and historical construction of whiteness in the United States, what she calls the "invention of white people." In her book *Birth of a White Nation,* she shows that white people didn't exist—even as a label, much less as a race—until the end of the 17th century when the elite class enacted anti-miscegenation laws and other laws designed to keep black and white workers separate, both efforts to, in part, divide and control an increasingly ethnically diverse labor force. As students enter middle and high school, teaching about this history and about the concept of racial construction is another way educators can bring discussion about whiteness—and its relationship to racial justice—into the classroom.

Scholars Michelle Alexander (*The New Jim Crow*) and Jacqueline Battalora (*Birth of a White Nation*) both name Bacon's Rebellion as a pivotal event in the historical construction of whiteness in the United States. During the rebellion, disgruntled white settlers, indentured

servants and enslaved Africans joined forces to resist the ruling class and local Indian tribes. Their actions worried elites and led them to enact a more rigid racial class system. Read more about Bacon's Rebellion here.

Got Privilege? Now What?

In 1988, anti-bias educator Peggy McIntosh published her now-classic essay "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack." In it, she describes the phenomenon of white privilege as a collection of "unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was meant to remain oblivious."

McIntosh's essay launched the term *white privilege* into wider academic and activist circles (where the essay is still widely read), but recently the term has gained a mainstream audience. Examples include #OscarsSoWhite, Latina college student Thalia Anguiano asking Hillary Clinton for examples of her white privilege and Jon Stewart challenging Bill O'Reilly to defend why he believes white privilege doesn't exist. White rapper Macklemore mused about Black Lives Matter in his nine-minute song "White Privilege II," in which he asks, "Is it my place to give my two cents?
Or should I stand on the side and shut my mouth?"

While these examples are positive in that they make whiteness and white privilege more visible, popular discussions of white privilege can also prompt backlash.

Read more: What is White Privilege, Really?

"I think it's very hard in a culture that's built around this myth of the individual American who makes their own way, to say, 'Well, you actually have a built-in inherited advantage,'" Dow points out. "We view ourselves as just people, but that this country was founded on racist white supremacist principles is undeniable. I think people feel implicated because there's a cognitive dissonance built into how Americans view themselves."

But even if white students are able to overcome this dissonance and acknowledge their privilege, is that enough? Recognizing white privilege is a necessary but insufficient means for confronting racism and increasing opportunities for people of color. In fact, acknowledging white privilege but taking no initiative to own it or address it can be harmful and counterproductive. Molly Tansey, a member of the Young Teachers Collective and co-author of "Teaching While White," says, "Early on in doing this work, I was definitely driven by the self-satisfaction." She talks about the need white people sometimes have to make their non-racism visible, giving the example of someone who takes a "selfie" at a protest to post on Facebook.

We haven't acknowledged our white privilege if we're only talking about it with people of color—who are already well aware of white privilege. White allies need to talk to other white people who may not see their privilege. Though it's less comfortable, Tansey says, naming

whiteness and its privileges among white friends, family and colleagues is where the real work needs to be done.

We're also not adequately engaging the concept of white privilege if we leave intersectionality out of the conversation; doing so has the potential to render other identities invisible and obscures how multiple systems of oppression work. Blogger Gina Crosley-Corcoran made this point in her blog "Explaining White Privilege to a Broke White Person," in which she describes the difficult process of identifying with her white privilege because of her low-income upbringing. The same could be true for any white person who has a disability, doesn't speak English, is undocumented or LGBT—or any combination of the above. Intersectionality does not erase white privilege, but may affect a person's experience of privilege.

Acknowledging white privilege must be followed with anti-racist action. As scholar Fredrik deBoer argued in a January 2016 article for *The Washington Post*, "Disclaiming white privilege doesn't lower African Americans' inordinately high unemployment rate or increase educational opportunities for children of first-generation immigrants. The alternative is simpler, but harder: to define racism in terms of actions, and to resolve to act in a way that is contrary to racism."

Affirming a Positive White Identity

Making whiteness visible, understanding the diversity and history of whiteness, and going beyond white privilege can help educators and students alike find positive answers to the question: *What does it mean to be white?* For Melissa Katz, who authored "Teaching While White" with Tansey and is also part of the Young Teachers Collective, the answer is central to her self-realization as a white woman and as a teacher committed to social justice.

"The positive sense of whiteness is knowing that you're working towards something bigger," she says. "By examining your whiteness and by working to dismantle [racist] institutions, you're working towards equity."

For Dow, exploring whiteness—and inviting others to do the same—was transformative. "I could impact the paradigm because I actually was an active component. I didn't have to do something outside," he says. "I could do something inside and that would change things. It kind of eliminated guilt for me. It made me feel incredibly empowered and really enriched my world."

Anti-racist Understandings for Educators

Get fired up about racial injustice! Recognizing that "a threat to justice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere" is the foundation of white allyship. Use these understandings to help you and your students face what can be highly emotional and, at times, uncomfortable work.

Colorblindness denies students' full identities.

By saying "I don't see race" to indicate we don't hold racial biases about our students, we're essentially saying to people of color, "I don't see you." Colorblindness upholds the dominant framework of whiteness and invalidates the racial identities and lived experiences of people of color.

Speak out, but also look in.

It's critical that white allies respond to racial prejudice, bias and stereotypes in our everyday lives. It takes practice and sometimes comes with risk. But pointing to other people's white privilege, without (or instead of) looking at our own, is a distraction from true anti-racist action.

Avoid white noise and white silence.

It's important to listen when people of color talk about their experiences with oppression and not to dominate conversations about race. But opting out altogether can be just as harmful. "The racial status quo is not neutral; it is racist," DiAngelo says. "Remaining silent when given the opportunity to discuss race supports the status quo."

Take responsibility for educating yourself about racism.

It makes sense to assume that someone who has experienced racism will have a better understanding of it than someone who has not. But when white educators expect students or colleagues of color to teach them about racism, it raises a number of problems, not least of which is people of color doing white people's work for them.

Be down, but stay white.

75 percent of white Americans say they come in contact with "a few" or "no" black people on a regular basis—a startling fact about race relations. Living an integrated life builds cross-cultural connection and fosters empathy. Over-familiarizing with people of color—"I hang out with people of color, so I'm not racist"—reduces race to a lifestyle choice and can offer an easy way out of difficult anti-racism work. Appreciating a diverse group of friends or colleagues does not take the place of confronting white privilege, addressing internalized white guilt or responding to the biases of other white people.

Don't take it personally—it's not about you!

White people have come to expect a level of racial comfort. When that expectation is met with racial stress, DiAngelo explains the result can be White Fragility: "White Fragility is a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include the outward display of emotions such as anger, fear and guilt, and behaviors such as argumentation, silence and leaving the stress-inducing situation. These behaviors, in turn, function to reinstate white racial equilibrium."

These understandings were drawn from the work of Robin DiAngelo (*What Does It Mean to Be White? Developing White Racial Literacy*), Heather Hackman (*Everyday White People Confront Racial and Social Injustice: 15 Stories*) and Jennifer Seibel Trainor ("My Ancestors Didn't Own Slaves: Understanding White Talk about Race").

Message

All,

Thank you for a great second session! I hope that you left our book study session feeling better equipped to make sense of our historical acts and their lasting impact on school integration and social injustice that is deeply steeped in institutional racism. Just as before, thank you for making this a priority in your mind, heart, and busy schedule.

<u>In preparation for our next meeting, here are the promised details:</u>
1. We will meet next Tuesday (January 26) from 3:30-5:30 pm at our Zoom link:

https://us02web.zoom.us/j/7905870944?pwd=cTJBMGIWdUpqWTdna0RUVkV6Mzg5QT09
Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: Community

2. To prepare for our next meeting, please read:
Part 3: Why Do Black People Drink Hawaiian Punch

3. Per our discussion today here are some resources you may be interested in. I highly encourage you to take the time to go through this content to make the most of our time together.

A. *Dayton one of 61 metro areas flagged for redlining by study* (article attached)

B. *Lasting Scars: The legacy of race-based redlining* (article attached)

C. *20 Dayton neighborhoods where it is hardest to get a home loan* (article attached)
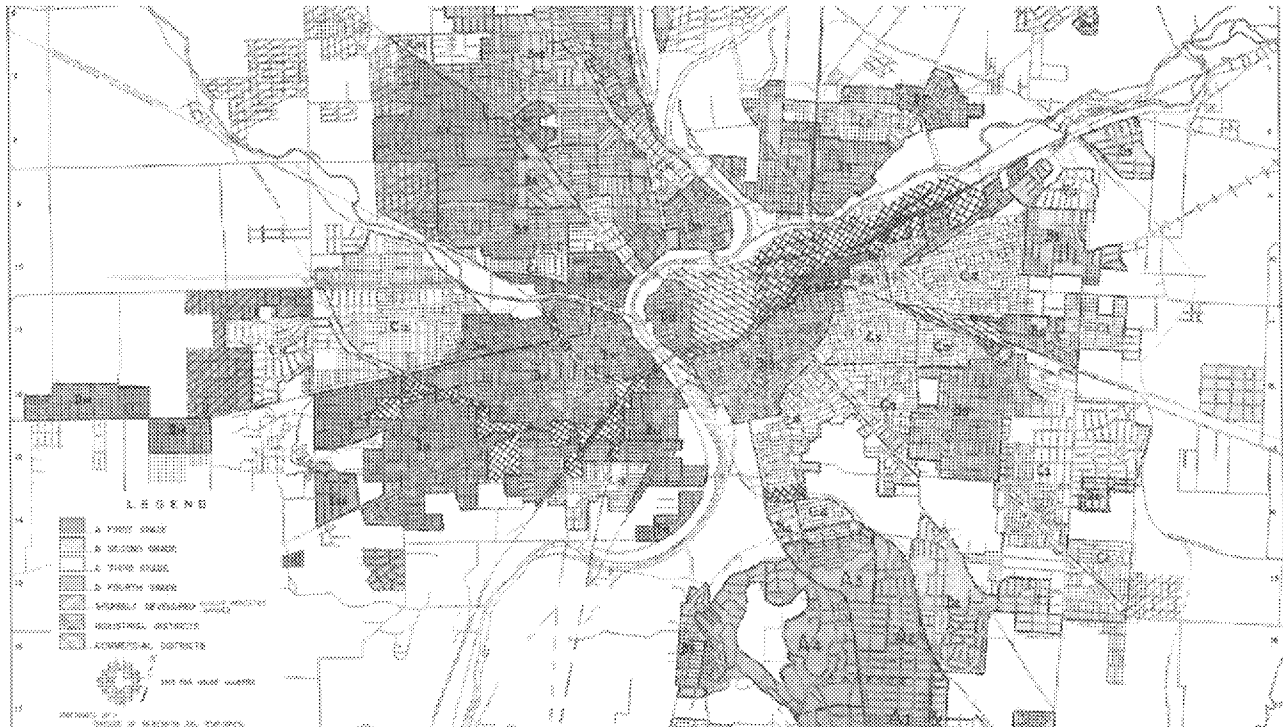

Thank you!

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Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

20 Dayton neighborhoods where it is hardest to get a home loan

Redlining map of Dayton created by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation in 1935. Red areas show parts of town deemed most at risk for bank loans because of factors including the racial makeup of who lived there.

By:
Updated: February 26, 2018 - 3:21 PM

Redlining — the historical practice of refusing credit to homebuyers in minority neighborhoods — has been outlawed since 1968, and banks have a legal obligation to conduct fair lending under the Community Reinvestment Act. But in many places, including much of West Dayton and Trotwood, federal loan data shows the law hasn't made much difference.

A Dayton Daily News analysis of home mortgage data gathered by Reveal from The Center for Investigative Reporting, shows black applicants in the Dayton metro area were 2.1 times as likely to be denied a conventional home mortgage as white applicants in 2015 and 2016.

These 20 census tracts, all located in and around Dayton and Trotwood, had the highest denial rates for conventional mortgage loans in the entire metro area, which includes Montgomery, Greene and Miami counties. 14 of them are majority-black neighborhoods.

1. Census tract 3 – Wesleyan Hill neighborhood, Dayton.

2. Census tract 22 – Twin Towers neighborhood, Dayton.

3. Census tract 707 – Fort McKinley neighborhood, northeast Trotwood.

4. Census tract 804 – Harrison Twp., off Riverside Drive.

5. Census tract 11 – Riverdale/North Riverdale neighborhood, Dayton.

Wanda Dean stands on the porch of her Parkwood Drive home, Wednesday, Feb. 21, 2018. She's frustrated with a low appraisal value her duplex received as she's tried to sell it. Her neighborhood is one that data shows suffers from modern-day redlining. KATIE WEDELL/STAFF

6. Census tract 23 – Burkhardt neighborhood, Dayton.

7. Census tract 7 – Southern Dayton View, Dayton.

8. Census tract 702.01 – Southeast portion of Trotwood.

9. Census tract 20 – Springfield neighborhood, Dayton/Riverside.

10. Census tract 806 – Harrison Twp., Wagner Ford and I-75.

11. Census tract 8.01 – Hillcrest neighborhood, Dayton.

12. Census tract 1 – Northern Hills/Free Pike area.

13. Census tract 5 – Dayton View Triangle and area north of Good Samaritan Hospital.

This 2014 photo is of a home on Otterbein Avenue, representative of the many grand old homes in Dayton View being rehabbed. HANDOUT (HANDOUT)

14. Census tract 908 – Southeast corner of Riverside.

15. Census tract 39 – Southern half of Westwood neighborhood, Dayton.

16. Census tract 44 – Crown Point/Residence Park neighborhoods.

These rental homes on Crown Ave. in Trotwood are a bright spot in a neighborhood full of empty lots and dilapidated homes in a neighborhood that has seen a 57% drop in the median value of residential properties. TY GREENLEES / STAFF

17. **Census tract 705 – Trotwood north of Wolf Creek Pike/Main St.**

18. **Census tract 603 – Jefferson Twp./Dayton.**

19. **Census tract 704 – Trotwood south of Wolf Creek Pike/Main St.**

20. **Census tract 701.01 – All of western Trotwood.**

The Moss Creek subdivision and golf course on the south side of Westbrook Rd. in Trotwood. TY GREENLEES / STAFF

Click on a census tract to see more details.

So where are the most loans being approved?

We looked at the five Dayton-metro census tracts with the most applications for conventional home mortgage loans in 2016. They are all affluent, white suburbs or townships and had loan denial rates below 11 percent.

1. Census tract 404.06 – Washington Twp./Centerville.

Yankee Trace subdivision and golf course are in census tract 404.06 in Washington Twp. TREMAYNE HOGUE/STAFF PHOTO (TREMAYNE HOGUE/STAFF)

There were 299 loan applications and a denial rate of 8.7 percent. The census tract is 80 percent white and had a median home value of $267,700. The loan denial rate for Latinos in this census tract was disproportionally high at 12.5 percent.

2. Census tract 2106.03 – Beavercreek Twp.

The intersection at Fairground and Trebein roads in Beavercreek Township. LAUREN CLARK/STAFF

There were 238 loan applications and a denial rate of 2.9 percent. The census tract is 86 percent white and has a median home value of $256,600.

3. Census tract 102 – Eastern Oakwood.

Far Hills Avenue in Oakwood. Everything east of Far Hills is in census tract 102. Staff photo by Jim Witmer (Jim Witmer)

There were 237 loan applications and a denial rate of 4.2 percent. The census tract is 95.6 percent white and has a median home value of $206,700.

4. Census tract 3801 – Bethel Twp., Miami County. There were 233 loan applications and a denial rate of 10.7 percent. The census tract is 93.6 percent white and has a median home value of $179,500.

5. Census tract 2201 – Bellbrook/Sugarcreek Twp.

City of Bellbrook sign. TREMAYNE HOGUE / STAFF (TREMAYNE HOGUE / STAFF)

There were 228 loan applications and a denial rate of 9.2 percent. The census tract is 95 percent white and has a median home value of $304,500. The loan denial rate for Asians was disproportionally high in this census tract at 43 percent.

Lasting Scars: The legacy of race-based redlining

Local News | Updated Nov 4, 2020
By Josh Sweigart, Dayton Daily News

In 1937, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation rated a Dayton neighborhood just northwest of the confluence of Wolf Creek and the Great Miami River as extremely risky for loans. Agency officials wrote that it had good transportation and schools, but listed "detrimental influences."

ExploreRELATED: Lasting Scars: The 1966 west Dayton riot

"Older section of city, negroes moving in," they wrote.

A map of Dayton was created to help banks figure out which areas were more or less desirable for lending, taking into account factors including "infiltration" of Blacks and immigrants. The lowest-rated areas were outlined in red. The same was done in 239 cities across the U.S., and the term "redlining" was born.

ExploreRELATED: Lasting Scars, Part 1: Shooting sparked 1966 Dayton riots
The effects of this now-illegal practice are still felt today, according to Jim McCarthy, president and CEO of the Miami Valley Fair Housing Center. He answered three questions about redlining:
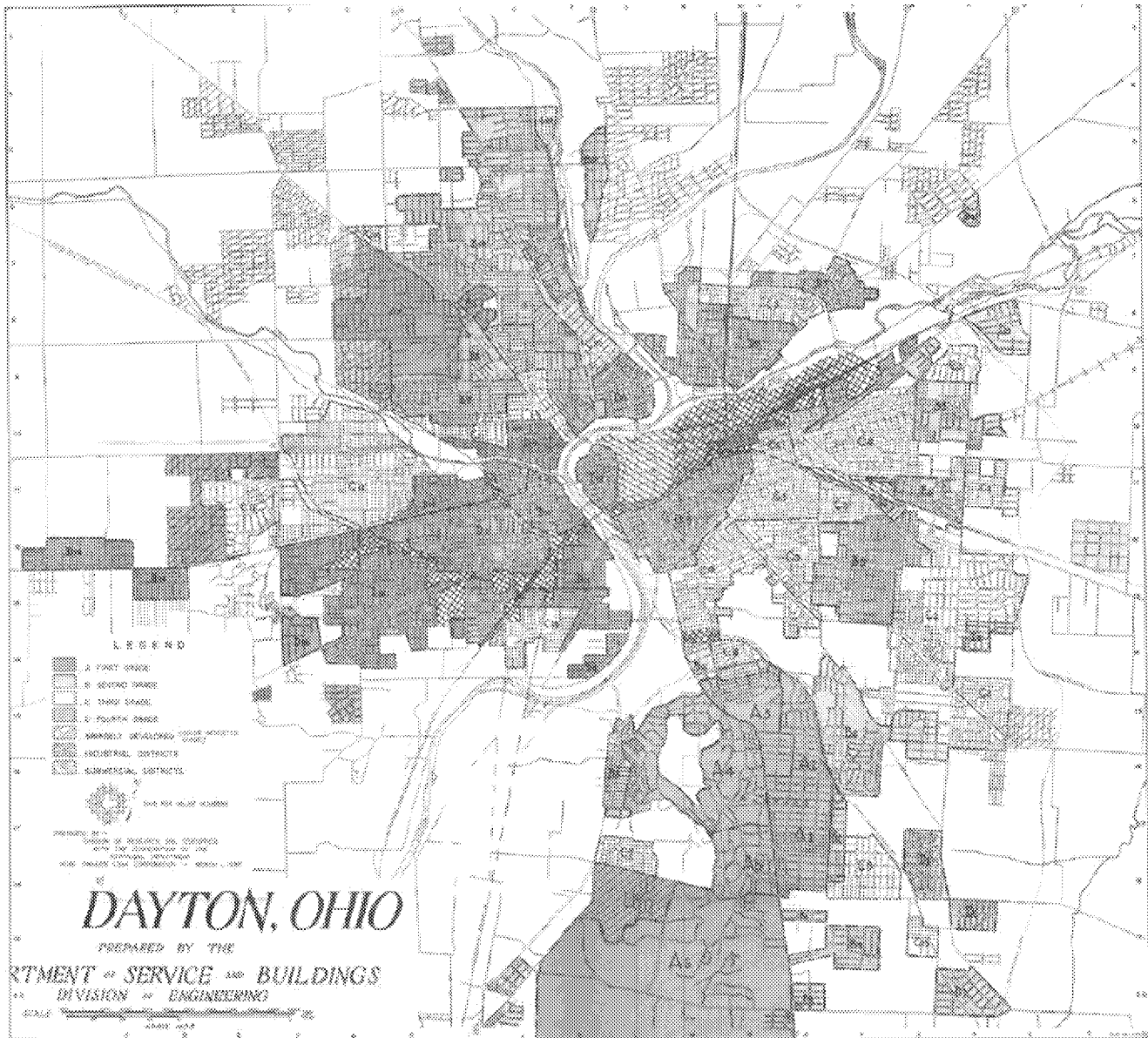
1. What is redlining?

"Redlining is a practice by some lenders and/or insurers wherein an area either literally or figuratively has a red line drawn around it and the company then engages in an arbitrary practice of treating the people who live in the area differently. Treatment may be an outright denial of services, or provision of a more expensive, lesser quality service.

ExploreRELATED: Lasting Scars, Part 2: 50 years later, Dayton remains segregated
"Historically redlining has been practiced based upon the racial composition of neighborhoods and assumptions made about the socio-economic status of residents within the redlined areas. This practice stems from the establishment of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) in the 1930s when color-coded maps were developed of cities in the U.S. that used racial criteria to categorize lending and insurance risks."

ExploreRELATED: Lasting Scars, Part 3: Once 'vibrant,' west Dayton in economic distress

Map of DAYTON, OHIO
PREPARED BY THE
DEPARTMENT OF SERVICE AND BUILDINGS
DIVISION OF ENGINEERING

2. What are the current laws regarding redlining?

"Redlining violates the Fair Housing Act of 1968, the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988, and the the Community Reinvestment Act of 1977. The Fair Housing Act makes it illegal to discriminate in the terms, conditions, or privileges of a rental or sale of a dwelling because of race or national origin. The Fair Housing Act was applied to the provision of homeowner's insurance, using a clause in the act that says it is unlawful to 'otherwise make unavailable or deny.' Most homeowners cannot obtain a residential mortgage unless they can also secure homeowners insurance."

ExploreRELATED: Lasting Scars, Part 4, 'Good things on horizon' for west Dayton
3. What is the residual effect of historical redlining?

"The pernicious effects of historical redlining persist to this day. Residential mortgages in Black or Hispanic neighborhoods are more difficult to obtain and are often costlier; small businesses in Black neighborhoods or Hispanic neighborhoods receive fewer loans and the loans have lesser credit quality than small businesses in white neighborhoods. Even employment is affected since workers living in inner-city Black communities have more difficulty finding jobs than their suburban counterparts."

Dayton one of 61 metro areas flagged for redlining by study

By Katie Wedell

Local fair housing advocates say lending industry practices keep African-Americans from homeownership and keep neighborhoods from improving.

This happens in a variety of ways, experts say: from a lack of bank branches in majority-black communities and products not being marketed there, to low-ball appraisals of homes. The federal government has alleged in lawsuits that certain lending policies can amount to redlining even if they are not intentional.

Locally, the result is large swaths of West Dayton and Trotwood where very few people even apply for mortgage loans and more than half of those who do get rejected.

The inability to get credit for homes in these neighborhoods leaves them vulnerable to foreclosures and blight.

It means people such as Wanda Dean can't sell properties that they've kept up and even poured money into renovating, because they live in the wrong census tract.

"It's very disheartening," Dean said. "I had worked hard to try and keep my property up."

She had a recent offer to buy her duplex on East Parkwood Drive for $95,000. But an appraiser said the property was only worth $40,000, which frightened the potential buyer. Her real estate broker Veronica Bedell-Nevels said the appraiser wasn't willing to look at comparable homes outside of the immediate neighborhood, which has a number of rundown properties in sharp contrast to Dean's neatly kept yard and fully renovated two-bedroom units.

"It was just unfair to me, because the city doesn't even appraise it that low," Dean said. "As much work as I have put into it, you would think that I would get something out of it."

The home is in census tract 11, which runs between North Main Street and Riverside Drive in Dayton's Riverdale and North Riverdale neighborhoods. The population is 61 percent black, and lenders turned down 57 percent of applicants for loans there in 2016.

"If there is no mortgage lending happening in neighborhoods, how do you stabilize neighborhoods?" said Catherine Crosby, executive director of the Dayton Human Relations Council. "We know that homeownership creates a sense of pride."

Redlining not in the past

In the 1930s, surveyors with the federal Home Owners' Loan Corporation drew lines on maps and used the color red for some neighborhoods, deeming them "hazardous" for bank lending because of the presence of African-Americans or European immigrants, especially Jews.
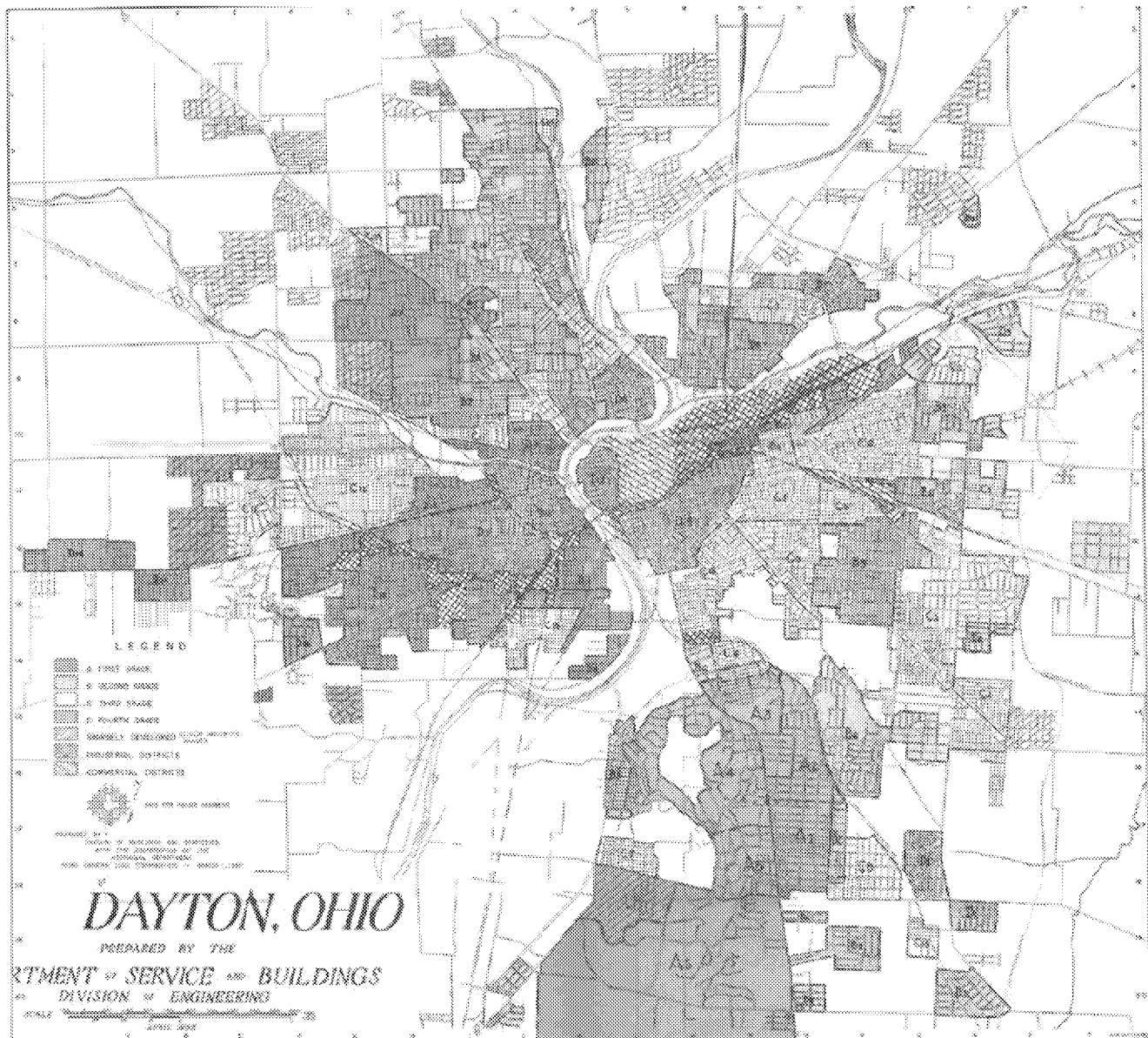
Redlining has been outlawed since 1968. And for the last 40 years, banks have had a legal obligation under the Community Reinvestment Act to solicit clients — borrowers and depositors — from all segments of their communities.

But in many places, the data shows the law hasn't made much difference.

The analysis - independently reviewed and confirmed by The Associated Press - showed black applicants were turned away at significantly higher rates than whites in 48 cities, Latinos in 25, Asians in nine and Native Americans in three.

The yearlong analysis, based on 31 million Home Mortgage Disclosure Act records, relied on techniques used by leading academics, the Federal Reserve and the Department of Justice to identify lending disparities.

The analysis included all records publicly available covering nearly every time an American tried to buy a home with a conventional mortgage in 2015 and 2016. Federal Housing Administration (FHA) loans were not included, but disparities were statistically similar, Reveal said.

It controlled for nine economic and social factors, including an applicant's income, the amount of the loan, the ratio of the size of the loan to the applicant's income and the type of lender, as well as the racial makeup and median income of the neighborhood where the person wanted to buy property.

It found a pattern of troubling denials for people of color across the country, including in major metropolitan areas such as Atlanta, Detroit, Philadelphia, St. Louis and San Antonio.

Dayton was the only city in Ohio where a significant racial disparity in lending was identified.

Census tracts with the highest loan denial rates

These 20 census tracts, all located in and around Dayton and Trotwood, had the highest mortgage loan denial rates in 2016 out of the three-county Dayton metro area. In 14 of them, the population is majority black. Click on a census tract to see details.

It's a story that has been playing out here for decades, fair housing advocates said.

"The city refuses to come west," said Mary Jo Wiley, president of the Great Dayton Realtist Association, an African-America trade organization of real estate agents and brokers whose mission is to serve the under-served. "All things on the west side of the river suffer."

The racial discrepancies in lending and the neighborhoods that suffer most haven't changed much in the eight years since the Dayton Daily News last analyzed HMDA data in 2010.

Then too, black applicants were twice as likely to be turned down for loans. Some of the neighborhoods that had the worst loan rates are in even worse shape today.

FROM 2010: Neighborhoods in danger when home loans dry up

The census tract that encompasses much of the Westwood neighborhood had 38 out of 44 loan applications denied in 2008. Since then, more than 200 homes there have been demolished by the city under nuisance abatement laws. There were only six applications for home loans in 2016 and a third were denied.

'Industry has failed'

Enforcement under the CRA, Fair Housing Act and other fair lending laws has been sparse, but was bolstered by a 2015 Supreme Court decision that said lending practices could be found to have a "disparate impact" — a discriminatory effect — even if it wasn't motivated by an intent to discriminate.

The Justice Department sued a handful of financial institutions for failing to lend to people of color each year under the Obama administration. During President Donald Trump's first year in office, the department did not sue any lenders for racial discrimination.

Union Savings Bank and Guardian Savings Bank, which share owners and have headquarters in Cincinnati and West Chester Twp. respectively, were accused by the DOJ in 2016 of redlining in Cincinnati, Dayton, Columbus and Indianapolis.

The government's complaint alleged that Union Savings — which is the largest lender by volume in the Dayton market — located all its branches in predominantly white suburbs of Dayton and only marketed their products there. It also alleges the bank trained and incentivized loan officers to avoid majority black neighborhoods, and knew of, but failed to address, significant racial disparity in its lending compared with other banks in the market.

RELATED: <u>Local lawsuit spotlights lingering foreclosure perils</u>

The bank "engaged in a pattern or practice of unlawful redlining by structuring its business so as to avoid the credit needs of majority-black neighborhoods," and, "discouraged applicants in these neighborhoods from applying for credit," according to the complaint.

The entire banking industry has failed to properly address this disparity, said Keith Borders, vice president of community development for Union Savings and Guardian Savings banks.

Fewer home loans in minority neighborhoods

A comparison of these maps of Dayton show how areas with more minorities have the lowest rates of home loan approval.

Home purchase loans 2012-2015

Legend: >500 | >200 to 500 | >100 to 200 | >50 to 100 | 0 to 50
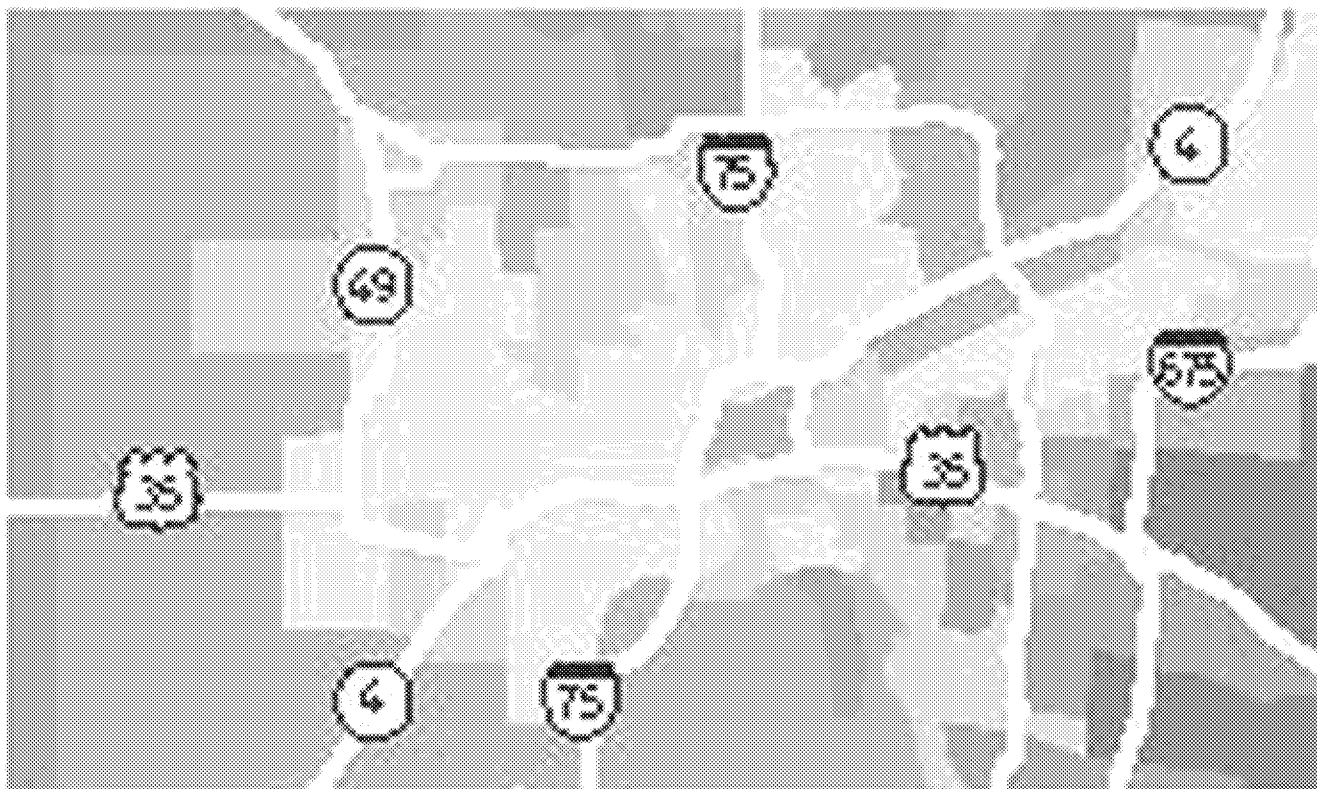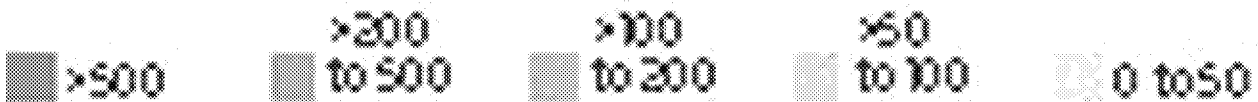
Percentage of minority population

Legend: 75.1%–100% | 50.1%–75% | 25.1%–50% | 10.1%–25% | <10%

Under a consent order, the banks agreed to provide training to employees, conduct a credit-needs assessment of the majority-black census tracts they serve and come up with products to meet those needs, open new branches in minority neighborhoods, develop community partnerships and donate at least $750,000 to groups promoting homeownership.

The needs assessment that was performed in the Dayton area led to the development of a new home improvement loan not previously available. The $5,000 forgivable loan comes with a requirement that borrowers get financial education training. In 2017 the bank awarded about $500,000 in credit through that program. They've also donated $20,000 to groups like Habitat for Humanity and the Homeownership Center Dayton, Borders said.

The banks also partnered with Central State University to create a Summer Banking Institute, aimed at getting minority students interested in careers in banking.

"There isn't enough diversity," Borders said. "How do you begin to build the trust? How do you build a talent pipeline?"

Several other banks that serve Dayton have community redevelopment programs that seek to offer flexible loan products and partner with non-profits to increase homeownership.

Some lenders have shifted to get rid of minimum loan limits and commissions based on loan values, Crosby said, which has been beneficial because the average home price in some neighborhoods is $40,000 to $50,000.

"There was no incentive to make loans at that lower value," she said.

Banks dispute data

Lenders and their trade organizations have raised questions about the reliability of Reveal's analysis, saying any meaningful review of mortgage lending practices cannot be based on statistics alone but must consider the most important factors in the decision to lend. Those

are a borrower's credit score and history, their income and debt-to-income and loan-to-value ratios.

"Unfortunately, that sometimes means hardworking Americans seeking a mortgage may not qualify under current rules," a statement from the American Bankers Association said. "The banking industry remains committed to working with policymakers to ensure those borrowers eventually get the opportunity to obtain a mortgage appropriate for them."

Ohio foreclosures hit 10-year low

The same statement said HMDA data can only determine if a disparity exists, not why it exists.

To those working to improve homeownership in Dayton there is no question of the disparity, and that lending policies and regulations are fueling it.

"No one who wants to live in a certain neighborhood has any decent credit?" McCarthy with the Miami Valley Fair Housing Center said. "We find that difficult to believe."

Aaron Glantz and Emmanuel Martinez of Reveal, and the Associated Press contributed to this report.

By the numbers

61: Number of metro areas across the country where African-Americans and Latinos are routinely denied conventional mortgage loans at rates far higher than their white counterparts.

1: Number of metro areas in Ohio where this occurred (Dayton).

2.1: The rate at which black applicants are more likely to be denied home loans in Dayton compared to white applicants.

Source: The Center for Investigative Reporting, which analyzed more than 31 million Home Mortgage Disclosure Act records from all 50 states over two years. Although the researchers controlled for applicants' income, loan amount and neighborhood, individual credit scores are not publicly available and could not be factored into the analysis.

All,

Wow, we definitely had some very thought-provoking conversations this afternoon. After dinner with my family, they sent me on my way back to my computer as they could tell I was still rather preoccupied with unpacking out evening podcast study discussions. I believe tonight we experienced some of the difficulties in individually unpacking and communicating the internalization of our racial history. We experienced several moments where our group members expressed a struggle with how to communicate their thoughts in an eloquent statement about a rather unsavory realization or fact. Not a normal feeling for us in education, huh? Remember how I used the word hard, rather obnoxiously in our introductory email? This "hardness" is to be expected, go ahead and lean into the discomfort, to the uncertainty in saying something exactly correct, and explore your vision for progress (for yourself, our region, and our nation). This is part of our own racial identity journey and just like with our students, we don't expect new information to come out perfectly as it is first being internalized. I think I speak for most of us when I say that your sharing is our progress, whether it is in a raw or eloquent state.

In response to our conversations, I will set aside a couple of minutes at the start of the next session to share a resource that I am hoping will bring many of you a sense of belonging along your own journey. Thank you for a thought-provoking session! I hope that you find our next three podcasts as compelling and enlightening as the last. I look forward to seeing you all and continuing to grow with you!

In preparation for our next meeting, here are the promised details:
1. Homework:
Listen to Podcasts:
Episode 5: Little War on the Prairie (63 min)
Episode 6: That's Not Us, So We're Clean (41 min)
Episode 7: Chenjerai's Challenge (15 min)

2. References that were mentioned throughout our time together:
a. *How to be an Antiracist* by Ibram X. Kendi (Dr. Kendi discusses gender racism and black feminism in chapter 14).

b. *Stamped from the Beginning* by Ibram X. Kendi (Dr. Kendi discusses Zurrara heavily in Chapter 2, the discussion of the African Slave trade in America spills into Chapter 3, this is also where Kendi starts the conversation about African beasts). A note about this book: I found it to be an amazing but incredibly weighty read, I am glad I saved it till a little later in my journey. It is written in a more formal and informational manner. While dense it is worth every page, just be sure to carve out the time to tackle it.

c. Courtesy of Emily: The Danger of a Single Story: TedTalk

3. A resource not mentioned but one I would like to share as I reflect on our conversations from today is Dr. Tatum's article. This is a little bit of a read, coming in at 23 pages but worth every page. I think that many of you may find it to be a great resource as your conversations unfold with the community, colleagues, and students. You will find the article attached to this email.

4. I look forward to seeing you, next Wednesday from 3:30-5:30 pm
Click Here for Zoom Meeting
Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: Community

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Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

Talking about Race, Learning about Racism: The Application of Racial Identity Development Theory in the Classroom

BEVERLY DANIEL TATUM
Mount Holyoke College

The inclusion of race-related content in college courses often generates emotional responses in students that range from guilt and shame to anger and despair. The discomfort associated with these emotions can lead students to resist the learning process. Based on her experience teaching a course on the psychology of racism and an application of racial identity development theory, Beverly Daniel Tatum identifies three major sources of student resistance to talking about race and learning about racism, as well as some strategies for overcoming this resistance.

As many educational institutions struggle to become more multicultural in terms of their students, faculty, and staff, they also begin to examine issues of cultural representation within their curriculum. This examination has evoked a growing number of courses that give specific consideration to the effect of variables such as race, class, and gender on human experience—an important trend that is reflected and supported by the increasing availability of resource manuals for the modification of course content (Bronstein & Quina, 1988; Hull, Scott, & Smith, 1982; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1985).

Unfortunately, less attention has been given to the issues of process that inevitably emerge in the classroom when attention is focused on race, class, and/or gender. It is very difficult to talk about these concepts in a meaningful way without also talking and learning about racism, classism, and sexism.[1] The introduction of these issues of oppression often generates powerful emotional responses in stu-

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[1] A similar point could be made about other issues of oppression, such as anti-Semitism, homophobia and heterosexism, ageism, and so on.

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dents that range from guilt and shame to anger and despair. If not addressed, these emotional responses can result in student resistance to oppression-related content areas. Such resistance can ultimately interfere with the cognitive understanding and mastery of the material. This resistance and potential interference is particularly common when specifically addressing issues of race and racism. Yet, when students are given the opportunity to explore race-related material in a classroom where both their affective and intellectual responses are acknowledged and addressed, their level of understanding is greatly enhanced.

This article seeks to provide a framework for understanding students' psychological responses to race-related content and the student resistance that can result, as well as some strategies for overcoming this resistance. It is informed by more than a decade of experience as an African-American woman engaged in teaching an undergraduate course on the psychology of racism, by thematic analyses of student journals and essays written for the racism class, and by an understanding and application of racial identity development theory (Helms, 1990).

Setting the Context

As a clinical psychologist with a research interest in racial identity development among African-American youth raised in predominantly White communities, I began teaching about racism quite fortuitously. In 1980, while I was a part-time lecturer in the Black Studies department of a large public university, I was invited to teach a course called Group Exploration of Racism (Black Studies 2). A requirement for Black Studies majors, the course had to be offered, yet the instructor who regularly taught the course was no longer affiliated with the institution. Armed with a folder full of handouts, old syllabi that the previous instructor left behind, a copy of *White Awareness: Handbook for Anti-racism Training* (Katz, 1978), and my own clinical skills as a group facilitator, I constructed a course that seemed to meet the goals already outlined in the course catalogue. Designed "to provide students with an understanding of the psychological causes and emotional reality of racism as it appears in everyday life," the course incorporated the use of lectures, readings, simulation exercises, group research projects, and extensive class discussion to help students explore the psychological impact of racism on both the oppressor and the oppressed.

Though my first efforts were tentative, the results were powerful. The students in my class, most of whom were White, repeatedly described the course in their evaluations as one of the most valuable educational experiences of their college careers. I was convinced that helping students understand the ways in which racism operates in their own lives, and what they could do about it, was a social responsibility that I should accept. The freedom to institute the course in the curriculum of the psychology departments in which I would eventually teach became a personal condition of employment. I have successfully introduced the course in each new educational setting I have been in since leaving that university.

Since 1980, I have taught the course (now called the Psychology of Racism) eighteen times, at three different institutions. Although each of these schools is very different — a large public university, a small state college, and a private, elite women's college — the challenges of teaching about racism in each setting have been more similar than different.

In all of the settings, class size has been limited to thirty students (averaging twenty-four). Though typically predominantly White and female (even in coeducational settings), the class make-up has always been mixed in terms of both race and gender. The students of color who have taken the course include Asians and Latinos/as, but most frequently the students of color have been Black. Though most students have described themselves as middle class, all socioeconomic backgrounds (ranging from very poor to very wealthy) have been represented over the years.

The course has necessarily evolved in response to my own deepening awareness of the psychological legacy of racism and my expanding awareness of other forms of oppression, although the basic format has remained the same. Our weekly three-hour class meeting is held in a room with movable chairs, arranged in a circle. The physical structure communicates an important premise of the course — that I expect the students to speak with each other as well as with me.

My other expectations (timely completion of assignments, regular class attendance) are clearly communicated in our first class meeting, along with the assumptions and guidelines for discussion that I rely upon to guide our work together. Because the assumptions and guidelines are so central to the process of talking and learning about racism, it may be useful to outline them here.

Working Assumptions

1. Racism, defined as a "system of advantage based on race" (see Wellman, 1977), is a pervasive aspect of U.S. socialization. It is virtually impossible to live in U.S. contemporary society and not be exposed to some aspect of the personal, cultural, and/or institutional manifestations of racism in our society. It is also assumed that, as a result, all of us have received some misinformation about those groups disadvantaged by racism.

2. Prejudice, defined as a "preconceived judgment or opinion, often based on limited information," is clearly distinguished from racism (see Katz, 1978). I assume that all of us may have prejudices as a result of the various cultural stereotypes to which we have been exposed. Even when these preconceived ideas have positive associations (such as "Asian students are good in math"), they have negative effects because they deny a person's individuality. These attitudes may influence the individual behaviors of people of color as well as of Whites, and may affect intergroup as well as intragroup interaction. However, a distinction must be made between the negative racial attitudes held by individuals of color and White individuals, because it is only the attitudes of Whites that routinely carry with them the social power inherent in the systematic cultural reinforcement and institutionalization of those racial prejudices. To distinguish the prejudices of students of color from the racism of White students is *not* to say that the former is acceptable and the latter is not; both are clearly problematic. The distinction is important, however, to identify the power differential between members of dominant and subordinate groups.

3. In the context of U.S. society, the system of advantage clearly operates to benefit Whites as a group. However, it is assumed that racism, like other forms of oppression, hurts members of the privileged group as well as those targeted by racism. While the impact of racism on Whites is clearly different from its impact on people of color, racism has negative ramifications for everyone. For example,

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some White students might remember the pain of having lost important relationships because Black friends were not allowed to visit their homes. Others may express sadness at having been denied access to a broad range of experiences because of social segregation. These individuals often attribute the discomfort or fear they now experience in racially mixed settings to the cultural limitations of their youth.

4. Because of the prejudice and racism inherent in our environments when we were children, I assume that we cannot be blamed for learning what we were taught (intentionally or unintentionally). Yet as adults, we have a responsibility to try to identify and interrupt the cycle of oppression. When we recognize that we have been misinformed, we have a responsibility to seek out more accurate information and to adjust our behavior accordingly.

5. It is assumed that change, both individual and institutional, is possible. Understanding and unlearning prejudice and racism is a lifelong process that may have begun prior to enrolling in this class, and which will surely continue after the course is over. Each of us may be at a different point in that process, and I assume that we will have mutual respect for each other, regardless of where we perceive one another to be.

To facilitate further our work together, I ask students to honor the following guidelines for our discussion. Specifically, I ask students to demonstrate their respect for one another by honoring the confidentiality of the group. So that students may feel free to ask potentially awkward or embarrassing questions, or share race-related experiences, I ask that students refrain from making personal attributions when discussing the course content with their friends. I also discourage the use of "zaps," overt or covert put-downs often used as comic relief when someone is feeling anxious about the content of the discussion. Finally, students are asked to speak from their own experience, to say, for example, "I think . . . " or "In my experience, I have found . . . " rather than generalizing their experience to others, as in "People say . . . ".

Many students are reassured by the climate of safety that is created by these guidelines and find comfort in the nonblaming assumptions I outline for the class. Nevertheless, my experience has been that most students, regardless of their class and ethnic background, still find racism a difficult topic to discuss, as is revealed by these journal comments written after the first class meeting (all names are pseudonyms):

> The class is called Psychology of Racism, the atmosphere is friendly and open, yet I feel very closed in. I feel guilt and doubt well up inside of me. (Tiffany, a White woman)

> Class has started on a good note thus far. The class seems rather large and disturbs me. In a class of this nature, I expect there will be many painful and emotional moments. (Linda, an Asian woman)

> I am a little nervous that as one of the few students of color in the class people are going to be looking at me for answers, or whatever other reasons. The thought of this inhibits me a great deal. (Louise, an African-American woman)

> I had never thought about my social position as being totally dominant. There wasn't one area in which I wasn't in the dominant group. . . . I first felt embarrassed. . . . Through association alone I felt in many ways responsible for the unequal condition existing in the world. This made me feel like shrinking in a hole

in a class where I was surrounded by 27 women and 2 men, one of whom was Black and the other was Jewish. I felt that all these people would be justified in venting their anger upon me. After a short period, I realized that no one in the room was attacking or even blaming me for the conditions that exist. (Carl, a White man)

Even though most of my students voluntarily enroll in the course as an elective, their anxiety and subsequent resistance to learning about racism quickly emerge.

Sources of Resistance

In predominantly White college classrooms, I have experienced at least three major sources of student resistance to talking and learning about race and racism. They can be readily identified as the following:

1. Race is considered a taboo topic for discussion, especially in racially mixed settings.
2. Many students, regardless of racial-group membership, have been socialized to think of the United States as a just society.
3. Many students, particularly White students, initially deny any personal prejudice, recognizing the impact of racism on other people's lives, but failing to acknowledge its impact on their own.

Race as Taboo Topic

The first source of resistance, race as a taboo topic, is an essential obstacle to overcome if class discussion is to begin at all. Although many students are interested in the topic, they are often most interested in hearing other people talk about it, afraid to break the taboo themselves.

One source of this self-consciousness can be seen in the early childhood experiences of many students. It is known that children as young as three notice racial differences (see Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). Certainly preschoolers talk about what they see. Unfortunately, they often do so in ways that make adults uncomfortable. Imagine the following scenario: A White child in a public place points to a dark-skinned African-American child and says loudly, "Why is that boy Black?" The embarrassed parent quickly responds, "Sh! Don't say that." The child is only attempting to make sense of a new observation (Derman-Sparks, Higa, & Sparks, 1980), yet the parent's attempt to silence the perplexed child sends a message that this observation is not okay to talk about. White children quickly become aware that their questions about race raise adult anxiety, and as a result, they learn not to ask the questions.

When asked to reflect on their earliest race-related memories and the feelings associated with them, both White students and students of color often report feelings of confusion, anxiety, and/or fear. Students of color often have early memories of name-calling or other negative interactions with other children, and sometimes with adults. They also report having had questions that went both unasked and unanswered. In addition, many students have had uncomfortable interchanges around race-related topics as adults. When asked at the beginning of the semester, "How many of you have had difficult, perhaps heated conversations with

someone on a race-related topic?", routinely almost everyone in the class raises his or her hand. It should come as no surprise then that students often approach the topic of race and/or racism with both curiosity and trepidation.

The Myth of the Meritocracy

The second source of student resistance to be discussed here is rooted in students' belief that the United States is a just society, a meritocracy where individual efforts are fairly rewarded. While some students (particularly students of color) may already have become disillusioned with that notion of the United States, the majority of my students who have experienced at least the personal success of college acceptance still have faith in this notion. To the extent that these students acknowledge that racism exists, they tend to view it as an individual phenomenon, rooted in the attitudes of the "Archie Bunkers" of the world or located only in particular parts of the country.

After several class meetings, Karen, a White woman, acknowledged this attitude in her journal:

> At one point in my life — the beginning of this class — I actually perceived America to be a relatively racist free society. I thought that the people who were racist or subjected to racist stereotypes were found only in small pockets of the U.S., such as the South. As I've come to realize, racism (or at least racially orientated stereotypes) is rampant.

An understanding of racism as a system of advantage presents a serious challenge to the notion of the United States as a just society where rewards are based solely on one's merit. Such a challenge often creates discomfort in students. The old adage "ignorance is bliss" seems to hold true in this case; students are not necessarily eager to recognize the painful reality of racism.

One common response to the discomfort is to engage in denial of what they are learning. White students in particular may question the accuracy or currency of statistical information regarding the prevalence of discrimination (housing, employment, access to health care, and so on). More qualitative data, such as autobiographical accounts of experiences with racism, may be challenged on the basis of their subjectivity.

It should be pointed out that the basic assumption that the United States is a just society for all is only one of many basic assumptions that might be challenged in the learning process. Another example can be seen in an interchange between two White students following a discussion about cultural racism, in which the omission or distortion of historical information about people of color was offered as an example of the cultural transmission of racism.

"Yeah, I just found out that Cleopatra was actually a Black woman."
"What?"
The first student went on to explain her newly learned information. Finally, the second student exclaimed in disbelief, "That can't be true. Cleopatra was beautiful!" This new information and her own deeply ingrained assumptions about who is beautiful and who is not were too incongruous to allow her to assimilate the information at that moment.

If outright denial of information is not possible, then withdrawal may be. Physical withdrawal in the form of absenteeism is one possible result; it is for precisely

this reason that class attendance is mandatory. The reduction in the completion of reading and/or written assignments is another form of withdrawal. I have found this response to be so common that I now alert students to this possibility at the beginning of the semester. Knowing that this response is a common one seems to help students stay engaged, even when they experience the desire to withdraw.

Following an absence in the fifth week of the semester, one White student wrote, "I think I've hit the point you talked about, the point where you don't want to hear any more about racism. I sometimes begin to get the feeling we are all hypersensitive." (Two weeks later she wrote, "Class is getting better. I think I am beginning to get over my hump.")

Perhaps not surprisingly, this response can be found in both White students and students of color. Students of color often enter a discussion of racism with some awareness of the issue, based on personal experiences. However, even these students find that they did not have a full understanding of the widespread impact of racism in our society. For students who are targeted by racism, an increased awareness of the impact in and on their lives is painful, and often generates anger.

Four weeks into the semester, Louise, an African-American woman, wrote in her journal about her own heightened sensitivity:

> Many times in class I feel uncomfortable when White students use the term Black because even if they aren't aware of it they say it with all or at least a lot of the negative connotations they've been taught goes along with Black. Sometimes it just causes a stinging feeling inside of me. Sometimes I get real tired of hearing White people talk about the conditions of Black people. I think it's an important thing for them to talk about, but still I don't always like being around when they do it. I also get tired of hearing them talk about how hard it is for them, though I understand it, and most times I am very willing to listen and be open, but sometimes I can't. Right now I can't.

For White students, advantaged by racism, a heightened awareness of it often generates painful feelings of guilt. The following responses are typical:

> After reading the article about privilege, I felt very guilty. (Rachel, a White woman)

> Questions of racism are so full of anger and pain. When I think of all the pain White people have caused people of color, I get a feeling of guilt. How could someone like myself care so much about the color of someone's skin that they would do them harm? (Terri, a White woman)

White students also sometimes express a sense of betrayal when they realize the gaps in their own education about racism. After seeing the first episode of the documentary series *Eyes on the Prize*, Chris, a White man, wrote:

> I never knew it was really that bad just 35 years ago. Why didn't I learn this in elementary or high school? Could it be that the White people of America want to forget this injustice? . . . I will never forget that movie for as long as I live. It was like a big slap in the face.

Barbara, a White woman, also felt anger and embarrassment in response to her own previous lack of information about the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. She wrote:

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> I feel so stupid because I never even knew that these existed. I never knew that the Japanese were treated so poorly. I am becoming angry and upset about all of the things that I do not know. I have been so sheltered. My parents never wanted to let me know about the bad things that have happened in the world. After I saw the movie (*Mitsuye and Nellie*), I even called them up to ask them why they never told me this. . . . I am angry at them too for not teaching me and exposing me to the complete picture of my country.

Avoiding the subject matter is one way to avoid these uncomfortable feelings.

"I'm Not Racist, But . . . "

A third source of student resistance (particularly among White students) is the initial denial of any personal connection to racism. When asked why they have decided to enroll in a course on racism, White students typically explain their interest in the topic with such disclaimers as, "I'm not racist myself, but I know people who are, and I want to understand them better."

Because of their position as the targets of racism, students of color do not typically focus on their own prejudices or lack of them. Instead they usually express a desire to understand why racism exists, and how they have been affected by it.

However, as all students gain a better grasp of what racism is and its many manifestations in U.S. society, they inevitably start to recognize its legacy within themselves. Beliefs, attitudes, and actions based on racial stereotypes begin to be remembered and are newly observed by White students. Students of color as well often recognize negative attitudes they may have internalized about their own racial group or that they have believed about others. Those who previously thought themselves immune to the effects of growing up in a racist society often find themselves reliving uncomfortable feelings of guilt or anger.

After taping her own responses to a questionnaire on racial attitudes, Barbara. a White woman previously quoted, wrote:

> I always want to think of myself as open to all races. Yet when I did the interview to myself, I found that I did respond differently to the same questions about different races. No one could ever have told me that I would have. I would have denied it. But I found that I did respond differently even though I didn't want to. This really upset me. I was angry with myself because I thought I was not prejudiced and yet the stereotypes that I had created had an impact on the answers that I gave even though I didn't want it to happen.

The new self-awareness, represented here by Barbara's journal entry, changes the classroom dynamic. One common result is that some White students, once perhaps active participants in class discussion, now hesitate to continue their participation for fear that their newly recognized racism will be revealed to others.

> Today I did feel guilty, and like I had to watch what I was saying (make it good enough), I guess to prove I'm really *not* prejudiced. From the conversations the first day, I guess this is a normal enough reaction, but I certainly never expected it in me. (Joanne, a White woman)

This withdrawal on the part of White students is often paralleled by an increase in participation by students of color who are seeking an outlet for what are often feelings of anger. The withdrawal of some previously vocal White students from

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the classroom exchange, however, is sometimes interpreted by students of color as indifference. This perceived indifference often serves to fuel the anger and frustration that many students of color experience, as awareness of their own oppression is heightened. For example, Robert, an African-American man, wrote:

> I really wish the White students would talk more. When I read these articles, it makes me so mad and I really want to know what the White kids think. Don't they care?

Sonia, a Latina, described the classroom tension from another perspective:

> I would like to comment that at many points in the discussions I have felt uncomfortable and sometimes even angry with people. I guess I am at the stage where I am tired of listening to Whites feel guilty and watch their eyes fill up with tears. I do understand that everyone is at their own stage of development and I even tell myself every Tuesday that these people have come to this class by choice. Some days I am just more tolerant than others. . . . It takes courage to say things in that room with so many women of color present. It also takes courage for the women of color to say things about Whites.

What seems to be happening in the classroom at such moments is a collision of developmental processes that can be inherently useful for the racial identity development of the individuals involved. Nevertheless, the interaction may be perceived as problematic to instructors and students who are unfamiliar with the process. Although space does not allow for an exhaustive discussion of racial identity development theory, a brief explication of it here will provide additional clarity regarding the classroom dynamics when issues of race are discussed. It will also provide a theoretical framework for the strategies for dealing with student resistance that will be discussed at the conclusion of this article.

Stages of Racial Identity Development

Racial identity and racial identity development theory are defined by Janet Helms (1990) as

> a sense of group or collective identity based on one's *perception* that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group. . . racial identity development theory concerns the psychological implications of racial-group membership, that is belief systems that evolve in reaction to perceived differential racial-group membership. (p. 3)

It is assumed that in a society where racial-group membership is emphasized, the development of a racial identity will occur in some form in everyone. Given the dominant/subordinate relationship of Whites and people of color in this society, however, it is not surprising that this developmental process will unfold in different ways. For purposes of this discussion, William Cross's (1971, 1978) model of Black identity development will be described along with Helms's (1990) model of White racial identity development theory. While the identity development of other students (Asian, Latino/a, Native American) is not included in this particular theoretical formulation, there is evidence to suggest that the process for these oppressed groups is similar to that described for African Americans (Highlen, et

al., 1988; Phinney, 1990).[2] In each case, it is assumed that a positive sense of one's self as a member of one's group (which is not based on any assumed superiority) is important for psychological health.

Black Racial Identity Development

According to Cross's (1971, 1978, 1991) model of Black racial identity development, there are five stages in the process, identified as Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, Internalization, and Internalization-Commitment. In the first stage of Preencounter, the African American has absorbed many of the beliefs and values of the dominant White culture, including the notion that "White is right" and "Black is wrong." Though the internalization of negative Black stereotypes may be outside of his or her conscious awareness, the individual seeks to assimilate and be accepted by Whites, and actively or passively distances him/herself from other Blacks.[3]

Louise, an African-American woman previously quoted, captured the essence of this stage in the following description of herself at an earlier time:

> For a long time it seemed as if I didn't remember my background, and I guess in some ways I didn't. I was never taught to be proud of my African heritage. Like we talked about in class, I went through a very long stage of identifying with my oppressors. Wanting to be like, live like, and be accepted by them. Even to the point of hating my own race and myself for being a part of it. Now I am ashamed that I ever was ashamed. I lost so much of myself in my denial of and refusal to accept my people.

In order to maintain psychological comfort at this stage of development, Helms writes:

> The person must maintain the fiction that race and racial indoctrination have nothing to do with how he or she lives life. It is probably the case that the Preencounter person is bombarded on a regular basis with information that he or she cannot really be a member of the "in" racial group, but relies on denial to selectively screen such information from awareness. (1990, p. 23)

This de-emphasis on one's racial-group membership may allow the individual to think that race has not been or will not be a relevant factor in one's own achievement, and may contribute to the belief in a U.S. meritocracy that is often a part of a Preencounter worldview.

Movement into the Encounter phase is typically precipitated by an event or series of events that forces the individual to acknowledge the impact of racism in one's life. For example, instances of social rejection by White friends or colleagues (or reading new personally relevant information about racism) may lead the indi-

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[2] While similar models of racial identity development exist, Cross and Helms are referenced here because they are among the most frequently cited writers on Black racial identity development and on White racial identity development, respectively. For a discussion of the commonalities between these and other identity development models, see Phinney (1989, 1990) and Helms (1990).

[3] Both Parham (1989) and Phinney (1989) suggest that a preference for the dominant group is not always a characteristic of this stage. For example, children raised in households and communities with explicitly positive Afrocentric attitudes may absorb a pro-Black perspective, which then serves as the starting point for their own exploration of racial identity.

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vidual to the conclusion that many Whites will not view him or her as an equal. Faced with the reality that he or she cannot truly be White, the individual is forced to focus on his or her identity as a member of a group targeted by racism.

Brenda, a Korean-American student, described her own experience of this process as a result of her participation in the racism course:

> I feel that because of this class, I have become much more aware of racism that exists around. Because of my awareness of racism, I am now bothered by acts and behaviors that might not have bothered me in the past. Before when racial comments were said around me I would somehow ignore it and pretend that nothing was said. By ignoring comments such as these, I was protecting myself. It became sort of a defense mechanism. I never realized I did this, until I was confronted with stories that were found in our reading, by other people of color, who also ignored comments that bothered them. In realizing that there is racism out in the world and that there are comments concerning race that are directed towards me, I feel as if I have reached the first step. I also think I have reached the second step, because I am now bothered and irritated by such comments. I no longer ignore them, but now confront them.

The Immersion/Emersion stage is characterized by the simultaneous desire to surround oneself with visible symbols of one's racial identity and an active avoidance of symbols of Whiteness. As Thomas Parham describes, "At this stage, everything of value in life must be Black or relevant to Blackness. This stage is also characterized by a tendency to denigrate White people, simultaneously glorifying Black people. . . ." (1989, p. 190). The previously described anger that emerges in class among African-American students and other students of color in the process of learning about racism may be seen as part of the transition through these stages.

As individuals enter the Immersion stage, they actively seek out opportunities to explore aspects of their own history and culture with the support of peers from their own racial background. Typically, White-focused anger dissipates during this phase because so much of the person's energy is directed toward his or her own group- and self-exploration. The result of this exploration is an emerging security in a newly defined and affirmed sense of self.

Sharon, another African-American woman, described herself at the beginning of the semester as angry, seemingly in the Encounter stage of development. She wrote after our class meeting:

> Another point that I must put down is that before I entered class today I was angry about the way Black people have been treated in this country. I don't think I will easily overcome that and I basically feel justified in my feelings.

At the end of the semester, Sharon had joined with two other Black students in the class to work on their final class project. She observed that the three of them had planned their project to focus on Black people specifically, suggesting movement into the Immersion stage of racial identity development. She wrote:

> We are concerned about the well-being of our own people. They cannot be well if they have this pinned-up hatred for their own people. This internalized racism is something that we all felt, at various times, needed to be talked about. This semester it has really been important to me, and I believe Gordon [a Black classmate], too.

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The emergence from this stage marks the beginning of Internalization. Secure in one's own sense of racial identity, there is less need to assert the "Blacker than thou" attitude often characteristic of the Immersion stage (Parham, 1989). In general, "pro-Black attitudes become more expansive, open, and less defensive" (Cross, 1971, p. 24). While still maintaining his or her connections with Black peers, the internalized individual is willing to establish meaningful relationships with Whites who acknowledge and are respectful of his or her self-definition. The individual is also ready to build coalitions with members of other oppressed groups. At the end of the semester, Brenda, a Korean American, concluded that she had in fact internalized a positive sense of racial identity. The process she described parallels the stages described by Cross:

> I have been aware for a long time that I am Korean. But through this class I am beginning to really become aware of my race. I am beginning to find out that White people can be accepting of me and at the same time accept me as a Korean.
>
> I grew up wanting to be accepted and ended up almost denying my race and culture. I don't think I did this consciously, but the denial did occur. As I grew older, I realized that I was different. I became for the first time, friends with other Koreans. I realized I had much in common with them. This was when I went through my "Korean friend" stage. I began to enjoy being friends with Koreans more than I did with Caucasians.
>
> Well, ultimately, through many years of growing up, I am pretty much in focus about who I am and who my friends are. I knew before I took this class that there were people not of color that were understanding of my differences. In our class, I feel that everyone is trying to sincerely find the answer of abolishing racism. I knew people like this existed, but it's nice to meet with them weekly.

Cross suggests that there are few psychological differences between the fourth stage, Internalization, and the fifth stage, Internalization-Commitment. However, those at the fifth stage have found ways to translate their "personal sense of Blackness into a plan of action or a general sense of commitment" to the concerns of Blacks as a group, which is sustained over time (Cross, 1991, p. 220). Whether at the fourth or fifth stage, the process of Internalization allows the individual, anchored in a positive sense of racial identity, both to proactively perceive and transcend race. Blackness becomes "the point of departure for discovering the universe of ideas, cultures and experiences beyond blackness in place of mistaking blackness as the universe itself" (Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1991, p. 330).

Though the process of racial identity development has been presented here in linear form, in fact it is probably more accurate to think of it in a spiral form. Often a person may move from one stage to the next, only to revisit an earlier stage as the result of new encounter experiences (Parham, 1989), though the later experience of the stage may be different from the original experience. The image that students often find helpful in understanding this concept of recycling through the stages is that of a spiral staircase. As a person ascends a spiral staircase, she may stop and look down at a spot below. When she reaches the next level, she may look down and see the same spot, but the vantage point has changed.[4]

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[4] After being introduced to this model and Helms's model of White identity development, students are encouraged to think about how the models might apply to their own experience or the experiences of people they know. As is reflected in the cited journal entries, some students resonate to the theories quite readily, easily seeing their own process of growth reflected in them. Other students are some-

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White Racial Identity Development

The transformations experienced by those targeted by racism are often paralleled by those of White students. Helms (1990) describes the evolution of a positive White racial identity as involving both the abandonment of racism and the development of a nonracist White identity. In order to do the latter,

> he or she must accept his or her own Whiteness, the cultural implications of being White, and define a view of Self as a racial being that does not depend on the perceived superiority of one racial group over another. (p. 49)

She identifies six stages in her model of White racial identity development: Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-Independent, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy.

The Contact stage is characterized by a lack of awareness of cultural and institutional racism, and of one's own White privilege. Peggy McIntosh (1989) writes eloquently about her own experience of this state of being:

> As a white person, I realized I had been taught about racism as something which puts others at a disadvantage, but had been taught not to see one of its corollary aspects, white privilege, which puts me at an advantage. . . . I was taught to see racism only in individual acts of meanness, not in invisible systems conferring dominance on my group. (p. 10)

In addition, the Contact stage often includes naive curiosity about or fear of people of color, based on stereotypes learned from friends, family, or the media. These stereotypes represent the framework in use when a person at this stage of development makes a comment such as, "You don't act like a Black person" (Helms, 1990, p. 57).

Those Whites whose lives are structured so as to limit their interaction with people of color, as well as their awareness of racial issues, may remain at this stage indefinitely. However, certain kinds of experiences (increased interaction with people of color or exposure to new information about racism) may lead to a new understanding that cultural and institutional racism exist. This new understanding marks the beginning of the Disintegration stage.

At this stage, the bliss of ignorance or lack of awareness is replaced by the discomfort of guilt, shame, and sometimes anger at the recognition of one's own advantage because of being White and the acknowledgement of the role of Whites in the maintenance of a racist system. Attempts to reduce discomfort may include denial (convincing oneself that racism doesn't really exist, or if it does, it is the fault of its victims).

For example, Tom, a White male student, responded with some frustration in his journal to a classmate's observation that the fact that she had never read any books by Black authors in any of her high school or college English classes was an example of cultural racism. He wrote, "It's not my fault that Blacks don't write books."

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times puzzled because they feel as though their own process varies from these models, and may ask if it is possible to "skip" a particular stage, for example. Such questions provide a useful departure point for discussing the limitations of stage theories in general, and the potential variations in experience that make questions of racial identity development so complex.

After viewing a film in which a psychologist used examples of Black children's drawings to illustrate the potentially damaging effect of negative cultural messages on a Black child's developing self-esteem, David, another White male student, wrote:

> I found it interesting the way Black children drew themselves without arms. The psychologist said this is saying that the child feels unable to control his environment. It can't be because the child has notions and beliefs already about being Black. It must be built in or hereditary due to the past history of the Blacks. I don't believe it's cognitive but more biological due to a long past history of repression and being put down.

Though Tom's and David's explanations seem quite problematic, they can be understood in the context of racial identity development theory as a way of reducing their cognitive dissonance upon learning this new race-related information. As was discussed earlier, withdrawal (accomplished by avoiding contact with people of color and the topic of racism) is another strategy for dealing with the discomfort experienced at this stage. Many of the previously described responses of White students to race-related content are characteristic of the transition from the Contact to the Disintegration stage of development.

Helms (1990) describes another response to the discomfort of Disintegration, which involves attempts to change significant others' attitudes toward African Americans and other people of color. However, as she points out,

> due to the racial naivete with which this approach may be undertaken and the person's ambivalent racial identification, this dissonance-reducing strategy is likely to be met with rejection by Whites as well as Blacks. (p. 59)

In fact, this response is also frequently observed among White students who have an opportunity to talk with friends and family during holiday visits. Suddenly they are noticing the racist content of jokes or comments of their friends and relatives and will try to confront them, often only to find that their efforts are, at best, ignored or dismissed as a "phase," or, at worst, greeted with open hostility.

Carl, a White male previously quoted, wrote at length about this dilemma:

> I realized that it was possible to simply go through life totally oblivious to the entire situation or, even if one realizes it, one can totally repress it. It is easy to fade into the woodwork, run with the rest of society, and never have to deal with these problems. So many people I know from home are like this. They have simply accepted what society has taught them with little, if any, question. My father is a prime example of this. . . . It has caused much friction in our relationship, and he often tells me as a father he has failed in raising me correctly. Most of my high school friends will never deal with these issues and propagate them on to their own children. It's easy to see how the cycle continues. I don't think I could ever justify within myself simply turning my back on the problem. I finally realized that my position in all of these dominant groups gives me power to make change occur. . . . It is an unfortunate result often though that I feel alienated from friends and family. It's often played off as a mere stage that I'm going through. I obviously can't tell if it's merely a stage, but I know that they say this to take the attention off of the truth of what I'm saying. By belittling me, they take the power out of my argument. It's very depressing that being compassionate and considerate are

seen as only phases that people go through. I don't want it to be a phase for me, but as obvious as this may sound, I look at my environment and often wonder how it will not be.

The societal pressure to accept the status quo may lead the individual from Disintegration to Reintegration. At this point the desire to be accepted by one's own racial group, in which the overt or covert belief in White superiority is so prevalent, may lead to a reshaping of the person's belief system to be more congruent with an acceptance of racism. The guilt and anxiety associated with Disintegration may be redirected in the form of fear and anger directed toward people of color (particularly Blacks), who are now blamed as the source of discomfort.

Connie, a White woman of Italian ancestry, in many ways exemplified the progression from the Contact stage to Reintegration, a process she herself described seven weeks into the semester. After reading about the stages of White identity development, she wrote:

> I think mostly I can find myself in the disintegration stage of development. . . . There was a time when I never considered myself a color. I never described myself as a "White, Italian female" until I got to college and noticed that people of color always described themselves by their color/race. While taking this class, I have begun to understand that being White makes a difference. I never thought about it before but there are many privileges to being White. In my personal life, I cannot say that I have ever felt that I have had the advantage over a Black person, but I am aware that my race has the advantage.
>
> I am feeling really guilty lately about that. I find myself thinking: "I didn't mean to be White, I really didn't mean it." I am starting to feel angry towards my race for ever using this advantage towards personal gains. But at the same time I resent the minority groups. I mean, it's not our fault that society has deemed us "superior." I don't feel any better than a Black person. But it really doesn't matter because I am a member of the dominant race. . . . I can't help it . . . and I sometimes get angry and feel like I'm being attacked.
>
> I guess my anger toward a minority group would enter me into the next stage of Reintegration, where I am once again starting to blame the victim. This is all very trying for me and it has been on my mind a lot. I really would like to be able to reach the last stage, autonomy, where I can accept being White without hostility and anger. That is really hard to do.

Helms (1990) suggests that it is relatively easy for Whites to become stuck at the Reintegration stage of development, particularly if avoidance of people of color is possible. However, if there is a catalyst for continued self-examination, the person "begins to question her or his previous definition of Whiteness and the justifiability of racism in any of its forms. . . ." (p. 61). In my experience, continued participation in a course on racism provides the catalyst for this deeper self-examination.

This process was again exemplified by Connie. At the end of the semester, she listened to her own taped interview of her racial attitudes that she had recorded at the beginning of the semester. She wrote:

> Oh wow! I could not believe some of the things that I said. I was obviously in different stages of the White identity development. As I listened and got more and

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more disgusted with myself when I was at the Reintegration stage, I tried to re-mind myself that these are stages that all (most) White people go through when dealing with notions of racism. I can remember clearly the resentment I had for people of color. I feel the one thing I enjoyed from listening to my interview was noticing how much I have changed. I think I am finally out of the Reintegration stage. I am beginning to make a conscious effort to seek out information about people of color and accept their criticism. . . . I still feel guilty about the feeling I had about people of color and I always feel bad about being privileged as a result of racism. But I am glad that I have reached what I feel is the Pseudo-Independent stage of White identity development.

The information-seeking that Connie describes often marks the onset of the Pseudo-Independent stage. At this stage, the individual is abandoning beliefs in White superiority, but may still behave in ways that unintentionally perpetuate the system. Looking to those targeted by racism to help him or her understand racism, the White person often tries to disavow his or her own Whiteness through active affiliation with Blacks, for example. The individual experiences a sense of alienation from other Whites who have not yet begun to examine their own racism, yet may also experience rejection from Blacks or other people of color who are suspicious of his or her motives. Students of color moving from the Encounter to the Immersion phase of their own racial identity development may be particularly unreceptive to the White person's attempts to connect with them.

Uncomfortable with his or her own Whiteness, yet unable to be truly anything else, the individual may begin searching for a new, more comfortable way to be White. This search is characteristic of the Immersion/Emersion stage of development. Just as the Black student seeks to redefine positively what it means to be of African ancestry in the United States through immersion in accurate information about one's culture and history, the White individual seeks to replace racially related myths and stereotypes with accurate information about what it means and has meant to be White in U.S. society (Helms, 1990). Learning about Whites who have been antiracist allies to people of color is a very important part of this process.

After reading articles written by antiracist activists describing their own process of unlearning racism, White students often comment on how helpful it is to know that others have experienced similar feelings and have found ways to resist the racism in their environments.[5] For example, Joanne, a White woman who initially experienced a lot of guilt, wrote:

> This article helped me out in many ways. I've been feeling helpless and frustrated. I know there are all these terrible things going on and I want to be able to do something. . . . Anyway this article helped me realize, again, that others feel this way, and gave me some positive ideas to resolve my dominant class guilt and shame.

Finally, reading the biographies and autobiographies of White individuals who have embarked on a similar process of identity development (such as Barnard, 1987) provides White students with important models for change.

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[5] Examples of useful articles include essays by McIntosh (1988), Lester (1987), and Braden (1987). Each of these combines autobiographical material, as well as a conceptual framework for understanding some aspect of racism that students find very helpful. Bowser and Hunt's (1981) edited book, *Impacts of Racism on Whites*, though less autobiographical in nature, is also a valuable resource.

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Learning about White antiracists can also provide students of color with a sense of hope that they can have White allies. After hearing a White antiracist activist address the class, Sonia, a Latina who had written about her impatience with expressions of White guilt, wrote:

> I don't know when I have been more impressed by anyone. She filled me with hope for the future. She made me believe that there are good people in the world and that Whites suffer too and want to change things.

For White students, the internalization of a newly defined sense of oneself as White is the primary task of the Autonomy stage. The positive feelings associated with this redefinition energize the person's efforts to confront racism and oppression in his or her daily life. Alliances with people of color can be more easily forged at this stage of development than previously because the person's antiracist behaviors and attitudes will be more consistently expressed. While Autonomy might be described as "racial self-actualization, . . . it is best to think of it as an ongoing process . . . wherein the person is continually open to new information and new ways of thinking about racial and cultural variables" (Helms, 1990, p. 66).

Annette, a White woman, described herself in the Autonomy stage, but talked at length about the circular process she felt she had been engaged in during the semester:

> If people as racist as C. P. Ellis (a former Klansman) can change, I think anyone can change. If that makes me idealistic, fine. I do not think my expecting society to change is naive anymore because I now *know* exactly what I want. To be naive means a lack of knowledge that allows me to accept myself both as a White person and as an idealist. This class showed me that these two are not mutually exclusive but are an integral part of me that I cannot deny. I realize now that through most of this class I was trying to deny both of them.
>
> While I was not accepting society's racism, I was accepting society's telling me as a White person, there was nothing I could do to change racism. So, I told myself I was being naive and tried to suppress my desire to change society. This is what made me so frustrated — while I saw society's racism through examples in the readings and the media, I kept telling myself there was nothing I could do. Listening to my tape, I think I was already in the Autonomy stage when I started this class. I then seemed to decide that being White, I also had to be racist which is when I became frustrated and went back to the Disintegration stage. I was frustrated because I was not only telling myself there was nothing I could do but I also was assuming society's racism was my own which made me feel like I did not want to be White. Actually, it was not being White that I was disavowing but being racist. I think I have now returned to the Autonomy stage and am much more secure in my position there. I accept my Whiteness now as just a part of me as is my idealism. I will no longer disavow these characteristics as I have realized I can be proud of both of them. In turn, I can now truly accept other people for their unique characteristics and not by the labels society has given them as I can accept myself that way.
>
> While I thought the main ideas that I learned in this class were that White people need to be educated to end racism and everyone should be treated as human beings, I really had already incorporated these ideas into my thoughts. What I learned from this class is being White does not mean being racist and being idealistic does not mean being naive. I really did not have to form new ideas about people of color; I had to form them about myself — and I did.

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Implications for Classroom Teaching

Although movement through all the stages of racial identity development will not necessarily occur for each student within the course of a semester (or even four years of college), it is certainly common to witness beginning transformations in classes with race-related content. An awareness of the existence of this process has helped me to implement strategies to facilitate positive student development, as well as to improve interracial dialogue within the classroom.

Four strategies for reducing student resistance and promoting student development that I have found useful are the following:

1. the creation of a safe classroom atmosphere by establishing clear guidelines for discussion;
2. the creation of opportunities for self-generated knowledge;
3. the provision of an appropriate developmental model that students can use as a framework for understanding their own process;
4. the exploration of strategies to empower students as change agents.

Creating a Safe Climate

As was discussed earlier, making the classroom a safe space for discussion is essential for overcoming students' fears about breaking the race taboo, and will also reduce later anxieties about exposing one's own internalized racism. Establishing the guidelines of confidentiality, mutual respect, "no zaps," and speaking from one's own experience on the first day of class is a necessary step in the process.

Students respond very positively to these ground rules, and do try to honor them. While the rules do not totally eliminate anxiety, they clearly communicate to students that there is a safety net for the discussion. Students are also encouraged to direct their comments and questions to each other rather than always focusing their attention on me as the instructor, and to learn each other's names rather than referring to each other as "he," "she," or "the person in the red sweater" when responding to each other.[6]

The Power of Self-Generated Knowledge

The creation of opportunities for self-generated knowledge on the part of students is a powerful tool for reducing the initial stage of denial that many students experience. While it may seem easy for some students to challenge the validity of what they read or what the instructor says, it is harder to deny what they have seen with their own eyes. Students can be given hands-on assignments outside of class to facilitate this process.

For example, after reading *Portraits of White Racism* (Wellman, 1977), some students expressed the belief that the attitudes expressed by the White interviewees in the book were no longer commonly held attitudes. Students were then asked to use the same interview protocol used in the book (with some revision) to interview a White adult of their choice. When students reported on these interviews in class, their own observation of the similarity between those they had inter-

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[6] Class size has a direct bearing on my ability to create safety in the classroom. Dividing the class into pairs or small groups of five or six students to discuss initial reactions to a particular article or film helps to increase participation, both in the small groups and later in the large group discussions.

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viewed and those they had read about was more convincing than anything I might have said.

After doing her interview, Patty, a usually quiet White student, wrote:

> I think I learned a lot from it and that I'm finally getting a better grip on the idea of racism. I think that was why I participated so much in class. I really felt like I knew what I was talking about.

Other examples of creating opportunities for self-generated knowledge include assigning students the task of visiting grocery stores in neighborhoods of differing racial composition to compare the cost and quality of goods and services available at the two locations, and to observe the interactions between the shoppers and the store personnel. For White students, one of the most powerful assignments of this type has been to go apartment hunting with an African-American student and to experience housing discrimination firsthand. While one concern with such an assignment is the effect it will have on the student(s) of color involved, I have found that those Black students who choose this assignment rather than another are typically eager to have their White classmates experience the reality of racism, and thus participate quite willingly in the process.

Naming the Problem

The emotional responses that students have to talking and learning about racism are quite predictable and related to their own racial identity development. Unfortunately, students typically do not know this; thus they consider their own guilt, shame, embarrassment, or anger an uncomfortable experience that they alone are having. Informing students at the beginning of the semester that these feelings may be part of the learning process is ethically necessary (in the sense of informed consent), and helps to normalize the students' experience. Knowing in advance that a desire to withdraw from classroom discussion or not to complete assignments is a common response helps students to remain engaged when they reach that point. As Alice, a White woman, wrote at the end of the semester:

> You were so right in saying in the beginning how we would grow tired of racism (I did in October) but then it would get so good! I have *loved* the class once I passed that point.

In addition, sharing the model of racial identity development with students gives them a useful framework for understanding each other's processes as well as their own. This cognitive framework does not necessarily prevent the collision of developmental processes previously described, but it does allow students to be less frightened by it when it occurs. If, for example, White students understand the stages of racial identity development for students of color, they are less likely to personalize or feel threatened by an African-American student's anger.

Connie, a White student who initially expressed a lot of resentment at the way students of color tended to congregate in the college cafeteria, was much more understanding of this behavior after she learned about racial identity development theory. She wrote:

> I learned a lot from reading the article about the stages of development in the model of oppressed people. As a White person going through my stages of identity development, I do not take time to think about the struggle people of color go

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through to reach a stage of complete understanding. I am glad that I know about the stages because now I can understand people of color's behavior in certain situations. For example, when people of color stay to themselves and appear to be in a clique, it is not because they are being rude as I originally thought. Rather they are engaged perhaps in the Immersion stage.

Mary, another White student, wrote:

I found the entire Cross model of racial identity development very enlightening. I knew that there were stages of racial identity development before I entered this class. I did not know what they were, or what they really entailed. After reading through this article I found myself saying, "Oh. That explains why she reacted this way to this incident instead of how she would have a year ago." Clearly this person has entered a different stage and is working through different problems from a new viewpoint. Thankfully, the model provides a degree of hope that people will not always be angry, and will not always be separatists, etc. Although I'm not really sure about that.

Conversely, when students of color understand the stages of White racial identity development, they can be more tolerant or appreciative of a White student's struggle with guilt, for example. After reading about the stages of White identity development, Sonia, a Latina previously quoted, wrote:

This article was the one that made me feel that my own prejudices were showing. I never knew that Whites went through an identity development of their own.

She later told me outside of class that she found it much easier to listen to some of the things White students said because she could understand their potentially offensive comments as part of a developmental stage.

Sharon, an African-American woman, also found that an understanding of the respective stages of racial identity development helped her to understand some of the interactions she had had with White students since coming to college. She wrote:

There is a lot of clash that occurs between Black and White people at college which is best explained by their respective stages of development. Unfortunately schools have not helped to alleviate these problems earlier in life.

In a course on the psychology of racism, it is easy to build in the provision of this information as part of the course content. For instructors teaching courses with race-related content in other fields, it may seem less natural to do so. However, the inclusion of articles on racial identity development and/or class discussion of these issues in conjunction with the other strategies that have been suggested can improve student receptivity to the course content in important ways, making it a very useful investment of class time. Because the stages describe kinds of behavior that many people have commonly observed in themselves, as well as in their own intraracial and interracial interactions, my experience has been that most students grasp the basic conceptual framework fairly easily, even if they do not have a background in psychology.

Empowering Students as Change Agents

Heightening students' awareness of racism without also developing an awareness of the possibility of change is a prescription for despair. I consider it unethical to

do one without the other. Exploring strategies to empower students as change agents is thus a necessary part of the process of talking about race and learning about racism. As was previously mentioned, students find it very helpful to read about and hear from individuals who have been effective change agents. Newspaper and magazine articles, as well as biographical or autobiographical essays or book excerpts, are often important sources for this information.

I also ask students to work in small groups to develop an action plan of their own for interrupting racism. While I do not consider it appropriate to require students to engage in antiracist activity (since I believe this should be a personal choice the student makes for him/herself), students are required to think about the possibility. Guidelines are provided (see Katz, 1978), and the plans that they develop over several weeks are presented at the end of the semester. Students are generally impressed with each other's good ideas, and, in fact, they often do go on to implement their projects.

Joanne, a White student who initially struggled with feelings of guilt, wrote:

> I thought that hearing others' ideas for action plans was interesting and informative. It really helps me realize (reminds me) the many choices and avenues there are once I decided to be an ally. Not only did I develop my own concrete way to be an ally, I have found many other ways that I, as a college student, can be an active anti-racist. It was really empowering.

Another way all students can be empowered is by offering them the opportunity to consciously observe their own development. The taped exercise to which some of the previously quoted students have referred is an example of one way to provide this opportunity. At the beginning of the semester, students are given an interview guide with many open-ended questions concerning racial attitudes and opinions. They are asked to interview themselves on tape as a way of recording their own ideas for future reference. Though the tapes are collected, students are assured that no one (including me) will listen to them. The tapes are returned near the end of the semester, and students are asked to listen to their own tapes and use their understanding of racial identity development to discuss it in essay form.

The resulting essays are often remarkable and underscore the psychological importance of giving students the chance to examine racial issues in the classroom. The following was written by Elaine, a White woman:

> Another common theme that was apparent in the tape was that, for the most part, I was aware of my own ignorance and was embarrassed because of it. I wanted to know more about the oppression of people in the country so that I could do something about it. Since I have been here, I have begun to be actively resistant to racism. I have been able to confront my grandparents and some old friends from high school when they make racist comments. Taking this psychology of racism class is another step toward active resistance to racism. I am trying to educate myself so that I have a knowledge base to work from.
>
> When the tape was made, I was just beginning to be active and just beginning to be educated. I think I am now starting to move into the redefinition stage. I am starting to feel ok about being White. Some of my guilt is dissipating, and I do not feel as ignorant as I used to be. I think I have an understanding of racism; how it effects [*sic*] myself, and how it effects this country. Because of this I think I can be more active in doing something about it.

21

In the words of Louise, a Black female student:

> One of the greatest things I learned from this semester in general is that the world is not only Black and White, nor is the United States. I learned a lot about my own erasure of many American ethnic groups. . . . I am in the (immersion) stage of my identity development. I think I am also dangling a little in the (encounter) stage. I say this because a lot of my energies are still directed toward White people. I began writing a poem two days ago and it was directed to White racism. However, I have also become more Black-identified. I am reaching to the strength in Afro-American heritage. I am learning more about the heritage and history of Afro-American culture. Knowledge = strength and strength = power.

While some students are clearly more self-reflective and articulate about their own process than others, most students experience the opportunity to talk and learn about these issues as a transforming process. In my experience, even those students who are frustrated by aspects of the course find themeselves changed by it. One such student wrote in her final journal entry:

> What I felt to be a major hindrance to me was the amount of people. Despite the philosophy, I really never felt at ease enough to speak openly about the feelings I have and kind of watched the class pull farther and farther apart as the semester went on. . . . I think that it was your attitude that kept me intrigued by the topics we were studying despite my frustrations with the class time. I really feel as though I made some significant moves in my understanding of other people's positions in our world as well as of my feelings of racism, and I feel very good about them. I feel like this class has moved me in the right direction. I'm on a roll I think, because I've been introduced to so much.

Facilitating student development in this way is a challenging and complex task, but the results are clearly worth the effort.

Implications for the Institution

What are the institutional implications for an understanding of racial identity development theory beyond the classroom? How can this framework be used to address the pressing issues of increasing diversity and decreasing racial tensions on college campuses? How can providing opportunities in the curriculum to talk about race and learn about racism affect the recruitment and retention of students of color specifically, especially when the majority of the students enrolled are White?

The fact is, educating White students about race and racism changes attitudes in ways that go beyond the classroom boundaries. As White students move through their own stages of identity development, they take their friends with them by engaging them in dialogue. They share the articles they have read with roommates, and involve them in their projects. An example of this involvement can be seen in the following journal entry, written by Larry, a White man:

> Here it is our fifth week of class and more and more I am becoming aware of the racism around me. Our second project made things clearer, because while watching T.V. I picked up many kinds of discrimination and stereotyping. Since the project was over, I still find myself watching these shows and picking up bits and pieces every show I watch. Even my friends will be watching a show and they will

say, "Hey, Larry, put that in your paper." Since they know I am taking this class, they are looking out for these things. They are also watching what they say around me for fear that I will use them as an example. For example, one of my friends has this fascination with making fun of Jewish people. Before I would listen to his comments and take them in stride, but now I confront him about his comments.

The heightened awareness of the White students enrolled in the class has a ripple effect in their peer group, which helps to create a climate in which students of color and other targeted groups (Jewish students, for example) might feel more comfortable. It is likely that White students who have had the opportunity to learn about racism in a supportive atmosphere will be better able to be allies to students of color in extracurricular settings, like student government meetings and other organizational settings, where students of color often feel isolated and unheard.

At the same time, students of color who have had the opportunity to examine the ways in which racism may have affected their own lives are able to give voice to their own experience, and to validate it rather than be demoralized by it. An understanding of internalized oppression can help students of color recognize the ways in which they may have unknowingly participated in their own victimization, or the victimization of others. They may be able to move beyond victimization to empowerment, and share their learning with others, as Sharon, a previously quoted Black woman, planned to do.

Campus communities with an understanding of racial identity development could become more supportive of special-interest groups, such as the Black Student Union or the Asian Student Alliance, because they would recognize them not as "separatist" but as important outlets for students of color who may be at the Encounter or Immersion stage of racial identity development. Not only could speakers of color be sought out to add diversity to campus programming, but Whites who had made a commitment to unlearning their own racism could be offered as models to those White students looking for new ways to understand their own Whiteness, and to students of color looking for allies.

It has become painfully clear on many college campuses across the United States that we cannot have successfully multiracial campuses without talking about race and learning about racism. Providing a forum where this discussion can take place safely over a semester, a time period that allows personal and group development to unfold in ways that day-long or weekend programs do not, may be among the most proactive learning opportunities an institution can provide.

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CC:	MYRA BAKER [mysbaker@daytonpublic.com]; lnbryant@daytonpublic.com; JENNIFER CAIN [jkcain@daytonpublic.com]; Betsy Chadd [betsy.chadd@bss.k12.oh.us]; Gretchen Eubanks [geubanks@xeniaschools.org]; SFMurphy@daytonpublic.com; fultz.elaine@oakwoodschools.org; bgood@daytonpublic.com; JGRABEMA@daytonpublic.com; rkgunter@daytonpublic.com; cjhowes@daytonpublic.com; amimel@daytonpublic.com; madisonjeziorski@citizenschools.org; erogers@daytonpublic.com; Beth Justice [bjustice@southernohioesc.org]; NANCY MCSHERRY [NLMCSHER@daytonpublic.com]; melchor.crystal@oakwoodschools.org; tmmonroe@daytonpublic.com; Morgret, Mary Ann [maryann.morgret@mcapps.org]; vgkimbal@daytonpublic.com; dlmullin@daytonpublic.com; Donnie Phelps [donnie.phelps@bss.k12.oh.us]; dmrobins@daytonpublic.com; MONICA RUZICKA [mruzicka@daytonpublic.com]; sledge.becky@oakwoodschools.org; tstomps@daytonpublic.com; ROBIN ZELINSKI [razelins@daytonpublic.com]
Subject:	Our Equity Book Study is beginning shortly

In case you are having troubles joining us, you can join our Zoom Meeting at
https://us02web.zoom.us/j/7905870944?pwd=cTJBMGlWdUpqWTdna0RUVkV6Mzg5QT09

Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: Community
One tap mobile
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Dial by your location
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    +1 346 248 7799 US (Houston)
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Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: 092559366
Find your local number: https://us02web.zoom.us/u/kvNt3tV4g

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

From:	Elaine Fultz [fultz.elaine@oakwoodschools.org]
Sent:	1/26/2021 5:37:47 PM
To:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Subject:	Re: Equity Book Study Part 3
Attachments:	Representation matters.jpg

Just wanted to share this image from social media.
Thanks for this great experience. I'm learning SO much.
ef

On Tue, Jan 19, 2021 at 6:31 PM Sandi Preiss <sandi.preiss@mcesc.org> wrote:
All,

Thank you for a great second session! I hope that you left our book study session feeling better equipped to make sense of our historical acts and their lasting impact on school integration and social injustice that is deeply steeped in institutional racism. Just as before, thank you for making this a priority in your mind, heart, and busy schedule.

In preparation for our next meeting, here are the promised details:
1. We will meet next Tuesday (January 26) from 3:30-5:30 pm at our Zoom link:

https://us02web.zoom.us/j/7905870944?pwd=cTJBMGlWdUpqWTdna0RUVkV6Mzg5QT09
Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: Community

2. To prepare for our next meeting, please read:
Part 3: Why Do Black People Drink Hawaiian Punch

3. Per our discussion today here are some resources you may be interested in. I highly encourage you to take the time to go through this content to make the most of our time together.

A. *Dayton one of 61 metro areas flagged for redlining by study* (article attached)

B. *Lasting Scars: The legacy of race-based redlining* (article attached)

C. *20 Dayton neighborhoods where it is hardest to get a home loan* (article attached)

Thank you!

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

--
Ms. Elaine Fultz, MLS

School Library Media Specialist
<u>Smith Elementary</u>
Oakwood City Schools
Check out Smith's eBooks and eAudiobooks at <u>Sora</u>!
<u>Race and Diversity resources</u>

"Fairy tales are more than true: not because they tell us that dragons exist, but because they tell us that dragons can be beaten." ~Neil Gaiman

"Children know perfectly well that unicorns aren't real, but they also know that books about unicorns, if they are good books, are true books." ~Ursula K. LeGuin

Instagram

educatorsforjustice
Brooklyn, New York

JOE BIDEN

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Sent:	1/26/2021 8:05:11 PM
CC:	MYRA BAKER [mysbaker@daytonpublic.com]; lnbryant@daytonpublic.com; JENNIFER CAIN [jkcain@daytonpublic.com]; Betsy Chadd [betsy.chadd@bss.k12.oh.us]; Gretchen Eubanks [geubanks@xeniaschools.org]; SFMurphy@daytonpublic.com; fultz.elaine@oakwoodschools.org; bgood@daytonpublic.com; JGRABEMA@daytonpublic.com; rkgunter@daytonpublic.com; cjhowes@daytonpublic.com; amimel@daytonpublic.com; madisonjeziorski@citizenschools.org; erogers@daytonpublic.com; Beth Justice [bjustice@southernohioesc.org]; NANCY MCSHERRY [NLMCSHER@daytonpublic.com]; melchor.crystal@oakwoodschools.org; tmmonroe@daytonpublic.com; Morgret, Mary Ann [maryann.morgret@mcapps.org]; vgkimbal@daytonpublic.com; dlmullin@daytonpublic.com; Donnie Phelps [donnie.phelps@bss.k12.oh.us]; dmrobins@daytonpublic.com; MONICA RUZICKA [mruzicka@daytonpublic.com]; sledge.becky@oakwoodschools.org; tstomps@daytonpublic.com; ROBIN ZELINSKI [razelins@daytonpublic.com]; Candice Sears [candice.sears@mcesc.org]
Subject:	Part 3: Follow-up Equity Book Study (and prep for Part 4)
Attachments:	teacher-attrition.pdf; Diversifying_Teaching_Profession_REPORT_0.pdf; tolerance.org-Whats Colorism.pdf

All,

Thank you for another reflective and thought provoking conversation on race, integration, and equity. It is always a pleasure to hear how our stories weave together to expand our collective understanding of individual life journeys, perspectives, and aspirations for our future. I hope that our time together tonight will continue to encourage you to look for pitfalls in equitable access for marginalized populations in your place of work, your classroom, and our community. I look forward to unpacking our last section of the book with you next week and to our culminating conversations (please see prompts below). Thank you for making this a priority in your busy schedule.

<u>In preparation for our final meeting, here are the promised details:</u>
1. We will meet next Tuesday (February 2) from 3:30-5:30 pm at our Zoom link:

<u>https://us02web.zoom.us/j/7905870944?pwd=cTJBMGIWdUpqWTdna0RUVkV6Mzg5QT09</u>
Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: Community

2. To prepare for our next meeting, please:
A. Read Part 4: Canaan and the Author's Note

B. Come ready to discuss:

- How has this book study further informed your understanding of race
- How has this book study further informed your understanding of racial integration in the US?
- As educators, we are primed to be change leaders. Becoming a change leader is a journey of learning, building a compelling and informed story, and communicating that story in a way that recruits and inspires others to follow. The process of becoming educated, building the language, and moving into activism is one of self-reflection, conviction, and planning. When you think about racial equality where are you on your personal journey, what is your next step(s)?

3. Per our discussion today, here are some resources you may be interested in.

- Infographic on Strategies for Recruiting, Hiring, and Retaining Diverse Teachers (attached)
- Diversifying the Teaching Profession: How to Recruit & Retain Teachers of Color (attached)

- Intercultural Development Research Association (largely focused on Texas) has some great research to inform practice and suggestions specific to recruiting and retaining a diverse HQ workforce.
- Elaine shared this powerful image with us
- Crystal shared with us the term, internalized racism- the destructive patterns of feelings and behaviors experienced by recipients of racism when they internalize racial stereotypes, racial prejudices, and misinformation about their own racial group. I went searching for a meaningful resource to support your deeper understanding and chose a more unique reference, a counseling brochure a university has for their student population. I believe that it is a quick reference guide to better understand the causes and effects of race related stress. Another article I recommend is Teaching Colorism (attached).
- Besty shared the following opportunity you can pre register here

1/28/2020

Learning and Instructional Strategies Ohio

Building Equity with Ohio ASCD

Book study - Building Equity

Starting Feb. 13 through May 8, 9-10:30 a.m., there will be an opportunity to attend live Saturday morning sessions for the *Building Equity* book study. These sessions are a continuation of the *Dream Into Action* event.

Please preregister for the book study sessions by Jan. 12. Registrants will be emailed access the morning of Feb. 13.

Contact Jennifer Knapp at jenniferknapp@ohioascd.net or 614-531-5373 with questions.

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

9 Strategies for Recruiting, Hiring, and Retaining Diverse Teachers

The Issue

51%
of K–12 students are students of color

BUT ONLY

20%
of teachers are teachers of color
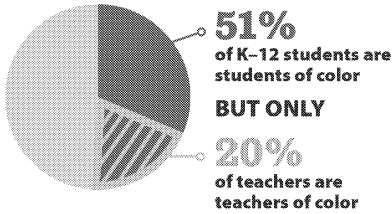
U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics., 2017; 2018

A diverse teacher workforce provides benefits to all students.

Students of color benefit when paired with a teacher of their same race/ethnicity

- They may improve their test scores and are less likely to experience exclusionary discipline
- They benefit from higher teacher expectations
- Teachers of color may also have a greater ability to engage diverse students

All students benefit with teachers of color and increased diversity in the school

- They are exposed to multiple perspectives
- They may have an increased sense of civic engagement
- Helps students improve problem-solving, critical-thinking skills, and creativity

---

Recruiting, hiring, and retaining diverse teachers is possible when schools and districts use data-driven, targeted strategies to inform their outreach efforts. Here are 9 evidence-based strategies that focus on what schools and districts can do to recruit, select, hire, onboard, and retain teachers of color.

1 Data Use
Use data to forecast staffing needs and to determine who is underrepresented in the workforce. Data can also be used to create marketing campaigns that appeal to candidates of color, are specific to the position, and highlight the benefits the district has to offer.

2 Institutional Partnerships
Build relationships between districts and teacher preparation programs that enroll a diverse student body, such as alternative teacher preparation programs, which are more likely to serve people of color.

3 Relationship-based Recruitment
Build personal relationships with students of color at institutions of higher education. Districts may wish to begin building relationships months before a job is posted and well before potential candidates decide to apply.

4 Early Hiring
Publish vacancy notices early in the process and hire early in the process to generate a large applicant pool. Ideally, half of the district's new teachers should be hired at least a month before the end of the prior school year.

5 Implicit Bias
Train all staff members who are involved in hiring to recognize implicit bias and to use interviewing techniques that reveal candidates' experience, knowledge, and strengths.

6 Multiple Measures
Use multiple measures—including performance-based tasks—to evaluate the qualifications of applicants. Teachers' test scores, education, and experience are not always the best predictors of their performance in the classroom and may function as gatekeepers for teachers of color.

7 Intentional Placement
Consider the organizational conditions of the school, the strength of the school's leadership team, and overall fit before placing new teachers. Teachers of color are more likely to be placed in schools with weak organizational conditions, poor leadership, and difficult working conditions, which increases the likelihood of attrition.

8 Professional Learning
Design and implement high-quality professional learning opportunities for new teachers of color, such as collaborative work with other educators; support groups for new teachers; and mentoring provided by trained, qualified colleagues—particularly other teachers of color.

9 Develop Leaders
Build the capacity of school leaders to improve working conditions in the school, to support teachers of color, and to identify and support students and staff members who are interested in becoming teachers.

This infographic is based on information found in the studies on the next page.

REL NORTHWEST

This infographic is based on information found in the following studies.

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Contact

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Diversifying the Teaching Profession: How to Recruit and Retain Teachers of Color

Desiree Carver-Thomas

LEARNING POLICY INSTITUTE

APRIL 2018

Diversifying the Teaching Profession: How to Recruit and Retain Teachers of Color

Desiree Carver-Thomas

Acknowledgments

External Reviewers

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Executive Summary

As more states and districts look to diversify their teacher workforces, it is important that, in order to develop holistic, evidence-based strategies for recruiting and retaining more teachers of color, decision makers carefully consider why it is that the teacher workforce is not currently as diverse as it could be. This report draws on recent nationally representative data as well as a body of research on recruiting and retaining teachers of color to summarize the primary barriers to recruitment and retention of teachers of color all along the teacher pipeline. Fortunately, there are a host of initiatives across the country aimed at addressing those very barriers.

It is no surprise that districts and states are eager to increase teacher diversity, given its significant benefits to students. Being taught by teachers of color offers benefits to all students, and especially to students of color, in the following ways:

- Teachers of color are a resource for students in hard-to-staff schools. Many teachers of color report feeling called to teach in low-income communities of color where positions are often difficult to fill. Indeed, three in four teachers of color work in the quartile of schools serving the most students of color nationally.
- Studies have found that teachers of color boost the academic performance of students of color. Scholars cite improved reading and math test scores, improved graduation rates, and increases in aspirations to attend college.
- Students of color can experience social-emotional and nonacademic benefits from having teachers of color, such as fewer unexcused absences and lower likelihood of chronic absenteeism and suspension. Students of color and White students also report having positive perceptions of their teachers of color, including feeling cared for and academically challenged.
- Teacher diversity may also benefit teachers of color who experience feelings of isolation, frustration, and fatigue when there are few other teachers of color in their schools. Increasing teacher diversity may improve satisfaction for teachers of color and decrease turnover, a key contributor to teacher shortages and school instability.

Racial and Ethnic Diversity in the Teacher Workforce Today

Over the past 30 years, the percentage of teachers of color in the workforce has grown from 12% to 20%. Incoming teachers, as a whole, are even more diverse. A quarter of first-year teachers in 2015 were non-White, up from 10% in the late 1980s. However, the teacher workforce still does not reflect the growing diversity of the nation, where people of color represent about 40% of the population and 50% of students. And the share of Native American and Black teachers in the workforce is actually in decline, not growing like the populations of Latinx and Asian American teachers. Furthermore, teachers of color have higher turnover rates than White teachers. For that reason, policies designed to increase teacher diversity should include not only strategies for recruiting more teachers of color, but also for retaining them over the long term.

Barriers to Recruiting and Retaining Teachers of Color

Studies show that both teacher recruitment and retention policies must be designed to more effectively retain teachers of color if diversity in the teaching profession is to be sustained. While more teachers of color are being recruited than in years past, high turnover rates result from

inadequate preparation and mentoring; poor teaching conditions; and displacement from the high-need schools they teach in, where accountability strategies can include reconstituting staff or closing schools rather than investing in improvements. Increasing the number of teachers of color in the workforce requires intentional preparation and hiring, and providing ongoing support to overcome these barriers to recruitment and retention. Programs and initiatives across the country provide evidence that an intentional and sustained approach to recruiting and retaining teachers of color can be successful.

Promising Practices

1. Build high-retention, supportive pathways into teaching.
Research shows that improving teacher retention begins with high-quality teacher preparation: Candidates who receive comprehensive preparation are two to three times more likely to stay in teaching than those who receive little training. In many cases, however, teachers of color are more likely to begin teaching without having completed comprehensive preparation and entering instead through alternative routes that often skip student teaching and key coursework, while teachers strive to learn on the job. This is not surprising, given the cost of traditional teacher preparation programs (TPPs) and the debt burden faced by college students of color. State and local policymakers can encourage more students of color to pursue a teaching career—and to do so through a high-quality program—in several ways:

* States can support candidates of color by underwriting the cost of teacher preparation. **Service scholarship and loan forgiveness programs** cover or reimburse a portion of tuition costs in exchange for a commitment to teach in high-need schools or subject areas, typically for 3 to 5 years. These programs tend to be more effective when they underwrite a significant portion of educational costs.

* States can provide funding for **teacher residencies**, which are partnerships between districts and universities that subsidize and improve teachers' training to teach in high-need schools and in high-demand subject areas. Participants spend a year working as apprentices with highly effective mentor teachers, while completing related coursework at partnering universities. During this time, residents receive financial support, often in the form of a stipend and tuition assistance. They commit to teaching an additional 3 to 4 years in their district, with ongoing mentoring support.

* Districts can develop **Grow Your Own** programs that recruit teacher candidates from nontraditional populations (e.g., high school students, paraprofessionals, and after-school program staff) who are more likely to reflect local diversity and more likely to continue to teach in their communities. States can also support these programs through university-based partnerships and other financial and programmatic policies and support.

* States can also support candidates of color by funding intensive teacher preparation support programs that offer **ongoing mentorship**, tutoring, exam stipends, job placement services, and other supports that ensure their successful completion of preparation programs. States and districts can fund and offer similar programs to teachers of color in the field to support greater retention. States can adjust **teacher licensure requirements** to allow teaching candidates to demonstrate their competency through rigorous but more authentic performance assessments, such as the edTPA, that do not generate the racial

disparity in pass rates of traditional multiple-choice exams. Such a shift may encourage more students of color to enter and complete high-quality TPPs.

* States can design **data systems** that monitor the racial diversity of enrollees in TPPs, as well as those who complete the programs. This creates an incentive for TPPs to take innovative approaches to recruiting and supporting teacher candidates of color into high-quality programs—a crucial first step often missing in state pathway policies and practices.

2. Create proactive hiring and induction strategies.

Once a prospective teacher is trained and certified, district and school hiring practices can influence their decisions to enter the teaching force and whether to stay in their schools. States and districts can influence several hiring conditions associated with effectively recruiting and retaining teachers, including timing of hiring, information in the hiring process, and licensure and pension portability.

* Districts can **shift hiring timelines** earlier. Research suggests in-demand candidates of color may be more likely to be available for hire earlier in the year. Districts can offer incentives for veteran teachers to announce their resignation, retirement, and transfer intentions in early spring so that it is possible to recruit new hires earlier in the season.

* Districts can **partner with local TPPs** to coordinate student teaching placements and vet candidates for hire before they graduate. They can also focus on working with Minority-Serving Institutions (MSIs) or Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs), Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs), and Asian American and Native American Pacific-Islander Serving Institutions (AANAPISIs), as well as traditional programs.

* Districts can **include teachers of color in the hiring process** in meaningful and collaborative ways, such as by creating diverse hiring committees in which teachers of color can shape recruitment and hiring strategies. This sends positive signals to recruits and can ensure greater fairness in the hiring process.

* Districts can offer **comprehensive induction** to support beginning teachers of color in their first years of teaching. Induction often includes being matched with a veteran mentor teacher and can also include seminars, classroom assistance, time to collaborate with other teachers, coaching and feedback from experienced teachers, and reduced workloads.

3. Improve school teaching conditions through improved school leadership.

Teaching conditions, and administrative support particularly, play a key role in teachers' decisions to stay in a school or in the profession. Recent evidence shows that administrative support is especially critical in improving the retention of teachers of color. School administrators are responsible for making hiring decisions, being instructional leaders, setting norms for students and staff, nurturing a positive and encouraging culture, keeping schoolwide systems running smoothly, and more. State and district policies can help school leaders develop the skills to do these things well and create school environments in which teachers want to stay.

* States can support improved principal preparation by strengthening **program accreditation and licensure standards** to ensure that principals have clinical experiences in schools with diverse students and staff and learn to create collaborative, supportive work environments for the teachers with whom they work.

- States can take advantage of **Title II's optional 3% leadership set-aside funds** to strengthen the quality of school leaders, including by investing in principal recruitment, preparation, induction, and development focused on supportive school leadership.

- States and districts can invest in evidence-based school improvement strategies to improve instructional quality and supports for students rather than closing schools. This will reduce displacement of teachers of color, who most often teach in struggling schools. Strategies can include schoolwide **professional development** and **community schools**, which focus on whole child development through community partnerships.

- Districts can **develop partnerships** with local universities and teachers of color to actively recruit talented teachers into administrator preparation, especially those who have demonstrated a commitment to working in hard-to-staff schools.

- Districts can provide **ongoing professional learning** opportunities for school leaders to develop the skills to support teachers effectively.

Together, these policies can help recruit, fully prepare, support, and retain teachers of color in ways that benefit all students.

Introduction

Recruiting and retaining a racially and ethnically diverse teacher workforce is crucial to ensuring that all young people have role models who reflect the nation's diversity and to meeting the needs of all students. However, faced with a national teacher shortage, schools across the country are struggling to hire a diverse workforce of qualified educators.[1] While current conditions in many states have contributed to widespread shortages of teachers of all types—such as mathematics, science, special education, and English language development teachers[2]—teachers of color encounter unique barriers to entering the profession and to continuing to teach for the long haul. Fortunately, a variety of programs, policies, and practices hold promise in helping to bolster the pipeline of teachers of color recruited and retained in teaching.

> A variety of programs, policies, and practices hold promise in helping to bolster the pipeline of teachers of color recruited and retained in teaching.

This research review analyzes studies on the recruitment and retention of teachers of color in order to examine the current state of teachers of color in the workforce; understand the factors that affect their recruitment, hiring, and retention; and highlight opportunities for policymakers to grow a stable workforce of teachers of color in their districts and states.

The first section of this paper, Racial and Ethnic Diversity in the Teacher Workforce Today, includes a description of the proportion and growth of teachers of color in the workforce based on several national data sources and an analysis of the most recent nationally representative datasets from the U.S. Department of Education Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS) 2011–12 and the SASS Teacher Follow-up Survey (TFS) 2013–14. This section also summarizes recent literature regarding the value to students of a racially diverse teacher workforce, followed by a discussion of the significant role teacher retention plays in shortages of teachers of color.

The second section of this paper, Barriers to Recruiting and Retaining Teachers of Color, summarizes the most recent literature on factors affecting the recruitment, hiring, and retention of teachers of color. Included within this discussion is enrollment in and completion of high-quality TPPs, school closure and turnaround policies, and teaching conditions.

Finally, the last section of this paper, Promising Practices, examines the evidence for promising practices aimed at overcoming the common barriers to recruiting, hiring, and retaining teachers of color identified in section two. These practices include funding high-retention pathways into teaching, such as teacher residencies, Grow Your Own programs, and college mentoring and support programs; creating proactive hiring and induction strategies; and improving school teaching conditions through improved school leadership.

Racial and Ethnic Diversity in the Teacher Workforce Today

We analyzed the most recent nationally representative datasets from the U.S. Department of Education—the SASS 2011–12, the SASS TFS 2013–14, and other national data sources—to understand the current state of teachers of color in the United States. At 20% of the teacher workforce in 2015–16, teachers of color comprise an increasing share of the U.S. teacher workforce.[3] They made up just 12% of the workforce 30 years ago.[4] Still, that share is disproportionately low compared to the percentage of students of color in public schools (50% in 2014)[5] and people of color in the nation (about 40% in 2016).[6] It is also too low to meet the demand from school districts and families.[7]

The gap between the percentage of Latinx teachers and students is larger than for any other racial or ethnic group. In 2014, more than 25% of students were Latinx, while Latinx teachers represented fewer than 9% of teachers in 2015 (see Figure 1)[8]—despite the fact that the shares of Latinx teachers and students are growing faster than those of any other racial or ethnic group. The population of Latinx students has increased 159% since 1987, and the share of Latinx teachers has increased 245% over the same period.[9]

While the population of teachers of color as a collective group is growing, Black and Native American teachers are a declining share of the teaching force (see Figure 1). Black teachers made up more than 8% of teachers in 1987 but made up 6.7% in 2015. Similarly, the share of Native American teachers declined from 1.1% in 1987 to 0.4% in 2015. Meanwhile, the percentage of Latinx teachers increased from 2.9% of teachers in 1987 to 8.8% in 2015. The share of Asian American teachers increased from 0.9% to 2.3% over the same period.
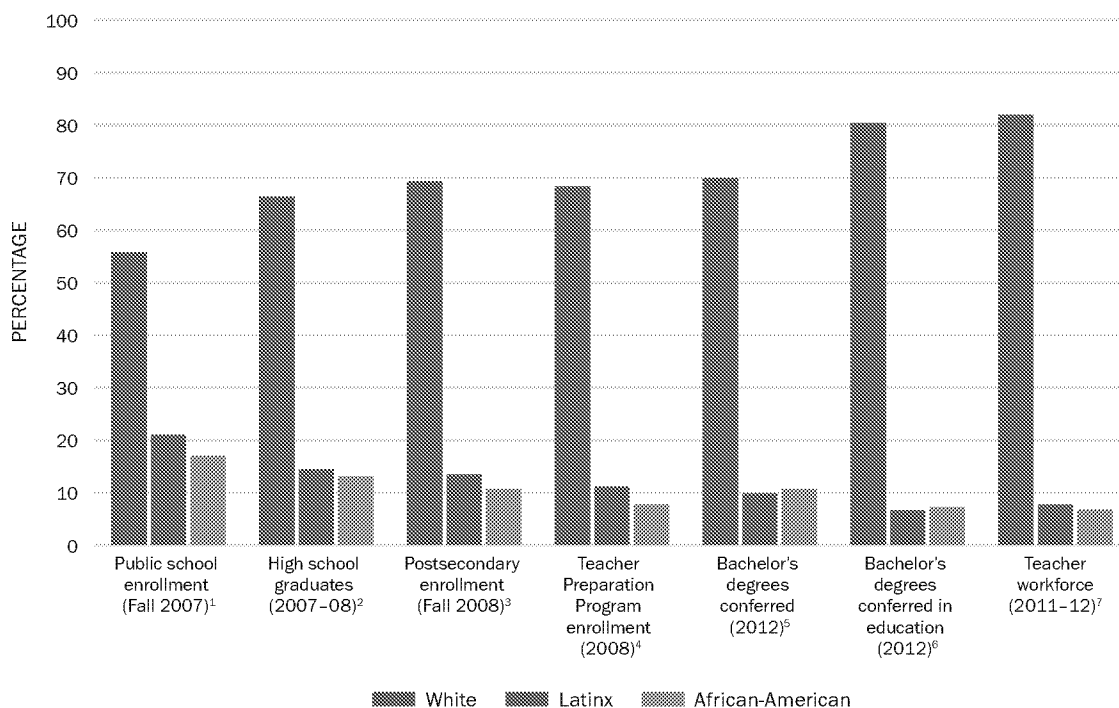

Figure 1
The Share of Teachers of Color in the Teacher Workforce
1987–2015
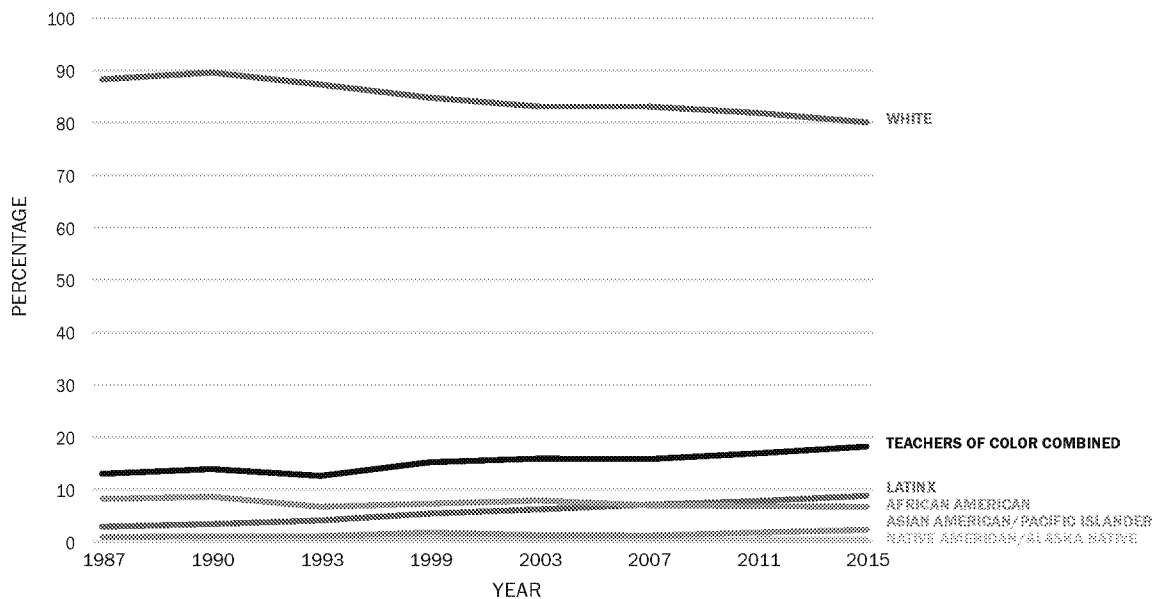
Note: Analysis by Learning Policy Institute. See the appendix for full source information.

Furthermore, the pool of potential Black and Latinx teaching candidates dwindles along the potential-teacher pipeline from high school graduation to college enrollment, teacher preparation, and employment in the teacher workforce (see Figure 2). For example, in 2007, Black and Latinx students made up over 38% of k–12 students but less than 28% of high school graduates and about 24% of high school graduates who went on to enroll in a 2- or 4-year college the next fall. Black and Latinx candidates made up just 19% of teacher preparation candidates, including baccalaureate and post-baccalaureate candidates, in fall 2008. Four years later, in 2012, Black and Latinx candidates comprised about 20% of bachelor's degree earners in 2012, but only 14% of bachelor's degrees in education.

Figure 2
The Pool of Potential Black and Latinx Teachers Dwindles Along the Teacher Pipeline

Note: Analysis by Learning Policy Institute. See the appendix for full source information.

Despite these facts, there is also promising news for teacher diversity. Evidence suggests that new teachers entering the field are increasingly teachers of color. White teachers made up 90% of first-year teachers in 1987 but 75% of first-year teachers in 2015–16.[10] Meanwhile, the percentage of first-year teachers identifying as Latinx increased from 4% to more than 11% over the same period. There has also been an increase in the proportion of Black first-year teachers during that time period—from 4% to 8%. The growing diversity of new teachers makes efforts to retain teachers of color all the more important as described in a later section, The Importance of Retention. Many of these newly recruited teachers currently do not remain in the profession.

Why Increase Teacher Diversity? The Positive Impacts on Students

While all teachers require intentional, culturally based preparation to reach an increasingly diverse student population,[11] greater diversity in the teaching profession can also have positive impacts on student educational experiences and outcomes. This is especially true for students of color, who demonstrate greater academic achievement and social and emotional development in classes with teachers of color. However, having teachers of color benefits White students as well.

Many teachers of color report feeling called to teach in low-income communities of color, positions that are often difficult to fill.[12] Thus, three in four teachers of color work in the quartile of schools serving the most students of color nationally. Teachers of color play an important role in filling gaps in these schools, and their retention decisions have significant impacts on students of color.[13]

Some studies have found that teachers of color boost the academic performance of students of color. One reanalysis of test score data from the Tennessee STAR class size study found that Black elementary students with Black teachers had reading and math test scores 3 to 6 percentile points higher than students without Black teachers and that gains in test scores accumulated with each year students were in a class with a race-matched teacher.[14] Another recent reanalysis of the same data found that being taught by a teacher of color can also have significant long-term academic benefits. That study found that Black k–3 students assigned to a Black teacher in their first year of the STAR program were 15% less likely to drop out of high school and 10% more likely to take a college entrance exam.[15]

Longitudinal data from North Carolina showed similar long-term benefits. Black students who were assigned to a class with a Black teacher at least once in 3rd, 4th, or 5th grade were less likely to drop out of high school and more likely to aspire to go to college.[16] Having at least one Black teacher in grades 3 to 5 cut the high school dropout rate in half for Black boys. Black boys from low-income families who had at least one Black teacher in grades 3 to 5 were 39% less likely to drop out of high school than those who had never had a Black teacher. For Black students identified as "persistently low-income," who received free or reduced-price lunch every year of grades 3 through 8, having a Black teacher increased their intentions of going to college by 19%, and by 29% for Black boys specifically.

In other words, the benefit of having a Black teacher for just 1 year in elementary school can persist over several years, especially for Black students from low-income families. However, less than half of the Black students in the sample population in this study were taught by a Black teacher in grades 3 to 5. Notably, Black teachers tended to have similar effects on non-Black students, though these effects were smaller and not statistically significant.

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Other studies of North Carolina student standardized test performance have also found positive, though smaller, effects of racial matching on student test scores.[17] Scholars have found similar patterns in higher education. For example, underrepresented community college students of color (Black, Latinx, Native American, and Pacific Islander students) fared better when taught by

underrepresented faculty of color.[18] They were more likely to pass a class and earn a B or higher than underrepresented students of color in classes taught by White faculty.

In addition to academic benefits, students of color can experience social and emotional benefits from having teachers of color. A study using longitudinal data on North Carolina k–5 students and teachers between 2006 and 2010, found that students with teachers of another race had more unexcused absences and an increased likelihood of being chronically absent than students with race-matched teachers.[19] In particular, boys of color taught by White teachers were even more likely to be chronically absent and to have ever been suspended, and they experienced more suspensions than did other students. More recently, a similar study of North Carolina elementary, middle, and high school students found that Black students with more Black teachers were less likely to experience exclusionary discipline; that is, suspension and expulsion.[20] Black students with more Black teachers were even less likely to experience exclusionary discipline for incidents that would require a subjective judgment, such as "willful defiance." Non-Black students also had lower likelihoods of discipline when taught by a Black teacher, though the effect was less extreme than for Black students.

Scholars suggest that there might be a variety of reasons for the positive educational experiences students of color often have when taught by teachers of color: Teachers of color have a role model effect, whereby students of color identify with seeing people of color in professional roles.[21] Teachers of color can also undermine stereotype threat (the phenomenon of underperforming because of feeling stereotyped as an underperformer),[22] and they typically have higher expectations for students of color than do White teachers.[23] Teachers of color often function as cultural translators and advocates for students of color[24] because they have multicultural awareness,[25] and they tend to provide superior quantity and quality of instructional support than White teachers to students of color.[26]

Studies also suggest that all students, including White students, benefit from having teachers of color because they bring distinctive knowledge, experiences, and role modeling to the student body as a whole. Another study using the MET database, analyzed the perceptions of students in grades 6 to 9 of Black, Latinx, and White teachers

> All students, including White students, benefit from having teachers of color.

along seven outcome measures, which included feeling cared for and academically challenged, among others.[27] In several models controlling for student, teacher, and school conditions, these researchers consistently found students expressed more favorable perceptions of Black and Latinx teachers than of White teachers. Latinx teachers were almost always rated higher than White teachers across all seven measures. Students rated Black teachers higher on three of seven measures, and Black students reported especially favorable attitudes toward Black teachers across all outcome measures. Asian American students also rated Black teachers higher on most of the outcome measures. In demonstrating the positive perceptions students have of teachers of color, these studies suggest that all students can benefit from a more diverse teacher workforce. Other research has found that overall ratings of teachers on this survey can predict student learning gains for those who responded to the survey as well as for other students in the class.[28]

Research on implicit bias has found that when individuals of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds have childhood interactions with individuals of other racial backgrounds—including friends, caretakers, neighbors, and classmates, for example—they are less likely to hold implicit biases in adulthood than those who have had less interracial contact in childhood.[29] Businesses appreciate

the importance of hiring employees who can work well with others in a diverse and global society. In an amicus brief to the Supreme Court, several leading American companies, including Apple, Walmart, Shell Oil, and others, argued that employees educated in more diverse learning environments are "better able to work productively with business partners, employees, and clients in the United States and around the world; and they are likely to generate a more positive work environment by decreasing incidents of discrimination and stereotyping."[30] Being taught by a diverse teacher workforce can help all students develop dispositions that prepare them for civic life and the workforce.

Most of the literature explores the impact teachers of color have in directly affecting students, but there is also some evidence to suggest that increasing teacher diversity may also benefit teachers of color already in the field. In several qualitative studies, teachers of color expressed feelings of isolation, frustration, and fatigue when they were one of few teachers of color in their schools.[31] This finding suggests that increasing the diversity of the teaching force may also benefit students indirectly if it helps to improve teacher satisfaction and decrease teacher turnover, a key contributor to teacher shortages and school instability.[32]

The Important Role of Retention

When districts and states experience teacher shortages, some attempt to boost the teacher supply by increasing teacher recruitment and even lowering the bar to enter the field.[33] However, research shows that teacher retention is also crucial in reducing shortages of all teachers, including teachers of color. High turnover rates have offset successful recruitment of teachers of color in recent years and continue to contribute to unmet demand for teachers of color.[34] In addition to negatively impacting student achievement, high teacher turnover rates exacerbate teacher shortages because inexperienced and underprepared teachers—those with some of the highest turnover rates—are often hired in place of those who leave, resulting in a "revolving door" of teachers.[35] A key step to increasing the proportion of teachers of color in the workforce is addressing the factors that contribute to their decisions to move schools or leave teaching.

> High teacher turnover rates exacerbate teacher shortages because inexperienced and underprepared teachers—those with some of the highest turnover rates—are often hired in place of those who leave, resulting in a "revolving door" of teachers.

An estimated 90% of teacher demand is driven by teachers who leave the profession. Two thirds of that demand is caused by teachers who have left for reasons other than retirement.[36] Teacher shortages generally result from voluntary preretirement attrition (that is, teachers leaving the profession before retirement age).

Teachers of color move schools or leave the profession at a higher annual rate than do White teachers (19% versus 15%). While teachers of color and White teachers leave the workforce at similar rates over time, mover rates (transferring from one school to another) over time are much higher for teachers of color (see Figures 3 and 4). Although the overall teacher mover rate has

remained fairly steady at 8%, the mover rates for teachers of color have increased from 7% to 10% between 1992 and 2013, resulting in a widening gap between mover rates of teachers of color and White teachers. Teacher mover rates have serious impacts on students who are most affected. When a teacher leaves a school, it similarly impacts the school and students as if that teacher had left the profession altogether. Higher mover rates among teachers of color disproportionately impact students of color and students in poverty whom teachers of color most often serve.[37]

Figure 3
Teacher Leaver Rates
1988-89 to 2012-13
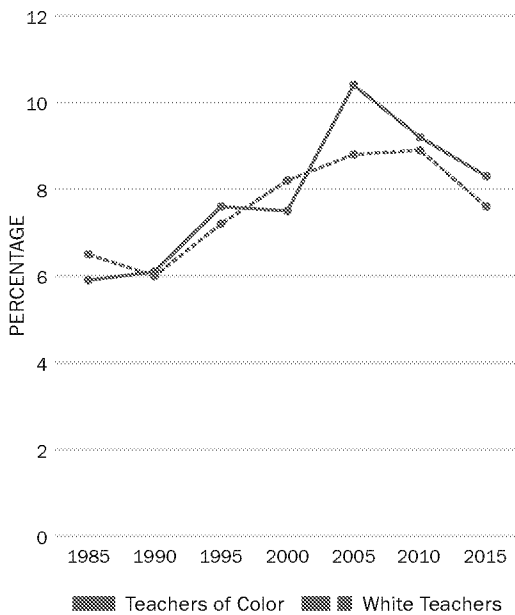
Source: Learning Policy Institute analysis of National Center for Education Statistics School and Staffing Survey, 2011-12, and Teacher Follow-up Survey, 2012-13

Figure 4
Teacher Mover Rates
1988-89 to 2012-13
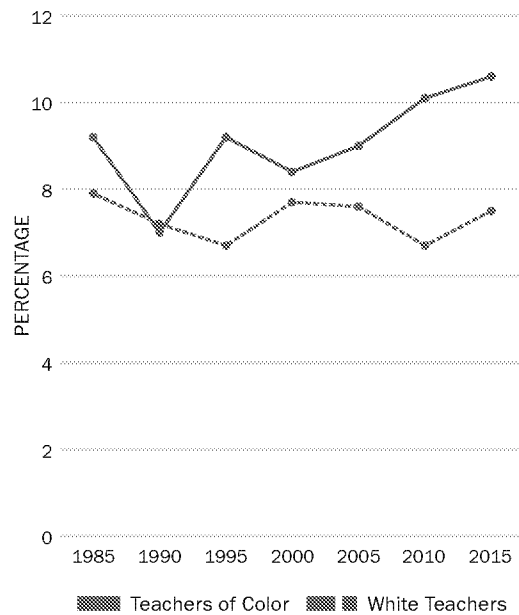
Source: Learning Policy Institute analysis of National Center for Education Statistics School and Staffing Survey, 2011-12, and Teacher Follow-up Survey, 2012-13

Teachers of color are also more likely to enter teaching through alternative pathways, increasing the likelihood that they will leave. In 2013, a quarter of all new teachers of color entered teaching through an alternative certification pathway. That is double the share of White teachers who entered through an alternative certification pathway. While the quality of alternative certification programs varies, research has shown that teachers with the least comprehensive teacher preparation are two to three times more likely to leave their teaching position or teaching altogether than the most prepared candidates, exacerbating shortages of teachers of color and contributing to school instability, often in the neediest schools.[38] Recent evidence also shows that alternatively certified teachers are 25% more likely to turn over than their traditionally certified counterparts, even after controlling for key student, teacher, and school characteristics.[39]

It is important to note that alternative certification programs differ considerably in terms of the comprehensiveness of preparation and rigor they provide. Teacher residencies, for example, offer full certification and extensive preservice preparation on par with high-quality traditional TPPs.[40]
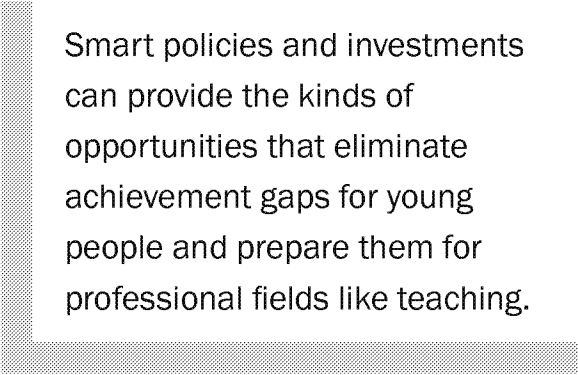
Teachers of color are also more likely to teach in schools that serve large numbers of students of color and that are often under-resourced with higher turnover rates for all teachers. While there is a statistically significant difference in the overall turnover rates between teachers of color and White teachers, this does not hold true across school types. When teachers of color and White teachers work in schools with the same proportion of students of color, their turnover rates are statistically indistinguishable.[41] However, as noted earlier, because teachers of color tend to work in schools with higher concentrations of students of color, they are more likely to teach in schools with higher turnover rates.

Teachers of color were more likely, compared to the average teacher, to report on the federal teacher follow-up survey in 2013 that certain factors were very or extremely important in their decision to leave teaching: concerns about compensation tied to student performance, lack of administrative support, lack of classroom autonomy and school influence, poor teaching conditions, and the desire to pursue another career or improve their opportunities in education.

Barriers to Recruiting and Retaining Teachers of Color

Barriers to recruiting teachers of color exist at each stage of the teacher pipeline, beginning at the k–12 level. According to data from the National Center for Education Statistics, reading and mathematics scores on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) have increased for students across the board since the early 1990s, but Native American, Black, and Latinx students still score below their White and Asian American peers, and achievement gaps have grown.[42] In 2013, Native American, Alaska Native, and Pacific Islander students were the least likely of all student groups to have perfect attendance, and Native American and Alaska Native students had the highest rate of chronic absenteeism. In 2012, the percentage of Black boys and girls who had ever been suspended was more than twice the rates for boys and girls in other racial and ethnic groups. High school dropout rates have fallen since 2013, but dropout rates for Native American and Latinx students remain among the highest (12% and 13%, respectively). Dropout rates are especially high for Latinx and Pacific Islander students born outside the U.S. (22% and 13%). These disparities in access to educational opportunity and student outcomes might set the stage for a less diverse teacher candidate pool, but there are at least two reasons to believe that greater teacher diversity is possible.

First, it is clear that smart policies and investments can provide the kinds of opportunities that eliminate achievement gaps for young people and prepare them for professional fields like teaching. That was the case during the 1960s and 1970s, when President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society programs poured investments into health care, employment, and the social safety net in urban and rural communities. On top of those anti-poverty measures, federal education funding dedicated to desegregation efforts, teacher education, curriculum development and innovation, and better teacher salaries led to significant gains for students of color.[43] Between 1971 and 1988, the achievement gap between Black and White students in reading narrowed by half, and the achievement gap in math narrowed by a third. As those investments were diminished by the Reagan administration, however, so were the gains for students of color. This history offers a road map for improving outcomes for students of color once again, which would increase the pool of prospective teachers of color.

> Smart policies and investments can provide the kinds of opportunities that eliminate achievement gaps for young people and prepare them for professional fields like teaching.

Second, even after k-12 schooling, there are multiple junctures along the teacher pipeline, from enrollment in postsecondary education to veteran teaching status, in which policies and practices exclude teachers of color. If, at each of those junctures, federal, state, and local policies were to reduce or eliminate those barriers, the pool of teachers of color might grow. To that end, this section describes obstacles to college completion, the impact of student debt on teacher preparation enrollment and completion, how the quality of teacher preparation affects the retention of teachers of color, the impact school teaching conditions and improvement policies have on teacher retention, and the role of school closures.

Obstacles to Completing College

Unfortunately, completion rates are low among those students of color who enroll in college generally and education programs specifically. U.S. Department of Education data show that Black, Latinx, Pacific Islander, and Native American or Alaska Native college students are less likely than students overall to graduate within 6 years. Nationally, 40% of full-time students who began any bachelor's programs in 2008 at 4-year colleges graduated within 4 years, and 60% graduated within 6 years. However, fewer than 25% of Black or Native American or Alaska Native students graduated within 4 years, and just 41% graduated within 6 years. For Latinx students, 54% graduated within 6 years, and 50% of Pacific Islander students graduated within 6 years.[44] In addition, among students of color who completed their degrees, those studying to become teachers may switch their field of study. With mass teacher layoffs during the Great Recession, for example, college graduates might have switched majors or pursued employment outside of teaching.

Students of color attempting to complete bachelor's degrees face several challenges. Scholars have cited increased financial burdens as a key contributor to reduced college completion among students generally, claiming that this leads students to work more and take fewer classes.[45] In addition, students of color may be discouraged from completing their degrees due to factors such as being underprepared for college-level coursework caused by a lack of exposure in high school,[46] family responsibilities, transportation difficulties, dissatisfaction with little faculty diversity, and the difficulty of being in an environment that does not reflect or respect their culture or experience.[47] A study of Native American college student completion issues suggests colleges consider embedding Native cultures, family support, quality interactions with faculty, mentoring, and student engagement in academic life.[48]

> Students of color may be discouraged from completing their degrees due to factors such as being underprepared for college-level coursework caused by a lack of exposure in high school, family responsibilities, transportation difficulties, dissatisfaction with little faculty diversity, and the difficulty of being in an environment that does not reflect or respect their culture or experience.

However, low college completion rates for students of color are not inevitable. Some schools are successfully helping candidates of color to complete college and pursue education degrees. According to a survey of TPPs administered by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE), in 2009–10, Minority-Serving Institutions (MSIs) produced a more diverse candidate pool than Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs).[49] Additionally, teachers of color who attended an MSI were more likely to graduate with a bachelor's degree from a school or department of education compared to teachers of color who attended a PWI.[50] It is possible that the structure of education programs and the supports provided at MSIs make teaching seem more attractive to college students of color and make completing college more manageable.

The Impact of Student Debt on Teacher Preparation Enrollment and Completion

Increasing the pool of teachers of color depends in part on increasing the number of college students enrolling in and completing teacher preparation. Currently, college students of color are less likely to enroll in TPPs than are White college students, despite an increase in overall college enrollment over the past two decades for students of color.[51]

The increasing debt burden of college may play a role in declining interest in pursuing education careers. The average student loan balance increased nearly 60% between 2005 and 2012 to about $25,000.[52] College students' potential debt burdens influence their decisions about what profession to enter, with the result that they are less likely to pursue education careers or take other low-paying jobs after graduation when they expect to incur more debt.[53] This is especially true for students of color. According to a study of college loan debt, even expecting the same debt burden and postgraduation salary, undergraduate and graduate Black, Latinx, and Asian American students were more likely than White students to report that loans limited their choice of educational institution, and Latinx students were most likely to report feeling limited by loans.[54] Black students were more likely to report that they wished they had borrowed less to fund their postsecondary education, that they changed their career plans because of their loans, or that their loan payments were burdensome.

> Undergraduate and graduate Black, Latinx, and Asian American students were more likely than White students to report that student loans limited their choice of educational institution.

Student loan debt is much greater for Black students than for White students, and both the amount of debt and the gap between Black and White borrowers grows substantially over time. Based on an analysis of administrative loan data and Department of Education Baccalaureate and Beyond data, Black undergraduates graduate with about $7,400 more debt than White graduates, but have more than $25,000 more debt than White graduates 4 years after graduation.[55] The gap more than quadruples over 12 years, with Black graduates owing $43,000 more than White graduates.[56] This debt gap between Black and White college graduates is due to greater undergraduate borrowing, greater graduate school borrowing, and greater loan interest accumulation when interest accrues faster than loan payments are made. While Latinx college students tend to borrow about as much as White borrowers, their loan default rates are about twice as high, suggesting that even the same debt amount presents a greater relative burden. Rising tuition and the high cost of student loans can dissuade students of color from pursuing careers in education.[57]

Insufficient Teacher Preparation

High-quality teacher preparation is key to teacher retention. As noted earlier, teachers who enter the field with little preparation are two to three times more likely to leave their schools than those who had comprehensive preparation.[58] However, teachers of color are more likely to enter the profession through an alternative certification pathway than are White teachers, a trend that has increased over the past several years.

State data reported in compliance with Title II of the Higher Education Act show that enrollments in both traditional and alternative certification programs have been declining over the last decade, but candidates of color were 44% more likely to enroll in an alternative certification program in 2014–15 than in 2008–09. In 2014–15, more than one in five candidates of color enrolled in an alternative certification program, compared to about one in 10 White candidates.[59] As noted earlier, while variation exists in the quality of preservice preparation of alternative certification programs, on average, these teachers complete less coursework and student teaching, if any, and teachers entering through alternative pathways are more likely to leave their schools or leave the profession than teachers certified through traditional pathways.

For Black teachers, alternative certification has become increasingly common. Black teachers have about the same average age and teaching experience as other teachers, but Black teachers in their first year in 2012 were three-and-a-half times more likely to have no student teaching experience than all other first-year teachers (28.2% versus 7.9%), a discrepancy driven by disproportionate entry through alternative certification routes and emergency hiring. Nearly half of newly hired Black teachers were certified through an alternative pathway, compared to just 22% of all other first-year teachers.[60]

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Teacher licensure exams

Among the many requirements teacher candidates must fulfill (including earning a bachelor's degree, student teaching, and completing teacher training), most states require that teacher candidates demonstrate subject-matter competence by passing standardized exams, the most common of which is the Praxis series of teacher licensure exams. About two thirds of states include satisfactory performance on the Praxis as a requirement for a teaching credential.[61] Several other states require a passing score on their own state-specific standardized exams, including the Oklahoma Subject Area Test (OSAT) and the Georgia Assessments for the Certification of Educators (GACE). The Praxis I exam is meant to assess high school-level mathematics, reading, and writing skills and can be used for entry into a TPP or for state teacher licensure.[62] Praxis II exams measure subject-specific content knowledge, general pedagogy, and content-specific pedagogy and are used to meet state licensure requirements.[63]

Black and Latinx teacher candidates disproportionately fail these standardized exams.[64] Historically, the disparities in failure rates have been large. For example, over 18% of Black teachers and administrators failed a Texas teacher exam that is now out of use, while just 1% of White test takers did.[65] A Georgia teacher certification exam resulted in failure rates four times higher for Black test takers, with just 40% passing. A 1985 report by the Educational Testing Service—maker of the National Teacher Examination (NTE), which later became Praxis—estimated that based on the lowest and highest passing scores in each state, between 31% and 70% of Black teacher candidates would be disqualified from teaching. Between 15% and 45% of Latinx candidates would be disqualified. In contrast, only 2% to 14% of White candidates would fall short of passing.[66] Later, an examination of 1998–99 Praxis scores in states across the country found that Latinx, Black, and Asian American test takers had lower average scores and lower pass rates than White test takers.[67] That analysis found a gap in pass rates as high as 38 percentage points.

It is important to note that the proliferation of teacher licensure exams with deeply disparate outcomes was not happenstance. Indeed, it was those disparate outcomes that prompted much of the initial uptake in the use of these tests. The number of test takers taking the most common modern teacher licensure exam, NTE, increased nearly sixfold between 1948 and 1962.[68] With 80% of 1963 test takers residing in the South, much of that increase was driven by new exam requirements in southern states, created in the wake of civil rights litigation, including the NAACP efforts to equalize salaries between Black and White teachers and school desegregation efforts related to the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision.[69] The NTE director of teacher testing at the time, Arthur Benson, went so far as to point out to southern school officials "that black and white teachers tended to score differently on the teacher examinations. He suggested that with the use of the exams 'the South [could] face its future with confidence.'"[70]

An analysis of teacher test design later indicated that cultural bias contributed to disparate test score outcomes.[71] Researchers found that when a version of the NTE general knowledge test replaced traditional questions with test items based on Black culture, Black women scored higher than White women. The reverse was true when questions were drawn exclusively from non-Black culture.

Critically, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 forbids racial discrimination in hiring, as well as hiring and evaluation practices that disproportionately exclude racial minorities and other groups, unless the policies are directly job related. Teacher licensure exams have often resulted in far fewer teachers of color earning certifications, and, as described later in this section, there is limited evidence that a teacher candidate's performance on these exams is associated with their students' achievement.

> Studies have continued to find higher fail rates for prospective teachers of color but have not found that the exams accurately and consistently predict their effectiveness as teachers.

Even after the NTE test makers made several modifications to the exam, studies have continued to find higher fail rates for prospective teachers of color but have not found that the exams accurately and consistently predict their effectiveness as teachers.[72]

In addition, the cost of teacher licensure exams, which ranges from $100 to $300 each, can be particularly burdensome to low-income students. Some teacher candidates may have to pay to take several different subject-matter exams to earn their certification. These costs are amplified for teachers who do not pass their exams initially and must pay to retake them.[73]

Since 2014, many states have begun to incorporate performance assessment, such as Praxis Performance Assessment for Teachers and edTPA, into their licensure processes, either as standard requirements or as optional substitutions for traditional tests. These newer assessments typically require teaching candidates to develop portfolios of work that include unit plans, videos of their instruction, evaluation of student work, and written reflections that connect their teaching practice to theory. They are designed to more authentically evaluate candidates' readiness for teaching, and indeed, initial research finds that teacher candidates' scores on the performance assessment often predict their students' academic gains.

Research on beginning teacher performance assessments, such as the Performance Assessment for California Teachers (PACT), Connecticut's Beginning Teacher Educator Support and Training Program (BEST), and edTPA suggests that, like the National Board assessment, teacher candidates' scores on the performance assessment predict their students' gains on standardized tests.[74] These assessments also function as learning tools, and they have been found to develop teachers' skills and increase their effectiveness as they learn to demonstrate the ability to plan and implement curriculum, address a range of student needs, instruct effectively, and assess student learning to improve instruction.[75]
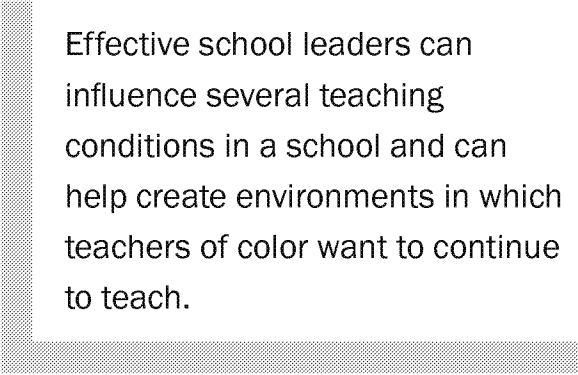
Furthermore, initial data suggest that performance assessments may reduce barriers to entry into the profession for teachers of color. A study of PACT in California found no disparities in pass rates between candidates of color and White candidates.[76] A study by edTPA found that while the average score for Black teachers was somewhat lower than for White teachers, the gaps were smaller than those found in more traditional teacher licensure exams.[77] A later study of the edTPA in Washington found no disparities in pass rates between Black and White candidates, but somewhat higher failure rates for Latinx candidates.[78] These results are significantly better than the outcomes of traditional multiple-choice teacher exams, and they are arguably more important because they deal with the actual ability of candidates to teach.

Federal regulation could incentivize greater use of performance assessments in lieu of traditional exams. Sections 204 and 205 of the Higher Education Act, which regulate accountability systems for TPPs, could be amended to explicitly allow states to use teacher performance assessments as part of their **reporting under Title II** and to dedicate grant funding to implement use of these assessments.

Challenging Teaching Conditions

Once teachers of color enter the classroom, the teaching conditions they encounter can discourage them from staying at the same school or even staying in the profession. This is important because three in four teachers of color work in the quartile of schools that serve the most students of color. Scholars have noted that schools that serve the most students of color often contend with a range of challenges, including accountability pressures and a lack of resources and support.[79] Teachers citing a lack of administrative support, in particular, were more than twice as likely to leave their school or teaching entirely.[80] For teachers of color, specifically, an analysis of 2011–13 nationally representative teacher survey data found that turnover was strongly associated with a lack of classroom autonomy and school influence.[81]

Effective school leaders can influence several teaching conditions in a school and can help create environments in which teachers of color want to continue to teach. Unfortunately, many school leadership training programs do not prepare principals to be effective in all the roles they must play. A 2005 study of school administrator training programs found that these programs were considered among the weakest U.S. education school programs.[82] Clinical training requirements, for example,

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varied considerably between programs, with some requiring as few as 45 hours at a school site and others requiring as many as 300. Many prospective principals reported that their coursework failed to prepare them for the realities of leading a school.[83]

Studies also suggest that teachers of color experience unique adverse teaching conditions regardless of the quality of the schools in which they teach. In a qualitative study of Black teachers across the U.S., teachers reported facing racial discrimination and stereotyping in their schools. Many respondents said their colleagues lacked respect for their expertise as educators, and they were often pigeonholed as disciplinarians.[84] For some Black teachers, that might mean they were assigned disciplinary roles instead of other leadership roles they might be more interested in, such as roles recognizing their content expertise. Or they might be criticized by school leaders or colleagues if they do not embody the disciplinarian persona expected of them.[85] Teachers also reported that they felt obligated to take on additional responsibilities to support their Black students who might not otherwise receive the support they needed. While most Black educators described feeling called to the profession to improve schooling experiences for students of color, the added workload outside of teaching could contribute to increased turnover.

In a qualitative study of Latinx teachers, Latinx teachers reported being viewed as inferior to other teachers or only being beneficial for Latinx students.[86] They also reported receiving criticism from other teachers and school leaders when they embedded culturally relevant materials into their curricula or allowed or encouraged students to speak Spanish in the classroom. Many bilingual teachers discussed wanting to support their schools, students, and families by helping with translation but also described the added burden of being expected to do so.

School Closures

Even for teachers of color committed to continuing to teach in their schools, district and state policies can increase turnover rates. In 2012, in an era of school closings and layoffs in many cities, the rate of involuntary turnover was much higher for Black teachers than for all other teachers, constituting nearly a third of all turnover. Disproportionately high rates of involuntary turnover among Black teachers were the result of Black teachers involuntarily leaving the profession and moving schools. Twelve percent of Black teachers who left the profession did so involuntarily, compared with 10% of teachers overall.[87] And while about 30% of all movers left their schools involuntarily, the number was greater for Black teachers, with over 50% doing so.[88]

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Teacher layoffs during the recession and school closings in urban districts were largely due to both declining enrollments and sanctions for schools with low test scores under No Child Left Behind.[89] Decreases in the numbers of Black teachers have been proportionally much greater than decreases in the size of the overall teaching force in these cities. In New Orleans, more than 7,000 teachers—most of whom were Black—were fired en masse after Hurricane Katrina. They were replaced by

predominantly young, White teachers brought in to teach in the charter schools that replaced the district schools.[90] As a result, the number of Black teachers there declined by more than 62%. In other major cities, the decline in the number of Black teachers ranges from 15% to 39%.[91]

A report on One Newark, a school restructuring plan led by the New Jersey Department of Education to improve Newark Public Schools, found that schools targeted for closure, turnaround, or replacement by charter schools in 2012–13—processes often involving massive staffing changes— served higher shares of Black children and were disproportionately staffed by Black and Latinx teachers. They were not, however, necessarily the worst-performing schools.[92] Based on the analysis in the report, Black teachers were twice as likely to have to reapply for a teaching position as were White teachers in similar school settings. Latinx and Native American teachers also were more likely to have their employment disrupted. The teachers employed in charter schools in the district were far more likely to be White than Black, Latinx, or Native American and were more likely to have less than 5 years of experience.

Promising Practices

Increasing the number of teachers of color in the workforce requires both intentional preparation and hiring, and providing them with ongoing support to overcome the barriers to recruitment and retention described above. Fortunately, programs and initiatives across the country provide evidence that an intentional and sustained approach to recruiting and retaining teachers of color can be successful. This section describes policy strategies aimed at overcoming barriers to recruiting and retaining teachers of color and provides examples of how they have been implemented. Most of the programs and policies described below were created at the state or local level; however, the federal government has an important role to play in supporting these efforts. Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, for example, offers the opportunity to address the increasing cost of teacher preparation and other key issues. In some cases, provisions of the Every Student Succeeds Act can support programs and practices that help to recruit and retain teachers of color.

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1. Build High-Retention, Supportive Pathways Into Teaching

Given the evidence that teacher turnover is a primary driver of shortages of teachers of color, it is critical that policies are tailored not only to recruit new teachers, but to retain them for the long haul. Research shows that improving teacher retention begins with high-quality teacher preparation; however, in many cases, teachers of color are more likely to begin teaching without having completed comprehensive preparation. This is not surprising, given the cost of traditional TPPs and the debt burden faced by college students of color. Enrollments in alternative certification programs have increased for teachers of color, but the vast majority of new teachers are still educated through traditional TPPs at colleges and universities. Changes to admissions policies and student financial support can help mitigate the need for candidates of color to enter teaching through alternative certification pathways by increasing access to high-quality teacher preparation institutions. Increased access to high-quality preparation can improve the chances of teachers of color feeling successful in the classroom and continuing to teach long term.[93] By underwriting the cost of completing a high-quality TPP, state and local policymakers can encourage more students of color to pursue a teaching career—and to do so through a high-quality program. Among the high-retention pathways into teaching are increasing access to comprehensive preservice preparation through service scholarship and loan forgiveness programs, teacher residencies, and Grow Your Own programs. Other measures, such as inclusive admissions policies, course articulation agreements, ongoing mentoring and support, and accreditation and licensure policies can help increase access to high-retention pathways into teaching for teachers of color.

Service scholarships and loan forgiveness programs

States can support candidates of color by underwriting the cost of teacher preparation. **Service scholarship and loan forgiveness programs** cover or reimburse a portion of tuition costs in exchange for a commitment to teach in high-need schools or subject areas, typically for 3 to 5 years. These programs are effective at recruiting teachers, especially when they underwrite a significant portion of educational costs.[94] A recent study of the correlation between financial incentives and teacher diversity found that the availability of loan forgiveness in a district was associated with an increase in teachers of color of nearly 4 percentage points—25% more than the average district.[95]

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One of the most lauded service scholarship programs was the recently relaunched **North Carolina Teaching Fellows Program**, a highly selective scholarship program that provides fellows up to $8,250 annually for up to 4 years to attend an approved North Carolina university in exchange for a commitment to teach in the state for at least 4 years. From 1986 to 2015, the program recruited nearly 11,000 candidates into teaching,[96] and fellows were far more likely to continue teaching in North Carolina public schools than teachers credentialed through other programs.[97] The program made a concerted effort to recruit at least 20% aspiring teachers of color in each cohort, in alignment with the proportion of teachers of color in the state.[98] Though briefly discontinued due to budget cuts, the state has recently restarted the program and has invested $6 million to begin supporting 160 candidates each year beginning in 2018–19.[99]

Several states currently offer service scholarship or loan forgiveness programs aimed at increasing the number of teachers of color. **Minnesota's Collaborative Urban and Greater Minnesota Educators of Color Program** is a grant program that funds four of the state's urban TPPs and, beginning in 2018, offers additional grants on a competitive basis.[100] The four universities that are longtime recipients of this funding offer supports to teacher candidates of color that include subsidized tuition, mentoring, exam preparation, and stipends for candidates who are student teaching.[101] Two of the Minnesota partner universities offer programs tailored to candidates of East African and Southeast Asian descent, specifically. Together, the state's four long-term partners have prepared a quarter of the state's current workforce of teachers of color. Other state scholarship programs include Florida's Fund for Minority Teachers, the Kentucky Minority Educator Recruitment and Retention Scholarship, the Missouri Minority Teaching Scholarship, and the Tennessee Minority Teaching Fellows Program. These programs offer candidates $3,000 to $5,000 per year for 2 to 4 years in exchange for a commitment to teach, often for the number of years they received funding.

The federal government can support state loan forgiveness programs for teachers of color through **increased funding for the Teacher Education Assistance for College and Higher Education (TEACH) grant program,** under Title IV of the Higher Education Act. Currently, TEACH grant recipients who commit to teaching in a high-need subject in a high-poverty school for 4 years can receive up to $4,000 per year for up to 4 years of their undergraduate or graduate study. A total

grant award of up to $16,000 falls far short of the average cost of teacher preparation. TEACH grants would more effectively recruit prospective teachers of color into high-quality TPPs if they were increased to cover a more significant portion of the cost of preparation.

Teacher residencies

Teacher residencies—modeled on medical residencies—are another promising high-retention approach to preparing teachers of color. Teacher residencies are partnerships between districts and universities that subsidize and improve teachers' training to teach in high-need schools and in high-demand subject areas.[102] There are at least 50 residency programs currently operating around the country. Participants spend a year working as apprentices with highly effective mentor teachers, while completing related coursework at partnering universities. During this time, residents receive financial support, often in the form of a stipend and tuition assistance. They commit to teaching an additional 3 to 4 years in their district, with ongoing mentoring support.

This model, which provides comprehensive preparation, improves upon alternative certification programs in a few ways. Teacher residents gain extensive classroom experience by learning from an accomplished veteran teacher in a high-need school before becoming solely responsible for their own class. This increases their chances of success as classroom teachers and gives the residency program an opportunity to assess residents' performance before entrusting them with students of their own. The service commitment has the dual effect of filtering out candidates not willing to make a serious commitment to teach and ensuring that they continue to teach in high-need schools as their effectiveness increases.[103] It also allows the partnering school district to closely shape the type of coursework and other preparation the residents receive, so that residents fully understand the local district context. The residency model helps new teachers build strong relationships by clustering cohorts in university classes and school sites, and by providing ongoing mentoring and support once residents become teachers. Thus, residents can collaborate with and support one another through the challenges of being novice teachers.[104]

> The residency model helps new teachers build strong relationships by clustering cohorts in university classes and school sites and by providing ongoing mentoring and support once residents become teachers.

Research on teacher residency programs shows that they are effective both in bringing more teachers of color into the profession and in preparing them to stay for the long term. Nationally, about 49% of residents are people of color. That is the same as the proportion of public school students of color and far more than the 20% of teachers who are people of color nationally.[105] Principals find graduates of residency programs to be well prepared, and in many cases to be better prepared than typical new teachers. In addition, a review of residency program evaluations shows that residents tend to have higher retention rates over time than non resident teachers.[106]

In Massachusetts, the **Boston Teacher Residency** (BTR) has committed to graduating cohorts comprising 50% people of color. With 49% of current graduates identifying as people of color and 35% identifying as Black or Latinx, BTR has just about met that commitment.[107] BTR residents are far more likely to continue teaching in Boston Public Schools than other new teachers: 71% of BTR

graduates continued teaching in the district through year 6, compared to just 51% of their peers. Evidence also suggests that BTR graduates are very strong teachers. In 2014–15, BTR graduates were twice as likely to be rated "Exemplary" than other Massachusetts teachers. Other residency programs can be found in urban and rural communities throughout the country.[108] Two thirds of **San Francisco Teacher Residency** (SFTR) residents identify as people of color, compared to 49% of the San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD) teacher workforce, and graduates of the program have impressive retention rates once they enter the field.[109] After 5 years, 80% of SFTR graduates are still teaching in SFUSD, compared to just 38% of beginning teachers hired by SFUSD and 20% of Teach for America corps members placed in the district. One hundred percent of principals in SFUSD reported the residents were more effective than other beginning teachers.

Teacher Quality Program grants, funded through Title II Part A of the Higher Education Act, can be used to fund teacher residency programs, and other resources, such as Americorps and TEACH grants, can help pay for teacher stipends and loan forgiveness.

Inside a North Carolina Teacher Residency

North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University (NC A&T) a historically Black university in Greensboro, has been working to address longstanding teacher shortages in nearby rural communities, especially in STEM subjects. The university launched **a teacher residency program** in 2017, with funding from a federal Teacher Quality Program grant, to prepare a racially diverse workforce of high-quality teachers for rural schools. Residents at NC A&T experience a year in the life of a teacher. They spend 40 hours per week at their placement site at a partnering rural district, observing and student teaching under the guidance of a strong mentor teacher, while working toward a master's degree in teaching. In addition, each resident has a coach who visits them at their school site and helps them to improve their planning and instruction. Residents attend monthly professional development workshops together as a cohort, on a range of topics, including culturally responsive teaching and implicit bias.

Nichole Smith, an associate professor and coordinator of the NC A&T Teacher Residency program, helped develop partnerships with local districts and worked with principals to identify mentor teachers. As the residency has gotten underway with its first cohort, she can already see the impact of closely tying theory and practice. She says the residents "understand what the year looks like from beginning to end. And they have been able to go in, having support, and use the information from professional development and coaching for their students."

Residents receive a $20,000 stipend that goes toward tuition, living expenses, and exam fees. This funding allows residents to participate in a fully immersive preparation experience, with less financial pressure to take on a job at the same time. The first cohort of residents were nearly half residents of color, including Black, Latinx, and Asian American residents, and the second cohort is expected to host even more residents of color and STEM candidates. As the program expands to additional cohorts, NC A&T is hoping to learn how to provide longer and more meaningful clinical experiences to all of its students.

Inclusive admissions strategies

Minneapolis Public Schools (MPS) uses **high-touch recruitment methods** (actively prioritizing and following up with prospective applicants of color, building relationships with them, and offering them support), to bring more candidates into the profession who might otherwise be discouraged from applying.[110] To recruit a diverse pool of applicants for the district's residency program, MPS holds information sessions, speaks with principals who could refer paraprofessionals to the program, and builds relationships in the community. The program leadership even surveyed MPS paraprofessionals to learn how the district could reduce barriers to entry into the program. Understanding that fear of failing teacher licensure exams can discourage teacher preparation

enrollment, the residency program offers admitted residents math, reading, and writing courses and one-on-one tutoring to prepare for the Minnesota Teacher Licensure Exam. As a result of these recruitment efforts—and the program's generous financial supports—the first MPS residency cohort included 40% bilingual residents and 75% residents of color.

In other states that require candidates to take the Praxis I, the SAT, or some other standardized exam for admission to TPPs, **conditional admission** policies can allow TPPs to evaluate candidates on a holistic set of criteria, including applicant dispositions, values, and experiences, as well as their academic achievement. In Rhode Island, teacher preparation programs are permitted to have conditional admissions policies that allow them to admit applicants who have not met GPA or test score requirements, as long as the TPP also provides supports to help those candidates learn the content and skills they need to be effective educators.[111]

Grow Your Own programs

Grow Your Own programs recruit teacher candidates from nontraditional populations who are more likely to reflect local diversity and are more likely to continue to teach in their communities. These candidates include high school students, paraprofessionals, after-school program staff, and other community members.[112] The **South Carolina Teacher Cadet** program, which offers a yearlong course for college credit to 2,700 high school students each year, has more than 60,000 graduates over 30 years. One in five cadets goes on to earn a teacher certification at a cost of just $100 per student.[113] In 2016–17, more than a third of the students who completed the cadet program were students of color.[114] By comparison, fewer than 20% of the state's traditional TPP enrollees in 2014–15 were students of color.[115]

Another such program, **Pathways2Teaching** (P2T), based in Colorado, is working to increase teacher diversity by offering programs to high school students in low-performing schools that emphasize the role of teachers in advancing social justice. High school participants, mostly students of color, engage in weekly field experiences building elementary students' literacy skills. They earn college credit for the course and receive support throughout the college search and application process. As of 2013, 100% of the first P2T cohort were taking college courses and 18% had declared an education major, exceeding national averages.[116] The program recently expanded to Metro Nashville Public Schools and began offering courses at five schools in the fall of 2017 as part of the district's commitment to increasing teacher diversity.[117]

Teacher pipeline programs tailored to bilingual teachers may also increase teacher diversity. The Foundation for Oklahoma City Public Schools launched the **Bilingual Teacher Pipeline Project** (BTPP) in 2016 with the mission of providing funding for tuition and teacher certification costs for bilingual paraprofessionals in the district as they work to become certified teachers.[118] In return, program participants agree to teach in the district for at least 3 years after they have been certified. As of 2017, the BTPP had 34 bilingual paraprofessionals enrolled in college. Other states, including California, Connecticut, South Dakota, and Washington, have passed legislation or initiated programs with similar goals of increasing the ranks of bilingual teachers.

> Teacher pipeline programs tailored to bilingual teachers may also increase teacher diversity.

Homegrown Teachers in Washington State

Washington state's **Recruiting Washington Teachers** (RWT) program is a Grow Your Own program created to diversify the educator workforce by exposing current, underrepresented high school students to the teaching profession. The need for diversification is urgent. With a teacher workforce that is 89% White, Washington state can hardly expose all students to a diverse set of role models.[i] The state of Washington Professional Educator Standards Board has identified educator workforce diversity as a state priority in recognition of the benefits a diverse workforce provides to students. In response, the state legislature has issued RWT grant funding since 2007 to pilot programs across the state.

RWT programs expose high school students to the teaching profession through various activities. While each site is unique, all participants engage in classroom field experiences (such as tutoring and teaching opportunities with elementary and middle school students), take a specialized course introducing the teaching profession, receive one-on-one advising, conduct college visits, and attend a summer institute. Each of these elements is embedded within a program culture and curriculum that focuses on achievement in academics and leadership; emphasizes equity and culturally responsive pedagogy; and affirms culture, language, and identity as assets for learning and empowerment in school and in life. Program completers are also guaranteed an interview at their graduating district to work as a paraeducator or teacher. This both acknowledges their accomplishments and helps to attract them back to the district.

One student described RWT as a "space where I can seek comfort," and another called it an opportunity "that helped me learn a lot about different cultures." A third noted that it affirmed their career beliefs: "I just know that I need to be in a school building." One student simply said, "[It was] life changing."[ii]

Survey evidence also indicates RWT is making a difference toward diversifying the teaching workforce. At all sites, the rate at which students of color participated in the program far exceeds the statewide and district percentages of teachers of color. Satisfaction with the program is also high; 90% of respondents described their overall experience as "good" or "very good." Additionally, over half (54%) of respondents reported that participation in RWT increased their interest in the teaching profession. This was certainly the case for RWT graduate Alejandro Castro-Wilson. In an interview, he shared, "Without a doubt, if it wasn't for this program, I would not be in the classroom today." After RWT, Castro-Wilson spent several years working as a paraeducator, while simultaneously completing teacher preparation. He began his first year as a licensed public elementary teacher in 2017. Program Director Beth Geiger attributes this broad success to the program's focus on students, saying, "This is about supporting students to see their own cultural identity as valuable and as a reason that they would be an asset in the classroom."[iii]

After years of developing best practices and curriculum materials at pilot sites, the Washington Professional Educators Standards Board (PESB) hopes to scale RWT by making these resources available to all districts in the state. In 2017, PESB also began a Bilingual Educators Initiative, a pilot project aimed at developing future bilingual teachers and resources for the statewide expansion of teacher academies with a bilingual focus.[iv] Through these efforts, Washington state is working to build a public education system in which teachers of color are the norm, not the exception.

[i] Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. (2017). Washington State report card. Olympia, WA: Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. http://reportcard.ospi.k12.wa.us/summary.aspx?groupLevel=District&schoolId=1&reportLevel=State&yrs=2015-16&year=2016-17.

[ii] Geiger, B., & Hougan, E. (2017). Recruiting Washington teachers: 2016–17 annual report. Olympia, WA: Professional Educators Standards Board.

[iii] Interview with Beth Geiger, Educators Pathways Projects, Evaluation, and Research, Washington Professional Educator Standards Board (2018, March 5).

[iv] Washington Professional Educator Standards Board. (n.d.). Recruiting Washington teachers—Bilingual Educators Initiative. https://www.pesb.wa.gov/innovation-policy/grants-pilots/bilingual-educators-initiative/.

Course articulation agreements

TPPs can also increase recruitment efforts by partnering with community colleges to create degree articulation agreements. **Stone Child College** (SCC) is a tribal community college of the Chippewa Cree Tribe in Montana. The college offers associate degrees in early childhood education and elementary education. These degrees simultaneously prepare candidates for employment as paraprofessionals and for transfer to a 4-year education program. Through an articulation agreement with Montana State University-Northern (MSU-Northern), all education courses required by SCC are accepted at MSU-Northern.[119] Similar **2+2** programs that offer access to teacher preparation courses at community colleges in rural communities can help build the pipeline of teachers in hard-to-staff rural communities. Because community colleges often serve students of color, they can be a useful source for diversifying the pool of aspiring teachers.

How 2+2 Programs Are Increasing Teacher Diversity From Hawaii to North Carolina

In Oahu, Hawaii, high-need communities across the island have faced ongoing shortages of qualified educators. Historically, they have relied on importing teachers from the mainland to fill positions in their hard-to-staff schools. Meanwhile, across the country, Halifax County Schools in North Carolina have also struggled with acute teacher shortages and poor teacher retention. As a rural district hours from traditional TPPs, the county has in the past relied on alternative certification programs to fill shortage positions. However, it found that the high turnover rates of those teachers made that an unsustainable solution. Responding to similar challenges in their distinct communities, **Leeward Community College** in Hawaii and **Elizabeth City State University** (ECSU) in North Carolina established 2+2 TPPs with local partner institutions of higher education to "home grow" teachers from within their communities, where shortages are most acute.

As the community college partner, Leeward prepares candidates during their first 2 years of preparation. Leeward's intensive Associate of Arts in Teaching (AAT) degree offers candidates—predominately from underrepresented communities, and Native Hawaiian communities in particular—the option to become paraeducators or to continue to a 4-year university seeking teacher licensure. Numerous field experiences, practical case studies, and multilayered supports are hallmarks of the program. Program Coordinator Roberta Martel articulated their focus on putting the candidate at the center of their work, explaining, "We understand that life gets in the way sometimes, especially [for students from] hard-to-serve communities. We don't water down anything that we do, but we do provide safety nets." These supports take the form of peer mentors for struggling students, dedicated counselors committed to the success of each student, and multiple submissions of case study work to ensure students understand content deeply. In this way, Leeward strives to nurture each aspiring teacher it enrolls, hoping they will show the same care to students in their future classrooms.

ECSU, as the university partner in its 2+2 program, supports students during the last 2 years of their teacher preparation, despite being nearly 100 miles from Halifax County. ECSU faculty travel to the county to offer classes on-site at the local community college, and they offer virtual classes as well. Students, nearly all of whom are candidates of color, graduate from the 2+2 program having earned a bachelor's degree and certification for elementary teacher licensure. By extensively tying academic coursework to fieldwork, the program stresses immersing candidates in the rural communities in which they will teach. For example, the methods courses for each subject area require students to engage for 10 to 30 hours in multiple clinical settings; through observations, interviews, and shadowing of skilled teachers, candidates can connect coursework content to what occurs in schools. All of this comes before the 1-year clinical experience that occurs in candidates' senior year. After graduation, ECSU offers all graduates an "Educational Warranty Program," whereby they can seek individualized coaching and mentoring support from ECSU clinical faculty for up to 3 years.

Through their versatile 2+2 partnerships, both Leeward Community College and ECSU are responding to the needs of local, underserved communities and addressing chronic teacher shortages. Their approach is being noticed. For its part, Leeward has seen ballooning enrollment over the past decade—from 24 to 500 students—in a period when teacher preparation enrollment is declining nationally.

Ongoing mentoring and support for candidates and teachers of color

Colleges can offer support to students of color throughout the college and teacher preparation experience to improve the likelihood that they will complete the training and certification process. Modeled on the Peace Corps, **California Mini-Corps** was founded in 1967 with Elementary and Secondary Education Title I funding to offer greater educational support to California's rural migrant students.[120] The program—active at more than 20 community colleges and universities across the state, including HSIs—recruits bilingual college students who are mostly Latinx to be tutors. Many Mini-Corps tutors are former rural migrant students themselves. Tutors participate in a cohort model, are paid for their time, and receive support with teacher licensure requirements, including exams, and career counseling. In addition, tutors are mentored by master teachers, receive frequent observation and feedback on their teaching, and attend monthly professional development workshops.[121] Program coordinators, who support cohorts of 18 to 20 tutors, even monitor tutors' grades. Through this experience, Mini-Corps tutors receive between 3,000 and 4,000 hours of classroom experience,[122] far more than the state's 600-hour clinical practice requirement.[123] This level of support helps tutors to understand whether teaching is the right career for them, to complete college, and to enter the teaching profession with extensive preparation. About 80% of Mini-Corps tutors go on to pursue a teaching career,[124] and 50% of the state's bilingual teachers participated in the program.[125]

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Call Me MISTER (Mentors Instructing Students Toward Effective Role Models), founded at Clemson University in 2000 and active in several other colleges throughout the South, works to increase the pool of Black male teachers through a comprehensive system of supports that includes loan forgiveness, mentorship, academic and peer support, preparation for state licensure exams, and assistance with job placement. Participants commit to teaching in a local school for each year they receive financial support. The program maintains contact with graduates, and graduates are expected to become mentors to new program participants. Of the approximately 150 participants who have graduated since 2004, 100% remain in education and 95% are teaching in South Carolina schools, far exceeding national retention rates.[126]

Other initiatives—such as the Sherman STEM Teacher Scholars Program at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, and the Montclair State University Teacher Education Advocacy Center—are also working to provide support to teacher preparation candidates, including academic coaching, mentoring and advising, and peer support. Also building on the success of the Call Me MISTER peer support model, **The Fellowship: Black Male Educators for Social Justice** is a professional membership organization designed to build and strengthen networks of Black male educators. Through The Fellowship, which is based in Philadelphia, more than 600 current and prospective Black male educator members are expected to mentor at least one high schooler or college student, or a man who is considering a mid-career switch to teaching. That mentorship might include tutoring, offering professional guidance, or providing technical assistance to those seeking help with entering the field. In addition, The Fellowship hosts an annual conference and a career fair that offers résumé feedback, mock interviews, advice from career advisers, and opportunities to meet with potential employers.

The **Black Teacher Project** (BTP), a nonprofit based in San Francisco, Oakland, and New York City, has a two-pronged approach to sustaining Black teachers.[127] First, the organization offers opportunities for personal and professional growth, such as book clubs, inquiry groups to work through a problem of practice, a fellowship program, social activities, and wellness workshops. Second, BTP is working with districts, such as Oakland Unified School District, to help shift the environment from one that teachers want to leave to one where teachers want to stay. For example, BTP offers "Hiring Black Teachers 101," a workshop that gets at the heart of how hiring practices can be more inclusive of prospective Black teachers. The group has also partnered with the district to walk teachers through the teacher credentialing process and to offer tutoring for teacher licensure exams. Micia Mosely, founder of the Black Teacher Project, says of the BTP participants, "Being a part of the BTP community and receiving supports has literally kept them in the classroom. They wanted to leave and then realized they just needed a community." Other programs, such as Boston's Male Educators of Color and NYC Men Teach, similarly build community and facilitate mentorship for male teachers of color.[128]

Some districts are exploring ways of advancing cultural competency for all teachers and staff, which can improve student experiences as well as working conditions for teachers of color. Jefferson County Public Schools in Kentucky, for example, offers the Equity and Inclusion Institute, where teachers learn about the need for culturally relevant pedagogy, connecting with parents, building relationships, and classroom management, as well as developing the skills to implement these practices.[129] An evaluation of the institute in 2013–14 found that of the more than 300 educators who attended, 91% changed the way they viewed their students, suggesting that they developed a greater equity lens toward students of color.[130] Programs like these may reduce feelings of isolation, frustration, and fatigue teachers of color express at having to advocate for students of color on their own.

> Some districts are exploring ways of advancing cultural competency for all teachers and staff, which can improve student experiences as well as working conditions for teachers of color.
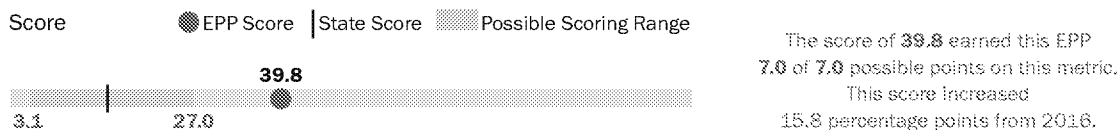
Teacher preparation accreditation and licensure policies

States can increase enrollments of candidates of color by implementing **data monitoring policies** for TPPs. In Tennessee, for example, the State Board of Education revised the state's Teacher Preparation Report Card in 2016.[131] Each TPP (also known as educator preparation programs, or EPPs) receives an overall score and several subscores, including one for candidate profile. The candidate profile score is based, in part, on the percentage of program completers who are non-White. Title II of the Higher Education Act requires that all states report on the racial and ethnic diversity of teacher preparation enrollees; however, they are not required to report on the diversity of program completers. Tennessee is unique in requiring and monitoring that data point, which is a better indicator of the supply of teachers of color than is enrollment data. Figure 5 shows a sample of the candidate profile for one Tennessee university. Fred Hardeman University received full points for the diversity of its program completers in 2017, which increased since 2016. TPPs may be more likely to actively recruit and support candidates of color because their performance on that indicator impacts the program's standing in the state, and they are required to report this data to meet state accreditation requirements.

Figure 5
Tennessee Teacher Report Card, Candidate Profile

PERCENTAGE OF RACIALLY DIVERSE COMPLETERS
This measure reports the percentage of completers who reported having a racially or ethnically diverse background. N-Size: 254

Score ● EPP Score | State Score ▒ Possible Scoring Range

The score of **39.8** earned this EPP 7.0 of 7.0 possible points on this metric. This score increased 15.8 percentage points from 2016.

39.8

3.1   27.0

Source: Tennessee State Board of Education Teacher Preparation Report Card. (2017). Retrieved from: http://teacherprepreportcard.tn.gov.

In addition, states can **adjust licensure requirements** to allow teaching candidates to demonstrate their competency through rigorous, but more authentic, performance assessments that do not typically generate the racial disparity in pass rates of traditional exams. In Tennessee, candidates can submit edTPA scores for licensure in lieu of taking the Praxis exam, and by 2019, edTPA will be required of all teaching candidates.[132] The same is true in several states across the country. As noted earlier, performance assessments are both more predictive of classroom effectiveness and less likely to produce large disparities in pass rates than multiple choice standardized tests.

2. Create Proactive Hiring and Induction Strategies

Once a prospective teacher is trained and certified, district and school hiring practices can influence their decisions to enter the teaching force and whether to stay in their schools. A review of teacher recruitment and retention strategies identified several hiring conditions associated with effectively recruiting and retaining teachers, including timing of hiring, information in the hiring process, and licensure and pension portability.[133] These factors affect the recruitment and retention of all teachers, but some may be particularly pertinent for schools looking to hire and retain teachers of color.

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A report detailing the **Boston Public Schools (BPS) Human Capital Initiative (HCI)**, a hiring policy change initiated in 2014, showed that initiating hiring timelines earlier in the year resulted in more racially diverse teacher hires. Essentially, HCI allowed BPS to post open teaching positions to both internal and external candidates simultaneously rather than posting and interviewing internal candidates based on seniority first, as was previously done. The authors posited that in-demand candidates of color were more likely to be available for hire earlier in the year, which their data confirmed. Black and Latinx teachers comprised nearly 40% of teachers hired before August, but only 27% of hires made in August.[134] Given the pressure of student loan debt on students of color

mentioned earlier, securing a teaching position before graduation or soon thereafter may help ensure that they enter the teaching workforce, rather than having to choose a nonteaching position.

Districts can also partner with local TPPs to coordinate student teaching placements and vet candidates for hire before they graduate. In California's **Long Beach Unified School District**, this strategy allows student teachers to learn district teaching expectations, while the district can identify strong candidates for teaching positions.[135] This is a strategy that can be pursued specifically with MSIs.

Through a qualitative analysis of six schools serving majority Black and Latinx students from low-income families, scholars found that schools had to commit time, resources, and effort to successfully increase their numbers of teachers of color.[136] Successful schools proactively partnered with "human capital pipeline organizations," such as MSIs and other colleges and universities with sizable Black and Latinx populations. They also narrowed their recruitment efforts to college clubs and organizations with Black and Latinx memberships, including scholarship groups and military veterans. Successful schools also formed informal relationships with "connectors" who could help them communicate with communities of color. In many cases, these connectors were teachers of color already at the school site who could reach out to their churches, alumni organizations, fraternal organizations, and other networks.

Importantly, successful schools included their current teachers of color in the hiring process in meaningful and collaborative ways; teachers of color helped develop hiring strategies and had a say on hiring committees. This approach was more effective than superficial efforts, such as including teachers of color in promotional materials or having prospective teachers observe the classrooms of teachers of color, which some teachers said felt tokenizing. Successful schools also prioritized applicants of color in the hiring process by moving them to the front of the interview process and offering explicit guidance about their hiring criteria.

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Furthermore, districts can offer **comprehensive induction to support** beginning teachers of color in their first years of teaching. Induction often includes being matched with a veteran mentor teacher and can also include seminars, classroom assistance, time to collaborate with other teachers, coaching and feedback from experienced teachers, and reduced workloads. Induction is especially effective when teachers participate in a comprehensive set of induction activities. Additionally, first-year teachers who receive induction support are found to be twice as likely to stay in teaching as those who did not receive early support.[137] An analysis of the **Texas Beginning Educator Support System** (TxBESS) found that participants left teaching at significantly lower rates than did nonparticipating novice teachers in the state. The analysis also found improved retention rates among participants teaching in schools serving students of color and students from low-income families, where attrition rates tended to be quite high and where teachers of color are most likely to teach.[138] The finding suggests that teachers of color, in particular, could benefit from participating in strong induction programs.

3. Improve School Teaching Conditions Through Improved School Leadership

Teaching conditions, and administrative support particularly, play a key role in teachers' retention decisions. Recent evidence shows that administrative support is especially critical in improving the retention of teachers of color. An analysis of national data from select years between 1999 and 2011 found that teachers of color in schools in which 90% of the teaching staff or more were White were far more likely to switch schools than their White peers if they perceived a lack of administrative support. However, their retention decisions were similar to White teachers when they felt strong administrative support in their schools.[139] Strong school leaders may be addressing some of the challenges teachers of color report experiencing when they are among few teachers of color on staff.

Districts can provide training for school administrators so they can create work environments that encourage teachers of color to stay. Even if teachers are prepared for the challenges of teaching, undesirable teaching conditions can drive them to other schools or out of the profession entirely. School administrators are responsible for making hiring decisions, being instructional leaders, setting norms for students and staff, nurturing a positive and encouraging culture, keeping schoolwide systems running smoothly, and more.[140] When they are not able to do those things well, the consequences are teaching and learning environments that make it difficult for teachers of color to stay. Poor school leadership more than doubles the likelihood that teachers, in general, will move or leave their classrooms and schools.[141]

Some university-district partnerships have made progress in training effective school principals by actively recruiting talented future administrators, and especially those who have demonstrated a commitment to working in hard-to-staff schools. A review of the nationally recognized educational leader cohort program at **Delta State University** (DSU) in the Mississippi Delta, for example, found that the program partnered with local school districts to recruit excellent teachers with strong school leadership potential into a well-supported principal training program, and that half of their recruits each year were Black.[142] Most of the teachers had been working in the Delta—a mostly rural region plagued by poverty and racial segregation—and they had undergone a demanding selection process to be nominated for the program by their district. With state, federal, district, and university funding, DSU funds its full-time paid internships at school sites. This joint investment of funds allows well-qualified candidates to participate regardless of their financial means. According to DSU, 85% of all graduates hold administrative positions in Delta schools and districts.[143]

Inservice leadership training can also make a difference in teacher retention. An analysis of the **McREL Balanced Leadership Development Program** (McREL BLDP), a program that focuses on principals developing 21 leadership responsibilities over 10 two-day cohort-based sessions, found that it resulted in a 7-point reduction in teacher turnover in schools that fully participated in the intervention (and a 23-point reduction in principal turnover).[144]

States can support improved principal preparation by establishing holistic principal preparation program accreditation and licensure standards and funding effective school leadership development programs. State **principal preparation and licensure regulations** play a significant role in

shaping the content and format of principal preparation programs and can help ensure that these programs are held to a standard of excellence. These regulatory strategies could help improve retention rates for teachers of color by requiring that program participants have clinical experiences in schools with diverse students and staff, and learn to create collaborative, supportive work environments for the teachers they work with. In the program accreditation process, states can require that programs survey graduates on how well prepared they felt to handle each of the duties, including supporting a diverse staff. The Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) permits states to set aside 3% of their Title II formula funds to strengthen the quality of school leaders, including by investing in principal recruitment, preparation, induction, and development.[145]

Rethinking school improvement

In lieu of school districts closing low-performing schools, and in turn, increasing teacher turnover, especially for teachers of color, ESSA provides states and districts greater flexibility in implementing alternatives that bolster school communities. One such strategy is **High Schools That Work** (HSTW), which was established by the Southern Regional Education Board in 1987 and is a school improvement initiative that helps schools to improve student achievement through intensive teacher and leader professional development and technical assistance in more than 1,200 sites nationally.[146] HSTW works with schools to increase academic rigor, student engagement, teacher collaboration, student support, and use of data with the goal of improving student performance and preparation for postsecondary success. A mixed-methods study of the program found that teachers observed improved student behavior and attitudes and decreased dropout rates after the implementation of HSTW.[147]

States and districts can consider other evidence-based investments in schools that improve instructional quality and supports for students without displacing the teachers of color who most often teach in struggling schools. For example, **community schools**, which focus on whole child development through community partnerships, have been found in a recent extensive research review to support gains in student behavior, achievement, and attainment, as well as greater collaboration among staff and parents, which supports stronger satisfaction and retention.[148]

Conclusion

Teachers of color face barriers to entry and to continuing in teaching, from preservice to veteran teaching status. The debt burden of college discourages students of color from pursuing traditional preservice preparation programs, and those who are interested in teaching may instead enter through alternative certification programs that often bypass student teaching and key coursework. While some alternative certification programs might offer high-quality training, overall, teachers who enter through these programs are less likely to continue teaching in their schools, further exacerbating shortages of teachers of color and negatively impacting student learning. In addition to completing their preparation, teaching candidates of color must meet several state-mandated requirements that often include standardized tests. The most common of these tests disproportionately fail candidates of color, keeping them out of the profession or requiring many attempts that present a financial burden. Candidates of color who successfully enter the field encounter undesirable working conditions in the schools they most often serve and are more likely to be pushed out of their schools involuntarily due to school closure and turnaround policies.

Fortunately, there are many successful approaches for overcoming those barriers. Financial investments that underwrite the cost of high-quality teacher preparation for candidates of color—such as loan forgiveness programs, service scholarships, teacher residencies, and Grow Your Own programs—have proven effective in enabling candidates of color to enter teaching through high-retention pathways. Mentoring and support, both during their preparation and through their first years in the classroom, can help candidates complete their programs and begin teaching successfully. Districtwide cultural competency training and more effective preparation for school leaders can help make schools positive working environments for teachers of color. Finally, state and district policies aimed at school improvement can focus on investing in schools in which teachers of color teach, instead of pursuing school closure policies that push them out of the field. A common theme among the promising practices in recruitment and retention of teachers of color is that they require an intentional commitment to increasing teacher diversity, including commitments of funding, staff, and time. Research shows that investments in a high-quality, diverse teaching workforce are repaid in reduced teacher turnover and improved learning and achievement for all students.

> A common theme among the promising practices in recruitment and retention of teachers of color is that they require an intentional commitment to increasing teacher diversity, including commitments of funding, staff, and time.

Appendix

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Figure 1

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About the Author

Desiree Carver-Thomas is a Research and Policy Associate on LPI's Educator Quality Team. She is the lead author of *Teacher turnover: Why it matters and what we can do about it* and *Addressing California's growing teacher shortage: 2017 update*, and she is the co-author of *A coming crisis in teaching? Teacher supply, demand, and shortages in the U.S.* Previously, she taught in New York City public schools.

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The Learning Policy Institute conducts and communicates independent, high-quality research to improve education policy and practice. Working with policymakers, researchers, educators, community groups, and others, the Institute seeks to advance evidence-based policies that support empowering and equitable learning for each and every child. Nonprofit and nonpartisan, the Institute connects policymakers and stakeholders at the local, state, and federal levels with the evidence, ideas, and actions needed to strengthen the education system from preschool through college and career readiness.

"What's 'Colorism'?"

Illustration by Alex Eben Meyer

When I began teaching in Boston, I was struck by how often students of color referred to each other as "light-skinned" or "dark-skinned." Almost daily, I witnessed high school students identify, categorize and stereotype their peers based on skin tone. Having grown up African American in Louisiana, I was used to white people's ideas of white superiority and even those "colorstruck" black people who preferred lighter skin. But I did not expect that so many young people of diverse ethnicities—including Dominicans, Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans—would actively engage in everyday forms of skin-color bias. As one teacher in one classroom, what was I to do?

Any response to this question is complicated due to the deep legacy and influence of skin-color preference in the United States and in other parts of the world. Within-group and between-group prejudice in favor of lighter skin color—what feminist author Alice Walker calls "colorism"—is a global cultural practice. Emerging throughout European colonial and imperial history, colorism is prevalent in countries as distant as Brazil and India. Its legacy is evident in forums as public as the television and movie industries, which prefer to cast light-skinned people of color, and as private as the internalized thoughts of some Latino, South-Asian or black parents who hope their babies grow up light-skinned so their lives will be "just a little bit easier."

It makes sense that teenagers—who are working out their own identities on a day-to-day basis—also engage in color-conscious discourse. But how do young people negotiate such powerful stereotypes, particularly when many of the contributing elements are out of their control?

Research Shows …

Skin-color bias affects perceptions and interactions in ways that are at once subtle and profound. Since Kenneth and Mamie Clark's famous doll study of the 1950s, researchers have known that young people of color are profoundly aware of our nation's disdain for all that is dark. Color-conscious banter between students reflects unconscious *and* unspoken biases—otherwise called implicit biases—that favor lighter skin.

A more modern example of research on colorism comes from Eddie Fergus, an assistant professor of education at New York University who conducted a study on Latino high school males. Fergus found that Mexican and Puerto Rican males with white-looking skin are perceived as white and sometimes treated more favorably, while boys of the same ethnicity who had darker complexions are perceived as black and often experience discrimination. Not only did the boys in the study navigate the world as Mexican and Puerto Rican, but each navigated different racial expectations based on external reactions to their appearances. Despite being close or even related, people of the same ethnicity face different expectations, different realities and—potentially—different educational and economic outcomes, solely based on their skin color.

Fergus' findings are not unique. Implicit bias related to skin color—within and between racial groups—is so sweeping that, until relatively recently, it has remained largely unquestioned and unexamined. And such bias is not just a failure of adulthood. Developmental psychologist Margaret Beale Spencer found in a <u>CNN-commissioned pilot study of skin-color bias among U.S. children</u> that white children attribute positive traits to lighter skin and negative traits to darker skin, and—while black children also show some racial bias toward whiteness—white children in particular hold on to these prejudices more strongly as they grow older. "Our children are always mirrors," says Spencer in a CNN broadcast. "And what we put out there, kids report back. … We are still living in a society where dark things are devalued and light things are valued."

The association of dark skin with criminality has become one of the most deep-seated stereotypes in American society, many social scientists say. Multiple studies have shown that dark-skinned people are perceived to be more suspicious, more likely to misbehave and more likely to commit crimes.

Recent research by psychologist Phillip Goff and his colleagues at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) found that police officers routinely overestimate the ages of black and Latino children, but not white children. Participants in the study estimated black boys as young as 10 to be an average of four and a half years older than they actually were. What's

more, the participants in the study who reported the most dehumanizing ideas about black individuals (viewing them as nonhuman and apelike) also overestimated black children's ages to the largest extent, were more likely to presume black children were guilty and were more likely to support the use of force against them.

Why Care About Colorism?

What relevance do these studies hold for educators? First, they force the realization that implicit bias is pervasive and must be examined if we are to serve students of all skin colors equally well. Jerry Kang, a law professor at UCLA, notes that teachers with unchecked implicit biases are likely to interpret student behavior and performance through the prism of stereotypes that can have long-term effects on how students see themselves and on their opportunities. "Educators, like lawyers and judges, probably assume that they don't have bias because they chose to enter a profession helping others," he says. "But whatever assumptions others have, teachers also have." Fergus describes moments in which teachers will experience "color triggers" when talking with students about race-related topics, behaviors and ideologies. Without self-reflection and acknowledgement of bias, these triggers can cause educators to react in ways that are counterproductive to anti-racist classroom discourse.

> The false colorblind premise that under-pins the rhetoric of equality is not lost on many young people.

Another reason schools should pay attention to the research on colorism? It offers the opportunity to launch necessary conversations. "My principal and just about all my colleagues are afraid to talk about race at all or how our interactions with students may differ based on how we see them," says Katherine*, a white teacher at an elementary school in Brooklyn, New York. Adds her colleague Zack*, "There are many problematic things—interactions with students and blatant statements—that simply go unchecked." Both educators acknowledge that the leadership at their school keeps the conversation focused on "academic achievement," with no acknowledgement of the racialized discipline and achievement patterns they continue to witness. In order to sustain themselves, they support each other through critical research-driven discussions about justice, race and teaching and learning.

These types of investigations and conversations also help teachers avoid the pitfalls of colorblindness, which can be a major obstacle in redressing institutional and internalized racism. While many people, educators included, do not want to talk about who does and does not benefit in a system that is supposed to be "equal," the false colorblind premise that underpins the rhetoric of equality is not lost on many young people. Jasper*, an Asian-American teacher in Sacramento, observes that his overwhelmingly black middle school students are very aware that their teachers treat them slightly differently. "Students say that the afterschool teachers, who happen to be black, prefer the lighter-skinned students," he says, "which is funny because some of our strongest students are dark-skinned." To Jasper,

this revelation shows that moving beyond colorblindness—and color*ism* blindness—is not simply about white people learning about the experiences of people of color. "It's about how each of us, regardless of our own color, owns up to our own bias[es] and then does some thing about it," he says.

Suggestions for Teachers

Returning to the question I have tried to answer for myself over the years: What does one teacher in one classroom do to help address an issue as pervasive as colorism? Staying current on the research related to colorism and implicit bias is an important first step. You can also do what Jasper does: Pose questions about color, status and bias to your students. "When I asked students to think about the famous black women they know, and if they are light-skinned, they smile," he chuckles. "They haven't articulated or thought about these issues as deeply. They collect the data of their experience, but have not come up with an hypothesis as 12-year-olds." Or, you can do what the Brooklyn teachers have done by building a community of critically minded teachers in and beyond your school.

Teachers may not be able to control what happens within their institutions, but they can facilitate critical conversations within their classrooms and professional learning communities. Perhaps in doing this work, a colleague or two may begin to see—and ideally talk about—colorism.

Teachers' names have been changed.

Break the Silence

Many students of color (and other minority students) perceive that their experiences with discrimination, injustice and stigma neither belong, nor hold much value, in school. Establishing an inclusive classroom environment where students' experiences with implicit bias and colorism are validated can help empower young people to speak up for change.

Provide students with language to explain the phenomena they witness on a regular basis. Teach students words such as implicit bias and colorism.

Share examples of these concepts in U.S. history and culture. Point to examples of implicit bias in historical events and literature (e.g., eugenics, genomics and the use of human subjects in science).

Create opportunities for students to interact with each other across multiple lines of identity (race, religion, gender, socioeconomic class, ability, national origin and sexual orientation). This work requires organizing learning tasks so that students regularly talk with, challenge and learn from each other. Conscientiously grouping students so that they learn from each other's differences can help students witness one another's humanity.

From:	Becky Sledge [sledge.becky@oakwoodschools.org]
Sent:	1/28/2021 8:43:31 AM
To:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Subject:	Re: Part 3: Follow-up Equity Book Study (and prep for Part 4)

Hi Sandi,
I have never received an invoice for our book study class. Who should I contact about this?

Thanks
Becky Sledge

On Tue, Jan 26, 2021 at 8:05 PM Sandi Preiss <sandi.preiss@mcesc.org> wrote:
All,

Thank you for another reflective and thought provoking conversation on race, integration, and equity. It is always a pleasure to hear how our stories weave together to expand our collective understanding of individual life journeys, perspectives, and aspirations for our future. I hope that our time together tonight will continue to encourage you to look for pitfalls in equitable access for marginalized populations in your place of work, your classroom, and our community. I look forward to unpacking our last section of the book with you next week and to our culminating conversations (please see prompts below). Thank you for making this a priority in your busy schedule.

In preparation for our final meeting, here are the promised details:
1. We will meet next Tuesday (February 2) from 3:30-5:30 pm at our Zoom link:

https://us02web.zoom.us/j/7905870944?pwd=cTJBMGlWdUpqWTdna0RUVkV6Mzg5QT09
Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: Community

2. To prepare for our next meeting, please:
A. Read Part 4: Canaan and the Author's Note

B. Come ready to discuss:

- How has this book study further informed your understanding of race
- How has this book study further informed your understanding of racial integration in the US?
- As educators, we are primed to be change leaders. Becoming a change leader is a journey of learning, building a compelling and informed story, and communicating that story in a way that recruits and inspires others to follow. The process of becoming educated, building the language, and moving into activism is one of self-reflection, conviction, and planning. When you think about racial equality where are you on your personal journey, what is your next step(s)?

3. Per our discussion today, here are some resources you may be interested in.

- Infographic on Strategies for Recruiting, Hiring, and Retaining Diverse Teachers (attached)
- Diversifying the Teaching Profession: How to Recruit & Retain Teachers of Color (attached)
- Intercultural Development Research Association (largely focused on Texas) has some great research to inform practice and suggestions specific to recruiting and retaining a diverse HQ workforce.
- Elaine shared this powerful image with us

- Crystal shared with us the term, internalized racism- the destructive patterns of feelings and behaviors experienced by recipients of racism when they internalize racial stereotypes, racial prejudices, and misinformation about their own racial group. I went searching for a meaningful resource to support your deeper understanding and chose a more unique reference, a <u>counseling brochure</u> a university has for their student population. I believe that it is a quick reference guide to better understand the causes and effects of race related stress. Another article I recommend is Teaching Colorism (attached).
- Besty shared the following opportunity you can <u>pre register here</u>

1/26/2020

Learning and Instructional Strategies

Ohio

Building Equity with Ohio ASCD

Book study - Building Equity

Starting Feb. 13 through May 8, 9-10:30 a.m., there will be an opportunity to attend live Saturday morning sessions for the *Building Equity* book study. These sessions are a continuation of the *Dream into Action* event.

Please preregister for the book study sessions by Jan. 12. Registrants will be emailed access the morning of Feb. 13.

Contact Jennifer Knapp at jenniferknapp@ohioascd.net or 614-531-5373 with questions.

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

--
Becky Sledge
Oakwood High School
Multiple Disabilities Teacher
937-297-5325

From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	1/28/2021 8:46:12 AM
To:	Southard, Stacy [stacy.southard@mcapps.org]
CC:	Becky Sledge [sledge.becky@oakwoodschools.org]
Subject:	Re: Part 3: Follow-up Equity Book Study (and prep for Part 4)

Good morning Stacy,

Can you help Becky, regarding her invoice for the Equity Book study?

Thank you!

Best,
Sandi

---------- Forwarded message ---------
From: **Becky Sledge** <sledge.becky@oakwoodschools.org>
Date: Thu, Jan 28, 2021 at 8:43 AM
Subject: Re: Part 3: Follow-up Equity Book Study (and prep for Part 4)
To: Sandi Preiss <sandi.preiss@mcesc.org>

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Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant

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Becky Sledge
Oakwood High School
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937-297-5325

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Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	1/28/2021 9:13:42 AM
CC:	Betsy Chadd [betsy.chadd@bss.k12.oh.us]; emily_eilerman@arcanum-butler.k12.oh.us; Carmen Franks [cfranks@sainthelenschool.org]; judge.rachael@oakwoodschools.org; paige.lewis@bss.k12.oh.us; Mary Kay Marsh [marykay.marsh@bss.k12.oh.us]; melchor.crystal@oakwoodschools.org; patterson.sarah@oakwoodschools.org; Donnie Phelps [donnie.phelps@bss.k12.oh.us]; Chrysa M Theodore [theodorecm@crgrp.com]; katie.weber@bss.k12.oh.us; wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org
Subject:	Part 3: Follow-up Equity Podcast (and prep for Part 4)
Attachments:	Racial_Identity_Models.pdf; theatlantic.com-The Case for Reparations.pdf; Cycle of Inaction.jpg; Cycle of Action.jpg; SUMMARY-OF-RACIAL-AND-ETHNIC-IDENTITY-MODELS.pdf; thecostsofracism.pdf

All,

Thank you for another thought-provoking evening.   I think that I speak for all of us when I say that there is a definite power in unpacking these sessions and devoting time to hearing how others internalize and connect the information. Your willingness to be vulnerable with our group is a powerful and appreciated aspect of our learning.

In preparation for our next meeting, here are the promised details:
1. Homework:
Listen to Podcasts:
Episode 8: Skulls and Skin (47 min)
Episode 9: A Radical Cleansing in America (29 min)
Episode 10: Citizen Thind (39 min)
Episode 11: Danger (46 min)

2. References that were mentioned throughout our time together:
a. Attached is the article on Racial Identity Models that we read last night is attached as well as another article titled "The Summary of Racial & Ethnic Identity Models"

b. I also included an article called "The Costs of Racism". I did not reference this article in our time together last night but upon reflection of our discussion, I thought this article may provide an interesting layer of perspective for those of us grappling with boistering community buy-in. I also think that the article turns the racial equality conversation on it's head.

c. Mary Kay referenced a great article by Coates on reparations. You will find that attached as well.

d. Paige referenced diagrams on the cycle of action and in-action, they are also attached.

3. I look forward to seeing you, next Wednesday from 3:30-5:30 pm
Click Here for Zoom Meeting
Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: Community

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

Summary of Stages of Racial Identity Development

The attached charts summarize several frameworks that have been developed to describe stages of racial and ethnic identity development. We found them mostly in the psychology and therapy literature. Some were developed as a way to expand on Erik Erickson's model of human development (which goes from infancy to old age), taking into account factors such as race, gender and sexuality. Some of the frameworks are used to help therapists understand their patients more fully. The models also have broader applications for understanding how individuals function in community, family and organizational settings.

Most of the framework carry the same few cautions. Not every person will necessarily go through every stage in a framework. Many of the authors specifically acknowledge that the stages might also be cyclical, that people might revisit different stages at different points in their lives.

The frameworks summarized here describe people who are situated in many different ways, but they do not describe all of the possibilities. We have listed a few different frameworks that focus on the experiences of people of color, biracial people and white people in the U.S. We think they can be useful tools for self reflection and for building empathy and understanding of people who are situated differently from ourselves.

People of Color
- People of Color Racial Identity Model (William Cross, originally developed as the Nigrescense Model of African American Identity). This framework (referenced by Barbara Burke Tatum in the companion reading) focuses on the process by which African Americans come to understand their identity.
- Filipino American Identity Development, (Kevin Nadal). This framework focuses on Filipino Americans, highlighting the experience of cultural assimilation/acculturation of a distinct ethnic group.
- Ethnic Minority Identity Development (John W. Berry). This framework focuses on the experiences of ethnic minorities, particularly immigrants to the U.S.

Bi-racial People
- Biracial Identity Development (W. S. Carlos Poston). Stages of identity development of biracial people.
- Continuum of Biracial Identity Model (Kerry Ann Rockquemore and Tracey Laszloffy). Continuum rather than staged model.
- Resolutions of Biracial Identity Tensions (Maria P. P. Root). Description of possible positive resolutions of biracial identity tensions.

White People
- White Racial Identity Model (Janet E. Helms, reference in Tatum article). This framework identifies a continuum that leads to developing an anti-racist identity.

Integrated Model (John and Joy Hoffman)
- This framework begins and ends with stages that are thought to be the same for all people. In between, different stages are articulated for People of Color and White People.

Summary by Interaction Institute for Social Change

Summary of Stages of Racial Identity Development

PEOPLE OF COLOR	BIRACIAL PEOPLE	WHITE PEOPLE
Black American Racial Identity (William Cross) 1. **PRE-ENCOUNTER:** absorbed many beliefs and values of the dominant white culture, including the notion that "white is right" and "black is wrong"; de-emphasis on one's racial group membership; largely unaware of race or racial implications 2. **ENCOUNTER:** forced by event or series of events to acknowledge the impact of racism in one's life and the reality that one cannot truly be white; forced to focus on identity as a member of a group targeted by racism 3. **IMMERSION/EMERSION:** simultaneous desire to surround oneself with visible symbols of one's racial identity and an active avoidance of symbols of whiteness; actively seek out opportunities to explore aspects of one's own history and culture with support of peers from one's own racial background 4. **INTERNALIZATION:** secure in one's own sense of racial identity; pro-black attitudes become more expansive, open, and less defensive; willing to establish meaningful relationships with whites who acknowledge and are respective of one's self-definition 5. **INTERNALIZATION-COMMITMENT:** found ways to translate one's personal sense of blackness into a plan of action or a general sense of commitment to concerns of blacks as a group, which is sustained over time; comfort with one's own race and those around them	Biracial (Poston) 1. **PERSONAL IDENTITY:** sense of self unrelated to ethnic grouping; occurs during childhood 2. **CHOICE OF GROUP:** as a result of multiple factors, individuals feel pressured to choose one racial or ethnic group identity over another 3. **CATEGORIZATION:** choices influenced by status of the group, parental influence, cultural knowledge, appearance 4. **ENMESHMENT/ DENIAL:** guilt and confusion about choosing an identity that isn't fully expressive of all their cultural influences; denial of differences between the racial groupings; possible exploration of the identities that were not chosen in stages 2 and 3 5. **APPRECIATION:** of multiple identities 6. **INTEGRATION:** sense of wholeness, integrating multiple identities Continuum of Biracial Identity Model (Kerry Ann Rockquemore and Tracey Laszloffy) Does not seek to categorize individuals into a single identity; acknowledges continuum: • Some people may choose to identify singularly with one of their identities; • Some may blend with a primary emphasis on one identity and a secondary emphasis on the other • Some may blend two (or more) identities with equal emphasis	White Racial Identity Model (Helms) 1. **CONTACT:** In the first stage of contact, the individual adheres to the "colorblind" motto. They see racial difference but do not find it salient and in fact may feel that racism is in fact propagated by the discussion and acknowledgement of race as an issue. In this stage, there is no conscious demonstration of racism here. This seemingly non-racist position can cover unconscious racist beliefs. If the individual is confronted with real-world experiences or knowledge that uncovers the privileges of White skin, they may move into the disintegration stage. 2. **DISINTEGRATION:** In this stage, because the person has new experiences which confront his prior conception of the world and because this conception is now challenged by this new information or experience, the person is often plagued by feelings of guilt and shame. These emotions of guilt and shame can be modified when the person decides to channel these emotions in a positive way but when those emotions continue to dominate, the person may move into the reintegration stage. 3. **REINTEGRATION:** This stage is marked by a "blame-the-victim" attitude that's more intense than anything experienced in the contact stage. They may feel that although Whites do have privileges, it is probably

2

Filipino American (Nadal)

1. **ETHNIC AWARENESS:** neutral or positive feelings about all ethnic groups, including one's own; little exposure to prejudice
2. **ASSIMILATION TO DOMINANT CULTURE:** views only whites as positive, negative toward other ethnicities
3. **SOCIAL POLITICAL AWAKENING:** negative views toward whites, positive toward other ethnicities
4. **PAN-ETHNIC ASIAN AMERICAN CONSCIOUSNESS:** partiality toward Asian Americans
5. **ETHNOCENTRIC REALIZATION:** views oneself and other communities of color as empowering
6. **INCORPORATION**

Ethnic Minority (Berry)

1. **ASSIMILATION**: valuing the majority culture over one's own culture
2. **SEPARATION:** preserving one's culture while withdrawing from the majority culture
3. **MARGINALIZATION:** losing cultural contact and identification with one's culture as well as the majority culture
4. **INTEGRATION:** valuing and integrating one's culture as well as the majority culture

Resolutions of Biracial Identity Tensions (Maria P.P. Root)

1. **Acceptance of the identity society assigns:** identifying with the group into which others assume the biracial individual most belongs, usually with family support
2. **Identification with both racial groups:** Identify with both (or all) heritage groups, depending on social and personal support
3. **Identification with a single racial group:** Choosing one group, independent of social pressure, to identify himself or herself in a particular way
4. **Identification as a new racial group:** Move fluidly among racial groups but identifies most strongly with other biracial people, regardless of specific heritage backgrounds

because they deserve them and in are in some way superior to minority groups. If the person is able to combat these feelings, they maybe able to move on to the pseudo-independence stage

4. **PSEUDO-INDEPENDENCE:** This is the first stage of positive racial identification. Although an individual in this stage does not feel that Whites deserve privilege, they look to people of color, not themselves, to confront and uncover racism. They approve of these efforts and comfort the person as these efforts validate this person's desire to be non-racist. Although this is positive White racial identity, the person does not have a sense of how they can be both White and non-racist together.
5. **IMMERSION/EMERSION:** In this stage, the person makes a genuine attempt to connect to his/her own White identity and to be anti-racist. This stage is usually accompanied by deep concern with understanding and connecting to other Whites who are or have been dealing with issues of racism.
6. **AUTONOMY:** The last stage is reached when an individual has a clear understanding of and positive connection to their White racial identity while also actively pursuing social justice. Helms' stages are as much about finding a positive racial identification with being White and becoming an active anti-racist.

3

Summary of Stages of Racial Identity Development

Integrated Model (John and Joy Hoffman)

CONFORMITY (Whites and People of Color): In the first stage of conformity, people of color and Whites feel that they are just "regular Americans." Unconsciously, members of both groups strive to emulate Whiteness in actions, speech, dress, beliefs and attitudes because Whiteness is perceived as positive.

People of Color

DISSONANCE: Dissonance for people of color occurs when they want to get along and be Americans but discover that their race or gender may preclude them from the benefits that Whites or males get. They start to feel confused about the beliefs they held about America and themselves as they begin to see that racism and sexism may be impacting them.

IMMERSION: These questions and disillusionment can lead to the immersion stage where women and persons of color feel angry about racism and sexism. They feel that most White people and males are racists and sexists and thus part of the problem. What might people of color do with this anger?

EMERSION: The fourth stage for people of color is emersion where their anger about racism directed towards Whites leads them to feel that they can only belong with others in their own racial group which understands them. They avoid, as much as possible, contacts with Whites and seek out people of their own race or gender.

INTERNALIZATION: Internalization occurs when they realize that there are negative qualities among their own people and that all White people are not the enemy. They see racism and sexism as the enemy and as something that they can fight against. They also manifest the desire to have more control over who they want to be. They are more than just a person of color or a woman

White People

ACCEPTANCE: In this stage, Whites can still dismiss or diminish comments or actions that indicate that racism is alive. They express the view that that everyone has struggles and people should just accept the way things are and try to be American. They expect of color to "get over it" and go forward as Americans which really means be more like White people.

RESISTANCE: Whites move from their acceptance stage to the resistance stage where they profess that racism is a thing of the past. Whites often express their belief that there is a new racism and that is the racism that they perceive is against Whites. This is popularly referred to as "reverse racism."

RETREAT: If their assumptions about people of color and their own lack of privilege are proven false, they may enter the retreat stage. They may feel guilty and ashamed by how hard life has been and still is for people of color. They are also frustrated by, annoyed, and impatient with other Whites who don't get it.

EMERGENCE: After feeling guilty and ashamed, Whites may move into the emergence stage where they start to understand their privilege and how it has and continue to benefit them. They also now begin to take control over the type of White person they want to be like.

INTEGRATIVE AWARENESS (both): In the last stage of integrative awareness, Hoffman asserts that Whites and people of color both come to the conclusion that there is much more to them than their race or gender. Both groups are able to positively identify with their own racial group while also acknowledging that other aspects of their identity (their gender, their talents and abilities, their unique experiences) contribute to their personhood.

4

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5

The Case for Reparations

Ta-Nehisi Coates   May 21, 2014

Editor's Note: We've gathered dozens of the most important pieces from our archives on race and racism in America. Find the collection here.

And if thy brother, a Hebrew man, or a Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee. And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty: thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy winepress: of that wherewith the LORD thy God hath blessed thee thou shalt give unto him. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and the LORD thy God redeemed thee: therefore I command thee this thing today.

— Deuteronomy 15: 12–15

Besides the crime which consists in violating the law, and varying from the right rule of reason, whereby a man so far becomes degenerate, and declares himself to quit the principles of human nature, and to be a noxious creature, there is commonly injury done to some person or other, and some other man receives damage by his transgression: in which case he who hath received any damage, has, besides the right of punishment common to him with other men, a particular right to seek reparation.

— John Locke, "Second Treatise"

By our unpaid labor and suffering, we have earned the right to the soil, many times over and over, and now we are determined to have it.

— Anonymous, 1861

Listen to the audio version of this article:Feature stories, read aloud: download the Audm app for your iPhone.

I. "So That's Just One Of My Losses"

Clyde Ross was born in 1923, the seventh of 13 children, near Clarksdale, Mississippi, the home of the blues. Ross's parents owned and farmed a 40-acre tract of land, flush with cows, hogs, and mules. Ross's mother would drive to Clarksdale to do her shopping in a horse and buggy, in which she invested all the pride one might place in a Cadillac. The family owned another horse, with a red coat, which they gave to Clyde. The Ross family wanted for little, save that which all black families in the Deep South then desperately desired—the protection of the law.

In the 1920s, Jim Crow Mississippi was, in all facets of society, a kleptocracy. The majority of the people in the state were perpetually robbed of the vote—a hijacking engineered through the trickery of the poll tax and the muscle of the lynch mob. Between 1882 and 1968, more black people were lynched in Mississippi than in any other state. "You and I know what's the best way to keep the nigger from voting," blustered Theodore Bilbo, a Mississippi senator and a proud Klansman. "You do it the night before the election."

The state's regime partnered robbery of the franchise with robbery of the purse. Many of Mississippi's black farmers lived in debt peonage, under the sway of cotton kings who were at once their landlords, their employers, and their primary merchants. Tools and necessities were advanced against the return on the crop, which was determined by the employer. When farmers were deemed to be in debt—and they often were—the negative balance was then carried over to the next season. A man or woman who protested this arrangement did so at the risk of grave injury or death. Refusing to work meant arrest under vagrancy laws and forced labor under the state's penal system.

Well into the 20th century, black people spoke of their flight from Mississippi in much the same manner as their runagate ancestors had. In her 2010 book, *The Warmth of Other Suns*, Isabel Wilkerson tells the story of Eddie Earvin, a spinach picker who fled Mississippi in 1963, after being made to work at gunpoint. "You didn't talk about it or tell nobody," Earvin said. "You had to sneak away."

When Clyde Ross was still a child, Mississippi authorities claimed his father owed $3,000 in back taxes. The elder Ross could not read. He did not have a lawyer. He did not know anyone at the local courthouse. He could not expect the police to be impartial. Effectively, the Ross family had no way to contest the claim and no protection under the law. The authorities

seized the land. They seized the buggy. They took the cows, hogs, and mules. And so for the upkeep of separate but equal, the entire Ross family was reduced to sharecropping.

This was hardly unusual. In 2001, the Associated Press published a three-part investigation into the theft of black-owned land stretching back to the antebellum period. The series documented some 406 victims and 24,000 acres of land valued at tens of millions of dollars. The land was taken through means ranging from legal chicanery to terrorism. "Some of the land taken from black families has become a country club in Virginia," the AP reported, as well as "oil fields in Mississippi" and "a baseball spring training facility in Florida."

Clyde Ross, photographed in November 2013 in his home in the North Lawndale neighborhood of Chicago, where he has lived for more than 50 years. When he first tried to get a legitimate mortgage, he was denied; mortgages were effectively not available to black people. (Carlos Javier Ortiz)

Clyde Ross was a smart child. His teacher thought he should attend a more challenging school. There was very little support for educating black people in Mississippi. But Julius Rosenwald, a part owner of Sears, Roebuck, had begun an ambitious effort to build schools for black children throughout the South. Ross's teacher believed he should attend the local Rosenwald school. It was too far for Ross to walk and get back in time to work in the fields. Local white children had a school bus. Clyde Ross did not, and thus lost the chance to better his education.

Then, when Ross was 10 years old, a group of white men demanded his only childhood possession—the horse with the red coat. "You can't have this horse. We want it," one of the white men said. They gave Ross's father $17.

"I did everything for that horse," Ross told me. "Everything. And they took him. Put him on the racetrack. I never did know what happened to him after that, but I know they didn't bring him back. So that's just one of my losses."

Sharecropper boys in 1936 (Carly Mydans/Library of Congress)

The losses mounted. As sharecroppers, the Ross family saw their wages treated as the landlord's slush fund. Landowners were supposed to split the profits from the cotton fields with sharecroppers. But bales would often disappear during the count, or the split might be altered on a whim. If cotton was selling for 50 cents a pound, the Ross family might get 15 cents, or only five. One year Ross's mother promised to buy him a $7 suit for a summer program at their church. She ordered the suit by mail. But that year Ross's family was paid only five cents a pound for cotton. The mailman arrived with the suit. The Rosses could not pay. The suit was sent back. Clyde Ross did not go to the church program.

It was in these early years that Ross began to understand himself as an American—he did not live under the blind decree of justice, but under the heel of a regime that elevated armed robbery to a governing principle. He thought about fighting. "Just be quiet," his father told him. "Because they'll come and kill us all."

Clyde Ross grew. He was drafted into the Army. The draft officials offered him an exemption if he stayed home and worked. He preferred to take his chances with war. He was stationed in California. He found that he could go into stores without being bothered. He could walk the streets without being harassed. He could go into a restaurant and receive service.

Ross was shipped off to Guam. He fought in World War II to save the world from tyranny. But when he returned to Clarksdale, he found that tyranny had followed him home. This was 1947, eight years before Mississippi lynched Emmett Till and tossed his broken body into the

Tallahatchie River. The Great Migration, a mass exodus of 6 million African Americans that spanned most of the 20th century, was now in its second wave. The black pilgrims did not journey north simply seeking better wages and work, or bright lights and big adventures. They were fleeing the acquisitive warlords of the South. They were seeking the protection of the law.

Clyde Ross was among them. He came to Chicago in 1947 and took a job as a taster at Campbell's Soup. He made a stable wage. He married. He had children. His paycheck was his own. No Klansmen stripped him of the vote. When he walked down the street, he did not have to move because a white man was walking past. He did not have to take off his hat or avert his gaze. His journey from peonage to full citizenship seemed near-complete. Only one item was missing—a home, that final badge of entry into the sacred order of the American middle class of the Eisenhower years.

In 1961, Ross and his wife bought a house in North Lawndale, a bustling community on Chicago's West Side. North Lawndale had long been a predominantly Jewish neighborhood, but a handful of middle-class African Americans had lived there starting in the '40s. The community was anchored by the sprawling Sears, Roebuck headquarters. North Lawndale's Jewish People's Institute actively encouraged blacks to move into the neighborhood, seeking to make it a "pilot community for interracial living." In the battle for integration then being fought around the country, North Lawndale seemed to offer promising terrain. But out in the tall grass, highwaymen, nefarious as any Clarksdale kleptocrat, were lying in wait.

Three months after Clyde Ross moved into his house, the boiler blew out. This would normally be a homeowner's responsibility, but in fact, Ross was not really a homeowner. His payments were made to the seller, not the bank. And Ross had not signed a normal mortgage. He'd bought "on contract": a predatory agreement that combined all the responsibilities of homeownership with all the disadvantages of renting—while offering the benefits of neither. Ross had bought his house for $27,500. The seller, not the previous homeowner but a new kind of middleman, had bought it for only $12,000 six months before selling it to Ross. In a contract sale, the seller kept the deed until the contract was paid in full—and, unlike with a normal mortgage, Ross would acquire no equity in the meantime. If he missed a single payment, he would immediately forfeit his $1,000 down payment, all his monthly payments, and the property itself.

The men who peddled contracts in North Lawndale would sell homes at inflated prices and then evict families who could not pay—taking their down payment and their monthly installments as profit. Then they'd bring in another black family, rinse, and repeat. "He loads them up with payments they can't meet," an office secretary told *The Chicago Daily News* of her boss, the speculator Lou Fushanis, in 1963. "Then he takes the property away from them. He's sold some of the buildings three or four times."

Ross had tried to get a legitimate mortgage in another neighborhood, but was told by a loan officer that there was no financing available. The truth was that there was no financing for people like Clyde Ross. From the 1930s through the 1960s, black people across the country were largely cut out of the legitimate home-mortgage market through means both legal and extralegal. Chicago whites employed every measure, from "restrictive covenants" to bombings, to keep their neighborhoods segregated.

Their efforts were buttressed by the federal government. In 1934, Congress created the Federal Housing Administration. The FHA insured private mortgages, causing a drop in interest rates and a decline in the size of the down payment required to buy a house. But an insured mortgage was not a possibility for Clyde Ross. The FHA had adopted a system of maps that rated neighborhoods according to their perceived stability. On the maps, green areas, rated "A," indicated "in demand" neighborhoods that, as one appraiser put it, lacked "a single foreigner or Negro." These neighborhoods were considered excellent prospects for insurance. Neighborhoods where black people lived were rated "D" and were usually considered ineligible for FHA backing. They were colored in red. Neither the percentage of black people living there nor their social class mattered. Black people were viewed as a contagion. Redlining went beyond FHA-backed loans and spread to the entire mortgage industry, which was already rife with racism, excluding black people from most legitimate means of obtaining a mortgage.

Explore Redlining in Chicago

A 1939 Home Owners' Loan Corporation "Residential Security Map" of Chicago shows discrimination against low-income and minority neighborhoods. The residents of the areas marked in red (representing "hazardous" real-estate markets) were denied FHA-backed mortgages. (Map development by Frankie Dintino)

"A government offering such bounty to builders and lenders could have required compliance with a nondiscrimination policy," Charles Abrams, the urban-studies expert who helped create the New York City Housing Authority, wrote in 1955. "Instead, the FHA adopted a racial policy that could well have been culled from the Nuremberg laws."

The devastating effects are cogently outlined by Melvin L. Oliver and Thomas M. Shapiro in their 1995 book, *Black Wealth/White Wealth*:

> Locked out of the greatest mass-based opportunity for wealth accumulation in American history, African Americans who desired and were able to afford home ownership found themselves consigned to central-city communities where their investments were affected by the "self-fulfilling prophecies" of the FHA appraisers: cut off from sources of new investment[,] their homes and communities deteriorated and lost value in comparison to those homes and communities that FHA appraisers deemed desirable.

In Chicago and across the country, whites looking to achieve the American dream could rely on a legitimate credit system backed by the government. Blacks were herded into the sights of unscrupulous lenders who took them for money and for sport. "It was like people who like to go out and shoot lions in Africa. It was the same thrill," a housing attorney told the historian Beryl Satter in her 2009 book, *Family Properties*. "The thrill of the chase and the kill."

The kill was profitable. At the time of his death, Lou Fushanis owned more than 600 properties, many of them in North Lawndale, and his estate was estimated to be worth $3 million. He'd made much of this money by exploiting the frustrated hopes of black migrants like Clyde Ross. During this period, according to one estimate, 85 percent of all black home buyers who bought in Chicago bought on contract. "If anybody who is well established in this business in Chicago doesn't earn $100,000 a year," a contract seller told *The Saturday Evening Post* in 1962, "he is loafing."

Contract sellers became rich. North Lawndale became a ghetto.

Clyde Ross still lives there. He still owns his home. He is 91, and the emblems of survival are all around him—awards for service in his community, pictures of his children in cap and gown. But when I asked him about his home in North Lawndale, I heard only anarchy.

"We were ashamed. We did not want anyone to know that we were that ignorant," Ross told me. He was sitting at his dining-room table. His glasses were as thick as his Clarksdale drawl. "I'd come out of Mississippi where there was one mess, and come up here and got in another mess. So how dumb am I? I didn't want anyone to know how dumb I was.

"When I found myself caught up in it, I said, 'How? I just left this mess. I just left no laws. And no regard. And then I come here and get cheated wide open.' I would probably want to do some harm to some people, you know, if I had been violent like some of us. I thought, 'Man, I got caught up in this stuff. I can't even take care of my kids.' I didn't have enough for my kids. You could fall through the cracks easy fighting these white people. And no law."

But fight Clyde Ross did. In 1968 he joined the newly formed <u>Contract Buyers League</u>—a collection of black homeowners on Chicago's South and West Sides, all of whom had been locked into the same system of predation. There was Howell Collins, whose contract called for him to pay $25,500 for a house that a speculator had bought for $14,500. There was Ruth Wells, who'd managed to pay out half her contract, expecting a mortgage, only to suddenly see an insurance bill materialize out of thin air—a requirement the seller had added without Wells's knowledge. Contract sellers used every tool at their disposal to pilfer from their clients. They scared white residents into selling low. They lied about properties' compliance with building codes, then left the buyer responsible when city inspectors arrived. They presented themselves as real-estate brokers, when in fact they were the owners. They guided their clients to lawyers who were in on the scheme.

The Contract Buyers League fought back. Members—who would eventually number more than 500—went out to the posh suburbs where the speculators lived and embarrassed them by knocking on their neighbors' doors and informing them of the details of the contract-lending trade. They refused to pay their installments, instead holding monthly payments in an escrow account. Then they brought a suit against the contract sellers, accusing them of buying properties and reselling in such a manner "to reap from members of the Negro race large and unjust profits."

Video: The Contract Buyers League

The story of Clyde Ross and the Contract Buyers League

In return for the "deprivations of their rights and privileges under the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments," the league demanded "prayers for relief"—payback of all moneys paid on contracts and all moneys paid for structural improvement of properties, at 6 percent interest minus a "fair, non-discriminatory" rental price for time of occupation. Moreover, the league asked the court to adjudge that the defendants had "acted willfully and maliciously and that malice is the gist of this action."

Ross and the Contract Buyers League were no longer appealing to the government simply for equality. They were no longer fleeing in hopes of a better deal elsewhere. They were charging society with a crime against their community. They wanted the crime publicly ruled as such. They wanted the crime's executors declared to be offensive to society. And they wanted restitution for the great injury brought upon them by said offenders. In 1968, Clyde Ross and the Contract Buyers League were no longer simply seeking the protection of the law. They were seeking reparations.

II. "A Difference of Kind, Not Degree"

According to the most-recent statistics, North Lawndale is now on the wrong end of virtually every socioeconomic indicator. In 1930 its population was 112,000. Today it is 36,000. The halcyon talk of "interracial living" is dead. The neighborhood is 92 percent black. Its homicide rate is 45 per 100,000—triple the rate of the city as a whole. The infant-mortality rate is 14 per 1,000—more than twice the national average. Forty-three percent of the people in North Lawndale live below the poverty line—double Chicago's overall rate. Forty-five percent of all households are on food stamps—nearly three times the rate of the city at large. Sears, Roebuck left the neighborhood in 1987, taking 1,800 jobs with it. Kids in North Lawndale need not be confused about their prospects: Cook County's Juvenile Temporary Detention Center sits directly adjacent to the neighborhood.

North Lawndale is an extreme portrait of the trends that ail black Chicago. Such is the magnitude of these ailments that it can be said that blacks and whites do not inhabit the same city. The average per capita income of Chicago's white neighborhoods is almost three times that of its black neighborhoods. When the Harvard sociologist Robert J. Sampson

examined incarceration rates in Chicago in his 2012 book, *Great American City*, he found that a black neighborhood with one of the highest incarceration rates (West Garfield Park) had a rate more than 40 times as high as the white neighborhood with the highest rate (Clearing). "This is a staggering differential, even for community-level comparisons," Sampson writes. "A difference of kind, not degree."

Interactive Census Map

Explore race, unemployment, and vacancy rates over seven decades in Chicago. (Map design and development by Frankie Dintino)

In other words, Chicago's impoverished black neighborhoods—characterized by high unemployment and households headed by single parents—are not simply poor; they are "ecologically distinct." This "is not simply the same thing as low economic status," writes Sampson. "In this pattern Chicago is not alone."

The lives of black Americans are better than they were half a century ago. The humiliation of Whites Only signs are gone. Rates of black poverty have decreased. Black teen-pregnancy rates are at record lows—and the gap between black and white teen-pregnancy rates has shrunk significantly. But such progress rests on a shaky foundation, and fault lines are everywhere. The income gap between black and white households is roughly the same today as it was in 1970. Patrick Sharkey, a sociologist at New York University, studied children born from 1955 through 1970 and found that 4 percent of whites and 62 percent of blacks across America had been raised in poor neighborhoods. A generation later, the same study showed, virtually nothing had changed. And whereas whites born into affluent neighborhoods tended to remain in affluent neighborhoods, blacks tended to fall out of them.

This is not surprising. Black families, regardless of income, are significantly less wealthy than white families. The Pew Research Center estimates that white households are worth roughly 20 times as much as black households, and that whereas only 15 percent of whites have zero or negative wealth, more than a third of blacks do. Effectively, the black family in America is working without a safety net. When financial calamity strikes—a medical emergency, divorce, job loss—the fall is precipitous.

And just as black families of all incomes remain handicapped by a lack of wealth, so too do they remain handicapped by their restricted choice of neighborhood. Black people with upper-middle-class incomes do not generally live in upper-middle-class neighborhoods. Sharkey's research shows that black families making $100,000 typically live in the kinds of neighborhoods inhabited by white families making $30,000. "Blacks and whites inhabit such different neighborhoods," Sharkey writes, "that it is not possible to compare the economic outcomes of black and white children."

A national real-estate association advised not to sell to "a colored man of means who was giving his children a college education."

The implications are chilling. As a rule, poor black people do not work their way out of the ghetto—and those who do often face the horror of watching their children and grandchildren tumble back.

Even seeming evidence of progress withers under harsh light. In 2012, the Manhattan Institute cheerily noted that segregation had declined since the 1960s. And yet African Americans still remained—by far—the most segregated ethnic group in the country.

With segregation, with the isolation of the injured and the robbed, comes the concentration of disadvantage. An unsegregated America might see poverty, and all its effects, spread across the country with no particular bias toward skin color. Instead, the concentration of poverty has been paired with a concentration of melanin. The resulting conflagration has been devastating.

One thread of thinking in the African American community holds that these depressing numbers partially stem from cultural pathologies that can be altered through individual grit and exceptionally good behavior. (In 2011, Philadelphia Mayor Michael Nutter, responding to violence among young black males, put the blame on the family: "Too many men making too many babies they don't want to take care of, and then we end up dealing with your children." Nutter turned to those presumably fatherless babies: "Pull your pants up and buy a belt, because no one wants to see your underwear or the crack of your butt.") The thread is as old as black politics itself. It is also wrong. The kind of trenchant racism to which black people have persistently been subjected can never be defeated by making its victims more respectable. The essence of American racism is disrespect. And in the wake of the grim numbers, we see the grim inheritance.

The Contract Buyers League's suit brought by Clyde Ross and his allies took direct aim at this inheritance. The suit was rooted in Chicago's long history of segregation, which had created two housing markets—one legitimate and backed by the government, the other lawless and patrolled by predators. The suit dragged on until 1976, when the league lost a jury trial. Securing the equal protection of the law proved hard; securing reparations proved impossible. If there were any doubts about the mood of the jury, the foreman removed them by saying, when asked about the verdict, that he hoped it would help end "the mess Earl Warren made with *Brown v. Board of Education* and all that nonsense."

The Supreme Court seems to share that sentiment. The past two decades have witnessed a rollback of the progressive legislation of the 1960s. Liberals have found themselves on the defensive. In 2008, when Barack Obama was a candidate for president, he was asked whether his daughters—Malia and Sasha—should benefit from affirmative action. He answered in the negative.

The exchange rested upon an erroneous comparison of the average American white family and the exceptional first family. In the contest of upward mobility, Barack and Michelle Obama have won. But they've won by being twice as good—and enduring twice as much.

Malia and Sasha Obama enjoy privileges beyond the average white child's dreams. But that comparison is incomplete. The more telling question is how they compare with Jenna and Barbara Bush—the products of many generations of privilege, not just one. Whatever the Obama children achieve, it will be evidence of their family's singular perseverance, not of broad equality.

III. "We Inherit Our Ample Patrimony"

In 1783, the freedwoman Belinda Royall petitioned the commonwealth of Massachusetts for reparations. Belinda had been born in modern-day Ghana. She was kidnapped as a child and sold into slavery. She endured the Middle Passage and 50 years of enslavement at the hands of Isaac Royall and his son. But the junior Royall, a British loyalist, fled the country during the Revolution. Belinda, now free after half a century of labor, beseeched the nascent Massachusetts legislature:

> The face of your Petitioner, is now marked with the furrows of time, and her frame bending under the oppression of years, while she, by the Laws of the Land, is denied the employment of one morsel of that immense wealth, apart whereof hath been accumilated by her own industry, and the whole augmented by her servitude.
>
> WHEREFORE, casting herself at your feet if your honours, as to a body of men, formed for the extirpation of vassalage, for the reward of Virtue, and the just return of honest industry—she prays, that such allowance may be made her out of the Estate of Colonel Royall, as will prevent her, and her more infirm daughter, from misery in the greatest extreme, and scatter comfort over the short and downward path of their lives.

Belinda Royall was granted a pension of 15 pounds and 12 shillings, to be paid out of the estate of Isaac Royall—one of the earliest successful attempts to petition for reparations. At the time, black people in America had endured more than 150 years of enslavement, and the idea that they might be owed something in return was, if not the national consensus, at least not outrageous.

Click the image above to view the full document.

"A heavy account lies against us as a civil society for oppressions committed against people who did not injure us," wrote the Quaker John Woolman in 1769, "and that if the particular case of many individuals were fairly stated, it would appear that there was considerable due to them."

As the historian Roy E. Finkenbine has documented, at the dawn of this country, black reparations were actively considered and often effected. Quakers in New York, New England, and Baltimore went so far as to make "membership contingent upon compensating one's former slaves." In 1782, the Quaker Robert Pleasants emancipated his 78 slaves, granted them 350 acres, and later built a school on their property and provided for their education. "The doing of this justice to the injured Africans," wrote Pleasants, "would be an acceptable offering to him who 'Rules in the kingdom of men.' "

Click the image above to view the full document.

Edward Coles, a protégé of Thomas Jefferson who became a slaveholder through inheritance, took many of his slaves north and granted them a plot of land in Illinois. John Randolph, a cousin of Jefferson's, willed that all his slaves be emancipated upon his death, and that all those older than 40 be given 10 acres of land. "I give and bequeath to all my slaves their freedom," Randolph wrote, "heartily regretting that I have been the owner of one."

In his book *Forever Free*, Eric Foner recounts the story of a disgruntled planter reprimanding a freedman loafing on the job:

> Planter: "You lazy nigger, I am losing a whole day's labor by you."
>
> Freedman: "Massa, how many days' labor have I lost by you?"

In the 20th century, the cause of reparations was taken up by a diverse cast that included the Confederate veteran Walter R. Vaughan, who believed that reparations would be a stimulus for the South; the black activist Callie House; black-nationalist leaders like "Queen Mother" Audley Moore; and the civil-rights activist James Forman. The movement coalesced in 1987 under an umbrella organization called the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA). The NAACP endorsed reparations in 1993. Charles J. Ogletree Jr., a professor at Harvard Law School, has pursued reparations claims in court.

But while the people advocating reparations have changed over time, the response from the country has remained virtually the same. "They have been taught to labor," the *Chicago Tribune* editorialized in 1891. "They have been taught Christian civilization, and to speak the noble English language instead of some African gibberish. The account is square with the ex-slaves."

Not exactly. Having been enslaved for 250 years, black people were not left to their own devices. They were terrorized. In the Deep South, a second slavery ruled. In the North, legislatures, mayors, civic associations, banks, and citizens all colluded to pin black people into ghettos, where they were overcrowded, overcharged, and undereducated. Businesses discriminated against them, awarding them the worst jobs and the worst wages. Police brutalized them in the streets. And the notion that black lives, black bodies, and black wealth were rightful targets remained deeply rooted in the broader society. Now we have half-stepped away from our long centuries of despoilment, promising, "Never again." But still we are haunted. It is as though we have run up a credit-card bill and, having pledged to charge no more, remain befuddled that the balance does not disappear. The effects of that balance, interest accruing daily, are all around us.

Broach the topic of reparations today and a barrage of questions inevitably follows: Who will be paid? How much will they be paid? Who will pay? But if the practicalities, not the justice, of reparations are the true sticking point, there has for some time been the beginnings of a solution. For the past 25 years, Congressman John Conyers Jr., who represents the Detroit

area, has marked every session of Congress by introducing a bill calling for a congressional study of slavery and its lingering effects as well as recommendations for "appropriate remedies."

A country curious about how reparations might actually work has an easy solution in Conyers's bill, now called HR 40, the Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act. We would support this bill, submit the question to study, and then assess the possible solutions. But we are not interested.

"It's because it's black folks making the claim," Nkechi Taifa, who helped found N'COBRA, says. "People who talk about reparations are considered left lunatics. But all we are talking about is studying [reparations]. As John Conyers has said, we study everything. We study the water, the air. We can't even study the issue? This bill does not authorize one red cent to anyone."

That HR 40 has never—under either Democrats or Republicans—made it to the House floor suggests our concerns are rooted not in the impracticality of reparations but in something more existential. If we conclude that the conditions in North Lawndale and black America are not inexplicable but are instead precisely what you'd expect of a community that for centuries has lived in America's crosshairs, then what are we to make of the world's oldest democracy?

One cannot escape the question by hand-waving at the past, disavowing the acts of one's ancestors, nor by citing a recent date of ancestral immigration. The last slaveholder has been dead for a very long time. The last soldier to endure Valley Forge has been dead much longer. To proudly claim the veteran and disown the slaveholder is patriotism à la carte. A nation outlives its generations. We were not there when Washington crossed the Delaware, but Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze's rendering has meaning to us. We were not there when Woodrow Wilson took us into World War I, but we are still paying out the pensions. If Thomas Jefferson's genius matters, then so does his taking of Sally Hemings's body. If George Washington crossing the Delaware matters, so must his ruthless pursuit of the runagate Oney Judge.

Black families making $100,000 typically live in the kinds of neighborhoods inhabited by white families making $30,000.
In 1909, President William Howard Taft told the country that "intelligent" white southerners were ready to see blacks as "useful members of the community." A week later Joseph Gordon, a black man, was lynched outside Greenwood, Mississippi. The high point of the lynching era has passed. But the memories of those robbed of their lives still live on in the lingering effects. Indeed, in America there is a strange and powerful belief that if you stab a black person 10 times, the bleeding stops and the healing begins the moment the assailant drops the knife. We believe white dominance to be a fact of the inert past, a delinquent debt that can be made to disappear if only we don't look.

There has always been another way. "It is in vain to alledge, that *our ancestors* brought them hither, and not we," Yale President Timothy Dwight said in 1810.

> We inherit our ample patrimony with all its incumbrances; and are bound to pay the debts of our ancestors. *This* debt, particularly, we are bound to discharge: and, when the righteous Judge of the Universe comes to reckon with his servants, he will rigidly exact the payment at our hands. To give them liberty, and stop here, is to entail upon them a curse.

IV. "The Ills That Slavery Frees Us From"

America begins in black plunder and white democracy, two features that are not contradictory but complementary. "The men who came together to found the independent United States, dedicated to freedom and equality, either held slaves or were willing to join hands with those who did," the historian Edmund S. Morgan wrote. "None of them felt entirely comfortable about the fact, but neither did they feel responsible for it. Most of them had inherited both their slaves and their attachment to freedom from an earlier generation, and they knew the two were not unconnected."

When enslaved Africans, plundered of their bodies, plundered of their families, and plundered of their labor, were brought to the colony of Virginia in 1619, they did not initially endure the naked racism that would engulf their progeny. Some of them were freed. Some of them intermarried. Still others escaped with the white indentured servants who had suffered as they had. Some even rebelled together, allying under Nathaniel Bacon to torch Jamestown in 1676.
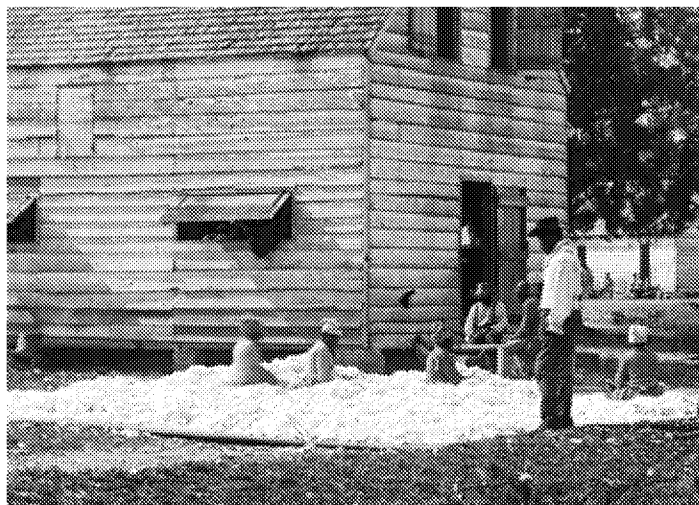
Slaves in South Carolina prepare cotton for the gin in 1862. (Timothy H. O'sullivan/Library of Congress)

One hundred years later, the idea of slaves and poor whites joining forces would shock the senses, but in the early days of the English colonies, the two groups had much in common. English visitors to Virginia found that its masters "abuse their servantes with intollerable oppression and hard usage." White servants were flogged, tricked into serving beyond their contracts, and traded in much the same manner as slaves.

This "hard usage" originated in a simple fact of the New World—land was boundless but cheap labor was limited. As life spans increased in the colony, the Virginia planters found in the enslaved Africans an even more efficient source of cheap labor. Whereas indentured servants were still legal subjects of the English crown and thus entitled to certain protections,

African slaves entered the colonies as aliens. Exempted from the protections of the crown, they became early America's indispensable working class—fit for maximum exploitation, capable of only minimal resistance.

For the next 250 years, American law worked to reduce black people to a class of untouchables and raise all white men to the level of citizens. In 1650, Virginia mandated that "all persons except Negroes" were to carry arms. In 1664, Maryland mandated that any Englishwoman who married a slave must live as a slave of her husband's master. In 1705, the Virginia assembly passed a law allowing for the dismemberment of unruly slaves—but forbidding masters from whipping "a Christian white servant naked, without an order from a justice of the peace." In that same law, the colony mandated that "all horses, cattle, and hogs, now belonging, or that hereafter shall belong to any slave" be seized and sold off by the local church, the profits used to support "the poor of the said parish." At that time, there would have still been people alive who could remember blacks and whites joining to burn down Jamestown only 29 years before. But at the beginning of the 18th century, two primary classes were enshrined in America.

"The two great divisions of society are not the rich and poor, but white and black," John C. Calhoun, South Carolina's senior senator, declared on the Senate floor in 1848. "And all the former, the poor as well as the rich, belong to the upper class, and are respected and treated as equals."

In 1860, the majority of people living in South Carolina and Mississippi, almost half of those living in Georgia, and about one-third of all Southerners were on the wrong side of Calhoun's line. The state with the largest number of enslaved Americans was Virginia, where in certain counties some 70 percent of all people labored in chains. Nearly one-fourth of all white Southerners owned slaves, and upon their backs the economic basis of America—and much of the Atlantic world—was erected. In the seven cotton states, one-third of all white income was derived from slavery. By 1840, cotton produced by slave labor constituted 59 percent of the country's exports. The web of this slave society extended north to the looms of New England, and across the Atlantic to Great Britain, where it powered a great economic transformation and altered the trajectory of world history. "Whoever says Industrial Revolution," wrote the historian Eric J. Hobsbawm, "says cotton."

The wealth accorded America by slavery was not just in what the slaves pulled from the land but in the slaves themselves. "In 1860, slaves as an asset were worth more than all of America's manufacturing, all of the railroads, all of the productive capacity of the United States put together," the Yale historian David W. Blight has noted. "Slaves were the single largest, by far, financial asset of property in the entire American economy." The sale of these slaves—"in whose bodies that money congealed," writes Walter Johnson, a Harvard historian —generated even more ancillary wealth. Loans were taken out for purchase, to be repaid with interest. Insurance policies were drafted against the untimely death of a slave and the loss of potential profits. Slave sales were taxed and notarized. The vending of the black body and the sundering of the black family became an economy unto themselves, estimated to have
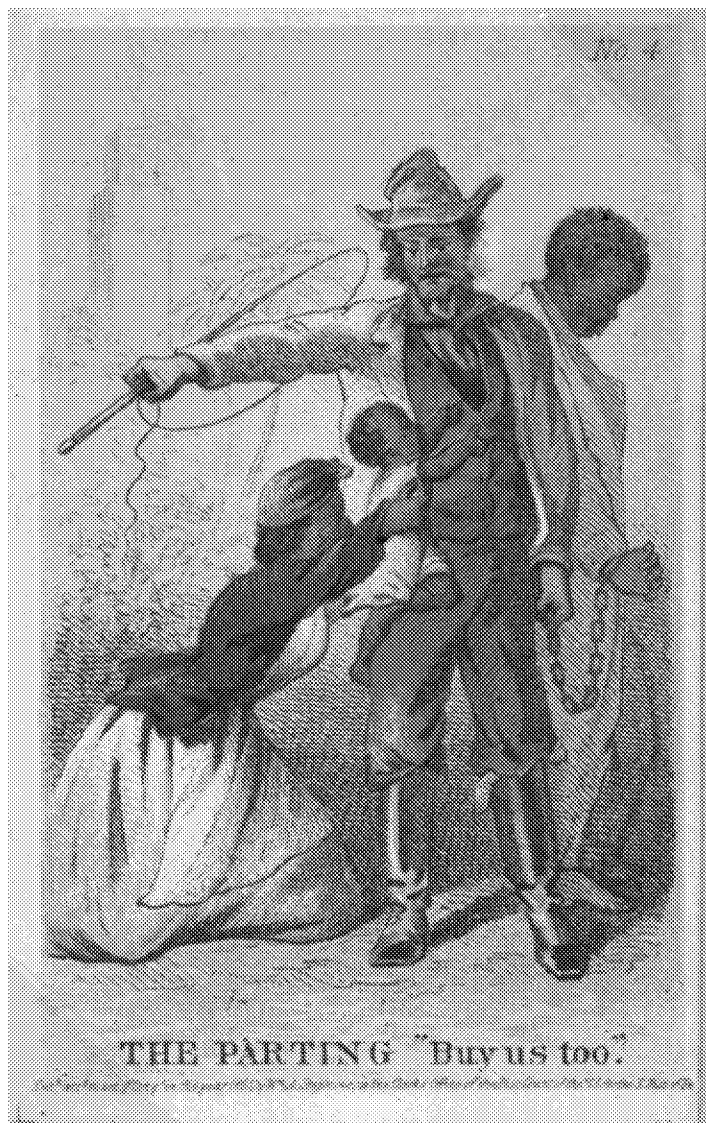
brought in tens of millions of dollars to antebellum America. In 1860 there were more millionaires per capita in the Mississippi Valley than anywhere else in the country.

Beneath the cold numbers lay lives divided. "I had a constant dread that Mrs. Moore, her mistress, would be in want of money and sell my dear wife," a freedman wrote, reflecting on his time in slavery. "We constantly dreaded a final separation. Our affection for each was very strong, and this made us always apprehensive of a cruel parting."

Forced partings were common in the antebellum South. A slave in some parts of the region stood a 30 percent chance of being sold in his or her lifetime. Twenty-five percent of interstate trades destroyed a first marriage and half of them destroyed a nuclear family.

When the wife and children of Henry Brown, a slave in Richmond, Virginia, were to be sold away, Brown searched for a white master who might buy his wife and children to keep the family together. He failed:

In this artistic rendering by Henry Louis Stephens, a well-known illustrator of the era, a family is in the process of being separated at a slave auction. (Library of Congress)

> The next day, I stationed myself by the side of the road, along which the slaves, amounting to three hundred and fifty, were to pass. The purchaser of my wife was a Methodist minister, who was about starting for North Carolina. Pretty soon five waggon-loads of little children passed, and looking at the foremost one, what should I see but a little child, pointing its tiny hand towards me, exclaiming, "There's my father; I knew he would come and bid me good-bye." It was my eldest child! Soon the gang approached in which my wife was chained. I looked, and beheld her familiar face; but O, reader, that glance of agony! may God spare me ever again enduring the excruciating horror of that moment! She passed, and came near to where I stood. I seized hold of her hand, intending to bid her farewell; but words failed me; the gift of utterance had fled, and I remained speechless. I followed her for some distance, with her hand grasped in mine, as if to save her from her fate, but I could not speak, and I was obliged to turn away in silence.

In a time when telecommunications were primitive and blacks lacked freedom of movement, the parting of black families was a kind of murder. Here we find the roots of American wealth and democracy—in the for-profit destruction of the most important asset available to any people, the family. The destruction was not incidental to America's rise; it facilitated that rise. By erecting a slave society, America created the economic foundation for its great experiment in democracy. The labor strife that seeded Bacon's rebellion was suppressed. America's indispensable working class existed as property beyond the realm of politics, leaving white Americans free to trumpet their love of freedom and democratic values. Assessing antebellum democracy in Virginia, a visitor from England observed that the state's natives "can profess an unbounded love of liberty and of democracy in consequence of the mass of the people, who in other countries might become mobs, being there nearly altogether composed of their own Negro slaves."

V. The Quiet Plunder

The consequences of 250 years of enslavement, of war upon black families and black people, were profound. Like homeownership today, slave ownership was aspirational, attracting not just those who owned slaves but those who wished to. Much as homeowners today might discuss the addition of a patio or the painting of a living room, slaveholders traded tips on the best methods for breeding workers, exacting labor, and doling out punishment. Just as a homeowner today might subscribe to a magazine like *This Old House*, slaveholders had journals such as *De Bow's Review*, which recommended the best practices for wringing profits from slaves. By the dawn of the Civil War, the enslavement of black America was thought to be so foundational to the country that those who sought to end it were branded heretics worthy of death. Imagine what would happen if a president today came out in favor of taking all American homes from their owners: the reaction might well be violent.

"This country was formed for the *white*, not for the black man," John Wilkes Booth wrote, before killing Abraham Lincoln. "And looking upon *African slavery* from the same standpoint held by those noble framers of our Constitution, I for one have ever considered *it* one of the greatest blessings (both for themselves and us) that God ever bestowed upon a favored nation."

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Radical Republicans attempted to reconstruct the country upon something resembling universal equality—but they were beaten back by a campaign of "Redemption," led by White Liners, Red Shirts, and Klansmen bent on upholding a society "formed for the *white*, not for the black man." A wave of terrorism roiled the South. In his massive history *Reconstruction*, Eric Foner recounts incidents of black people being attacked for not removing their hats; for refusing to hand over a whiskey flask; for disobeying church procedures; for "using insolent language"; for disputing labor contracts; for refusing to be "tied like a slave." Sometimes the attacks were intended simply to "thin out the niggers a little."

Terrorism carried the day. Federal troops withdrew from the South in 1877. The dream of Reconstruction died. For the next century, political violence was visited upon blacks wantonly, with special treatment meted out toward black people of ambition. Black schools and churches were burned to the ground. Black voters and the political candidates who attempted to rally them were intimidated, and some were murdered. At the end of World War I, black veterans returning to their homes were assaulted for daring to wear the American uniform. The demobilization of soldiers after the war, which put white and black veterans into competition for scarce jobs, produced the Red Summer of 1919: a succession of racist pogroms against dozens of cities ranging from Longview, Texas, to Chicago to Washington, D.C. Organized white violence against blacks continued into the 1920s—in 1921 a white mob leveled Tulsa's "Black Wall Street," and in 1923 another one razed the black town of Rosewood, Florida—and virtually no one was punished.
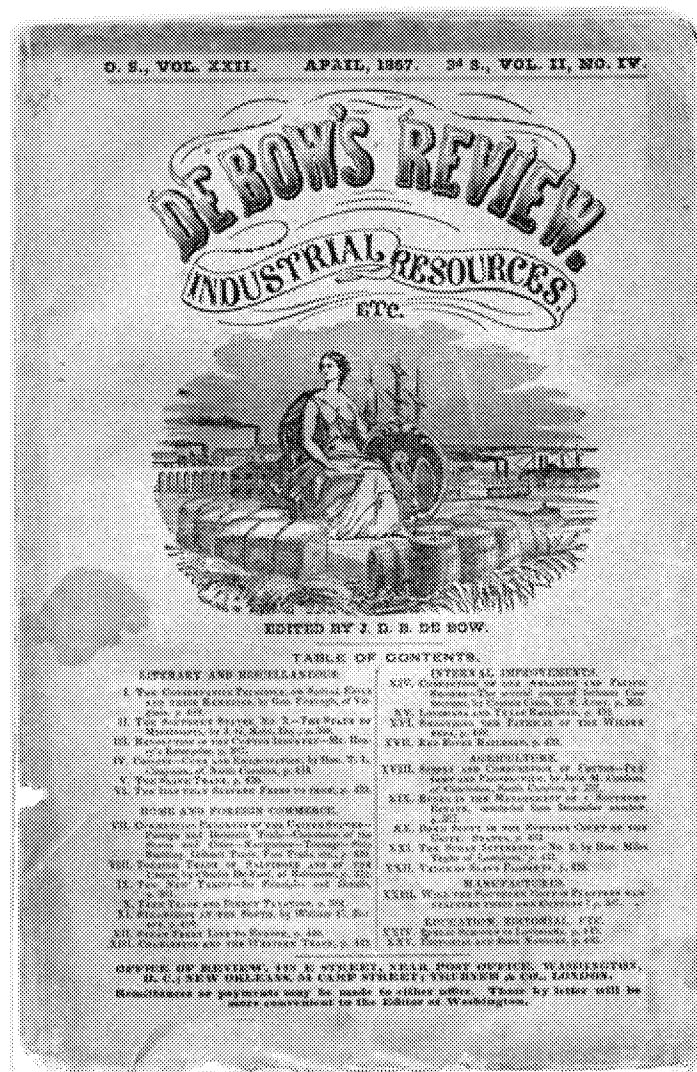
Click the image above to view the full document.

A postcard dated August 3, 1920, depicts the aftermath of a lynching in Center, Texas, near the Louisiana border. According to the text on the other side, the victim was a 16-year-old boy.

The work of mobs was a rabid and violent rendition of prejudices that extended even into the upper reaches of American government. The New Deal is today remembered as a model for what progressive government should do—cast a broad social safety net that protects the poor and the afflicted while building the middle class. When progressives wish to express their disappointment with Barack Obama, they point to the accomplishments of Franklin Roosevelt. But these progressives rarely note that Roosevelt's New Deal, much like the democracy that produced it, rested on the foundation of Jim Crow.

"The Jim Crow South," writes Ira Katznelson, a history and political-science professor at Columbia, "was the one collaborator America's democracy could not do without." The marks of that collaboration are all over the New Deal. The omnibus programs passed under the Social Security Act in 1935 were crafted in such a way as to protect the southern way of life. Old-age insurance (Social Security proper) and unemployment insurance excluded farmworkers and domestics—jobs heavily occupied by blacks. When President Roosevelt signed Social Security into law in 1935, 65 percent of African Americans nationally and between 70 and 80 percent in the South were ineligible. The NAACP protested, calling the new American safety net "a sieve with holes just big enough for the majority of Negroes to fall through."

The oft-celebrated G.I. Bill similarly failed black Americans, by mirroring the broader country's insistence on a racist housing policy. Though ostensibly color-blind, Title III of the bill, which aimed to give veterans access to low-interest home loans, left black veterans to tangle with white officials at their local Veterans Administration as well as with the same banks that had, for years, refused to grant mortgages to blacks. The historian Kathleen J. Frydl observes in her 2009 book, *The GI Bill*, that so many blacks were disqualified from receiving Title III benefits "that it is more accurate simply to say that blacks could not use this particular title."

In Cold War America, homeownership was seen as a means of instilling patriotism, and as a civilizing and anti-radical force. "No man who owns his own house and lot can be a Communist," claimed William Levitt, who pioneered the modern suburb with the development of the various Levittowns, his famous planned communities. "He has too much to do."

But the Levittowns were, with Levitt's willing acquiescence, segregated throughout their early years. Daisy and Bill Myers, the first black family to move into Levittown, Pennsylvania, were greeted with protests and a burning cross. A neighbor who opposed the family said that Bill Myers was "probably a nice guy, but every time I look at him I see $2,000 drop off the value of my house."

The neighbor had good reason to be afraid. Bill and Daisy Myers were from the other side of John C. Calhoun's dual society. If they moved next door, housing policy almost guaranteed that their neighbors' property values would decline.

In August 1957, state police pull teenagers out of a car during a demonstration against Bill and Daisy Myers, the first African Americans to move into Levittown, Pennsyvlania. (AP Photo/Bill Ingraham)

Whereas shortly before the New Deal, a typical mortgage required a large down payment and full repayment within about 10 years, the creation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation in 1933 and then the Federal Housing Administration the following year allowed banks to offer loans requiring no more than 10 percent down, amortized over 20 to 30 years. "Without federal intervention in the housing market, massive suburbanization would have been impossible," writes Thomas J. Sugrue, a historian at the University of Pennsylvania. "In 1930, only 30 percent of Americans owned their own homes; by 1960, more than 60 percent were home owners. Home ownership became an emblem of American citizenship."

That emblem was not to be awarded to blacks. The American real-estate industry believed segregation to be a moral principle. As late as 1950, the National Association of Real Estate Boards' code of ethics warned that "a Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood ... any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values." A 1943 brochure specified that such potential undesirables might include madams, bootleggers, gangsters—and "a colored man of means who was giving his children a college education and thought they were entitled to live among whites."

The federal government concurred. It was the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, not a private trade association, that pioneered the practice of redlining, selectively granting loans and insisting that any property it insured be covered by a restrictive covenant—a clause in the deed forbidding the sale of the property to anyone other than whites. Millions of dollars flowed from tax coffers into segregated white neighborhoods.

"For perhaps the first time, the federal government embraced the discriminatory attitudes of the marketplace," the historian Kenneth T. Jackson wrote in his 1985 book, *Crabgrass Frontier*, a history of suburbanization. "Previously, prejudices were personalized and individualized; FHA exhorted segregation and enshrined it as public policy. Whole areas of cities were declared ineligible for loan guarantees." Redlining was not officially outlawed until 1968, by the Fair Housing Act. By then the damage was done—and reports of redlining by banks have continued.

The federal government is premised on equal fealty from all its citizens, who in return are to receive equal treatment. But as late as the mid-20th century, this bargain was not granted to black people, who repeatedly paid a higher price for citizenship and received less in return. Plunder had been the essential feature of slavery, of the society described by Calhoun. But practically a full century after the end of the Civil War and the abolition of slavery, the plunder—quiet, systemic, submerged—continued even amidst the aims and achievements of New Deal liberals.

VI. Making The Second Ghetto

Today Chicago is one of the most segregated cities in the country, a fact that reflects assiduous planning. In the effort to uphold white supremacy at every level down to the neighborhood, Chicago—a city founded by the black fur trader Jean Baptiste Point du Sable—has long been a pioneer. The efforts began in earnest in 1917, when the Chicago Real Estate Board, horrified by the influx of southern blacks, lobbied to zone the entire city by race. But after the Supreme Court ruled against explicit racial zoning that year, the city was forced to pursue its agenda by more-discreet means.

Like the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, the Federal Housing Administration initially insisted on restrictive covenants, which helped bar blacks and other ethnic undesirables from receiving federally backed home loans. By the 1940s, Chicago led the nation in the use of these restrictive covenants, and about half of all residential neighborhoods in the city were effectively off-limits to blacks.

It is common today to become misty-eyed about the old black ghetto, where doctors and lawyers lived next door to meatpackers and steelworkers, who themselves lived next door to prostitutes and the unemployed. This segregationist nostalgia ignores the actual conditions endured by the people living there—vermin and arson, for instance—and ignores the fact that the old ghetto was premised on denying black people privileges enjoyed by white Americans.

In 1948, when the Supreme Court ruled that restrictive covenants, while permissible, were not enforceable by judicial action, Chicago had other weapons at the ready. The Illinois state legislature had already given Chicago's city council the right to approve—and thus to veto—any public housing in the city's wards. This came in handy in 1949, when a new federal housing act sent millions of tax dollars into Chicago and other cities around the country. Beginning in 1950, site selection for public housing proceeded entirely on the grounds of

segregation. By the 1960s, the city had created with its vast housing projects what the historian Arnold R. Hirsch calls a "second ghetto," one larger than the old Black Belt but just as impermeable. More than 98 percent of all the family public-housing units built in Chicago between 1950 and the mid-1960s were built in all-black neighborhoods.

Governmental embrace of segregation was driven by the virulent racism of Chicago's white citizens. White neighborhoods vulnerable to black encroachment formed block associations for the sole purpose of enforcing segregation. They lobbied fellow whites not to sell. They lobbied those blacks who did manage to buy to sell back. In 1949, a group of Englewood Catholics formed block associations intended to "keep up the neighborhood." Translation: keep black people out. And when civic engagement was not enough, when government failed, when private banks could no longer hold the line, Chicago turned to an old tool in the American repertoire—racial violence. "The pattern of terrorism is easily discernible," concluded a Chicago civic group in the 1940s. "It is at the seams of the black ghetto in all directions." On July 1 and 2 of 1946, a mob of thousands assembled in Chicago's Park Manor neighborhood, hoping to eject a black doctor who'd recently moved in. The mob pelted the house with rocks and set the garage on fire. The doctor moved away.

In 1947, after a few black veterans moved into the Fernwood section of Chicago, three nights of rioting broke out; gangs of whites yanked blacks off streetcars and beat them. Two years later, when a union meeting attended by blacks in Englewood triggered rumors that a home was being "sold to niggers," blacks (and whites thought to be sympathetic to them) were beaten in the streets. In 1951, thousands of whites in Cicero, 20 minutes or so west of downtown Chicago, attacked an apartment building that housed a single black family, throwing bricks and firebombs through the windows and setting the apartment on fire. A Cook County grand jury declined to charge the rioters—and instead indicted the family's NAACP attorney, the apartment's white owner, and the owner's attorney and rental agent, charging them with conspiring to lower property values. Two years after that, whites picketed and planted explosives in South Deering, about 30 minutes from downtown Chicago, to force blacks out.

The September 1966 Cicero protest against housing discrimination was one of the first nonviolent civil-rights campaigns launched near a major city. (Associated Press)

When terrorism ultimately failed, white homeowners simply fled the neighborhood. The traditional terminology, *white flight*, implies a kind of natural expression of preference. In fact, white flight was a triumph of social engineering, orchestrated by the shared racist presumptions of America's public and private sectors. For should any nonracist white families decide that integration might not be so bad as a matter of principle or practicality, they still had to contend with the hard facts of American housing policy: When the mid-20th-century white homeowner claimed that the presence of a Bill and Daisy Myers decreased his property value, he was not merely engaging in racist dogma—he was accurately observing the impact of federal policy on market prices. Redlining destroyed the possibility of investment wherever black people lived.

VII. "A Lot Of People Fell By The Way"

Speculators in North Lawndale, and at the edge of the black ghettos, knew there was money to be made off white panic. They resorted to "block-busting"—spooking whites into selling cheap before the neighborhood became black. They would hire a black woman to walk up and down the street with a stroller. Or they'd hire someone to call a number in the neighborhood looking for "Johnny Mae." Then they'd cajole whites into selling at low prices, informing them that the more blacks who moved in, the more the value of their homes would decline, so better to sell now. With these white-fled homes in hand, speculators then turned to the

masses of black people who had streamed northward as part of the Great Migration, or who were desperate to escape the ghettos: the speculators would take the houses they'd just bought cheap through block-busting and sell them to blacks on contract.

To keep up with his payments and keep his heat on, Clyde Ross took a second job at the post office and then a third job delivering pizza. His wife took a job working at Marshall Field. He had to take some of his children out of private school. He was not able to be at home to supervise his children or help them with their homework. Money and time that Ross wanted to give his children went instead to enrich white speculators.

"The problem was the money," Ross told me. "Without the money, you can't move. You can't educate your kids. You can't give them the right kind of food. Can't make the house look good. They think this neighborhood is where they supposed to be. It changes their outlook. My kids were going to the best schools in this neighborhood, and I couldn't keep them in there."

Mattie Lewis came to Chicago from her native Alabama in the mid-'40s, when she was 21, persuaded by a friend who told her she could get a job as a hairdresser. Instead she was hired by Western Electric, where she worked for 41 years. I met Lewis in the home of her neighbor Ethel Weatherspoon. Both had owned homes in North Lawndale for more than 50 years. Both had bought their houses on contract. Both had been active with Clyde Ross in the Contract Buyers League's effort to garner restitution from contract sellers who'd operated in North Lawndale, banks who'd backed the scheme, and even the Federal Housing Administration. We were joined by Jack Macnamara, who'd been an organizing force in the Contract Buyers League when it was founded, in 1968. Our gathering had the feel of a reunion, because the writer James Alan McPherson had profiled the Contract Buyers League for *The Atlantic* back in 1972.

Click the image above to download a PDF version of *The Atlantic*'s April 1972 profile of the Contract Buyers League.

Weatherspoon bought her home in 1957. "Most of the whites started moving out," she told me. "'The blacks are coming. The blacks are coming.' They actually said that. They had signs up: Don't sell to blacks."

Before moving to North Lawndale, Lewis and her husband tried moving to Cicero after seeing a house advertised for sale there. "Sorry, I just sold it today," the Realtor told Lewis's husband. "I told him, 'You know they don't want you in Cicero,'" Lewis recalls. "'They ain't going to let nobody black in Cicero.'"

In 1958, the couple bought a home in North Lawndale on contract. They were not blind to the unfairness. But Lewis, born in the teeth of Jim Crow, considered American piracy—black people keep on making it, white people keep on taking it—a fact of nature. "All I wanted was a house. And that was the only way I could get it. They weren't giving black people loans at that time," she said. "We thought, 'This is the way it is. We going to do it till we die, and they ain't never going to accept us. That's just the way it is.'

"The only way you were going to buy a home was to do it the way they wanted," she continued. "And I was determined to get me a house. If everybody else can have one, I want one too. I had worked for white people in the South. And I saw how these white people were

living in the North and I thought, 'One day I'm going to live just like them.' I wanted cabinets and all these things these other people have."

White flight was not an accident—it was a triumph of racist social engineering.
Whenever she visited white co-workers at their homes, she saw the difference. "I could see we were just getting ripped off," she said. "I would see things and I would say, 'I'd like to do this at my house.' And they would say, 'Do it,' but I would think, 'I can't, because it costs us so much more.'"

I asked Lewis and Weatherspoon how they kept up on payments.

"You paid it and kept working," Lewis said of the contract. "When that payment came up, you knew you had to pay it."

"You cut down on the light bill. Cut down on your food bill," Weatherspoon interjected.

Ethel Weatherspoon at her home in North Lawndale. After she bought it in 1957, she says, "most of the whites started moving out." (Carlos Javier Ortiz)

"You cut down on things for your child, that was the main thing," said Lewis. "My oldest wanted to be an artist and my other wanted to be a dancer and my other wanted to take music."

Lewis and Weatherspoon, like Ross, were able to keep their homes. The suit did not win them any remuneration. But it forced contract sellers to the table, where they allowed some members of the Contract Buyers League to move into regular mortgages or simply take over

their houses outright. By then they'd been bilked for thousands. In talking with Lewis and Weatherspoon, I was seeing only part of the picture—the tiny minority who'd managed to hold on to their homes. But for all our exceptional ones, for every Barack and Michelle Obama, for every Ethel Weatherspoon or Clyde Ross, for every black survivor, there are so many thousands gone.

Deputy sheriffs patrol a Chicago street in 1970 after a dozen Contract Buyers League families were evicted. (Courtesy of Sun-Times Media)

"A lot of people fell by the way," Lewis told me. "One woman asked me if I would keep all her china. She said, 'They ain't going to set you out.'"

VIII. "Negro Poverty is not White Poverty"

On a recent spring afternoon in North Lawndale, I visited Billy Lamar Brooks Sr. Brooks has been an activist since his youth in the Black Panther Party, when he aided the Contract Buyers League. I met him in his office at the Better Boys Foundation, a staple of North Lawndale whose mission is to direct local kids off the streets and into jobs and college. Brooks's work is personal. On June 14, 1991, his 19-year-old son, Billy Jr., was shot and killed. "These guys tried to stick him up," Brooks told me. "I suspect he could have been involved in some things ... He's always on my mind. Every day."

Brooks was not raised in the streets, though in such a neighborhood it is impossible to avoid the influence. "I was in church three or four times a week. That's where the girls were," he said, laughing. "The stark reality is still there. There's no shield from life. You got to go to school. I lived here. I went to Marshall High School. Over here were the Egyptian Cobras. Over there were the Vice Lords."

Brooks has since moved away from Chicago's West Side. But he is still working in North Lawndale. If "you got a nice house, you live in a nice neighborhood, then you are less prone to violence, because your space is not deprived," Brooks said. "You got a security point. You don't need no protection." But if "you grow up in a place like this, housing sucks. When they tore down the projects here, they left the high-rises and came to the neighborhood with that gang mentality. You don't have nothing, so you going to take something, even if it's not real. You don't have no street, but in your mind it's yours."

Video: The Guardian of North Lawndale

Visit North Lawndale today with Billy Brooks

We walked over to a window behind his desk. A group of young black men were hanging out in front of a giant mural memorializing two black men: In Lovin Memory Quentin aka "Q," July 18, 1974 ❤ March 2, 2012. The name and face of the other man had been spray-painted over by a rival group. The men drank beer. Occasionally a car would cruise past, slow to a crawl, then stop. One of the men would approach the car and make an exchange, then the car would drive off. Brooks had known all of these young men as boys.

"That's their corner," he said.

We watched another car roll through, pause briefly, then drive off. "No respect, no shame," Brooks said. "That's what they do. From that alley to that corner. They don't go no farther than that. See the big brother there? He almost died a couple of years ago. The one drinking the beer back there … I know all of them. And the reason they feel safe here is cause of this building, and because they too chickenshit to go anywhere. But that's their mentality. That's their block."

Brooks showed me a picture of a Little League team he had coached. He went down the row of kids, pointing out which ones were in jail, which ones were dead, and which ones were doing all right. And then he pointed out his son—"That's my boy, Billy," Brooks said. Then he wondered aloud if keeping his son with him while working in North Lawndale had hastened his death. "It's a definite connection, because he was part of what I did here. And I think maybe I shouldn't have exposed him. But then, I had to," he said, "because I wanted him with me."

From the White House on down, the myth holds that fatherhood is the great antidote to all that ails black people. But Billy Brooks Jr. had a father. Trayvon Martin had a father. Jordan Davis had a father. Adhering to middle-class norms has never shielded black people from plunder. Adhering to middle-class norms is what made Ethel Weatherspoon a lucrative target for rapacious speculators. Contract sellers did not target the very poor. They targeted black people who had worked hard enough to save a down payment and dreamed of the emblem of American citizenship—homeownership. It was not a tangle of pathology that put a target on

Clyde Ross's back. It was not a culture of poverty that singled out Mattie Lewis for "the thrill of the chase and the kill." Some black people always will be twice as good. But they generally find white predation to be thrice as fast.

Liberals today mostly view racism not as an active, distinct evil but as a relative of white poverty and inequality. They ignore the long tradition of this country actively punishing black success—and the elevation of that punishment, in the mid-20th century, to federal policy. President Lyndon Johnson may have noted in his historic civil-rights speech at Howard University in 1965 that "Negro poverty is not white poverty." But his advisers and their successors were, and still are, loath to craft any policy that recognizes the difference.

After his speech, Johnson convened a group of civil-rights leaders, including the esteemed A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin, to address the "ancient brutality." In a strategy paper, they agreed with the president that "Negro poverty is a special, and particularly destructive, form of American poverty." But when it came to specifically addressing the "particularly destructive," Rustin's group demurred, preferring to advance programs that addressed "all the poor, black and white."

The urge to use the moral force of the black struggle to address broader inequalities originates in both compassion and pragmatism. But it makes for ambiguous policy. Affirmative action's precise aims, for instance, have always proved elusive. Is it meant to make amends for the crimes heaped upon black people? Not according to the Supreme Court. In its 1978 ruling in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, the Court rejected "societal discrimination" as "an amorphous concept of injury that may be ageless in its reach into the past." Is affirmative action meant to increase "diversity"? If so, it only tangentially relates to the specific problems of black people—the problem of what America has taken from them over several centuries.

This confusion about affirmative action's aims, along with our inability to face up to the particular history of white-imposed black disadvantage, dates back to the policy's origins. "There is no fixed and firm definition of affirmative action," an appointee in Johnson's Department of Labor declared. "Affirmative action is anything that you have to do to get results. But this does not necessarily include preferential treatment."

Yet America was built on the preferential treatment of white people—395 years of it. Vaguely endorsing a cuddly, feel-good diversity does very little to redress this.

Today, progressives are loath to invoke white supremacy as an explanation for anything. On a practical level, the hesitation comes from the dim view the Supreme Court has taken of the reforms of the 1960s. The Voting Rights Act has been gutted. The Fair Housing Act might well be next. Affirmative action is on its last legs. In substituting a broad class struggle for an anti-racist struggle, progressives hope to assemble a coalition by changing the subject.

The politics of racial evasion are seductive. But the record is mixed. Aid to Families With Dependent Children was originally written largely to exclude blacks—yet by the 1990s it was perceived as a giveaway to blacks. The Affordable Care Act makes no mention of race, but this did not keep Rush Limbaugh from denouncing it as reparations. Moreover, the act's expansion of Medicaid was effectively made optional, meaning that many poor blacks in the former Confederate states do not benefit from it. The Affordable Care Act, like Social Security, will eventually expand its reach to those left out; in the meantime, black people will be injured.

"All that it would take to sink a new WPA program would be some skillfully packaged footage of black men leaning on shovels smoking cigarettes," the sociologist Douglas S. Massey writes. "Papering over the issue of race makes for bad social theory, bad research, and bad public policy." To ignore the fact that one of the oldest republics in the world was erected on a foundation of white supremacy, to pretend that the problems of a dual society are the same as the problems of unregulated capitalism, is to cover the sin of national plunder with the sin of national lying. The lie ignores the fact that reducing American poverty and ending white supremacy are not the same. The lie ignores the fact that closing the "achievement gap" will do nothing to close the "injury gap," in which black college graduates still suffer higher unemployment rates than white college graduates, and black job applicants without criminal records enjoy roughly the same chance of getting hired as white applicants *with* criminal records.
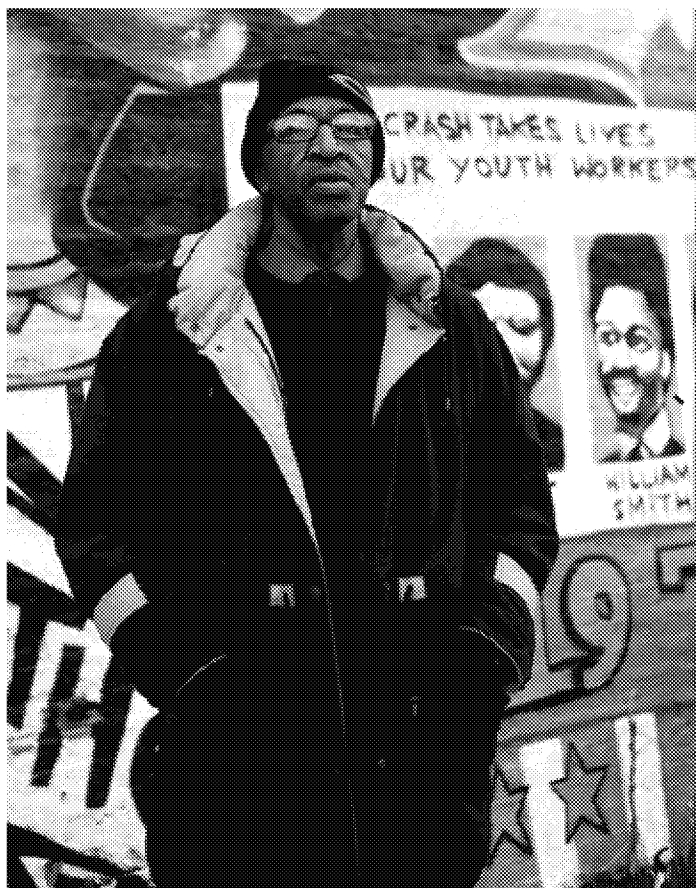
Billy Brooks, who assisted the Contract Buyers League, still works in the neighborhood, helping kids escape poverty and violence. (Carlos Javier Ortiz)

Chicago, like the country at large, embraced policies that placed black America's most energetic, ambitious, and thrifty countrymen beyond the pale of society and marked them as rightful targets for legal theft. The effects reverberate beyond the families who were robbed to the community that beholds the spectacle. Don't just picture Clyde Ross working three jobs so he could hold on to his home. Think of his North Lawndale neighbors—their children, their nephews and nieces—and consider how watching this affects them. Imagine yourself as

a young black child watching your elders play by all the rules only to have their possessions tossed out in the street and to have their most sacred possession—their home—taken from them.

The message the young black boy receives from his country, Billy Brooks says, is " 'You ain't shit. You not no good. The only thing you are worth is working for us. You will never own anything. You not going to get an education. We are sending your ass to the penitentiary.' They're telling you no matter how hard you struggle, no matter what you put down, you ain't shit. 'We're going to take what you got. You will never own anything, nigger.' "

IX. Toward A New Country

When Clyde Ross was a child, his older brother Winter had a seizure. He was picked up by the authorities and delivered to Parchman Farm, a 20,000-acre state prison in the Mississippi Delta region.

"He was a gentle person," Clyde Ross says of his brother. "You know, he was good to everybody. And he started having spells, and he couldn't control himself. And they had him picked up, because they thought he was dangerous."

Built at the turn of the century, Parchman was supposed to be a progressive and reformist response to the problem of "Negro crime." In fact it was the gulag of Mississippi, an object of terror to African Americans in the Delta. In the early years of the 20th century, Mississippi Governor James K. Vardaman used to amuse himself by releasing black convicts into the surrounding wilderness and hunting them down with bloodhounds. "Throughout the American South," writes David M. Oshinsky in his book *Worse Than Slavery*, "Parchman Farm is synonymous with punishment and brutality, as well it should be ... Parchman is the quintessential penal farm, the closest thing to slavery that survived the Civil War."

When the Ross family went to retrieve Winter, the authorities told them that Winter had died. When the Ross family asked for his body, the authorities at Parchman said they had buried him. The family never saw Winter's body.

And this was just one of their losses.

Scholars have long discussed methods by which America might make reparations to those on whose labor and exclusion the country was built. In the 1970s, the Yale Law professor Boris Bittker argued in *The Case for Black Reparations* that a rough price tag for reparations could be determined by multiplying the number of African Americans in the population by the difference in white and black per capita income. That number—$34 billion in 1973, when Bittker wrote his book—could be added to a reparations program each year for a decade or two. Today Charles Ogletree, the Harvard Law School professor, argues for something broader: a program of job training and public works that takes racial justice as its mission but includes the poor of all races.

To celebrate freedom and democracy while forgetting America's origins in a slavery economy is patriotism à la carte.

Perhaps no statistic better illustrates the enduring legacy of our country's shameful history of treating black people as sub-citizens, sub-Americans, and sub-humans than the wealth gap. Reparations would seek to close this chasm. But as surely as the creation of the wealth gap required the cooperation of every aspect of the society, bridging it will require the same.

Perhaps after a serious discussion and debate—the kind that HR 40 proposes—we may find that the country can never fully repay African Americans. But we stand to discover much about ourselves in such a discussion—and that is perhaps what scares us. The idea of reparations is frightening not simply because we might lack the ability to pay. The idea of reparations threatens something much deeper—America's heritage, history, and standing in the world.

The early American economy was built on slave labor. The Capitol and the White House were built by slaves. President James K. Polk traded slaves from the Oval Office. The laments about "black pathology," the criticism of black family structures by pundits and intellectuals, ring hollow in a country whose existence was predicated on the torture of black fathers, on the rape of black mothers, on the sale of black children. An honest assessment of America's relationship to the black family reveals the country to be not its nurturer but its destroyer.

And this destruction did not end with slavery. Discriminatory laws joined the equal burden of citizenship to unequal distribution of its bounty. These laws reached their apex in the mid-20th century, when the federal government—through housing policies—engineered the wealth gap, which remains with us to this day. When we think of white supremacy, we picture Colored Only signs, but we should picture pirate flags.

On some level, we have always grasped this.

"Negro poverty is not white poverty," President Johnson said in his historic civil-rights speech.

> Many of its causes and many of its cures are the same. But there are differences—deep, corrosive, obstinate differences—radiating painful roots into the community and into the family, and the nature of the individual. These differences are not racial differences. They are solely and simply the consequence of ancient brutality, past injustice, and present prejudice.

We invoke the words of Jefferson and Lincoln because they say something about our legacy and our traditions. We do this because we recognize our links to the past—at least when they flatter us. But black history does not flatter American democracy; it chastens it. The popular mocking of reparations as a harebrained scheme authored by wild-eyed lefties and intellectually unserious black nationalists is fear masquerading as laughter. Black nationalists have always perceived something unmentionable about America that

integrationists dare not acknowledge—that white supremacy is not merely the work of hotheaded demagogues, or a matter of false consciousness, but a force so fundamental to America that it is difficult to imagine the country without it.

And so we must imagine a new country. Reparations—by which I mean the full acceptance of our collective biography and its consequences—is the price we must pay to see ourselves squarely. The recovering alcoholic may well have to live with his illness for the rest of his life. But at least he is not living a drunken lie. Reparations beckons us to reject the intoxication of hubris and see America as it is—the work of fallible humans.

Won't reparations divide us? Not any more than we are already divided. The wealth gap merely puts a number on something we feel but cannot say—that American prosperity was ill-gotten and selective in its distribution. What is needed is an airing of family secrets, a settling with old ghosts. What is needed is a healing of the American psyche and the banishment of white guilt.

What I'm talking about is more than recompense for past injustices—more than a handout, a payoff, hush money, or a reluctant bribe. What I'm talking about is a national reckoning that would lead to spiritual renewal. Reparations would mean the end of scarfing hot dogs on the Fourth of July while denying the facts of our heritage. Reparations would mean the end of yelling "patriotism" while waving a Confederate flag. Reparations would mean a revolution of the American consciousness, a reconciling of our self-image as the great democratizer with the facts of our history.

X. "There Will Be No 'Reparations' From Germany"

We are not the first to be summoned to such a challenge.

In 1952, when West Germany began the process of making amends for the Holocaust, it did so under conditions that should be instructive to us. Resistance was violent. Very few Germans believed that Jews were entitled to anything. Only 5 percent of West Germans surveyed reported feeling guilty about the Holocaust, and only 29 percent believed that Jews were owed restitution from the German people.

"The rest," the historian Tony Judt wrote in his 2005 book, *Postwar*, "were divided between those (some two-fifths of respondents) who thought that only people 'who really committed something' were responsible and should pay, and those (21 percent) who thought 'that the Jews themselves were partly responsible for what happened to them during the Third Reich.'"

Germany's unwillingness to squarely face its history went beyond polls. Movies that suggested a societal responsibility for the Holocaust beyond Hitler were banned. "The German soldier fought bravely and honorably for his homeland," claimed President

Eisenhower, endorsing the Teutonic national myth. Judt wrote, "Throughout the fifties West German officialdom encouraged a comfortable view of the German past in which the Wehrmacht was heroic, while Nazis were in a minority and properly punished."

Konrad Adenauer, the postwar German chancellor, was in favor of reparations, but his own party was divided, and he was able to get an agreement passed only with the votes of the Social Democratic opposition.

Among the Jews of Israel, reparations provoked violent and venomous reactions ranging from denunciation to assassination plots. On January 7, 1952, as the Knesset—the Israeli parliament—convened to discuss the prospect of a reparations agreement with West Germany, Menachem Begin, the future prime minister of Israel, stood in front of a large crowd, inveighing against the country that had plundered the lives, labor, and property of his people. Begin claimed that all Germans were Nazis and guilty of murder. His condemnations then spread to his own young state. He urged the crowd to stop paying taxes and claimed that the nascent Israeli nation characterized the fight over whether or not to accept reparations as a "war to the death." When alerted that the police watching the gathering were carrying tear gas, allegedly of German manufacture, Begin yelled, "The same gases that asphyxiated our parents!"

Begin then led the crowd in an oath to never forget the victims of the Shoah, lest "my right hand lose its cunning" and "my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth." He took the crowd through the streets toward the Knesset. From the rooftops, police repelled the crowd with tear gas and smoke bombs. But the wind shifted, and the gas blew back toward the Knesset, billowing through windows shattered by rocks. In the chaos, Begin and Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion exchanged insults. Two hundred civilians and 140 police officers were wounded. Nearly 400 people were arrested. Knesset business was halted.

Begin then addressed the chamber with a fiery speech condemning the actions the legislature was about to take. "Today you arrested hundreds," he said. "Tomorrow you may arrest thousands. No matter, they will go, they will sit in prison. We will sit there with them. If necessary, we will be killed with them. But there will be no 'reparations' from Germany."

Survivors of the Holocaust feared laundering the reputation of Germany with money, and mortgaging the memory of their dead. Beyond that, there was a taste for revenge. "My soul would be at rest if I knew there would be 6 million German dead to match the 6 million Jews," said Meir Dworzecki, who'd survived the concentration camps of Estonia.

Ben-Gurion countered this sentiment, not by repudiating vengeance but with cold calculation: "If I could take German property without sitting down with them for even a minute but go in with jeeps and machine guns to the warehouses and take it, I would do that —if, for instance, we had the ability to send a hundred divisions and tell them, 'Take it.' But we can't do that."

The reparations conversation set off a wave of bomb attempts by Israeli militants. One was aimed at the foreign ministry in Tel Aviv. Another was aimed at Chancellor Adenauer himself. And one was aimed at the port of Haifa, where the goods bought with reparations money were arriving. West Germany ultimately agreed to pay Israel 3.45 billion deutsche marks, or more than $7 billion in today's dollars. Individual reparations claims followed— for psychological trauma, for offense to Jewish honor, for halting law careers, for life insurance, for time spent in concentration camps. Seventeen percent of funds went toward purchasing ships. "By the end of 1961, these reparations vessels constituted two-thirds of the Israeli merchant fleet," writes the Israeli historian Tom Segev in his book *The Seventh Million*. "From 1953 to 1963,

Nahum Goldman, the president of the Jewish Claims Commission (center), signs 1952 reparations agreements between Germany and Israel. The two delegations entered the room by different doors, and the ceremony was carried out in silence. (Associated Press)

the reparations money funded about a third of the total investment in Israel's electrical system, which tripled its capacity, and nearly half the total investment in the railways."

Israel's GNP tripled during the 12 years of the agreement. The Bank of Israel attributed 15 percent of this growth, along with 45,000 jobs, to investments made with reparations money. But Segev argues that the impact went far beyond that. Reparations "had indisputable psychological and political importance," he writes.

Reparations could not make up for the murder perpetrated by the Nazis. But they did launch Germany's reckoning with itself, and perhaps provided a road map for how a great civilization might make itself worthy of the name.

Assessing the reparations agreement, David Ben-Gurion said:

> For the first time in the history of relations between people, a precedent has been created by which a great State, as a result of moral pressure alone, takes it upon itself to pay compensation to the victims of the government that preceded it. For the first time in the history of a people that has been persecuted, oppressed, plundered and despoiled for hundreds of years in the countries of Europe, a persecutor and despoiler has been obliged to return part of his spoils and has even undertaken to make collective reparation as partial compensation for material losses.

Something more than moral pressure calls America to reparations. We cannot escape our history. All of our solutions to the great problems of health care, education, housing, and economic inequality are troubled by what must go unspoken. "The reason black people are so far behind now is not because of now," Clyde Ross told me. "It's because of then." In the early 2000s, Charles Ogletree went to Tulsa, Oklahoma, to meet with the survivors of the 1921 race riot that had devastated "Black Wall Street." The past was not the past to them. "It was amazing seeing these black women and men who were crippled, blind, in wheelchairs," Ogletree told me. "I had no idea who they were and why they wanted to see me. They said, 'We want you to represent us in this lawsuit.' "

In the spring of 1921, a white mob leveled "Black Wall Street" in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Here, wounded prisoners ride in an Army truck during the martial law imposed by the Oklahoma governor in response to the race riot. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

A commission authorized by the Oklahoma legislature produced a report affirming that the riot, the knowledge of which had been suppressed for years, had happened. But the lawsuit ultimately failed, in 2004. Similar suits pushed against corporations such as Aetna (which insured slaves) and Lehman Brothers (whose co-founding partner owned them) also have thus far failed. These results are dispiriting, but the crime with which reparations activists charge the country implicates more than just a few towns or corporations. The crime indicts the American people themselves, at every level, and in nearly every configuration. A crime that implicates the entire American people deserves its hearing in the legislative body that represents them.

John Conyers's HR 40 is the vehicle for that hearing. No one can know what would come out of such a debate. Perhaps no number can fully capture the multi-century plunder of black people in America. Perhaps the number is so large that it can't be imagined, let alone calculated and dispensed. But I believe that wrestling publicly with these questions matters as much as—if not more than—the specific answers that might be produced. An America that asks what it owes its most vulnerable citizens is improved and humane. An America that looks away is ignoring not just the sins of the past but the sins of the present and the certain sins of the future. More important than any single check cut to any African American, the payment of reparations would represent America's maturation out of the childhood myth of its innocence into a wisdom worthy of its founders.

In 2010, Jacob S. Rugh, then a doctoral candidate at Princeton, and the sociologist Douglas S. Massey published a study of the recent foreclosure crisis. Among its drivers, they found an old foe: segregation. Black home buyers—even after controlling for factors like creditworthiness—were still more likely than white home buyers to be steered toward subprime loans. Decades of racist housing policies by the American government, along with decades of racist housing practices by American businesses, had conspired to concentrate African Americans in the same neighborhoods. As in North Lawndale half a century earlier, these neighborhoods were filled with people who had been cut off from mainstream financial institutions. When subprime lenders went looking for prey, they found black people waiting like ducks in a pen.

"High levels of segregation create a natural market for subprime lending," Rugh and Massey write, "and cause riskier mortgages, and thus foreclosures, to accumulate disproportionately in racially segregated cities' minority neighborhoods."

Plunder in the past made plunder in the present efficient. The banks of America understood this. In 2005, Wells Fargo promoted a series of Wealth Building Strategies seminars. Dubbing itself "the nation's leading originator of home loans to ethnic minority customers," the bank enrolled black public figures in an ostensible effort to educate blacks on building "generational wealth." But the "wealth building" seminars were a front for wealth theft. In 2010, the Justice Department filed a discrimination suit against Wells Fargo alleging that the bank had shunted blacks into predatory loans regardless of their creditworthiness. This was not magic or coincidence or misfortune. It was racism reifying itself. According to *The New York Times*, affidavits found loan officers referring to their black customers as "mud people" and to their subprime products as "ghetto loans."

"We just went right after them," Beth Jacobson, a former Wells Fargo loan officer, told *The Times*. "Wells Fargo mortgage had an emerging-markets unit that specifically targeted black churches because it figured church leaders had a lot of influence and could convince congregants to take out subprime loans."

In 2011, Bank of America agreed to pay $355 million to settle charges of discrimination against its Countrywide unit. The following year, Wells Fargo settled its discrimination suit for more than $175 million. But the damage had been done. In 2009, half the properties in Baltimore whose owners had been granted loans by Wells Fargo between 2005 and 2008 were vacant; 71 percent of these properties were in predominantly black neighborhoods.

THE CYCLE OF INACTION

HORRIFIC INJUSTICE

SHOCK & CONFUSION

EMOTIONAL RESPONSE

PERFORMATIVE ALLYSHIP

GUILT & FATIGUE

INACTION & PASSIVITY

APATHY
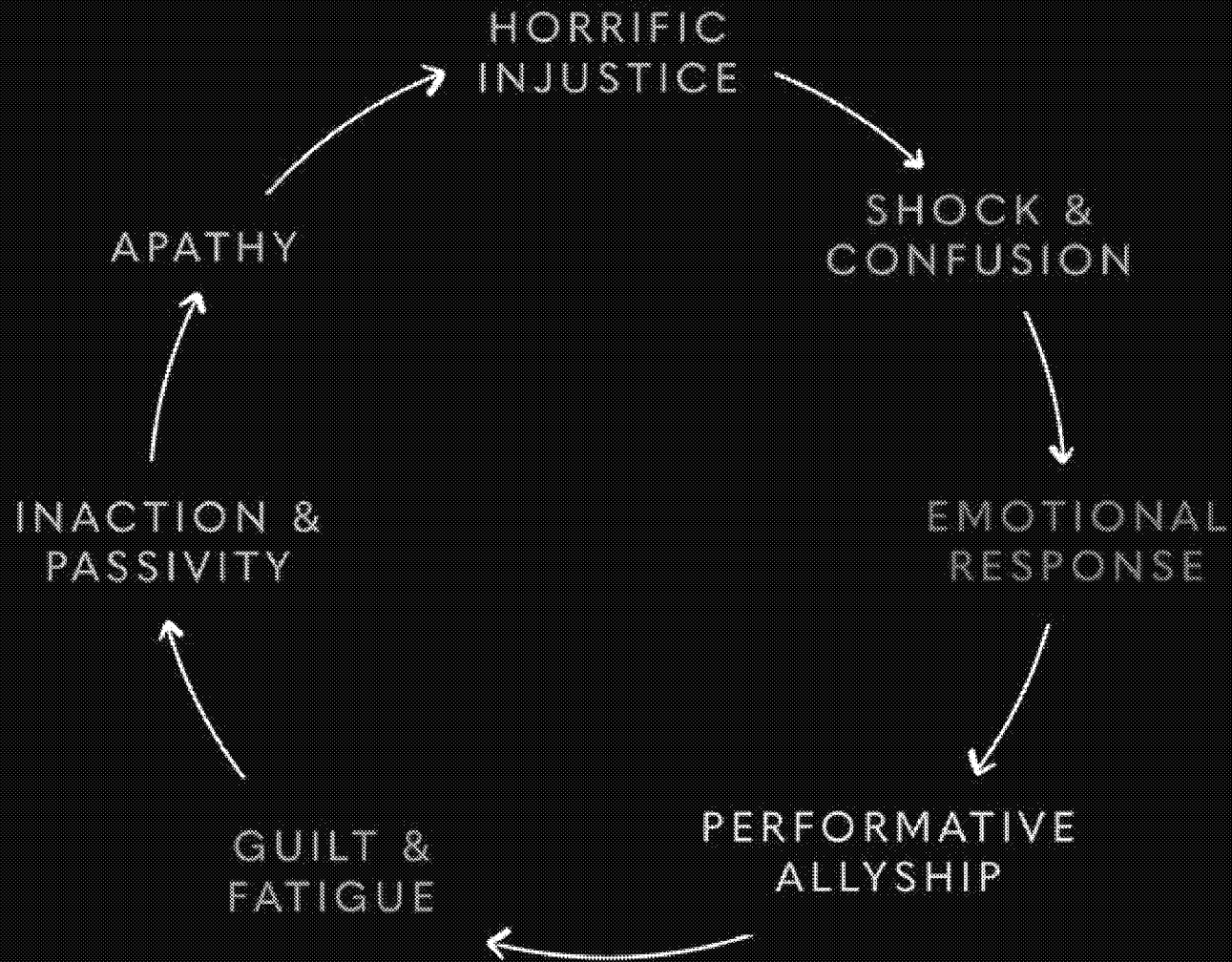
@ohhappydani

THE CYCLE OF ~~RE~~ACTION

SO, WHEN
HORRIFIC
INJUSTICE
TAKES PLACE,

WE WON'T BE
OVERTAKEN BY
SHOCK &
CONFUSION,
AS IF THE FRUIT OF SYSTEMIC
OPPRESSION IS SURPRISING.

AND THAT
APATHY
IS THE ANTITHESIS
OF UNCONDITIONAL LOVE.

INSTEAD, OUR
EMOTIONAL
RESPONSE
WILL BE MARKED BY
EMPATHY & COMPASSION,

REMEMBERING THAT
INACTION &
PASSIVITY
ARE DETRIMENTAL
TO JUSTICE,

LEADING TO A
REJECTION OF
PERFORMATIVE
ALLYSHIP
IN EXCHANGE FOR
THE REAL, VIGOROUS WORK.

AND, SHOULD
GUILT &
FATIGUE
TRY TO SETTLE IN,
WE'LL RECENTER THE NEEDS
OF THOSE YEARNING FOR LIBERATION,

SUMMARY OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY FRAMEWORKS OR MODELS

A number of researchers have explored the development of racial and ethnic identity. Below we have summarized the key concepts from the following frameworks or models:

✓ Perspective on American Indian Identity Development (Perry G. Horse, 2005)

✓ Asian American Identity Development Model (Jean Kim, 1981, 2001)

✓ Black American Racial Identity (William Cross, 1971, 1991, 2001)

✓ Latino Identity Orientations (Bernardo Ferdman and Plácida *I.* Gallegos, 2001)

✓ White Racial Identity Development Model (Janet Helms, 1995)

✓ Biracial Identity Development (W.S. Carlos Poston, 1990)

It is important to keep in mind that:

- Not every person will necessarily go through every stage in a framework or model.

- The context of an individual's life will affect their racial and ethnic identity development. A student's family and community serve as the significant ethnic and racial group models. As Kim (2001) explains, depending on the amount of ethnic expression in the household and/or community, positive or neutral attitudes and identities may be formed.

- For the stage models, the authors who developed them acknowledge that the stages might be cyclical, that people might revisit different stages at different points in their lives, and that some people may skip stages.

- Some of the frameworks **are not** stage models of development. Instead these models provide lenses or orientations through which to view racial and ethnic identities.

- The frameworks summarized here describe people who are situated in many different ways, but they do not describe all of the possibilities.

We believe the frameworks and models can serve as tools for self-reflection, for building empathy and understanding of students who are situated differently from yourself, and for transforming your classroom or library into settings that support the positive racial identity of youth of color and Native youth.

Perspective on American Indian Identity Development (Perry G. Horse, 2005) – *Perry G. Horse proposes five influences that affect Native American "consciousness" which can provide a framework for understanding the development of Native American students.* **Note: Horse does not refer to this idea as an identity model. This is not a linear stage model that youth will progress through in order.**

1. "the extent to which one is grounded in one's Native American language and culture, one's cultural identity"

2. "the validity of one's American Indian genealogy"

3. "the extent to which one holds a traditional American Indian general philosophy or worldview (emphasizing balance and harmony and drawing on Indian spirituality)"

4. "one's self-concept as an American Indian"

5. "one's enrollment (or lack of it) in a tribe" (p. 65).

Perry G. Horse *(Kiowa)* serves as a leadership coach in the community college national reform movement known as Achieving the Dream.

Asian American Identity Development Model (Jean Kim, 1981, 2001) – *This framework identifies a continuum that leads Asian Americans to form a positive racial identity.*

1. ***Ethnic Awareness Stage***: Starts in early childhood around age 3 or 4. At this stage the family serves as the significant ethnic group model and depending on the amount of ethnic expression in the household, positive or neutral attitudes are formed.

2. ***White Identification Stage:*** Begins once children enter school and peers and the school environment become powerful forces in conveying and reinforcing racial prejudice, which starts to negatively impact their self-esteem and identity. Becoming aware of their difference leads to wanting to identify with white society and distance themselves from their Asian heritage.

3. ***Awakening to Social Political Consciousness Stage:*** Means the adoption of a new perspective, usually associated with increased political awareness and an understanding of oppression and oppressed groups. The primary result is no longer wanting to identify with white society.

4. ***The Redirection Stage:*** Characterized by a reconnection and pride with one's Asian American heritage and culture. This is often followed by a realization of white privilege and
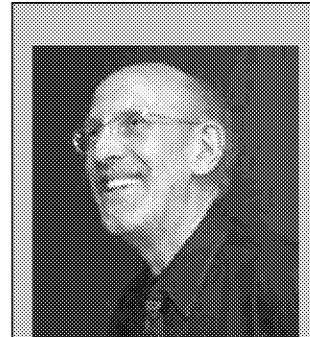
Dr. Jean Kim has worked to enhance diversity in universities as an educator, leader, and administrator. She is currently a consultant.

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oppression as the reason for the negative experience of Asian communities. Anger about white racism may be a part of this stage.

5. *Incorporation Stage:* Represents the highest form of identity evolution. It includes a positive and comfortable identity as Asian American and a respect for other racial/cultural groups. The feelings of association for or against white culture are no longer an important issue.

Black American Racial Identity (William Cross, 1991, 1995) – *This framework identifies a continuum that leads Black Americans to form a positive racial identity.*

1. *Pre-encounter*: The individual absorbs many of beliefs and values of the dominant white culture, including the notion that "white is right" and "Black is wrong". They often de-emphasize their own racial group membership and seek to assimilate and be accepted by whites. Stereotypes, omissions, and distortions, combined with an image of white superiority, to some degree socialize Black children to value the role models, lifestyles, and images of beauty of white culture over those of their own cultural group. The individual may actively or passively distance themselves from other Blacks.

Dr. William Cross Jr. is a leading theorist and researcher in the psychology and identity development of people of color. His book, "Shade of Black", is considered a classic in the field of racial identity.

2. *Encounter:* This stage begins in adolescence (middle school or high school) when a teen or young adult is forced by an event or series of events to acknowledge the impact of racism in their life. For example, being followed around by security guards at the mall, or viewing media images of police brutality against Black men and women. As a result of this, the individual may reach the conclusion that many whites will not view them as an equal and to the reality that one cannot truly be white. The individual begins to focus on identity as a member of a group targeted by racism.

3. *Immersion/Emersion*: During this transitional point in the model, the individual simultaneously desires to surround themselves with visible symbols of their own racial identity and actively avoid symbols of whiteness. The individual begins to actively seek out opportunities to explore aspects their own history and culture with support of members from their own racial background.

4. *Internalization*: Secure in their own sense of racial identity, the individual becomes willing to establish meaningful relationships with whites who acknowledge and are respective of their own self-definition. The individual is now ready to begin coalitions with members of other oppressed groups.

5. *Internalization-Commitment*: During this fifth stage, anchored in their positive sense of racial identity, individuals have found ways to translate their own personal sense of
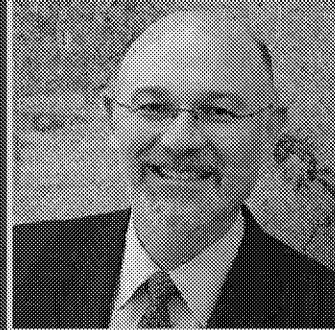
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Blackness into a plan of action or a general sense of commitment to concerns of Blacks as a group, which is sustained over time.

Latino Identity Orientations (Bernardo Ferdman and Plácida I. Gallegos, 2001) – *Dr. Ferdman and Dr. Gallegos propose that Latinx individuals develop* **orientations or lenses** *through which they view their identity. Their orientation or lens depends on their experiences with social institutions including the family, education system, peer groups, and U.S. cultural racial constructs, etc.*
Note: This is not a linear stage model that youth will progress through in order.

Dr. Plácida I. Gallegos is a Principal with ICW Consulting group. She currently supports individuals from all backgrounds, groups and organizations in thriving and achieving optimal outcomes.

Dr. Ferdman is professor of organizational psychology at the California School of Professional Psychology of Alliant International University. He conducts research on diversity and inclusion, multicultural leadership, Latino/Latina identity, and Latinos/Latinas in the workplace.

1. ***Latino Integrated***: understanding of racial constructs and ability to challenge them

2. ***Latino Identified***: acceptance of the races *Latino* and *white* and identification with Latino

3. ***Subgroup Identified***: identification of multiple Latino races and identification with a regional subgroup

4. ***Latino as Other***: identification as a generic Latino due to mixed heritage

5. ***Undifferentiated***: colorblindness, adherence to dominant culture, and tendency to attribute failure to the individual rather than racial constructs and systems of oppression

6. ***White Identified***: acceptance of white and Latino races and identification with white and rejection of Latino.

4

White Racial Identity Development Model (Janet Helms, 1995) - *This framework identifies a continuum that leads to white individuals developing an anti-racist white identity.*

1. *Contact*: In this stage, individuals adhere to the "colorblind" motto. They lack an understanding of racism and often have minimal experiences with people of color. Racial and cultural differences are considered to be unimportant and the individual often does not perceive themselves as belonging to the "dominant" group or having biases or prejudices. They may even believe that racism is propagated by the discussion and acknowledgement of race as an issue. In this stage, if an individual is confronted with real-world experiences or knowledge that uncovers the privileges of being white, they may move into the disintegration stage.

Dr. Janet E. Helms is a research psychologist and educator who is well known for her white racial identity development theory and model.

2. *Disintegration*: In this stage, the "colorblind" motto is challenged by new information and experiences. The individual becomes increasingly conscious of their whiteness and the privileges that it brings to them. They may experience feelings of guilt and shame. These emotions of guilt and shame can be modified if an individual decides to channel these emotions in a positive way but when those emotions continue to dominate, they may move into the reintegration stage.

3. *Reintegration*: This stage is characterized by a "blame-the-victim" attitude and a more conscious belief in white racial superiority. During this stage, individuals have a tendency to idealize their own racial group and to be intolerant of others. They may feel that if whites do have privileges, it is most likely because they deserve them and in are in some way superior to other racial groups. If the person is able to combat these feelings, they may be able to move on to the next stage.

4. *Pseudo-Independence*: During this stage which is the first stage of positive racial identification, individuals begin to understand white privilege, and the related issues of bias, prejudice, and discrimination on an intellectual level. At this stage, the individual does not feel that whites deserve privilege. While they validate the experiences of people of color and support their efforts to confront racism, they look to people of color, not themselves, to confront and uncover racism. Although this is positive white racial identity, the individual does not understand how they can be both white and non-racist together.

5. *Immersion/Emersion*: In this stage, individuals make a genuine attempt to connect to their own white identity and to be anti-racist. This stage is usually accompanied by deep concern with understanding and connecting to other whites who are or confronting issues of racism and oppression. This stage is marked by increasing experiential and affective understanding.

6. *Autonomy*: The last stage is reached when an individual has a clear understanding of and positive connection to their white racial identity while also actively pursuing social justice.

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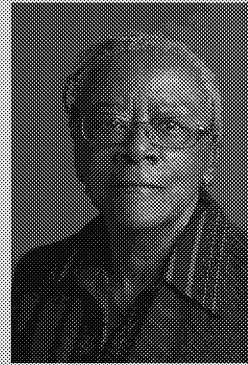
Individuals at this stage are knowledgeable about racial, ethnic and cultural differences, value diversity, and accept their role in perpetuating racism.

Biracial Identity Development (W.S. Carlos Poston, 1990) – *During his graduate work at the University of California at Santa Barbara, W.S. Carlos Poston proposed this theory of biracial identity development.*

1. **Personal Identity**: sense of self unrelated to ethnic grouping; occurs during childhood

2. **Choice of Group**: as a result of multiple factors, individuals feel pressured to choose one racial or ethnic group identity over another

3. **Categorization**: choices influenced by status of the group, parental influence, cultural knowledge, appearance

4. **Enmeshment/Denial**: guilt and confusion about choosing an identity that isn't fully expressive of all their cultural influences; denial of differences between the racial groupings; possible exploration of the identities that were not chosen in stages 2 and 3

5. **Appreciation**: of multiple identities

6. **Integration**: sense of wholeness, integrating multiple identities

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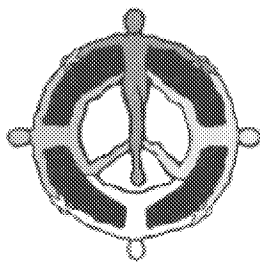
The Costs of Racism to White People[1]

by Paul Kivel

WE TEND TO THINK OF RACISM as a problem for people of color and something we should be concerned about for their sake. It is true that racism is devastating to them, and if we believe in justice, equality, and equal opportunity for all, then we should be trying to end it. As we saw in the last sections, racism does produce material benefits for white people. However, the costs of racism to white people are devastating, especially to those of us without the money and power to buffer their effects. They are not the same costs as the day-to-day violence, discrimination, and harassment that people of color have to deal with. Nevertheless, they are significant costs that we have been trained to ignore, deny, or rationalize away. They are costs that other white people, particularly those with wealth, make us pay in our daily lives. It is sobering for us as white people to talk together about what it really costs to maintain such a system of division and exploitation in our society. We may even find it difficult to recognize some of the core costs of being white in our society.

For example, one of the costs of assimilating into white mainstream culture is that we are asked to leave behind the languages, foods, music, games, rituals, and expressions that our parents and/or grandparents used. We lose our own "white" cultures and histories. Sometimes this loss leads us to romanticize the richness of other cultures.

We have been given a distorted and inaccurate picture of history and politics because the truth about racism has been excluded, the contributions of people of color left out, and the role of white people cleaned up and modified. We also lose the presence and contributions of people of color to our neighborhoods, schools, and relationships. We are given a false sense of superiority, a belief that we should be in control and in authority, and that people of color should be maids, servants, and gardeners and do the less valued work of our society. Our experiences are distorted, limited, and less rich the more they are exclusively or predominantly white.

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[1] Reprinted from *Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Racial Justice.*
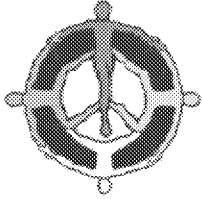
There are many ways that racism affects our interpersonal relationships. We may have lost relationships with friends, family members, and co-workers to disagreements, fights, and tension over racism. At the same time we may have lost relationships with people of color because the tensions of racism make those relationships difficult to sustain.

Racism distorts our sense of danger and safety. We are taught to live in fear of people of color. We are exploited economically by the upper class and unable to fight or even see this exploitation because we are taught to scapegoat people of color. On a more personal level, many of us are brutalized by family violence and sexual assault, unable to resist it effectively because we have been taught that people of color are the real danger, never the white men we live with.

There are also spiritual costs. Many of us have lost a connection to our own spiritual traditions, and consequently have come to romanticize those of other cultures, such as Buddhism or Native American beliefs. Our moral integrity is damaged as we witness situations of discrimination and harassment and do not intervene.

Our feelings of guilt, shame, embarrassment, or inadequacy about racism and about our responses to it lower our self-esteem. Because racism makes a mockery of our ideals of democracy, justice, and equality, it leads us to be cynical and pessimistic about human integrity and about our future, producing apathy, blame, despair, self-destructive behavior, and acts of violence, especially among our young people.

Costs of Racism to White People Checklist

It can be hard for us to be honest with ourselves about the costs of racism in our own lives. The following is a checklist you can use to evaluate the costs of racism to white people. Check each of the items that apply to you.

❏ I don't know exactly what my European American heritage is, what my great-grandparents' names were, or what regions or cities my ancestors are from.

❏ I grew up, lived, or live in a neighborhood, or went to school or a camp, which, as far as I knew, was exclusively white.

❏ I grew up with people of color who were servants, maids, gardeners, or babysitters in my house.

❏ I did not meet people of color in person, or socially, before I was well into my teens.
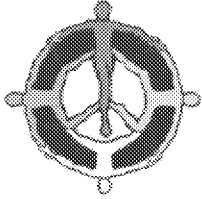
- ❏ I grew up in a household where I heard derogatory racial terms or racial jokes.

- ❏ I grew up in a family or heard as a child that people of color were to blame for violence, lack of jobs, or other problems.

- ❏ I have seen or heard images, in magazines, on TV or radio, on cassettes and CDs, or in movies of (check all that apply):

  - ❏ Mexicans depicted as drunk, lazy, or illiterate

  - ❏ Asians depicted as exotic, cruel, or mysterious

  - ❏ Asian Indians depicted as excitable or "silly"

  - ❏ Arabs depicted as swarthy, ravishing, or "crazed"

  - ❏ African Americans depicted as violent or criminal

  - ❏ Pacific Islanders depicted as fun-loving or lazy

  - ❏ American Indians depicted as drunk, savage, or "noble"

  - ❏ Any character roles from non-white cultures depicted by white actors

- ❏ I was told not to play with children of particular other ethnicities when I was a child.

- ❏ I have sometimes felt that "white" culture was "wonderbread"[2] culture — empty and boring — or that another racial group had more rhythm, more athletic ability, was better at math and technology, or had more musical or artistic creativity than mine.

- ❏ I have felt that people of another racial group were more spiritual than white people.

- ❏ I have been nervous and fearful or found myself stiffening up when encountering people of color in a neutral public situation (for example, in an elevator, on the street).

- ❏ I have been sexually attracted to a person from another racial group because it seemed exotic, exciting, or a challenge.

- ❏ I was in a close friendship or relationship with a person of color, where the relationship was affected, stressed, or endangered by racism between us or from others.

- ❏ I am not in a close significant relationship with any people of color in my life right now.

- ❏ I have been in a close friendship or relationship with another white person where that relationship was damaged or lost because of a disagreement about racism.
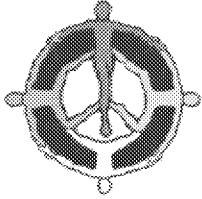
- I have felt embarrassed by, separate from, superior to, or more tolerant than other white people.

- I have worked in a job where people of color held more menial jobs, were paid less, or were otherwise harassed or discriminated against and I did nothing about it.

- I have participated in an organization, work group, meeting, or event which people of color protested as racist or which I knew to be racist and did nothing about it.

- I have had degrading jokes, comments, or put-downs about people of color made in my presence and did not protest or challenge them.

- I have felt racial tension or noticed racism in a situation and was afraid to say or do anything about it.

- I have seen a person of color being attacked verbally or physically and did not intervene.

- I am concerned that there is not enough attention paid to family violence and sexual assault in my community because of the focus of police and criminal justice resources on communities of color.

- I am concerned that drug abuse in my white community is not taken seriously enough because disproportionate attention is on drug use in communities of color.

- I experience a heightened and intrusive state of surveillance and security in my neighborhood, where I shop, in my school, when I cross borders, or when I use airports because of social fears of the dangers of people of color.

- I have had to accept unnecessary limits on my basic civil liberties because of social fears that people of color are dangerous.

- I have felt angry, frustrated, tired, or weary about dealing with racism and hearing about racial affairs.

- I live in a community where, for whatever reason, no people of color are present, so that some of these questions don't apply.

When I use this list in an exercise with a group of white people, and every person answers "yes" to a substantial number of the questions, I can clearly see that we have all paid some of the costs of racism. Realizing what those costs are can easily make us angry. If we are not careful, we can turn that anger toward people of color, blaming them for the problems of white racism. Sometimes we say things like "If they weren't here we would not have these
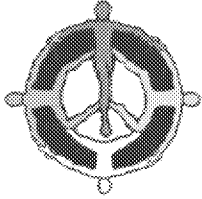
problems." But racism is caused by white people, by our attitudes, behaviors, practices, and institutions. How is it that white people in general can justify retaining the benefits of being white without taking responsibility for perpetuating racism? How do you justify it for yourself?

Please send comments, feedback, resources, and suggestions for distribution to paul@paulkivel.com. Further resources are available at www.paulkivel.com.

From:	Elaine Fultz [fultz.elaine@oakwoodschools.org]
Sent:	2/2/2021 5:26:56 PM
To:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Subject:	Re: Part 3: Follow-up Equity Book Study (and prep for Part 4)

The Next President by Kate Messner and Adam Rex (re: future leaders)
Author site
Review from Children's Books that Heal blog

On Tue, Jan 26, 2021 at 8:05 PM Sandi Preiss <sandi.preiss@mcesc.org> wrote:
All,

Thank you for another reflective and thought provoking conversation on race, integration, and equity. It is always a pleasure to hear how our stories weave together to expand our collective understanding of individual life journeys, perspectives, and aspirations for our future. I hope that our time together tonight will continue to encourage you to look for pitfalls in equitable access for marginalized populations in your place of work, your classroom, and our community. I look forward to unpacking our last section of the book with you next week and to our culminating conversations (please see prompts below). Thank you for making this a priority in your busy schedule.

In preparation for our final meeting, here are the promised details:
1. We will meet next Tuesday (February 2) from 3:30-5:30 pm at our Zoom link:

https://us02web.zoom.us/j/7905870944?pwd=cTJBMGlWdUpqWTdna0RUVkV6Mzg5QT09
Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: Community

2. To prepare for our next meeting, please:
A. Read Part 4: Canaan and the Author's Note

B. Come ready to discuss:

- How has this book study further informed your understanding of race
- How has this book study further informed your understanding of racial integration in the US?
- As educators, we are primed to be change leaders. Becoming a change leader is a journey of learning, building a compelling and informed story, and communicating that story in a way that recruits and inspires others to follow. The process of becoming educated, building the language, and moving into activism is one of self-reflection, conviction, and planning. When you think about racial equality where are you on your personal journey, what is your next step(s)?

3. Per our discussion today, here are some resources you may be interested in.

- Infographic on Strategies for Recruiting, Hiring, and Retaining Diverse Teachers (attached)
- Diversifying the Teaching Profession: How to Recruit & Retain Teachers of Color (attached)
- Intercultural Development Research Association (largely focused on Texas) has some great research to inform practice and suggestions specific to recruiting and retaining a diverse HQ workforce.
- Elaine shared this powerful image with us

- Crystal shared with us the term, internalized racism- the destructive patterns of feelings and behaviors experienced by recipients of racism when they internalize racial stereotypes, racial prejudices, and misinformation about their own racial group. I went searching for a meaningful resource to support your deeper understanding and chose a more unique reference, a <u>counseling brochure</u> a university has for their student population. I believe that it is a quick reference guide to better understand the causes and effects of race related stress. Another article I recommend is Teaching Colorism (attached).
- Besty shared the following opportunity you can <u>pre register here</u>

1/26/2020

Learning and Instructional Strategies

Ohio

Building Equity with Ohio ASCD

Book study - Building Equity

Starting Feb. 13 through May 8, 9-10:30 a.m., there will be an opportunity to attend live Saturday morning sessions for the *Building Equity* book study. These sessions are a continuation of the *Dream into Action* event.

Please preregister for the book study sessions by Jan. 12. Registrants will be emailed access the morning of Feb. 13.

Contact Jennifer Knapp at jenniferknapp@ohioascd.net or 614-531-5373 with questions.

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

--
Ms. Elaine Fultz, MLS
School Library Media Specialist
<u>Smith Elementary</u>
Oakwood City Schools
Check out Smith's eBooks and eAudiobooks at <u>Sora</u>!
<u>Race and Diversity resources</u>

"Fairy tales are more than true: not because they tell us that dragons exist, but because they tell us that dragons can be beaten." ~Neil Gaiman

"Children know perfectly well that unicorns aren't real, but they also know that books about unicorns, if they are good books, are true books." ~Ursula K. LeGuin

From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	2/3/2021 10:53:05 AM
To:	MYRA BAKER [mysbaker@daytonpublic.com]; JENNIFER CAIN [jkcain@daytonpublic.com]; Betsy Chadd [betsy.chadd@bss.k12.oh.us]; SFMurphy@daytonpublic.com; fultz.elaine@oakwoodschools.org; JGRABEMA@daytonpublic.com; rkgunter@daytonpublic.com; cjhowes@daytonpublic.com; erogers@daytonpublic.com; melchor.crystal@oakwoodschools.org; tmmonroe@daytonpublic.com; Morgret, Mary Ann [maryann.morgret@mcapps.org]; dlmullin@daytonpublic.com; MONICA RUZICKA [mruzicka@daytonpublic.com]; Becky Sledge [sledge.becky@oakwoodschools.org]; tstomps@daytonpublic.com
BCC:	dmrobins@daytonpublic.com; donnie.phelps@bss.k12.oh.us; bjustice@southernohioesc.org; vgkimbal@daytonpublic.com; razelins@daytonpublic.com; lnbryant@daytonpublic.com; amimel@daytonpublic.com; bgood@daytonpublic.com; NLMCSHER@daytonpublic.com; geubanks@xeniaschools.org; madisonjeziorski@citizenschools.org
Subject:	Equity Book Study
Attachments:	Copy of Teachers 4 Social Justice_ 2020 Resources for Abolitionist Teaching and Solidarity in These Times (2).pdf

All,

I want to thank you for a wonderful four weeks of reflection and growth. I am hopeful that you look back on our time together as an opportunity to learn, grow, and build momentum for living, serving, and leading in a more equitable manner.

As part of our final session, there was a request to share participant contact information so that you all can have continued conversations whether it be resource sharing or questions. For those in attendance, I have sent this email directly to you all for ease of communication, you can select "reply all". Out of respect for those not present at last night's session, I have bcc'd their email address.

As a reminder, if you have a question regarding the Book study survey, certificate of completion, and/or billing you can reach out directly to stacy.southard@mcapps.org at WOSC who kindly put this book study together for all of us. If you have any additional questions or comments regarding the book study itself (format, content, etc.) please feel free to drop me a line. I would love to hear from you.

A couple of parting resources:
A. I mentioned a pdf that contains A LOT of Social Justice resources (you will find that attached)
B. Interested in another read? Consider: How To Be an Antiracist
C. Elaine recommended: The Next President as well
D. Crystal mentioned that she is part of an organization called: Be the Bridge (I hyperlinked this organization in case you would like to find out more)

Thank you!

--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

TEACHERS 4 SOCIAL JUSTICE
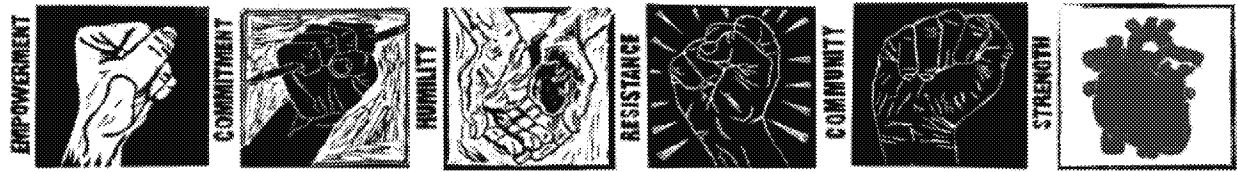
T4SJ Resources for Abolitionist Teaching and Solidarity in These Times

To make suggestions to add to this list, reach out to us at t4sjsf@gmail.com.

Also find videos on these topics and more on our Teachers 4 Social Justice YouTube Page.

Educators, we are currently working on a new Abolitionist Teaching LibGuide - to be shared in August.

Abolitionist Teaching

If You're New to Abolition: Study Group Guide

Repurposing Our Pedagogies: Abolitionist Teaching in a Global Pandemic

Education and Criminalization: Do Black Lives Matter in Schools

Education for Liberation Abolitionist Teaching Resources

Fierce Urgency of Now: Building Movements to End the Prison Industrial Complex in Our Schools

Virtual Bookshelf: People Power edition (shared)

Social Justice Mathematics and Science Resources compiled by Dr. Kari Kokka

Woke Kindergarten Abolitionist Teaching/Read Alouds by Akiea Gross

'No reader is too young to start': anti-racist books for all children and teens

Black Lives Matter Instructional Library Click on each book to hear a Read-Aloud!

How to Identify, Navigate, and Challenge Oppression: The Better Leaders Better Schools Podcast with Daniel Bauer

1

When Schools Cause Trauma

100 PICTURE BOOKS INCLUDING BLACK PEOPLE AND COMMUNITIES & WHY YOU NEED THEM

#CopsOutCPS A report on why it's time for Chicago Public Schools to divest from the Chicago Police Department.

We Demand Police Free Schools NOW: Call to Action From CPS Students

31 Children's books to support conversations on race, racism and resistance

Resources for Educators Re Structural Violence (LWP 5/31/20)

40+ Books for AntiRacist Teachers – White Fragiles Beware! (summer 2020 update)

Abolitionist Teaching Book Club Anti-racist resources

How educators can respond

Teaching for Black Lives

Educator resource guide

Educator sources

Support BOP's Plan for Police-Free Schools

Disaster Capitalism Is Coming for Public Education

An Essay for Teachers Who Understand Racism Is Real by Bettina Love

But Actually Imagine Transformative Alternatives to Policing

The Black Radical Tradition Can Help Us Imagine a More Just World

What Sean Monterrosa Taught Us, His Teachers

Abolitionist Steps [Critical Resistance]

Education for Liberation Network and Critical Resistance "Lessons in Liberation" Webinars: Repurposing Our Pedagogies: Abolitionist Teaching in a Global Pandemic, Community, Not Cops: Abolitionist Organizing Against Police in Schools and Beyond and Young People Are Healers TOO

Abolition + Anti-Racist Resources

Empty Cages Collective: Organising & Action Against the Prison Industrial Complex List of Resources

On the Road With Abolition: Assessing Our Steps Along the Way [Webinar]

2

The Anti-Racist Starter Pack: 40 TV Series, Documentaries, Movies, TED Talks, and Books to Add to Your List

Black Life Matters: Anti-Racism Resources for Social Workers and Therapists

#BlackLivesMatter Resources compiled by Tia C. Madkins

Institutionalized Racism: A Syllabus

How to Safely and Ethically Film Police Misconduct

28 Essential Books About Race and Racism

Abolition Study

Looter to Who? James Baldwin on Racism in America

Dismantling Anti-Blackness Together

Say Their Names: A toolkit to help foster productive conversations about race and civil disobedience

Reading Towards Abolition: A Reading List on Policing, Rebellion, and the Criminalization of Blackness

26 Ways to Be in the Struggle Beyond the Streets

A List of 133 Black-Owned Businesses in SF & Oakland

Scaffolded Anti-Racist Resources

A Timeline of Events That Led to the 2020 'Fed Up'-rising

Angela Davis and Nikki Giovanni's LIVE Discussion with GirlTrek [Webinar]

Call it What it is: Anti-Blackness

Video: Looting in historical context of slavery and racial capitalism

Stolen Freedom: The Ongoing Incarceration of California's Indigenous Peoples

A History of Race and Racism in America in 24 chapters
https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/22/books/review/a-history-of-race-and-racism-in-america-in-24-chapters.html

What really makes us safe?

Dream Defenders

Dismantling Racism: A Resource Book

Abolitionist Toolkit, What is Abolition? What is Critical Resistance?

Compilation of Critical Resistance Analysis Articles

3

Police Abolition

The Fire This Time: The New Uprising Against Racism and Police Violence

#SayHerName Charleena Lyles: Police Murder and the Uprising for Black Lives

Facing History: Reflecting on George Floyd's death/Police Violence

Confessions of a Former Bastard cop

Imani Perry In Conversation with Kiese Laymon: On the Uprising since George Floyd's Murder and Black Struggles for Freedom in the United States

We Don't Need Cops to Become Social Workers: We Need Peer Support + Community Response Networks

Racist Roots of Policing
- How racist policing took over American cities, explained by a historian
- Vice: The Police are not Here to Protect You
- Cities Ask if It's Time to Defund Police and 'Reimagine' Public Safety
- Could This Bill Be a First Step Toward Taking the Police Out of Policing?
- Vox: Growing calls to "defund the police," explained
- "The End of Policing" (book from Verso, now free to download the ebook)
  - Mother Jones: interview with Alex Vitale (What a World Without Cops Would Look Like)

"Yes, We Mean Literally Abolish the Police Because reform won't happen" By Mariame Kaba

Abolition 101: What a World Without Cops Would Look Like

Zinn Education Project: Teach the History of Policing

The Demand for Abolition

Abolition for the People

Why Arguments Against Abolition Inevitably Fail

Breonna Taylor and Bearing Witness to Black Women's Expendability

Abolition for the People: The Movement for a Future Without Policing & Prisons [Kaepernick Publishing]

Reproductive Justice

Policing the Womb by Michele Goodwin

Fit to Be Tied: Sterilization and Reproductive Rights in America, 1950-1980 by Rebecca Clutchin

Fertile Matters: The Politics of Mexican-Origin Women's Reproduction by Elena Gutierrez

Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction and the Meaning of Liberty by Dorothy Roberts

Disability Justice

No Pity: People with Disabilities Forging a New Civil Rights Movement

Disability Visibility: First-Person Stories from the Twenty-First Century

Unspeakable: The Story of Junius Wilson

Disability Justice Is an Essential Part of Abolishing Police and Prisons

A Roundtable on Radical Disability Politics

Concerns re Disability/Deaf Rights Communities' Responses to Policing Systems' Violence

The Prison Strike Challenges Ableism & Defends Disability Rights

Accountable Reporting on Disability, Race & Police Violence: A Community Response to the "Ruderman White Paper on Media Coverage of Use of Force & Disability

Disability Justice In the Age of Mass Incarceration: Perspectives on Race, Disability, Law & Accountability

In the Fight to Close Rikers, Don't Forget about Deaf and Disabled People

Talila A. Lewis Blog

Criminalizing Black Disabled Youth; Racism & Ableism

Crippin' Jim Crow: Disability, Dis-Location, and the School-to-Prison Pipeline

Mapping consequential geographies in the carceral state: Education journey mapping as a qualitative method with girls of color with dis/abilities

These people are never going to stop labeling me: Educational experiences of African American male students labeled with learning disabilities

Shadow play: DisCrit, dis/respectability, and carceral logics

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Through space into the flesh: Mapping inscriptions of anti-black racist and ableist schooling on young people's bodies

Gangsters and wheelchairs: urban teachers' perceptions of disability, race and gender

Trump's Rule Attacking Disabled and Low-Income Migrants Has Violent History

Trauma + Healing

Breaking the Chain: Healing Racial Trauma in the Body [Resmaa Menakem]

This Black Lives Matter Meditation Is An Enduring Tool For Dealing With Racial Trauma

THE PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL CONSEQUENCES OF RACIAL BATTLE FATIGUE

Abolition's Roots in Healing Are a Key to Its Future

Dignity and Power Now: Healing Justice Toolkit [Spanish and English]

Impact of Disproportionate Incarceration of & Violence Against Black People with Mental Health Conditions in the World's Largest Jail System

Transformative Justice

Transformative Justice Curriculum

Transformative Justice: A Brief Description | Transform Harm

Creative Interventions Toolkit to stop interpersonal violence

Furthering Transformative Justice, Building Healthy Communities An interview with Philly Stands Up

Generation Five Organisation working to end child sexual abuse in five generations, from an abolitionist perspective

INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence

Resisting Gender Violence Without Cops or Prisons Talk by Victoria Law

The Audre Lorde Project's Safe OUTside the System Collective

Towards Transformative Justice Pdf produced by Generation Five

What About the Rapists? Zine

Transformative Justice, Explained | Teen Vogue

What are Community Accountability & Transformative Justice?

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Bay Area Transformative Justice Collective

For Families / Parents

Ending Police Brutality: At-Home Family Action Toolkit- Student Ignition Society/Raising Luminaries

Raising Antiracist Kids: Empowering the Next Generation of Changemakers

30 books to help you talk to your kids about racism

REPRESENTATION MATTERS: 35 BLACK KIDS TV SHOWS YOU CAN WATCH RIGHT NOW

Entire CNN/Sesame Street town hall on racism – CNN Video

For Co-Conspirators / Accomplices

Accomplices Not Allies: Abolishing the Ally Industrial Complex

Performative Allyship Is Deadly (Here's What to Do Instead)

Radicalizing Your Family Against White Supremacy Is Essential For Liberation

10 Documentaries To Watch About Race Instead Of Asking A Person Of Colour To Explain Things For You

Anti-racism resources for white people

75 Things White People Can Do for Racial Justice

5 Steps Latinos Can Take to Combat Anti-Blackness

ANTIRACIST ALLYSHIP STARTER PACK : Sheet1

How can you be an ally to the Black Lives Matter movement? | The Stream - Resmaa, Feminista Jones

COVID-19

BLACK FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES ON COVID-19: A READING LIST

Octavia Tried to Tell Us V: Parable for a Pandemic

Farima's Collection of Hella COVID-19 Teaching/Learning/Wellness Resources

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Recursos en español

Recursos sobre el racismo y anti-negro/anti-negritud en Latinoamericano en español

Documental 13th: Guía de Discusión en Español

Recursos antirracistas en español

20 libros básicos para entender la lucha contra el racismo

Black Lives Matter: acabar con la violencia estatal contra los negros

Farima's Collection of Hella COVID-19 Teaching/Learning/Wellness Resources

Solidarity

Solidarity images

Pacific Islander solidarity (testimonial)

Letters for Black Lives (letters in different languages about why different communities need to support BLM)

Article with statements from indigenous groups in support of BLM

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From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	2/4/2021 10:06:40 AM
To:	undisclosed-recipients:
BCC:	theodorecm@crgrp.com; wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org; emily_eilerman@arcanum-butler.k12.oh.us; patterson.sarah@oakwoodschools.org; melchor.crystal@oakwoodschools.org; paige.lewis@bss.k12.oh.us; cfranks@sainthelenschool.org; betsy.chadd@bss.k12.oh.us; katie.weber@bss.k12.oh.us; judge.rachael@oakwoodschools.org; marykay.marsh@bss.k12.oh.us; donnie.phelps@bss.k12.oh.us
Subject:	Part 4: Follow-up Equity Podcast (and prep for Part 5)
Attachments:	prison reform 2021 initiatives.pdf; Authentic_Conversations_About_Race.pdf; 20thingsIWillDoToBeAnEquitableEducator.pdf

All,

As we head into our final evening together, please afford yourself some time to think big picture about the journey that John Biewen has taken us on and how it has informed your perspective of American culture. In our upcoming session, we will allot time a smaller chunk of time for each of our 3 remaining podcasts to afford ourselves the opportunity for some more global discussions about race, marginalized populations, American culture and most importantly building a better tomorrow. This portion of our session will be a more open format for reflection. We have routinely demonstrated the power of sharing and I am hopeful that we will capitalize on this final opportunity to do so as a cohort.

I wish you all a good remainder of the week!

<u>In preparation for our final meeting, here are the promised details:</u>
1. Homework:
Listen to Podcasts:
<u>Episode 12:</u> My White Friends (40 min)
<u>Episode 13:</u> White Affirmative Action (48 min)
<u>Episode 14:</u> Transformation (44 min)

2. References that were mentioned throughout our time together:
a. I mentioned this document during our session last night: Prison reform initiatives article (attached)
b. Upon reflection, I have attached a document to support your authentic and budding conversations around race.
c. Additionally, I have also attached a short article on 20 Things we can all do to be a more Equitable Educator. I find this article to be a great starting point for staff to explore and unpack hidden bias through the lens of a leading national advocacy document.
d. Sarah also mentioned the one and only Brené Brown who hosts a <u>podcast with Emmanuel Acho</u> based on Emmanuel's new book: <u>Uncomfortable Conversations with a Black man</u>

3. I look forward to seeing you, next Wednesday from 3:30-5:30 pm
<u>Click Here for Zoom Meeting</u>
Meeting ID: 790 587 0944
Passcode: Community
--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

Winnable criminal justice reforms

A Prison Policy Initiative briefing on promising state reform issues for 2021

PRISON POLICY INITIATIVE
https://www.prisonpolicy.org/
(413) 527-0845

CONTENTS

EXPAND ALTERNATIVES TO CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM RESPONSES TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Redirect public funds to community organizations that provide social services

Problem: Many communities in the U.S. are not only overpoliced, but deprived of resources they could use to *prevent* crime without punishing or surveilling community members, such as youth programs and affordable housing.

Solutions: Shift funding from local or state public safety budgets into a local grant program to support community-led safety strategies in communities most impacted by mass incarceration, over-policing, and crime. States can use Colorado's "Community Reinvestment" model; currently, four Community Reinvestment Initiatives will provide $88 million over the next few years to community-based services in reentry, harm reduction, crime prevention, and crime survivors.

More information: See the Colorado Criminal Justice Reform Coalition's *Community Reinvestment Overview Memo* https://
www.ccjrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Oct-2018-Community-Reinvestment-Overview.pdf, the Center for
American Progress report *Reducing the Scope of Policing* https://cdn.americanprogress.org/content/uploads/
2020/07/28150215/Reducing-the-Scope-of-Policing.pdf, and the Urban Institute's *Investing Justice Resources to
Address Community Needs* https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/96341/
investing_justice_resources_to_address_community_needs.pdf.

Fund and implement alternative response systems for calls involving people with disabilities or experiencing mental health crises

Problem: People with disabilities and mental illnesses represent a disproportionate number of people arrested and jailed every year, but police and jail staff do not have the specific, in-depth training — nor the mandate — to treat mental illness or to accommodate those with other disabilities. As a result, at least 25% of people killed by police have a serious mental illness and suicide is the leading cause of death in local jails.

Solutions: Cities, counties, and states should establish non-police crisis response systems. A promising model is Eugene, Oregon's CAHOOTS program, which dispatches medical specialists rather than police to 911 calls related to addiction, mental health crises, and homelessness.

More information: For details about the CAHOOTS program, see https://whitebirdclinic.org/cahoots/; for a review of other strategies ranging from police-based responses to community-based responses, see the Vera Institute of Justice report *Behavioral Health Crisis Alternatives* https://www.vera.org/behavioral-health-crisis-alternatives and the Brookings Institute's *Innovative solutions to address the mental health crisis: Shifting away from police as first responders* https://www.brookings.edu/research/innovative-solutions-to-address-the-mental-health-crisis-shifting-away-from-police-as-first-responders/.

Decriminalize youth and stop prosecuting and sentencing them as adults

Problem: The Supreme Court has affirmed that until someone is an adult, they cannot be held fully culpable for crimes they have committed. Yet in every state, youth under 18 can be tried and sentenced in adult criminal courts, and in 16 states there is no minimum age. The juvenile justice system can also be shockingly punitive: In most states, even young children can be punished by the state, including for "status offenses" that aren't law violations for adults, such as running away.

Solutions: "Raise the age" of juvenile court jurisdiction to reflect our current understanding that youth should not be held culpable as adults are; also "raise the floor" to stop criminalizing young children. States should end the transfer of youth to adult courts and systems of punishment, and move "status offenses" out of the court's jurisdiction. Finally, redirect public funds from systems that punish and confine youth to community-based services that report better outcomes.

More information: The National Conference of State Legislatures offers a map and summary of *Juvenile Age of Jurisdiction and Transfer to Adult Court Laws* https://www.ncsl.org/research/civil-and-criminal-justice/juvenile-age-of-jurisdiction-and-transfer-to-adult-court-laws.aspx. The recently-closed Campaign for Youth Justice's resources will continue to be offered by The Sentencing Project; particularly useful are their summaries of legislative reforms to Raise the Age, limit youth transfers, and remove youth from adult jails http://www.campaignforyouthjustice.org/images/reportthumbnails/CFYJ%20Annual%20Report.pdf. For community-driven solutions, see Youth First Initiative's *No Kids in Prison* campaign https://www.nokidsinprison.org/solutions, and for status offense reform, see the Vera Institute of Justice's *Status Offense Toolkit* https://www.vera.org/publications/status-offense-toolkit.

REDUCE THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE
ENTERING THE "REVOLVING DOORS" OF JAILS AND PRISONS

Use alternatives to arrest and incarceration for low-level offenses

Problem: One out of every three people behind bars is being held in a local jail, and most for low-level or nonviolent offenses. Spending time in jail leads to a number of collateral consequences and financial roadblocks to successful reentry, and higher recidivism rates that quickly lead to higher state prison populations.

Solutions: Although jails are ostensibly locally controlled, the people held in jails are generally accused of violating state law, so both state and local policymakers have the power to reduce jail populations. State leaders can:
- Reclassify criminal offenses and turn misdemeanor charges that don't threaten public safety into non-jailable infractions, or decriminalize them entirely.
- Make citations, rather than arrest, the default action for low-level crimes.
- Encourage judges to use non-monetary sanctions rather than fines and fees, and ensure that judges are holding indigency hearings before imposing and enforcing unaffordable fees.
- Institute grace periods for missed court appearances to reduce the use of "bench warrants," which lead to unnecessary incarceration for low-level and even "non-jailable" offenses. Establish an "open hours court" for those who have recently missed appearances to reschedule without fear of arrest.

More information: See our reports *Era of Mass Expansion: Why State Officials Should Fight Jail Growth* https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/jailsovertime.html and A*rrest, Release, Repeat: How Police and Jails Are Misused to Respond to Social Problems* https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/repeatarrests.html, and The Bail Project's *After Cash Bail: A Framework for Reimagining Pretrial Justice* https://bailproject.org/after-cash-bail/.

End pretrial detention for most defendants

Problem: Many people who face criminal charges are unnecessarily detained before trial. Often the sole criteria for release is access to money for bail. This puts pressure on defendants to accept plea bargains even when they are innocent, since even a few days in jail can destabilize their lives: they can lose their apartment, job, and even custody of children. Pretrial detention also leads to jail overcrowding, which means more dangerous conditions for people in jail, and it drives sheriffs' demands for more and bigger jails — wasting taxpayer dollars on more unnecessary incarceration.

Solutions: States should implement bail reforms that end or severely restrict the use of money bail, establish the presumption of pretrial release for all cases with conditions only when necessary, and offer pretrial services such as reminders to appear in court, transportation and childcare assistance for court appearances, and referrals to needed social services.

More information: See The Bail Project's *After Cash Bail: A Framework for Reimagining Pretrial Justice* https://bailproject.org/after-cash-bail/; Pretrial Justice Institute's website https://www.pretrial.org; the Criminal Justice Policy Program at Harvard Law School's *Primer on Bail Reform* http://cjpp.law.harvard.edu/assets/FINAL-Primer-on-Bail-Reform.pdf; and our briefing *Technical violations, immigration detainers, and other bad reasons to keep people in jail* https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2020/03/18/detainers/.

Properly fund and oversee indigent defense

Problem: Low-income adults and children are frequently found guilty and incarcerated without an attorney or they are given an appointed attorney who is unqualified, financially conflicted, or who is so overworked that the defendant receives, in effect, no representation at all. This happens despite the fact that the Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution require states to provide effective representation to the indigent accused of crimes where incarceration is a potential punishment. Many states delegate this constitutional obligation to local governments, and then completely fail to hold local governments accountable when they fail to provide competent defense counsel.

Solutions: States must either: directly fund and administer the services that provide indigent defense; or create a state entity with the authority to set, evaluate, and enforce indigent defense standards for services funded and administered by local governments.

More information: *Know Your State* https://sixthamendment.org/know-your-state/ from the Sixth Amendment Center is an invaluable guide to the structure of each state's indigent defense system, including whether each state has an independent commission with oversight of all public defense services (most do not). See also the American Bar Association's *Ten Principles of a Public Defense Delivery System* https://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/administrative/legal_aid_indigent_defendants/ls_sclaid_def_tenprinciplesbooklet.authcheckdam.pdf and the American Legislative Exchange Council's (ALEC) *Resolution in Support of Public Defense* https://www.alec.org/model-policy/resolution-in-support-of-public-defense/.

IMPROVE SENTENCING STRUCTURES AND RELEASE PROCESSES TO ENCOURAGE TIMELY AND SUCCESSFUL RELEASES FROM PRISON

Make it easier to change excessive prison sentences

Problem: Nationally, one of every six people in state prisons have been incarcerated for a decade or more. While many states have taken laudable steps to reduce the number of people serving time for low-level offenses, little has been done to bring relief to people needlessly serving decades in prison.

Solutions: State legislative strategies include: enacting presumptive parole, second-look sentencing, and other common-sense reforms, such as expanding "good time" credit policies. All of these changes should be made retroactive, and include people convicted of both violent and nonviolent offenses.

Example bill: The Second Look Act of 2019 https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-bill/2146, which proposed to allow people to petition a federal court for a sentence reduction after serving at least 10 years.

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More information: See our reports *Eight Keys to Mercy: How to shorten excessive prison sentences* https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/longsentences.html and *Reforms Without Results: Why states should stop excluding violent offenses from criminal justice reforms* https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/violence.html.

Repeal or reform mandatory minimum sentences and automatic "sentencing enhancements"

Problem: Mandatory minimum sentences and similar automatic sentencing structures like "sentencing enhancements" have fueled the country's skyrocketing incarceration rates, harming individuals and undermining our communities and national well-being, all without significant increases to public safety.

Solutions: The best course is to repeal these laws so that judges can craft sentences to fit the unique circumstances of each crime and individual, but where that option is not possible, states should adopt sentencing "safety valve" laws, which give judges the ability to deviate from the mandatory minimum under specified circumstances.

Model and example bills: Several examples of state and federal statutes are included in Families Against Mandatory Minimums' (FAMM) *Turning Off the Spigot: How Sentencing Safety Valves Can Help States Protect Public Safety and Save Money* https://famm.org/wp-content/uploads/State-Safety-Valve-Report-Turning-Off-the-Spigot.pdf; see also American Legislative Exchange Council's (ALEC) Justice Safety Valve Act https://www.alec.org/model-policy/justice-safety-valve-act/.

More information: See FAMM's *Turning Off the Spigot: How Sentencing Safety Valves Can Help States Protect Public Safety and Save Money* and our *Geographic Sentencing Enhancement Zones* page https://www.prisonpolicy.org/zones.html.

Stop mandating programming requirements that impede release on parole

Problem: The release of individuals who have already been granted parole is often delayed for months because the parole board requires them to complete a class or program (often a drug or alcohol treatment program) before they can go home — yet those programs are not readily available to them. In some states — notably Tennessee and Texas — thousands of people whom the parole board has been deemed "safe" to return to the community remain incarcerated simply because the state has imposed this bureaucratic hurdle.

Solutions: Parole boards can waive these requirements or offer community-based programming after release. Research shows that these programs are effective when offered after release, as part of the reentry process.

More information: See our briefing *When parole doesn't mean release* https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2020/05/21/program-requirements/.

Increase the dollar threshold for felony theft

Problem: Generally, the dollar amount of a theft controls whether the crime is treated as a felony or a misdemeanor. In many states, these limits have not been increased in years, even though inflation has risen almost every year, making stagnant thresholds increasingly punitive over time.

Solutions: States should increase the dollar amount of a theft to qualify for felony punishment, and require that the threshold be adjusted regularly to account for inflation. This change should also be made retroactive for all people currently in prison, on parole, or on probation for felony theft.

Model bill: See the Public Leadership Institute's Felony Threshold Reform Act https://publicleadershipinstitute.org/model-bills/public-safety/felony-threshold-reform-act/.

More information: For the felony threshold in your state and the date it was last updated, see our explainer *How inflation makes your state harsher today than it was yesterday* https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2020/06/10/felony-thresholds/. The Pew Charitable Trusts report *States Can Safely Raise Their Felony Theft Thresholds, Research Shows* https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/articles/2018/05/22/states-can-safely-raise-their-felony-theft-thresholds-research-shows demonstrates that in the states that have recently increased the limits, this did not increase the risk of offending nor did it lead to more expensive items being stolen.

REDUCE THE FOOTPRINT OF THE PROBATION AND PAROLE SYSTEMS AND SUPPORT SUCCESS ON SUPERVISION

Reduce the length of probation sentences

Problem: Because probation is often billed as an alternative to incarceration and is often imposed through plea bargains, the lengths of probation sentences do not receive as much scrutiny as they should. Excessively long sentences put defendants at risk of lengthy incarceration for subsequent minor offenses or, even worse, incarceration for minor violations of probation rules ("technical violations").

Solutions: States should set upper limits for probation sentences and enable early discharge by awarding "compliance credits" for successfully meeting probation's requirements for a given time period.

Example bills: Several states, including California (AB 1950 (2020)), Florida (Fla. Stat. S 948.04), Louisiana (Act 280 (2017)), New York (S4664A (2014), and Virginia (HB5148(2020)) have shortened probation sentences by eliminating minimum sentences, setting caps on probation sentences, or awarding compliance credits. ALEC has an Earned Compliance Credit Act https://www.alec.org/model-policy/earned-compliance-credit-act/, but Louisiana's law is stronger.

More information: For more on how probation sets people up to fail, see our report *Correctional Control 2018: Incarceration and supervision by state* https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/correctionalcontrol2018.html and for more on downsizing probation, see the Executive Session on Community Corrections report *Less Is More: How Reducing Probation Populations Can Improve Outcomes* https://www.hks.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/centers/wiener/programs/pcj/files/less_is_more_final.pdf.

Eliminate re-incarceration and minimize jail time for technical violations of probation or parole rules

Problem: Incarcerating people for "technical violations" of probation and parole conditions is a common but harmful and disproportionate response to minor rule violations. These unnecessary incarcerations make it harder for people under supervision to succeed and lead to higher corrections costs. In 20 states, more people are admitted to prison for technical violations than for new crimes (see The Council of State Governments' report *Confined and Costly* to see the scale of the problem in your state https://csgjusticecenter.org/publications/confined-costly/).

Solutions: States should limit incarceration as a response to supervision violations to only when the individual has committed a new crime and poses a direct threat to public safety. When incarceration is used to respond to technical violations, the length of time served should be limited and proportionate to the harm caused by the non-criminal rule violation.

More information: See the Pew Charitable Trusts report *To Safely Cut Incarceration, States Rethink Responses to Supervision Violations* https://www.pewtrusts.org/-/media/assets/2019/07/pspp_states_target_technical_violations_v1.pdf.

End electronic monitoring for people on community supervision

Problem: Individuals on pretrial supervision, probation, and parole face an array of conditions that may result in them being returned to jail or prison even without committing another crime. Electronic monitoring imposes unnecessary, often contradictory, conditions on recently released individuals, hindering their movement, and creating serious barriers to successful reentry.

Solutions: States can introduce and enforce legislation that would outlaw the imposition of electronic monitoring devices for individuals on pretrial supervision, probation, or parole. Until then, individuals forced to wear electronic monitors should not be required to pay for those devices nor be fined or re-incarcerated for their inability to pay monitoring fees. When ordered as a condition of pretrial supervision, defendants should be credited for time served on electronic home detention.

Example bill: See Illinois' HB3887 (2017), which would have provided credit for time served for people on monitors awaiting trial, ended user fees, and allowed them 8 hours outside the home to support employment, education, family, community, and religious activities.

More information: Challenging E-Carceration https://www.challengingecarceration.org provides details about the encroachment of electronic monitoring into community supervision, and fact sheets, case studies, and possible solutions are available from the Center for Media Justice https://mediajustice.org/challengingecarceration/.

Eliminate driver's license suspensions for nonpayment of fines and fees

Problem: All but 10 states (California, Hawaii, Idaho, Maine, Maryland, Mississippi, Montana, Oregon, Virginia, and West Virginia) suspend, revoke or refuse to renew driver's licenses for unpaid traffic, toll, misdemeanor and felony fines and fees, resulting in more than 11 million debt-related suspensions nationwide. License suspension prevents people from earning the money they need to pay their fines and fees, undercuts their ability to support themselves, and forces law enforcement to waste time stopping, citing, and arresting people for driving on a suspended license instead of focusing on serious crime.

Solutions: Stop suspending driver's licenses for nonpayment of fines and fees. Since 2017, 13 states and D.C. have enacted partial or complete reforms (California, Hawaii, Idaho, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, New York, Oregon, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia).

Example bill: Montana HB 217 (2019). The strongest reforms completely eliminate the practice of revoking, suspending, or refusing to renew drivers licenses because of a failure to pay fines and fees.

More information: See the Free to Drive Coalition's state-by-state analysis https://www.freetodrive.org/ and the Legal Aid Justice Center's 2017 report *Driven By Dollars: A State-By-State Analysis of Driver's License Suspension Laws for Failure to Pay Court Debt* https://www.justice4all.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Driven-by-Dollars.pdf.

Eliminate financial incentives that encourage excessive probation sentences

Problem: Most states charge people on probation a monthly fee, even though many are among the nation's poorest, and these fees put them at risk of being jailed for nonpayment. The Supreme Court has ruled it unconstitutional to incarcerate someone because they cannot afford to pay court ordered fines and fees, but many courts effectively do just that, by treating nonpayment as a probation violation. Where counties rely on these fees for revenue, courts are incentivized to impose unnecessary or excessive probation sentences. Moreover, the growth of privatized probation in some states has led to unnecessary "pay only" probation supervision for minor offenses.

Solutions: Pass legislation that would eliminate probation fees, require hearings on ability to pay before assessing fees, and/or regulate the use of privatized probation.

Example bills: San Francisco County Ordinance No. 131-18 (2018) eliminated all discretionary criminal justice fees, including probation fees; the ordinance includes a detailed discussion of the County's reasons for ending these fees. Louisiana HB 249 (2017) makes many reforms, including requiring inquiries into ability-to-pay before imposing fines and fees or enforcing any penalties for failure to pay.

More information: See our briefing with national data and state-specific data for 15 states that charge monthly fees even though half (or more) of their probation populations earn less than $20,000 per year (Colo., Idaho, Ill., La., Maine, Mass., Mich., Miss., Mont., N.M., N.D., Ohio, Okla., S.C., and Wash.) https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2019/04/09/probation_income/. States with privatized misdemeanor probation systems will find helpful the nine recommendations on pages 7-8 of the Human Rights Watch report *Profiting from Probation: America's "Offender-Funded" Probation Industry* https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/us0214_ForUpload_0.pdf.

PROTECT INCARCERATED PEOPLE AND FAMILIES FROM EXPLOITATION BY PRIVATE CONTRACTORS

Lower cost of calls home from prison or jail

Problem: The prison and jail telephone industry offers correctional facilities hefty kickbacks in exchange for exclusive contracts. While most state prison phone systems have lowered their rates, many jails are still charging exorbitant prices for in-state calls of up to $1/minute for phone calls.

Solutions: The Federal Communications Commission approved a series of historic regulations in 2013 and 2015 that would make calls home from prisons and jails more affordable, but it then abandoned its defense of those regulations. States can easily pick up where the FCC has left off and pass legislation requiring the state prison systems and counties to negotiate for phone calls and video calling services for people in their custody on the basis of the lowest cost to the consumer, and state Public Utilities Commissions can also regulate the industry.

Example bill: New York Corrections Law § 623 bans commissions and requires that contracts be based on the lowest possible cost to consumers. However: this New York law only applies to contracts with state prisons. The ideal solution would apply to both state prison and local jail contracts. (The strongest state regulations are by the Alabama Public Service Commission, so state regulators in other states will find Alabama's regulations helpful.)

More information: Beyond the obvious solution to set maximum rates, our ideas for state legislation are explained in our report *State of Phone Justice: Local jails, state prisons and private phone providers* https://www.prisonpolicy.org/phones/state_of_phone_justice.html. For suggestions on which problems to focus on in your state, see *The biggest priorities for prison and jail phone justice in 40 states* https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2019/09/11/worststatesphones/. For additional information, see our *Regulating the prison phone industry* page https://www.prisonpolicy.org/phones/.

Stop prisons and jails from requiring people being released to receive their money on fee-ridden "release cards"

Problem: Correctional facilities increasingly use fee-riddled cards to repay people they release for money in their possession when initially arrested, money earned working in the facility, or money sent by friends and relatives. Before the rise of these release cards, people were given cash or a check. Now, they are given a mandatory prepaid card instead, which comes with high fees that eat into their balance. For example, the cards charge for things like having an account (up to $3.50/week), making a purchase (up to $0.95), checking the balance (up to $3.95), or closing the account (up to $30.00).

Solutions: States can prohibit facilities from using release cards that charge fees, and require fee-free alternative payment methods.

Model bill: Our Model Release Card Legislation https://www.prisonpolicy.org/releasecards/model.html

More information: See our *Release Cards* page at https://www.prisonpolicy.org/releasecards/.

PROMOTE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH AMONG INCARCERATED AND FORMERLY INCARCERATED PEOPLE

Offer evidence-based opioid treatment to reduce deaths and re-incarceration

Problem: Despite a growing body of evidence that medication-assisted treatment (MAT) is effective at treating opioid use disorders, most prisons are refusing to offer those treatments to incarcerated people, exacerbating the overdose and recidivism rate among people released from custody.

Solutions: States can pass legislation requiring their Department of Corrections to implement MAT to eligible patients in their custody. MAT pairs counseling with low doses of opioids that, depending on the medication used, either reduce cravings or make it impossible to get high off of opiates.

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Model program: Rhode Island launched a successful program to provide MAT to some of the people incarcerated in their facilities. The early results are very encouraging: In the first year, Rhode Island reported a 60.5% reduction in opioid-related mortality among recently incarcerated people.

More information: See our explainer at https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2018/12/07/opioids/. The Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration published a useful guide to using medication-assisted treatment for opioid use disorder in jails and prisons at https://tinyurl.com/qi7lpe4.

Eliminate medical copays in prison and jail

Problem: Most state departments of corrections, and many local jails, charge incarcerated people a co-pay to see the doctor. Though these $2-$5 co-pays appear inexpensive, they can amount to a day's wages (or more) for incarcerated people. As a result, they often deter sick people from seeking medical attention, creating health problems in prisons and high healthcare costs for people leaving prison.

Solutions: Pass legislation ending co-pays in prisons and jails.

Model policy: California passed legislation (AB 45) eliminating medical and dental co-pays for people in prison and jail. See this fact sheet about the bill: https://www.initiatejustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/AB-45-Fact-Sheet-Eliminating-Copayments-in-Prisons-and-Jails-6.19.19.pdf.

More information: Our analysis showing which states charge co-pays to people in prison, and illustrating the cost burden of each state's co-pay on incarcerated patients https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2017/04/19/copays/.

Protect in-person family visits from the video calling industry

Problem: Video calling is quietly sweeping the nation's prisons and local jails. Unfortunately, rather than providing the video technology as an additional way for families to stay connected, private companies and sheriffs are working together to replace traditional in-person family visits with expensive, grainy computer chats.

Solutions: Follow the lead of Texas, California, and Massachusetts, which have passed legislation that requires jails to preserve in-person visits.

Example bill: Section 36C of Massachusetts' S. 2371 (2018) requires jails to provide people in jails with at least two in-person visits per week and prohibits jails from replacing in-person visits with video calls.

More information: See our report *Screening Out Family Time: The for-profit video visitation industry in prisons and jails* and other resources at https://www.prisonpolicy.org/visitation/.

Protect letters from home in local jails

Problem: Sheriffs in at least 14 states — Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Kansas, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Oregon, Tennessee, Utah, and Washington — have been experimenting with a harmful policy in local jails: banning letters from home.

Solutions: States can send a clear message about the importance of protecting family communication by passing a bill or administrative rule requiring correctional facilities to allow personal letter correspondence.

Example rule: "Inmates shall be permitted to send as many letters of as many pages as they desire, to whomever they desire... [and] may receive correspondence in any quantity, amount, and number of pages." (Texas Commission on Jail Standards, Inmate Correspondence Plan (Rule §291.2))

More information: See *Protecting Written Family Communication in Jails: A 50-State Survey* https://prisonpolicy.org/postcards/.

GIVE ALL COMMUNITIES EQUAL VOICE
IN HOW OUR JUSTICE SYSTEM WORKS

End felony disenfranchisement and allow all citizens to vote

Problem: Most states bar some or all people with felony convictions from voting, sometimes while they are in prison, sometimes for life, and in some states for various times in between. The laws vary by state: 17 states bar people in prison; 4 states bar people in prison or on parole; 16 states bar people in prison, on parole, or on probation; and 11 states disenfranchise some or all people for life after a felony conviction. Only two states — Maine and Vermont — have no restrictions, along with D.C. and Puerto Rico. Given the racial disparities in the criminal justice system, these policies disproportionately exclude Black and Latinx Americans from the ballot box. As of 2020, 1 in 16 Black adults nationwide was disenfranchised because of a felony conviction (and in 7 states, it's more than 1 in 7).

Solutions: Change state laws and/or state constitutions to remove disenfranchising provisions. Additionally, most governors also have the power to immediately restore voting rights to disenfranchised people via commutation or other similar means.

More information: See *Felony Disenfranchisement: A Primer* from the Sentencing Project https://www.sentencingproject.org/publications/felony-disenfranchisement-a-primer/ and *Locked Out 2020: Estimates of People Denied Voting Rights Due to a Felony Conviction* (2020) by Uggen, Larson, Shannon, and Pulido-Nava https://www.sentencingproject.org/publications/locked-out-2020-estimates-of-people-denied-voting-rights-due-to-a-felony-conviction/. For ways to remove barriers for eligible voters held in jails, see our report *Eligible, but excluded: A guide to removing the barriers to jail voting* https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/jail_voting.html.

End prison gerrymandering from giving people who live near prisons more political power

Problem: The Census Bureau's practice of tabulating incarcerated people at correctional facility locations (rather than at their home addresses) leads state and local governments to draw skewed electoral districts that grant undue political clout to people who live near large prisons and dilute the representation of people everywhere else.

Solutions: States can pass legislation to count incarcerated people at home for redistricting purposes, as California, Colorado, Delaware, Illinois, Maryland, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, Virginia, and Washington State have done. Ideally, the Census Bureau would implement a national solution by tabulating incarcerated people at home in the Census, but time has run out for that change before the 2020 Census data is released, so states must prepare their own fix to the redistricting data released in 2021. For most states, it is now too late to implement full prison gerrymandering reform from scratch in time for the current redistricting cycle, but most can take interim steps to mitigate prison gerrymandering's effects on their districts by following Massachusetts' 2010 approach https://www.prisonersofthecensus.org/massachusetts.html.

Model bill and interim solutions: See our model bill at https://www.prisonersofthecensus.org/models/example.html and interim solutions at https://www.prisonersofthecensus.org/news/2020/12/18/building-momentum/.

More information: See our *Prison Gerrymandering Project* website https://www.prisonersofthecensus.org.

Require racial impact statements for criminal justice bills

Problem: Some criminal justice bills unnecessarily and unintentionally exacerbate racial and ethnic disparities in arrest, sentencing, and incarceration rates.

Solutions: Connecticut, Iowa, New Jersey, and Oregon have passed legislation to provide for racial impact statements that prospectively evaluate whether or not proposed criminal justice legislation is likely to have a racially or ethnically disparate impact.

Example bills: Iowa House File 2393 (2008), Connecticut Public Act 08-143 (2008), Oregon Senate Bill 463 B (2013), New Jersey S-677/A-3677 (2018).

More information: See our article *Oregon passes legislation to rein in racial disparities in criminal law; which state will be next?* https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2013/07/09/or-sb463/.

ELIMINATE RELICS OF THE HARMFUL AND RACIST "WAR ON DRUGS"

Repeal or reform ineffective and harmful sentencing enhancements

Problem: Most states have laws that are intended to keep children safe by creating enhanced penalties for various drug crimes committed within a certain distance of schools. These laws sound like a common sense approach, but our research has shown that these laws do not work and exacerbate harmful racial disparities in the criminal justice system.

Solutions: The most comprehensive solution is for states to repeal the enhancement zones, and instead rely on the existing laws that impose additional penalties for involving children in drug activity. Barring repeal, there are several other ways to modify the scope of the law. The simplest approach is reducing the size of the zones like Massachusetts and New Jersey did. Alternatively, states can make the enhancement penalty subject to judicial discretion rather than mandatory.

More information: See our work about sentencing enhancement zones at https://www.prisonpolicy.org/zones.html.

End civil asset forfeiture

Problem: Police are empowered to seize and keep any personal assets, such as cash or cars, that they suspect are involved in a crime, even when there is never a related arrest or conviction. The use and scope of civil asset forfeiture was greatly expanded because of the war on drugs. But while it was intended to disrupt major criminal organizations, it is disproportionately used against poor people who cannot afford to challenge the seizures. Civil asset forfeiture makes poor communities poorer and incentivizes aggressive policing.

Solutions: Legislatures can pass laws requiring a criminal conviction for permanent forfeiture, creating a presumption that low-value seizures are not connected to a crime and therefore not eligible for forfeiture, ending participation in the federal "equitable sharing" program, and requiring proceeds from forfeitures to instead go to the state's general fund or a fund dedicated to community development, education, or crime victim compensation.

More information: See the Center for American Progress report *Forfeiting the American Dream* https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/01060039/CivilAssetForfeiture-reportv2.pdf and the Drug Policy Alliance's work on Asset Forfeiture Reform https://www.drugpolicy.org/issues/asset-forfeiture-reform.

End driver's license suspension for drug offenses unrelated to driving

Problem: 6 states have failed to repeal another outdated relic from the war on drugs — automatic driver's license suspensions for all drug offenses, including those unrelated to driving. Our analysis shows that there are over 115,000 licenses suspended every year for non-driving drug convictions. These suspensions disproportionately impact low-income communities and waste government resources and time.

Solutions: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Michigan, Texas, and Virginia should formally opt out of the federal automatic suspension law. There is no financial penalty for opting-out as long as states pass a legislative resolution and the governor informs the Federal Highway Administration.

More information: See our *Driver's License Suspensions* page at https://www.prisonpolicy.org/driving/.

For interesting reports that can help you make the case for criminal justice reform in your state, see https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports.html **and** https://www.prisonpolicy.org/briefings/.

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Guidelines for Authentic Conversations About Race

Achieving the goal of race equity, of truly removing the fortified racial barriers our country has built over time, requires dedicated people using effective tools at every stage of their work for social change. Advancing race equity is critical to achieving your organization's overall mission and is everyone's responsibility.

Candid conversations about race are not easy. They often elicit feelings of grief, anger, frustration and a fear of being judged or misunderstood. But authentic conversations about race are crucial. They allow perspectives to be exchanged, insights to be shared and beliefs and assumptions to be addressed in positive ways. Authentic conversations create understanding, growth and empathy. Most importantly, they are the first step in generating ideas and solutions for ending the unfairness that cause tremendous obstacles for the children, families and communities at the heart of the work for social change.

Having authentic conversations about race requires the following:

Bring your best self. This requires self-knowledge and self-awareness. Self-knowledge allows you to see what causes you pain and conflict and enables you to embrace your contradictions and inconsistencies. It allows the space to work on things about yourself that you are not happy with. In turn, self-knowledge helps to prevent you from projecting your negative aspects onto other people. Bringing your best self also requires that you have a positive attitude, are willing to deeply explore your perspectives and remain open to the perspectives and experiences of others.

Be an active listener. Active listening involves paying full and careful attention to the other person, looking him or her in the eye, avoiding interruptions, reflecting your understanding, clarifying information, summarizing the other person's perspectives and sharing your own. Remember that most people need time to open up and might not be willing to immediately share their personal stories, hopes, fears and/or concerns.

Be kind and generous. Being kind is a vital way of bringing meaning to our own lives, as well as the lives of others. Kindness is about caring genuinely for others around you, wanting the best for them and recognizing in them the same wants, needs, aspirations and even fears that you may have. Being kind and generous allows us to communicate better with others, to be more self-compassionate and to be a positive force in other people's lives.

Stay engaged. Staying engaged requires you to be morally, emotionally, intellectually and socially involved in the conversation. Staying engaged means that you are listening with curiosity and willing to deepen your understanding. Staying engaged might also require you to sustain the conversation even when it gets uncomfortable or diverted.

Be open and suspend judgment. Listening with an open mind includes being receptive to the influence of others. You can suspend judgment by becoming aware of preconceived notions and listening to everything someone has to say before jumping to conclusions. Most importantly, suspending judgment also means listening to what the speaker has to say for understanding, not just to determine whether the speaker is right or wrong.

Speak your truth. Speaking your truth in authentic and courageous conversations about race requires a willingness to take risks. It means that you will be absolutely honest and candid about your own thoughts, feelings, experiences and opinions and not just saying what you perceive others want to hear. Speaking your truth will require you to speak from the "first person" and use "I" statements.

"Lean in" to discomfort. Leaning in to discomfort will require you to let go of racial understandings and stereotypes that you may be holding onto in order to move forward. Leaning in means that you will avoid judgment, assume positive intent and be open to the kernel of wisdom in each individual's experiences. Leaning in to discomfort will require you to sit through moments of embarrassment, confusion, anxiety and/or fear.

Enable empathy and compassion. Empathy and compassion allow you to understand the other person's point of view. When you are empathetic, you are more understanding, patient and kind. Expanding your capacity to feel empathy will also allow others to enter your circle of human concern.

Expect and accept that there may not be closure. It is not likely that you will resolve your personal understanding about race or another person's racial experience in a single conversation. The more you talk about race with another person, the more you learn and the more they will learn. Authentic and productive conversations about race are continuous and always evolving.

Beyond *Celebrating Diversity*: 20 Things I Will Do to Be an Equitable Educator

1. I will learn to pronounce each student's name correctly. Students should never feel the need to shorten or change their names to make it easier for me or anyone else to pronounce them.

2. I will step out of my comfort zone by building a process for continually assessing, reflecting upon, and challenging my biases, prejudices, and socializations and how they influence my expectations for, and relationships with, each student, family, and colleague.

3. I will review all learning materials, ensuring that they are free of bias whether in implicit or explicit forms. When I find bias in required materials I will encourage students to recognize and analyze it.

4. I will learn and teach about the ways people in the subject areas I teach have used their knowledge to advocate for either justice or injustice.

5. I will reject deficit ideology—the temptation to identity the problem of outcome disparities (such as test scores) as *existing within* rather than as *pressing upon* marginalized communities. I will remember that such disparities do not result from supposed deficiencies in marginalized communities, but instead are symptoms of structural educational and social conditions. This means I must find solutions to these problems that focus, not on "fixing" marginalized communities, but on fixing the conditions and practices that marginalize communities.

6. I will teach about issues like racism, sexism, poverty, and heterosexism. Despite false perceptions that younger students are not "ready" for these conversations, I will begin doing so at the youngest ages. Students from marginalized communities already are experiencing these problems and witnessing their families experiencing them.

7. I will understand the relationship between *intent* and *impact*. Often, particularly when I'm in a situation in which I experience privilege, I have the luxury of referring and responding only to what I intended, regardless of the impact I've had. I must take responsibility for and learn from my impact because most individual-level oppression is unintentional. But unintentional oppression hurts just as much as intentional oppression.

8. I will reject the myth of color-blindness. As uncomfortable as it may be to admit, I know that I react differently when I'm in a room full of people who share many dimensions of my identity than when I'm in a room full of people who are very different from me. I must be open and honest about this reality, because those shifts inevitably inform the experiences of the people with whom I interact. In addition, color-blindness denies people validation of their whole person.

9. I will keep in mind that some students do not enjoy the same level of access to educational materials and resources, such as computers and the Internet, as other students. I will be thoughtful about how I assign homework.

10. I will build coalitions with educators who are different from me in terms of race, sexual orientation, gender, religion, home language, class, (dis)ability, and other identities. These can be valuable relationships for feedback and collaborative problem-solving. At the same time, I must not rely on other people to identify my weaknesses. In particular, in the areas of my identity through which I experience privilege, I must not rely on people from marginalized groups to teach me how to improve myself (which is, in and of itself, a practice of privilege).

11. I will improve my skills as a facilitator so that, when issues such as racism or heterosexism arise in the classroom, I can take advantage of the resulting educational opportunities.

12. I will elicit anonymous feedback from students and, when I do, I will model a willingness to be changed by their presence to the same extent they are changed by mine.

13. I will not *essentialize* students from identity groups different from my own. Despite the popularity of workshops and literature that suggest that we need to know only one dimension of a student's identity in order to know her learning needs, culture, and proclivities, such a presumption is dangerously simplistic. There is no such thing as a singular, predictable "culture of poverty" or Asian "learning style." One's racial identity is not a reasonable predictor of her interests or gifts. I will refuse these simplifications.

14. I will offer an integrated equity-based curriculum, not just during special months or celebrations, but all year, every day.

15. I will understand inequity, not just as an interpersonal issue, but as a systemic issue. Although I might not consider the fight against global sexism or world poverty as within my purview, part of understanding students is understanding the ways conditions and inequities within the education system affect them.

16. I will encourage students to think critically and ask critical questions about all of the information they receive, including the information they receive from me.

17. I will challenge myself to take personal responsibility before looking for fault elsewhere. For example, if I have one student who is falling behind or being disruptive, I will consider what I am doing or not doing that might be contributing to their disengagement before blaming their behavior or effort.

18. I will work to ensure that students from marginalized communities are not placed unjustly into lower academic tracks. I will fight to get them into gifted and talented programs. Better yet, considering that three decades of research demonstrate that tracking benefits only the five percent of highest achievers, I will fight tracking altogether.

19. I will advocate for equity for *all* underrepresented or marginalized students. Equity is not a game of choice; if I am to claim that I am committed to equity, I do not have the luxury of choosing who does or does not have access to it. For example, I cannot fight effectively for racial equity while I fail to confront gender inequity. And I can never be a real advocate for gender equity if I duck the responsibility for ensuring equity for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer students. When I find myself justifying my inattention to any group of marginalized people due to the worldview or value system into which I was socialized, I know it is time to reevaluate that worldview or value system.

20. I will celebrate myself as an educator. I can and should also celebrate every moment I spend in critical self-reflection about my teaching, however challenging it may be, because it makes me a more equitable educator. And *that* is something to celebrate!

by Paul Gorski for EdChange and the Equity Literacy Institute. Revised November 26, 2017.

From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	2/11/2021 10:27:23 AM
To:	Betsy Chadd [betsy.chadd@bss.k12.oh.us]; emily_eilerman@arcanum-butler.k12.oh.us; Carmen Franks [cfranks@sainthelenschool.org]; judge.rachael@oakwoodschools.org; Paige Lewis [paige.lewis@bss.k12.oh.us]; Mary Kay Marsh [marykay.marsh@bss.k12.oh.us]; melchor.crystal@oakwoodschools.org; patterson.sarah@oakwoodschools.org; Chrysa M Theodore [theodorecm@crgrp.com]; Katie Weber [katie.weber@bss.k12.oh.us]; wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org
BCC:	donnie.phelps@bss.k12.oh.us
Subject:	Follow-up Equity Podcast
Attachments:	The 7 stages of white people getting woke.pdf

All,

I want to thank you for a wonderful five weeks of rich community conversation and growth. I am hopeful that you look back on our time together as an opportunity to learn, grow, and build momentum for living, serving, and leading in a more equitable manner.

As part of our final session, we discussed sharing participant contact information so that you all can have continued conversations whether it be resource sharing or questions. For those in attendance, I have sent this email directly to you all for ease of communication, you can select "reply all". Out of respect for those not present at last night's session, I have bcc'd their email address.

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I will truly miss our time together! Thank you, all of you for such an amazing experience!
--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

The 7 stages of white people getting woke

complex.com/life/2016/01/white-people-woke

Jamie Varon

We all watched as Matt McGorry went from the cute prison guard in *Orange is the New Black* to that woke white guy who's using his celebrity influence to raise awareness around injustice and inequality. Thanks to the Internet and the removal of media gatekeepers, we've seen a growing number of prominent celebrities (what up, Penn Badgley!) wake up to the harsh realities that people of color face. Anyone who can access the web has a voice now, and while the Internet can be a breeding ground for hatred, it's also a place where we can learn from each others' experiences.

I know I'm not alone in waking up to the subtle and insidious ways that racism permeates the lives of so many Americans. Although I doubt most white people believe we're living in a "post-racial America," hearing stories from POCs about their experiences with racism is eye-opening. From rampant police brutality and heightened incarceration rates to socioeconomicinequality and job discrimination, there's an entire segment of America that many white people are unaware of.

At least, that's until they wake the hell up, and see what's going on around them. When white people go from oblivious to activist, there's a certain pattern that emerges. Here are the seven stages of getting "woke":

Stage 1: Recognition

Maybe the seed was planted by the execution of Trayvon Martin. Maybe the videos of Tamir Rice or Michael Brown or Freddie Gray or Eric Garner made you recognize that something is not right, here—that there is a very real, very serious problem with the way people of color are treated in America. That recognition, like a light bulb above the head, changed everything. You knew you'd never be the same again. You knew something you couldn't un-know.

So yeah, you feel guilty. And frustrated. And helpless. And then a little more guilty. But then you realize that your feelings are really not as important as decades of injustice, so you just sit back, listen, and then listen some more. Because white people's feelings about racism < people of color's actual racist reality. ¯_(ツ)_/¯

Stage 2: Research

After recognition, it becomes all about research: reading books that may be <u>uncomfortable to</u> <u>read</u>; reading about privilege and the ways the world has opened doors for you based on your skin color—but closed doors on others for theirs. You go down the rabbit hole of information, and the more you read, the angrier you become. You start thinking: *How did I not notice any of this before? How is this still the reality we're living in? This is all super messed up.*

So, you fill your Amazon cart with books. You read <u>novels</u> by <u>people of color</u>. You click on <u>essays by people of color.</u> You want to know, to learn more, to be awake. You're done sticking your head in the sand, and pretending everything is fine.

Stage 3: Feel

Although knowledge is power, all the knowledge you now have makes you feel helpless. What should you do with your privilege? How can you help? How do you do your part to make things more equal? You're only one person, so you feel horrible that you can't do anything to help except pay attention.

You try hard not to slip into feeling guilty, which will only lead you to feeling resentful and angry. The world does not need more resentful people. The world needs hopeful people, so you start to have hope—or at least, you try.

Stage 4: Connect

You go deep into the world of Black Twitter. You laugh because Black Twitter is so fun and full of awesome GIFs. Literally everything Black Twitter does is cooler than anything else happening on Twitter.

You follow <u>@deray.</u> You think about buying a blue vest like Deray's. You learn about grace and love from Deray and others—that even when it's bleak and dangerous and scary in the world, there's still hope. You get warm and fuzzy over <u>Deray's nightly "remember to dream" tweets.</u>

Stage 5: Defend

Once you know what you know, you can't stay silent on the matter. You start posting to Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram—wherever possible. Lots of people agree with you, and you start feeling hopeful that society's consciousness is changing.

Then, the comments that start with "actually" start rolling in. Your family members post racist memes on Facebook, and it takes everything you have to not rip into them. You fight with people you love, urging them to see how hurtful their views are.

Stage 6: Purge

Mute. Block. Unfriend. Hide posts. Unfollow. Breathe.

Every woke white person eventually has to go through an exhaustive social media purge. Racist cousins? Unfriend. That aunt who thinks Syrian refugees should be banned from America? Unfriend. The random person from high school who's always like, "Why doesn't anyone care when a white person gets killed by the police?" Anyone who supports Donald Trump? Block.

UNFRIEND. UNFRIEND. UNFRIEND.

Stage 7: Dream

Eventually, you realize (and hope) that America's consciousnessis evolving. There's a light in the distance. You can't focus only on the negative, otherwise it'll swallow you whole. So, you stay aware, check your privilege, and keep your anger productive.

Above all, you remember to hope for something better, to believe it can happen. Change isn't happening all at once, but it is happening.

Complex notifications for breaking news and stories.

From:	Sarah Patterson [patterson.sarah@oakwoodschools.org]
Sent:	2/16/2021 11:06:51 AM
To:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Subject:	Re: Follow-up Equity Podcast

Hi, Sandi! I hope you're staying safe and warm on this wintry day. I wanted to thank you again for your time and your passion in leading us through this journey. I'm happy to share that I have a group of staff members from my building who will be joining me in exploring and discussing the podcast together over the next couple of months. Thank you for your leadership and inspiration!

Respectfully,

Sarah Patterson
Harman School Principal
Oakwood City Schools
937-297-5338

"The function of education is to teach one to think intensively and to think critically. Intelligence plus character - that is the goal of true education."
-Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

On Thu, Feb 11, 2021 at 10:27 AM Sandi Preiss <sandi.preiss@mcesc.org> wrote:
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Sent:	2/16/2021 11:13:08 AM
To:	Sarah Patterson [patterson.sarah@oakwoodschools.org]
Subject:	Re: Follow-up Equity Podcast

Sarah,

How great to hear! Thank you for sharing this update, it warms my heart!

On Tue, Feb 16, 2021 at 11:07 AM Sarah Patterson <patterson.sarah@oakwoodschools.org> wrote:
Hi, Sandi! I hope you're staying safe and warm on this wintry day. I wanted to thank you again for your time and your passion in leading us through this journey. I'm happy to share that I have a group of staff members from my building who will be joining me in exploring and discussing the podcast together over the next couple of months. Thank you for your leadership and inspiration!

Respectfully,

Sarah Patterson
Harman School Principal
Oakwood City Schools
937-297-5338

"The function of education is to teach one to think intensively and to think critically. Intelligence plus character - that is the goal of true education."
-Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

On Thu, Feb 11, 2021 at 10:27 AM Sandi Preiss <sandi.preiss@mcesc.org> wrote:
All,
I want to thank you for a wonderful five weeks of rich community conversation and growth. I am hopeful that you look back on our time together as an opportunity to learn, grow, and build momentum for living, serving, and leading in a more equitable manner.

As part of our final session, we discussed sharing participant contact information so that you all can have continued conversations whether it be resource sharing or questions. For those in attendance, I have sent this email directly to you all for ease of communication, you can select "reply all". Out of respect for those not present at last night's session, I have bcc'd their email address.

Additionally, we discussed an interest in future opportunities for us to learn together and continue to build our budding relationship. I am deep in thought about this and plan on circling back with you in the coming weeks, stay tuned.

As a reminder, if you have a question regarding the Podcast study survey, certificate of completion, and/or billing you can reach out directly to stacy.southard@mcapps.org at WOSC who kindly put this podcast study together for all of us. If you have any additional questions or comments regarding the podcast study itself (format, content, etc.) please feel free to drop me a line. I would love to hear from you.

<u>A couple of parting resources:</u>
1. If you have not yet seen NPR's short yet impactful video on Redlining, here is that <u>link</u>.

2. If you have an interest in further understanding segregation and integration (or frankly the lack thereof) I highly recommend *Some of My Best Friends are Black* by Tanner Colby.

3. You will find the "woke" article we discussed last night is attached.

4. If you have an interest in further exploring Adaptive leadership, here is a great <u>book</u> for your journey.

5. Paige mentioned Kim Crenshaw's *The Urgency to Intersectionality* Ted talk in our chat window last evening. Here is a <u>link</u> to her talk.

I will truly miss our time together! Thank you, all of you for such an amazing experience!
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Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

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Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	2/16/2021 5:15:56 PM
To:	MYRA BAKER [mysbaker@daytonpublic.com]; JENNIFER CAIN [jkcain@daytonpublic.com]; Betsy Chadd [betsy.chadd@bss.k12.oh.us]; SFMurphy@daytonpublic.com; fultz.elaine@oakwoodschools.org; JGRABEMA@daytonpublic.com; rkgunter@daytonpublic.com; cjhowes@daytonpublic.com; erogers@daytonpublic.com; melchor.crystal@oakwoodschools.org; tmmonroe@daytonpublic.com; Mary Kay Marsh [marykay.marsh@bss.k12.oh.us]; dlmullin@daytonpublic.com; MONICA RUZICKA [mruzicka@daytonpublic.com]; Becky Sledge [sledge.becky@oakwoodschools.org]; tstomps@daytonpublic.com; ROBIN ZELINSKI [razelins@daytonpublic.com]; Beth Justice [bjustice@southernohioesc.org]; Donnie Phelps [donnie.phelps@bss.k12.oh.us]; emily_eilerman@arcanum-butler.k12.oh.us; Carmen Franks [cfranks@sainthelenschool.org]; judge.rachael@oakwoodschools.org; Paige Lewis [paige.lewis@bss.k12.oh.us]; Sarah Patterson [patterson.sarah@oakwoodschools.org]; Chrysa M Theodore [theodorecm@crgrp.com]; Katie Weber [katie.weber@bss.k12.oh.us]; wingate.tina@oakwoodschools.org
Subject:	Equity Study follow-up

All,

You are receiving this email because of your recent participation in an equity study group with me. Per our discussions in the last session, I am proposing the formation of an after-hours, equity group. If you are interested and would like to find out more, please use this link.

Currently, we will open this group only to participants in the podcast or book study group. Once we get a handle on this opportunity, we can revisit participation.

Also, if you have a colleague who participated in either the book study or podcast study but did not receive this email, please let me know. I ONLY sent this email to those who offered to have their email shared with the group.

I will circle back with a decision and details later next week.

Thank you!
--
Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center

From:	Sandi Preiss [sandi.preiss@mcesc.org]
Sent:	3/24/2021 11:24:29 AM
To:	Margaret Pinnell [mpinnell1@udayton.edu]; Sydney Lundell [lundells1@udayton.edu]
CC:	carly.monfort@centerville.k12.oh.us; Heidi Steinbrink [edwards.heidi@oakwoodschools.org]; jim.prater@madriverschools.org; Tracy Martz [tmartz@daytonearlycollege.org]; barnes@nationaltrail.us
Subject:	Re: Help finding teachers to interview

Dr. Pinnell,

Of course, I can recommend and e-connect you and Sydney to some local DRSC STEM-trained teachers. Below is a list of several teachers within our region who continue to set the bar for excellence in high school science, math, and STEM education.

I have attempted to construct a list representing a diversity of academic offerings, diversity of district learning offerings (during the pandemic, as well as diverse district typologies. If you two feel we are missing a specific subset, we should circle back with Liz Wolfe-Eberly.

I have cc'd all of the recommended teachers on this email so they know to watch for more news from Sydney. All of these teachers continue to cobtribute to our pfield through their rich collaborative and generous spirit, I expect most/ all will figure out a way to sync with Sydney if at all possible. If anyone on this email would like to circle back with me, please feel free!

Jackie Barnes: jbarnes@nationaltrail.us (High school math, rural)
Heidi Edwards: edwards.heidi@oakwoodschools.org (High school biology, suburban)
Tracey Martz: tmartz@daytonearlycollege.org (High school science, urban)
Carly Monfort: carly.monfort@centerville.k12.oh.us (High school chemistry, suburban)
Jim Prater: jim.prater@madriverschools.org (High school engineering & robotics, suburban)

Best,
Sandi

On Wed, Mar 24, 2021 at 10:50 AM Margaret Pinnell <mpinnell1@udayton.edu> wrote:
Sandi,

I am working with a student, Sydney (copied on this email) who needs to interview at least one more highschool STEM teacher that was teaching during COVID. I thought of Carly, but do not have her email. Are you able to share that? Also, I think it would be good for her to do at least a couple more interviews (she has done 2, but I really think she should do about 5). Do you have other people you could suggest?
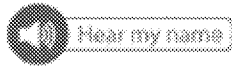
Thank you very much!

I hope all is well with you and yours.

God Bless,

Margie

--

Margaret F. Pinnell, PhD

 Hear my name

Associate Dean for Faculty and Staff Development
Bernhard Schmidt Chair in Engineering Leadership
Professor, Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering
Marianist Educational Associate
School of Engineering, KL 564
University of Dayton
300 College Park
Dayton, OH 45469-0254

To schedule an appointment click here.

Cell (937) 694-7411
Office (937) 229-2990
Fax (937) 229-2756

mpinnell1@udayton.edu
@udmatrlswrld312

Pronouns: she/her/hers

Igniting Passion, Engineering the Future, Making a Difference
green dot: a single choice in one moment that makes this community safer.

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Best,
Sandi Preiss
Service Coordinator & Consultant
Montgomery Educational Service Center