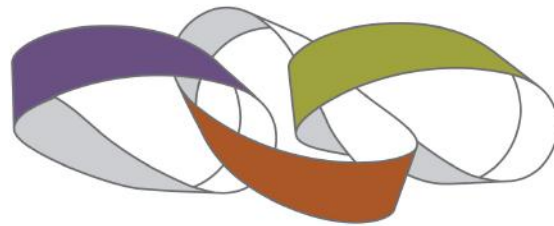# Systems Thinking And Race
Summary & Exercises

ProjectLinkedFate.org

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Overview: Systems Thinking and Race

Think   Think   **Talk**

Act
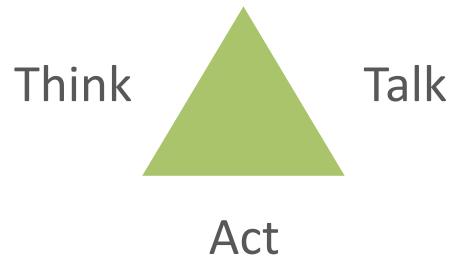
Think	Talk	Act
Focus on systems and structures to identify patterns and strategic interventions	Build power by reinvigorating commitment to equity and justice	Emphasize connections, without diminishing significance of differences

Systems Thinking and Race (STAR) is a series of materials about structural inequality. The materials are designed to provide you with new ways to think about how race works in American society, new strategies for talking more effectively about the issues that have racialized outcomes, and new ways to make change. Within each section, written and visual materials, a case study, and exercises support understanding concepts and applying them to your specific context.

Think

To understand **Systems Thinking**, we will focus on how issues and problems are interconnected, offer tools to help identify strategic points of intervention that also build possibilities for collaboration across difference. In this section, we delve into the concepts of Systems Thinking, Structural Inequality, Structural Racialization, Targeted Universalism, and Opportunity Structures. Each section explores key concepts, provides a case study and a sample exercise.

Structural Inequality

Why don't caged birds fly away? Is it a lack of desire or imagination? An unwillingness to work hard or a lack of positive role models? Is it because caged birds are somehow biologically unable to fly? Of course not! Caged birds cannot fly because they are locked inside a cage: a cage that has been built to be virtually impossible to escape. In fact, when a caged bird escapes, the owner or the person who put them in that cage in the first place, goes to great effort to return the "escaped" bird to the cage.

Why don't the caged birds fly away?

Is it a lack of desire, hard work, imagination, or role models?

We cannot explain why the bird cannot fly away by looking at one bar of the cage. However, on evaluating the multiple bars arranged in specific ways that reinforce each other, we see that the effect of the bars is structural and cumulative such that the bird is trapped.

How is the cage is built?

The cage is built to be virtually impossible to escape.
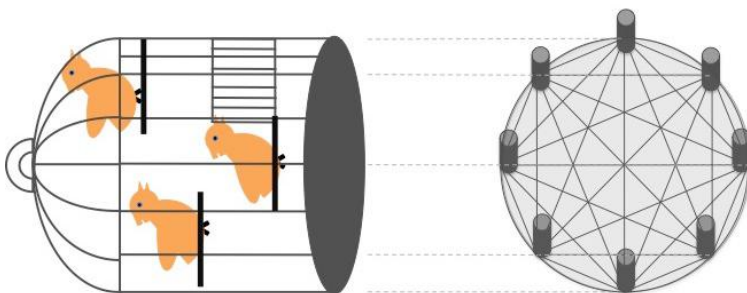
Societal institutions also behave as cumulative structures, such that individuals face multiple barriers to changing their circumstances, even when they recognize what is wrong.

Systems Thinking and Race

The outcome of structural racialization is a highly uneven geography of opportunity that constantly evolves, and, importantly, does not require explicitly racist actors to maintain. Societal institutions and relationships between those institutions give or take away opportunity for groups of people. These relationships create predictable outcomes for different social groups.

Structural inequity describes a dynamic process that generates differential outcomes based on class, race, gender, immigration status, history of incarceration, etc. While structural inequities appear to work well for some people, inequity in fact works against most people—even those who appear to be benefitting.

When a society is entrenched with structural inequity and inhibits mechanism to address persistent inequity, social supports for all members of that society are compromised by the collective commitment to insure that some members do not have access.

If we want different outcomes, we need to transform structures. If the caged bird cannot thrive, a systems thinking doctor would examine the cage and redesign the structure so that the bird's needs are met rather than limited. Limiting our interventions on an issue to one individual, institution, or societal institution inherently limits our impact since it is the interaction of multiple institutions that creates enduring inequitable outcomes.

Our challenge is to **recognize** the processes that create predictable inequity, **imagine** alternative structural arrangements that would produce equity, **interrupt** the processes that currently create inequity, and **build** collective power to make those changes.

How Structures Are Built Matters

Separation   Permeable   Connection

If we want different outcomes, we need different relationships between structures.

Case Study: Structures Incentivize School Equity

Typically, in terms of physical facilities, political responsiveness and financial resources, schools in wealthy, predominantly white neighborhoods are better resourced than schools in predominantly people of color and/or low-income neighborhoods. Mapping is one way to make visible spatial and racialized inequity. These "opportunity maps" can be used to design interventions that to incentivize equitable distribution of resources throughout the district.

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

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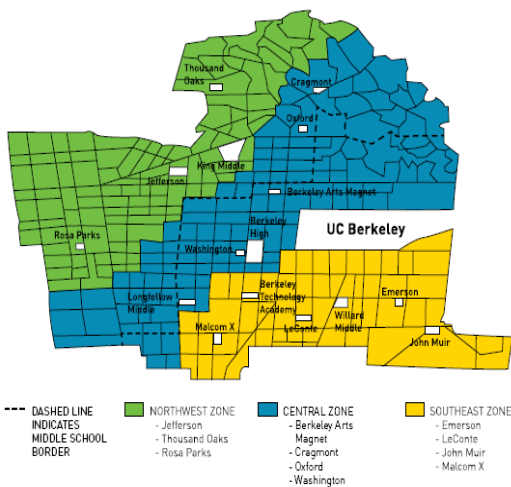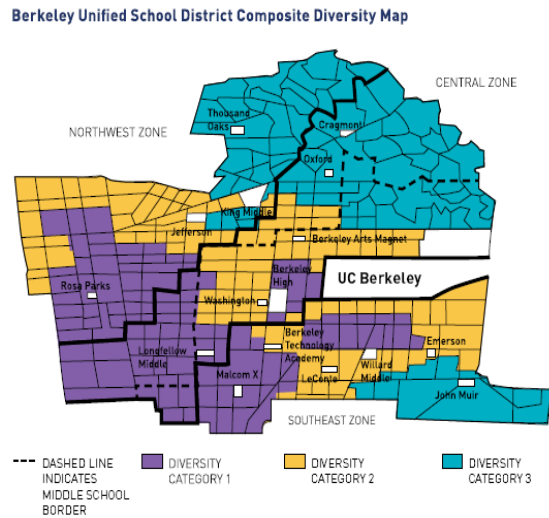
The Berkeley Unified School District was sued twice over the use of race as a factor in assigning students to schools; however, it was upheld both times because no individual student's race determined their placement.

Structural Racialization
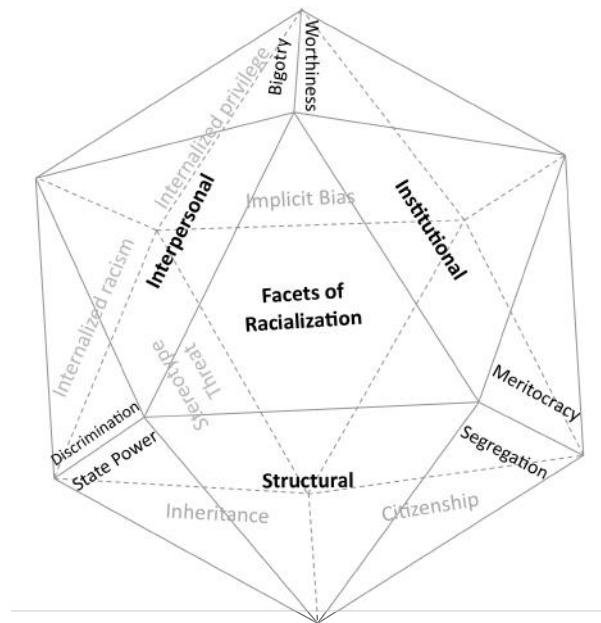
Race is multifaceted - shining light helps to reveal its complexity. While the value and meaning of race are social-political constructs with no legitimate biological bases, the assignment of value and meaning to race has concrete ramifications on our lives.

Race is one way that our society sorts communities and people to allocate resources and access to those resources. In the United States, the maintenance of racial hierarchy creates, recreates, and obscures shared interest necessary to achieve equitable political, economic and social outcomes. We are taught not to see how race is used to undermine building and investing in shared institutions, and at the same time, to reinforce coercive power for the corporate elite.

Because race manifests itself simultaneously in multiple spheres of our live, it is helpful to begin by thinking of three domains that shape our experiences: individual, institutional, and structural.

At individual level, internalized racism and internalized white supremacy describes the conscious and unconscious beliefs we have inside ourselves about ourselves associated with our membership in a particular racial group. These shape how we interact with the world, how we interpret our experiences, and how well we perform in different contexts.

Race is . . .

An idea or social construct that
 • has been **built** over time
 • continues to **evolve** and change
 • has **concrete** ramifications for people's lives
 • has many interconnecting sides or **facets**

Image: understandingrace.org

Similarly, the continued significance of **gender, class, physical difference, and sexual orientation**, is a result of societal choices expressed through policies, laws, and practices.

Interpersonal racism describes racism between two or more people. The harshest, most obvious form of interpersonal racism is bigotry.

Institutional racism describes the behaviors, practices and policies inside an institution that create racialized outcomes. This is a very broad category in that an institution can describe a particular school, a school district, or an educational system.

Structural racism describes how the different facets of racism work interactively to reinforce a system of racialized outcomes that are considered "normal", "natural" and "inevitable". Structural racism does not require racist actors or racist intentions to produce racialized outcomes. Interactions between individuals are simultaneously shaped by all of these domains.
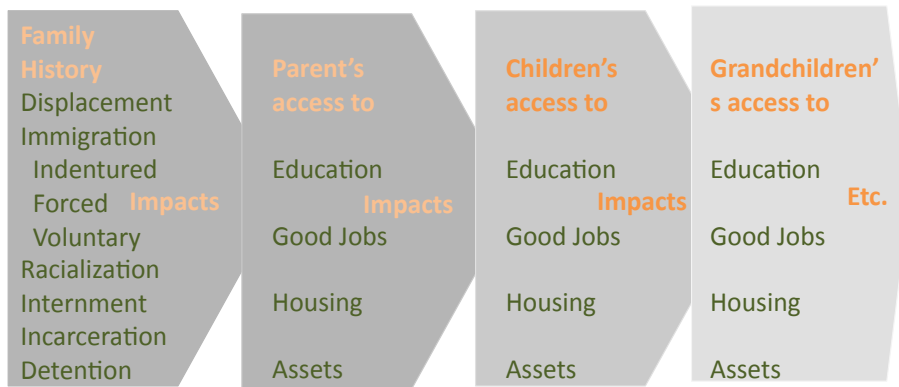
For the purposes of this discussion, we'll focus on structural racialization. We use the term *racialization* to denote the *dynamic process* that creates cumulative and durable inequalities based on race. Structural Racialization often determines an individual's or a group's position in physical, social, and cultural opportunity structures – where a person lives, who they know, and what is considered normal. The *outcome* of Structural Racialization is a highly uneven geography of opportunity that constantly evolves, and does not require explicitly racist actors to maintain. Our challenge is to identify the most effective ways to interrupt the processes that create inequity.

A structural analysis examines how historical legacies, individuals, institutions and structures work *interactively* to distribute advantages and disadvantages along racial lines[1]. The home mortgage market provides one example of how government, banking, and real estate worked together in the post-war period, while Jim Crow was still firmly entrenched, to create a highly racialized landscape that continues to create racialized outcomes today, not just in home ownership, but across multiple domains.

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

EXAMPLE: HOUSING AND THE FORECLOSURE CRISIS

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

Case Study: Structural Racialization and Government's Role

Beginning in the 1930s, the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) had homeownership policies that supported a practice that we now call "redlining". Redlining was a practice through which some neighborhoods, typically African American neighborhoods, were labeled undesirable for investment.

Redlining in San Francisco

"If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes. A change in social or racial occupancy generally contributes to instability and a decline in values.[1]"

Source: FHA http://salt.unc.edu/T-Races/mosaic.html
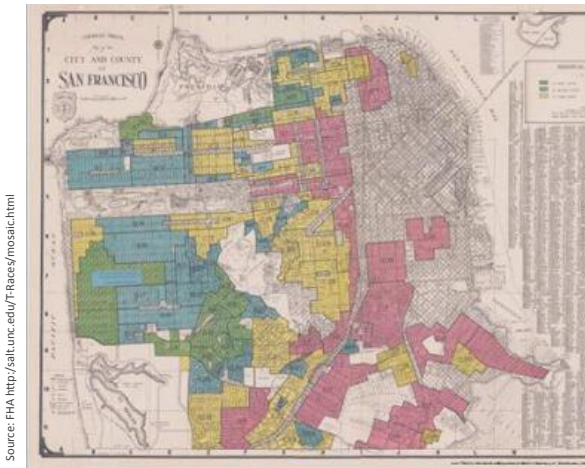
1939 "Redlining" Map

Federal Housing Authority Underwriting Manual:

"Red areas … are characterized by detrimental influences in a pronounced degree, undesirable population or infiltration of it. . . Some mortgage lenders may refuse to make loans in these neighborhoods and other will lend only on a conservative basis."

Consequently, banks would not make loans for homes or businesses in those neighborhoods. In other words, a prospective homebuyer could not access loans to buy a home in a redlined neighborhood, and a homeowner in a redlined neighborhood could not get loans to make improvements to their home. This prevented people from being able to invest in their neighborhoods or build assets for their families and businesses; it also caused people with more resources to leave those neighborhoods and invest elsewhere.

Redlining in San Diego

Source: FHA http://salt.unc.edu/T-Races/mosaic.html

Between 1932 and 1964, FHA and VA (through the GI Bill) financed over $120 billion of new housing.

Less than 2% of this real estate was available to nonwhite families, mostly in segregated areas

Historic redlining continues to impact opportunity today. The areas of lowest opportunity today are the same areas that were redlined beginning in the 1930's. Leading up to the current Foreclosure Crisis, neighborhoods that were previously redlined were viewed as market opportunities for banks and targeted for sub-prime mortgages.

A subprime mortgage is a loan with higher interest rates designed for *individuals* with low credit ratings and who present a higher risk of non-payment for the bank. Targetin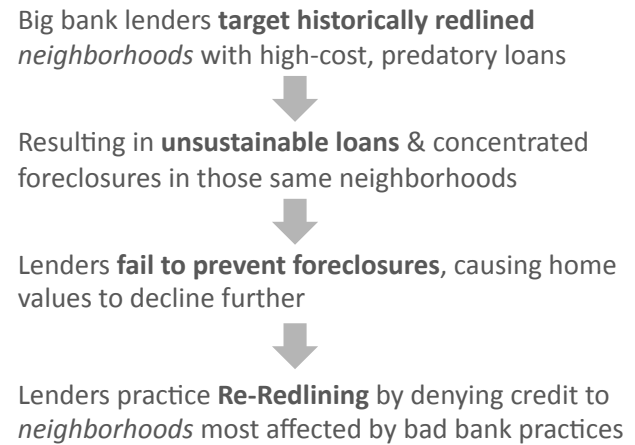g *neighborhoods* that in the previous generation had very limited access to government guaranteed home mortgages for today's subprime mortgages is in essence reverse red-lining .

Purposefully offering higher interest rate loans in greater numbers in neighborhoods that were excluded during the Jim Crow era by official government policy and which continue to have higher concentrations of racial minorities, the current crisis built upon the groundwork of past racial policy without necessarily having explicit racial intent. However, studies that compare mortgage rates to families by race reveal that white families pay prime rate and Asian, Hispanic and Black families pay increasingly higher rates in that order. [CRL footnote]

Re-Red Lining Today

Big bank lenders **target historically redlined** *neighborhoods* with high-cost, predatory loans

Resulting in **unsustainable loans** & concentrated foreclosures in those same neighborhoods

Lenders **fail to prevent foreclosures**, causing home values to decline further

Lenders practice **Re-Redlining** by denying credit to *neighborhoods* most affected by bad bank practices

A study of the number of mortgages originated in major metropolitan areas in California showed that the number of new loans made in majority people of color neighborhoods went down following the 2008 mortgage crisis. In Los Angeles, Bank of America and Citigroup were more likely to deny loan applications for neighborhoods with highest concentrations of people of color if compared to those for non-minority neighborhoods. In Los Angeles' neighborhoods of color, the number of prime loans, which are loans made to individuals with good credit, went *down* by 25% between 2006 and 2008. Similarly, in San Diego, Bank of America, Downey Savings and Loan and Wells Fargo are more likely to deny loans in communities of color than in non-minority neighborhoods and the number of prime loans in these neighborhoods decreased by 25% between 2006 and 2008[1]. Similarly, in Oakland, CA, Notices of Default, indicating unsustainable mortgage lending, are concentrated in communities with the

Re-Redlining

Oakland, CA

Source: FHA http://salt.unc.edu/T-Races/mosaic.html

Source: Pietro Calogero

1937   2012

highest concentrations of people of color. Big bank lenders made 70% of their high-cost loans in these neighborhoods[1].

In the wake of the Foreclosure Crisis, banks are unwilling to work out loan modifications in these neighborhoods and, once again, credit is unavailable. For example, in Oakland, there were an average of 22 foreclosures for every loan modification made each month in 2009. By comparison, in the United States overall, there were only 7 foreclosures for every loan modification[1]. This strongly suggests that banks are not making efforts to modify loan repayment schedules so that people can stay in their homes in communities with high concentrations of non-whites, while they are making an effort to do so in majority white neighborhoods. This not only impacts housing stability and asset accumulation, it impacts the overall health of the community.

> Foreclosures can lead to community decline. One study found that an increase of 2.8 foreclosures for every 100 owner-occupied properties was associated with a 6.7% increase in violent crimes in those neighborhoods.[1]

Since institutions continue to support, not dismantle, the status quo, we continue to see racially inequitable outcomes even when there are ostensibly neutral profit motives behind actions.

Systems Thinking
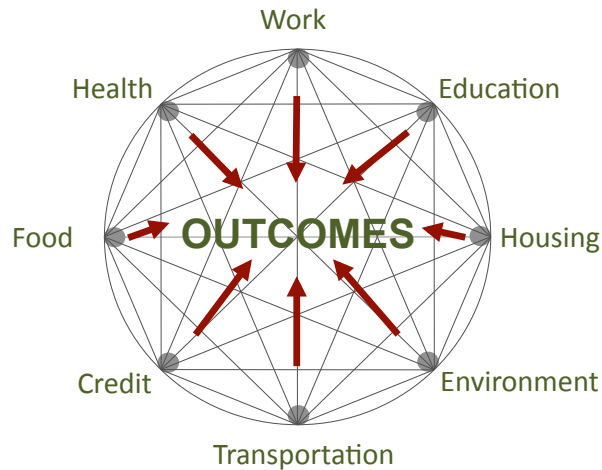
Which structures impact the outcomes you are trying to change?

Systems Thinking explores how institutions that effect opportunity are arranged, and to what result. In other words, by examining the structures that give or take opportunity from particular groups of people, the timing of the interactions, and the relationships that exist between them, we will have a more complete understanding of why certain outcomes persist. For example, it is helpful to reveal how health outcomes of a community are not simply a result of individual choices, but rather, are a function of opportunities, access to work, access to quality education, availability of high quality and affordable housing, and reliable transportation.

Structural Intervention

Housing and jobs are two nodes in the system: the dotted lines suggest the many ways housing and jobs are connected in the system.
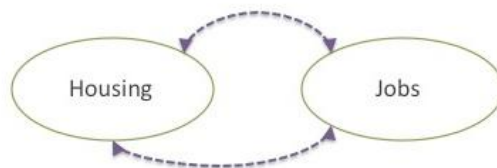
1. What intervention could be made in **Jobs** to positively impact structurally racialized housing?

2. What are some interventions that directly affect both?

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

In a Systems Thinking worldview, A is connected to B, C, D and E in such a way that causation is *reciprocal, mutual and cumulative.*
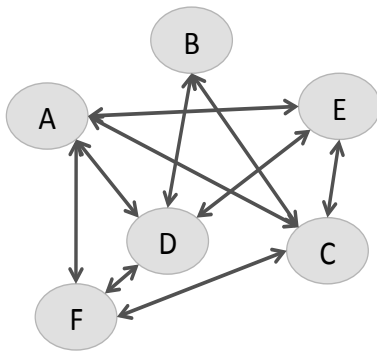
If we think about issues in isolation, we would consider A separately from B, for example housing separately from air quality, thinking that once we fix A, we can direct our energies towards fixing B. In practice, this often results in one group working on issue A and another working on issue B, and not working together even though A and B are linked.

With multi-dimensional thinking, or, 'Systems Thinking,' we can understand the context that produces consistently different housing, air quality, health, economic, and educational outcomes in different communities, strategize on multiple fronts, and open up the possibility of building greater collective power to change these outcomes[1].

Case Study: The Story of Domestic Workers United and the National Domestic Workers Alliance

In most states, domestic workers are excluded from the right to collective bargaining, minimum wage, and overtime pay under major US labor laws: the National Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act. These Acts, which protect employee rights, were crafted in the wake of the New Deal, and written to exclude the racialized work sectors of farm work and domestic work as concession to Southern legislators[1]. Today, these work sectors are still racialized, though the demographics of workers has shifted from an African American majority in the 1930's and 40's[1] to a dominantly immigrant workforce today.

Domestic workers are also excluded from worker's compensation and many other workplace protections in most states[1] which is particularly salient in light of the isolated and hazardous work they perform, often sole employee in their employer's home, and so particularly vulnerable to abuse and rights violations.

Six years of organizing by Domestic Worker's United resulted in the passing of the New York Domestic Worker's Rights Bill in 2010, giving an estimated 200,000 domestic workers in New York State a 40 hour work week, overtime, unemployment insurance, temporary disability benefits, and other protections from workplace abuses. Domestic Workers United coalesced with domestic workers organizations from around the United States to form the National Domestic Workers Alliance in 2006; the NDWA has been instrumental in passing the California Domestic Worker's Bill of Rights in 2013, granting similar workers rights to California domestic workers.

The power of NDWA to affect legislative change is due in part to their ability to unite support across traditional boundaries of race, class, and national borders. They are able to do this, in part, by organizing a campaign that recognizes the shared needs of domestic workers, and the different needs of different communities. For example, the campaign recognizes the importance of protecting worker rights so that domestic working conditions meet employment standards enjoyed by other workers, providing resources and services in multiple languages for non-English speakers, creating mechanisms to protect undocumented immigrant workers and create pathways for citizenship, and improving resources for employers.

Using this multifaceted approach, the National Domestic Workers Alliance is able to address the different and particular needs arising from the relative situatedness of a wide range of communities. This not only results in better legislation, it lays the foundation for a unified, values-based campaign that engages citizens, immigrants, employers and employees to build popular power necessary to hold elected officials accountable to people's demands.

Systems Thinking Diagram

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

EXAMPLE: NATIONAL DOMESTIC WORKERS ALLIANCE

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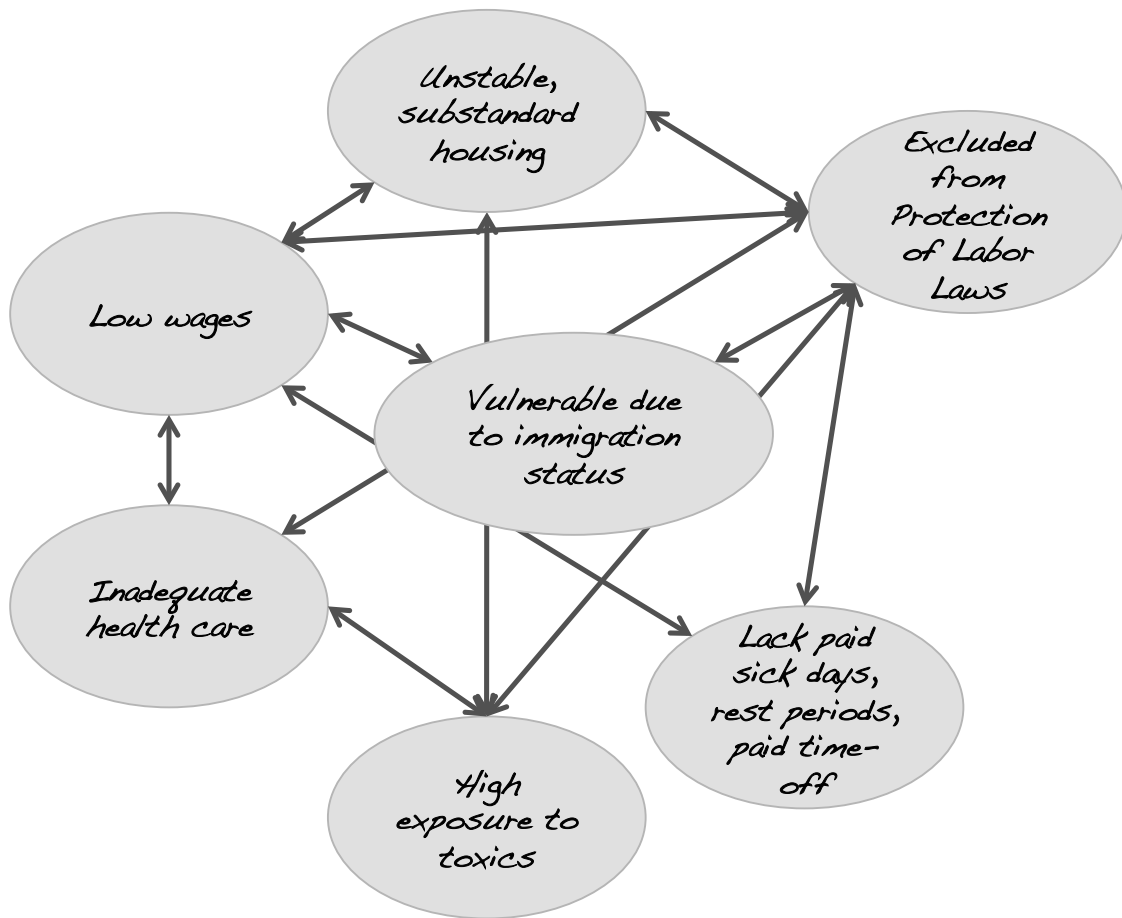
B. What action could you take on **one** of these interconnected issues that would solve a problem more typically associated with your issue? Are there other problems that might be solved by this action as well?

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

System Diagram

FACILITATION GOALS: RECOGNIZE HOW SEEMINGLY UNRELATED, POOR OUTCOMES ARE INTERCONNECTED AND INTER-RELATED. IDENTIFY A POSSIBLE INTERVENTION THAT, THOUGH NOT OBVIOUS AT FIRST, MIGHT IMPROVE OUTCOMES IN MULTIPLE DOMAINS.

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

A. Diagram these links in a systems diagram.

B. What action could you take on **one** of these interconnected issues (but not your issue area) that would solve a problem more typically associated with your issue? Are there other problems that might be solved by this action as well?

Building Structures that Unify

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

Common Goal:
Targeted Strategies:
Group:
Group:
Group:
Group:
Group:
Group:

Examining Facets of Racialization[1]

FACILITATION GOAL: IDENTIFY AND DIFFERENTIATE FOUR FACETS OF RACIALIZATION RANGING FROM THE FAMILIAR INDIVIDUAL MANIFESTATIONS TO MORE HIDDEN STRUCTURAL MANIFESTATIONS.

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

INTERNALIZED - Beliefs within individuals
INTERPERSONAL – Prejudice between individuals
INSTITUTIONAL – Bias within an agency, school, etc
STRUCTURAL – Dynamic and cumulative among institutions

Examining Patterns of Racialization

FACILITATION GOAL: OBSERVE STRUCTURAL OR UNDERLYING SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCE OF DIFFERENT RACIALIZED GROUPS.

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

Group	Immigration History	Labor History

Matching Problem Analysis with Intervention Strategy

FACILITATION GOAL: UNDERSTAND THAT PROBLEMS THAT ORIGINATE IN STRUCTURAL INEQUITY ARE MOST EFFECTIVELY DISRUPTED BY INTERVENTIONS THAT TRANSFORM STRUCTURAL ARRANGEMENTS. INDIVIDUAL LEVEL INTERVENTIONS MAY PLAY A CRITICAL PART OF A STRATEGY TO TRANSFORM STRUCTURAL ARRANGEMENTS, BUT ON THEIR OWN, CANNOT CHANGE THE SYSTEM ITSELF.

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

Level of Analysis:	Problem:	Possible solutions:
Individual *Fix the individual*		
Institutional *Fix the institution*		
Structural *Fix the system*		

Telling Your Opportunity Story

FACILITATION GOALS: RECOGNIZE THAT OPPORTUNITY IS CREATED AND
RESTRICTED BY SYSTEMS AND UNDERSTAND THAT RACIALIZED ACCESS TO
OPPORTUNITY HAS IMPLICATIONS ACROSS GENERATIONS AND IMPACTS
OUTCOMES FOR ENTIRE COMMUNITIES.

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

	What **created** access to opportunity?	What **restricted** access to opportunity?
Individual: How has this shaped the story of your life?		
Inter-generational: How do your parents' and grandparents' opportunity stories shape your life?		
Community: How will your story shape the story of your children?		

Talk

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

Implicit Bias:
Revealing the Power of the Unconscious Mind
To have a clearer sense of how the mind works, try these tests:

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

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

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

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

Conscious values and beliefs play only a small role in how we process information and make decisions;[iv] many biases that affect behavior and decision-making reside in the unconscious mind. Thus, people who *consciously* value racial equality can act and make decisions based upon racial biases *without even being aware* that they have any biases at all. When a person's actions or decisions are at odds with their intentions, we call this Implicit or Unconscious Bias[v].

About 2% of emotional cognition is conscious, with the remaining 98% of emotional cognition unconscious. This means, our unconscious mind has significant influence on our positions on critical issues. For example, the majority of Americans

2% of emotional cognition is conscious

The majority of Americans believe in equality. Most Americans believe racial discrimination is wrong.

Overt bigotry persists among only 10% of citizens

We want to believe that our country is fair

believe in equality and most Americans believe racial discrimination is wrong; overt bigotry persists among only 10% of citizens. However we continue to make decisions that reinforce racial inequity. How can this be?

Because racial biases permeate our society, racial anxiety can be triggered without making any explicit reference to race. For example, first Ronald Reagan and later Bill Clinton, used the term "welfare queen" to refer to a negative and highly racialized stereotype of unwed, African-American mother. Using this negative stereotype exacerbated and stoked racial anxiety that government programs were helping "them" rather than helping "all of us". Despite the fact that the greatest

number of welfare beneficiaries are racially white, by speaking in racially coded terms, Reagan and Clinton both eroded support for government programs by deepening the sense that there is a racial other and by reinforcing the misconception that these programs were designed to help, or worse still were being exploited by, that racial other.

This is one example of how racial anxiety is used as an effective and damaging political tool without ever talking about race explicitly. Because this is so common, to not talk about race or avoid talking about race is, in effect, to talk about it to the unconscious mind. Since our unconscious mind influences our positions on critical issues, if we don't learn to talk about race in constructive ways, and in ways that suggest alternative responses to unconscious, societal anxieties, we essentially cede the conversation to unfounded fear and anxiety.

Neurology for Activists

Different regions of the brain serve different purposes. The limbic system categorizes what we perceive. The amygdala, a part of the limbic system, perceives threats and initiates rapid fight or flight responses. In

Amygdala
More active when seeing out group
Location of pre-judgment
Location of racialized fear
Less active when focused on task
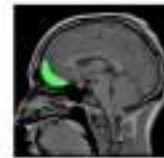
Prefrontal Cortex
Processes *conscious* values
Facial recognition
More active when seeing in-group
Activated by longer image exposure to out-group

survival situations, this is effective; for example, when in the path of a speeding car, quick perception of threat and initiation of a flight response can save us. Recent brain studies, however, show that the amygdala also becomes highly active when it perceives people associated with out-groups, and responds as if encountering a threat or hostility.[vi] Amygdala response is thus in alignment with unconscious racial stereotyping or biases. Since perception of in and out-group status is shaped by the culture and society that a person lives in, these biases are not fixed nor are they individual.

The prefrontal cortex, the area of the brain responsible for rational thought, develops later in life and reacts much more slowly than the amygdala. The prefrontal cortex is active when we are being thoughtful, exert self-control, solve problems and process our conscious values. It is also active in facial recognition, when we see images of people we identify as "in-group", and when we have longer exposure to images of people perceived as belonging to out-groups. Because the brain is malleable, with practice, the prefrontal cortex can develop the ability to make determinations that lead to appropriate reactions. For example, it is sometimes difficult for people to differentiate people in racial groups to which they do not belong or have had little contact.
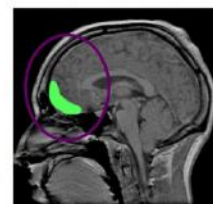
Subcortex:
older, "reptilian" brain, unconscious processing

Amygdala:
vigilance, fight or flight, very quick, sometimes inappropriate, responses

Neocortex:
newer, "fine tuning" brain conscious processing

Prefrontal Cortex:
thoughtful, self control, slower to respond, develops later in life, needs practice

However, with practice, one can learn to differentiate and therefore recognize specific individuals, for example, who they have met.

While we are hardwired to rapidly categorize in-group vs. out-group, we are soft-wired for the *content and meaning* assigned to those categories.
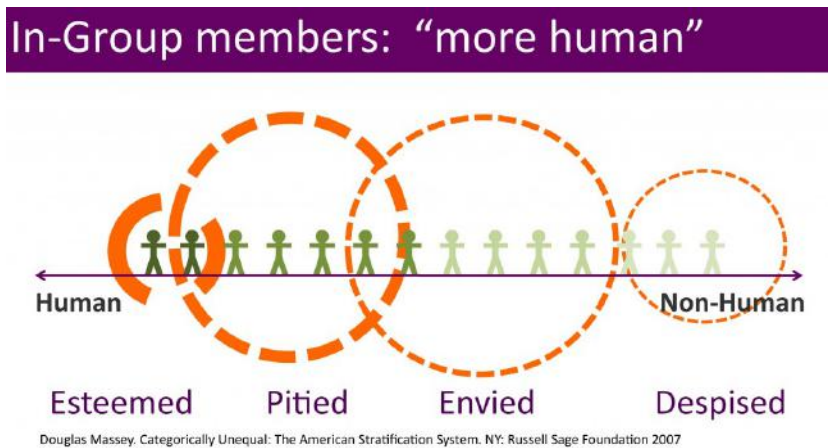
Schemas, such as black/white, young/old, male/female are cognitive structures that help us make decisions quickly[vii]. Though schemas are unconscious and, as a result, we are largely unaware that they exist, the meanings attributed to these schemas are culturally derived. For example, when you meet someone the mind very quickly *and unconsciously* assigns that person to a racial category, which then triggers all of the implicit and explicit meanings culturally associated with that racial category, or *racial schema*, and thus shapes your subsequent interactions.[viii] However, depending on what you ask someone to notice about another person, his or her brain will respond differently.

For example, if you ask a white person if the person pictured is over 21 years old and the image shows a black person, the part of the brain associated with anxiety (amygdala) will be activated. If, on the other hand, you show the same image to the same person but ask instead what they think the person's favorite vegetable might be, the part of the brain associated with thoughtfulness (prefrontal cortex) is activated and the amygdala is quiet. This affirms that the mind focuses on what it is asked to focus on, and suggests that it is possible to counter the effects of implicit bias and, therefore, reduce the impact of racialized anxiety on decision-making.

White study participants were shown images and asked the following questions:

Is the person over 21?

Does the person have a grey dot on their forehead?

What do you think is their favorite vegetable?

This is how their brains responded:

Amygdala very active

Amygdala activity the same as when viewing images of whites

A growing body of research suggests that discrimination and bias are a collective phenomenon. That is, bias is *social*, and is not limited to isolated *individuals*. For example, tests designed to evaluate bias reveal implicit bias against nonwhites is pervasive even among members of

In-Group members: "more human"

Human   Non-Human

Esteemed   Pitied   Envied   Despised

Douglas Massey. Categorically Unequal: The American Stratification System. NY: Russell Sage Foundation 2007

stigmatized groups.[ix]

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

The Significance of Implicit Bias in Problem Analysis

Implicit bias challenges the "colorblind" frame. Our current physical, social and cultural opportunity landscape informs not only our conscious experience, but also our unconscious experience. Since we are not able to know our unconscious biases, by definition, implicit bias gets in the way of our ability to even ask the right questions about the causes of differential outcomes.

For example, a common prejudice is that women aren't good at math; because that prejudice is prevalent, many women choose not to take math classes, and thus the prejudice itself contributes to outcome. Moreover, women's internalized fear of fulfilling a stereotype, 'stereotype threat', correlates with lower math test scores among women.[xi]

A common justification for dependence on "colorblind" high school and college admissions based on test scores is that it rewards individual merit. For example, we often hear variations on the assertion that because Black students perform less well than white students on standardized tests, low numbers of Black students in elite institutions that rely heavily on test scores is justified. While it is factually correct that Black students have lower test scores, a Structural Racialization analysis, makes visible the connections between housing, concentrated poverty, under-resourced schools, and test outcomes, not to mention bias embedded in the tests and the impact of stereotype threat on test takers.

The Structural Racialization analysis enables us to demonstrate the impact of institutional arrangements and policies on group outcomes: where discrete systems interact to yield cumulative effects. Pairing a Structural Racialization analysis with an understanding of implicit bias, we are more likely to diagnose the problem accurately and identify effective interventions.

Case Study: Finland and Testing in Schools

> Finland, by contrast, focusing on equity, intends that a students' economic background does not predict their school performance. Finland has eliminated examination systems that had previously tracked students for middle schools and had restricted access to high schools. School administrators also found that it was necessary to provide a wide range of services, such as food, medical and social services at or near schools for all students. Finland now graduates over 90% of high school students with consistently high rankings on international standards[xii].

Structures normalize outcomes. In the United States we have accepted the normalization of using tests to measure merit and student potential. If we continue to accept the testing structure without question, however, we will continue to focus on alleviating test achievement disparities rather than identifying ways that the

structure itself could be changed. What if testing is the problem? What if we need to find alternative measures of success that are not based on individual merit?

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

Getting A Second Opinion

FACILITATION GOAL: EXAMINE HOW UNCONSCIOUS BIASES MAY INTERFERE WITH OUR ABILITY TO RECOGNIZE THE UNDERLYING PROBLEM.

Instructions: In small groups, discusses the following:

A. What are prevalent biases and stereotypes that impact your issue area?

B. Do any of these biases prevent you from seeing the structural, non-individual, basis of differential outcomes? What does this suggest for identifying problems and developing solutions in the work that you do?

Communication and Implicit Bias

People, individually and collectively, thrive on making meaning. Categories such as race, which are used to create social 'others,' and give social, economic and political significance to those categories, constantly change and are reconfigured. Language and messaging contribute to shaping reality and the perception of reality by impacting meaning. *Framing*, the mental filters used to make sense of the world, and *priming*, exposure to a stimulus that influences response to a later stimulus, also impact how information is processed in both the unconscious and conscious mind.

Research on implicit bias, automatic—and therefore unconscious— prejudice that is often inconsistent with conscious values, has important implications for how we approach communication. In order to communicate effectively about an issue, not only do we need to ask *what* people think, but also, we need to understand the processes behind *how* people think.

Priming activates conscious and unconscious associations

Scary stories: fear is primed

Stereotype threat: failure is primed

Imagining Self in Pain

Imagined experiences of stories are processed in our brains the same as real experiences!

Imagining Another in Pain

Our brains experience empathy as reality.

When telling a scary story, a storyteller not only needs a scary plot, but also, benefits from understanding how to invoke fear, for example, by priming their audience with scary images. Also, a good storyteller knows that imagined experiences are processed by our brains in the same way as real lived experiences, and so expects their listeners to be appropriately impacted.

Recent research suggests that it is possible to develop messages that both reinforce our conscious values while also addressing unconscious biases. Paying attention to both conscious and unconscious decision-making supports people's ability to make decisions based on their conscious values, rather than based on their unconscious biases[xiii]. Drew Westen writes, "people act on their conscious motives when they are focusing their conscious attention on them. Conscious motives can override unconscious ones, as when we remind ourselves to be tolerant, compassionate, or fair-minded when we have just met someone who has triggered a stereotype. But conscious motives only direct behavior as long as they are conscious.[xiv]" In other words, egalitarianism is a skill people can learn with support and with practice.

To not talk about race is to talk about race.

Race appears in the media in multiple ways. For example, consider the media discussion of Arizona's immigration law SB1070, which would make the failure to carry immigration documents a crime and gives the police broad power to detain anyone suspected of being in the country illegally[xv]. In the best cases, the explicit discussion uses race neutral language, but even in these cases, the visual and implied discussion points to racialized groups of people who are the targets of the law. In this way, media legitimizes the practice of racial profiling, even though many, if not most, people who "fit the profile" are legal residents or citizens. Moreover, the media side steps examining systemic circumstances that motivate people to leave their families and migrate in search of work.

Research shows that suppressing or denying prejudiced thoughts can actually increase prejudice rather than eradicate it. Since media tends to reinforce negative stereotypes, researchers have tried and found that repeatedly exposing people to admired African Americans helps counter pro-white/anti-black bias. Similarly, an even more productive strategy is to show both admired African Americans *and* infamous whites. [xvi] It is important to use images and stories that counter negative stereotypes and reinforce a vision of shared prosperity.

This is the environment in which we work. It is not "race neutral". The question is not *if* we should talk about race, but *how* we should talk about race. To change implicit biases, we need to be aware of societal implicit bias, provide stories, images messaging and language that counter implicit bias, and engage in proactive, cultural and structural change.

Talking about race can be difficult. Talking about race effectively takes practice.
Why is it difficult to talk about race? Race is difficult to talk about because race itself is complex and is linked to individual and national identity. As a society, we lack shared knowledge and information about how racialization has evolved over time for different groups of people and what the consequences of racial inequality are for all groups of people. Moreover, the United States has a long history of violence, repression, and injustice directed towards people of color and towards people, of all races, who speak up against injustice. Talking about race can also surface feelings of resentment, guilt and hostility. Anyone who speaks about racism runs the risk of being labeled a racist—by both people who are for and against ending racism. And, of course, talking about race requires practice. How do we talk about race so that we are able to actively envision a democracy that includes everyone rather than one that includes only a select entitled few?

Revealing Biases, Lifting Shared Values

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

What unconscious **biases** are challenged by the following videos? What conscious **values** are reinforced?

> "Team USA" and "All God's Children":
> http://www.youtube.com/user/a4americanvalues#p/u/2/2xXOzXJSTbY
>
> "I am an American":
> http://www.westenstrategies.com/ads/political-ads.html

Framing Matters

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

Post Hurricane Katrina media coverage provides a particularly stark example in which the Black/White frame reinforces implicit bias that pits Black against White to the detriment of building unity and community in a time of collective need.

Yahoo News published two similar photographs on the same day, using racialized terms to describe the images:

A. "A young [African American] man walks through chest deep flood after **looting** a grocery store in New Orleans"[xvii], vs.	B. "Two [white] residents wade through chest-deep water after **finding** bread and soda from a local grocery store after Hurricane Katrina"[xviii]

To counter implicit bias and the dominant framework that presumes scarcity, when we tell our stories:

- **Lead with values** by reminding people of their conscious values, particularly when their conscious values and unconscious emotions are in conflict,
- **Define "we"** to foster empathy and identification with those who have been wronged, rather than reinforcing an us vs. them mindset[xix],

- o **Reframe** opponents' legitimate critiques into a story that creates a national or global "calling" to do something about collective indifference, and
- o **Offer an alternative** or a solution to the problem facing us

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

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

The above examples demonstrate that how messages are framed affects how they are perceived. The post Hurricane Katrina example is divisive, while the excerpt from Obama's *A More Perfect Union* exemplifies the principles offered by Drew Westen and in the *Race Matters: How to Talk About Race Tool Kit*, emphasizing the importance of creating empathetic space and building connections through personal narratives. [xxi]

Techniques to Use:
- o Frame using the norms and values of your audience
- o Emphasize 'We', 'Us', and 'Our'
- o **Acknowledge** that individualism is important but healthiest individuals are nurtured by a community invested in everyone's success,
- o **Underscore shared values**: Unity, Security, Opportunity, Community, Mobility, Redemption, Fairness, and Liberty.

Techniques to Avoid:
- o Present disparities only
- o Frame using Us vs. Them
- o Separate people in need from everybody else
- o Glide over fears
- o Dismiss individual effort

Revealing Biases, Lifting Up Shared Values

FACILITATION GOAL: EXAMINE MEDIA MESSAGES THAT PROACTIVELY ADDRESS UNCONSCIOUS BIAS BY REINFORCING CONSCIOUS VALUES.

Instructions: After watching the videos, in small groups, discuss the following questions.

A. What unconscious **biases** are challenged by the following videos?

B. What conscious **values** do the videos reinforce?

C. What **anxieties** are made conscious?

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

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

Lifting Up Values in Your Stories

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

Equity	Linked Fate	Opportunity	Security	Redemption
Mobility	Liberty	Fairness	Community	Unity

Since research strongly suggests that order matters when talking about structural racialization, try using this framework to develop your story[xxii]. What values do you want your story to lift up?

EXAMPLE: SCHOOLS

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

Lifting Up Values In Your Stories

FACILITATION GOAL: PRACTICE TELLING STORIES THAT MAKE SPACE TO HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE CONVERSATION ABOUT RACE AND THAT CREATE A SHARED AND URGENT NEED TO ACT.

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

Equity	Linked Fate	Opportunity	Security	Redemption
Mobility	Liberty	Fairness	Community	Unity

Since research strongly suggests that order matters when talking about structural racialization, try using this framework to develop your story[xxiii]. What values do you want your story to lift up?

Lead with Values	
Counter reality that reinforces "WE"	
Define "WE" to be inclusive	
Values based, National calling to act	
Offer/Solution	

Act

To understand **Power**, we will focus on case studies in which organizing has enabled communities to change their 'situatedness' relative to each other, transforming their organizations in order to build power. We will look at how universal goals grounded in targeted strategies can support and strengthen cross race, cross class, and cross-cultural alliances.

Are We All Equally Situated?
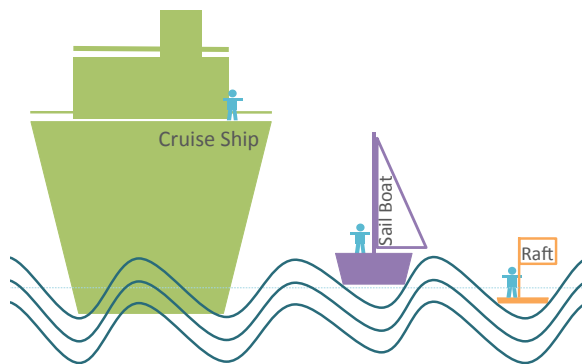
A big storm is coming in. Three people are out to sea. One person is on a large cruise ship, one is in a sailboat, and one is in a makeshift raft. To treat everyone equally, your plan is to pick everyone up in six hours. Will your plan work equally well for everyone? What would be a better plan?

Situatedness and Transformative Power

We come from different places—different neighborhoods, countries, cultural backgrounds, class backgrounds, educational backgrounds, and so forth. As a result, we are all *situated* differently. As such, we bring different knowledge, perspectives, kinds of leadership and access to power—all of which are needed to build collective power. Unfortunately, these differences often bring attendant intergroup tensions.

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

To build transformative power, we need to reveal that our interests are "situational" (i.e., related to our *situatedness*) and accordingly not all tensions are personal. Through inclusive processes designed to identify structural tensions, we can build trust and shift our focus onto underlying structures. Often this reveals the need to change the structure of our own institutions so that they transform our relative situatedness. To influence and direct decisions that impact our lives will require institutions that have the capacity to support inclusive, long-term collaboration with a wide range of organizations, some of which have similar capacities and others that have very different capacities.

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

Are We All Equally Situated?

FACILITATION GOAL: NOTICE HOW DIFFERENT PEOPLE ARE SITUATED DIFFERENTLY, DEPENDING ON THE INFRASTRUCTURE AVAILABLE TO THEM. NOT ALL BOATS ARE EQUAL.

Instructions: In small groups, discuss the scenario described below.

Three people are out to sea when you find out that a big storm is coming in. Your plan is to set out to pick everyone up in six hours.
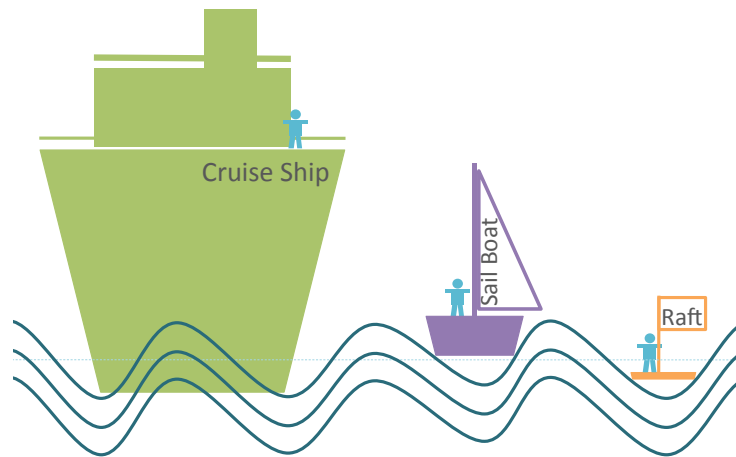
One person is on a large cruise ship, one is in a small boat, and one is in a blow up raft. Will your plan work equally well for everyone? If water is the structure, describe how these people are situated in that structure? What would be a better plan?

Case Study: SEIU Janitors for Justice Campaign, Los Angeles

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

The Union was concerned that if they did not include undocumented workers in the union, the union's effectiveness would continue to erode. Eventually, the union decided to invite undocumented immigrants into its ranks. This decision not only reduced Black-Latino tensions, it increased their collective power by changing how the two groups were situated relative to each other and to their employers. This joint effort was able to bring Janitors wages back up to $6.80 per hour with full family benefits. Unfortunately, by the time new agreements were made, most African American janitors had left that sector.

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

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

Silent Structures that Divide

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

EXAMPLE: SEIU JANITORS FOR JUSTICE

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

African Americans and Latinos in our community weren't getting along: African American janitors' jobs were threatened by undocumented, immigrant Latino/a workers, and undocumented, immigrant workers were not allowed to join the Union. This was creating tension between African American and Latino/a citizens. The building owners were benefiting from these tensions because they could force wages down.

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

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

Silent Structures that Divide

FACILITATION GOAL: ACKNOWLEDGE INTER-GROUP TENSIONS AND IDENTIFY HOW TO REDUCE NON-INDIVIDUAL TENSIONS, AND CREATE NEW INTERESTS THAT ARE SHARED, BY CHANGING STRUCTURES.

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

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

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

Power

Grassroots Policy Project's paper, *The 3 Faces of Power,* outlines three different ways that people exert power: direct political involvement, building infrastructure to shape political agendas, and shifting worldview.
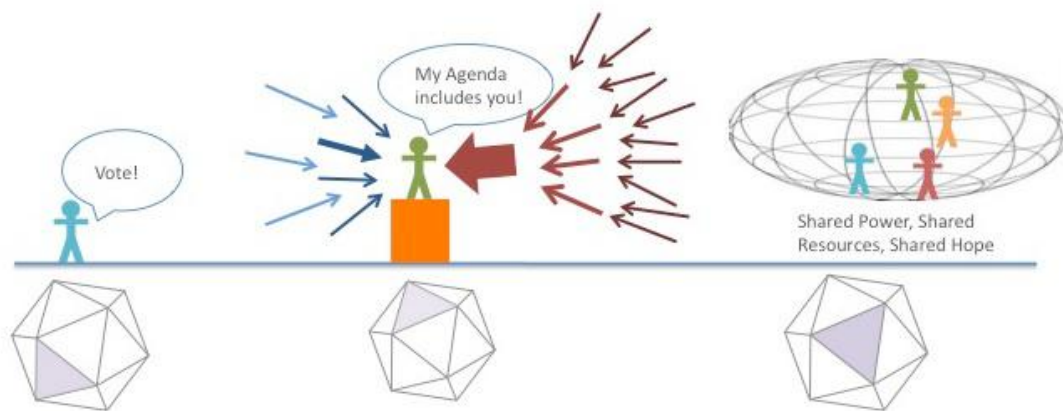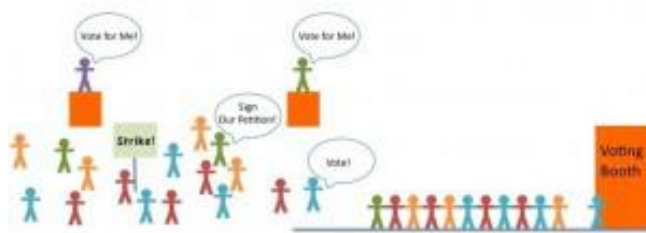

Direct Political Involvement includes activities such as trying to win issue-based campaigns, helping candidates get elected to public office, taking legal action, and engaging in direct action to change laws and policies, and impact decisions effecting our lives.

**Building Infrastructure** includes activities that build sustained membership involvement and relationships with other types of organizations, support collective action, develop leaders for a wide range of organizations (think tanks, advocacy groups, etc) and coalitions, identify and develop candidates for public office, build

and maintain coalitions, alliances and collaborations, and expand political agendas to unite different constituencies and issues to shape and constrain the political agenda.

Shifting Worldview includes engaging in activities to shape ideas and the way people make sense of what they see and hear, link short-term work to long-term goals and to a broader vision, challenge current dominant worldview, and frame issues with common, values based progressive themes that reinforce an alternative worldview and expand what seems possible.

Infrastructure to shape political agendas
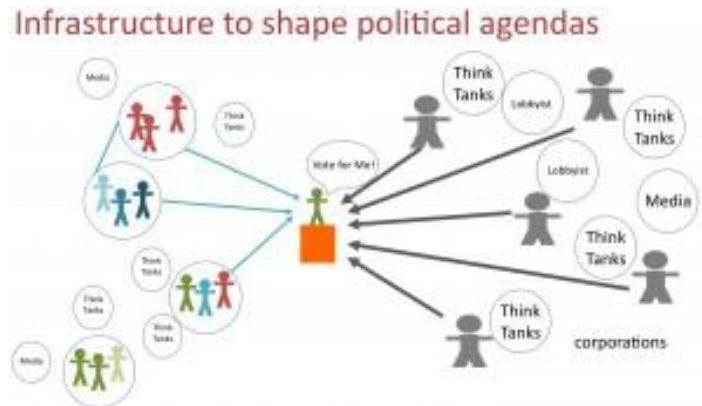
The Work of Structures

In addition to the three faces of power discussed above, it is helpful to recognize the hidden power of structures that have been built over time through policies, practices and social norms. In the context of structural marginalization, whether racial, gendered, or class based, or any other manifestation of systematic marginalization of groups of people, social norms attribute disparate outcomes to bigoted individuals or exclusionary institutions, rather than look at how "othered" groups' access to the resources of society are restricted in multiple ways.

As the title of Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's book, *Racism without Racists* ((Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo, (2003) *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America*)) neatly summarizes, the power of structures is the ability to shape and determine outcomes for groups of people *without* the presence of individuals whose actions are motivated by personal animus. This raises the importance of recognizing the symptoms of structures designed to create inequity and the imperative to approach the design of new structures to create equity with intention and with mechanisms to measure whether or not the structures have the intended outcome.

Developing Strategies for Intervention

How we define a problem informs how we try to fix that problem.

For example, we observe that the bird inside the cage is not well. Is the bird sick? Is the birdcage open, but the bird does not fly because it can't find the opening or the opening is too small? Or do caged birds need to be freed?

The action we choose to take or intervention we choose to make should be based on our assessment of what we think will fix the problem. In the case of working towards racial equity, it is helpful to remember that the problem of racialization and inequity occurs in at least three different levels: Interpersonal, Institutional and Structural. Using this three-part rubric can be helpful in checking that your problem and the proposed solution are appropriately matched.

1. Brainstorm a list of the problems your community faces
2. Sort the problems according to the level of change that it requires. To fix the problem, will you need to change Individual behavior? Change Institutional practices? And/or change underlying Structural relationships?
3. Brainstorm a list of possible interventions to fix each of these problems. It will likely be more difficult to think of interventions to fix institutional and structural problems than to think of strategies to change or develop individuals.
4. Sort the interventions according to the level of change that it will make. Will the intervention change Individual behavior? Change Institutional practices that impact different populations differently? And/or change policies or inherited historical relationships that result embedded Structural inequities?
5. Do any of the interventions have the potential or more promise for addressing problems at a different level of change or have impact in another issue area as well? How many people is the change likely to impact? What is the likely timeframe for making that change? Will it lead to other positive changes?
6. What kinds of interventions in the other levels will you need in order to achieve your desired outcomes? For example, will you need leadership development in order to have leaders in a collective effort to make structural change? Will you need a vision of structural change to inspire leadership amongst institutions and individuals in your community? Is there a sequence in which policies need to be changed?

Matching Problem Analysis with Intervention

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

EXAMPLE: NATIONAL DOMESTIC WORKERS ALLIANCE

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

Targeted Universalism

Typically, policies are designed to be "universal" and apply equally to all individuals, based on an assumption that all individuals will receive equal benefit. In other words, universal policies assume that if you provide a stairway everyone will be able to make it to the top. For example, school funding: the assumption is that if all children have the opportunity to go to school, each child will have an equal chance to obtain higher education.

Universal Goal with Targeted Solutions

Structural Inequity produces consistently different outcomes for different communities.

Opportunity Structures respond with necessary resources and multiple paths needed for different communities & individuals to thrive.

VS.

Structural Inequity

Opportunity Structure
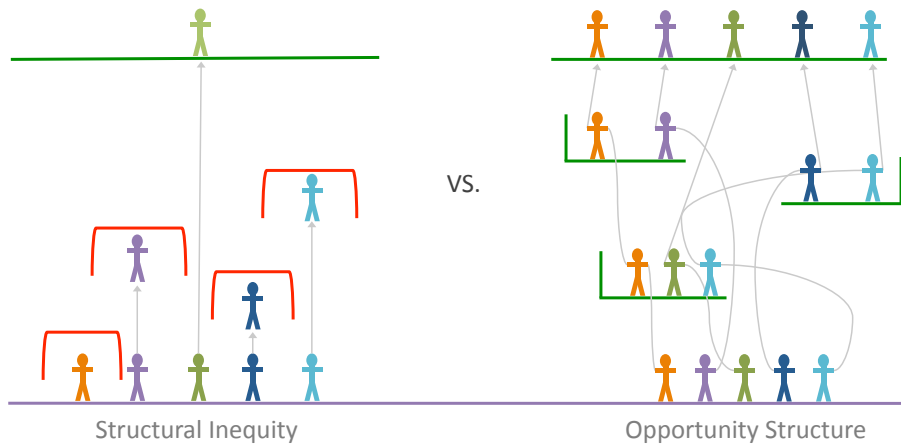
However, Systems Thinking and Structural Racialization analysis shows that communities are situated differently relative to each other due to many factors, including history, education, language, and access to community assets. In other words, a stair way does not provide equal or equivalent access to a person who uses a wheel chair, a stroller, or has difficulty walking up stairs. In practice, universal policies create differential access to opportunity.

Opportunity Structures

Stairs do not work for people in wheel chairs

High stairs advantage some and disadvantage others

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

Recognize that different communities, and the individuals within them, have different needs.

Targeted Universalism[xxv] is a frame for designing policy that acknowledges our common goals, while also addressing the sharp contrasts in access to opportunity between differently situated sub-groups; barriers to quality education, well paying work, fair

mortgages, and so forth. To transform structural inequity into structural opportunity, policies need to address these contrasts and measure success based on outcomes.

For example, school assignment policies can be created using indicators such as educational attainment and median household income of neighborhoods to draw attendance zones and boundaries, thus increasing pathways to opportunities for neighborhoods that would otherwise be isolated. Voluntary school integration plans using multiple indicators have been successfully implemented in Jefferson County, KY; Berkeley, CA; Montclair, NJ; and Chicago, IL. Where school assignment policies are insufficient, resource allocation strategies can be designed so that schools have access to the resources students need to thrive.

Rather than maintaining structures that separate people from societal resources, or limit access to those resources, we need to redesign our structures to build opportunity and to connect people to the supports that they need to thrive. By considering the challenges that different groups face, we are able to build healthier structures. Healthier, stronger structures bring benefit to all groups. How structures are built matters. And if we want different outcomes, we need different structures and different relationships between structures.

How Structures Are Built Matters
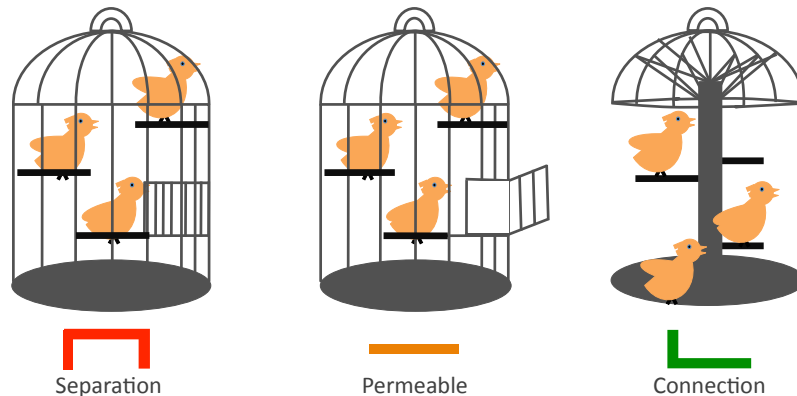
Separation   Permeable   Connection

If we want different outcomes, we need different relationships between structures.

Case Study: Increasing Equity in School Funding

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

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

Exercise: Building Structures that Unify

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

Common Goal: *Joyful and meaningful education for all children*
Targeted Strategies:
Group: *All Children*
Resources and supports to cultivate, retain and nurture good teachers & administrators   *Curriculum and pedagogical approaches that support social-emotional development and collaborative problem solving*   *Curriculum that validates family culture and counters negative stereotypes about their own groups and about the groups to which their peers belong*
Group: *Low Socio-economic status children*
Nutritious meals, stable housing, medical care
Group: *African American children*
Curriculum and pedagogical approaches for teachers, administrators and students that counter unconscious impact of pervasive negative stereotypes
Group: *Non-English Speaking children*
English language supports, First language supports   *Interpretation and outreach in parent's first language*

Building Structures that Unify

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

EXAMPLE: NATIONAL DOMESTIC WORKERS ALLIANCE

Common Goal: Respect, recognition, fair labor standards for domestic work
Targeted Strategies:
Group: U.S. Citizens
- Inclusion in US labor law: 40 hour work week, overtime, benefits, living wage, collective bargaining   - Paid sick days, vacation days, maternity leave   - Legally binding employment contract,   - Skilled labor career track
Group: Immigrants
Above and. . .   - Immigration status independent of employers   - Pathway to citizenship
Group: Live-in workers
Above and. . .   - Right to privacy, right to prepare ones own food, right to come and go   - Workplace regulation/inspection   - Regulation to protect against abuse and harassment
Group: Part-time workers
Above and. . .   - Reporting time pay   - Workforce development   - Job creation
Group: Undocumented Immigrants
Above and. . .   *Pathway to legal residency*   *Materials and resources available in multiple languages*
Group: Employers
Above and. . .   - Guidelines for respectful employment practices   - Education to end racism and sexism that devalues of domestic work   - Policies for collective responsibility to care for those who need care   - Policies to address cost of direct care and divestment from group care

Matching Problem Analysis with Intervention

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

EXAMPLE: NATIONAL DOMESTIC WORKERS ALLIANCE

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

Resources:

Systems Thinking

http://discovery.wcgmf.org/sites/default/files/resources/Systems%20Thinking%20Primer%20%20Race_0.pdf
- Systems Thinking and Race primer – July 2009.

http://www.law.du.edu/documents/denver-university-law-review/powell.pdf
-
- Post-Racialism or Targeted Universalism – Feb 2009.

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

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

Structural Racialization

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cumulative Causation

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

Targeted Universalism
http://www.insightcced.org/
http://www.insightcced.org/uploads/CRWG/CRWG%20for%20the%20Next%20Generation.pdf

- o Insight Center for Community Economic Development: research on economic security, including racial wealth gap.

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

Implicit Bias

http://jerrykang.net/2013/12/11/tedx-immaculate-perception/
- o UCLA Professor Jerry Kang's TEDx talk entitled *Immaculate Perception?* Entertaining introduction to implicit bias research and implications.

http://americansforamericanvalues.org/
http://www.perception.org/

- o Information about implicit bias, summaries discussing implications for criminal justice, healthcare, mental health, hiring, videos to disrupt implicit bias.

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

https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/

o Virtual laboratory in which to test your own implicit bias.

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

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

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

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

Transformational Power

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

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

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

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[iii] Variation on the Stroop Test.

[iv] Americans Values Institute, (2009) *What is Implicit Bias?* Retrieved from http://americansforamericanvalues.org/unconsciousbias/

[v] ibid

[vi] Dalai Lama & Cutler, H. (2009) *The Art of Happiness*. (10th Anniversary ed.). New York, NY: Riverhead Books.

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[ix] 94 California Law Review (2006), p. 957

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[xiii] Kang, J. (2005) *The Trojan Horses of Race*. Retrieved from http://jerrykang.net/research/2005-trojan-horses-of-race/

[xiv] Westen, D., (2007) *The Political Brain: The Role of Emotion in Deciding the Fate of the Nation*. New York, NY: Public Affairs. *p. 226.*

[xv] Archibold, Randal C. (2010) *"Arizona Enacts Stringent Law on Immigration",* The New York Times, April 23, 2010.

[xvi] Joy-Gaba, J.A., & Nosek, B. A. (in press) *The Surprisingly Limited Malleability of Implicit Racial Evaluations,* Social Psychology

[xvii] Photo Credit: Dave Martin. Associated Press, Tuesday, August 30, 11:31 AM ET

[xviii] Photo Credit: Getty Images. Agence France-Presse, 3:47 AM ET

[xix] ibid. *p. 226*

xx Obama, *Barack, [A More Perfect Union](#), March 18, 2008*

xxi Annie E. Casey Foundation (2006) *Race Matters: How to Talk About Race Toolkit.* Retrieved from http://www.aecf.org/KnowledgeCenter/Publications.aspx?pubguid={0A76C6CA-93A3-4F2E-B58B-5DB2585BE938}

xxii Casey, A.E. (2006). Race Matters toolkit, How to Talk About Race. Retrieved from http://www.aecf.org/KnowledgeCenter/Publications.aspx?pubguid={0A76c6ca-93a3-4f2e-b58b-5db2585be938}; and Center for Social Inclusion for The Kirwan Institute's Diversity Advancement Project (2005). "Race, Framing and the Public Conversation on Diversity. What Social Science Tells Advocates About Winning Support for Racial Justice Policies. Thinking Change". Retrieved from http://www.centerforsocialinclusion.org/publications/?url=the-diveristy-advancement-project-thinking-change

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