

A few quick tips for countering oppression

- ~ Don't make and/or Challenge your assumptions. Eric Law talks about how
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IP_1a0Zirdg
- ~ Ask Questions - Demonstrate "Holy Curiosity"
- ~ Be mindful of your (white, male, economic, relational, educated, accredited, clergy, professional, hetero, cis, "been around for forever", etc.) **privilege in any given interaction and/or space** and think about how to best equalize the power dynamic.
- ~ Consider that everyone has more identities (and history) than you're aware of. No one is *just* a race + gender expression + orientation. Our identities are infinite.
- ~ Welcome discomfort. There's so much more opportunity there.
- ~ Be mindful of how much space you *claim*, and what that might mean for others.
- ~ Don't touch people (or things) without explicit consent. Not everyone responds to touch the same way, not all "friendly" touch is appropriate.
- ~ Be mindful of your language - and that it may be exclusionary/hurtful.
- ~ Try to Listen more than you speak.
- ~ When you speak, speak (only) for yourself (unless requested to speak for a group).
- ~ Don't make a member of a marginalized group responsible for your education about issues of oppression. Seek out allied people and groups dedicated to helping with that.
- ~ Be aware that your intent will not always = the impact of your words & actions.
- ~ Try not to take things personally.
- ~ Be open to learning.
- ~ Exercise humility.
- ~ Remember that not everyone has the same information!
Share openly, when appropriate.

ARE Accountability Guidelines

Allies for Racial Equity (ARE) is an organization of white, anti-racist Unitarian Universalists in an accountable relationship with Diverse Revolutionary Unitarian Universalist Multicultural Ministries (DRUUMM). We seek to participate in the anti-racist transformation of our faith movement and our world. These guidelines exist as a living document within the covenant of our relationship with DRUUMM.

Institutional and Community Relationships

- § Work with the Unitarian Universalist Association, UU congregations and other UU institutions to further our shared goals of anti-racist transformation.
- § Support, initiate and expand anti-racism, anti-oppression and multiculturalism work in UU congregations and communities.
- § Deepen the understanding of white people of systemic oppression and white privilege in our organizations and institutions.
- § Know and understand the institutional relationship and history of DRUUMM and ARE.
- § Respond to requests from DRUUMM for allied participation in our UU movement.
- § Uphold a relationship of mutual accountability within ARE and with DRUUMM, including periodic auditing of these guidelines.

Interpersonal Relationships and Communication

- § Show up, speak up and challenge oppression, racism and white privilege.
- § Commit to building relationships of mutual trust and accountability with people and communities of color.
- § Be open to diverse forms of leadership and communication.
- § Commit to listening and learning.
- § Honor the experiences and cultural expressions of others and be respectful when stating our own beliefs, needs and feelings.
- § Be aware of personal assumptions and open to challenges of those assumptions.
- § Give and receive feedback openly, honestly and with compassion.
- § Ensure that all actions are taken within the framework of a healthy, accountable process.
- § Develop relationships of mentoring, support and mutual accountability with other white people.
- § Invite other white people to join us in this work.
- § Honor all people, exercise power consistent with the ARE mission, and seek to maintain right relationships.
- § Be mindful of the power of our non-verbal communication.
- § Stay at the table, even when it's difficult.

Personal Practices, Reflection and Transformation

- § Examine our white privilege, entitlement and internalized sense of superiority and engage in ongoing discernment about personal assumptions, attitudes and motivations.
- § Learn to analyze how racism, privilege and power work on different levels in our society and seek to develop an understanding that is consistent with the analysis of DRUUMM and other UU groups that have been historically marginalized because of race or ethnicity.
- § Develop a spiritual practice that includes anti-racist reflection and transformation.
- § Commit to ongoing learning and action.
- § Take risks, be willing to make mistakes, act responsibly and seek reconciliation when there is conflict.
- § Strive for excellence and accept that we will sometimes fail.
- § Seek to connect our actions with our theology and to achieve ARE goals in a spirit of integrity, humility, generosity and love.

Examples of Racial Microaggressions

Theme	Microaggression	Message
<i>Alien in own land</i> When Asian Americans and Latino Americans are assumed to be foreign-born	"Where are you from?" "Where were you born?" "You speak good English." A person asking an Asian American to teach them words in their native language.	You are not American You are a foreigner
<i>Ascription of Intelligence</i> Assigning intelligence to a person of color on the basis of their race.	"You are a credit to your race." "You are so articulate." Asking an Asian person to help with a Math or Science problem.	People of color are generally not as intelligent as Whites. It is unusual for someone of your race to be intelligent. All Asians are intelligent and good in Math / Sciences.
<i>Color Blindness</i> Statements that indicate that a White person does not want to acknowledge race	"When I look at you, I don't see color." "America is a melting pot." "There is only one race, the human race."	Denying a person of color's racial / ethnic experiences. Assimilate / acculturate to the dominant culture. Denying the individual as a racial / cultural being.
<i>Criminality – assumption of criminal status</i> A person of color is presumed to be dangerous, criminal, or deviant on the basis of their race.	A White man or woman clutching their purse or checking their wallet as a Black or Latino approaches or passes. A store owner following a customer of color around the store. A White person waits to ride the next elevator when a person of color is on it.	You are a criminal. You are going to steal / You are poor / You do not belong / You are dangerous.
<i>Denial of individual racism</i> A statement made when Whites deny their racial biases	"I'm not a racist. I have several Black friends." "As a woman, I know what you go through as a racial minority."	I am immune to races because I have friends of color. Your racial oppression is no different than my gender oppression. I can't be a racist. I'm like you.
<i>Myth of meritocracy</i> Statements which assert that race does not play a role in life successes	"I believe the most qualified person should get the job." "Everyone can succeed in this society, if they work hard enough."	People of color are given extra unfair benefits because of their race. People of color are lazy and / or incompetent and need to work harder.
<i>Pathologizing cultural values / communication styles</i> The notion that the values and communication styles of the dominant / White culture are ideal	Asking a Black person: "Why do you have to be so loud / animated? Just calm down." To an Asian or Latino person: Why are you so quiet? We want to know what you think. Be more verbal." Speak up more." Dismissing an individual who brings up race / culture in work / school setting.	Assimilate to dominant culture. Leave your cultural baggage outside.

Theme	Microaggression	Message
<i>Second-class citizen</i> Occurs when a White person is given preferential treatment as a consumer over a person of color	Person of color mistaken for a service worker Having a taxi cab pass a person of color and pick up a White passenger Being ignored at a store counter as attention is given to the White customer behind you "You people ..."	People of color are servants to Whites. They couldn't possibly occupy high-status positions. You are likely to cause trouble and / or travel to a dangerous neighborhood. Whites are more valued customers than people of color You don't belong. You are a lesser being.
<i>Environmental microaggressions</i> Macro-level microaggressions, which are more apparent on systemic and environmental levels	A college or university with buildings that are all names after White heterosexual upper class males Television shows and movies that feature predominantly White people, without representation of people of color Overcrowding of public schools in communities of color Overabundance of liquor stores in communities of color	You don't belong / You won't succeed here. There is only so far you can go. You are an outsider / You don't exist. People of color don't / shouldn't value education. People of color are deviant.
<i>How to offend without really trying</i>	"Indian giver." "That's so gay." "She welshed on the bet." "I jewed him down." "That's so White of you." "You people ..." "We got gypped." Imitating accents or dialects Others?	

Adapted from:

Wing, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal, Esquilin (2007). Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice. American Psychologist, 62, 4, 271-286

Racial Identity Development Stages*

STAGES	WHITE	PERSON OF COLOR
1. Acceptance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - avoids contact with people of color - accepts or actively supports racist jokes, language, rumors, and assumptions - believes that people of color have unfair advantages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - views other people of color as incompetent - primarily seeks interactions with whites - goes along/excuses racist behavior - doesn't see race as a "problem"
2. Resistance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - challenges racist jokes and comments - tries to learn more about personal and systemic racism - becomes active - believes that racism is a pervasive force in society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - openly challenges racism - views and reacts to whites suspiciously; expects them to be racist - distances oneself from people of color in acceptance stage - separatism; must have own organizations to protect; whites only help "Uncle Toms"
3. Redefinition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - works with whites on becoming more sensitive to race and racism - examines white culture and develops an awareness of its strengths and weaknesses - sees whites as responsible for eradicating racism - whites receive systemic benefits, even if not understood as such 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - socializes almost exclusively with people of color - interacts with whites in "business like", distant manner - exhibits self confidence and is assertive - views own group as creative, sensitive, caring, intelligent - focusing on/educating whites takes away from own agenda
4. Internalization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - interacts authentically with members of all racial groups, regardless of their level of development - attempts to integrate all cultural perspectives into organizations/institutions - continues to confront racism - sees connections between racism and other forms of oppression - appreciates and affirms all races, including one's own - sees and acts on benefits of diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - able to interact with whites and people of color; regardless of stage of development - actively participates in work that challenges all forms of oppression - believes in the strength of a truly multicultural organization - racism is a sickness that infects all members of society - nurture from a cultural strengths perspective - values people and activities that enhance the racial identity development of others

* Based on R. Hardiman & B. Jackson, "Conceptual Foundation for Social Justice Courses". (1997). In M. Adams, L. Bell, and P. Griffin (Eds.), Teaching for Social Justice, pp 16-29.

Continuum on Becoming an Anti-Racist Multicultural Organization

MONOCULTURAL ==> MULTICULTURAL ==> ANTI-RACIST ==> ANTI-RACIST MULTICULTURAL

Racial and Cultural Differences Seen as Deficits ==> Tolerant of Racial and Cultural Differences ==> Racial and Cultural Differences Seen as Assets

Exclusive An Exclusionary Institution	2. Passive A "Club" Institution	3. Symbolic Change A Compliance Organization	4. Identity Change An Affirming Institution	5. Structural Change A Transforming Institution	6. Fully Inclusive Anti-Racist Multicultural Organization in a Transformed Society
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intentionally and publicly excludes or segregates African Americans, Native Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans Intentionally and publicly enforces the racist status quo throughout institution Institutionalization of racism includes formal policies and practices, teachings, and decision making on all levels Usually has similar intentional policies and practices toward other socially oppressed groups such as women, gays and lesbians, Third World citizens, etc. Openly maintains the dominant group's power and privilege 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tolerant of a limited number of "token" People of Color and members from other social identity groups allowed in with "proper" perspective and credentials. May still secretly limit or exclude People of Color in contradiction to public policies Continues to intentionally maintain white power and privilege through its formal policies and practices, teachings, and decision making on all levels of institutional life Often declares, "We don't have a problem." Monocultural norms, policies and procedures of dominant culture viewed as the "right" way" business as usual" Engages issues of diversity and social justice only on club member's terms and within their comfort zone. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Makes official policy pronouncements regarding multicultural diversity Sees itself as "non-racist" institution with open doors to People of Color Carries out intentional inclusiveness efforts, recruiting "someone of color" on committees or office staff Expanding view of diversity includes other socially oppressed groups <p><i>But...</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Not those who make waves" Little or no contextual change in culture, policies, and decision making Is still relatively unaware of continuing patterns of privilege, paternalism and control Token placements in staff positions: must assimilate into organizational culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Growing understanding of racism as barrier to effective diversity Develops analysis of systemic racism Sponsors programs of anti-racism training New consciousness of institutionalized white power and privilege Develops intentional identity as an "anti-racist" institution Begins to develop accountability to racially oppressed communities Increasing commitment to dismantle racism and eliminate inherent white advantage Actively recruits and promotes members of groups have been historically denied access and opportunity <p><i>But...</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Institutional structures and culture that maintain white power and privilege still intact and relatively untouched 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Commits to process of intentional institutional restructuring, based upon anti-racist analysis and identity Audits and restructures all aspects of institutional life to ensure full participation of People of Color, including their world-view, culture and lifestyles Implements structures, policies and practices with inclusive decision making and other forms of power sharing on all levels of the institutions life and work Commits to struggle to dismantle racism in the wider community, and builds clear lines of accountability to racially oppressed communities Anti-racist multicultural diversity becomes an institutionalized asset Redefines and rebuilds all relationships and activities in society, based on anti-racist commitments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Future vision of an institution and wider community that has overcome systemic racism and all other forms of oppression. Institution's life reflects full participation and shared power with diverse racial, cultural and economic groups in determining its mission, structure, constituency, policies and practices Members across all identity groups are full participants in decisions that shape the institution, and inclusion of diverse cultures, lifestyles, and interest A sense of restored community and mutual caring Allies with others in combating all forms of social oppression Actively works in larger communities (regional, national, global) to eliminate all forms of oppression and to create multicultural organizations.

Community of Love and Resistance

Collective Action

Taking Responsibility / Self-Righteousness
white can do right / especially me

Open Up / Acknowledgement
Houston, we've got a problem

Guilt and Shame
white is not right / I'm bad

Denial and Defensiveness
I am not the problem

Be Like Me
we're all the same, you're the problem

What Are You?
first contact

I'm Normal

ALLIES & ACCOMPLICES

1 CONSIDER YOUR PRIVILEGE & POWER

2 DO A PERSONAL INVENTORY

3 DO YOUR HOMEWORK-SELF EDUCATE

4 DIF. BETWEEN GUILT & ACTION

5 BE CLEAR WHY YOU'RE INVOLVED

6 DIF. BETWEEN CHARITY& SOLIDARITY

7 DON'T BE AFRAID TO MESS UP

AND TO BE *UNCOMFORTABLE!*

8 MAKE AMENDS & BE ACCOUNTABLE

9 DON'T EXPECT A PAT ON THE BACK

... but sometimes there are cookies...

**10 DO THE WORK IN YOURSELF, YOUR
COMMUNITIES, AND YOUR CULTURE**

From White Racist to White Anti-Racist the life-long journey

by Tema Okun, **changework**

Note: This article is written by a white person about white people. Therefore, I have written using personal pronouns (I, we, ours, us). I did this because I find it difficult to write in the 'third person' as if I am not somehow attached to this material or part of the group to which this material applies.

This article is meant to accompany the ladder of empowerment for white people, which is our attempt (referring to **changework**, an organization which is described below) to distinguish the different stages that white people go through as we develop awareness of our relationship to racism. This work draws on the thinking and experience of many people; those who have been directly quoted are listed at the end. The rest is the result of my exposure to the thinking and experience of many trainers and participants in the Dismantling Racism process, including **changework** colleagues, as well as friends and colleagues doing anti-racism work. Any usefulness found here should be credited to the larger community of anti-racism activists; any errors or flawed thinking is mine alone.

The basic purpose of this article is to help white people understand our identity as white people within a racist system which assumes our superiority while at the same time challenging that assumption and replacing it with a positive, anti-racist identity. While many white people seem to think that the solution is to claim 'colorblindness,' both with regards to ourselves and to people of color, we believe that it is absolutely critical to accept our identity as white people within a white group, understanding that this association profoundly affects the quality of our lives politically, economically, socially. We must then work, in the words of Beverly Daniel Tatum in her excellent book on racial identity development **Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting in the Cafeteria Together** (p. 94), "to feel good about it in the context of a commitment to a just society. This requires two tasks: the abandonment of individual racism and the recognition of and opposition to institutional and cultural racism."

THE LADDER

Community of Love and Resistance
Collective Action
Taking Responsibility / Self-Righteousness white can do right / especially me
Open Up / Acknowledgement Houston, we've got a problem
Guilt and Shame white is not right / I'm bad
Denial and Defensiveness I am not the problem
Be Like Me we're all the same, you're the problem
What Are You? first contact
I'm Normal

It is important to note that although the ladder of empowerment appears linear, it is only linear in that a person cannot move from a lower stage to a higher stage without going through each intermediary stage. For example, I cannot go from the perception and experience that "I'm normal" to the perception and experience that "I'm opening up" without first going through the stages of 'what are you?', 'be like me,' 'denial and defensiveness,' and 'guilt and shame.'

It is not linear in that we can move through to 'higher' stages and then five minutes later drop back to a 'lower' stage as a result of a challenging interaction. Unlike moving up, it is possible to skip stages moving down. For example, I can feel like I am 'taking responsibility' as a white person for my racism and then, when challenged by a colleague on something I have done that is assumptive and/or patronizing, quickly slide back into 'denial and defensiveness.' We move up and down this ladder in a lifetime, in a year, in a week, in a day, in an hour. The lower we are on the ladder, the more we collude, or cooperate, with racism. In fact, one of the ways that institutional and cultural racism works is to keep pushing us down the ladder. Our goal, as we develop our practice as anti-racist white activists, is that we stay for shorter periods at the lower stages and for longer periods at the higher stages.

This is also not a linear ladder in that the stages don't begin and end distinctly. They overlap and elements of one stage will show up in another. You will notice seemingly contradictory elements in the same stage and similar elements showing up in different stages. This is the nature of identity development. The ladder is a generalized attempt to describe the different steps that we go through as white people in developing our awareness and abilities as anti-racist activists. Where we are on the ladder depends at any given moment on our history, our experience, our relationships, our experience with other oppressions, and our exposure to information.

Movement up the ladder tends to happen as a result of both relationships and information. We have found that relationships with people of color and other white people struggling to deal with racism have been very important in helping us to move up the ladder. Actually knowing someone who can help us, through their life stories and experience, see the world in a new way and understand the different realities of being white and a person of color in the U.S., has proven to be extremely critical to our development as white anti-racists. These relationships teach us that racism is not a thing of the past and that it has to do with institutional and cultural legacies, not just mean-spirited personal intentions. Sometimes exposure to overt (meaning hard to dismiss) incidents of racism, either in our personal lives or through media, books, magazine articles, TV, movies, are catalysts to moving us

from one stage to another. One of the reasons that we promote the development of white caucuses at **changework** is because caucuses can be a place where we can get the support and help we need to broaden our awareness and move up the ladder.

There are many ways to use the ladder. When we work with white caucuses, we often draw the ladder on newsprint without any words inside and ask people to talk about the different stages they have gone through as they develop in their awareness of white privilege and racism. As people name these stages, sometimes they hit on the stages we have listed here, sometimes they name emotions and thoughts that fit within the stages. We begin to sketch in each of the stages and talk about them in some depth.

Once people have an understanding of the stages and the ways in which these stages are and are not linear, we ask people to think about where they are now, where they were 10 years ago, where they were 5 years ago, and where they would like to be. We talk about what made it possible for people to move both up and down the ladder and what we can do to support each other in moving up and how we can challenge each other, with care and attention, when we move down.

This is just one way that this ladder might prove useful. Please feel free to expand its uses and to add to it, as it is an ongoing teaching and learning for us all. If you have ideas or feedback, please send it to us at the website (see last page).

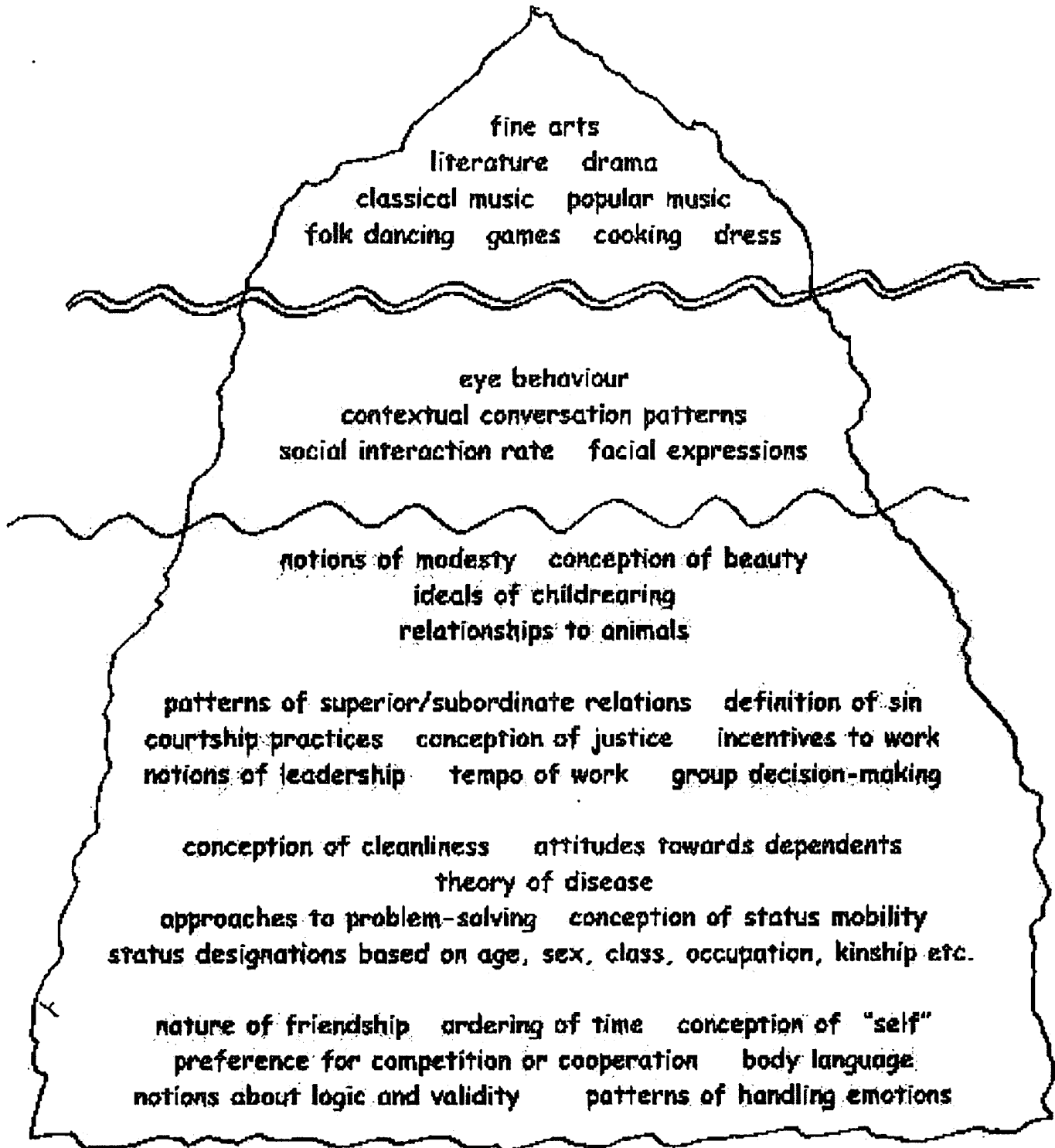
The ladder begins where we all begin, which is with the belief that, in relationship to race, we're normal.

I'M NORMAL

also known as the innocence/ignorance stage

In this stage, we

- do not see ourselves as white
- assume racial differences are unimportant
- are naive about the connection of power to race and racism or oppression (we do not have a power analysis)
- do not have much experience with people of color
- believe people of color want to assimilate
- see all issues of race as individual



Kardinal König's Dialogregeln ~ Cardinal König's rules of dialogue:

{this is written by a catholic cardinal as an authentic expression of his faith. We understand many people do not identify as christian; and for those who have an "allergy" to christian terminology, we suggest imagining appropriate replacements. Try "wise activists" instead of "christians" & "liberation" instead of "christ". ;) }

Rule #1: Dialogue (to have dialogue / to be in conversation) is no surrender of the Truth: Christians know on what ground they stand. For Christians, Christ is the way and the truth. This is no reason for arrogance/oppression, but for fearlessness/courage.

Erste Regel: Der Dialog ist Keine Preisgabe der Wahrheit

Christen wissen, auf welchem Grund sie stehen. Für Christen ist Christus der weg und die Wahrheit. Das ist kein grund zur Überheblichkeit, sondern zur Furchtlosigkeit.

Rule #2: Dialogue is not a simple confrontation of ideologies:

Christians do not wish to encapsulate/isolate/closet themselves in their truth, but to offer themselves into the world as partners in conversation, with all the risks and potentialities of such a conversational process. They hope the same of their conversational partners.

Zweite Regel: Der Dialog ist keine bloße Konfrontation von Ideologien

Christen wollen sich in ihrer Wahrheit nicht abkapseln, sondern sich der Welt als Gesprächspartner öffnen, mit allen Risiken und Chancen eines solchen Gesprächsprozesses. Sie erhoffen aber dasselbe von ihren Gesprächspartnern.

Rule #3: Dialogue is not (just) a simple tactic:

Christians put forth a trust in their conversational partners, to have the same intellectual honesty/capacity/approachability that they establish for themselves. Dialogue may/must not be misused/abused. Its aim/goal should always be the search for even the smallest common ground/denominator, on which one can then build on.

Dritte Regel: Der Dialog ist nicht bloße Taktik

Christen setzen in einem Vertrauensvorschuss bei ihren Gesprächspartnern dieselbe Intellektuelle Redlichkeit voraus, die sie selbst einsetzen. Der Dialog darf nicht missbraucht werden. Sein Ziel sollte aber immer die Suche nach dem kleinsten gemeinsamen Nenner sein, auf dem man weiterbauen kann.

Rule #4: Dialogue is not a simple theoretical debate:

Dialogue must always (and does) have practical consequences. Through/From spiritual understanding/epiphanies/revelations, one must, sooner or later, draw concrete conclusions.

Vierte Regel: Der Dialog ist keine bloß theoretische Debatte

Der Dialog muss immer auch praktische Konsequenzen haben. Aus geistigen Erkenntnissen muß man früher oder später konkrete Schlussfolgerungen ziehen.

Rule #5: Dialogue is an adventure! To be in conversation is to have an adventure:

Because nothing is more rewarding, but also frustrating/unsettling, than the/an encounter with other people and their thoughts. Christians can be completely fearless in this because they know: the actual/true/real conversational director/mediator/leader is God.

Fünfte Regel: Der Dialog ist ein Abenteuer

Denn nichts ist bereichernder, aber auch aufregender, als die Begegnung mit anderen Menschen und ihren Gedanken. Christen können dabei ganz furchtlos sein, denn sie wissen: der eigentliche Gesprächsleiter wird immer Gott sein.

Characteristics of White Supremacy Culture Kenneth Jones & Tema Okun

This is a list of characteristics of white supremacy culture which show up in our organizations. Culture is powerful precisely because it is so present and at the same time so very difficult to name or identify. The characteristics listed below are damaging because they are used as norms and standards without being pro-actively named or chosen by the group. They are damaging because they promote white supremacy thinking. They are damaging to both people of color and to white people. Organizations that are people of color led or a majority people of color can also demonstrate many damaging characteristics of white supremacy culture.

Perfectionism

- little appreciation expressed among people for the work that others are doing; appreciation that is expressed usually directed to those who get most of the credit anyway
- more common is to point out either how the person or work is inadequate
- or even more common, to talk to others about the inadequacies of a person or their work without ever talking directly to them
- mistakes are seen as personal, i.e. they reflect badly on the person making them as opposed to being seen for what they are: *mistakes*
- making a mistake is confused with being a mistake, doing wrong with being wrong
- little time, energy, or money put into reflection or identifying lessons learned that can improve practice, in other words little or no learning from mistakes
- tendency to identify what's wrong; little ability to identify, name, and appreciate what's right

antidotes: develop a culture of appreciation, where the organization takes time to make sure that people's work and efforts are appreciated; develop a learning organization, where it is expected that everyone will make mistakes and those mistakes offer opportunities for learning; create an environment where people can recognize that mistakes sometimes lead to positive results; separate the person from the mistake; when offering feedback, always speak to the things that went well before offering criticism; ask people to offer specific suggestions for how to do things differently when offering criticism

Sense of Urgency

- continued sense of urgency that makes it difficult to take time to be inclusive, encourage democratic and/or thoughtful decision-making, to think long-term, to consider consequences
- frequently results in sacrificing potential allies for quick or highly visible results, for example sacrificing interests of communities of color in order to win victories for white people (seen as default or norm community)
- reinforced by funding proposals which promise too much work for too little money and by funders who expect too much for too little

antidotes: realistic work-plans; leadership which understands that things take longer than anyone expects; discuss and plan for what it means to set goals of inclusivity and diversity, particularly in terms of time; learn from past experience how long things take; write realistic funding proposals with realistic time frames; be clear about how you will make good decisions in an atmosphere of urgency

Defensiveness

- the organizational structure is set up and much energy spent trying to prevent abuse and protect power as it exists rather than to facilitate the best out of each person or to clarify who has power and how they are expected to use it
- because of either/or thinking (see below), criticism of those with power is viewed as threatening and inappropriate (or rude)

- people respond to new or challenging ideas with defensiveness, making it very difficult to raise these ideas
- a lot of energy in the organization is spent trying to make sure that people's feelings aren't getting hurt or working around defensive people
- the defensiveness of people in power creates an oppressive culture

antidotes: understand that structure cannot in and of itself facilitate or prevent abuse; understand the link between defensiveness and fear (of losing power, losing face, losing comfort, losing privilege); work on your own defensiveness; name defensiveness as a problem when it is one; give people credit for being able to handle more than you think; discuss the ways in which defensiveness or resistance to new ideas gets in the way of the mission

Quantity Over Quality

- all resources of organization are directed toward producing measurable goals
- things that can be measured are more highly valued than things that cannot, for example numbers of people attending a meeting, newsletter circulation, money spent are valued more than quality of relationships, democratic decision-making, ability to constructively deal with conflict
- little or no value attached to process; if it can't be measured, it has no value
- discomfort with emotion and feelings
- no understanding that when there is a conflict between content (the agenda of the meeting) and process (people's need to be heard or engaged), process will prevail (for example, you may get through the agenda, but if you haven't paid attention to people's need to be heard, the decisions made at the meeting are undermined and/or disregarded)

antidotes: include process or quality goals in your planning; make sure your organization has a values statement which expresses the ways in which you want to do your work; make sure this is a living document and that people are using it in their day to day work; look for ways to measure process goals (for example if you have a goal of inclusivity, think about ways you can measure whether or not you have achieved that goal); learn to recognize those times when you need to get off the agenda in order to address people's underlying concerns

Worship of the Written Word

- if it's not in a memo, it doesn't exist
- the organization does not take into account or value other ways in which information gets shared
- those with strong documentation and writing skills are more highly valued, even in organizations where ability to relate to others is key to the mission

antidotes: take the time to analyze how people inside and outside the organization get and share information; figure out which things need to be written down and come up with alternative ways to document what is happening; work to recognize the contributions and skills that every person brings to the organization (for example, the ability to build relationships with those who are important to the organization's mission)

Only One Right Way

- the belief there is one right way to do things and once people are introduced to the right way, they will see the light and adopt it
- when they do not adapt or change, then something is wrong with them (the other, those not changing), not with us (those who *know* the right way)
- similar to the missionary who does not see value in the culture of other communities, sees only value in their beliefs about what is good

antidotes: accept that there are many ways to get to the same goal; once the group has made a decision about which way will be taken, honor that decision and see what you and the organization will learn from taking that way, even and especially if it is not the way you would have chosen; work on developing the ability to notice when people do things differently and how those different ways might improve your approach; look for the tendency for a group or a person to keep pushing the same point over and over out of a belief that there is only one right way and then name it; when working with communities from a different culture than yours or your organization's, be clear that you have some learning to do about the communities' ways of doing; never assume that you or your organization know what's best for the community in isolation from meaningful relationships with that community

Paternalism

- decision-making is clear to those with power and unclear to those without it
- those with power think they are capable of making decisions for and in the interests of those without power
- those with power often don't think it is important or necessary to understand the viewpoint or experience of those for whom they are making decisions
- those without power understand they do not have it and understand who does
- those without power do not really know how decisions get made and who makes what decisions, and yet they are completely familiar with the impact of those decisions on them

antidotes: make sure that everyone knows and understands who makes what decisions in the organization; make sure everyone knows and understands their level of responsibility and authority in the organization; include people who are affected by decisions in the decision-making

Either/Or Thinking

- things are either/or, good/bad, right/wrong, with us/against us
- closely linked to perfectionism in making it difficult to learn from mistakes or accommodate conflict
- no sense that things can be both/and
- results in trying to simplify complex things, for example believing that poverty is simply a result of lack of education
- creates conflict and increases sense of urgency, as people are felt they have to make decisions to do either this or that, with no time or encouragement to consider alternatives, particularly those which may require more time or resources

antidotes: notice when people use "either/or" language and push to come up with more than two alternatives; notice when people are simplifying complex issues, particularly when the stakes seem high or an urgent decision needs to be made; slow it down and encourage people to do a deeper analysis; when people are faced with an urgent decision, take a break and give people some breathing room to think creatively; avoid making decisions under extreme pressure

Power Hoarding

- little, if any, value around sharing power
- power seen as limited, only so much to go around
- those with power feel threatened when anyone suggests changes in how things should be done in the organization, feel suggestions for change are a reflection on their leadership
- those with power don't see themselves as hoarding power or as feeling threatened
- those with power assume they have the best interests of the organization at heart and assume those wanting change are ill-informed (stupid), emotional, inexperienced

antidotes: include power sharing in your organization's values statement; discuss what good leadership looks like and make sure people understand that a good leader develops the power and skills of others;

understand that change is inevitable and challenges to your leadership can be healthy and productive; make sure the organization is focused on the mission

Fear of Open Conflict

- people in power are scared of conflict and try to ignore it or run from it
- when someone raises an issue that causes discomfort, the response is to blame the person for raising the issue rather than to look at the issue which is actually causing the problem
- emphasis on being polite
- equating the raising of difficult issues with being impolite, rude, or out of line

antidotes: role play ways to handle conflict before conflict happens; distinguish between being polite and raising hard issues; don't require those who raise hard issues to raise them in "acceptable" ways, especially if you are using the ways in which issues are raised as an excuse not to address the issues being raised; once a conflict is resolved, take the opportunity to revisit it and see how it might have been handled differently

Individualism

- little experience or comfort working as part of a team
- people in organization believe they are responsible for solving problems alone
- accountability, if any, goes up and down, not sideways to peers or to those the organization is set up to serve
- desire for individual recognition and credit
- leads to isolation
- competition more highly valued than cooperation and where cooperation is valued, little time or resources devoted to developing skills in how to cooperate
- creates a lack of accountability, as the organization values those who can get things done on their own without needing supervision or guidance

antidotes: include teamwork as an important value in your values statement; make sure the organization is working towards shared goals and people understand how working together will improve performance; evaluate people's ability to work in a team as well as their ability to get the job done; make sure that credit is given to all those who participate in an effort, not just the leaders or most public person; make people accountable as a group rather than as individuals; create a culture where people bring problems to the group; use staff meetings as a place to solve problems, not just a place to report activities

I'm the only one

- connected to individualism, the belief that if something is going to get done right, ël' have to do it
- little or no ability to delegate work to others

antidotes: evaluate people based on their ability to delegate to others; evaluate people based on their ability to work as part of a team to accomplish shared goals

Progress is Bigger, More

- observed in systems of accountability and ways we determine success
- progress is an organization which expands (adds staff, adds projects) or develops the ability to serve more people (regardless of how well they are serving them)
- gives no value, not even negative value, to its cost, for example, increased accountability to funders as the budget grows, ways in which those we serve may be exploited, excluded, or underserved as we focus on how many we are serving instead of quality of service or values created by the ways in which we serve

antidotes: create Seventh Generation thinking by asking how the actions of the group now will affect people seven generations from now; make sure that any cost/benefit analysis includes all the costs, not just the financial ones, for example the cost in morale, the cost in credibility, the cost in the use of resources; include process goals in your planning, for example make sure that your goals speak to how you want to do your work, not just what you want to do; ask those you work with and for to evaluate your performance

Objectivity

- the belief that there is such a thing as being objective
- the belief that emotions are inherently destructive, irrational, and should not play a role in decision-making or group process
- invalidating people who show emotion
- requiring people to think in a linear fashion and ignoring or invalidating those who think in other ways
- impatience with any thinking that does not appear "logical" to those with power

antidotes: realize that everybody has a worldview and that everybody's worldview affects the way they understand things; realize this means you too; push yourself to sit with discomfort when people are expressing themselves in ways which are not familiar to you; assume that everybody has a valid point and your job is to understand what that point is

Right to Comfort

- the belief that those with power have a right to emotional and psychological comfort (another aspect of valuing 'logic' over emotion)
- scapegoating those who cause discomfort
- equating individual acts of unfairness against white people with systemic racism which daily targets people of color

antidotes: understand that discomfort is at the root of all growth and learning; welcome it as much as you can; deepen your political analysis of racism and oppression so you have a strong understanding of how your personal experience and feelings fit into a larger picture; don't take everything personally

One of the purposes of listing characteristics of white supremacy culture is to point out how organizations which unconsciously use these characteristics as their norms and standards make it difficult, if not impossible, to open the door to other cultural norms and standards. As a result, many of our organizations, while saying we want to be multicultural, really only allow other people and cultures to come in if they adapt or conform to already existing cultural norms. Being able to identify and name the cultural norms and standards you want is a first step to making room for a truly multi-cultural organization.

[http://www.cswsworkshop.org/PARC site B/dr-culture.html](http://www.cswsworkshop.org/PARC_site/B/dr-culture.html)

White American Culture

From *The Counseling Psychologist* (p. 618) by J.H. Katz (1985)

<p><u>Rugged Individualism</u> Individual as primary unit Individual as primary responsibility Independence and autonomy highly valued and rewarded Individual can control environment</p>	<p><u>Family Structure</u> Nuclear family is ideal social unit Male is breadwinner and head of household Female is homemaker and subordinate to husband Patriarchal structure</p>
<p><u>Competition</u> Winning is everything Win/lose dichotomy</p>	<p><u>Status and Power</u> Measured by economic possessions Credentials, titles and positions</p>
<p><u>Communication</u> Standard English Written tradition Direct eye contact Limited physical contact Control emotions</p>	<p><u>Action Orientation</u> Must master and control nature Must always do something about a situation Pragmatic/utilitarian view of life</p>
<p><u>Time</u> Adherence to rigid time Time is viewed as a commodity</p>	<p><u>Progress and Future Orientation</u> Plan for future Delayed gratification Value continual improvement and progress</p>
<p><u>Holidays</u> Based on Christian religion Based on White history and male leaders</p>	<p><u>Aesthetics</u> Music and art based on European cultures Women's beauty based on blonde, blue-eyed, thin and young Men's attractiveness based on athletic ability, power and economic status</p>
<p><u>Religion</u> Belief in Christianity No tolerance from deviation from single god concept</p>	<p><u>Emphasis on Scientific Method</u> Objective, rational, linear thinking Cause and effect relationships Quantitative emphasis</p>
<p><u>Protestant Work Ethic</u> Working hard brings success</p>	

Tema Okun: http://www.cwsworkshop.org/PARC_site_B/dr-culture.html

Note how a lot of Hofstede's work is reflected in Okun's analysis.

Perfectionism

A Sense of Urgency (Impatience)

Defensiveness

Quantity Over Quality

Worship of the Written Word

Only One Right Way

Paternalism

Either/Or Thinking (aka The Binary)

Power Hoarding (Dominating Convo)

Fear of Open Conflict

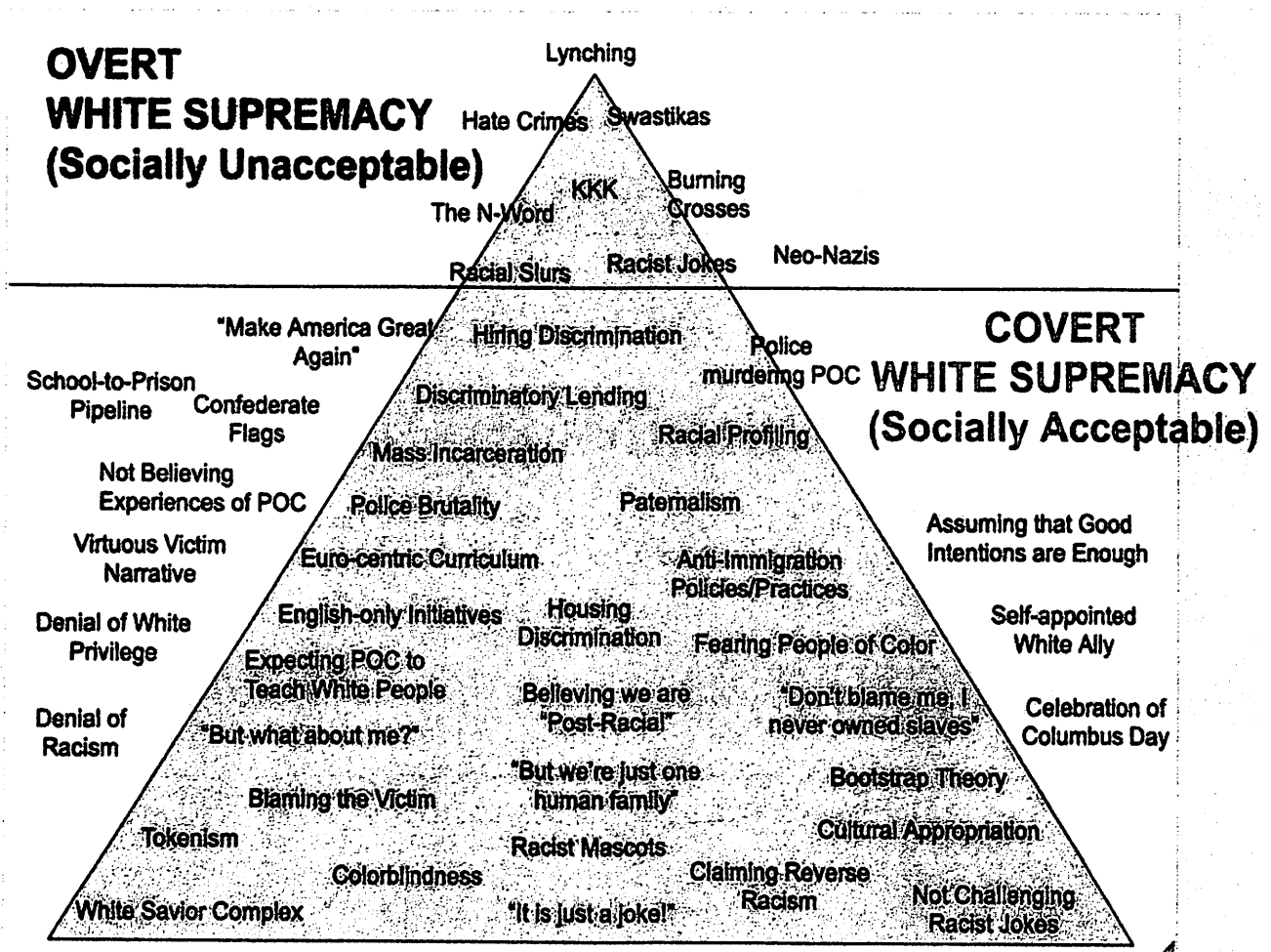
Individualism

I'm the Only One

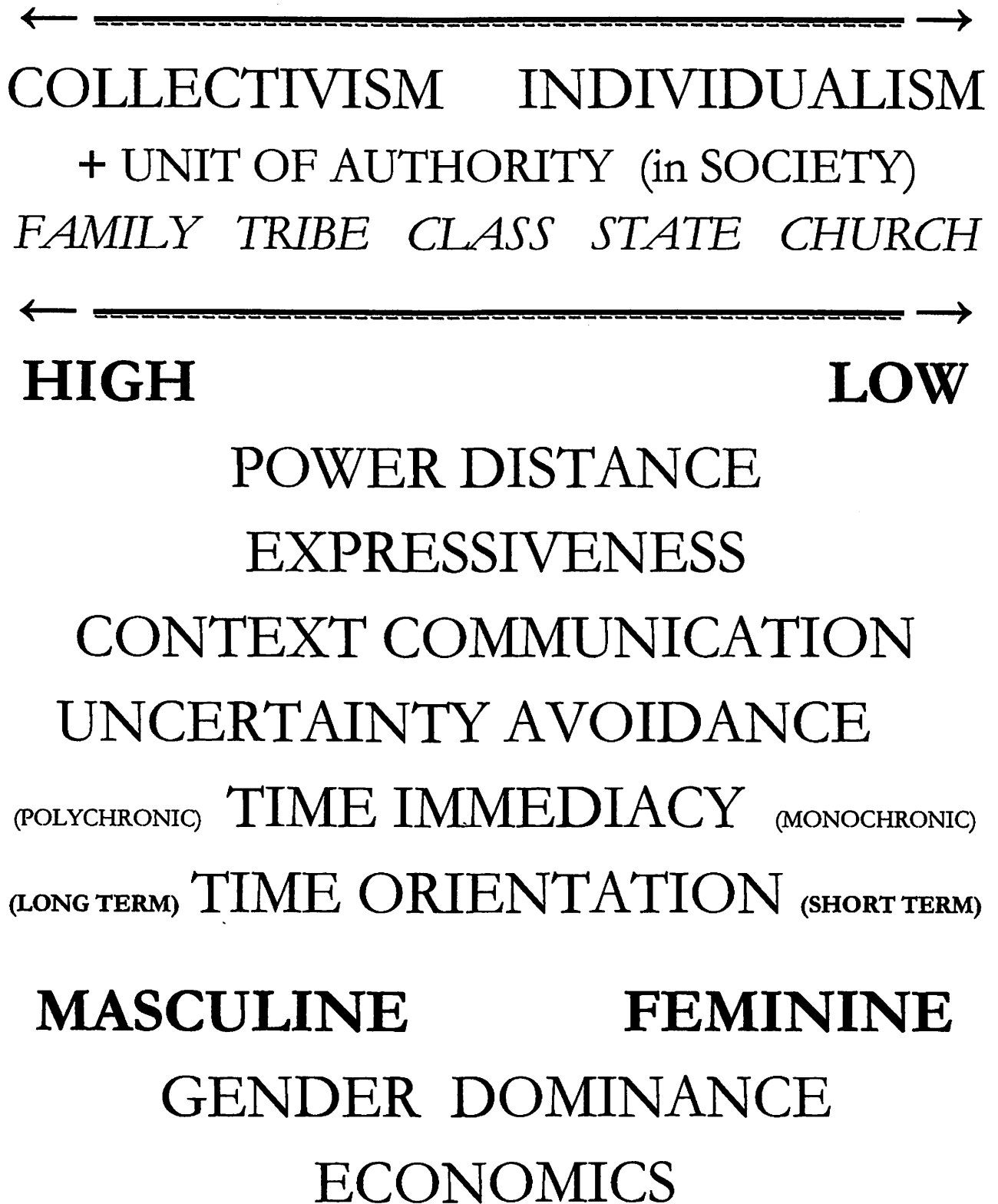
Progress is Bigger, More

Objectivity

Right to Comfort



HOFSTEDE's CULTURAL DIMENSIONS



Peggy McIntosh: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack

<http://www.feministezine.com/feminist/modern/WhitePrivilege-MalePrivilege.html>

"I was taught to see racism only in individual acts of meanness, not in invisible systems conferring dominance on my group"

By Peggy McIntosh

Through work to bring materials from women's studies into the rest of the curriculum, I have often noticed men's unwillingness to grant that they are overprivileged, even though they may grant that women are disadvantaged. They may say they will work to women's statues, in the society, the university, or the curriculum, but they can't or won't support the idea of lessening men's. Denials that amount to taboos surround the subject of advantages that men gain from women's disadvantages. These denials protect male privilege from being fully acknowledged, lessened, or ended.

Thinking through unacknowledged male privilege as a phenomenon, I realized that, since hierarchies in our society are interlocking, there are most likely a phenomenon, I realized that, since hierarchies in our society are interlocking, there was most likely a phenomenon of while privilege that was similarly denied and protected. As a white person, I realized I had been taught about racism as something that 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 think whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege, as males are taught not to recognize male privilege. So I have begun in an untutored way to ask what it is like to have white privilege. I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was "meant" to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools , and blank checks. Describing white privilege makes one newly accountable. As we in women's studies work to reveal male privilege and ask men to give up some of their power, so one who writes about having white privilege must ask, "having described it, what will I do to lessen or end it?"

After I realized the extent to which men work from a base of unacknowledged privilege, I understood that much of their oppressiveness was unconscious. Then I remembered the frequent charges from women of color that white women whom they encounter are oppressive. I began to understand why we are just seen as oppressive, even when we don't see ourselves that way. I began to count the ways in which I enjoy unearned skin privilege and have been conditioned into oblivion about its existence.

My schooling gave me no training in seeing myself as an oppressor, as an unfairly advantaged person, or as a participant in a damaged culture. I was taught to see myself as an individual whose moral state depended on her individual moral will. My schooling

followed the pattern my colleague Elizabeth Minnich has pointed out: whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work that will allow "them" to be more like "us."

Daily effects of white privilege

I decided to try to work on myself at least by identifying some of the daily effects of white privilege in my life. I have chosen those conditions that I think in my case attach somewhat more to skin-color privilege than to class, religion, ethnic status, or geographic location, though of course all these other factors are intricately intertwined. As far as I can tell, my African American coworkers, friends, and acquaintances with whom I come into daily or frequent contact in this particular time, place and time of work cannot count on most of these conditions.

1. I can if I wish arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
2. I can avoid spending time with people whom I was trained to mistrust and who have learned to mistrust my kind or me.
3. If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of renting or purchasing housing in an area which I can afford and in which I would want to live.
4. I can be pretty sure that my neighbors in such a location will be neutral or pleasant to me.
5. I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.
6. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
7. When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.
8. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race.
9. If I want to, I can be pretty sure of finding a publisher for this piece on white privilege.
10. I can be pretty sure of having my voice heard in a group in which I am the only member of my race.
11. I can be casual about whether or not to listen to another person's voice in a group in which s/he is the only member of his/her race.
12. I can go into a music shop and count on finding the music of my race represented, into a supermarket and find the staple foods which fit with my cultural traditions, into a hairdresser's shop and find someone who can cut my hair.
13. Whether I use checks, credit cards or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability.
14. I can arrange to protect my children most of the time from people who might not like them.
15. I do not have to educate my children to be aware of systemic racism for their own daily physical protection.

16. I can be pretty sure that my children's teachers and employers will tolerate them if they fit school and workplace norms; my chief worries about them do not concern others' attitudes toward their race.
17. I can talk with my mouth full and not have people put this down to my color.
18. I can swear, or dress in second hand clothes, or not answer letters, without having people attribute these choices to the bad morals, the poverty or the illiteracy of my race.
19. I can speak in public to a powerful male group without putting my race on trial.
20. I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race.
21. I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.
22. I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of color who constitute the world's majority without feeling in my culture any penalty for such oblivion.
23. I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a cultural outsider.
24. I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to the "person in charge", I will be facing a person of my race.
25. If a traffic cop pulls me over or if the IRS audits my tax return, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race.
26. I can easily buy posters, post-cards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys and children's magazines featuring people of my race.
27. I can go home from most meetings of organizations I belong to feeling somewhat tied in, rather than isolated, out-of-place, outnumbered, unheard, held at a distance or feared.
28. I can be pretty sure that an argument with a colleague of another race is more likely to jeopardize her/his chances for advancement than to jeopardize mine.
29. I can be pretty sure that if I argue for the promotion of a person of another race, or a program centering on race, this is not likely to cost me heavily within my present setting, even if my colleagues disagree with me.
30. If I declare there is a racial issue at hand, or there isn't a racial issue at hand, my race will lend me more credibility for either position than a person of color will have.
31. I can choose to ignore developments in minority writing and minority activist programs, or disparage them, or learn from them, but in any case, I can find ways to be more or less protected from negative consequences of any of these choices.
32. My culture gives me little fear about ignoring the perspectives and powers of people of other races.
33. I am not made acutely aware that my shape, bearing or body odor will be taken as a reflection on my race.
34. I can worry about racism without being seen as self-interested or self-seeking.
35. I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having my co-workers on the job suspect that I got it because of my race.
36. If my day, week or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it had racial overtones.
37. I can be pretty sure of finding people who would be willing to talk with me and advise me about my next steps, professionally.

38. I can think over many options, social, political, imaginative or professional, without asking whether a person of my race would be accepted or allowed to do what I want to do.
39. I can be late to a meeting without having the lateness reflect on my race.
40. I can choose public accommodation without fearing that people of my race cannot get in or will be mistreated in the places I have chosen.
41. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.
42. I can arrange my activities so that I will never have to experience feelings of rejection owing to my race.
43. If I have low credibility as a leader I can be sure that my race is not the problem.
44. I can easily find academic courses and institutions which give attention only to people of my race.
45. I can expect figurative language and imagery in all of the arts to testify to experiences of my race.
46. I can choose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" color and have them more or less match my skin.
47. I can travel alone or with my spouse without expecting embarrassment or hostility in those who deal with us.
48. I have no difficulty finding neighborhoods where people approve of our household.
49. My children are given texts and classes which implicitly support our kind of family unit and do not turn them against my choice of domestic partnership.
50. I will feel welcomed and "normal" in the usual walks of public life, institutional and social.

Elusive and fugitive

I repeatedly forgot each of the realizations on this list until I wrote it down. For me white privilege has turned out to be an elusive and fugitive subject. The pressure to avoid it is great, for in facing it I must give up the myth of meritocracy. If these things are true, this is not such a free country; one's life is not what one makes it; many doors open for certain people through no virtues of their own.

In unpacking this invisible knapsack of white privilege, I have listed conditions of daily experience that I once took for granted. Nor did I think of any of these perquisites as bad for the holder. I now think that we need a more finely differentiated taxonomy of privilege, for some of these varieties are only what one would want for everyone in a just society, and others give license to be ignorant, oblivious, arrogant, and destructive.

I see a pattern running through the matrix of white privilege, a pattern of assumptions that were passed on to me as a white person. There was one main piece of cultural turf; it was my own turn, and I was among those who could control the turf. My skin color was an asset for any move I was educated to want to make. I could think of myself as belonging in major ways and of making social systems work for me. I could freely disparage, fear, neglect, or be oblivious to anything outside of the dominant cultural forms. Being of the main culture, I could also criticize it fairly freely.

In proportion as my racial group was being made confident, comfortable, and oblivious, other groups were likely being made unconfident, uncomfortable, and alienated. Whiteness protected me from many kinds of hostility, distress, and violence, which I was being subtly trained to visit, in turn, upon people of color.

For this reason, the word "privilege" now seems to me misleading. We usually think of privilege as being a favored state, whether earned or conferred by birth or luck. Yet some of the conditions I have described here work systematically to over empower certain groups. Such privilege simply confers dominance because of one's race or sex.

Earned strength, unearned power

I want, then, to distinguish between earned strength and unearned power conferred privilege can look like strength when it is in fact permission to escape or to dominate. But not all of the privileges on my list are inevitably damaging. Some, like the expectation that neighbors will be decent to you, or that your race will not count against you in court, should be the norm in a just society. Others, like the privilege to ignore less powerful people, distort the humanity of the holders as well as the ignored groups.

We might at least start by distinguishing between positive advantages, which we can work to spread, and negative types of advantage, which unless rejected will always reinforce our present hierarchies. For example, the feeling that one belongs within the human circle, as Native Americans say, should not be seen as privilege for a few. Ideally it is an unearned entitlement. At present, since only a few have it, it is an unearned advantage for them. This paper results from a process of coming to see that some of the power that I originally say as attendant on being a human being in the United States consisted in unearned advantage and conferred dominance.

I have met very few men who truly distressed about systemic, unearned male advantage and conferred dominance. And so one question for me and others like me is whether we will be like them, or whether we will get truly distressed, even outraged, about unearned race advantage and conferred dominance, and, if so, what we will do to lessen them. In any case, we need to do more work in identifying how they actually affect our daily lives.

Many, perhaps most, of our white students in the United States think that racism doesn't affect them because they are not people of color; they do not see "whiteness" as a racial identity. In addition, since race and sex are not the only advantaging systems at work, we need similarly to examine the daily experience of having age advantage, or ethnic advantage, or physical ability, or advantage related to nationality, religion, or sexual orientation.

Difficulties and angers surrounding the task of finding parallels are many. Since racism, sexism, and heterosexism are not the same, the advantages associated with them should not be seen as the same. In addition, it is hard to disentangle aspects of unearned advantage that

rest more on social class, economic class, race, religion, sex, and ethnic identity than on other factors. Still, all of the oppressions are interlocking, as the members of the Combahee River Collective pointed out in their "Black Feminist Statement" of 1977.

One factor seems clear about all of the interlocking oppressions. They take both active forms, which we can see, and embedded forms, which as a member of the dominant groups one is taught not to see. In my class and place, I did not see myself as a racist because I was taught to recognize racism only in individual acts of meanness by members of my group, never in invisible systems conferring unsought racial dominance on my group from birth. Disapproving of the system won't be enough to change them. I was taught to think that racism could end if white individuals changed their attitude. But a "white" skin in the United States opens many doors for whites whether or not we approve of the way dominance has been conferred on us. Individual acts can palliate but cannot end, these problems.

To redesign social systems we need first to acknowledge their colossal unseen dimensions. The silences and denials surrounding privilege are the key political surrounding privilege are the key political tool here. They keep the thinking about equality or equity incomplete, protecting unearned advantage and conferred dominance by making these subject taboo. Most talk by whites about equal opportunity seems to me now to be about equal opportunity to try to get into a position of dominance while denying that systems of dominance exist.

It seems to me that obliviousness about white advantage, like obliviousness about male advantage, is kept strongly inculturated in the United States so as to maintain the myth of meritocracy, the myth that democratic choice is equally available to all. Keeping most people unaware that freedom of confident action is there for just a small number of people props up those in power and serves to keep power in the hands of the same groups that have most of it already.

Although systemic change takes many decades, there are pressing questions for me and, I imagine, for some others like me if we raise our daily consciousness on the perquisites of being light-skinned. What will we do with such knowledge? As we know from watching men, it is an open question whether we will choose to use unearned advantage, and whether we will use any of our arbitrarily awarded power to try to reconstruct power systems on a broader base.

Peggy McIntosh: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack

<http://www.feministzine.com/feminist/modern/WhitePrivilege-MalePrivilege.html>