

Kristin Haltinner *Editor*

Teaching Race and Anti-Racism in Contemporary America

Adding Context to Colorblindness

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Kristin Haltinner
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of Idaho
Moscow, ID, USA

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Challenges and Opportunities in Teaching About Race and Anti-Racism in the Twenty-First Century

Kristin Haltinner

The election of Barack Obama is touted by many as a symbol of the United States' movement towards a "post-racial" society. Yet, in the year after his election, there were elevated numbers of racially motivated hate crimes, with over 9,000 incidences (AP 2008; FBI 2008). At the same time, there has been a broad, collective movement in opposition to progressive reform and civil rights for people of color and immigrants (Gonzales 2009; Bunch 2010). Nevertheless, political pundits, newspaper columnists, and politicians have written at length about Obama's election as signifying a "post-racial" America – a vision of the United States as a society in which race no longer acts as a barrier to certain populations marginalized in the nation's past (NPR 2009; Steele 2008). Scholars have also adopted this term in considering the implications of post-racial ideology on race theory (Nayak 2006) and the possibility of post-racial states (Goldberg 2002).

Post-racial discourse asserts that U.S. society is beyond race, arguing that the category of race has worn out its usefulness as a result of the adoption of civil rights legislation and government enforcement of norms of social equality (Guinier and Torres 2002). Post-racial America is proclaimed by those who see the election of a black president as evidence that all people can achieve their dreams without structural obstacles associated with race (Bonilla-Silva 2006). While few scholars accept the claim that the United States, or any nation, is post-racial, certain sectors of the American population have readily adopted this ideology. According to a Wall Street Journal/NBC poll, 60 % of Americans polled agree that "America is a nation where people are not judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character." (2010). A study from the University of Washington found that 70 % of whites agree with the statement "Irish, Italians, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without special favors" (Parker 2010). Similarly, they found that 58 % of white Americans

K. Haltinner (✉)

Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Idaho, Moscow, ID, USA
e-mail: khaltinner@uidaho.edu

disagreed that historical mistreatment of black Americans, such as “generations of slavery and discrimination”, have “created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class” while 56 % of Americans agree with the statement “It’s really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites” (Parker 2010). These numbers indicate that the majority of white Americans do not find structural barriers a significant factor contributing to current racial inequality (Parker 2010; Wise 2008). Although people of color are largely aware of structural injustices, many are, nonetheless, effected by and thus employ an ideology of colorblindness (Bonilla-Silva 2006).

The ideology of colorblindness has been espoused by both the political right and left to different ends for decades (Guinier and Torres 2002). Since the Jim Crow era, conservatives have used the discourse of colorblindness to suggest that individual racists are the only racial problem yet to be resolved. They suggest that race has become a meaningless category and that its recognition by government to redress past racial injustices will necessarily lead to divisive racial politics and affirmative action policies that benefit the few over the majority. In contrast, liberals tout colorblindness in hopes of building broad coalitions, believing that talk of race is divisive and will necessarily lead to social balkanization. Regardless of political orientation, race is relegated to, and defined as, skin color and racism is perceived as a problem that exists only at the level of individual actors (Guinier and Torres 2002).

The dominance of the ideology of colorblindness presents a particular challenge for college instructors teaching about the issues of white privilege and anti-racism. Today’s college students have been bombarded with the idea that the United States is a place where, if one works hard, they can achieve greatness and that any failure to succeed in society reflects on the individual. They have been taught to ignore structural challenges and see racial inequality as the result of laziness or ineptitude on the part of people of color (Wise 2008). Moreover, many students are plagued with a sort of racial blindness causing them to interpret realities and events in a way that erases racial histories and contexts while reinforcing negative stereotypes of people of color and positive images of whites (Feagin 2006). Whites typically ignore facts that do not fit their frame in order to maintain their racialized worldview. Over time, such framing becomes more deeply ingrained in the white psyche such that it is harder to challenge and resist. Importantly, the white racial frame creates a society in which whites do not encounter people of color with a blank slate in any situation, even though they may think that they do (Feagin 2006).

To complicate matters further, instruction on race has largely failed to challenge societal trends towards colorblindness, despite the resultant attack on institutional diversity initiatives and affirmative action programs (Winant 2004). Rather, course content in the twenty-first century has primarily focused on issues of identity, interethnic antagonism, intersectionality, and generational shifts in the experience of race, among other trends (Winant 2004). In many ways, the social sciences actually perpetuate a post-racial ideology in their continued emphasis on the assimilation of immigrants and other groups in the United States and studies of Asian Americans as the “model minority” (Portes and Zhou 1993; Wong et al. 1998; Portes 2007).

This book examines the challenges faced by college instructors as they work with students raised in an era of colorblind ideology while presenting a more effective pedagogical approach to the teaching of race. Contributors interrogate diverse problems faced by teachers, provide solutions to these challenges, including creative classroom activities, and suggest larger structural/institutional changes that would facilitate such an evolution. The book is divided into four sections: the first section examines the ways in which students can and must be able to connect their lived experiences to the broader social and historical forces operating in society and presents strategies to accomplish this task in the classroom. The second section examines the need for effective and open communication in classrooms dedicated to the study of race and racial inequality, providing suggestions for success in this area. The third portion of the book presents innovative techniques for connecting with white progressives as well as students of color, and for creating classrooms in which all students are able to flourish and grow in their understandings of race and racial inequality. Finally, the fourth section provides a critical look at the institutional structures that affect instructors of race and racial inequality, identifying opportunities for structural change.

1.1 Cultivating the Sociological Imagination

This section examines the challenges faced by instructors as they try to connect personal troubles with public problems, or to empower students to productively use their sociological imaginations. In Chap. 2, Mueller and Feagin suggest innovative techniques to effectively empower students to think critically about their lived experiences and encourage instructors to employ a critical pedagogy to assist students in unlearning the white racial frame they have inherited. In Chap. 3, Bell provides additional insights into the challenge of getting students to think critically through suggesting a race-critical approach for teaching American race relations. This approach focuses on structure and is historically contextualized; it moves beyond simply presenting facts to examining how race is imbedded in the structures of U.S. society as both distinct from and connected to other forms of oppression. Bell's model is further elaborated in Chap. 4 by Page and Whetstone who suggest that the key to getting students to use their sociological imagination is tri-fold. First, instructors must "go historical" and assist students in moving from the past to the present to understand socio-historical contexts for present phenomena. Secondly, instructors need to "lay the cards on the table" by presenting a variety of perspectives on a topic. Third, teachers should foster informed debate in their classes, encouraging students to deeply unpack and examine their arguments. In Chap. 5, Okun further reiterates the need to examine history and elaborates on her strategies for putting current racial inequality into context. By starting before the political creation of the United States and invoking the origins of racial ideologies in religion and colonization, Okun shows how students become better able to see the significance of and reasons for contemporary racial inequality. Weiner, in Chap. 6,

presents additional concepts and activities to assist instructors in empowering students to examine their own lives and the ways in which everyone's life chances are impacted by the racial structure of the United States. While the other authors examine the importance of getting students to reflect on their own lives in the context of broader histories, in Chap. 7, Blee and Burke demonstrate how instructors need to do the same with modern American organized racism. They examine the tendency of students and faculty to view organized racism as exceptional, to allow it to overshadow everyday racism, to explain it by overly simplistic analysis, and to discuss it without the use of proper data. Blee and Burke examine two ways to empower students to think critically about organized racism: encouraging students to pose sociological questions about organized racism and asking them to examine racist organizations transnationally for added context. Together these chapters assist instructors in cultivating students' sociological imagination through placing class discussion on race and racial inequality in broader historical contexts and encouraging students to ask sociological questions.

1.2 The Importance of Communication and Class Climate

This section of the book examines the importance of creating open dialogue in classrooms. In Chap. 8, Croll begins by demonstrating what he sees as the "biggest challenge in teaching about race", that is, providing space for students to feel able to say the things they "believe they are not supposed to say." He subsequently shows how faculty can successfully use these moments to teach about difficult concepts and tough social realities. In Chap. 9, Froyum discusses the need to depersonalize course content in order to assist student mastery and comprehension of race in the United States. She contends that students have a tendency to personalize discussions of race and that this often leads to resentment and resistance to learning. Therefore, she has developed successful tools for defusing such moments: including repeating what the student has said or asking them to analyze their situation using course materials. She also highlights strategies for dealing with emotions in the classroom including anger, discomfort, and sadness. Haskie and Shreve, in Chap. 10, further elaborate on the need to "cultivate an honest and open classroom where even the most difficult subjects can be confronted directly." They demonstrate that essential to this process is the willingness of teachers to be open to learning from their students, that teachers recognize the importance of students' lived experience, and that teaching and learning are two-way processes. Finally, in Chap. 11, Cokely and Anyiwo discuss methods to engage students to critically think about race in ways that do not breed blame and guilt. They explore this possibility through the use of first year learning committees which empower students to speak openly with one another and examine the ways that "difference operates and is reinforced within our society." Taken together, these chapters can help instructors master the cultivation of a safe and empowering classroom environment.

1.3 Connecting with Students

This section of the book explores the particular challenges instructors face while developing students' skills to make intellectual connections concerning race and racial inequality, particularly when faced with a diverse student body. In Chap. 12, Warren explores the possibilities for "advancing racial literacy among progressive, post-colorblind whites." His strategy involves dismantling the idea that they understand racism, exploring the relationship between white supremacy and paternalism, disrupting white sociocultural worlds, and encouraging them to learn. In Chap. 13, Logan et al. explore the distinct realities that students bring to classrooms based on their location in the racial social structure. Contributors to this chapter examine the distinct experiences of white students and students of color and reflect on the role that personal histories of faculty of color have in and on the classroom. Finally, in Chap. 14, Ferber explores the possibility of engaging all students in the classroom, rather than focusing on the needs of white students at the expense of students of color, through what she calls a matrix of privilege and oppression framework. This framework examines the socially constructed nature of perceived differences, privilege and its relationship to oppression, and the intersection of different forms of privilege and oppression. At the same time, it works inclusively to connect students, examines the harmful nature of oppression and privilege on everyone, and empowers students to be proactive. This section helps teachers as they work to provide instruction that benefits students with a wide variety of backgrounds and experiences.

1.4 Innovative Techniques

Many times instructors struggle with finding creative ways to teach complex concepts to students. This section of the book presents a variety of innovative tactics successfully employed by authors. In Chap. 15, Wolff explains the ways in which memoir can be used to "illustrate the complexities of how racism works structurally, not just individually." Further, they make accessible the links between forms of oppression and the complexity of race in America. In Chap. 16, Bloom explores the way in which topics students perceive as fun, such as sports, can be used to "illustrate the concrete roles that racial discourses have played in American history, and to spark discussions that connect the history of race in America to the present." Through using the example of the Johnson-Jeffries fight, he traces racial images and stories in the media and uses them to explore larger social patterns producing racial hierarchies with his students. In Chap. 17, Pierce demonstrates the use of newspapers, coupled with critical exploration of their contexts and framing, to teach about Affirmative Action. She has students interrogate news articles, look at their bias, and explore the various sides of stories related to Affirmative Action. In Chap. 18, Brewer encourages instructors to ask students to engage with communities on collaborative projects to interrogate the meaning of race.

By connecting course readings, writing assignments, and community based research and engagement, students reach a deeper level of engagement with course material. In Chap. 19, Kunkel explores the use of films, such as *Crash*, in classes to explore structural racism. She calls on instructors to facilitate students' interrogation of racism within the film to move past seeing the racist actions of individuals and, instead, investigate the structures they represent. Wysocki, in Chap. 20, looks at the possibilities of using digital ethnography to assist instructors, whom are predominately white women, to engage with students from a variety of backgrounds. Khader, in Chap. 21, presents an exercise that asks students to wear a veil for a day to temporarily experience the discrimination faced by Muslims in America. This exercise engages students to "not only rethink their relationships with the Other in terms of the ethics of singularity, but also examine these ethical relationships in the context of economic inequality within the international division of labor". These chapters provide creative activities for instructors teaching race, racial inequality and anti-racism and explain the need for such tactics.

1.5 Engaging with Academic Institutions

This section of the book explores barriers to effective teaching about race and racism presented by academic institutions and offers possible solutions to these challenges. In Chap. 22, Cazenave uses his course on *White Racism* to explore the possibilities of reframing the way instructors teach about racial oppression: by focusing on the beneficiaries rather than victims. He demonstrates how, in doing so, students develop a better understanding of the nature of "race" and white racism. In Chap. 23, Mariscal analyzes how ideas and assumptions about race and gender are imbedded in and reproduced by colleges and universities. He demonstrates how neo-liberal ideologies have led to a structure in which students of color are taught to "negotiate the institutional obstacles that make their success more difficult while discriminatory structures and practices remain in tact". In Chap. 24, Pellow examines the possibilities for resisting institutional tendencies to separate discussions of the environment and race by providing students with the ability to understand the connections between the two and empowering them to think critically and take political action. He demonstrates that by connecting analyses of racism, sexism, speciesism and other forms of institutional discrimination, students are better able to identify with and deconstruct systemic injustice and are more readily driven to action. Finally, in Chap. 25, Katz-Fishman, Scott, and Gomes call on teachers to connect theory and practice and "develop a mass education project to raise and deepen consciousness about the need to transform the system, to create a shared vision of the world we are fighting for, and the capacity and strategy to make it happen." Through building on the lessons of the first section of this book – connecting to history, placing discussions of oppression in context – they explore the potential for shifting knowledge into action. This section provides instructors with an understanding of how to operate within institutions shaped by a racist history and which hold tightly to the status quo.

This book is intended as a tool for instructors of race, racial inequality, and anti-racism at the college level. The pedagogical strategies, theoretical reflections, and activities challenge students to unlearn what Feagin (2006) calls the white racial frame and to resist contemporary colorblind ideology, thereby contributing to a world in which racial equality and justice is possible. It serves to empower students to extend their sociological imagination and cultivate their “political imagination”, moving beyond critical thinking and analysis to political action (Burawoy 2012).

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Part I
Cultivating the Sociological Imagination

Chapter 2

Pulling Back the “Post-Racial” Curtain: Critical Pedagogical Lessons from Both Sides of the Desk

Jennifer C. Mueller and Joe Feagin

Through our teaching careers, we have often asked undergraduate students to participate in various journal-writing exercises, capitalizing recently on a holiday most students celebrate vigorously: Halloween. Asking our students to become sociologists of the everyday, they document the racialized costumes and events they observe around the holiday as they go about their revelry. As reports of racialized college theme parties expand,¹ this exercise unsurprisingly turns up numerous reports of racist costuming across many settings attended by students. Offensive descriptions of black “ghetto thugs” and “project chicks,” Arab “terrorists,” Latino “lawn-workers,” and even age-old blackface abound. Near universally, the incidents reported involve white costumers engaged in mocking, often vicious portrayals of people of color.

Several years back Olivia,² a young white woman, shared a particularly reflective journal. Recounting a story about a male friend deciding what he should “be” for Halloween, Olivia recalls his words: “I didn’t have time to put a costume together so I wore a wife beater, hung some chains around my neck and slapped some foil on my teeth and—BAM!—I was black!” Olivia acknowledges “everyone” hearing this “giggled,” and she goes on to report many other racial performances observed that night:

¹A number of reports have documented, for example, mock Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday parties (e.g., “Ghetto-Fabulous” at Clemson University; “Bullets and Bubbly” at University of Connecticut law school).

²All names represent pseudonyms.

J.C. Mueller (✉)

Department of Sociology & Intergroup Relations Program (IGR), Skidmore College,
815 North Broadway, Saratoga Springs, NY 12866, USA
e-mail: jmueller@skidmore.edu

J. Feagin

Department of Sociology, Texas A&M University, 311 Academic Building, Mail Stop 4351,
College Station, TX 77843-4351, USA

While my friends were having a good time . . . I was making mental notes at the number of white men that were sporting afros, chains and grills on their teeth, along with ridiculous drawn on tattoos. . . . I even noticed one guy in blackface carrying a bucket of KFC. . . . I suppose, to this white student, a painted face and a bucket of fried chicken was a sufficient enough description of who an African American is. I would not have even noticed him if I weren't cautiously looking for cross-racial costumes. . . . [I]t was the first time I realized that most white people hold the same stereotyped images towards the black race. I was shocked at myself for never noticing before how disrespectful and pretentious this may be to a person of color. I had many times seen white people dressing black, not just for Halloween, but also to themed parties. I never before comprehended the message that these [costumes] were sending out and how irreverent it was. (Mueller 2008)

Olivia's experiences are not exceptional. Indeed, this exercise formed the basis of a study published with two colleagues on college students' cross-racial Halloween performances. In analyzing accounts from students across the U.S., Mueller et al. (2007) concluded that as students "play" with and make light of racialized concepts in the safe context of Halloween (a holiday students regard as a time when "anything goes") they trivialize and reproduce racial stereotypes in a way that firmly reinforces white dominance. White students almost always relied on generic stereotypes and demeaning images of people of color to direct their cross-racial costuming efforts. To be sure, as the example of Olivia's friend suggests, these objectifying, caricatured images of people of color are readily accessible, and easily acted upon in the minds of many if not most white students.

As social scientists who study race we regard journals like these as a vital source of data, providing access to students' everyday lives in a way standard social science surveys cannot even begin to reach. Our data severely trouble claims that we now enjoy a post-racial world. As teachers we additionally recognize the transformative potential of pedagogical strategies that promote active discovery of the empirical world alongside a process of self-reflection, where students confront their own beliefs and actions. Olivia's account reveals that asking students to study their own lives can awaken a consciousness that is often otherwise untapped. For education to be at all emancipatory, racially progressive educators must provide students with such opportunities, moving them beyond textbook understandings to see "racial and ethnic relations" as something they are linked to quite personally. Only through engaged, race critical pedagogy can education meaningfully contribute to not just our students' own self-actualization, but more broadly to the national movement toward racial and social justice.

As antiracist educators who teach about the systemic white racism that characterizes this country and much of the globe, we are particularly concerned with using innovative education to challenge the deeply embedded racist framing internalized by most whites, including our students. White college students are often hastily distinguished as more racially tolerant and liberal than "low class" whites and the older generations of their parents and grandparents (Bonilla-Silva and Forman 2000; Feagin et al. 1996; Picca and Feagin 2007; Apollon 2011). Nonetheless, journals such as ours make clear that our young, educated white students' lives are anything but racially neutral.

In analyses of 626 similar journals from white students at 28 U.S. colleges and universities, Picca and Feagin (2007) uncovered nearly 7,500 accounts of blatantly racist performances among the students’ various networks. These racial performances revealed a type of “two-faced” racism, where students operate in seemingly tolerant, non-racist ways in public “frontstage” spaces, while engaging in much racist talk and behavior in the presumed safety of the private “backstage.” Commonplace were gatherings where, as one young white man reported, “[racist] jokes abound, as do racial slurs and vastly derogatory statements.” Of one occasion with the “full group membership present,” he writes:

Various jokes concerning stereotypes of Jewish people were . . . swapped . . . everything from ‘How many Hebes fit in a VW Beetle?’ to ‘Why did the Jews wander the desert for forty years?’ In each case, the punch lines were offensive, even though I’m not Jewish. The answers were ‘One million (in the ashtray) and four (in the seats)’ and ‘Because someone dropped a quarter,’ respectively. These jokes degraded into a rendition of the song “Yellow,” which was re-done to represent the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings. It contained lines about the shadows of the people being flash burned into the walls (‘and it was all yellow’ as the chorus goes). . . . A member of the group also decided that he has the perfect idea for a Hallmark card. On the cover it would have a few kittens in a basket with ribbons and lace. On the inside it would simply say, ‘You’re a nigger.’ . . . [T]he idea of the card was to make it as offensive as humanly possible in order to make the maximal juxtaposition between warm- and ice-hearted. . . . [N]o group is particularly safe from the group’s scathing wit. (Picca and Feagin 2007, pp. 5–6)

The significant socio-spatial dynamic of this episode is apparent, enabled by both the privacy of the setting and the *esprit de corps* of the collective group. Additionally striking is the depth of creativity, time, and energy employed by these intelligent young men. As Picca and Feagin (2007) conclude, these men “are not telling racial-ethnic jokes just to pass time but are using their talents to develop richly detailed, fleshed-out performances in competition with one another” (p. 6).

Far from anomalous, white students report these kinds of racist “backstage” exchanges as not simply common, but normal and even expected. Indeed, as Olivia’s reflections suggest, such performances are usually so well-structured into the rhythms of their lives that white students rarely, if ever, stop to consciously reflect on their habitual nature, let alone meaning. Tellingly, our writers often express shock at how frequently they hear and witness racist performances among white friends and relatives once they start paying attention to the matter. Despite their habituation, the frontstage/backstage dichotomy makes clear, white students recognize these are not socially meaningless performances; they know they would be regarded as problematic if conducted in different settings, with different audiences. This evidence underscores that though our white students may exhibit shallow understandings concerning race, we should not confuse this with the idea that they lack racial knowledge about how the world works in racially meaningful ways. Indeed, our students possess a “way of knowing” about the world “that is intimate with what it means to be white” (Leonardo 2009, p. 114).

The public/private dichotomy notwithstanding, our research also exposes that not all campus racism has moved to backstage arenas. The Halloween journals,

which often include nothing less than public blackface performances, suggest a marked space and time where the private backstage is allowed to move to the front (Mueller et al. 2007). Research additionally documents the many painful experiences students of color regularly confront on historically white campuses.³ Students of color report a range of negative encounters, from being called racist epithets and encountering racist graffiti, to confronting defensive reactions and stereotypically presumptive expectations from white peers (e.g., assumptions that they are athletes or “affirmative action” students – typically code for “academically inferior”). All-too-common are incidents such as the following, documented in a black student’s troubling journal:

Tonight is one of those sad and angry nights for me. Tonight marks the third time since the beginning of the school year that I’ve been called a nigger by a bunch of white students. . . . I used to wonder where they actually take the time in their heads to separate me from everyone else by the color of my skin. I used to just blame alcohol consumption for their obvious ignorance and racist attitudes, but I have since stopped trying to make excuses for them. I have to admit that at times like this, I feel intense hatred for white people just because I don’t understand how such a system of hate could exist. . . . Sometimes it seems that if I am around all white people, then I become nothing more than a token Black ‘exhibit’ for their amusement. . . . The saddest thing however, is that these people, these college students are supposed to be the supposed *crème de la crème*, the future business and political leaders. (Picca and Feagin 2008)

This savvy journal writer offers deep insights into the psychic energy students of color expend managing their often agonizing experiences in these “white spaces,”⁴ with, as he rightly notes, the future leaders of our communities, country and perhaps even world. In adding the many such accounts from students of color, our collective journal research severely problematizes long-standing views of U.S. universities as increasingly open, tolerant places (Feagin et al. 1996). Deeply challenged, too, is the notion that whites—even those who are young, well-off and educated—do not engage in explicit racism.

Public assumptions about the liberality of higher education are driven at least in part by the relative increase in students of color matriculating and the multicultural programs and diversity initiatives now common on many campuses. Even modest changes often provoke backlash from white students and mainstream educational apologists alike. While white students occupy the dominant racial group, many articulate a growing sense that *they* are now victimized by racial remediation programs and those campus efforts grouped under the multiculturalism banner (Gallagher 2003; Leonardo 2009). As Gallagher (2003) found, white students’ growing resistance stems from a sense that such efforts are ostensibly anti-white; “academic punishment” as one respondent put it, for “the sins of our grandfathers” (p. 303).

³See, for example, Feagin et al. (1996), Smith et al. (2007), and Yosso et al. (2009).

⁴Moore (2007) offers an excellent analysis of how whites construct institutional spaces as “white spaces,” which effectively function to exclude people of color (even as they may gain access to such institutions) by normalizing white political, social and economic power.

These commonplace white views are highly ironic given the racist performances documented in our student’s journals, extensive in both number and depth. Yet such views also speak to the many needs left unfulfilled by mainstream approaches to multiculturalism and education more generally. Traditional educational strategies are too often anemic when it comes to probing the deep realities of systemic racism in the U.S. Indeed, very few people realize that the U.S.’ grounding in extensive slavery and sweeping legal segregation spans nearly 85 percent of our national history. Every major institution and all routine operations were shaped by this centuries-long period of *de jure* racial oppression. Education at any level rarely probes this racial history, nor the ongoing material and ideological consequences produced by these unjust arrangements—consequences that are lived, concrete and advantageous for whites, and painful for those individuals and groups marked as racial “others.” Many multicultural and even self-labeled “critical pedagogical” initiatives are similarly shallow, engaging diversity in ways that bypass both the differential power and privilege accorded racial groups through the systemically racist arrangements of society and the white agency involved in instituting and daily reproducing this system of racial domination (Allen 2005; Leonardo 2005). Every major life chance experienced—from who we socialize with and where we live, to our likelihood of accessing quality education and healthcare, being incarcerated, securing jobs and accruing wealth—is directly or indirectly shaped by this country’s systemic racism. Yet education and multiculturalism rarely require whites to consider, let alone confront this reality.

This mis-education is usually not accidental; it is the “natural” product of a society structured and conceptually framed around white supremacy. As with other social institutions, schools most frequently reproduce the hierarchical relations that characterize the larger society (Bell 2004; Bonilla-Silva 2006). Indeed, “because their structural position is both informed by and depends on a *fundamentally superficial grasp* of its history” whites are most inclined to forego a critical understanding of race (Leonardo 2009, p. 110, emphasis in original; Mills 1997). Nonetheless, as the late Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (2003) argued, while only a revolutionary society can (and will) carry out a systematically transgressive, radicalizing form of education, those educators concerned with the project of justice and liberation can themselves begin by employing methods of critical pedagogy. Freire urged educators to move beyond passive, “banking” methods of instruction, where students are treated as receiving objects, encouraged to simply memorize and regurgitate information, arguing instead for a “problem-posing” education that develops students’ ability to think critically and assess their existence in the larger social world. The goal of problem-posing education is not simply developing awareness; it is designed to awaken a liberation-oriented consciousness that enables individuals to revolutionize the world.

Given this focus on liberation, Freire’s pedagogy is designed foremost to facilitate *conscientization specifically for* oppressed groups, that they may uncover the means by which they can free themselves. Many critical scholars convey the ongoing importance of this method for students of color (see, e.g., Collins 2009; Hooks 1994, 2010; Leonardo 2005), and we agree that truly critical pedagogy will

empower students of color to resist and transform the oppressive arrangements they face. Nevertheless, as white antiracist educators we take seriously our responsibility to push white students to confront their racially framed worldviews as well. As bell hooks argues, “education becomes the practice of freedom” when we teach in a way “that enables transgressions—a movement against and beyond boundaries” (1994, p. 12). While the imperative of transgressing restrictive boundaries is obvious for people of color, the goal of critical education should be to “destabilize [all] students from their positions, whatever they happen to be” (Gatson 2006, p. 158). Unquestionably, “[t]o the extent that racial supremacy is taught to white students, it is pedagogical. Insofar as it is pedagogical, there is the possibility of reflecting on its flows in order to disrupt them” (Leonardo 2005, p. 44). It is in this spirit and with an eye toward justice and human liberation that we approach a race critical pedagogy for white students.

Teaching white students to transgress on racial matters is inevitably very challenging. Well-documented obstacles include their tendency to regard racism as strictly interpersonal, involving only individual, maliciously-intentioned actors (Blauner 2001; Doane 2006); their use of colorblind discourse to “de-racialize” explanations for racial disparities (Bonilla-Silva and Forman 2000; Goldsmith 2006); their socio-political-historical status as “millennials” (Apollon 2011; Mueller 2013); and their assertive resistance (Gallagher 2003; Haddad and Lieberman 2002). These are each challenges in their own right; yet, they are generated and shaped by a more central problem. White students learn to interpret and understand the world through the now centuries old white racial frame⁵ that nearly all white Americans internalize. Combining racialized ideas, terms, images, emotions and interpretations, the white racial frame is an *overarching worldview*. Deeply embedded in most American minds and institutions, this racial frame operates to legitimize, script and maintain systemic racism within the U.S., from the most complex institutions down to the social interactions that comprise everyday life.

Most white students inherit this racial framing of the world by virtue of their socialization into our systemically racist society. While frames are generally useful in helping people understand and navigate their social world, a strong, highly institutionalized conceptual frame captures territory in the mind, and makes it difficult to think in ways other than those prescribed by the frame, even when facts that would credibly challenge the frame are encountered. Furthermore, when frames are constructed from the oppressive arrangements of a society, as the white racial frame has been, they function to reproduce those arrangements by patterning the micro-level actions of individuals. It is through these “muscles and tendons” of everyday actions and interactions that “the bones of structural racism move” (Eliasoph 1999, p. 484). The centuries-old white racial frame is thus central to understanding the persistence of systemic racism and how it structures our campuses and the beliefs, actions and behaviors of our students.

⁵For a full conceptual elaboration on the white racial frame see Feagin (2013).

White students demonstrate typically shallow understandings of the racial realities of the world as a result of the powerful white frame and usually cursory education on racial matters they have received. Indeed, our journal data often point to “confused critiques” among white students. Consider the following Halloween example, where a white woman recounted an exchange with friends:

As we were discussing costume ideas, a white 24-year-old male . . . said ‘I’m going to be a porch monkey.’ I’ve heard the term ‘porch monkey’ numerous times but I never really paid attention to the way people used it. I asked him what he meant by him dressing as a porch monkey. He said that he was going to be a nigger. I then asked him why he used the term porch monkey. He said, ‘Haven’t you ever noticed how niggers are always sitting on their porch drinking their forties?’ I couldn’t believe that he could use the terms he did and act like it didn’t even bother him. Is it that hard for people to use the term black person? (Mueller et al. 2007, p. 330)

While the dismay and frustration she feels is evident, her critique far misses the mark. She does not seem conflicted about the offensive representation of black Americans her friend plans to perform; she objects instead to the words he chooses for his costume. Extending her logic suggests that such a costume is only disturbing if it is labeled by explicit epithets. Would she have positively sanctioned her friend’s costume if he had “correctly” defined a “porch monkey” as a “black person” rather than a “nigger”?

The obvious answer is troubling, and reveals how fruitless the investment in a certain social “correctness” and multiculturalism has been as a replacement for a deeply honest and interrogating education on matters of U.S. racism. Two-faced racism itself suggests that mainstream efforts have been most effective in making whites better at racial *impression management*. They may possess racial knowledge about how to avoid particular racist presentations for the sake of social convention, but attach little depth of understanding to their frontstage adjustments—public performances must simply pass the censors of social correctness.⁶ More disturbing still, white students’ understandings are not simply shallow; they are rarely concerned with the people of color targeted and often wounded by their oppressive actions. A hallmark feature of systemic racism is the alienated relationship that emerges between those racialized as “white” versus “other.” The recurring oppressive actions targeting Americans of color requires a breakdown of human empathy, and instituting social practices of “tolerance” and “correctness” does little to remedy that within the psychology and practice of most whites. While this is a tragic offense to the humanity of people of color—one with many deep and related costs—it is most certainly an obstacle to whites’ ability to fully realize their own humanity as well.

Despite this truth, because whites derive many advantages from the racist arrangements of our society, they are strong stakeholders in their white-racially

⁶As Mueller et al. (2007) document, white students are often explicit about their beliefs that Halloween is a specially marked socio-space-time where they can behave in more racially “unacceptable” ways in public, providing further support for this point.

framed interpretations of the world whether they acknowledge it or not. As such, the well-documented resistance of white students makes a certain “racial sense.” Having captured territory in white students’ minds, the dominant white frame ensures they will persist in their racial misrecognition and continue behaving accordingly if not strategically challenged. Race critical educators must understand that simply presenting “facts” will often not be enough; frames tend to trump facts, and most conspicuously so for racial matters. Our students’ dominant framing is well-equipped to neutralize such efforts. Through our history, this country’s systemic racism has deposited “an infinity of traces” in the minds and personality structures of white Americans, “without leaving an inventory” (Gramsci 1971, p. 324). The critical pedagogy we employ with our white students must therefore be oriented toward illuminating that important inventory. Strategies must focus on developing a consciousness and critical analysis of the old racial frame through *deframing* – and then *reframing* toward liberty and justice in a beyond-rhetoric way (Feagin 2013).

In describing her own racial *conscientization*, the late Ruth Frankenberg proposed that only when whites become “capable of stopping” do they “begin to see” (1996, p. 3). Because socialization into whiteness mystifies the ways we “do race” and enact domination through the activities of our everyday lives, teaching white students requires that we provide inroads for them to uncover these deeper understandings (Leonardo 2005). Our students’ journals document the normality and habituated invisibility of white racism in their lives; yet they also suggest that the journaling process is itself a very important teaching strategy that can help the same students stop so that they might “see.” Researching and writing about their own lives in the context of instruction that addresses the critical realities of systemic racism is a powerful exercise for students because they are primed to question their personal connections to the issues addressed. Olivia’s account reveals the reflectivity sparked by the journaling experience is often profound: “If I had never been presented with this essay topic, I would not have thought twice about the remarks that were made that night and the numerous white people that were dressed as ‘blacks.’ . . . I never considered racism a problem or something I was involved in. This paper has opened my eyes” (Mueller 2008).

Synthesizing critical instruction and personalized research can produce cracks in the white racial frame and initiate the *deframing* process for many students. Our students generally think of themselves as good people with integrity. When they must hold their personal experiences up for analysis, however, they are forced to confront incongruities that frequently arise between their self-beliefs and actions; what Leonardo (2009) refers to as being racially “pulled up short” (p. 110). An example from another white student is instructive. After witnessing several examples of overtly racist costuming and personally participating in cross-racially costuming herself, Carissa reflected:

I do feel . . . that [white people] portraying rappers with the stereotypical accessories and clothing can add to a negative view of African Americans. . . . I can see how this stereotype can affect a black male psychologically, while also allowing whites to maintain [their racial] privilege[s]. It is here that I begin to feel like a hypocrite and *have continuous internal arguments*. I typically find myself empathizing with minority groups and fully supporting

the notion that racism is still a huge problem today, *but in this case I find myself partaking in the very things that contribute to this problem. . . .* As of right now my views on this area [are] ones of confusion. . . . [T]his assignment has . . . caused me to think about issues that had never occurred to me. Though *I am feeling overwhelmed and frustrated with myself a great deal lately*, I feel this is a part of the growing process that will allow me to gain understanding into the issues concerning race that face our nation today. (Mueller 2008; emphasis added)

One can sense the cracks in the frame present in Carissa’s example. Not only is she attempting to look more deeply into the broader social meaning of racialized performances, she is beginning to question how *she* is connected to the matter, and what this means for her personally. This young woman wants to stand strong in her values, and must consider whether her actions have been in line with her convictions; her budding *conscientization* and mental grappling with these important issues comes through palpably. There seems little doubt that the experience of being racially “pulled up short” is often a transformative pedagogical moment for white students, and one that race critical educators are wise to cultivate (Allen 2005; Leonardo 2009).

In addition to helping our white students consider the micropolitics of racism in their individual behaviors (Frankenberg 1996), it is equally critical to help them “stop” and “see” their connections to larger, structural matters that reproduce racism at the systemic level. The deprivations faced by people of color and privileges enjoyed by whites are not simply psychic. Central to our country’s systemic racism are long-standing, recurrent patterns of unjust impoverishment and unjust enrichment (Feagin 2010; Mueller 2013a). Race critical scholars have well-theorized and documented how the construction and maintenance of racial categories and racism is fundamentally linked to a material reality which privileges whites and disadvantages people of color (Bell 2004; Bonilla-Silva 1997; Harris 1993; Feagin 2010; Mueller 2013a). Critical pedagogy will push white students to consider the many ways their whiteness attaches to real, material power and greater access to resources of all kinds in the world. Beyond this, it will push them to contemplate how, through their micro-level actions, they and other whites daily reproduce these conditions. As Leonardo (2005) reminds, “white domination is never settled once and for all; . . . [i]t is not a relation of power secured by slavery, Jim Crow, or job discrimination alone.” Rather, “it is constantly reestablished and reconstructed by whites from all walks of life” (p. 43). Again, asking students to turn the lens on themselves is a major educational tool with a potentially powerful lesson.

For the past several years we have engaged students in research tracing their family’s intergenerational transmission of wealth. The wealth gap is one of the most pronounced indicators of racial disparity. On average, black American families own between seven and ten cents for every dollar of wealth owned by white families (Oliver and Shapiro 2006; Shapiro 2004). Outside of its extreme severity and persistence, the wealth gap is also well-attuned to capturing racially characteristic patterns of unjust impoverishment and enrichment. Indeed, racial disparities in wealth continue to grow, reflecting the historical legacy of the slavery and Jim Crow

eras and the intergenerational dynamics of wealth growth (Conley 2001; Oliver and Shapiro 2006). Wealth is also integral because of its links to other life chances. Wealth not only provides a family safety net during crises; it can also launch mobility trajectories that might otherwise not exist (Johnson 2006; Keister 2000; Mueller 2013a; Shapiro 2004).

In our classes we present, read and discuss information on the racial wealth gap and its links to long-standing patterns of unjust impoverishment and enrichment in the U.S. Together we consider historical policies and practices that facilitated white wealth acquisition while shutting Americans of color out of the same opportunities, including the Homestead Act, the New Deal, the GI Bill of Rights and the “redlined” suburbanizing of America through the FHA (Katznelson 2005; Shanks 2005). We investigate micro-level actions both enabled by and facilitating of wealth accrual and transmission, such as white families fleeing to “good neighborhoods” with high property values and better-resourced schools (Shapiro 2004); or using well-connected social networks to gain privileged access to resources (DiTomaso 2013; Royster 2003). Students then complete a research project tracing their own families’ intergenerational wealth and capital transmission. Questions they explore through consulting family histories and conducting interviews with family members include: Is there a family history connected to slavery? Did anyone in the previous few generations inherit property, money or businesses? Did parents or grandparents receive down payment help for purchasing a home or assistance with college? Did the family take advantage of formal programs that would facilitate wealth/capital-acquisition, like the Homestead Act or GI Bill? Did anyone receive assistance from social networks for getting jobs, acquiring loans, opening businesses? Using the information discussed in class, they analyze their family data for racial dynamics that likely influenced this intergenerational process. Additionally, students share their thoughts and reflections on what they take away from their research.⁷

As a class we evaluate their aggregate findings and consider what those illuminate about systemic racial inequality. The results always reflect the concept of group interest remarkably well. White students collectively report many more examples of wealth and capital acquisition and transmission in their family histories than do students of color. Particularly prominent among white accounts are examples of business ownership, land giveaways and GI Bill educational access, as well as significant benefits accrued via critical social networks. In many cases, access to these particular resources is positively transformative to their families’ overall mobility trajectory, and can often be directly traced to the students’ own generation (e.g., a grandparent secured a GI home loan, passed down the home to a parent upon death, and the parent, in turn, is using the housing equity to fund the student’s college education). In contrast, papers by students of color not only include remarkably fewer examples of wealth acquisition and transfer, they often include stories of families being

⁷A full description of this exercise and data on student responses is described in Mueller (2013b).

divested of their wealth (e.g., forcible land removal), or of accrued assets being less valuable (e.g., being functionally segregated into areas with low property values).

For most students, this collective exercise is an influential lesson about the concrete, material basis of U.S. racism. What makes it truly potent, however, is the personal basis of it. White students are often particularly moved as they uncover a literal possessive investment in their whiteness that they are rarely aware even exists. They frequently share an initial skepticism. As one white student wrote, “As soon as I got this paper assignment I thought to myself, ‘None of these things will have applied to my family;’” another disclosed feeling initially “frustrated” with the material and “honestly doubt[ing]” the arguments being advanced. It is clear that for most white students it is a radically new stance to contemplate having a *personal investment* and *role* in perpetuating the structure of racial domination and oppression. Consider Janet’s particularly informative example:

Learning about white privilege and institutionalized racism this semester had been eye-opening and thought-provoking, but to tell the truth, it had not hit home yet. . . . [A]s far as getting me to where I am today I was pretty sure that the racialized system had done me no favors . . . until I sat down and began to piece together the puzzle. I found. . . that I am where I am today largely because of institutionalized racism. (Mueller 2013b)

Janet’s case is important because throughout the semester she had been an active and articulate class member—everything she did indicated she had accepted the interpretive propositions of the material being covered. Her comment reveals, however, that were it not for the family assignment *even she* would not have seen her own specific, personal connections to institutionalized white privilege.

Tracing their family histories helps white students put their own lives in the thick of matters, and, like Janet, discoveries follow their initial skepticism. As Tina wrote:

I didn’t realize how well I fit into the model of white privilege. Once I interviewed my grandmother, I put the pieces together and saw how my family has benefited from the institutions in place, all of which had some dependency on the color of my skin. I found . . . how our family gained its wealth through the GI Bill because of the way [my ancestors] purchased and sold their . . . land, giving them financial security that has profited the family all the way down to me. I would never have applied this to my life . . . without researching our family’s past. (Mueller 2013b)

Again, we see the power of asking white students to hold their lives up to the mirror of information we share as critical instructors. Analyzing their family histories requires that they consider how their stories fit in the “larger web” of systemic racial realities, to assess the ways in which their whiteness is “attached to historical—and ongoing—structural positions in society. Positions tied to economic status, community membership, and the status of various rights of citizenship” (Gatson 2006, p. 159). Such an experience brings the content to life in a way that simply memorizing facts and important information cannot.

If we wish to employ a truly critical and racially transgressive pedagogy for white students, this is the type of effort we need to make. While it is vitally important that our teaching expose the social-structural realities of systemic racism, critical, transgressive pedagogy will go beyond this to provide opportunities and tools for students to “study the world sociologically for themselves . . . and to be deeply

critical and self-reflective in the process” (Feagin and Vera 2008, p. 260). Such strategies not only make cracks in the deeply embedded white racial frame possible; the process of *conscientization* sparked by these experiences inevitably inspires many students to see a need, and more importantly embrace their agency for change. While the obstacles to encouraging whites to become race transgressors are many, our data offer some light. The assignments we describe here do not demand students assume a role in social change, and yet the critical pedagogy often politicizes them to do just that. Strikingly, as one of our white students wrote after tracing her family history: “Knowing that my family lineage, and the life that I live today, all contribute to systemic racism is infuriating. Now that I am aware of the injustice that is present, I feel an obligation to work against it.” For some, the goal is even more definitive:

[M]y newfound knowledge has made me ask overwhelming questions, [but] it has also made me realize not only my role, but also my power as a white person to fight in the battle against racism. . . . I have a powerful position, and hopefully I can help other white people realize their powerful roles in assisting this cause as well. (Mueller 2013b)

Still, the question of how antiracist education can be made a “practice of freedom” for dominant groups will seem puzzling to some. What exactly is it that whites are being liberated from through critical pedagogy, and why spend time on such efforts? Although there is no debate that liberation and freedom are far more immediate needs for people of color, we are guided here by another principle spelled out by Freire (2003). As he argued, dehumanization defiles the oppressor as much as it torments the oppressed, derailing us all from our one true vocation: *humanization*. People of color typically pay a direct, heavy, immediately painful, and ever accumulating price for white-imposed systemic racism; white Americans pay a more indirect, usually unseen, and long-term price.

In part of a late 1960s Supreme Court decision, the relatively radical white justice, William O. Douglas, argued vigorously against ongoing racial discrimination as a case of “slavery unwilling to die.” Evidently, at some point in his life Douglas’s white framing of the world had been challenged, and he had begun to think and act in antiracist terms. In full recognition that slavery, Jim Crow, and contemporary discrimination dramatically hurt African Americans, Douglas (1968) argued that “the true curse of slavery is not what it did to the black man, but what it has done to the white man. For the existence of the institution produced the notion that the white man was of superior character, intelligence, and morality” (p. 445). This white virtue perspective has from the beginning been central to the white racial frame discussed here, and it is thus the reference point for negative anti-other subframes subsumed within that dominant frame. Such white-centered thinking involves massive and constant self-deception, for whites are demonstrably, from data here and elsewhere, not superior in character, intelligence, or morality to people of color. Indeed, the opposite usually seems to be true in much of our and other social science findings. The commonplace white-centeredness, recurring self-deception, and persisting patterns of white-imposed discrimination take a very major corrupting toll on the “souls of white folk,” a phrase accented by the prominent black scholar W. E. B. Du Bois ([1920] 2003) in his savvy analysis

of U.S. racism written a century ago: “The number of white individuals who are practicing with even reasonable approximation the democracy and unselfishness of Jesus Christ is so small and unimportant as to be fit subject for jest in Sunday supplements” (p. 61).

While efforts to engage white students in the ongoing struggle for social justice in the U.S. and elsewhere will not always be fruitful, it is a serious recognition of their humanity, and our own, that we remain ever vigilant and active in such critical educational efforts. Antiracist education is never a substitute for organized social movements and action against racial oppression and injustice, but it is often a critical starting point for all involved.

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Chapter 3

The Importance of a Race-Critical Perspective in the Classroom

Joyce M. Bell

I often work in a café rather than in my office. There's one particular place that I really like. I don't have to pay for parking, it's relatively quiet, and there are none of the normal "open-door" disruptions. However, one distraction persists. Occasionally when I'm there, there is a group of 4–6 middle aged white women who meet for a "Stitch and Bitch".¹ Sometimes I'm perturbed when they walk in as my peace and quiet is thwarted, but I mostly tune them out. One day though, something caught my attention. One of the women – a loud woman with a distinctly east-coast accent – said, "you know, my family lived in Levittown in 1952 – I was born in Levittown."² I don't know the context, I hadn't heard anything before that, but that's how it started. She continued that it was a great plan and that it really was a great opportunity for home ownership for her family. That it was a great place to live. Another woman piped up that she also had family who lived in Levittown during the 1950s and that it was a wonderful opportunity. "We just don't have those same kinds of opportunities anymore." Then the obvious eldest woman, said, "well it was a great opportunity for GI's, but only for some people. I mean it was really only great if you wanted a modest home and didn't much care about individuality." "Yes," "mmm-hmm," and they were finished with this conversation and moved on to worsted weight wool yarn and the Swedish cooking classes one woman was taking.

¹Stitch and Bitch is a popular term for social knitting groups. See Stoller 2004 on the Stitch and Bitch phenomenon.

²Levittown, Long Island is credited as being the first American mass produced suburb and is the iconic post-war American suburban formation. Levitt and Sons Builders created four Levittowns in the US and the model was widely adopted. Levittown, Long Island was characterized by racial homogeneity because of racially restrictive covenants. For histories and racial analyses of Levittown see Jackson 1985; Kushner 2009; Kruse and Sugrue 2006; and Wiese 1995.

J.M. Bell (✉)

University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, USA

e-mail: jmb267@pitt.edu

This was a fleeting conversation for the knitters, but I was really taken aback by their brief discussion. I guess mostly because I was preparing a lecture for my American Race Relations course on the way that racist US housing policy (among other things, of course) created persisting housing segregation and sharp irrevocable wealth disparities between white and black families in this country. And Levittown is a part of that story. It is a part of this country's legacy of affirmative action for whites, which remains invisible and uncritically examined in American history and contemporary discourse.

The moment brought my perspective on teaching the sociology of American race relations into sharp focus. Hearing this normalized, individualized discussion about post WWII housing and opportunity reminded me why it is so important to educate young people about race in a way that disturbs ideas about the race-neutrality of both historical and contemporary processes that, in fact, have racialized outcomes. In order to do this, I advocate a teaching approach to teaching sociology of race courses that is (1) focused on structure, (2) historically contextualized and (3) critical – what I call a race-critical approach to teaching American Race Relations.

In this chapter I make the case for this approach to teaching about race (in particular in US focused race relations and race and ethnicity courses) and highlight a couple new textbook options that foster a race-critical classroom. Throughout I will use my teaching experience to offer a set of practical suggestions for organizing the race-critical classroom.

3.1 A Race-Critical Approach to Teaching American Race Relations

3.1.1 Structural

Sociologists have a disciplinary mandate to always consider the intersection between structure and agency – between the individual and social forces (see Giddens 1986). This means that what sociology has to offer students in courses about race, that is different from psychology or anthropology courses on race, for example, is a focus on the structural nature of race. Because of this unique ability of sociology as a discipline to illuminate the *social* aspects of race relations it is crucial that sociologists use the tools available to us to help students break out of individualistic ways of thinking about race. Indeed, without a structural approach to teaching race relations, we run the risk of confirming the validity of white privilege, normalizing existing race relations, and supporting the myth of an American meritocracy.

Because we live in a society in which the ideology of rugged individualism is the dominant way of understanding the social world (Lipsitz 1998) many students enter the classroom with the view that the United States is a meritocratic society,

that personal success or failure is a simple outcome of individual ability and drive, and that to the extent that we can observe racial inequality, it is due to personal or group failure at worst and the legacy of historical racism at best. While sociology is concerned with the relationship between the individual and social structure, in popular media and discourse, we are bombarded with messages about individual success, individual failure, and individual motivations for actions. We, as a society, have less access to the structure side of this puzzle. Because of this, sociologists have a duty to not only point out patterns, but to point to the structural causes of inequality as well as to highlight resistance and focus on potential solutions. The best service we can do students studying the sociology of race relations is to ask them to step back from the level of the individual to consider the role of structure.

As an example, I teach a unit on Mexican migration to the United States, which offers a perfect opportunity to shift students' attention from the individual level to the structural level causes of immigration. The dominant discourse about Mexican migration focuses on migrants' reasons for emigrating from Mexico and on the ways in which Mexican migrants impact American citizens. At the same time, very little popular discourse focuses on the role of transnational corporations, US foreign policy, or even US employers in shaping undocumented immigration in particular (Robinson 2004, 2008; Massey et al. 2002; Sassen 1988). Students must see that, while individual motivations are important, understanding why individuals move from one place to another cannot provide a complete explanation of transnational migration. Without this focus, students are able to buy into the racist images of Mexican immigrants that are rampant in the popular media that insist that Mexicans are more willing to labor under unsafe working conditions without ever considering the other side of the coin: that employers are more able to violate workers rights when they employ an undocumented, vulnerable labor force.

In a broader sense, it is important that students understand how various US institutions work in together to maintain white privilege. Over the course of the semester I focus on how residential segregation, disparities in public education, and discrimination in the criminal justice system (along with other processes) all work together to create and maintain enduring inequality for people of color and enduring privilege for whites. While a full description of my course (or the courses of others teaching in this vein) is beyond the scope of this chapter, an essential cornerstone of this approach is to show how both historical and contemporary discrimination in these three arenas work together.

A discussion of the racial wealth gap (see Conley 1999; Oliver and Shapiro 1997) is an important way of conceptualizing this for students. Helping students make connections between slavery and Jim Crow racism, discrimination in the development of US housing policy, educational inequality, and the enduring gap in the net worth of black and white families is essential to the race-critical perspective on American Race Relations. In addition to Oliver & Shapiro's *Black Wealth White Wealth* and Dalton Conley's *Being Black Living in the Red*, The film series "*Race: The Power of an Illusion*" is a good tool for developing this set of ideas for students (Pounder et al. 2003).

3.1.2 *Historical*

It is essential to provide students with a long historical view on race relations. I never cease to be amazed at the number of students who have never learned about the Indian Removal Act, the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II or the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Mexican-American War. It is difficult to teach students about current American race relations without grounding the lessons in the historical context that has shaped contemporary racial inequality.

Some of my favorite ‘aha’ moments for students in my American Race Relations courses have been lessons in US History. I give a lecture based on Ian Haney Lopez’ (2006) book *White By Law*. *White By Law* focuses on the role of the law in policing the boundaries of whiteness, in particular as it relates to the racial restriction on US citizenship. When students learn that only “free white persons” were eligible for citizenship for the majority of US history, they are often shocked. I use this to illustrate that, contrary to our national mythology, the United States did not become a white majority nation by a natural process of selection whereby Europeans were the most capable nation builders. Rather, the United States was deliberately constructed as such through the law, policy and individual practice.

3.1.3 *Critical*

Most importantly, however, I want to make the case that a race-critical perspective is essential to teaching race relations. A traditional sociological approach to teaching American race relations has the ability to treat racial inequality as neutral – even natural. If we present statistics about African American inequality as if it ‘just is what it is’ we leave students with the sense that the reason for this inequality is up for interpretation, that inequality is normal or inevitable and that there is nothing to be done about it.

This is a general trend in sociology. As Bonilla-Silva and Baiocchi (2008) argue,

The way most sociologists report results and structure their statistical analyses reproduces racialized readings of the world. Sociologists routinely fail to explain that the ‘race effect’ presented in their findings is the outcome of ‘racism’ or ‘racial stratification.’ This leads their audiences to interpret ‘race effect’ findings as embodying truly *racial* effects. (‘There must be something wrong with Blacks is they are three times as likely to participate in crime!’) Therefore reporting results on crime, marriage arrangements, or a host of other matters without properly informing the public of the myriad ways in which racial stratification is at the core of these findings helps support racist readings of Black-White inequality (146–147) (*italics and parenthetical in original*).

This “anything but racism” approach to the sociology of race, an approach that reports racial inequality without explaining that racism and discrimination are at play, has the outcome of reproducing and normalizing racial inequality in a way

that tacitly confirms white common sense understandings of racial inequality – understandings that rely on ‘cultural of poverty’ explanations at best and inherent (read: biological) deficiencies of people of color at worst.

This approach in the classroom does students a particular disservice. Often, the simple presentation of facts about racial inequality without any explanation as to why that inequality exists is accepted as value-neutral or objective sociology. In reality, this style of teaching can have the effect of validating racist understandings of inequality. However, if we take a race-critical approach to this issue, we are required to present various forms of racial inequality as resulting from specific historical and social conditions, as central to the construction and maintenance of white privilege in US society, and most importantly, as problematic.

As an initial model of a race-critical approach to teaching the sociology of race, I argue for adopting the following five broad teaching objectives derived from the critical race-based theory in sociology (Hartmann and Bell 2011):

1. To illustrate the ways in which race (and racism) is foundational and central to US society;
2. To take the perspective that the current racial arrangements are unjust;
3. To utilize examples that highlight the ways in which contemporary racial formations are maintained and reproduced through cultural mechanisms and social processes that are subtle and systematic;
4. To clearly show the ways in which racial inequality is not reducible to other forms of stratification; and
5. To draw attention to various types of racial contestation, forms of resistance, and policy solutions that have the potential to alleviate various forms of racial inequality.

One strategy for illustrating the centrality of race in US society is to emphasize the racial aspects of processes that many students see as non-racial. In this way, it is important that we require our students to challenge their notions about human nature and take seriously the idea that race is socially constructed. Students often enter the classroom with the idea that it is just human nature to prefer people of your own race and that racial inequality is a natural consequence of following our nature. These ideas often present themselves in arguments about individual choice. For example, when I start teaching about residential segregation, I ask the students to consider their own neighborhoods. I have them write down the racial makeup of the neighborhood they grew up in and to speculate about why it had that racial makeup. By and large, like many Americans, the students grew up in segregated neighborhoods (see Massey and Denton 1993). And for the most part they either say, “I don’t know why my neighborhood was all white.” Or something like, “I think my neighborhood was like that because it had always been white and it just kind of stayed that way.” Then I lecture about the racialized history of US housing policy and residential segregation. They learn about FHA and HUD policy, redlining, blockbusting and restrictive covenants – they learn that African Americans by and large favor integrated neighborhoods while the majority of whites prefer all white

neighborhoods (Krysan et al. 2009). These are sociological and historical lessons that shed light on the centrality of race and the role of racist policy in constructing neighborhoods – a social construct that many of us simply take for granted.

The second element of the race critical classroom is to start from the assumption that racial inequality is unjust. It is important that students come to see multiple sides of an issue. Because of this, I often use readings with competing views. However, it is equally essential that I am transparent about the fact that I think that racism, discrimination, and the resulting racial inequality, are unjust. This is an important starting point for teaching from a race-critical perspective. Starting from this perspective allows instructors to pay sufficient attention to resistance. Without this, we often leave students with a “message of despair” about American race relations rather than a “message of hope” (Moulder 1997).

One way to allow students to work with this idea is through the use of counter-narratives. In the race-critical classroom it is essential that students engage the questions “who says?” and “who benefits?” when assessing the value or impact of ideas and practices. To continue with the housing example: the idea that neighborhoods develop naturally, as a result of natural human choices, has the outcome of concealing the fact that US policy historically favored the development of segregated neighborhoods and invested in the development of white wealth by supporting white communities’ ability to maintain racially exclusive neighborhoods and secure government backed funding for mortgages. Simply reporting that African Americans have not historically preferred all black neighborhoods provides a counter narrative to the ‘choice’ narrative of neighborhood development. In other words, by placing the experience and views of people of color at the center of an issue, the story often changes. This is a key skill to develop for anyone interested in critical thinking (See Forehand 2005). It is an especially important skill in developing a critical eye on race relations because of a long tradition of favoring white perspectives on the world.

The third element of a race-critical classroom is a focus on examples that illustrate the subtle and systematic social processes that maintain and reproduce racial inequality. For one, it is important to teach students about colorblind racism (See Bonilla-Silva 2003; Carr 1997; Gallagher 2003). Once students have a way of articulating the more covert forms of racism that exist in the post-civil rights era, it will be easier for them to understand how seemingly race-neutral practices and processes can be related to racial inequality. One thing I focus on is helping students see how race is discussed in public through coded language (Bonilla-Silva 2003). One of the humorous examples I use in the classroom about this topic came from a story that one of my students told me as I was trying to illustrate this idea. The student raised his hand with that “that totally explains this thing that happened to me” look on his face and told a story about visiting his elderly grandmother. As his grandmother was sharing her news and life updates she told him that she had new neighbors – “a nice urban family.” She proceeded to tell her grandson how the “urbans” were perfectly nice people. In fact, the wife had even come by to introduce herself when they moved in. She went on about how she didn’t know many “urbans” but was pleasantly surprised by how nice this family was. Her grandson, my student,

confused by this discussion asked her, “Grandma, what do you mean by ‘urban’?” He went on to tell the class that he thought she meant that they were sort of ‘citified’ people who had moved into her relatively small town. But his grandmother hushed her voice to a whisper, put her hand over her mouth as if some nonexistent bystander might read her lips and answered, “You know . . . black people.”

In that moment in class, as I was lecturing about the use of coded language to have discussions about race in an era where race is not the topic of polite conversation, he realized that his grandmother had picked up on ‘urban’ as one of the most popular code words for black. Such that as after years of watching her nightly news and watching stories about urban poverty, urban schools, and urban crime, she had innocently and quite astutely come to the conclusion that ‘urban’ was the new politically correct term for African American – that ‘urban’ is the new black. We all had a good chuckle and I marveled at the perfection of this story in illustrating this tenet of colorblindness – talking about race without talking about race. Now I use it every time I teach race to highlight how seemingly non-racial discussions, policies, and practices can truly be about race without ever saying so.

The fourth principle that is important in a race-critical classroom is to show that, while oppression is intersectional, that racial inequality is not reducible to other forms of stratification. In my experience, many students start from an “anything but racism” approach to learning about race (Bonilla Silva and Baiocchi 2008). That is to say that their line of questioning is often aimed at providing any alternative explanation for the racially unequal picture that is painted by sociological research. “Couldn’t that just be because they’re poor?” “Maybe it’s because of single parent homes.” “I bet it’s because they have unhealthy diets.” This logic can pervade classroom discussions around race. Using examples that clearly demonstrate the powerful impact of race becomes especially important. One of the clearest examples that I use in the classroom is environmental racism (See Bullard 2000). What we know about environmental inequality in the United States is that race is the single most important factor in predicting the location of uncontrolled toxic waste sites (UCC Commission for Racial Justice 1987) – more important than geography or economic class. Once students have wrapped their minds around the truly racial nature of environmental injustice, we can really investigate the outcomes that black and Latino communities face from bearing an unequal share of the waste burden. Understanding environmental inequality sheds light on the racialized nature of phenomena from unequal health outcomes to the compounding effect on property values in black and Latino communities

Finally, a race-critical perspective in the classroom depends on a focus on social change, resistance and activism. As many of us who teach about social problems of various types can attest to, students are often overwhelmed with the ‘big-ness’ of social problems. Coming to grips with the historical and contemporary structural reality of racial inequality, can have a paralyzing effect. Students often leave our classrooms feeling more powerless than motivated – more hopeless than hopeful. I advocate a three-pronged approach to including this element in the classroom. First, include readings, lectures, discussions or films about individual level change. Get students to identify their sphere of influence and think about what they can

do to encourage racial equality (Tatum 2003). Also, have them read a practical guide to things that individuals can do to change racism (see Gallagher 2007; Kivel 2002). Thinking about what they can do in their own lives can help students feel empowered to make change.

Secondly, we can use another tool in the sociology toolbox and include discussions about social movements and resistance whenever possible. When teaching about environmental racism, include a reading on the environmental justice movement (Boyd 2002). If the subject is racial disparity in the criminal justice system, include a discussion about the Anti Prison-Industrial Complex movement (Davis 2003) or movements against police brutality (see Gold and Anderson 2004). When teaching about housing inequality, read about fair housing movements or invite a speaker from a local organization working on community revitalization efforts.

Finally, include policy discussions in the classroom. It is easy to become confined by the present arrangements in our thinking about solutions. Allowing space for creative policy suggestions for students provides the opportunity for students to open up their thinking about how to fix racial inequality. Sometimes simply asking, “How would you fix this?” can provide exciting and creative ideas for discussion. Another tool for facilitating policy discussions is to talk about existing policy proposals. For example, the current practice of funding public education with local property taxes fuels educational inequality. Most of the time we just think of this as inevitable – the way things are. In fact, several policy makers have gained traction with the idea of metropolitan regionalism (see Katz 2000; Orfield and Katz 2002). In terms of education, the most basic proposal is that the tax base for funding education in a city would include a wider metropolitan region where property taxes from the center city are combined with property taxes from suburbs in the metropolitan region for funding education in all included districts. While a full discussion of metropolitan regionalism is beyond the scope of this chapter, I think that it provides a useful example of a policy strategy with implications for racial outcomes that stretches the normal boundaries of our discussions about what is possible when it comes to achieving racial equality.

3.2 Conclusion

Teaching sociology students about race is challenging. I for one, feel a great sense of responsibility when I consider the idea that my course may be the only class that they take on the subject of race. Because of this, I have taken an approach to teaching about race relations that highlights what is distinctly sociological about race-related research – a focus on the social structures that shape race, racism, and racial inequality. More importantly however, I advocate for a critical approach to teaching race. This is an approach that treats race and racism as central to US society, starts from the assumption that the current racial arrangements are unjust, uses examples that illustrate how race is maintained and reproduced through subtle

and systematic social processes, treats racial inequality as intersectional, but not reducible to other forms of stratification, and places racial contestation and resistance at the center.

A race-critical approach to teaching the sociology of race is important for challenging the hegemonic a-historical and un-sociological understandings of race and racial inequality that pervade popular discourse and mass media. Moreover, the race-critical approach to teaching is a valuable tool for combating the hopelessness and helplessness that many of our students feel when confronted with the overwhelming reality of racial inequality. Overall, this approach also encourages the development of general critical thinking skills. By requiring our students and ourselves to ask questions about existing power relations we are better able to reach the goal of illuminating social processes that exist beneath the surface of popular understandings and polite conversations.

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Chapter 4

Beyond the Trial: The Disproportionate Imprisonment of African Americans

Joshua Page and Sarah Whetstone

Mass imprisonment is a central component of contemporary criminal punishment in the United States. The defining features of mass imprisonment are scope and concentration (Garland 2001). *Scope* refers to the massive expansion of the prison population over the last three-plus decades. The number of people in state and federal prisons per 100,000 residents increased from 139 in 1980 to 508 in 2008. When including jail inmates, the 2008 number jumps to 754 – higher than any other nation. Approximately 2.3 million people – one in 100 American adults – are now behind bars in the United States (Pew Center on the States 2010).

Concentration refers to the fact that the growth of imprisonment is concentrated among certain groups, particularly African Americans – one in nine black men are behind bars (Western 2007). As Bruce Western (2007) demonstrates, prison is now a stage in the life course for many black men. Compared to other ethnic-racial groups, African Americans are both more likely to go to prison and more disadvantaged after a criminal conviction (Pager 2007). The relationship between life chances and race is significantly shaped (in an intensified negative relationship) through the expansion of the carceral arm of the state.

Because imprisonment has become a major catalyst and anchor of inequality, the dynamics of crime control are germane for classes that span topics as diverse as social stratification (Wakefield and Uggen 2010), the welfare state and labor market institutions (Western and Beckett 1999), political citizenship (Manza and Uggen 2006), family life in urban America (Comfort 2008), and labor politics (Page 2011). Classes that explore the contemporary structure of American criminal punishment must grapple with the causes and consequences of mass imprisonment. Doing so means tackling thorny questions about race and racial domination. Why are

J. Page • S. Whetstone (✉)
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, USA
e-mail: whet0013@umn.edu

so many young African Americans and Latinos locked up? And what does this racial disproportionally tell us about the origins, durability, and effects of mass imprisonment? Is it possible to greatly reduce the penal population without dealing with larger issues of racial inequality?

Based on our experiences teaching this subject matter, there is a major epistemological obstacle that students and teachers face: *the logic of the trial*. Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant argue that the tendency to blame and shame “racist” groups – as in a criminal trial – makes it very difficult to understand the social construction and uses of race (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1999). This inclination to pass guilty verdicts in lieu of analysis also makes it difficult to fully comprehend the centrality of race in mass imprisonment. In line with popular and political rhetoric and representations, some students blame blacks (or the “underclass”) for the high rate of black incarceration. “Culture” (not biology) is the main culprit. There is something about the “culture” of the “ghetto” that makes both crime and imprisonment acceptable – and this culture seems endemic to poor blacks. For example, some students maintain that economically disadvantaged African American families tend to have high rates of father non-involvement and single motherhood, and these “dysfunctional” or “broken” families fostered pro-criminal attitudes and orientations. Some students also argue “a culture of black masculinity” or ‘machismo’ produces aggression and greater involvement in crime. In short, the culture of the ghetto both accepts – and even facilitates – “broken” families, crime, and imprisonment.

Other, more liberal-minded students tend to blame “the system” – by which they mean racist individuals (e.g., cops and judges) and institutions (e.g., the police and the courts) in the criminal punishment system. Citing phenomena like “Driving While Black,” these students claim that racial prejudice and discrimination principally account for the extraordinarily high levels of black imprisonment. For instance, some students provide examples (either from their own lives or those of friends and family) about allegedly discriminatory actions by police. They also tell stories about celebrities of color who were reportedly detained or harassed by officers because of racial profiling. These students’ anecdotes are meant as evidence that “the system” is “racist” – which explains why so many African Americans are locked up.

So, how can teachers both address and get over this major epistemological obstacle? We propose three interrelated strategies. The first is *go historical*. There are two principle reasons to analyze the past before moving into the present. Doing so pushes students to put aside their charged feelings about current events and issues – i.e., those for which they have already determined guilty parties and assigned blame. Of course, students will at least initially view the past through contemporary lenses. Nevertheless, they are more likely to view the past more objectively than the present. Along with encouraging them to leave the trial mentality behind, going historical helps students connect the past to the present. They start to understand that the racialized politics of law and order; institutional formations; and the concepts, images, and discourses that exist today were built on a foundation established in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The historical record unambiguously demonstrates how governmental and non-governmental actors, such as business owners, used the criminal law and penal institutions to reinforce racial domination during and after slavery. By taking an historical approach, students can learn that the Black Codes and convict lease systems functioned to severely curtail African American citizenship, maintain slave-like labor relations between blacks and whites, direct the ire of lower class whites toward blacks rather than white elites, advance politicians' careers, and help rebuild the South in the wake of the Civil War (Lichtenstein 1996; Oshinsky 1997; Perkinson 2009).

Through an analysis of more recent political history, students will also learn how politicians, in the 1960s, initiated the "law and order" movement to appeal to white voters at the expense of young, urban blacks. Starting with Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon, politicians and other elites claimed that the rise of crime (which they associated with blacks), riots that erupted in many cities in the late-1960s (also associated with blacks), and powerful challenges to traditional gender, sexual, and ethnic-racial norms and relations were evidence of moral and social decline. Politicians further maintained that it was necessary to impose "law and order" and reassert "family values" to get America back on track (Beckett 1997; Tonry 2011; Wacquant 2008). Lawmakers embraced "tough on crime" language and policies, which were implicitly and sometimes explicitly targeted at "inner city" blacks, to gain electoral advantage – particularly among southern white Democrats.

Law-and-order politics resonated with white, middle class voters, who were increasingly anxious about their social position, and the public's growing disillusionment with welfare state policies that seemingly did little to rehabilitate prisoners or decrease crime, generate economic and ethnic-racial equality, or enhance financial and social security. Conservative politicians and pundits encouraged this disenchantment by insisting that "big government" and welfare were to blame for urban instability and the problems of middle class Americans (Garland 2001). America's punitive turn in penal policy, in short, was both an effort by public officials to show middle class voters they were doing something to address their uncertainties, and to contain the social problems of concentrated poverty and the burgeoning drug trade that were intensified by neo-liberal economics, urban retrenchment, and the shrinking social safety net (Wacquant 2008).

After studying key historical moments in which elites used penal policies and practices to reinforce racial domination, students are armed with some tools to explore the ethnic-racial dimensions of mass imprisonment. They are open to viewing the "war on drugs" as a war on particular types of drugs used and sold by particular groups – mainly poor minorities, and especially African-Americans. They are willing to entertain the argument that drug laws, policing practices, and prosecution patterns succeed in the containment and control of young, minority men in today's "hyper-ghettos" (Wacquant 2008). Students begin to see that this argument does not require them to believe in conspiracy or castigate cops, judges, or prosecutors as "racist." However, it does require them to understand that the "war on drugs" and "war on gangs" effectively filled the prisons with young blacks, and widened existing racial and economic inequalities.

The second strategy is to *lay the cards on the table*. Along with the historical analysis, we employ an exercise that calls on the class to explore the wide-ranging reasons for the disproportionate incarceration of African Americans. We ask the students to compose arguments that explain this phenomenon, in part or whole. To depersonalize the exercise, we tell the students that they should submit arguments they have encountered in popular media, from family or friends, or simply assume exist – even if they do not think the claims are valid. Also, we do not have the students include their names with the assignment, so they remain anonymous. By depersonalizing the exercise, students can explore a number of ideas and their origins, without the fear of being labeled “wrong,” “bad,” or “racist.”

After collecting the arguments, we then group them into broad categories, and present the answers to the whole class. Here is a sample list of some of the common claims put forth by students to explain racial disproportionality in imprisonment, when we conducted this exercise in one of our classrooms:

“Blacks tend to commit more crime.”

“There is racial discrimination in sentencing and policing (racial profiling).”

“Inequality in drug sentencing, the war on drugs.”

“Blacks have a pro-criminal culture that accepts imprisonment.”

“Racism and the legacy of slavery lead to racially disproportionate imprisonment.”

“Lack of economic opportunity leads to crime and imprisonment.”

“Politicians are ‘tough on crime’ to get elected.”

Distributing the collective list of arguments to the students, or “laying the cards on the table,” serves as the basis for an open discussion and debate.

The third strategy is to *have an informed debate*. Here, our goal is to seriously discuss each argument, and not to dismiss any of them out of hand. We begin by unpacking each argument, asking, for example: “What do people mean when they say racial profiling explains the large-scale, disproportionate imprisonment of African Americans? Do we mean that judges and officers are prejudiced and discriminate against African Americans? Or do we mean that sentencing and policing policies and practices discriminate against blacks? How do these processes occur – at what levels and with what frequency?” We discuss similar questions about the other claims: “What do people mean when they say blacks have a pro-criminal culture that accepts, or even promotes, imprisonment?” Unpacking these claims forces us to explore the arguments’ underlying assumptions and veiled meanings. “What does ‘culture’ mean? Is culture an endemic, trans-historical group characteristic? Is culture related to social-structural factors, and in what ways?” By reflecting on the meaning and structure of the arguments, students start to see the validity (or lack thereof) of the various claims they have contributed. They also receive guidance in evaluating a range of arguments – and not just those pertaining to the specific topic.

After determining the core components of each argument, we discuss and debate the relative strengths and weaknesses of the claims, drawing on relevant literature and evidence presented in the course. Because of space requirements, we will not go through each of the arguments in this essay. Rather, we focus on discriminatory

sentencing and policing, as we found it to be a particularly charged topic of students' interest. Our classroom conversations about discrimination in the criminal justice system typically begin by addressing individual-level discrimination: white cops and judges discriminate against African American suspects and defendants, leading to the disproportionate representation of blacks behind bars. We then explore what the social scientific literature says about this issue. On the whole, the empirical evidence does not support the claim that "biased decision making by judges is a major cause of sentencing disparities" and the resulting disproportionate imprisonment of African Americans (Tonry 2011, p. 49). The same can be said of police officers. Though there are undoubtedly prejudicial officers who discriminate against blacks, research does not support the argument that officer animus toward blacks accounts for the massive arrests, prosecution and incarceration of blacks.

Although individual-level discrimination does not explain the sky-high incarceration rate for African Americans, the contemporary criminal justice system operates in discriminatory ways. This fact is made most apparent by the operation of laws and policing practices associated with combating the sale and consumption of drugs – As Tonry (2011, p. 53) accurately states, "racial disparities in imprisonment are substantially attributable to the War on Drugs." Whites use and sell drugs about as much as blacks, yet blacks are arrested, prosecuted, and imprisoned far more than whites for these behaviors (Alexander 2010; Tonry 2011; Western 2007).

These racial disparities in drug enforcement are due firstly to policing practices. The police primarily target open-air, urban drug markets. Because of the public nature of the drug trade, officers can arrest at will young men and women for dealing marijuana and harder drugs such as heroin and cocaine. Keeping up their arrest statistics, officers corral countless street-level dealers and users (Moskos 2009). If prosecuted, these individuals typically receive very long prison sentences due to mandatory minimum drug laws. As is now well known, the laws are particularly and disproportionately harsh on users and dealers of drugs associated with young minorities, particularly crack cocaine, as compared to the more expensive powder version which is associated more with middle-class whites (Tonry 2011). Taking dealers off the streets has little effect on the drug trade, because young people eager to make money quickly fill vacancies on the corner – and the cycle continues.

So although policing practices and laws are race-neutral on paper, they are not race-neutral *in practice*. Racial disparities in imprisonment are the result of concrete (essentially political) decisions regarding sentencing laws, policing practices, and prosecution trends. America's "tough" approach to "street crime" is really a "tough" approach to crimes associated largely with young, poor, black and brown men and women (Tonry 2011). The proximate cause of racial disparities in imprisonment, then, is *systemic bias* built into multiple layers of the contemporary criminal justice system.

By discussing and debating the claim that discrimination accounts for racial disparities in imprisonment, we highlight the limitations of individual-level analysis which blames and shames actors such as police officers and judges. At the same time, we magnify the power of historical, systemic analysis, showing that deep, and complicated, institutional relationships and processes *work together* to explain

the disproportionate imprisonment of African Americans. Of course, appreciating the complexity of a major social problem can be a frustrating experience as much as it is an opportunity to sharpen critical sociological thinking skills. Students see that posing solutions also requires the careful analysis of historical context and social-structural arrangement – simply ridding the criminal justice system of prejudicial cops and judges won't solve the problem. Greatly reducing the number of black people behind bars requires large-scale political, economic, and cultural transformations (Alexander 2010).

4.1 Conclusion

We do not expect that students will leave our classes feeling that they fully understand the contemporary over-representation of African Americans behind bars. However, we do hope that they will have a greater appreciation of the centrality of race in contemporary criminal punishment. We have received comments from current students and notes from former students indicating that this hope is realistic, at least for some students. We received a particularly moving letter from a young woman, who, in her words, “had never realized that below-the-surface racism existed in me and the people around me, and the multiple injustices in the prison system that I had been supporting my whole life until I took your class.” She continued,

I'm now in a book club with about eight middle-aged, middle-class, suburban, white church ladies, and I picked the book *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Stowe 1998(1852)) when it was my turn. When we were discussing it, I also got to talk about the book *Worse than Slavery* (Oshinsky 1997), discriminatory housing policies, and other things that I learned in your class. Now there are eight people who are more aware of the effects slavery has had on the African-American population, who will hopefully be less judgmental when addressing questions of race and imprisonment.

We were thrilled to learn that this former student was “going historical” to enhance her own understanding, as well as that of the other people in her book club, of racial domination and imprisonment.

We also hope that students will leave our classes equipped with a set of questions they can ask to further understand the over-representation of African Americans under lock and key, and develop the sociological tools necessary to grapple with competing arguments about this phenomenon. Moreover, we hope that they begin to see that “the logic of the trial” is an impediment to sociological understanding. Although blaming and shaming may feel good, they tend to stop analyses where they should start. If students want to comprehend and do something about mass imprisonment, they have to get to the roots of the problem. Rooted in an American history of racial oppression, mass incarceration is also reconfiguring the

contemporary meaning of race. Ultimately, we hope that our approach to teaching about the hyper-incarceration of blacks helps students to get *beyond the trial* – to get them to consider *how* (not just *what*) they think about the social world.

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Chapter 5

Confronting White Educational Privilege in the Classroom: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations and Models

Melissa F. Weiner

What is a perfect school? Ask this question and students will spend half an hour filling a white board with characteristics ranging from swimming pools to school busses, AP classes to athletic trainers, sports to SmartBoards, technology to teachers, and literally dozens of other items. And many think that all students, regardless of where they go to school, experience these opportunities. But of course they do not. Multiple structural inequalities both related to, and distinct from, the educational system result in two very different types of educational experiences for white students and students from non-dominant racial groups.¹ At the heart of this difference lay processes and mechanisms of racialization that not only perpetuate racial inequalities and identities but create a challenge for educators²

¹Throughout this chapter, I refer to non-white students as either minority students or students from non-dominant groups to highlight the different structural position of minorities vis a vis whites regardless of the numerical population of each group (Gleason 1991; Schermerhorn 1964). Furthermore, while there are significant and important differences between non-dominant racial groups' historical and contemporary experiences in America (which are addressed at length in the course), all are subordinate to whites in most social institutions. I do not use people of color because, as this chapter highlights, white is a color, i.e. a racial group, and using "people of color" to refer to all but white groups suggests that it is not. Ensuring students' recognition of this social fact, and subsequent privileges and consequences embodied therein, is an essential outcome of the practical and theoretical concepts of this chapter.

²I am a U.S.-born, white, Jewish, female professor from an upper working class background. I address my own positionality and privileges both the first day of class and throughout the semester from both a personal and academic perspective (cf. Brenner 2006; Rushing and Robinson 2006). Course material, including guest lecturers, films, music, books, and poetry, ensures students "hear" a diversity of voices constitutive of the American experience throughout the semester.

M.F. Weiner (✉)

College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA, USA

e-mail: mfw Weiner@holycross.edu

who teach about racial realities in education, particularly when addressing these inequalities with white students.³

The current generation of students, which has grown up with a rhetoric of diversity and multiculturalism (Bonilla-Silva 2006; Bush 2011; Glazer 1997), often believes that they are both sensitive to racial differences and post-racial, often using a colorblind rhetoric to argue that do not consider skin color in their daily lives; that they judge people based on “who they are” (as if race can be disaggregated from who people are) (Fox 2012). But as so many have documented, colorblindness not only inhibits deep understandings of structural inequalities, but perpetuates racist consequences of multiple “colorblind” policies (Gallagher 2003; Guinier and Torres 2003).

Throughout the semester, students are encouraged to think about how *does* race matter – for everything. When white students are asked if they believe that they do not see gender either, the impossibility of “not seeing” race often becomes clear, particularly after examining structural and personal examples of white privilege described by Peggy McIntosh (1997). Surmounting the pervasive racial rhetoric of colorblindness is paramount in describing the racial differences in educational experiences. Students become more adept at seeing how race directly affects their own lives through semi-weekly critical reading papers requiring them to link themes in the readings to their own lives.

Difficulties in teaching about racial inequality in the educational domain are heightened by the fact that, while few students likely have significant experiences with other social institutions (i.e. work/the economy, criminal justice system, etc), they *have* spent most of their lives in the educational system. As a result, many believe that they are experts when it comes to the American educational system. Indeed, they all are. But their expertise, regardless of their race, is often limited by individual experience and highlights the central role of the American educational system in reproducing racial identities and inequalities through selective knowledge dispersion, resources, curriculum, and in-school practices (Lewis 2003; Moya 2002; Weiner 2010). The truth is that very few students of any race understand the logic behind and mechanisms perpetuating racial inequalities.

Many white students are deeply attached to the hegemonic meritocratic ideology of the American dream, that with hard work everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed in the United States. Central to this ideology is the belief that schools of equal quality for all students act as a mechanism of opportunity. Since students in predominantly white schools rarely critically examine racism and whiteness, particularly what it means to be white (Perry 2002), they often lack factual knowledge of racial differences in educational experiences. Failing to encounter explanations

³This essay is based on my experiences teaching in predominantly white university settings, as well as discussions with colleagues in similar institutions. While many white students lack awareness of their educational privileges, there are some who are fully cognizant of these differences. This essay therefore provides information that allows students of all races to learn of these inequalities’ existence, their deeply rooted causes, and long-term multifaceted consequences.

of historical or contemporary exclusion and inequality, many white students believe that those who do not succeed willingly gave up what they are privileged to have – a quality education. This asociological view of educational failure, as an individual, rather than a social phenomenon, inhibits critical thinking as to the causes of racial inequalities in educational and economic outcomes. As a result, white students resist viewing their own schools as segregated, and thus unequal. Inequalities, when they do exist, become grist for the “culture of poverty” mill, and thus opportunities for students to deploy centuries-old stereotypes of African Americans and Latinos that find them failing because they “don’t work hard enough.” Students from non-dominant groups, though often aware of differences, usually (but not always) lack knowledge as to the depth of historical and contemporary policies and practices that impede their educational success. Combined, these phenomena pose considerable challenges for educators. However, once subverted, this knowledge can facilitate students’ knowledge of durable inequality (Tilly 1998) promoted by two different educational systems and sustained by historical and contemporary racially exclusionary policies.

This chapter describes both theoretical and empirical concepts and activities addressed in a diverse, but predominantly-white, classroom to facilitate knowledge development of processes replicating racial inequalities in education. These experiential learning opportunities allow students to engage with concepts, particularly as they manifest in their own lives, to generate a deep understanding of how every child that encounters the American educational system, regardless of race, is impacted by educational inequalities. By the end of this unit, which can range from one day to a week or more, students will be able to clearly articulate multiple educationally-based racializing mechanisms; mechanisms that often exist as hidden curriculum and exclude minority youth from a quality education, upward socioeconomic mobility, and access to full citizenship rights (Blum 1998; Boykin 2001; Kymlicka 1995; Modood 2007; Weiner 2010; Young 1990). Students will also become aware of how their former lack of knowledge about these inequalities perpetuates large-scale inequality both in the educational system, and society-at-large.

5.1 The Content of Inequality

The “perfect school” activity, described above and below, allows students to draw on their own knowledge and experience while visualizing concrete resource inequalities manifest in American schools. Simply telling students that 95 % of minority students attend schools in low socioeconomic areas and thus suffer resource inequalities (Logan et al 2001) is insufficient for many students to fully comprehend the experiential consequences of this statistic. This activity allows students to see clearly that the very educational resources to which non-dominant groups have long demanded access, remain primarily in the hands of whites (Anderson and Ronnkvist 1999; Kozol 2005; Logan et al. 2003; Orfield and Eaton 1996).

As students fill the board with attributes of their perfect school, privileges of white students' educational experiences become manifest. Indeed, many had access to most of what appears on the board – qualified teachers, advanced placement and college preparatory coursework, technological resources (such as computers, SmartBoards, and film/television studies), updated textbooks with diverse histories, healthy food, school busses, field trips, recess, clean air, heat and air conditioning, experienced and qualified teachers, clean bathrooms, playgrounds, pencils, paper, art supplies, and extracurricular activities such as band, National Honor Society, theatre, sports teams, and Model United Nations. Once the board is full, items absent from underfunded urban schools populated primarily by minority students are erased. Left on the board is a skeletal representation of education – classrooms, parking lots, a gym, teachers, bathrooms, desks, food, and security. During this activity, minority students, particularly those from low-income areas, often nod their heads, sometimes barely perceptibly, as the board is cleared of most resources. On one occasion, a student raised her hand and said quietly and simply, “That was my school.” Instructors should be ready for this, and similar, moment(s) when they occur.

The stark emptiness of the board, compared to how full it was a moment earlier, is often quite a shock to white students. Indeed, many are rendered speechless. Just a moment earlier, many had genuinely believed that because American children are legally required by their state to go to school until a certain age, that they have the same educational experiences; that all buildings with the word “school” on the front are equal. This activity highlights how most white students in segregated schools are prepared for college with the best resources American education has to offer while students from non-dominant groups are often left with the scraps from the educational table. In addition to visible items, i.e. new, abundant, and high quality “stuff” found in classroom, corridors, and on school campuses, resource inequality appears in the form of less qualified teachers and vocational curriculum.

Highly qualified teachers have the training, skills, and experience necessary to provide not only opportunities for students to learn material but encourage them to seek the highest goals possible. However, students from non-dominant groups are often taught by substitute or inexperienced teachers who lack subject expertise, and who are less warm and supportive towards, trusting of, and have lower expectations for their students (Alexander et al. 1999; Allan and Boykin 1999; Downey and Pribesh 2004; Ferguson 1998; Olson 2000; Peske and Haycock 2006; Solomon et al. 1996). Furthermore, white students often have teachers of the same race and class background, thereby inhibiting cross-cultural misunderstandings that occur between white teachers and students from non-dominant groups (NCES 2008). For example, when African American children collaborate on work, it is seen as cheating, rather than evidence of deeply embedded cultures of solidarity, and often find themselves pushed out of school through harsh disciplinary procedures (Skiba et al. 1997; Tenenbaum and Ruck 2007; Townsend 2000).

In classrooms where less qualified teachers are inhibited by structured curriculum designed to “teach to a test,” students rarely encounter opportunities to critically engage with course material. Unlike the intellectually engaging, hands-on activities and assignments that encourage creativity, independence, and critical thinking, found in most middle-class schools, vocational courses and curriculum track

low-income and students from non-dominant groups students away from even considering the college degrees necessary to succeed in America's highly technical service economy. Instead, students sew pillows, braid hair, learn to work a cash register, and complete tedious worksheets (Anyon 1980, 1981; Kozol 2005; Oakes 2005; Pachon and Federman 2005). In doing so, these courses track youth in urban schools toward low wage service jobs and increase their likelihood of dropping out (Haberman 1997).

Finally, the pedagogy of whiteness, an explicit curricular absence of non-dominant groups' history and culture, leads students of all races to lack concrete knowledge of American racial history or contemporary realities (Kincheloe et al. 2000; Macedo 2006; McCarthy 1998; Pinar 1993; Shujaa 1994; Watkins et al. 2001; Zimmerman 2002). When discussing the histories of inequality, oppression, and resistance of Native Americans, African Americans, European Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos, students are often dismayed that they never encountered knowledge regarding the U.S. annexation of Mexico, discrimination against Jews, Italians, and Irish, Japanese internment, Native American genocide, or the Black Power movement. Absent this knowledge, whites are left unaware of inequalities while students of color disengage from course material. The absence or misrepresentation of non-dominant Americans and immigrants (as well as women, the working class, religious minorities, etc.) within the curriculum also explicitly signals who does, and does not, belong to the American community. In doing so, curriculum reaffirms links between whiteness and American citizenship, thereby relegating all members of non-dominant groups, whose history in this country is erased or made irrelevant, to minority status, undeserving of the full rewards, rights and privileges of American citizenship. In other words, a "color blind" account of history⁴ serves only to blind students to racial and ethnic inequality.

Understanding how these phenomena, increase drop out rates among students from non-dominant racial groups while facilitating white student success is essential for students' deeper comprehension of how schools explicitly reify the racial hierarchy, privileges, and meanings attached to identities.

5.2 The Racial Logic of Educational Inequalities: The Role of "Place"

Although recognition of unequal conditions is important, knowledge of these tangible inequalities in schooling is insufficient for students to understand long-term inequality. Students must understand *why* these inequalities exist and persist, namely

⁴For deeper engagement with minority curriculum, students can critically examine a textbook, of any subject, from the school library to determine whose histories appear, the race and ethnicity of figures within them, and which groups are absent. This is particularly useful after spending months describing the racial histories of groups, including the ways in which they have contributed to American history. The Council on Interracial Books publishes a useful list of items and phenomena to seek in examining books.

through funding structures rooted in property tax revenues (a “colorblind” policy), and exacerbated by No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top regulations that inextricably link race and social class. These policies find white children receiving thousands of dollars more in funding, per child, than do Black and Latino students (cf. Kozol 2005). Because school funding is based on property taxes, schools in districts where the values of homes are high receive more money while districts where home values are low, or where renters predominate, receive less money per child. No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top penalize schools with low test scores through the loss of school funding. For example, in Connecticut, due to property tax differences, students in predominantly white Greenwich, where the median family income is \$122,719 received, on average, \$17,500, in 2009–2010 while those in predominantly minority Bridgeport (median family income \$34,658) received \$13,000 (www.census.gov; www.greatschools.org). Individual schools in Bridgeport may experience decreased school budgets considering eighteen are not making “adequate progress” (Lambeck 2010). These explicit funding differences represent implicit social conceptions of race, which find white children valued more highly than those from non-dominant groups (Cornell and Hartmann 2007).

Underlying racial differences in educational experiences is “place” and the history of American suburbs, where many white students grew up and went to school, that has exacerbated both residential and educational segregation (depicted magnificently in the “The House We Live In” segment of *Race: The Power of an Illusion* shown to students early in the semester during discussions of how European ethnics became white, and accessed, accrued, and maintained their white privilege). Beginning in the years after World War II, FHA housing loans granted to white veterans compounded segregation imposed by nationwide sundown towns and restrictive covenants that made Black and Latino homeownership impossible (Loewen 2006; Massey and Denton 1993; Oliver and Shapiro 2006). Simultaneously, urban redevelopment policies redlined minority neighborhoods and displaced minority renters and homeowners, crowding them into already congested areas, low quality housing stock and high-rise housing projects abandoned by suburbanizing whites. As a result, members of non-dominant groups have been unable to own homes at the same rates as whites. Those who were able to purchase homes did not see their values, and thus their family’s net worth, increase exponentially in the last half century as it did for whites.⁵ This wealth inequality inhibits members of non-dominant groups’ ability to participate in the same type of intergenerational transfers of liquid and non-liquid assets and residence in areas with high quality schools that allow white parents to pass on their educational attainment and socioeconomic status to their children (Blau and Duncan 1967; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Bowles

⁵The lack of minority homeownership facilitated their susceptibility to banks’ promotion of subprime mortgages resulting in a disastrous affect, both on the minority home foreclosure rate and the nation’s economy (Rugh and Massey 2010), thereby highlighting how structural and institutional racism has the potential to negatively affect both minorities and, to a lesser extent, whites.

and Gintis 1976; Conley 2009; Haveman and Wolfe 1995; Jencks 1977; Kao and Thompson 2003; Sewell and Shah 1968; Sewell et al. 1976; Shapiro 2004; Smith et al. 1997). Since many parents mortgage their homes to pay for their children's education, parents from non-dominant groups, lacking homes to mortgage, cannot promote this higher educational option to their children at the same rates as whites. Combined, these phenomena have promoted and, in some cases, exacerbated urban-suburban residential segregation and school spending patterns than that have outlasted the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision and left America's schools more racially distinct than in the years before this decision.

Following this introduction to the causes of residential segregation and wealth inequality, to which many students have direct personal experience as suburban residents, they are made aware of these phenomena in their own lives in two ways. First, a list of suspected sundown towns in the states drawing the most students is read.⁶ Next, students are asked about the racial composition of their own high school (vis a vis a short homework assignment requiring students to generate this data using their high school yearbook or a reliable website⁷). Most students not only hear their towns listed as former sundown towns, but see the consequences in their own schools, many of which are not only segregated, but hyper-segregated (enrolling greater than 90 % of one race).

Prior to this exercise, few students identify their schools as segregated, a term often reserved for schools attended by students from non-dominant groups, but instead view them as "normal." Essential to teaching about racial inequality in education, is white students' recognition that attending "normal" schools was actually a privilege to which they, as whites, had access (McIntosh 1997). Thinking critically about larger social processes of institutional racism, white students recognize, sometimes for the first time, that there *were* African Americans or Latinos in their schools, but many were recruited from urban schools, could not participate in extracurricular activities, or could only play certain sports, were rarely in the same college preparatory classes, and were sometimes completely invisible until graduation day. In other words, students of color, if they were *in* their schools, may not have been integrated *into* the schools.

5.3 Experiencing Educational Racialization

Once students understand the structure and logic of racial inequality in the schools, the final activity allows students to experience it, not as a racial voyeur into low-income schools, but as a disadvantaged subject of racialized policy. Students of all racial backgrounds spend a considerable amount of time studying for standardized tests, either in school or after school with expensive tutors or in test prep class, few

⁶ Available at <http://sundown.afro.illinois.edu/content.php?file=sundowntowns-whitemap.html>.

⁷ A good website for this is www.greatschools.org.

have considered what they are being asked and why. This activity requires students to think critically about different groups' experiences with both standardized tests and curriculum in general. Specifically, it requires students to consider how they might have been privileged or disadvantaged (depending on their cultural, class, and national background) as a result of (often hidden) bias in standardized tests.

Although literature consistently documents that standardized tests are culturally biased against lower class, racial, ethnic, and language minorities (www.FairTest.org; Gould 1996; Jencks and Phillips 1998; Neill and Medina 1989),⁸ white students experience difficulty understanding how this occurs. Indeed, students who attend schools with electives ranging from science, history, art, music, theatre, and film production, are often unaware of the emphasis on testing that has done away with not only these subjects, but also recess and field trips. These tests have a long history in America, beginning at the turn of the century when they were used to determine which immigrant children would be placed in "retarded" classes (those with students more than 2 years behind grade level). Little has changed in the last hundred years as these tests continue to be used to determine which students belong in "Special Education" classes. However, college students today, due to the same cultural and temporal biases that existed for their historical predecessors, experience tremendous difficulty in successfully completing a replica of these early tests.

A test given to Army recruits, and then modified for immigrant youth, requires students to fill in the missing item in 20 pictures (a stereophonic horn on a phonograph, a filament of a light bulb, the leg of a crab, and a house's chimney, *without* smoke) in 3 minutes, in a crowded room with dim lights (cf. Gould 1996, pp. 237–241). Many students taking the test today, regardless of their social class, age, race, or gender, cannot even finish the exam in the time allotted, much less correctly complete all the pictures. These college students, who are twice as old as most students originally completing this test, would have been labeled as, and placed in, "retarded" or special education classes, had they taken it alongside their historical peers 100 years ago. This activity depicts how questions on tests are arbitrary and designed by people familiar with certain objects, cultures, and ideas. Asked to consider how test questions they might have had on the SAT might be biased toward low-income, non-dominant group, and immigrant children today, students quickly realize how biased modern tests may be, that they test what students have had the opportunity to encounter, and that students may find it difficult to solve word problems when they include words with which they are unfamiliar.

This activity removes much of the advantages to which whites have been privileged throughout their educational careers. By experiencing disadvantage based on one's cultural history and class background, students become aware of how whiteness exists as invisible class and racial privilege that allows them to succeed, while simultaneously minimizing competition from equally intelligent students from non-dominant racial groups. Seeing the ways in which their future

⁸This bias is often compounded by stereotype threat, the belief that performing poorly will validate existing stereotypes regarding low academic performance of minority racial, gender, linguistic, and class-based groups (Croizet 1998; Gonzales et al. 2002; Spencer et al. 1999; Steele 2003).

contributions to American science, business, humanitarianism, and politics, might have been staunchly by a simple test expands students' awareness of how much we, as a nation, lose when tests create a barrier to high school graduation, college attendance, and large-scale participation in American social institutions for generations of students of color.

5.4 Conclusion

Central to teaching about the links between race, educational attainment, and racial identities are lessons in how schools replicate and retrench inequalities, rather than acting as the mythical bootstraps that allow any child, from any background, to achieve the American Dream. Experiential learning opportunities can aid instructors in confronting deeply embedded ideologies that perpetuate white privilege through the idea of an American meritocracy. While challenges for educators loom large, these lessons have the potential to restructure all students' understandings of deeply embedded social inequality and promote social justice.

Challenging deeply embedded privileges and ideologies of meritocracy, colorblindness, and whiteness, though difficult, benefits students of all races and national backgrounds. While white and middle-class students will gain knowledge of an educational system that they heretofore may have been unaware, students who may have been subject to this education, will have the intellectual tools to critique and subvert this form of racism in classrooms where they will become teachers or those of their own children. This awareness also has the potential to promote a new generation of students who are more supportive of integration, both theoretically and through specific interventions, government initiatives to promote historically disadvantaged groups' success within the educational domain, society-wide programs to enhance socioeconomic equality, and inclusive policies toward immigrants and their children. Recognizing how the American educational system provides access to social, political, and economic success for whites while erecting barriers to these privileges to minorities, such that resource inequality and devalued identities are linked and perpetuated, students are often fired up to confront these challenges in their own lives, classrooms, and peer groups.

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Chapter 6

Teaching About Race and Racism: The Imperative of History

Tema Okun

I am a teacher who believes in school as a site of liberation. I am a white woman; I write from my location as a long-time anti-racist activist, trainer, and classroom teacher. I began my life lessons about the reverberations of the slave trade as a child growing up in the Jim Crow South of the 1950s, the daughter of liberal parents committed to race equity. My mother and father celebrated the “integration” of the public schools I was attending, oblivious, as was I, to the erasure of both the institutional and cultural legacy of Black education. What I know for sure all these years later is that the desegregation process in which I participated over 40 years ago was a too familiar reflection of where slavery and genocide has brought us.

My purpose is to speak to how history can help those of us who teach as we attempt to finally change the story. I make the claim, based on my own teaching experience, that teaching the history of the race construct is a powerful strategy for making school a site of liberation for all students.

6.1 Setting the Context

The evidence of the relentlessness of racism is pervasive – the persistent wealth gap between white and African-American families has increased fourfold in the last 25 years (Shapiro et al. 2010). Like their Indigenous counterparts, Black people are being arrested on drug charges at five times the rate of whites (Human Rights Watch 2000). One in three young Black men are under the jurisdiction of the criminal justice system (Alexander 2010), in part because of the well-documented school to prison pipeline that results in Black and Brown teens having a high school graduation rate of around 50 % (Advancement Project 2010). The African-American

T. Okun (✉)
National Louis University, Chicago, IL, USA
e-mail: tema.okun@nl.edu

infant mortality rate is over twice the national percentage and racial disparities result in excess medical costs for African-Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans totaling \$77 billion (Center for American Progress 2010). Institutional racism is alive and well.

Our cultural beliefs reflect and reinforce this reality. A Gallup poll (2003) found that 82 % of white citizens believe that Black people have as good a chance as we do of getting a job for which they are qualified, an increase of 5 % points from the year before. African-American respondents put the percentage at 43 % with no change over the previous two years. The perception gap about how Black people and communities fare and are treated has persisted since Gallup first starting asking in 1997, regardless of whether the question focuses on treatment in stores, on the job, in housing, or in dealings with the police (2011).

Michelle Alexander (2010), in her groundbreaking work documenting our country's mass incarceration of African-American men, notes the enduring impact of a white supremacy system that did not die, as our culture likes to tell us, with the institution of slavery. This system, she states, has socialized us well into a widespread belief in the essential "bestiality" of people of African descent and the "inherently superior" status of white people and the white community (26). "After the death of slavery," she writes, "the idea of race lived on" (26). Cultural racism – the beliefs, norms, and values that are both produced by and undergird institutional racism – is also alive and well in America.

For further proof, we need look no further than the state of Arizona's recent ban of the teaching of ethnic studies, a law aimed at gutting the Tucson school district's Mexican-American studies program. Aggressively ignoring evidence linking the program to improved student achievement, the ban's author, state Attorney General Tom Horne, and its biggest advocate, Superintendent of Public Instruction John Huppenthal, resorted to a "get tough on Mexicans" approach in their bids for statewide office, touting the need to prohibit classes that "promote the overthrow of the U.S. government" or "resentment toward a race or class of people." Gregory Rodriguez, reporting in the *Los Angeles Times* (2012), remarks how "what's really irking the ban's supporters is the part about resentment ... toward ... white people." He goes on to note that "it's impossible to understand history without acknowledging the subjugation and marginalization of minority groups. Nor can one understand the greatness of the American experiment without seeing it as a 200-year-long struggle to overcome injustices and live up to the highest ideals of its founding documents."

A history perceived as dangerous by those devoted to a racist politic attests to its importance. Robert Terry aptly said "to be white in America is not to have to think about it" (Barndt 1991, p. 51). The Arizona ban is a powerful example of how those of us in the white majority resent being asked to think about it. We live in a culture addicted to rationalizing our lack of culpability for the deep and divisive racist legacy that started with the genocide of Indigenous people and the trading of people from Africa. And like anyone who studies addiction will tell us, we cannot fix a problem if we cannot even admit we have one.

6.2 The Case for History

As a classroom teacher I have been witness to countless white students who claim to live a “colorblind” life on a “level” playing field where lack of overt racist intent is understood as the absence of racism altogether. Writer and educator Tim Wise (2001) attributes this largesse of denial to the racially isolated lives that most white Americans lead. I both agree that this is a significant contributing factor and point to the ongoing and systematic cultural indoctrination about racism as a thing of the past that all of us receive from the institutions with which we interact every day – our schools, our churches and synagogues, our media.

I assert that this denial is a stage of development for those of us sitting in positions of white privilege (or any privilege for that matter) (Okun 2010). As we begin to grasp that privilege is systemic and sense that perhaps we do not deserve and did not earn all we have (Kivel 2002; Okun 2006; Olsson 1997; Tatum 1997), we often resist even more strongly any identification with the privileged or white group, since to admit such privilege erases our already inflated sense of individuality. At the same time, we see ourselves as less prejudiced than other white people, as better than the very white group that we do not acknowledge. We reduce racism to intentional thoughts or behaviors and refuse to admit intent, taking accusations of racism very personally (and reacting to such accusations with great defensiveness).

At its best, privileged resistance is an inevitable stage of development that we must move through in our desire and efforts to be both effectively engaged and fully human. At worst, privileged resistance is a way of life. One of the reasons teaching about race and racism can be so difficult is because people, particularly white people holding white privilege, fear that investigating the historical roots and complex manifestations of racism means moving into territory intended to define who is good and who is bad. We are wary, expecting to find out that we are the bad ones. My experience as a teacher, activist, workshop leader, and white person, is that one way we move out of this resistance is when we begin to understand that race was constructed specifically to reify power inequities based on race (Barndt 1991; Kivel 2002; Okun 2010; Tatum 1997). With a historical framework for understanding racism as more than personal, we avoid positioning both oppression and privileged resistance as individualized enactments by “bad,” “wrong” or “clueless” people, and begin to understand how any commitment to race equity and justice needs to address the institutional/structural and cultural as well as the personal.

Not just white students benefit from this historical perspective. Students of Color are also often unaware of their history; more and more come into classrooms also assuming a level playing field, largely because the dominant cultural rhetoric of individual responsibility and blame has robbed them both of language to talk about their own experiences of racism and of knowledge about their ancestors’ brave struggles to provide education and opportunity against overwhelming odds (Perry 2003). Teaching the history of the race construct allows all students to step back, move out of the personal and begin to see that they (and we) are ourselves part of this historical composition and that much of how we see the world stems from our

cultural conditioning. This approach also provides a sense of possibility, for what we have constructed we can also de- and re-construct.

A thoughtful curriculum design *can* proactively address the denial seated in privileged resistance and the ignorance supported by a culture in denial. Based on work developed with colleagues over a period of many years, I lead students through a deliberative process that starts with relationship-building, offers a strong and grounded power analysis, and supports people to take collaborative action towards a larger and more hopeful vision (Okun 2010). The process is designed to help students “see” the historical construction of cultural, institutional, and personal race and racism and their place in it; the emphasis is on responsibility rather than blame and shame.

6.3 The Power of History

A very effective tool in grounding students in a thoughtful analysis of power and privilege is to share with them the history of the race construct. This history offers students a way to comprehend the personal, institutional, and cultural manifestations of race and racism (or any oppression) and how these have been historically constructed to benefit the white (dominant) group at the expense of People and Communities of Color (the oppressed group). Showing how all of our institutions participated in constructing race and racism as a hierarchical ladder with white at the top supports students’ comprehension of structural racism. Examining with them the cultural beliefs and values that maintained and perpetuated this construction helps students move beyond a shallow understanding of racism as personal while encouraging them to interrogate their own socialization. Sharing this history also allows students to tap into their own frustrations about their mis-education as they come to see how they have not been told the truth about our shared history.

Most students, most Americans, do not critically investigate what we are taught about our history. Most of us do not know that race is a construct, developed over time by the western world to accommodate empire, slavery, and colonization. We might have some vague sense that slavery existed before the establishment of the “new world” and sometimes even use that unfocused understanding to justify our enslavement of literally millions of people. We rarely know that while slavery certainly existed before Columbus set foot on this continent, his particularly pernicious treatment of the Tainos people in the southern Caribbean established the precedent for the trans-Atlantic slave trade, with its mechanisms of genocide, subjugation, and exploitation of whole groups of people based on what at the time was understood as nationality or ethnicity, later conflated with and superseded by ideologies of race.

So I take students through a historical timeline that starts by rooting them in the realities of the Americas before first contact, when what is now the United States was home to hundreds of different indigenous cultures and almost 2,000 different languages. I share how communities had perfected the art of agriculture,

were building and using irrigation canals and dams, engaging in many of the same activities and agricultural advancements as peoples in South America, Asia, Europe, and Africa, each with their own developed systems of agriculture, domestication of and cultivation of plants and animals, scholarship, and sophisticated political systems (many based on kinship). The Tainos people, who Columbus characterized as “ripe for subjugation” (Loewen 2007) used highly advanced farming practices and built economies based on inter-island trading. Grounding students in this way helps make the point that portrayals of whole communities of people as “bestial,” “uncivilized,” “savage,” and less than human are projected characterizations serving the purposes of those seeking political and economic control.

When Columbus did arrive, I explain that he came in the name of Spain. His aim was not exploration or trade as we are taught in school, but conquest and exploitation. I point out that Columbus initiated the slave trade by rounding up 500 of the Tainos people to take back to Spain (almost half dying en route) while enslaving another 500 on the island. I note how people were not yet racialized in the way we understand race today; concepts of “whiteness,” “blackness,” or “redness” did not yet exist.

We then move to the “settling” of the “new world;” students rarely know that Virginia’s power elite set up an increasingly harsh labor system, one that indentured white workers to their owners “the same as if they were tools or livestock” (Smith 2007, p. 14). They have never been told that this chattel labor was “the proving ground for the mechanisms of control and subordination” used later in the racialized slave system (Bennett 1991, pp. 40–41). They are generally unaware that the early colonies operated on a firm class system, where whites and newly enslaved Black men and women shared the condition of indentured servitude.

The construction of whiteness started, I explain, when the elite landowners, heavily outnumbered by indentured servants, the growing number of Africans forced into slavery, and the Indigenous peoples already occupying the land, began to make racial distinctions as a defense against the potential for unified insurgencies and rebellions, the most famous being Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676.

I share stories like that of John Punch, perhaps the earliest documented case of the legalized construction of white privilege. Punch is one of three servants “belonging” to farmer Hugh Gwyn; he flees with two compatriots to Maryland. Punch is Black; his comrades are white. Captured, they are brought back to Jamestown, where the Court sentences all 3 to 30 lashes. The two white men are sentenced to an additional 4 years of servitude. John Punch is ordered to “serve his said master . . . for the time of his natural Life here or elsewhere” (Higginbotham 1978, p. 28). As historian Leon Higginbotham points out, “such differentiation of treatment reflected the legal process’s early adoption of social values that saw blacks as inferior” (28), with such “degraded status” that the courts “did not even feel required to proffer a rationalization” for this divergent punishment (29).

We look at how the term “white” begins to appear regularly after about 1680, as the Virginia Assembly passes law after law making racial distinctions in an attempt to differentiate and elevate the concept. We study a timeline of legislative policies designed to entrench an ideology of white supremacy, from one declaring that the

child of an “Englishman” and a “Negro woman” must take on the status of the woman, making slave status hereditary, to those passed by city, county, and state governments protecting white craftsmen and traders from any competition by Black workers. We note how these laws and many others like them begin embedding white economic and cultural privilege into the American experience.

This exploration helps students understand that the ideology of “white” as “supreme” was developed and refined over time by the land-owning power elite to serve their strategy of divide and conquer. We continue to trace the history, deliberately demonstrating how every institution in the U.S. participated in the construction of a racial hierarchy with white at the top and Black at the bottom, with Indigenous peoples increasingly invisibilized (an ongoing form of cultural genocide), and other races and ethnicities juggled up and down between white and Black depending on the political needs of those committed to generating profit and accumulating wealth.

We look at how the scientific community imported the racial “oids” theories in Europe to justify this racial hierarchy. We take note of the role of the nation’s Supreme Court, who in the early 1800s decreed that while Cherokees in Georgia had certain rights to their lands because they “occupied” them, whites had superior rights for “discovering” them. We look at how the 1790 Naturalization Act, the very first statute enacted by the first Congress, restricted citizenship to free white immigrants. Because every state had laws limiting land ownership to citizens, and because the major source of wealth at the time was land, this very first Congressional act laid the groundwork for the ongoing legal and economic privileging of the white race. I point out how once we know about The Naturalization Act, which had influence through the early 1950s, we have to challenge contemporary arguments aimed at demonizing those characterized as “illegal” based on the false claim that all peoples have historically had “equal opportunity” for lawful citizenship.

We look at how the religious community used the Biblical story of Ham to justify slavery and how in the 1870s the first federally sanctioned boarding school was established precisely to “Kill the Indian, Save the Child,” forcibly taking children from parents to teach them their way of life was “savage” and inferior. We learn about the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the first time a nationality is barred by name. We chart the eugenics movement, a “science” advocating selective breeding to engineer the “ideal” society through overtly racist immigration policy, marriage laws (Alabama was the last state to repeal their miscegenation law as late as 2000), and involuntary sterilization. I point out how eugenics is the basis of school testing today. We look at the 1921 Quota Act favoring white immigrants from Europe, and reflect on the ironic rhetoric of reverse racism based in the (anecdotal and unsubstantiated) stories (Bonilla-Silva 2006) about quotas giving unfair advantage to People and Communities of Color.

We note the continuing struggle that the state and federal court systems had (and continue to have) in constructing race. We look at the particularly powerful example of the 1922 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that the Japanese could not be considered legally white because science classified them as Mongoloid (rather than Caucasoid). We consider how a year later the same Court contradicted itself when

an Asian Indian family petitioned for white status, ruling that even though science classified them as Caucasoid, whiteness should be based on “the understanding of the common man, synonymous with the word ‘Caucasian’ only as that word is popularly understood” (*History Matters*, n.d.). A year later, the Virginia Racial Purity Act defined Black persons as having any trace of African ancestry – the infamous “one drop” rule – a rule applied so inconsistently that a person could cross state lines and legally change race. We remark how as recently as 1990, Supreme Court Justices “were still describing race in antiquated terms of ‘blood’ and ‘biology’” (Sharfstein 2003, p. 1481).

As we trace this history, students cannot fail to see how institutions participated in creating a race construct privileging and elevating whiteness at the expense of all other racial categories. They cannot fail to see the interconnections between race, class, gender, and the ways in which institutions supported each other in the perpetuation of this construct – the court system’s use of racist “science,” for example. They cannot fail to see how institutions both manufactured and were in turn influenced by cultural norms, values, and beliefs, the ways in which whole communities of people were and are socialized into a racialized belief system that elevates white people, communities, and all that is attached to whiteness while devaluing, if not erasing, value attached to Black and Brown people, community, culture, and spaces.

Unschooling in the history of the race construct, students are also ignorant of the history of resistance aside from a fairly shallow acknowledgement of the Civil Rights Movement, Dr. Martin Luther King as a critically important leader, and Rosa Parks as the brave woman who refused to give up her seat on the bus. They almost never know that white people and communities throughout this history of racist construction refused to participate in racist ideology and stood up to racist policy. They don’t know about Roger Williams, forced to flee Rhode Island from Boston in the country’s earliest colonial days for claiming that Indigenous peoples were the true owners of the land. They don’t know that white families walked on the infamous Long Walk Where They Cried (more well known as The Trail of Tears) in solidarity with the people of the Cherokee nation forcibly removed from their communities in the east. Those who have heard of John Brown might think of him as a bit “insane,” which is how he is often portrayed in history books that do not know what to make of a man who risked his life to stand against slavery (Loewen 2007). They have never heard the names Lillian Smith, Virginia Durr, or Anne Braden, all women who took brave stands against racism in their time. In addition to her many other contributions, Anne Braden was co-founder, along with her husband Carl, of the Southern Conference Education Fund, which they formed in the late 1950s to organize white people and communities into the Civil Rights movement.

They also learn precious little about the bravery and courage of People and Communities of Color. Some Students of Color may know this history, but what they do know generally comes from their families and communities, not from the classroom. Most students have never heard of Ida B. Wells, who as an African-American woman boldly led anti-lynching campaigns as she made critical connections between race and gender violence. They often have no idea that Rosa

Parks was not the first to refuse to give up her seat, only the most famous. They generally have not read the narratives of African-American slaves and their freed descendants that tell the compelling story of how communities did “whatever needed to be done in order to provide education for their children” (Perry 2003, p. 28). They may have heard the name Cesar Chavez (although this recognition is becoming more and more rare); they’ve certainly never heard of Dolores Huerta, Winona LaDuke, or Vine Deloria. Deloria, born near the Oglala Lakota Pine Ridge Reservation, wrote more than 20 books; his most famous *Custer Died For Your Sins* initiated a long career of challenging stereotypes with thoughtful analysis and activism. Teaching history allows us to point to all those who courageously, against tremendous odds, resisted institutional, cultural, and personal racism, giving us an opportunity to both claim and enlarge the space of possibility.

Every classroom can be a site for these critical lessons. English teachers can use poetry, fiction, biographies, and non-fiction literature to trace the journey (Dilg 2010). Math and science teachers can support students in the exploration of how counting, measuring, and “objective” thinking were (and are) used to advance faulty ideologies serving power (Ernest 1989; Gill and Levidow 1987). This teaching can start as early as kindergarten (Cowhey 2006; Derman-Sparks and Phillips 1997). I teach this material to pre-service education students, who are then required to create lesson plans within their respective disciplines; students majoring in physical education to those focusing on music composition have developed creative and thoughtful curricula to support the ability to know our collective history in all its complexity. Resources for creating a historically relevant curriculum abound: Rethinking Schools, Teaching for Change, the Zinn Education Project, the Algebra Project are just a few sites where educators offer a wealth of materials to support this teaching.

The late historian Howard Zinn explained that while he could “understand pessimism,” he didn’t believe in it because of the historical evidence, by which he meant how our shared history shows an arc toward justice, not in an “overwhelming” way (his word), but “just enough to give hope, because for hope we don’t need certainty, only possibility” (Zinn Education Project 2011). The popular saying that those who do not know our history are doomed to repeat it can be expanded a bit; we must understand history as the complex layering of stories that shape how we view ourselves and our relationship to the world. Knowing our full stories can free us to understand that we are, as the liberatory educator Paolo Freire (1995) so wisely says, conditioned but not determined.

Left unexamined, history traps us in the legacy of the slave trade where we continue to value and devalue based on a false and devious construction meant to pit us one against the other for the benefit of the few. We can build a new legacy, one that helps us see that we are no longer condemned to an ideology of people as commodity, commodity as profit, profit as god. We have the possibility of choosing another path. As teachers, whatever our location, we have a precious responsibility to offer up the hope that history provides.

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Chapter 7

Teaching About Organized Racism

Kathleen Blee and Kelsy Burke

The challenges of teaching about organized racism are different than those found in teaching about other aspects of American race relations. On the one hand, it can be quite easy to engage students in the topic of organized racism, at least on a surface level, as the vile propaganda and violent actions of racist groups and movements are sensational and provocative. Students across racial lines, like the general public, for the most part have strong negative opinions about the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazis, and racist skinheads and are eager to share these (Nelson et al. 1997; Schuman et al. 1997). On the other hand, students' understandings of organized racism often are very shallow and based largely on caricatured depictions of racist activists in films and on television. The effort to move students toward deeper and more complex interpretations of organized racism can be surprisingly difficult.

Today's organized racism is a complicated mix of a number of small, competing groups and loosely connected networks that espouse virulent forms of racism and anti-Semitism and urge action (often violent) in support of white Aryan supremacy. Moreover, it is a world that rests on carefully managed illusion and deception. Dozens of Ku Klux Klan chapters, generally antagonistic to each other, appear robust because they are highly visible in the media and often seek publicity through public parades, cross burnings, distribution of propaganda, and a proliferation of websites. Despite their public presence, however, virtually all contemporary Klan chapters are tiny and few can craft any significant actions to advance their racist agendas. In contrast, neo-Nazis are generally more active. However, as many have become highly focused on violence and terroristic goals in recent years, they have dissolved into a relatively invisible networks of small, unconnected cells to hinder

K. Blee
University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA, USA

K. Burke (✉)
St. Norbert College, De Pere, WI, USA
e-mail: kelsy.burke@snc.edu

government detection and prosecution (Blee and Creasap 2010; Durham 2007). In the most available sources of information, then, the Klans appear forceful, although few are, while neo-Nazis appear to have declined, even as they remain vigorous.

7.1 Challenges in Teaching

In this essay, we outline four common obstacles that instructors face when they teach college and university students about modern U.S. organized racism. These are the problem of the grotesque; the overshadowing of everyday racism; the slide to overly macro or micro explanations; and the paucity of good data. As a remedy, Burke then suggests two ways to create a more productive discussion of organized racism. The classroom exercise presented in Chap. 20 provides a way to use film in a discussion of the motivations of racist activists and the nature of racist groups today.

7.1.1 *The Problem of the Grotesque*

In a paper on the strategic use of war pictures by anti-abortion and anti-slavery movements, Drew Halfmann and Michael Young (2010, p. 3) observe that “the grotesque image terrifies and disorients,” evoking strong negative emotions such as horror, fear, disgust, outrage, and anger. Such sentiments arise often when teaching about organized racism. Virtually any document, photo, speech, or even summary of the ideas and activities of today’s racist groups and movements is shocking, repulsive, and deeply upsetting to students and instructors.

Racist imagery and words are assaultive by design, as shown in the polarity of responses it evokes. The terrorism of modern organized racism lies not only in its infrequent episodes of violence but also in the constant *threat* of violence (Hoffman 2006, pp. 3–4) conveyed in its cultural markers and bigoted ideology. Racist groups routinely pepper their written and Internet propaganda with sketches of nooses, burning crosses, and swastikas meant to elicit historical memories of racial lynchings and Nazi Germany. Their attire is similarly chosen for dramatic effect. The Klan’s white robes and pointed hoods position them in the tradition of violent night-riders who have terrorized African Americans and other racial minorities since the Civil War. Neo-Nazis often sport brown shirts and combat boots that echo the uniform of World War II European fascists, although young Nazi skinheads may have little knowledge of this historical connection (Blee 2002). Racist activists festoon their bodies with tattoos of racial hatred, including thinly coded references like “88” (referencing the 8th letter of the alphabet for “Heil Hilter”).

The totems of racial hate that permeate racist literature, events, and even bodies undercut teaching and learning in a fundamental way. Such deeply disturbing

images are both repellent and grotesquely titillating to some students, similar to how slasher films or car accidents simultaneously lure and repel the viewer. They seize attention, but leave students in emotional confusion and paralysis, unable to formulate an emotional stance from which they can respond. They bring on responses of rage, anger, frustration that make it difficult to explore how people come to embrace racist activism as a meaningful and (to them) reasonable way of life. At the same time, it is inappropriate, and probably impossible, to strip emotional reactions from the topic to facilitate discussion and learning.

Efforts to teach about organized racism thus must find a precarious balance, between shielding students from the reality of racist terrorism and giving voice to racism and risk exposing students to its corrosive effects. There is no perfect solution. In most cases, we find it better to minimize the amount of racist imagery and ideas that are presented in the classroom. Since the ideologies that motivate racist actors are generally quite simplistic and highly redundant, it is possible to present racist worldviews with little elaboration. This allows the class to move more quickly to issues they can analyze with more productive results, such as how organized racism has shifted from biological to cultural arguments in defense of white supremacy or how racist groups use cultural forms like white power music to create a collective racist identity (Ansell 1997; Simi and Futrell 2006).

7.1.2 Overshadowing Everyday Racism

Organized, extreme racism like that found in the Ku Klux Klan or neo-Nazi groups can easily make invisible more ordinary forms of racism such as white privilege or “color-blind” race talk (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Feagin 2009). The dramatic events and extreme ideas that are associated with racist groups and movements may typify the definition of racism, leaving no conceptual room for the forms of racism that are much more widespread in society. As a result, students may leave the classroom believing that racism does not affect their lives. But as Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2010, p. 265) aptly points out, “[t]he United States does not depend on Archie Bunkers to defend white supremacy.” In other words, ubiquitous and often invisible forms of white privilege do more to reinforce racial hierarchies in the U.S. than do “acts of meanness” (McIntosh 1990, p. 31) by bigoted individuals or loosely networked neo-Nazi or Klan groups. In sociology classrooms, therefore, it is important to avoid conflating organized racism as the only form of racism that counts.

A related problem of teaching about organized racism is that students easily exoticize racist activists as racial Others, who are so distant from the experiences, attitudes, and ways of being of ordinary white people that more common forms of racism are simply inapplicable. Students may distance themselves from organized racism in three ways. First, they distance themselves temporally, imagining organized racism to be only a part of the Jim Crow or Nazi Germany past, eras characterized by blatant acts of racist violence. Second, students may distance themselves spatially, believing that organized racism takes place only in the rural

American South, far from the many universities located in urban and/or northern areas. Lastly, they may create psychological distance between themselves and racist activists by imagining organized racism to be located in the extreme margins of today's society, where only the pathologically disturbed join racist groups. Such acts of distancing stand in the way of a deep understanding of the many layered nature of racial antagonisms in a society.

7.1.3 Overly Micro- or Macro-approaches

Organized racism is a complex phenomenon, with no simple set of explanatory factors. Even in a single time period and national context, it includes a variety of strategies, agendas, forms of participation, and motivations that resist parsimonious explanation. Some racist groups, for instance, cultivate opportunities for cross-generational interaction that socialize children into the beliefs and practices of racial extremism from a very young age (Blee 2002). Other groups have little such interaction and rely on recruiting teenagers or adults, many of whom were raised in non-racist homes and environments (Simi and Futrell 2010). In some forms of organized racism, the major target of animosity is African Americans and other people of color. In an increasing number of such groups today, Jews are the primary enemy and racial minorities, like whites, are viewed as being manipulated by invisible Jewish overlords. No single factor can account for such diverse groups and individual experiences in organized racism.

When asked to think about why racist groups exist or why people might choose to join them, students typically take one of two modes of explanation. Some students adopt explanations that are overly micro, arguing that racism is the product of psychological problems or personality defects in its adherents. Such explanations have been repeatedly disputed by research that finds that the psychological profiles of racial extremists differ little from the rest of the population, at least when they join racist groups; over time, highly committed racists can come to adopt conspiratorial logics and levels of fear and anxiety that are out of the ordinary (Blee 2002). Simplistic psychological explanations also tend to elide the importance of socio-structural causes for racial extremism like social inequality and political power.

If not focusing on the psychological character of racist activists, students tend to move far in the other direction, relying on explanations that are overly macro. They insist that racist extremism is the obvious product of broad or vague societal factors like "economic distress" or "challenges to masculine privilege." Such overarching macro explanations, however, are unable to account for the great fluctuations in levels and types of racist movements during times in which economic or gender factors are fairly constant.

In the classroom, the challenge is to help students develop rich and multi-layered explanations for organized racism that recognize its heterogeneity and its

differing forms across time and space. Although both micro and macro factors are important in understanding racial extremism, neither is very useful in isolation. Robust explanations need to identify multiple factors, consider how they vary over time and in different places, and indicate how they operate together. Challenges to masculine privilege may predispose *some* men to accept racist messages, but *most* men do not. *Some* racist activists grew up in racist families, but *most* did not. A useful approach to teaching about organized racism should help students recognize the problems of overreaching explanations and develop sensitivity to the complex experiences that lead people into racist groups.

7.1.4 Lack of Quality Data

The Internet contains a vast amount of information about organized racism, available on the websites of racist groups and anti-racist organizations. However, the quality of these data is generally very poor and often misleading if not used properly. This presents a fourth challenge when teaching about organized racism. For example, students doing research on organized racism in the U.S. often find references to the map of racist groups published and frequently updated by the reputable anti-racist organization, the Southern Poverty Law Center (2013). A cursory look at this map suggests that the landscape of organized racism in the U.S. today is quite vast, as over 900 groups are found across the country in virtually every state and region. Moreover, the map locates racist groups in somewhat surprising places. Pennsylvania and Ohio, for example, have more groups than Mississippi. It takes some understanding of the organization of modern racism to realize the implication of plotting groups, rather than members. In recent years, racist groups have tended to shrink in size, but not in number. Put more simply, there are a lot of groups but most groups are small and declining in size. Yet this distinction is easily overlooked.

The problem for teaching is that there are very few solid sources of data on organized racism today. Data from law enforcement is thin and largely inaccessible. Few scholarly works have penetrated the wall of secrecy and deception that surrounds organized racism and those that have (e.g., Blee 2002; Simi and Futrell 2010) have small and unrepresentative samples of cases and groups. Moreover, it is not possible to have students collect better data on their own. Racist groups are extremely suspicious of outsiders who might prove to be police informants or infiltrators so it is extremely dangerous for students to approach members of these groups, even in a public space. Those racist members who are willing to talk to students are likely either to provide misleading or false data, or they have little actual connection to racist groups or networks. A safer alternative is to encourage students to study racist groups through their websites or published literature, but these sources only reveal what racist groups want outsiders to see and this can bear little resemblance to the reality of these groups.

7.2 More Productive Approaches

In addition to facing the challenges outlined above, instructors who are teaching about organized racism can move a classroom discussion in a productive direction with two small shifts in focus. First, it is useful to direct attention away from the question of what racists believe to more sociological and analytic questions. Some of the most useful in our experience are: How do racist groups recruit new members? Why do some people join these groups? Why do some racist movements become strong and others weaken? What do racist groups (or activists) do, beyond their episodic moments of spectacular violence? In what ways do racist groups differ from each other? How do modern groups differ from those in the past? Such questions open discussion to the properties of racist groups and the mobilization dynamics of racist activism. These help counter the tendency of students to see organized racism as fully Other and beyond explanation and open these groups to the analytic tools of social research.

Second, it can be helpful to focus trans-nationally. Incorporating research and examples of racist groups outside the U.S. makes it possible for students to better contextualize the breadth, depth, and transnational flow of organized racism and racist activities in the twenty-first century. A particularly apt comparative focus might be Europe, where the structure of organized racism is similar to that in the U.S., with a second comparative focus on a region outside the global North/West to introduce differences in the definition of racism, race, and organized racism (see, for example, Berezin 2007; Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2007; Sehgal 2007).

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Part II
The Importance of Communication
and Class Climate

Chapter 8

Getting Students to Say What They Are Not Supposed to Say: The Challenges and Opportunities in Teaching About Race in a College Classroom

Paul R. Croll

It happens to all of us, but especially those of us who teach about race in the classroom. It is the moment when a student says something *wrong* about race. “But isn’t it because blacks commit more crimes?” “Well, it’s because their families are just different.” “They aren’t from here what do you expect?” There is the sense that students *know* what they are supposed to say and not supposed to say about race. In my experience these moments, as well as how they are handled, are crucial in creating a space where students can really talk about race and experience deep learning about racial inequality in the United States.

The biggest challenge in teaching about race is finding ways to create a space within the classroom where students can say what they believe they are not supposed to say. For example, on the first day of class, I remind students that they all come from different backgrounds with different life experiences. As a result, students may hear perspectives they are not familiar with. Some of these perspectives may challenge their own beliefs or even offend. They are reminded to be respectful of each other and listen to what their classmates are saying, even if they disagree. This is a unique opportunity for many of my students.

The opportunity to help students learn about race in this way stays with students well after the course is over. We need to make sure that students know that the goal of the course is not to “out” hidden racists in the room. Students cannot be afraid to say what they are thinking for fear they will be labeled racist by the instructor or other students. We all have prejudices, stereotypes, and racialized beliefs that we bring into the classroom this cannot be avoided or ignored. The United States is an incredibly racialized and segregated society. Our experiences shape who we are and what we say. The challenge is to get the “wrong” beliefs about race out in the open so that we can dissect them and then work through them together. This is not an easy feat, but I think it is central to successfully teaching about race.

P.R. Croll (✉)
Augustana College, Rock Island, IL, USA
e-mail: paulcroll@augustana.edu

One way to create a space where this is possible is to ensure that the overall focus of the course is about institutional racism and white privilege, not individual racism and bigotry. This is not just a course on race; it is a *sociological* course on race. This makes all the difference. The course should be designed around social structures, institutions, and broad sociological patterns about race; such as the educational gap between whites and African Americans, racial disparities in the criminal justice system, and historical legacies of racism that endure today. Individual experiences certainly matter, but only in so much as they are used to understand the bigger sociological story. My students regularly provide their own personal examples and experiences, but we always use these to look at the broader issues. Students say “well that wasn’t the case at my high school . . .” This gives us the opportunity to critically examine how what we are studying is reflected (or not) in their experiences. It is not about the student and it is not judgmental. Rather, their own experiences growing up in racialized environments allow us to bring important ideas and misconceptions into the classroom.

It is important to allow students to say an unpopular or an otherwise uneducated or even an incendiary racial statement. My best discussions are often the result of a student saying something potentially offensive. In the right environment, this can be incredibly productive. In a class on the sociology of race, this is essential.

In order to achieve an atmosphere where this kind of discussion is possible, it is important to set expectations from the very beginning. After our conversation on the first day of class where we’ve discussed the fact that we all have differing backgrounds and agree to be respectful of one another, we continue to focus on our learning community. Students may hear their classmates ask questions or state opinions that go against their own core beliefs and values, but it is clear to everyone that this is part of the learning process that needs to occur if we are to study race and ethnicity as a community. On course evaluations, students often tell me that my class is a comfortable environment where everyone is allowed to state their own opinions. They say that they were able to talk about race in ways that had not been possible before my class and they valued this experience. Taking these comments from my students seriously, I would like to provide an example that I believe illustrates the environment I have been fortunate to create in my courses about race.

One topic I cover in my courses is that many Latinos choose to self-identify as either white or Latino. Census data shows that those who self-report as white have higher incomes, higher education, and higher levels of success. My students read articles on this topic and then we discuss this topic in class. In the discussion, I ask students which identity they would choose for themselves if they were (or are) Latino (I realize this is a provocative question). Last fall when I asked this question, one student said what needed to be said. She said, “Well why wouldn’t you choose white? I mean if you choose Latino, people will think you are lazy, you don’t work hard, you are, you know, a bad person . . .” At this moment, the room froze. There were comments and sidebar conversations, students looked to their neighbor and whispered, “I can’t believe she just said that!” Laughter, snickers, can you believe her? Students looked at me not sure how I would respond or what I would do. I believe this is one of the moments where what you do as an instructor makes

all the difference. You have to tackle it, face it head on, be blunt, and help the conversation to continue. The last thing I would suggest you want to do is silence the conversation or end it there because this is where the deep learning and connections to the course material occur. So here is what I did instead. I said,

Jane (not her real name), I have to pick on you for a minute.

I say this with a smile to show I am not attacking her. She knows she said something “wrong” and she is visibly nervous. I continue,

Thank you for saying that. Now everyone listen. It’s not a question of whether or not Jane believes this. That doesn’t matter. People believe this. Millions of Americans, most of them not in this classroom, not taking a college course on race, completely believe what she just said. This is the issue, this is what we need to discuss. So Jane, tell us again what you said.

Jane says it again, this time qualifying her answer in response to my comments, and she says,

What I mean is that if someone presents themselves as white instead of Latino, if they choose to identify as white, they may avoid common stereotypes that people make. That if you have the choice, if you choose the nonwhite option, there are going to be some people who unfairly judge you; that is what I meant to say.

This is much better. Now we can talk about this. This is the opinion students know they are not supposed to say but it is now in the room and it can now be analyzed, discussed, and unpacked. I needed her to do this. I even pull her aside after class and thank her for saying it. Jane is relieved to hear that I appreciated her willingness to make this comment and that I helped her clarify her position. She tells me that she was really nervous after she said it, that she was afraid what her classmates would think, but that she feels better about it now.

What’s the alternative when this occurs in the classroom? Rewind the tape. “So class, what would you choose, white or Latino?” An alternative would be that Jane makes her comment and the instructor gets nervous and uncomfortable and therefore quickly moves on to the next topic, making it clear to the students that these comments are not acceptable in the space they are creating together in the classroom. If something like this has occurred previously in the course, it could even go something like this: “So class, what would you choose, white or Latino?” Silence. The dreaded silence we all fear as instructors. The crickets chirp and students avoid making eye contact with you for fear they will be called on to speak. No one wants to say what Jane said in this environment. No one wants to say the “wrong thing.” No one wants to offend someone in the room, look stupid or ignorant in front of their classmates or their instructor. But these comments need to be made. We need to get these opinions into the classroom. We need to tackle these stereotypes and prejudices straight on. This is how we teach about race in a safe and respectful environment.

Another important point to make is that social context matters. Teaching about race varies depending on the institution, the racial and ethnic identities of the students and the instructor, and countless other demographic characteristics (including gender, class, sexuality, religion, and more). Our students’ lives and biographies

(as well as our own) affect what happens inside the classroom. I am a white male and I teach at a small liberal arts college in the Midwest that is comprised of a largely white, heavily suburban group of college students. While my college is currently increasing the diversity of our students and faculty in significant ways, the majority of our students continue to be white. Our students need to feel comfortable talking about their own experiences growing up, especially those experiences directly and indirectly connected to race and racial inequality. Many students attended well-funded, suburban public schools and these experiences inform who they are and what they believe. Just as we need to talk about school districts that are struggling, we also need to talk about districts that are successful, especially when there are stark differences between districts in their racial composition and socioeconomic position. Talking about successful districts often involves getting students to talk about white privilege, a topic they are resistant to recognize in their own lives.

White privilege is a topic that students think they are not supposed to discuss. Many students (especially white students) are not comfortable talking about white privilege. However, I spend a lot of time in my courses talking about it, in large part because it is precisely one of the things students think they are not supposed to say. I discuss white privilege at a societal level, in the students' own lives, and in my own life and experiences. My own experiences inform my views and what I bring into the classroom. For instance, I do not get nervous when I am pulled over by a police officer. I have received warnings in situations where I know non-white friends have received tickets. I know I am perceived in a particular way when I walk into a room on the first day of a class. My race and gender do not raise questions of credibility for my students. I know that white privilege has helped me get where I am today. I attended a mostly white, suburban high school that gave me many opportunities and advantages.

It is clear to me that white privilege has also helped many of my students get to college. Therefore, I believe it is my job to show them how this has happened. One way I do this is by making white privilege one of many formal topics covered in the course. My students read key articles and ideas from whiteness theory and I regularly use "Unpacking the Knapsack" by Peggy McIntosh to introduce students to the idea of white privilege. But this is not enough. I also give students evidence that shows stark racial inequalities continue to persist in our society. The tendency for many whites in our society is to believe that we are somehow living in a "post-racial" colorblind society where the goals of the Civil Rights Movement have already been accomplished. This belief needs to be addressed and challenged. I find the way to do this is to show repeatedly, week after week, that racial inequality is still present in every facet of our society. Presenting hard evidence of enduring (and even in some cases increasing) racial disparities in education, work, crime, and other areas helps show students that whites still benefit from privilege across a myriad of institutions and social locations.

I believe this approach is effective for many reasons, but especially because in almost every course I have found that a handful of white students tell me that their friends and family don't like them anymore. Obviously this is an exaggeration, but

what I find is that some white students in my courses start to take the ideas I present back to their social circles and families. These students tell me that their friends say “What’s going on? You used to be more fun, now you are all serious whenever we are just talking.” Or, “Dr. Croll, I went home this weekend and got into a huge fight with my parents about healthcare! That has never happened before. I never used to question what they said on issues like this.” To me, this is evidence that students are not only learning in these courses, but they are taking what they learn outside of the classroom and applying it to their own lives.

Critically examining my own social location, I do wonder at times how I can possibly understand race given my standpoint as a privileged, white male. This does raise some valid questions about authenticity. My answer to these issues of authenticity is that I make sure there are always a wide range of diverse perspectives and voices in my courses through the readings and videos I select. I acknowledge on the first day that I cannot speak for others with different experiences, but that I can bring their voices and experiences into the classroom. We read personal narratives of people from all different social locations and watch videos and web clips that bring people from diverse backgrounds and experiences into the room. My students do hear people from many different racial and ethnic groups speak; it just cannot come directly from me. My job is to help them make sense of the stories and perspectives they encounter and to help them use the ideas and theories from the course to make sense of it from a sociological perspective.

It is also important to bring in contrasting views on racial issues in our society. Students read, see, and hear from those who believe we are in a post-racial, colorblind society. We hear white men in videos say that the playing field is wide open. We read Ward Connerly’s argument that we need to stop tracking people based on their race and we listen to Bill Cosby’s NAACP speech where he attacks poor African American communities for failing their children. These perspectives are equally important to discuss in a course about race. Many students say that before the class, these perspectives all seemed reasonable to them. That before this course, they would have agreed with these opinions. But now, after learning about the history of race in the United States, after being presented with evidence that minorities still face barriers at all levels of society, and – possibly most important – learning that whites benefit from many privileges throughout society, students are able to argue against these post-racial, colorblind arguments. They see the flaws and even wonder out loud in class how these people can make these arguments and claims, given everything they now know.

The college classroom provides an opportunity for our students to be critical thinkers and can help prepare them to be engaged citizens in our society. Creating a safe, respectful space inside the classroom where students can truly talk to each other about race can help make these classes more successful. Giving students the chance to say what they are not supposed to say allows students to critically analyze and evaluate racial thoughts and beliefs. This can provide students with the opportunity for deep learning about race that is essential as we prepare them for the ever-changing society they will face after leaving our classrooms.

Chapter 9

Managing Emotions in the Classroom

Carissa M. Froyum

Early in the semester the first time I taught a class on racism, I had students do a racial memory exercise inspired by feminist and critical pedagogies that rely on sharing experiences. This exercise had students reflect on childhood encounters where they became aware of racial inequality or others' ascription of a particular racial identity to them. I had intended for us to use our own experiences as a starting point to discuss the hidden, insidious nature of racial categorizing. But the conversation quickly devolved into perplexed "white" students questioning whether they had a racial identity at all and a self-identified "black" student crying while reliving the emotional scars caused by the trauma of discrimination. This exercise created an imbalance in the emotional obligations of students: learning depended on evoking unreciprocated feelings of vulnerability among students of color while reinforcing emotional detachment and control among whites.

Emotions play a critical role in learning. As bell hooks (1994, pp. 154–5) explains, "If we are all emotionally shut down, how can there be any excitement about ideas? When we bring our passion to the classroom our collective passions come together, and there is an emotional response, one that can overwhelm." Stirring emotions within students is a powerful way to engage them in a subject and spur new forms of action. Emotionally connecting to each other and developing an ethic of caring, furthermore, is critical to challenging racism (Collins 2000).

At the same time, not everyone is free to express all emotions (Wingfield 2010), and the obligations we have to manage particular emotions reproduces inequality (Schwalbe et al. 2000; Froyum 2010). Stratification systems shape expectations for what to feel and how to express feelings (Thamm 2004; Ridgeway et al. 2006; Turner and Stets 2006). Power and high status within social settings, such as workplaces or classrooms, grant individuals considerable control over feeling scripts and provide ample freedom of expression, including negative emotions

C.M. Froyum (✉)
University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, IA, USA
e-mail: carissa.froyum@uni.edu

like anger directed at lower-status individuals (Pierce 1995; Moore 2008; Choo and Ferree 2010; Schlee 2010). Higher-status individuals expect unreciprocated emotional deference from lower-status actors. Their emotional needs come first. They also demand empathy and validation. Part of privilege, thus, is routinely feeling positive emotions, such as comfort and satisfaction, particularly through interactions with lower-status others. Subordinates, alternatively, experience less control over feeling scripts and more negative emotions, but they have fewer avenues to directly express them to higher-status individuals (Hochschild 1983; Pierce 1995; Lively 2000; Williams 2003). When status differences require some individuals to follow feeling scripts that conflict with their own emotions, they experience feelings of inauthenticity and distress (Hochschild 1983).

Classrooms are racialized social settings where status and power play out through emotions. First, when individuals interact across or along perceived color lines, they evoke racialized social systems (Bonilla-Silva 1997) in which whiteness is hegemonic (Hughey 2010). Hegemonic whiteness exists in opposition to nonwhiteness as an ideal and uninterrogated state (Perry 2001), be it moral or, in this case, emotional. Individuals marked white not only enjoy more status and power and, thus, emotional autonomy and freedom of expression than those marked non-white, but white privilege includes having others do the emotion work for whites. Whites expect non-whites to make them feel good (Froyum 2013). Within classes, students identified as white likely anticipate feelings of comfort and satisfaction in general, and when interacting with lower-status students (or professors) of color in particular (e.g., Harlow 2003).

Second, when interactions reference racially laden content, feeling rules themselves become racialized. Long-standing racist stereotypes dictate certain emotions are the purview of particular groups and de/legitimize actors based on expression of those race-typed feelings. Racial depictions of dark-skinned people as angry, hostile, or cold, for example, make negative emotions particularly tricky for students or professors with dark complexions – to the extent that they may feel compelled to suppress them (Harlow 2003; Moore 2008; Wingfield 2010). Typifications of Latinas as self-sacrificing and natural caregivers bring expectations to love those around them and affirm that others are not racist (Romero 2002).

Finally, studying racism itself evokes unique emotions to manage. Students of color may feel overwhelmed, depressed, and angry while studying stereotypes or racism across social institutions, or they may feel “under the microscope.” Having few students identified as non-white, especially below 15 %, exacerbates negative emotions: Non-white students at racist institutions dominated by whites report feeling pressured to speak for their group, for example, or aware of their professors’ racial stereotypes (Feagin and Sikes 1995; Feagin et al. 1996; Cohen et al. 1999; Moore 2008). Other times, students may feel excitement at the opportunity to have a voice or validation for their feelings regarding accomplishment or discrimination. White-identified students, on the other hand, may feel confused if they have never studied whiteness as cultural or oppressive (Perry 2007), or neglected when they are not the focus of attention. Research suggests white-identified individuals often struggle with shame or guilt when trying to make sense of their own racist actions or

those of their family members or ancestors (Bonilla-Silva et al. 2004). Other times, they may feel relief for being given an opportunity for self-reflection or hopeful for forging new relationships (Welp 2002).

Teachers occupy positions of authority that allow us to shape the emotional content of classes. We not only create feeling rules for students but enforce their observance of them in interactions with each other. We also structure the emotional arc of the semester when we organize our readings, in-class activities, and assignments. How we do so not only directly affects the emotional experiences of students but can reproduce and challenge racism as a social structure. Given these complex emotional dynamics, I have found trying to meet students' emotional needs for validation while pushing them outside of their comfort zones to be particularly challenging. Here are some techniques that have worked the best for me.

9.1 Disrupting Emotional Privilege

I want students who are hurt by racism to feel safe when studying the topic, particularly when they are vastly outnumbered as they often are at my current institution. I worry about them feeling depressed or overwhelmed and inhibited from expressing (or not) a wide range of viewpoints and emotions. In order to create an affirming emotional experience for them, I am conscientious not to put the emotional burden for learning on them. Instead, I put the onus for self-reflection on myself and the majority group in the room. Rather than the racial memory exercise above, I now have students reflect on a “non-white” person they greatly admire. What do they admire? Why? How did they get to know this person? Many of my white-identified students report admiring public figures, usually from the media or sports, so I use the exercise to analyze why they have so little heterogeneity in their relationships and the consequences of housing, educational, and workplace segregation on whites. (A particularly reticent student from my social inequality class told a classmate recently that after hearing Michelle Obama speak at his graduation my class made a little more sense. He reported it was the first time he had ever heard an “important black person speak.”) When I want to use a personal story to illustrate a social process or concept in order to foster empathy (Collins 2000), I use readings, my observations from research, my experiences as a white-identified person, and my own racist actions and upbringing. I tell students, for example, how I grew up hearing “cotton-picker” as a put down and hadn't thought about what that really meant until I was an adult.

I intend these practices to challenge the emotional privilege of whiteness. Nonetheless, white-identified students sometimes still try to shift the emotional burden to their peers. They do this by using “us” and “them” language without specifying what they mean. The “us” assumes a position of whiteness without reflecting on who is actually in the room. It privileges the voice of whites and frames anyone who identifies differently as an outsider. Students usually use “them” language to avoid sounding racist – if I don't actually say I mean blacks, then I

must not be racist! – even though their claims often reflect stereotypes that frame blacks in the neighboring city as criminal or scary. Ironically, a small number of white students also seem to feel neglected when we focus on topics that they do not relate to emotionally. This is the emotional version of “why do we have to designate a month to focus on black history?” Sometimes, students do verbal gymnastics to make themselves the center of attention again. Rather than fight this white-centeredness, I make whiteness an explicit topic of study and do so early in the semester. That way, students of all backgrounds have their time in the limelight, albeit not necessarily in the way they anticipate.

9.2 Creating an Emotional Arc

The beginning of the semester focuses on making students feel comfortable and validated so that we can build trust with each other. I use standard practices for facilitating student interaction: having students introduce each other to the class, doing group work so that students take turns sharing their interpretation of readings or applications of concepts we are learning, designating different roles for group members so each participates. At this point in the class, I want students to get used to hearing everyone’s voice and to start to find common experiences that produce feelings of connectedness. The content of early classes focuses on learning concepts and theories, but class discussion revolves around coming up with unique applications of whatever concept we are studying. I provide clear parameters so that students do little freeform debating. They routinely insert their personal experiences, but do so in ways that are known and comfortable to them. Rather than challenging the validity of each other’s experiences, then, students usually debate the appropriateness of the fit of ideas. For example, in my introduction to sociology class, when we learn about psychic wages, I have students (a) read about them in Ezekiel’s (1995) *The Racist Mind*, (b) discuss what a psychic wage is and how it worked in the reading, and then (c) explain a time they have seen psychic wages at work. Framing discussion around applications provides some emotional breathing room while students get to know each other.

About a month into each class, I declare “new spaces, new faces” – it is time to change seats so that students sit in a different part of the room by people they do not know yet. (In smaller classes or larger more homogeneous classes, students sit by at least one new person so no one feels isolated.) This shift also symbolizes a shift in the tenor of the class. I have students watch a youtube video in which a giraffe, who is stuck in quicksand, goes through the stages of grief (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G_Z3lmidmrY). We discuss the emotions the giraffe expresses and how genuine learning pushes students and teachers out of their comfort zones and stirs emotions, including challenging or “negative” ones that require processing.

I use this video to introduce *emotions as a topic of study*. We investigate the role that emotions play in facilitating action and in structuring racism, using the readings and theoretical framework described above. I have students read St. Jean

and Feagin's (1998) "The Family Costs of White Racism." Once we have emotions on the table as a topic to interrogate, we do it. In my racism class, students conduct interviews with racial justice workers. They ask about the emotional ups and downs of their work and coping strategies. Students free write their reactions to readings, and I explicitly instruct them to reflect on their emotional responses. They have the option of handing in their reactions, with or without their names, to me. In my feedback, I try to validate the emotions expressed and relate them to concepts from class or personal experiences. Teachers could also *structure emotional outlets* into a class by assigning journal writing or homework in which students discuss their emotions with significant others in their lives.

I then shift the semester to painting an empirical picture of the racist distribution of resources and rewards and the social mechanisms that ensure that distribution. We study, for example, the mass incarceration of black and increasingly Latino men, discrimination in hiring and promotions, and the pay gap. Students frequently report feeling dumbfounded, aghast, angry, and dismayed by this section of the class. They find it the most emotionally challenging, and I push them to confront these feelings and accept them as part of the learning process and getting their money's worth in their education.

We return to self-reflection towards the end of the semester through exercises that *document students' progress*. A few techniques facilitate students' emotional awareness. Students write about the class exercise, reading, or idea that most moved them, how so, and why. Then, they discuss how they reacted to the class material and shifted their perspective or actions accordingly. Another technique represents students' progression pictorially to facilitate feelings of accomplishment and satisfaction: students draw a windy path with landmarks along the side to mark the shifts in their thinking and the emotions that accompany each event. Finally, students can craft "time capsule" letters, one written to themselves in the beginning of the semester and one at the end. The first letters document students' initial thoughts and feelings about racism while the latter show their progress. Students address questions like: Do you identify as a particular "race"? What? Why or why not? When did you first realize there was racism? What happened and how did you feel? Who or what has influenced your thinking about racism the most? How? Have students seal each letter in a separate envelope and put their address on them. Then, sometime in the future, mail the letters about a week apart. This strategy allows students to not only document their emotional changes but return to the ideas they have learned in the class in the future.

9.3 Defusing Personalization

Sometimes students personalize what they are learning as a misunderstanding about or an attack against them, their families, or friends. This personalization often results in feelings of anger or resentment. "But my grandparents were immigrants, and they

worked for everything they got. How dare you imply that they were bad people!” Students bristle when they feel attacked. Rather than grapple with the material, they disregard the content as incredible/mean spirited nonsense. To defuse these situations, I use some classic fair communication techniques like repeating what the student has said (“So let me get this right, you felt like Author X was saying immigrants were bad people?”) or asking students to repeat what they have just heard (“How did you understand Author X’s argument?” or “What did you think X meant when she said that?”). This repetition shows students they are being heard, even if people do not share their experience or perspective, and allows for clarification of misunderstandings.

Three tricks from Michael Schwalbe’s (2007) *The Sociologically Examined Life* guide other responses. At times, I want to depersonalize content because egocentricity seems to be getting in the way of learning. When students interpret critique of privileged actions as moral judgment of them/their loved ones, I use Schwalbe’s trick of *distinguishing between intentions and unintentional consequences*. We often act with good intentions (e.g., to live in a safe neighborhood, to send our children to the best schools possible), but our actions (moving to the suburbs or putting children in private school) have unintended consequences, some of which reproduce inequalities (residential segregation and dilapidated and unreformed public schools down the street). Good people sometimes act in good faith and *still* structure racism. We do not have to intend for our actions to hurt people in order for them to do so, but students are more eager to reflect on those actions when their moral character is left unquestioned. (Of course, many actions are indeed intentional.)

Sociology is the study of social patterns, but my students often see themselves as exceptions to the rule. “I/my family/my friends do not fit the pattern,” they tell me, particularly when that pattern stirs negative emotions. Fair enough. Of course students want to distance themselves from stigmatizing labels and to feel unique. But as Schwalbe argues, *being an exception to a rule does not discredit the rule*. When these situations arise, rather than telling students they are wrong (“Well, that’s not what the data show”) or giving them free passes to dismiss empirical findings (“What we are reading might be wrong”), I ask them to consider two things: is there a larger pattern at play that your exceptionalism points to, or what social conditions might produce your different result? These techniques provide them freedom of emotional expression while pushing them to think sociologically.

Putting our actions, thoughts, or feelings in historical and cross-cultural context can also depersonalize critiques. Understanding how various groups have “become” white for political expediency (Loveman and Muniz 2007) or the changes in census categories across time (Humes and Hogan 2009) not only illustrates the instability of “race” as a concept but allows students to feel part of history. Similarly, knowing how people from different places and times distribute resources more equitably facilitates imagining a better future and, thus, reduces despair.

Finally, I challenge students’ personalization sometimes by having them address their own questions with the ideas we have learned. For example, what would Bonilla-Silva say about the argument about immigrant grandparents? Or, how would

Patricia Hill Collins answer your question? *Using theoreticians to interpret or address their reactions or questions* provides students with a new perspective on their own experiences and, thus, eases negative emotions.

9.4 Addressing Crying

Inevitably, students openly display a range of emotions through the course of the semester. Especially distressing for many students and teachers is deep sadness, as evidenced in crying spells. I have had a number of students cry during class, usually out of anger or distress. Much of the crying I have witnessed has been unrelated to the class, but sometimes a reading or discussion will be disturbing enough to draw tears. When students cry, I do whatever is necessary to address them as quickly as possible. If students are crying discreetly, I address them discreetly, usually by distracting the rest of the class by putting them into groups. I then approach the person, acknowledge their tears, offer a tissue, and ask if they would like to step outside for a moment or to talk with me. When the distress is more visible and classmates have clearly noticed, I acknowledge the crying more publicly by approaching the person in front of others (then, I whisper discreetly) or, if necessary, processing the incident as a group by discussing emotions sociologically. Protecting students in emotional distress is sacrosanct – I strictly police other students' responses to them. No teasing, laughing, or egging them on.

Whenever students openly display strong emotions during class, whatever the emotion, I always ask to talk to the student individually and privately (usually in the hall, or if it is after class, I ask other students who are waiting to talk to me to step into the hallway for a moment). I acknowledge the display (“I noticed your face getting red during class tonight”) and ask what it pertained to (“What was up? Was this about topic Y we were talking about?”). If the display is unrelated to the class, I ask if the student wants to talk to me about it so that I can get a handle on what the problem is. (If the issue is serious and ongoing, refer, refer, refer!) If the student has an issue with the class, I invite him or her to sit down to talk about it then or else to make an appointment so that we can address his/her concerns. I have found validating the students' emotional expression to be critical to their comfort in the class in the future.

9.5 On Not Easing Discomfort and Anger

Students express frustration and anger at the unfairness of it all. “Things shouldn't be this way!” they say. I tell them that I agree. But then they criticize my classes for being “depressing” and not offering enough easy solutions to racism. “Why don't we learn what to *do* about it?” they always want to know. (In fact, we do learn some

things but often not to their satisfaction.) When students raise their critiques in the beginning of the semester, I tell them that they have to understand how something works in order to do something about it. But at the end of the semester, I take a different approach. I inform them that I intentionally do not cover quick fixes in my class, that I mean to leave them feeling uncomfortable. I then ask them to conjecture as to why I would do that. They almost always guess it: because once they are comfortable, they stop thinking about it and do nothing differently. Bell hooks (1994) is right when she argues that transformative pedagogy isn't about feeling good. She (p. 154) describes difficulty as a "stage in intellectual development" and challenges teachers to "accept that that cozy, good feeling may at times block the possibility of giving students space to feel that there is integrity to be found in grappling with difficult material." Learning is *supposed* to feel uneasy.

Finally, a note on laughter and hope. Nothing can replace the power of humor to bond students together and lighten the air. Self-deprecation often does the trick, but I also appreciate when students crack jokes and display quick wittedness. Serious subjects like racism require moments of levity, and laughter makes me enjoy the class more, too. Also, students express a desire to feel hopeful about their lives and the future. To foster a sense of hopefulness, I always tell them, "That's the beauty of sociology. When you understand that we make our social world the way it is, you also know that we can do things differently. The challenge is to get other people to join you."

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Chapter 10

Hózhó Nahasdlii: Finding Harmony in the Long Shadow of Colonialism. Two Perspectives on Teaching Anti-Racism at a Tribal College

Miranda Haskie and Bradley Shreve

In the matrix of higher education in America tribal colleges and universities (TCU's) stand as distinct and unique institutions. Unlike other minority serving colleges or universities, TCU's typically are located on the sovereign lands of Indian nations and, more often than not, in rural, even remote, regions. In 1968, the establishment of Diné College (DC), the institution of higher education for the Navajo Nation, marked the commencement of the TCU movement. In subsequent years, TCU's emerged throughout Indian country; today there are over 30 such institutions. The general mission of virtually all TCU's is to offer quality, affordable, and accessible education to Native American students, while preserving the culture, history, and language of the tribe that chartered the particular institution. It is this centrality of Native culture, history, and language that makes teaching anti-racism so integral and important for any TCU instructor in the social and behavioral sciences. However, due to a variety of factors, such lessons can be challenging – to say the least.

In order to better understand the challenges that we, as social science instructors at Diné College face when teaching anti-racism, a brief overview of the college is in order. The founding of America's first tribal college can be traced back to the 1940s and the emerging movement in Indian country for greater self-determination and sovereignty. Education played a central role in this movement. In Navajoland, postwar statistics illuminated a troubling situation: between 12,000 and 14,000 out of 22,000 Diné children were not even in school. Later studies revealed that 90 % of Navajo students who attended college or university never completed their degrees. A 60 % unemployment rate and an average annual family income of \$680 – which was even low by the standards of the day – further underscored the need for a new approach to higher education. Therefore in 1946, the Navajo Tribal Council sent a delegation of leaders to Washington, D.C. to advocate greater funding for education. They cited the Treaty of 1868, which explicitly promised federal support

M. Haskie • B. Shreve (✉)
Diné College, Tsaile, AZ, USA
e-mail: bgshreve@dinecollege.edu

for Navajo education. Despite such efforts, the years would roll by before the federal government took concrete steps that addressed and remedied these simmering issues (Szasz 1999).

Part of the problem was the remoteness and sheer size of the Navajo Nation. Although the reservation covered an area the size of West Virginia, it did not have an institution of higher education to serve the people's needs. Students had to travel hundreds of miles to attend regional colleges and universities. Following his election as tribal chairman in 1964, Raymond Nakai worked tirelessly in advocating for the creation of a new Navajo college. Nakai, along with educator Robert Roessel, consulted with BIA officials and local business leaders to discuss the possibilities of establishing a tribally controlled two-year college. The passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1967 opened new doors and funding possibilities. Nakai and Roessel also sought funds from the recently established Office of Economic Opportunity, as well as grants from private foundations. Finally, on July 17, 1968, the Navajo tribal council chartered what became known as Navajo Community College (NCC) (Iverson 2002).

The college offered Navajo students, for the first time, a higher education at home on the reservation. Since its founding, the college has maintained an open enrollment policy, admitting any adult who wants to attend classes. The founders also placed Diné philosophy front and center. Sa'ąh Naagháí Bik'eh Hózhóón – seeking to live in harmony with the natural order of the universe – has served as the guiding philosophy of the college. The founders hoped to blend Navajo ideals with the core of Western education to create a new approach to learning that Diné students could understand. Their efforts have proven immensely successful and over the decades the college has grown and developed a myriad of new programs, including a baccalaureate program in Diné teacher education. Rechristened Diné College, the institution's unique environment has allowed Navajo students to more readily adapt to the rigors of academic life. One student put the DC experience this way:

I think that it allows them to be comfortable in their own culture. It's acceptable—there are no, I guess what you call prejudices. It's okay to speak your own language and to know your own culture whereas at the other universities you tend to feel like you're an object in a showcase or something like that. Like in a museum. I remember when I was in NAU [Northern Arizona University], in my English class, they'd give us an assignment and then I would write something from my own personal culture and the teacher would read my paper and make it like a showcase. Everybody's like, 'Oh wow, she wrote this thing here,' and I wasn't comfortable with that so I really felt like I didn't fit in. I just wanted to be like everybody else, that my culture was okay. Then here, at Diné College, everybody has similar experiences. When you write a paper, it's accepted and the teacher doesn't go up front and make a big deal out of it. I think that's the part that's mission. The universities and colleges off the reservation need to accept that we are people. Yeah, we may have a different culture but it should just be accepted and not used to pull us aside and show that we're a little different. This is a culture just like the Anglo culture.

As evidenced by this student's testimony, the college's very environment and curriculum naturally embed anti-racism. Furthermore, the institution requires that all faculty complete a series of Diné Educational Philosophy courses, which introduce instructors to the college's cornerstone principles and philosophy, as well

as Navajo culture and history. This training and preparation has aided us as faculty in the social and behavioral sciences to develop strategies for teaching anti-racism in the classroom. Because of who we are, respectively, our experiences and approaches vary in some interesting ways. However, we both recognize that coming to terms with the legacy of white racism that is so central to the Native American experience must be placed front and center in any course dealing with race relations in the United States.

10.1 Diné Nishli-a Navajo's Approach to Teaching Anti-Racism at Diné College: Miranda Haskie

As a Navajo, I find it personally challenging to teach courses about Native American studies and racial/ethnic studies without experiencing anger, shock and personal pain at the tragedy experienced by my ancestors. These emotions are often felt about the genocidal acts perpetrated against Native Americans by their colonizers and the policies of termination and assimilation forced upon them by the federal government. I think it is incumbent upon me to inform my students about this history of Native Americans. It is my personal belief that my students cannot move toward practicing anti-racism until we discuss the past, despite how horrific it was. In acknowledging the painful history Native Americans experienced, my students can then move toward anti-racism.

I teach a course on Native Americans in American Society, and before I address the current state of Native Americans, I begin the course by discussing the invasion of their homeland, the indigenous population prior to contact, the ability of Native Americans to sustain large tribal populations through large scale agriculture, the decimation of their populace from disease and warfare, tribal self-governance and the eventual dependence upon the federal government (Harvard 2008). The spread of disease was intentional and the warfare often included the destruction of food supplies that would create a state of dependence upon their colonizers, further subjugating the indigenous populations. Even though we live in the twenty-first century, it is shocking to discover how little my Native American students know about their past during this period of colonization. How could they, when the very history books they utilize in elementary and high school discount the Native American experience in the discourse about American history? American history usually commences with the founding of America, as if the people and land prior to their arrival did not exist. Over the years, I have also found many Native American students know little about their rich cultural traditions and the importance of their native languages as essential to the preservation of their culture.

In addition, I discuss important federal legislation that continues to impact the lives of Native Americans today. Some of the legislation includes the treaties, trust land status, blood quantum criteria, and tribal sovereignty. In teaching students about the history Native Americans experienced upon the invasion of their homeland by their colonizers, it helps me put into context a better understanding of the

challenges or problems many Native Americans continue to experience. The discussion of this history, however, is a delicate topic because I cannot hide the atrocities nor can I always hide my own emotions of anger and disbelief. And depending upon the reaction of students, those feelings can ignite greater emotions. If, for example, I have students who react strongly in anger or disbelief, the emotions can run high. I recall one particular Navajo student, who literally could not sit down during one such lecture, and instead paced back and forth in the classroom, agitated by the lecture.

My lessons also include discussions about Native American independence prior to colonization, their ability to sustain their tribal populations as developed agriculturalists, the effective principles of indigenous leadership, enduring values of respect for others and the land, and recognition of their connection to the universe as abiding principles upon which they thrived (Wilkins 2007). For Native Americans, place is such a significant part of who we are and how we practice and preserve our culture. From a Navajo perspective, the four sacred mountains, which are located in the four cardinal directions that surround the Navajo Nation, are an integral aspect to our cultural teachings. Navajo thought is holistic and many cultural teachings refer to the four sacred mountains. Expounding upon these facets, I feel students are empowered and better able to approach the topic of anti-racism. Having recognized the painful past and celebrating the positive attributes that contributed to the sustenance of Native American cultures, students are then able to move toward anti-racism. Recognizing how successful Native Americans were during pre-contact, affirms their own abilities to endure.

One assignment I give students provides them an opportunity to reconnect with a tribal elder through a series of conversations. During these conversations, students can ask the elder questions related to course content or discuss what the elder might be experiencing. Students learn valuable lessons. Many of the conversations include advice from the elder about the importance of cultural teachings. Students reflect on what they learned from the elder as well as insights about themselves. Almost all of the Native American students develop a greater appreciation of their cultural heritage and are compelled to relearn their native language. Non-Native students also develop a greater appreciation for the cultural heritage of their Native colleagues. Native students begin to discuss ways in which they will revitalize their native language. An outcome of this lesson leads to an appreciation of cultural diversity. Students also discover the resilience of Navajo elders despite the overwhelming challenges they encounter on a daily basis. Students express awe at the tribal elder's incredible resilience. Some of these challenges include isolation, health problems, in particular diabetes, and witnessing the alcohol and/or drug abuse experienced by their children and grandchildren. Another lesson most students take away is the advice of elders who urge them to begin taking better care of themselves physically, not to eat or drink foods high in sugar or fat and to exercise more; such strategies early on can prevent diabetes. Even the health of Native Americans has been negatively impacted because of the oppression they have experienced. Lastly, students recognize the importance of family, develop a desire to reconnect with family and make an effort to spend more time with the elders in their lives. I take

this opportunity to remind students that often times the answer to our problems can be sought from wise elders and that we don't always have to look externally to others for resolution to our problems.

I have also collaborated with colleagues at other colleges and universities to develop and offer intercultural learning experiences for students at both institutions. One of the exercises in which students participate is intercultural communication on a social networking website designed specifically for a racial/ethnic relations course that I teach and an intercultural communication course my colleague teaches. We collaborate throughout the semester designing lessons that promote intercultural communication, culminating in a weeklong intercultural exchange at each campus. A second partnership I have developed has been a documentary journalism project that is also rich in cultural experiences for students at DC and at other institutions. In this partnership, students are the lead journalists facilitated by my colleague and I as they conduct research recording the life histories of Navajo elders. Diné College students are considered Navajo cultural experts and are encouraged to help teach their visiting colleagues about the Navajo way of life. At the same time, their non-Navajo colleagues orient them to western values and practices and model academic success strategies for college completion. The Navajo students are again empowered to develop a greater understanding of their cultural heritage and set personal goals to speak their native language. Some non-Navajo students express a desire to reconnect spiritually with their own faith, recognizing the spiritual connection many Navajo students possess. Almost all of the students from each institution are changed in a positive way, as they develop new friendships and vow to discover more engaging, enriching cultural experiences.

10.2 Billigana, Born for Billigana: One White Man's Experience Teaching and Learning Anti-Racism in Navajoland – Bradley Shreve

Each semester I teach at least one course that focuses on colonialism and the Native American experience. As a historian by training, my courses often span centuries and cover not only the imperial projects of the United States, but also those of the other European powers that at one time or another laid claim to portions of North America. The history is not a pretty one. I have racked my head trying to devise new strategies, approaches, and techniques to make my courses a little less depressing and pessimistic. But in the end, any course on Native American history must confront that one central and ugly truth – Europeans invaded North America and through warfare and the introduction of disease wiped out cultures, transformed the landscape, and economically, politically, and socially marginalized the remaining 10 % of Natives who survived the onslaught. There is simply no way around this, if one is going to teach Native American history and American race relations honestly. As a bilagaana – a non-Navajo white man – teaching about race

relations between Natives and non-Natives to Navajo students can be awkward, yet enlightening and a great learning experience for everyone, including myself. The greatest lesson that I have learned is that honesty and forthrightness are absolutely essential.

In my course that deals with race relations in the American West, I always begin the semester with an overview of how the field of Western history has changed over time. This exercise has consistently proven fruitful, as it reveals how non-Natives have essentially controlled the discourse on the history of colonialism and imperialism. This sort of honesty is crucial when teaching anti-racism. Indeed, throughout the twentieth century, non-Natives have shaped perceptions on Native American history and “how the West was *won*.” Probably the most prominent figure in the field remains Frederick Jackson Turner. Although Turner wrote a century ago, his famous (or infamous) frontier thesis continues to inform scholarship in Native American and Western U.S. history. First presented at a meeting of the American Historical Association in 1893, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” argued that the United States and the dominant Anglo-American citizenry were exceptional and unique due to their rugged individualism, independence, and self-reliance – characteristics that developed with the continual push westward. As Turner saw it, the Europeans who arrived on the shores of North America encountered an entire continent of “free land” upon which to expand and settle. As they carved out a new existence in the wilderness, they innovated, adapted, and invented – a process that was repeated continually so long as the frontier, or open “free land,” remained (Etulain 1999).

I always ask my students what they think about this. Some seem completely confused by his contention that North America was “open, free land,” while others seek to engage Frederick Jackson Turner as a historical figure who was a product of his time. Nearly all, however, concur that his thesis completely discounts all of the people who actually did live in North America before and during this expansion. His contention that North America was a vast tract of “free land” seems utterly ludicrous and even downright racist today in our multicultural society. Still, I remind my students that while there are few academics today who espouse Turner’s thesis verbatim, there are many who continue to embrace the Turnerian process. Neo-Turnerians agree with the basic tenet that the term “the West” really has no meaning at all; it is a subjective concept that is contingent on where one is located at a particular time. Moreover, many of these scholars recognize Turner’s ethnocentrism and may replace his benign terms of expansion and frontier with “invasion” and “homelands,” but the core of his thesis – the process of east to west movement and the idea that a new order emerged out of this process remains intact (Billington and Ridge 2001).

Laying this groundwork and being open about how non-Natives have controlled the discourse in academe is essential, especially for a bilagaana like myself. I have discovered that this sort of forthrightness fosters an environment that is conducive to an open and honest exchange of ideas. And as we move deeper into the course this sort of trust and openness becomes increasingly important. Take for example the Spanish invasion of North America, which resulted in some of the grossest atrocities

ever committed against Native peoples. One diary entry from a Dominican monk describes some of these crimes: “Some Christians encounter an Indian woman, who was carrying in her arms a child at suck; and since the dog they had with them was hungry, they tore the child from the mother’s arms and flung it still living to the dog, who proceeded to devour it before the mother’s eyes.” (Todorov 1996). Although this gruesome anecdote never fails to turn my stomach, I always relate it to my students and stress that one cannot simply ignore or skip over this ugly history. Some students inevitably become angry and voice that sentiment – and this is precisely when we as a class can really grapple with racism and the long shadow that it has cast over the centuries.

What makes those discussions so enlightening for both the class and me as an instructor, is the array of opinions voiced. Although students who become angered by the subject matter more often than not initiate such discussions, they are joined by a polyphony of varying voices. In a recent class, two students, seemingly on the opposite ends of the spectrum carried such a discussion through class. What was most revealing about that exchange wasn’t the student who voiced his resentment of the United States’ conquest of the West, but rather the student who seemingly defended and justified American colonialism. He very articulately argued that conflict drives history and that various Native nations, including the Aztecs in Mesoamerica and the Comanches of the Great Plains, embarked on similar imperial projects that were fueled by their respective ideas on race. Some students agreed with him; others questioned his logic. For everyone, it was a charged, yet intellectually stimulating experience.

I must confess that when I first started teaching at Diné College, I assumed that students would have some sort of unanimity of thought when it came to Native American history. I figured that since the United States and other European powers had perpetrated a host of crimes against Native peoples that all Native peoples shared some sort of dualistic philosophy that neatly categorized aggressors and victims. Trapped in my own ethnocentric bubble, I can only thank the students in my classes for liberating me from this fallacious thinking and broadening my horizons. I am thankful for such experiences, as they always remind me that the college classroom is a space for open and honest dialogue and that the exchange of information is a two-way process.

10.3 Conclusion

Teaching anti-racism can be a difficult, even painful experience for any college or university instructor. For those who work at institutions with a large minority student body, there are further challenges. How does one engage people about some of the ugliest actions and most atrocious crimes committed in modern world history, especially when many in the classroom continue to feel the effects of those events? At tribal colleges and universities, where student bodies are typically well over 90 % Native, those challenges are greatly amplified and often next to impossible

to navigate. Poverty and crime continue to grip tribal communities across North America, holding hostage the very people who have continued to experience the devastating effects of Euro American imperialism and racism to this very day. Still, it is our job to find some path, some method or approach that embraces constructive interaction, student learning, and a broader understanding of our shared human experience.

Sometimes the truth can be brutal. It can evoke unexpected reactions and outbursts of emotions that can make even veteran instructors nervous and uncomfortable. But what is the alternative? Should we avoid unsavory topics because we fear what our students may say, think or feel? Of course not. It is our responsibility to cultivate an honest and open classroom where even the most difficult subjects can be confronted directly; where students can offer their perspective and opinions and, in the process, teach the teachers a thing or two. Teaching and learning is a two-way process between the instructor and student and nowhere is that more true than in race relations and teaching anti-racism. We as faculty with advanced degrees and the comforts that come with gainful employment can pass on some important knowledge and information to the students enrolled in our classes. But often times, those students' life experiences trump anything we have learned in graduate school or from the books on our shelves. Recognizing, accepting, and learning from the experiences of those who have occupied that subaltern space in the race relations matrix, while openly and honestly confronting the imbalance of that matrix should be our foremost goal as social science instructors.

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Chapter 11

Teaching Millennials About Difference Through First-Year Learning Communities

Carrie L. Cokely and Melissa Anyiwo

The millennial generation is characterized as more racially and ethnically diverse, less religious, and more liberal than older adults (Pew Research 2010). Yet, as members of this generation enter and progress through colleges and universities, they pose unique challenges in teaching about issues of race, class, gender, and other forms of difference. This is a generation that has been told that they are unique, that everyone is special, and who have been rewarded for even minor achievements. The notion that underlies all of this is that differences don't matter; in fact these students have progressed through an educational system that emphasizes commonalities and has reinforced the color-blind notion that 'we are all a part of the human race'. Therefore discussions of excluded and oppressed minorities is, more often than not, a concept that alienates those in the majority (white, male, upper-middle class, heterosexual, Christian), creating a notion of blame or feelings of guilt, which can shut down dialogues before they really begin, thereby hindering learning.

The challenge then in educating members of the millennial generation is twofold. The first challenge is to uncover ways to engage students in dialogues both in and out of the classroom about excluded and oppressed minorities that foster critical thinking rather than blame or feelings of guilt. The second challenge is to use these discussions to facilitate a shift in thinking about difference from a monolithic perspective of equality to one that incorporates an intersectional approach to critically examine the ways in which difference operates and is reinforced within our society. One way to meet these challenges is through the use of high-impact practices, first year seminars, learning communities, and community based learning, to teach about issues of difference (Kuh 2008).

This essay discusses the ways in which two First-Year learning communities, one entitled A Call to Action: Seeking Justice, Making Change and the other entitled Becoming Human: Vampires, Monsters and the Undead, attempt to introduce

C.L. Cokely (✉) • M. Anyiwo
Curry College, Milton, MA, USA
e-mail: ccokely@curry.edu

predominantly white students to concepts of difference, power, and oppression, while moving students beyond individuals, guilt, and notions of blame. Although issues of difference, race, class, gender, and sexuality, are not explicitly mentioned in either of the descriptions of the learning communities, each of these are built into the curriculum throughout the semester. Through the use of community based learning in the Social Justice learning community, and popular culture in the Becoming Human learning community, the goals are to meet students where they are in learning about difference, and to make classroom learning relevant to their lives.

11.1 A Call to Action: Seeking Justice, Making Change

Increasingly students report that they are engaging in community service and millennials in particular indicate that they believe that they are able to make a difference in the world. The *Social Justice* learning community draws upon this desire of students to serve their community while also using an intersectional approach to examine ways in which power and privilege operate in society. Students in this learning community take three courses together, Social Problems, First-Year Seminar, and Discover: Community Action. Within these courses the content is shaped through their reading of a traditional Social Problems textbook combined with *The UN Declaration of Human Rights*, *Atlas of Human Rights* by Andrew Fagan, *County: Life, Death and Politics at Chicago's Public Hospital* by David S Ansell, *Clergy Sexual Abuse* by Jennifer Balboni, *Students Against Sweatshops: The Making of a Movement* by Lisa Featherstone, and a variety of short articles from *Contexts* published by the American Sociological Association. In addition to the traditional academic content of the course, students are also asked to engage in three substantial experiential components as well as a social action project on a topic of their choosing. It is the combination of the in and out of class learning, where students are able to see theory in practice, that impacts the student learning the most.

Students enter the course with their own perceptions of what social justice means and often boil their definitions down to treating people equally. We begin the course with an exploration of the UN Declaration of Human Rights and students discuss which of the articles within the Declaration they feel are the most important. Using this document as a framework, students are asked to consider various social issues related to race, class, gender and sexuality, which allows them to begin to see how various problems within our society are also shaped by these forms of difference. Given that the majority of students in the course are from dominant groups in society, we start by considering issues of social class first since students seem more willing to talk about class versus other types of difference. In this section of the course students are asked to conduct their own research to find statistics and facts about social class in America. In doing so they begin to surface information about

the ways in which class intersects with race and gender and how all three impact one's life chances. The students then take this information and are asked to construct informational fliers that are posted around campus at various points in the semester. As students are completing this investigation into class, they begin to move from seeing social class as an individual characteristic to seeing it as something that is both influenced by social systems and impacted by factors related to race and gender.

Once students are able to think about issues of difference from this systemic perspective, the experiential components are then layered onto the course. The first experience is a meeting with members of Project Youth at MCI-Norfolk, a medium security prison. Rather than touring the facility, students meet with a group of incarcerated men who tell them their stories of life before and during their incarceration. While initially enthusiastic about this trip, the demeanors of the students quickly change when they are in the prison environment, subjected to security screenings, and then sitting across from those who are incarcerated. After the trip students engage in a dialogue about their experience. Within this discussion students begin to apply what they are learning in class about human rights, incarceration, race, and class. In the reflections on the experiences, students often have questions about the prison regulations and the stories that they heard, they also talk about how the men they heard from seem a lot like themselves and not like 'criminals'. This opens the door to then discuss how we "other" people within the society and the ways in which it then allows for the oppression of those that are seen as "other" and, by default, as less than. It is with this initial experiential component that students begin to see the ways in which the criminal justice system shapes the experiences of those who operate within it and in particular dynamics around race and gender.

The second experiential component of the course happens several weeks later and is a service project at the Boston Regional Food Bank. Students spend the morning being trained as volunteers and then sorting food and other items that are donated to the food bank. While engaged in this activity students quickly point out the empty space within the food bank that could be used for donations, the types of food that are donated, and the impact of their actions on the organization and the people and agencies that it serves. As with the prison trip, the service project is also followed by both written and oral reflections on the experience. Many of the students write in their reflections that they feel good that they are able to help people through this project. Once they move beyond their initial response they are then able to link issues of race, class and gender into their understandings of the larger issue of poverty in America and around the world. When they dig deeper into the underlying issue of hunger and poverty, their reflections also speak to the ways in which these issues impact groups within society differently. They uncover information about higher poverty rates within the African American and Latino populations, among women and children, and what they indicate as most disturbing is the poverty line set by the federal government. They also write about the change in perception about people in poverty as again not necessarily tied to individual decisions, but rather to larger social forces within the social structure. With this shift in perception, they are

also again able to articulate the ways in which we “other” those who are poor within society, and like those who are incarcerated, assume that their plight is due to poor decisions, rather than larger factors.

The final experiential component of the course is a sleep-out on the academic quad. This experience takes place late in the semester so that students have a foundation in place from course material and other experiences to be able to learn more fully from the sleep-out. Going into the experience, students generally say that they are going to see what it’s like to be homeless, rather than viewing the experience as an exercise about privilege, power and empathy. During the event, students are asked to periodically reflect on what is happening during the evening and connect it to their learning. Midway through the experience, students engage in a simulation regarding power, during which some students are given the power to change the rules of the simulation. It’s at this point that students begin to realize the mechanics of power and oppression in a relatively low-stakes environment, a game. Students who comprise the dominant group within the game begin to change the rules in their favor while those in the other groups generally willingly accept these changes with little to no protest. In the rare occasion where one of the groups has protested the rule change, the dominant group often expresses little regard for the concerns of those not in their own group. At the end of the simulation we discuss what happened in the process, generally students indicate that they were angry at the rule change and the difficulty that they had to moving up in status in the game. They also discuss the how, while they were all following the same rules initially in the game, they all didn’t have the same resources to advance. This simulation combined with sleeping out on the academic quad for the evening, fosters a different understanding of how power and privilege operate within the society and the ways in which individuals from oppressed groups are limited in how they can advance within society.

At the end of the course students are asked to reflect on their experiences and learning within the course. Many talk about coming to the course thinking they were going to be helping others, and are leave with a different way of thinking about the world and the issues within it. They express gratitude that there are organizations that assist those who are hungry, homeless, and poor, but also discontent that these organizations are needed in our society. While their remarks are focused on social class as one of the main themes of the course, they are also able to bring in information on how social class is shaped by and deeply intertwined with race and gender in our society.

11.2 Being Human: Vampires, Monsters and Zombies

This learning community focused on the ways that outsiders saw the world, and how insiders alienated and ultimately absorbed those who think, feel, or look differently. By focusing on vampires and other forms of the undead, students examined how they have been indoctrinated into American norms: how they see the world, how they evaluate and understand difference, and how they react and

deal with such perceived differences. Students within this learning community all took First Year Seminar and Writing Workshop which focused on the same themes, but used monsters (Frankenstein, serial killers etc.) as the primary delivery method. Both classes offered models of inclusive teaching by providing alternatives to traditional modes of minority content and ideas about difference without it being labeled or coded as such. By the end of the semester, as one student reflected, “I thought we were going to learn about Twilight, instead I now understand more about race than I ever thought possible.” (Anonymous First Year Student, Final Reflection 2011).

Vampires are one of our most enduring myths, existing in some form in all organized societies from Ancient Africa to contemporary America. Yet it is that very popularity, that very persistence, which causes many to dismiss them as irrelevant or simply amusing populist characters that say nothing about the societies who created them. Through five interlocking modules, Fear, Death, Outsiders/Alienation, Consumption, and Being Human, students explored the meanings and development of this myth through a range of interdisciplinary sources, all of which were intended to aid in their understanding of our primary goal – the understanding of difference.

In constructing the course it was important for me to set the tone as a conversation about outsiders, thus reversing the expected narrative. We began the semester by exploring the differences between insiders and outsiders; those elements that make some people coded as ‘normal’ and others ‘abnormal’. By starting with their experiences at high school, we examined the key category of insider and considered why certain groups are accepted as ‘popular’ and the students were allowed to guide the conversation in ways that made them feel like the ‘experts’. But once we began thinking more deeply about why certain groups were popular, they struggled to move beyond those very elements they believed were personal and, thus, obvious choices. With the beginnings of a thought process about indoctrination, we were able to think about the ways that groups are stereotyped, excluded, devalued and how the process of devaluing can be reversed as social norms change. Thus vampires began as terrors, nightmares, the most terrifying of creatures. Now they are sparkly antiheroes more likely to kill your dog than drink you to death. We can apply the same development model to other nightmare groups – racial minorities, women, homosexuals, Catholics, Jews – each of these and more has at one time in history been used as the repository of dominant society’s darkest fears and treated accordingly.

According to Dunn-Mascetti (1992), “a vampire is a perfectly polished mirror on which we project all our dreams and fancies, sexual and intellectual, and the projection endows this strange creature with an attraction we find impossible to resist.” By deconstructing those elements that make a vampire, students incidentally (though intentionally) learned about the socially constructed elements of race. As the vampire serves as that mirror, so too do other groups of outsiders, and the challenge for the student is to connect the historical and social elements of the vampire to their understanding of the more generalized Other. The vampire thus reflects those elements of concern in any particular historical moment and become more about the writer and less about the image itself.

The most explicit discussion of Difference came in the Outsiders module which began with Stoker's *Dracula* and Nine Inch Nails' *The Downward Spiral*, and ended with Monica Jackson's *The Ultimate Diet* and Rage Against the Machine's *Fear of the Black Planet*. As a measure of its interdisciplinary nature, we used the graphic novel adaptation of *Dracula* as a way to explore the rapid development of the myth from its original image in Polidori's *The Vampire* (1819) and the original *Dracula* by Bram Stoker. However, I framed the discussion of the infamous story as a tale of a dangerous foreigner intent on infiltrating the British Empire, seducing its women, overturning the social order and ultimately sucking the Empire dry. In our discussion *Dracula* thus represented the embodiment of the fear of illegal immigrants. In the United Kingdom today's societal vampires are called Asylum Seekers; in the United States they are, of course, Mexicans. Both groups, like *Dracula*, are not white, though they have the potential to become so. Both groups, like *Dracula*, have strange unfamiliar customs, suspicious religious and/or political beliefs, and refuse to be acculturated (i.e. seemingly refuse to learn the language). *Dracula* then became a discussion about why this myth appeared when it did, which elements reflected societal fears, and which elements were borrowed from contemporary myths. They made explicit connections by this point without much guidance, especially when it came to connecting the image of *Dracula* with that of illegal immigrants. One student even brought some contemporary cartoons to class, which illustrated the monstrous nature of illegal immigration in the popular imagination.

Dracula was an easy way to connect students to multiple ideas about race, difference, and the ways that outsiders are Othered. But even more than that, the graphic novel adaptation spoke to our underlying theme of the absorption of the Other. Stereotypes are caricatures created and transmitted by the dominant group. It is only when we begin to enter the narrative from the point of view of the Other that such images begin to change. Thus *Dracula* of the graphic novel is far more romanticized than his original namesake. We now have empathy for the monsters given that as Suzy McKee Charnas writes "the monstrous is and always has been located primarily not outside us, in mythical creatures, but in our human neighbors on this planet, and sometimes in ourselves" (Charnas 1997). Thus the authors, reflections of contemporary culture, wish to present an image of the Other who at least has some claim to humanity or agency.

That took us to Monica Jackson's *The Ultimate Diet* and Rage Against the Machine's *Fear of the Black Planet*. Jackson's vampire tale is the one thing we read explicitly by an African American author. The text allowed for dialogue about the Other and how they see the world. Because of the ways the class had been scaffolded, the students were able to extract those areas of the text that explicitly illustrated the impact of being Othered or being on the outside of society and the sense that you are constantly stereotyped, misjudged, and denied the same entrance into the world as those in the majority. The protagonist, Keeshia, believes that her weight and her blackness are the greatest barriers to her happiness. Since she cannot change either of those things (she never really diets just see-saws through various fads) she figures out how to become a vampire so she can be slender and irresistible, just like her beautiful promiscuous serial-killing neighbor.

The short story is set today and therefore is able to play on our knowledge of vampires and reflect our obsessions with body image and success without hard work. *The Ultimate Diet* was, however, the greatest surprise for the class. They were intrigued by the idea of a vampire tale written by an African American and concerned about the world she might create. Their privileged status and their internalized assumptions about vampires, race, and gender were really challenged by this funny, erotic (pornographic for them), short tale. If the world has decided that you are worthless, if what you are is more important than who you are, how far would you go to cross that divide? Keeshia understands that becoming a vampire means she will become a killer. But that is not nearly as important as the fact that she will finally be someone considered beautiful and therefore successful. Her superficiality is indicative of the world our students were raised in where appearance is everything. In such a construct, being different is dangerous, fitting in becomes the only cultural norm worth aspiring to.

Ultimately the entire course was devised around the central concept of the Other, but in ways that challenged the students to recognize oppression, exploitation, and stereotypes in their own lives. This allowed them to recognize that stereotypes are the predominant way human beings understand each other. Yet those stereotypes are created by one group whose primary purpose is to maintain its hegemonic power. By telling us what to fear they are able to create a world artificially divided into those who are insiders and those left on the outside looking in. The last film we watched *Daybreakers* (Block and Constantine 2009) about a world in the near future where the divide has become vampire versus human, illustrated that human nature cannot change even when the playing field appears to be leveled. In that world the issues remained about race and class and who deserves access. *Being Human* was a very successful way of working inclusion into a course not labeled as such. In this way students were challenged and stretched in ways that they might never have experienced before. As my most skeptical student put it “The class has taught me that everything, including twilight [sic], has a scholarly side to it. Even if I cannot see it, its [sic] there and just has to be found” (Anonymous First Year Student, Final Reflection 2011).

11.3 Conclusion

Given the success of each of these first-year learning communities, it is evident that using innovative ways of teaching about difference, in this case community based learning as well as popular culture, can be effective in getting students to think about these issues in complex ways. By meeting students where they are and moving them beyond individualistic thinking and notions of blame, even first semester college students are able to grasp the ways in which difference operates within society and how it is constructed and structured through larger social structures.

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Part III
Connecting with Students

Chapter 12

After Colorblindness: Teaching Antiracism to White Progressives in the U.S.

Jonathan Warren

A great deal of critical attention has been directed at colorblindness in white America (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Brown 2003; Wise 2010). The general tendency to avoid discussions of race or minimize its significance recently prompted the U.S. attorney general, Eric Holder, to call the U.S. “a nation of cowards.” Others have attributed race evasion to a particular framework in which “to be caught in the act of seeing race was to be caught being ‘prejudiced’” (Frankenberg 1993, p. 145). Indeed for many whites it is considered impolite, if not symbolically violent, to engage in explicit conversations about race. Whether due to a lack of courage or a particular notion of propriety, most agree that colorblindness is far too salient and without a sustained, forthright interrogation of race and racism, little progress is likely to be made in reducing racial inequalities. In Holder’s words, “If we are to make progress in this area, we must . . . have frank conversations about the racial matters that continue to divide us.” (Barrett 2009).

Significantly, given the state of race talk within white America, a number of the white people I come into contact with – be they students, teachers, colleagues, neighbors, family members or acquaintances in the Pacific Northwest of the U.S. – are not neatly classifiable as colorblind. In fact most of them end up in my seminars or attend my workshops because they believe that race matters and have often reflected upon and struggled with the issue in depth. In working with this small but important minority of whites it has become evident to me that recognizing racism is just a first step, albeit an important one, in building antiracist subjects. And yet the social scientific and education literature is much less developed on this front – probably because of the emphasis placed on analyzing and challenging the more pervasive problem of colorblindness.

Some of the pioneering, if not canonical, texts in this undernourished subfield of critical race and whiteness studies include Ruth Frankenberg’s *The Social*

J. Warren (✉)
University of Washington, Seattle, USA
e-mail: redstick@uw.edu

Construction of Whiteness (1993) and Becky Thompson's *A Promise and a Way of Life* (2001). In contrast to these manuscripts, the findings and theoretical claims detailed below were not generated through in-depth interviews. Instead my data and ideas were gleaned from over 15 years of experience in such venues as classrooms, PTA meetings and racial literacy workshops in which I was usually an active participant. Examples of the profiles of the whites from whom I have learned include high school teachers who feel inept at dealing with race in their schools and are looking for guidance; young adults who want, as part of their general education, to better understand race; bus drivers; Microsoft employees; and housewives who are in multiracial families and consequently are searching for more sophisticated discussions about racism. Most of these individuals are progressives in that they get their news from public radio and the New York Times, are more apt to spend their Sunday mornings at brunch than at prayer, and usually support the social democratic wing of the Democratic Party. And all of them are, to varying degrees, race cognizant.

Below I map out what I have found to be the more significant challenges to building racial literacy and antiracist praxis among progressive whites. In delineating these obstacles to teaching antiracism to this understudied subset of whites, I advance a number of theories within critical race and whiteness studies about antiracist subject formations and pedagogy. I also offer teaching methods for enabling whites (and others) to successfully overcome the various impediments to antiracist praxis (See Hunter and Nettles 1999; Leonardo 2002; McIntyre 1997; Sleeter 1993; Titone 1998). To this end I take advantage of my extensive ethnographic research experience in Brazil. During the past 20 years I have studied racial identities, racism, and, antiracism in southeastern Brazil. This experience affords me a fresh vantage given that the vast majority of antiracist pedagogues in the United States have little familiarity with racial formations in other parts of the world. As I outline the theoretical and applied bounty gleaned from such a comparative perspective, this chapter should have the added benefit of inspiring U.S. scholars, teachers and students of race to engage more with critical race scholarship outside of the United States.

12.1 Racial Literacy and Antiracism Are Learned

Because modes of race talk and anti-racist counterpublics are racialized in the U.S. – that is, whites tend to operate from a colorblind perspective and people of color from a race cognizant framework – there is a tendency to essentialize these distinctions. People of color's competencies are assumed to be a reflexive response to their racial location rather than something learned. Moreover, white ineptitude and clumsiness are attributed to the fact that they do not inhabit a racially subordinate position.

The presumption of social determinism if left unchecked, can lend itself to inaction or disengagement from the difficult and arduous task of building racial literacy. It is an easy out, in my experience, for whites unsettled by the challenges

they are confronting as they build racial literacy. If one has to be “of color” to understand racism then what is the point of studying racism? This belief also renders invisible the tremendous amount of labor and struggle that has gone and continues to go into the production of antiracist counterpublics (Singh 2004; West 1999). Such knowledge is reduced to a mechanistic response to racism. Insight about the process of building racial literacy, a wisdom that could be gleaned from these communities, is not even considered, let alone consulted. Scrutiny is directed away from the true culprits: the families, schools, media, and communities, which are actively producing racial illiteracy.

The supposition that oppression is the font of sociological wisdom can also result in the unhealthy tendency to exaggerate, distort or even fabricate subaltern identities. It is common for previously closeted, unknown or forgotten ethnic/racial ancestries to be asserted as individuals become more racially cognizant. This can of course be salutary. For example, I have had some Amerasian students begin to affirm their Asianness – something they may have minimized or hidden due, in part, to the desire to “fit in” into white neighborhoods or social networks. The problem is not with these practices but rather with those that stem from the impulse to claim certain identities as a way of avoiding one’s whiteness, sidestepping one’s deficits, or wanting to assert one’s political allegiances because one presumes that one must be “of color” to be antiracist (see Kivel 2002).

A related practice is the foregrounding of class, gender and sexual discourses and identities. This too can be a positive development. It may indicate that students are appreciating how race is situated within a complex socio-political web and that they are considering the significance of other axes of power such as sexuality. Yet more often than not class, gender and sexuality are raised to deflect attention away from race. It is a way to suggest that race is really not as important as the tone or content of the course or workshop implies that it is.

One of the pedagogical strategies that I have found effective in minimizing these dynamics is teaching the genealogy of white antiracism. Studying white abolitionists through to more contemporary white antiracist activists, gives whites an awareness of a tradition about which most are completely unfamiliar. The various autobiographies (Segrest 1994; Parsons 2009; Jensen 2005; Wise 2007; Smith 1994), biographies (Alonso 2002; Hedrick 1995; DuBois 1974; Robertson 2010) and oral histories (Frankenberg 1993; Thompson 2001) of these activists can be inspirational, empowering and offer useful ways for them to process and successfully navigate the challenges that they are confronting as budding racial literati. Perhaps more importantly, they discover that they do not have to deny their whiteness or be “of color” to be effective antiracists. In fact, they learn that antiracism is advanced by reckoning with whiteness and that this is best achieved by confronting and examining their own whiteness, rather than denying or minimizing it. Or as Ricky Allen put it, “Becoming a white antiracist is a long, involved process that requires a crucial acceptance of one’s racial identity, not a denial of it.” (Allen 2005, p. 57; Wise 2007).

Another teaching approach I take in this context is to directly problematize social determinism. To this end comparative area studies can be very helpful. Specifically

I use Latin American studies where researchers have found that people of color are schooled in a culture of racial silence and avoidance (Warren and Twine 2002; Sue 2013; Rodriguez-Silva 2013). In her ethnography of a largely non-white favela in Rio de Janeiro, Robin Sheriff found a tendency to “refrain from discussions of racism even in the contexts of community and family” (Sheriff 2001, p. 62). In fact, “very few informants were able to recall hearing stories about the slavery era, although the grandparents and great-grandparents of a number of the older people I knew had been slaves” (Ibid, p. 65). She continues, “Most people told me . . . that their parents had talked about neither slavery nor racism when they were growing up. When I asked younger informants in their teens and twenties if their parents had ever discussed racism with them, they rarely elaborated, saying simply, ‘No, they never talked about it’ or ‘They don’t dwell on it’” (Ibid, p. 66).

Introducing U.S. whites to different national contexts where racial subalterns practice colorblindness, helps to instruct how racial literacy is taught rather than an automatic wisdom acquired through oppression. The pedagogical impact is twofold. It allows whites to value the antiracist counterpublics that do exist in the United States as an asset from which they can learn. Second, it underscores the point that racial literacy is not the mechanistic byproduct of racial marginalization and therefore they too can become racially literate.

12.2 Saving Oneself

In 1968 Frank Shatz, a white journalist, interviewed James Baldwin at the site of John Brown’s grave in upstate New York. Shatz opened by commenting that Brown had died “wanting to help the Negroes to freedom.” Baldwin quickly took issue with this statement and replied, “That is not exactly what he was trying to do. What he was trying to do was liberate a *country*, not simply the black people of that country. (. . .) There was something special about John Brown. He attacked the bastions of the federal government – not to liberate black slaves, but to liberate the whole country from a disastrous way of life.” Shatz, not understanding Baldwin’s point, pressed on: “Now do you think the actions of John Brown, and other white people who acted to help blacks gain freedom, change the collective guilt – what all whites must bear – for the suffering of blacks?” Baldwin retorts: “No, the collective guilt that all whites must bear is not for the suffering of blacks; it’s the suffering they’ve brought upon *themselves*. Every white man has to pay for his history; I’ve got to pay for mine. It is not what you’ve done to me that menaces you. It’s what you’ve done to you that menaces you. (. . .) The question [is] not what white people have done to black people, but what white people have done and are doing to themselves. It’s not a question that has anything to do with me at all. It has to do with white people. Because you’re doing it. You’re doing it. Only you can undo it. Nobody else is going to save you. You’ve got to save yourself” (Banks 2000).

Shatz is unable to appreciate Baldwin’s contention that Brown died to liberate a country because he, like many, have assumed that only blacks were harmed by

slavery and whites were its beneficiaries. According to this logic, John Brown fought against a system from which he and other whites profited and therefore his sacrifice was an altruistic one. Similarly contemporary white antiracists are widely regarded as countering a system that menaces people of color alone. Whites who critically reflect upon and dispute the racial order are not regarded as participants involved in a project aimed at ending “a disastrous way of life” for all Americans. They are putatively forfeiting the spoils of white supremacy in order to help people of color to freedom.

Such a charitable posture is corrosive because, among other things, it works against cross-racial alliances. The attitude that whites are doing people of color a favor in addressing racism is an obvious turn-off. It can also push whites away from antiracism if they feel incompetent or unappreciated, experiences that many whites have as they develop greater levels of racial literacy, in return for what they see as extending a helping hand (Thompson 2003).

In exposing whites to some of the canonical ideas and texts in critical race studies, I have inadvertently fed into progressive paternalism by reproducing the assumption that whites win with white supremacy. To take one example, in *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness* (1998), George Lipsitz delineates the “cash value” of whiteness in the United States “It accounts,” he writes, “for advantages that come to individuals through profits made from housing secured in discriminatory markets, through the unequal educations allocated to children of different races, through insider networks that channel employment opportunities to relatives and friends of those who have profited most from the present and past racial discrimination, and especially through intergenerational transfers of inherited wealth that pass on the spoils of discrimination to succeeding generations” (1998, p. vii). Of course it is essential that whites learn about white privilege and the material, symbolic and social value of whiteness. But given how counterintuitive Baldwin’s insight continues to be, one can imagine how such a text can reproduce the idea that whites profit from the racial order. Consequently, antiracist pedagogues need to be diligent in distinguishing between how whites are advantaged vis-à-vis people of color and the fact that whites also pay dearly for white supremacy. If this more nuanced point is not clearly made, then challenging white supremacy will likely be regarded as an altruistic act. White antiracists will be apt to view themselves as sanctimoniously defying a racial order from which they putatively benefit in order to liberate people of color and not themselves.

The point is not to suggest comparable kinds or levels of victimhood with people of color but merely to delineate that whites also pay for white supremacy. One case study I like to use in this context is the rise of the conservative wing of the Republican Party in the mid-twentieth century. Fortunately there is a rich body of historical scholarship available from which one can draw to illustrate to students how today’s conservatism can be traced directly back to the “politics of rage” that George Wallace blended from “racial fear, anticommunism, cultural nostalgia, and traditional right-wing economics” (Carter 1999; see also Roediger 1994). Progressive whites are able to better grasp what is at stake for them, once the centrality of race to Nixon’s silent majority, Reagan’s neoliberalism,

or Bush's electoral victory in 2000 is clearly mapped out. They get or at least begin to understand that race, which has enabled this conservative project, has had tremendously negative consequences for people of color *and whites*: regressive taxation policy, investments in the military and prison system rather than education and infrastructure, unwise and costly wars, corporate biased policies, poor health care, the erosion of community, and environmental destruction. With the links between race and these policies delineated, their paternalism is harder to sustain because they come to comprehend Baldwin's point that antiracism is about more than helping people of color. It is also about saving oneself.

This recasts white antiracism upon a much more sustainable footing. Once whites are taught the price that they pay for white supremacy, then they are more apt to push themselves to become racially literate and will ultimately be more reliable antiracist stalwarts. Self-interest – or self-deliverance as Baldwin might put it – can embolden and bolster the charitable impulses of white progressives.

12.3 Beyond Instrumentalism

Instrumentalism has so saturated the theoretical fabric of the social sciences in the United States (see Cummings 2002) that it is not uncommon for critical race scholars to suggest that whites balk at dealing with race because they do not wish to jeopardize or relinquish their relative group position and power. White investment in white privilege, it is argued, inhibits them from considering, let alone forging, counter-hegemonic racial understandings. For example, Zeus Leonardo writes that "... white subjects do not forge ... counter-hegemonic racial understandings because their lives ... depend on a certain development; that is, colorblind strategies that maintain their supremacy as a group" (2005, p. 44). This could be read to suggest that white lives, meaning their identities and worldview, depend upon their racial ignorance. However given the dominance of instrumentalism such statements are usually interpreted as implying that white resistance to building racial literacy is driven by a defense of their racial power and privilege. That is, whites are presumed to resist racial literacy because they benefit from the racial status quo. It is putatively in their rational interests to be racial illiterates.

In the previous section, I argued à la Baldwin that the supposition that whites benefit from white supremacy is dubious indeed. This aside, the research on race in Latin America overwhelmingly demonstrates that racial frameworks and identities are not driven by instrumentalism. In much of the region, communities of color have not constructed counter-discourses although it would clearly be in their interests to do so. Instead white supremacist consciousness – such as colorblindness, race evasiveness and whitening narratives – has been found to be anchored in identities, social worlds and interpretative frameworks (see Warren and Sue 2011; Sheriff 2001; Twine 1998). Moreover, building racial literacy has been found to entail a profound shift in habitus and worldview. To break the silence on race, means a restructuring of one's sensibilities and quotidian practices and a profound

questioning of foundational assumptions of self, family, nation, fairness and the future. The same, I believe, is true for whites in the United States.

To take one example, Jensen, a white professor at the University of Texas at Austin, discusses the hold that “individualism” had for him in his book *The Heart of Whiteness* (2005). He sketches two stories about his life. The first is the bootstrap narrative in which through hard work, he achieves success. The second story outlines how white privilege advantaged him at every step of the way. Jensen then writes:

“Both of these stories are true. The question is, can we recognize the truth in both of them? Can we accept that many white people have worked hard to accomplish things, and that those people’s accomplishments were made possible in part because they were white in a white-supremacist society? . . . I can acknowledge that in addition to all that hard work, I got a significant boost from white privilege, which continues to protect me every day of my life from certain hardships. At one time in my life I would not have been able to say that because I needed to believe that my success in life was due solely to my individual talent and effort. I saw myself as the heroic American, the rugged individualist. . . . I couldn’t see the fear that was binding me to those myths, the fear that . . . maybe luck and privilege had more to do with it than brains and hard work. I was afraid I wasn’t heroic or rugged, that I wasn’t special. I let go of some of that fear when I realized that, indeed, I wasn’t special, but that I was still me. What I do well, I still can take pride in, even when I know that the rules under which I work are stacked in my benefit.” (pp. 24–25).

Interestingly, at least according to Jensen, his concerns with defending racial power and privilege were not behind his initial reluctance to deal with race. At stake for Jensen was his identity as a self-made man. The threat to this idea of the self generated the anxieties and fears which impeded, at least for a time, the development of racial literacy. And it was only after he was able to construct a different narrative of self that he was able to acknowledge white privilege.

One cornerstone of white identities well documented by critical race and whiteness studies scholars is the idea that one is “not racist.” (Kenny 2000; Sleeter 1993) Progressive whites in Seattle are no exception. In fact they hold a binary logic in which the socio-political landscape is divided up into racist, conservative regions versus non-racist, progressive ones. Woven into this is the notion that racists are bad and non-racists are good. Ultimately, as one develops a more sophisticated level of racial literacy, one learns that racism is nuanced and situational, ubiquitous and insidious. It is hardly an either-or proposition. No one, including “good people,” has or can completely transcend racism. Consequently one’s definition of self as “not racist” is unsustainable as one develops a certain level of racial awareness. And this can be unsettling because it poses a challenge to one’s identity as a righteous, non-racist progressive (Tatum 1997).

I have witnessed very defensive reactions when these subjectivities were put on trial. For instance, during the 2006–2007 academic year a number of individuals – school board members, parents, community leaders, and administrators – were asking what role race played in resource allocation and decision making. The more

left of center paper, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer wrote a number of scathing op-ed pieces in response. Just to quote one, on April 12, 2007, Ted Van Dyk complained:

“Seattle Public Schools and race: Job No. 1 is saving our troubled public schools. They are in dreadful shape but not because of “institutional racism,” as some School Board members and local activists would have us believe. Seattle is one of the two or three most politically correct US cities – sufficiently so that it tolerates distracting injection of racial issues into matters where they often are completely absent . . . Those habitually playing the race card in local education are comparable to earlier-day white crackers who “waved the bloody shirt” and shouted the n-word, as President Lyndon Johnson put it, because they had nothing else to say. The new superintendent and School Board should focus on the fundamentals and tell grandstanding race hustlers to get lost. Seattle’s minority-majority public school kids need administrators, teachers, parents, and mentors who will help them meet rather than evade learning standards. They would be helped by fuller use of district resources. As long ago as 1968, Democratic presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey proposed 12-month school years in all 50 states.”

Ironically Humphrey’s defeat to Nixon’s silent majority, as noted above, can be chalked up to race. This aside, we see how Seattle is cast as politically correct (i.e., politically progressive) and therefore “not racist” which means that most discussions of race are unnecessary distractions. The fact that Van Dyk then took his criticisms to the next level – calling race cognizant individuals con artists and equating them with racist white militias – demonstrates how dear these identities can be.

One of the biggest cultural barriers to building advanced levels of racial literacy among whites, including post-colorblind, progressive ones, is what bell hooks called the “myth of sameness.” In teaching whites, she found that they “have a deep emotional investment in the myth of ‘sameness’ . . . Often their rage erupts because they believe that all ways of looking that highlight difference subvert the liberal belief in a universal subjectivity (we are all just people) that they think will make racism disappear” (1992, p. 167). Thus even when whites appreciate that racism is a deep-seeded problem in their communities and can reflect upon it in fairly sophisticated ways, they often resist race-cognizant remedies. They do not readily appreciate, to quote Kimberle Crenshaw, how “treating different things the same can generate as much inequality as treating the same things differently” (1998, p. 285). Indeed there is an inclination to consider unfair, if not racist, race cognizant policies such as an initiative to establish a school that centers indigenous students and culture or that weighs job applicants differently based on their race.

This myth of sameness is rooted, as Ruth Frankenberg (1993) has noted, in a liberal humanist assumption that “proposes an essential human sameness to which ‘race’ is added as a secondary characteristic” (p. 147). Humans are believed to be “composed of a core or essence to which other qualities”, such as race, “are later added” (Ibid., p. 148).

If human beings are ontological equivalents, then it follows that they should be dealt with the same regardless of race, class, gender, sexuality and so on. Treating individuals differently based on non-essential social traits or locations such as race is judged improper. One of Frankenberg’s interviewees, Irene Esterley, described

her frustration looking for a teaching job in a school district that was at the time primarily recruiting teachers of color: “I resent it particularly because I feel that people should be considered for who they are as a human being and not as this, that, or the other – who you are, regardless of outside trappings – [there’s an] inner person, shouting to get out.” (Ibid., p. 149).

The belief that “we are all just people” also lends itself to post-racial fantasies. Distinct from the antiracist ideal in which subjects will one day be able to embrace their social, historical, cultural and phenotypical distinctions and simultaneously enjoy the privileges of full citizenship, the liberal humanist vision for the future is one in which racial subjects no longer exist. This post-racial dream feeds back into an anti-race sensibility. If the ultimate goal is racelessness, then the impulse is to regard as counterproductive social-cultural movements which burnish racial and ethnic identities. They are believed to be animating identities that should be in decline as progress is made.

One teaching approach that I use to challenge the “myth of sameness” is to detail the Latin American experience with anti-race “antiracism”. During much of the twentieth century, Latin American governments, intellectuals and publics attempted to undo racism via anti-race approaches. Data on race was not kept. Citizens were encouraged to take on non-racial, universal identities such as those of nation, class, or modern cosmopolitans. The outcome was disastrous. White supremacy became more entrenched. And it was not until the turn of the century, when subaltern racial identities and cultures were nurtured and embraced, that progress was made. Thus Latin America provides an excellent heuristic device for illustrating how it is often through race – not by its negation – that racial hierarchy is dismantled (See Warren and Sue 2011).

Finally as whites build greater levels of racial literacy and their foundational assumptions shift and their identities are altered, relationships with family members and friends are inevitably impacted. White friends, relatives, and acquaintances complain that they cannot joke or make trivial comments anymore. The coded or unexamined racism that circulates freely in white networks is observed and judged making other whites uncomfortable. White notions of history, country, fairness, and self are disputed. The result is that they are not warmly received and the feeling is often mutual. In many instances, the outcome is estrangement and alienation from other whites, including family and friends.

The biographies and autobiographies of white antiracists are littered with the tales of white estrangement (see Kenny 2000; Segrest 1994; Frankenberg 1993; Thompson 2001; Wise 2007; Kendall 2011). I also see it routinely with my students who become more race cognizant. They are considered abhorrent, disrespectful and treacherous by the whites in their lives. And I have experienced it myself directly. A number of my white relatives cut off ties with me completely as I became more race cognizant. The social, emotional and financial hardships involved with this rupture are, of course, no trivial matter and yet rarely considered by antiracist pedagogues because it is assumed that white anxieties are an outgrowth of a threatened white privilege.

Thus a greater appreciation of these social and cultural impediments to racial literacy is vital for improving antiracist pedagogy. I, for one, became a more effective teacher once I understood that white resistance to racial literacy was driven by the anxieties and fears that emerge when identities, worldviews and social lives are disrupted. I was able to anticipate and explicitly address the issues that were most onerous for whites. Moreover the tone of my relationship with students was transformed. I became more empathetic and generous, and therefore more constructive, once I stopped reducing white resistance to racial analysis to simply a defense of white privilege and status.

12.4 Active Listening

Whites who inch, if not break, away from color evasion usually do so as a consequence of some sort of contact – readings, films, or social interaction – with an antiracist counterpublic. In the United States this counterpublic has been a centuries long, transnational, multiracial project. It has also been largely spearheaded and populated by people of color and most especially blacks. Consequently at the moment when many whites are just beginning to build racial competencies, they simultaneously enter with greater frequency non-white, social-cultural arenas in which race cognizance is the norm, white privilege is minimized (if not reversed), and white epistemologies contested or rejected. Thus the inevitable insecurities and awkwardness that come with learning new skills are heightened by the experience of being decentered and having one's basic assumptions called into question.

At this juncture the pull of racial segregation can intensify. In Seattle a few white antiracist groups have emerged. The stated purpose for these organizations is to create a space for whites to work through issues that are particular to them as whites, as individuals schooled in colorblindness. In larger multiracial, antiracist settings, many of the challenges, questions, and anxieties particular to whites can strike others, most especially people of color, as naïve, rudimentary or distracting. Ceding space for whites to reflect on these elementary issues can be irritating – an annoying recentering of whiteness. Thus there are strong arguments to be made for the formation of such groups. The risk, however, is that these groups can also become a way to minimize engagement with the very counterpublics which are key to building antiracist subjects.

The point, here, is not to disparage white antiracist groups but rather to caution that they should not substitute for engagement with non-white counterpublics. Racial competencies are extremely difficult – if not impossible – to acquire in contemporary white America. Indeed it is by establishing relationships with racial subalterns schooled in antiracist counterpublics that racial literacy is best developed (Frankenberg 1993; Thompson 2001). An academic setting or workshop can help deepen one's understanding of racism and its machinations but ultimately higher levels of racial literacy are best acquired via experiential learning.

It is through sustained interaction with non-white counter publics that one's sensibilities, quotidian assumptions, and habitus are exposed, tested and, if one chooses, altered. Growth, then, usually comes through intensive exposure to these counterpublics.

Even though it may be uncomfortable, awkward and painful, it is important for antiracist teachers to remind whites that it is the path forward. Whites should be encouraged to leave their comfort zones and experience the awkwardness of being a novice, inhabiting publics in which whiteness is not the norm, and subaltern subjects are not muted. But they should only enter such spaces, I have learned, if they are prepared to be active listeners. To this end I remind whites that they are novices. Reared in colorblindness, race cognizance is still a new subject for them and so they must assume the role of a student. This does not mean that they cannot ask questions or disagree. However it is important that they remain cognizant of the fact that they are beginners and not experts.

Too often whites enter these spaces assuming they are knowledgeable, if not equals. This posture, in the end, only serves to animate the widely noted tendency for whites to become defensive or over personalize comments to the point of crying in race cognizant settings. Caprice Hollins, the former Director of Race and Equity for the Seattle Public Schools, described well the effects of white tears. After one of our racial literacy workshops she noted that just at the moment when anti-black racism is emphasized and she is trying to process her negative experiences, she ends up having to console the white person who feels bad or is even crying. Whites should not be inhibited from crying or expressing their emotions but whites should be taught that emotional outbursts of this sort are apt to be seen by others as forms of manipulation and deflection. In my experience such a response is a sign that the individual in question has yet to reckon in any deep or sustained way with racism and therefore is not yet prepared to be an active listener in a multiracial counterpublic.

12.5 Conclusions

Colorblindness is and most certainly will continue to be a major problem confronting antiracists in the United States in the coming decades. And yet the sustained attack on colorblindness within critical race studies is likely to push more and more whites, especially progressives, away from race evasion. As this subpopulation grows, antiracist pedagogues must be better prepared to build on this break from colorblindness, however small and tentative it may be. It is to this project, advancing racial literacy among post-colorblind, progressive whites, that this chapter has been targeted.

A great deal is, of course, at stake. Historically in the United States a powerful socio-political coalition has been between progressive whites and communities of color. This alliance undergirded the abolitionist and civil rights movements as well as the rise of Obama administration to the White House. This means that progressive

whites have been and are likely going to continue to be a key constituency to progressive projects, especially antiracist ones. However if progressive whites continue to come to this relationship with a hope for a post-racial order coupled with paternalism and low levels of racial literacy, despite being post-colorblind, then this coalition will be fragile at best. The higher levels of racial literacy that we, as antiracist pedagogues, can help to forge among white progressives, the better chance that this coalition will be sustained and deepened into the future.

My proposals for advancing racial literacy among progressive, post-colorblind whites can be summed up within the following four broad points. First, whites should be disabused of the idea that because of their racial location they cannot understand racism. Racial literacy is learned – not a wisdom acquired through oppression – and therefore they can develop sophisticated levels of race cognizance. Second, teaching whites the price that they pay for white supremacy serves as a check against paternalism and also puts white antiracism on more solid footing. Third, the disruption of white sociocultural worlds is a powerful factor behind white resistance to racial analysis. A teaching approach attuned to this will result in more whites becoming antiracist subjects. Fourth, whites should be encouraged to sustain contact with antiracist counterpublics as active listeners.

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Chapter 13

Double Consciousness: Faculty of Color Teaching Students of Color About Race

Enid Logan, Stayce Blount, Louis Mendoza, Chavella Pittman, Rashawn Ray, and Nicole Trujillo-Pagan

13.1 Introduction: *Enid Logan*

A good deal of important work has been done, and continues to be done in the field of sociology about how to teach race in the contemporary United States. This volume is one such example. Among the main challenges that scholars have explored are how to make racial privilege visible (Chaisson 2004; Gillespie 2002; Fritschner 2001), how to contest the hegemony of colorblind individualism (Bonilla-Silva and Forman 2000; Goldsmith 2006), how to explain the importance of enforcing anti-discrimination law (Obach 2000; Bohmer and Oka 2007), how to uncover and challenge students' implicit racial biases (Fritschner 2001; Bordt 2004), and how to interest them in seeking a more racially just society once they leave the university (Marullo 1998; Jakubowski 2001).

For many of us who teach about race, this scholarship has greatly informed and enriched the work that we do. And as the social construct of race continues to evolve, new work in this area will continue to be needed. One particularly important and underdeveloped area of research, however, concerns what it means to teach race to students of color.

E. Logan (✉) • L. Mendoza
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, USA
e-mail: elogan@umn.edu

S. Blount
Fayette State University, Fayetteville, NC, USA

C. Pittman
Dominican University, River Forest, IL, USA

R. Ray
University of Maryland, College Park, MD, USA

N. Trujillo-Pagan
Wayne State University, Detroit, MI, USA

The majority of the kinds of articles referred to above share a core, if unstated, preoccupation with how to teach race to whites. The prototypical “student” that they seek to reach and to transform, is implicitly a white student. Though it is fundamentally anti-racist and activist in nature, the fact that this literature tends to assume and center white racial subjects, means that, ironically, it also reproduces a kind of white privilege.

Students of color- be they black, Latino, Asian-American, African-born, biracial, or Native American- come to the classroom with a fundamentally different relationship to the social construct of race than do their white peers. While whites may have spent little time consciously exploring what it means to be white previous to coming to college (Chesler et al. 2003; Chaisson 2004), most students of color will have been deeply and personally grappling with issues of race since adolescence (Tatum 2003; Kao 2000; Morrison 2010; Boylorn 2011). Students born outside of the U.S., upon coming here, find themselves thrust onto the rocky terrain of our racial history, forced into dialogue with ideas about “blackness” or what it is to be “Asian” that are imposed upon them by others (see Waters 1999; Beserra 2005; Kusow 2006; Newby and Dowling 2008; Tovar and Feliciano 2009).

Given these realities, it seemed important that this volume include an article about teaching race to students of color. What does it mean for non-white students to *rediscover* race from the perspectives of sociology, history, or ethnic studies? What kinds of personal “stuff” do students of color begin to unravel, or to understand differently, once they enter our classrooms? What is it like for them to have these kinds of awakenings take place in classes where the majority of their peers are white, and going through very different kinds of personal awakenings of their own? Are majority non-white learning environments more valuable, safe, and productive for students of color? Or is it more important for non-whites to learn how to have difficult, honest discussions about race *with* whites in order to successfully negotiate the terrain of race after they leave the university? Lastly, how do students of color see us in our roles as academic “authorities” on race?

The fact that all of the contributors to this article are faculty of color has emerged as a major theme in the writing; one even more important than expected. As non-white faculty, we have all found teaching about race to be a deeply personal process, underscoring the fact that “the pedagogical is personal.” Teaching race often involves reflections upon our own experiences with racism, and upon the empowerment we came to find in the intellectual concepts we now seek to transmit to our students. As professors, many of us have faced challenges to our authority and expertise from both white students (Grahame 2004; Pittman 2010b) and from our white colleagues. Thus both faculty and students of color may experience university settings as uncomfortable, alienating “white spaces.”

There is a budding literature on the teaching experiences of faculty of color. This literature has discussed intra-departmental racial dynamics, ways to weather unfavorable racial climates, and the “gendered racism” (Pittman 2010b) faced by women of color teaching in predominantly white classrooms (Bunter et al. 2000; McGowan 2000; Thomas and Hollenshead 2001; Vargas 2002; Perez 2004; Stanley 2006; Pittman 2010b; Griffin et al. 2011).

However, there is very little formal or informal writing on the experiences of faculty of color teaching race to students of color. We intend this article, a collection of reflective essays upon the issues raised above, to stimulate further discussion and research.

13.2 Confounding Race: Mestizaje, Hybridity, and Body Politics in Chicana/o Studies – *Louis Mendoza*

When it comes to teaching about the social construction of race and its relationship to ideology and lived experience to Chicana/o-Latina/o students, I have found that place impacts their understanding and experience. Who is in the room is crucial for determining how a discussion proceeds and what shared experiences can be drawn upon as an archive of lived experience. Likewise, local and regional geography have uniquely shaped the contours of their experience and understanding of the historical, social, cultural, and political dynamics of race relations. Teaching Chicana/o Studies in the Upper Midwest, for instance, is distinctly different than teaching it in South or Central Texas. In Texas, my courses in Mexican American Studies were consistently comprised of 80–90 % Chicana/os, while our courses in Chicana/o Studies at the University of Minnesota are often the demographic inverse.

As an instructor who is highly invested in social justice, I want *all* my students to learn and be inspired by the subject matter, but where we start and how this is achieved is contingent on our (un)common points of reference. In Chicana/o Studies, the concept of race raises important questions and provides an important opportunity for students to learn how to comprehend, analyze, and dismantle the cumulative impact of racist discourses and the subtle yet profound ways they have been inscribed by or participated in the racialization of others. As an example of how our lived experiences and bodies can help us theorize the deleterious impact of racism, I share with students anecdotes of the violent psychological and physical trauma and subsequent internalization of shame that shaped my own educational experience and silenced me for many years. I do so to illustrate just how personal the political is and how language and analysis can empower us to move from silent acquiescence to political resistance.

Gaining a critical vocabulary and speaking back to racist and racializing discourses was extraordinarily empowering and important in my own identity development and students often affirm for me that this is a critical moment of personal, political, and intellectual growth for them. Though this is not always an easy lesson to learn, drawing upon their own lived experience with racism helps them become expert at unpacking and articulating their own lives and contextualizing it as a shared and deeply systemic social phenomenon. Be it primary or secondary material, the initial response of students of color to race-related course material is often one of cognitive dissonance, because in most cases they have had few, if any, previous opportunities to read about racial oppression. And even though what they read may coincide with their personal experience, it harshly contrasts with the

overt messages of racial harmony and social accord embedded in the traditional curriculum. This experience is often followed by affirmation and an opportunity for building community and solidarity with Latina/os and non-Latina/os based upon a more complete and complex understanding of race relations in the U.S.

Sustained classroom discussion of racial formation enables students of color to understand that their life experiences position them as subject experts even if they have not had prior opportunities to acquire theoretical frameworks to understand where Latinos fit within the continuum of racial discourse. Even well-meaning instructors often speak about race (rather than racism) as a natural social category. The fact of the matter is, Latinos remain an enigma to the vast majority of Americans. The lack of information about who we are and our history in the U.S., makes us marginal to the U.S. imaginary. All too often, the blindspots of the official curriculum mean that self-awareness for Chicanos is limited and reinforced by an educational paradigm that remains highly invested in an assimilation model that addresses racial, cultural, and linguistic differences as problems to be overcome. Thus for non-minority teachers, students' identities are an enigma or a problem to be resolved rather than a testimony to the illegitimacy of a curriculum that seeks to erase differences.

Latinos confound people's normal framework for thinking of race in black and white terms because we don't fit into any of the established race or color categories. Because Latinos come in all colors, phenotypes, and from multiple cultural and linguistic backgrounds, we are not easily classified, though we are almost always ideologically perceived as non-white. Most Latina/os have what we have come to call a mestizo or "mixed race" background, one which includes a biological heritage from Native Americans, Africans, and Europeans. And so despite our persistent presence in the U.S. before, during, and after the nation's founding, our emergence as the nation's largest ethnic minority has been accompanied by fear of our difference and the perception of us as a brown threat to the cultural and social fabric of the U.S. And like other racialized groups, we have had to make sustained and organized claims to belong to the cultural and political body of the nation. Chicana/o-Latina/o students thirst for critical language and historical information to fill gaps in their education about U.S. Latino and U.S.-Latin American relations that can provide a context for contemporary social issues.

I strive to give students the information they need to understand the ideological and material dimensions of race—and this means making important distinctions between what is real versus what is perceived. For instance, I drill home the point that race is a construction, a false categorization of humans, a master fiction, a supreme lie that was created to justify beliefs in racial supremacy and the differential treatment of people by asserting difference as part of the natural order. Belief in race is the linchpin of racism, because we never really discuss race as "just" difference but in terms of which group has core essential traits that make them fundamentally or inherently better than another group (i.e. intelligence, social organization, capacity for learning or adaptation, etc.).

Yet, I also believe that it is important for them to know that *even though* race and racial ideology are only a system of ideas, they have a concrete impact on the material world when it comes to the establishment of rules that govern social relations and the distribution of wealth and political power. Hence, the most important factor in explaining social difference stems from differential treatment, be it in access to education, employment opportunities, or access to networks of power and decision making, and thus the consequences of racism are manifested in our everyday lives.

Clarifying the differences between race, racism, and culture is always crucial because failure to do so leaves students with a conundrum about whether to be seen as insiders or outsiders; and with the illusion that they can control this. Beginning from this point, students can understand *mestizaje* as a process of cultural synthesis and syncretism, and for Latino students this often means being able to be proud that notions of *mestizaje* and hybridity have been positive concepts in destabilizing concepts of race in the U.S. context. In the Latin American context, *mestizaje* has a much more controversial social and political implication as it is often perceived as an effort to dissolve racial difference, and thus can serve to cultivate an illusion of a post-racial society. In this way, their own color ambiguity enables Latino students to claim expertise on life in the borderlands of racialization and to articulate how their own lived experience offers meaningful insight into race relations.

13.3 Helping Prepare Students of Color for Entry into the Middle Class: *Rashawn Ray*

It is often assumed that race is something that racial/ethnic minorities implicitly understand, and therefore that the real focus should be on teaching whites about the institutional and sociohistorical ramifications of race. Such an assumption, however, vastly overgeneralizes the experiences of racial and ethnic minorities. The identities of Latinos and Asian Americans are complicated by their struggles to interpret America's collective assessment of all members of their groups as "immigrants." Blacks struggle with a collectivized racial identity that admits little diversity. Although aspects of their racial experiences are shared, the way that blacks understand and interpret these experiences varies by factors such as social class, education, neighborhood context, work experience, nationality, and age. For these reasons, it is important to approach teaching racial and ethnic minorities about race with the same vigor and analysis that we do whites. In this essay, I share my experiences and strategies in teaching race at large, predominately white public universities in the U.S. and Germany. I cite actual incidents from my classes to explain how I have been able to best help minority students understand their racialized experiences.

13.3.1 Dealing with Whiteness: Racial Marking via Proportional Representation

After the first day of class, I walked out of the building feeling good about the opening lecture. That is, until Keenan looked out across IU's beautiful campus and said, "How do you do it? It's so white. . . . open and airy." Keenan was not talking about the snow. He was referring to how different this social environment was compared to his neighborhood in Gary, IN. Although Keenan had graduated at the top of his high school class, he was having trouble adjusting to college. He felt "engulfed" in IU's largely white environment, and as a result, his grades were suffering.

Keenan was placed in my freshman seminar, "To Be a Man: Social Responsibility, Leadership, and Race." I was given clearance to create this course to assist minority and lower income, rural male students in adjusting to the university. Students like Keenan need this course, not because they are unintelligent or inadequately academically prepared. Rather, they are not personally prepared for the chilly climate of academic institutions that privilege hegemonic, patriarchal, and traditional ideals. Therefore, at least initially, students like Keenan may benefit from being in smaller classrooms with others with whom they can identify.

This was definitely the case with the students in my freshman seminar. This course has continued after my departure, and a similar one has even been created for female students. Keenan is now a senior business major with a GPA over 3.0. He is active in the campus culture, and has attained one of the top business internships for next summer.

Two key points may be taken from the exchange that I had with Keenan and from my time as his mentor. First, the simple fact that Keenan had grown up in a primarily black environment did not mean that his experiences prepared him to navigate race relations in the predominately white college setting that he found himself in. Second, classroom settings, social activities, and dorm environments that alter proportional representation benefit students like Keenan. In other words, making large, predominately white universities feel smaller and more familiar may increase the academic success and self-concept of our students.

As professors, we have the ability to make the classroom setting large or small by altering where students sit, creating group work where students select team members based upon tastes rather than race and socioeconomic status, and fostering intellectual exchanges between minority students and whites who will function as allies. I accomplish this by having students fill out a profile (similar to Facebook) where they provide information about their favorite foods, music, and movies, and I group them together based upon these preferences. Students are then less attuned to their differences than to their similarities. Being able to establish interpersonal cross-racial relationships in the classroom makes dealing with whiteness more manageable for minority students who are trying to understand their racialized identities in the university setting.

13.3.2 The Racial Slip: Learning to Interact with Whites in Professional Settings

The classroom environment I seek to cultivate tends to lead minority students to have more social interactions with whites both in and outside of the classroom. These interactions are especially important for minority students from lower or working class backgrounds who are on their way to becoming part of the middle class.

As a black male professor, I can show minority students how to handle what one student referred to as a “racial slip.” Harry was a white male student in my junior-level race relations course. Similar to many others, Harry was privileged by his race, gender, and the social class of his parents. Unlike other students, however, Harry was particularly eager to understand the roots of racial inequality. Frequently, Harry would make comments to try to relate to the minority students in class, but the words he used tended to create controversy. So he came to refer to these gaffes as “racial slips” – a concept that allows a person to acknowledge the problematic nature of their words, and be let off the hook from further public scrutiny.

Now, while saying that one has made a “racial slip” may give white students a sense of accomplishment in acknowledging their micro-aggressions, these interactions may further *aggravate* minority students, because they still do not know how to deal with these situations in their everyday lives. So then I turn to film.

In analyzing movies that students mention liking in their profiles, I use sociological theories and empirical evidence to help them identify and challenge problematic racial interactions in the films. This technique accomplishes two things. First, it gives minority students strategies for interacting with whites in settings outside of the classroom. Second, it gives white students examples of racially-charged interactions that go unnoticed due to their privileged racial status.

13.3.3 Learning “We” Aren’t All the Same: Social Class Divisions Among Minorities

Movie clips may also highlight divisions in the experience, understanding, and interpretation of race that exist between minorities. These divisions are most often based on social class, but they may also be organized around ethnicity, region, or nationality. For example, during a discussion about whether African Americans should receive reparations for slavery, Daryl stated, “Black people will just spend it on rims and clothes.” Like Keenan, Daryl was from Gary. His experiences in college, however, had led him to have a “motivation perspective” on the black/white socioeconomic status gap. Daryl believed that every person was in their current social class position because either they did or did not work hard. Even though Daryl was sharp, he did not generally read the material or study for tests. And he was quick to make statements insinuating that he was different from “those” blacks still in Gary.

As I looked around the classroom that day, I saw several students nodding their heads in agreement. I took from this discussion two valuable lessons. First, all minority students do not think the same or have the same interpretations of similar experiences. Second, as professors we always have another day to make a point. In the next class I talked about how teenage boys in rural and urban settings attain social status. While rural youth might spend money on a big truck, muffler, or tires, urban boys, similarly, might spend it on a sound system or rims. The only real difference is the assumed race of the individuals in the urban and rural environments.

Another lesson that I have learned is that we as professors do not always have to be “the voice of reason.” We simply need to know what point we would like to get across, and how to motivate other students to express it themselves. More often than not, students listen to each other more than they listen to us. As good teachers, we have to privilege that dynamic.

In conclusion, I hope the classroom experiences I have shared above lead to greater understanding of the educational experiences and challenges facing minority students in the twenty-first century. The students of color that we teach are budding members of the middle class. The experiences they have in college lay a foundation for the kinds of interactions they will have with whites and other minorities at work and in their neighborhoods throughout their lifetimes.

13.4 Teaching Race to Students of African Descent at an HBCU: The Emotional Labor Involved in the Pedagogical Process – *Stacy Blount*

Arlie Hochschild introduced the term “emotional labor” in her 2003 book, *The Managed Heart*. According to Hochschild, emotional labor refers to an individual’s efforts to control their affect or behavior in order to display emotions that comply with social norms. In other words, individuals manipulate their emotions to conform to an expected ideal. “Surface acting,” one of the aspects of emotional labor that the author describes, refers to substituting negative emotions for positive ones. Furthermore, “feeling rules” are scripts that individuals employ in selecting the correct emotional response to a given situation. I discuss these two aspects of emotional labor- surface acting and the use of feeling rules- in this reflective essay.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU’s) boast a rich history of providing higher education to individuals of African descent. If not for these institutions, it would have been difficult, probably impossible, for individuals who belong to my grandparents’ and parents’ age cohorts to attain college degrees. HBCU’s have been heralded as safe havens wherein students of African descent can realize their potential in an environment of encouragement and affirmation, coupled with rigorous academic standards.

After having taught race relations at a predominately white institution, I was excited to have the opportunity to teach a race course at an HBCU. I thought that it would be easy to discuss the social construction of race and its implications for persons of African descent. I believed that there would be little need to deliberately engage in emotional labor when teaching race. However, my experiences were not congruent with my expectations.

Much to my surprise, I have found that teaching race to students of African descent at an HBCU requires a great deal of emotion management. The need for emotional labor is greatest when I teach about white privilege and how it impacts the current social status of different minority groups. I am particularly careful about the manner in which I present the material because I do not want my students to think that I am encouraging them to “hate” white people. My goal is to teach them to hate the structure that provides the opportunity for individuals to reproduce racial privilege, rather than hating the individuals themselves.

As I teach about white privilege, I am sometimes filled with feelings of anger or sadness. However, I feel that these are inappropriate emotions to display in the classroom, and thus try to maintain a factual or objective stance.

There are several reasons for this decision. First, I do not want my students to view me as “militant,” or as “playing the race card.” Second, while I want my students to be empowered, I do not want them to embrace a victim mentality. Do I think that it is important for them to know their history and understand the structural nature of racial inequality? Absolutely. But I believe that it is equally important for students to use this information as motivation to strive for excellence, rather than as a crutch to negate their own responsibility for their success or failure. I believe that engagement in the emotional labor of maintaining a factual demeanor is the best way that I can serve my students, as it encourages them to ask questions that help them connect the socio-historical concept of race to present-day realities. My thoughts on this issue may evolve in the future. I do not consider myself to be an expert on teaching race; however, as an assistant professor at the beginning of her professional career, these are the strategies of emotion management that have served me best thus far.

13.5 Teaching Race: Investigating Openness and Resistance from Both Sides of the Colorline – *Chavella T. Pittman*

As a Black female academic who has taught at predominantly white research and teaching universities in the East, South, and Midwest, I interact most often with white students. These interactions are congruent with research noting the ways in which the authority and expertise of Black faculty is challenged and questioned by white students. (e.g. McGowan 2000; Pittman 2010a, b).

My interactions with students of color, on the other hand, are markedly different, and overwhelmingly positive. They seem to be genuinely pleased, albeit surprised, to see me as their professor. While there is a growing body of research on interactions between white students and faculty of color, there is relatively little systematic research on the relationships between faculty of color and students of color. Several works (e.g. Higginbotham 1996; Hendrix 2007) suggest this topic needs further exploration. Using my teaching reflections as a starting point, below I suggest questions for future research on students of color and the raced classroom.

13.5.1 Student Perceptions of Race Scholarship

At the outset, both students of color and white students appear cautious about race course material. This cautiousness makes sense in the contemporary “post-racial” U.S. where real talk about race is a social taboo. Beyond this shared wariness, however, students respond very differently to race course material.

My own experiences with white students have echoed the findings of prior research (e.g. Harlow 2003; Pittman 2010b). When teaching about race, white students have aggressively and publicly declared that this information is only my “opinion,” and a number have complained that my teaching is largely informed by a biased “political agenda.” White students likely reject racial scholarship in order to deny the privileges associated with their racial group and to invalidate information outside of their experience (i.e. Higginbotham 1996; Applebaum 2007).

In contrast, students of color are much more likely to accept race course material as “real” scholarship, and as important new content to examine and analyze. However, like their white counterparts, they may also resist race scholarship; though the reasons for this rejection are likely quite different. In my experiences, students of color deny racial oppression in order to avoid feeling that they are helpless racial victims. They have asserted that they are fully capable of achieving their dreams through individual effort, and are not in any way hampered by “the system.”

These experiences suggest that there is much to be examined about how students perceive race scholarship. Systematic analyses may ask: Do student perceptions affect their learning? Do whites and non-whites perceive race scholarship differently, and therefore have different learning outcomes?

13.5.2 Student Openness and Resistance to Learning About Race

White students in my classrooms have most often been resistant to learning about race. Again, this is likely related to their denial of racial privilege and rejection of information that does not conform to their own experiences (e.g. Higginbotham 1996). However, when white students are open to the pedagogical experience, it

seems to reflect an eagerness to take advantage of having a safe space to discuss the taboo topic of race. In our “post-racial” and “colorblind” society, whites have been taught that speaking about race amounts to being “racist.” In this way, race talk becomes taboo and whites pretend to ignore racial differences. Thus, white students may be relieved to be able discuss race openly.

I have found that students of color are usually open to learning about race. It may be that the classroom serves as a place for them to systematically examine, affirm, and understand their lived experiences with race for the first time (e.g. Curtis-Boles and Bourg 2010; Rooney et al. 1998). However, I would be curious to know if students of color are as open to learning about race with white faculty. On numerous occasions, students of color have confided in me, sharing stories about white faculty who engaged in very problematic speech about racial matters (e.g. Chesler 1997).

Given the above reflections, future research should examine students’ openness to learning about race and the impact on learning outcomes. It should examine the level of openness in relation to the race of the faculty member, and to the development of student racial identity.

13.5.3 Emotions

White students are emotionally “removed” from the course material in my experience. That is, they can learn about race as a subject area or an area of curiosity. While they may be truly committed to understanding racial oppression, white privilege allows whites to study race at their leisure and discretion. As a result, these students rarely exhibit intense emotions. Indeed, the one emotion I frequently witness in White students is anger resulting from their resistance to race content.

In contrast, students of color express a range of emotions when learning about race. They exhibit anger, surprise, relief, and pride when learning about the social structure of race and its consequences. These emotions are most likely attributable to their positionality with respect to the course material, which is quite different than that of whites. As students of color learn race scholarship, they must contend with how it is implicated in their daily lived experience. Learning about race is therefore much more intimate for students of color and has consequences that are different and more serious.

For example, a student of color recently told me that she felt bitter, angry and helpless upon learning about how structural racism perpetuates poverty for people of color. She had direct experience with this poverty and the course material explained its source. She was so overcome with emotion that she could not speak in the next few class sessions. The emotions the material brings out in students of color are not always negative however, as I have also witnessed students of color who are empowered by their newly acquired racial knowledge.

What (if any) emotions do students of color experience in response to course material? How often do they experience these emotions? Due to the potential costs and consequences of emotions for the learning outcomes and mental health of students of color, additional research is necessary.

13.5.4 Faculty of Color as . . .

From the beginning to the end of a course, I am aware that both students of color and white students attempt to categorize me. They assume that I have a particular positionality to the race course material rather than viewing me as a mere purveyor of knowledge. Instead of and/or in addition to my professional role as an expert on race scholarship, students view me in variety of other roles.

Providing a safe space: Both students of color and white students assess whether or not I provide a safe space for discussions about race. Without safe space students will remain silent, though apparently for different reasons. Students of color seem to wonder if I will protect them from having to “represent” their race, and from the racist comments of their white peers. White students assess whether or not I will provide safe space for their potentially awkward and uncomfortable racial exploration. They also assess whether I will keep them safe from perceived “attacks” from students of color for their racial missteps.

Not white, therefore not the professor: Students perceive my subjugated racial position as incongruent with expertise and authority. As is common for other faculty of color, white students are most likely to challenge me because of my oppressed identity (e.g. Harlow 2003; Pittman 2010a). In rare instances, I am similarly challenged by students of color. These occurrences are not surprising, however, as students of color are also socialized to expect faculty to be white (e.g. Higginbotham 1996).

Champion: Many students of color seem to perceive me as their champion. They sometimes appear to be smugly satisfied by my ability to say things that they cannot. For example, I am able to speak freely and in an authoritative manner about racial oppression. They often smile and nod their heads as I teach about research and ideas that affirm their racial experiences.

The above “unofficial roles” for faculty of color likely affect both the learning environment and outcomes for students, and therefore also warrant furtherbreak research.

13.6 Conclusion

As mentioned previously, my interactions with students of color are overwhelmingly positive. However, these interactions are different from most of my interactions with whites. My experiences are not intended to overgeneralize, and may not reflect those of other faculty of color. They do, however, suggest context, variables, and processes that might be at play in race classrooms, and which future research should explore.

13.7 Teaching About Race in Detroit: *Nicole Trujillo-Pagan*

Teaching about race in Detroit is a lot like being on the U.S.-Mexico border. Students pass through the university filled with hopes of finding a job and starting a solid career. Like U.S. citizens whose status allows them to cross the border freely, some students drive through the city from predominantly-white suburban areas without noticing urban problems. Like undocumented immigrants who make multiple attempts to cross the border, other students seem to have a harder time financing their education, completing their degree, and crossing the line to a better future.

The Detroit metro area and the state of Michigan are mired in economic troubles and everyone seems to experience some degree of financial hardship, but in a hyper-segregated city whose population is 83 % Black, urban students are frequently students of color who struggle to graduate. Both white and non-white students can assimilate a historical analysis of the factors shaping the city and its fortunes, but urban students of color face more alarming anxieties about how to improve or escape contemporary experiences of segregation, urban blight or concentrated poverty. Students of color want concrete answers about how to navigate their progress toward a better future.

Unlike the border that clearly distinguishes the United States and Mexico, the racial, geographic, and class boundaries framing the Detroit metro area make teaching about race a multifaceted journey. Students share an awareness of racial difference, but they don't necessarily understand how injustice is reproduced by the social structure. In their variegated understandings of discrimination and institutional racism, for instance, white suburban students see Detroit as a place of blight and decay. Students of color from suburban areas seem trapped on the border between racial and ethnic segregation and economic privilege. They feel judged by less-privileged urban students of color, but don't share the freedoms of other white suburban students. For instance, suburban students of color feel white suburban students' experience of the city involves "doing shit they can't get away with in the suburbs."

In contrast to the narrative of being stuck on the border, white suburban students relate their parents' memories of the Detroit Riot and subsequent "escape" to the suburbs. Meanwhile, urban students of color relate the negative experiences of prejudice and discrimination they underwent upon "crossing over" 8 Mile Road into a suburban area. Ironically, Latino students (who are arguably more sensitive to geographic "borders") experience the international and urban borders that frame their understanding of their concentration in the southwestern area of the city as a protective enclave. Why are the perceptions of Latino students so vastly different?

Latino students' sense of being somewhat insulated from the city's problems stems from their positive experiences in majority-minority classrooms offered by the latino/a studies department. In these classrooms, they discuss issues of race, ethnicity and privilege with a candor not evident in mixed classes where race becomes an uncomfortable issue for both whites and students of color. In

homogenous settings, Latino students are able to emphasize the ethnic paradigm of progress, solidarity, flexibility, and acculturation.

I have found that mixed settings are uncomfortable for the very reason that homogenous settings often stimulate more productive classroom discussion. In mixed settings, white students are discomfited by their assumed privilege, and students of color are often dispirited by having to confront structural analyses that concretize the realities of broadly patterned discrimination. The basis of discomfort rests on the issue of agency, which often becomes dangerous in a mixed setting where white students would rather deny that racism exists and have been accustomed to blaming minority groups for their economic disadvantage.

Teaching in both homogenous and mixed settings, I believe it is critical to ground classroom discussions in a clear understanding of institutional racism. I find conversations about prejudice and discrimination are best facilitated when students understand how historical patterns have labeled and segregated populations. These preliminary discussions serve to place the idea of personal responsibility in its appropriate context. While students are most familiar with the black/white racial paradigm, I also remind my students that “Latino” is a category that responds to centuries of discrimination. Major Latino groups (Mexicans and Puerto Ricans) became a part of America through conquest and are involuntary minorities. Even more recent Latino groups, including Cubans, are part of a history of colonialism; they trace a migratory history to sending societies influenced by economic and political domination.

To challenge their beliefs that success is all about having a “can do” attitude, I also remind students that in the United States, Latinos have not consistently enjoyed full citizenship status. The Census and the courts have, at different times, classified Latinos as a separate race. Using history to frame the Latino experience as one that included racial exclusion, I highlight how legal segregation and extra-legal violence, i.e. lynching, were adapted for Latinos in the South. Irrespective of generation, Latinos were more frequently considered “foreign” by employers than entitled to the freedoms and protections of whites. The racialization of undocumented immigrants and their treatment by immigration enforcement is a testament to broader contemporary profiling. Latinos were targeted by subprime mortgage lenders with devastating consequences for local communities. Latinos often live in segregated *barrios* and attend majority-minority schools. I use these lectures to underscore the importance of social structure in reproducing racism more broadly.

Grounding my teaching in the local environment has been particularly useful in turning what students could perceive as abstract arguments into something real. In their search for solutions to urban problems, urban students of color are particularly interested in historical developments they can see or concretely imagine based on physical geography. Being able to use academic language and reasoning to discuss the world in which they live reinforces students’ sense of ownership of our collective contributions to urban development. For instance, an awareness of how Interstate 75 undermined minority-owned businesses in both Black Bottom/Paradise Valley

and “Mexicantown” inspires students beyond abstract lectures on urban renewal. In their search for concrete answers, important lessons seem embedded in a historical awareness of how race and ethnicity have undermined individuals’ efforts. In other words, local history reminds students that it’s not all about “having the right attitude”; and that change requires solidarity.

Unlike mixed settings, the value of action mobilizes a different kind of discussion in more homogenous minority classroom settings. The solidarity students generate goes beyond building an understanding of how racism works and is based in a profoundly intimate desire for change. Although white students in mixed classrooms can ideally be mobilized through anti-racist teaching methods, I have found that settings in which minorities are in the majority are more likely to move classroom discussion beyond values and individual action.

The emphasis on the possibilities of *collective* action in this context seems to lessen the pressure felt by many individual students of color who are often the first in their families to attend college. Learning that there are people who speak the same “language” and share the same concerns can be empowering to students who often feel isolated on both campus and in their communities. Urban students of color feel a particular sense of urgency in grappling with the material, as for them, the issues discussed are not merely academic. While it is important for all students to understand race, teaching students of color about race has the potential to not only empower individuals but their entire communities as well.

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Chapter 14

Bringing Students into the Matrix: A Framework and Tools for Teaching Race and Overcoming Student Resistance

Abby Ferber

14.1 Part One: The Context

To understand the challenges of teaching about race, we need to begin with an exploration of the context of post-racial ideology that informs students' expectations and experiences in our classrooms.

Sociologists continue to document how racial oppression remains entrenched across institutions of U.S. social life, including education, housing, workplaces, the economy, the criminal justice system and healthcare (Feagin 2001; Plaut 2010). Despite our history of “undeserved impoverishment” for African Americans and “undeserved enrichment” for whites, many white people believe that discrimination against people of color is a thing of the past (Feagin 2001). Forty percent of whites and ten percent of blacks polled believe that racial equality has been achieved (<http://www.pollingreport.com/race.htm>). As Patricia Hill Collins (2004) argues, “recognizing that racism even exists remains a challenge for most White Americans, and increasingly for African-Americans as well. They believe that the passage of civil rights legislation eliminated racially discriminatory practices and that any problems that Blacks may experience now are of their own doing” (5).

The election of Obama has been frequently evoked to support claims that we are a color-blind nation (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Cunnigen and Bruce 2010). A color-blind perspective assumes that discrimination is a thing of the past, and denies the reality of race and racial inequality today. This approach argues that we should treat people as simply human beings, rather than as racialized beings (Plaut 2010). Color-blind ideology leads to the conclusion that we've done all we can, therefore any differences we see in the success of racial groups is due to inherent differences in

A. Ferber (✉)
University of Colorado, Colorado Springs, CO, USA
e-mail: [aferber@uccs.edu](mailto: aferber@uccs.edu)

the groups themselves. While many people naively embrace this view as non-racist, it reinforces and reproduces contemporary systemic racial inequality by denying its reality.

When making race and racial inequality “visible” for those who do not see it, they often exhibit resistance. One of the most significant features of white privilege is that those who experience it do not have to think about it (Ferber and Samuels 2010; Goodman 2001 and Johnson 2001). People of color are confronted with the reality of inequality and oppression on a daily basis, and are thus more likely to “see” it, but those who experience privilege are often unaware of it and the full extent to which it impacts their own lives (Kendall 2006; Kimmel and Ferber 2010). Consequently, those with white privilege, or any form of privilege, often become angry when confronted by the fact of their privilege, having been taught to see their own accomplishments as based on their own efforts and hard work alone (Ferber et al. 2003; Stewart et al. 2012).

Many faculty have examined this resistance as it manifests in the classroom, and offered a variety of pedagogical approaches and activities to undermine this resistance (Keating 2007; Fox 2009). One of the significant challenges we face is balancing our efforts to reach resistant students with the educational needs of students that already “get it.” How do we create a learning community that fosters respect and learning for *all* students? Too often, our preoccupation with “bringing white people into consciousness about white privilege and racism” ignores the experience of students of color in the “anti-racist classroom” (Blackwell 2010, p. 473). Deanna Blackwell recounts her own experiences in supposedly anti-racist classrooms, where students of color are expected to serve as “experts,” “witnesses,” or “cultural experts,” revealing their own experiences of racism for the benefit of white students’ learning (2010). Blackwell critiques much of the literature addressing student resistance for ignoring the needs of students of color. It is important for teachers to hear this critique, but I would add one caveat – the division between the students in our classrooms that get it, and those that don’t, does not fall along strictly racial lines. For example, as the research shows, a significant number of people of color also embrace a color-blind perspective.

14.2 Part Two: The Framework

The framework I have developed for teaching about race is based on Patricia Hill Collins’ conception of the *Matrix of Domination* (Collins 2000). In my 12 years directing and co-facilitating *The Knapsack Institute: Transforming Teaching and Learning*, my co-facilitators and I have developed what we call the *Matrix of Privilege and Oppression* Framework. This framework is the foundation of our *Matrix Reader: Examining the Dynamics of Oppression and Privilege*, designed for introductory race and gender courses. This framework is informed by both theoretical and practical priorities. First, it reflects our ongoing efforts to bring contemporary research and theorizing on both privilege and intersectionality into our teaching. My own research trajectory began with my work examining the

construction of white masculinity, and the defense of white male privilege, in contemporary white supremacist discourse (Ferber 1998). Yet most of the classroom textbooks I found for my race and ethnicity classes included little if any focus on whiteness or gender.

The second concern is pedagogical and strategic: minimizing student resistance to examining inequality and oppression, and meeting the needs of all students in our classrooms. Each year, this is the most frequent request we hear from faculty attending the KI: how do we deal with student resistance and hostility? How do we respond in those instances straight out of faculty nightmares: when a hostile student says something incredibly offensive; when the class erupts into a shouting match; or when students storm out of the classroom in the middle of a lecture.

Key features of the *Matrix of privilege and oppression framework*:

1. *Sees Classifications of Difference as Socially Constructed*: This framework is based on a sociological approach which examines race, gender, disability, etc. as socially constructed systems of classification and power. These socially constructed systems vary cross-culturally and historically, and take different forms in different contexts.
2. *Brings in Privilege*: This framework emphasizes that oppression and privilege are two sides of the same coin; you cannot have one without the other. While sociology as a discipline has long focused on issues of race and ethnicity, it is only recently that whiteness and white privilege has entered the literature. Those with white privilege have greater access to rewards and valued resources simply because of their whiteness. Our failure to interrogate white privilege has serious consequences. The invisibility of whiteness serves to “reinforce the existing racial understandings and racial order of society” (Doane 2003, p. 11.) Making whiteness visible allows us to examine the ways in which all white people gain benefits from their race, expanding the discussion of racism and racial inequality beyond the actions of individual “racists” to examine institutionalized, systemic racism and the racist culture which nourishes it (Feagin 2001; Hartigan 2010). White privilege can be a highly contentious subject to teach, and can potentially increase white student resistance. However, by examining white privilege in the context of intersectionality (see below), this resistance is preempted. Instead, the focus on privilege is turned into a pedagogical strength by making clear that *everyone’s* life is shaped by their race, and thus *about* and *relevant to*, every student.
3. *Intersectional*: The matrix framework emphasizes that forms of privilege and oppression interact and intersect at multiple levels, and in everyone’s lives. No one has just a racial identity. Intersectionality leads to an examination of diversity within racial groups, emphasizing that no racial group is homogenous group. The experiences of African-Americans, Asian-Americans, latin@s, Native Americans and Whites vary depending upon other social identities such as gender, class and sexual orientation. Employing an intersectional theoretical foundation is key to minimizing resistance.
4. *Inclusive and Connectionist*: Anna Louise Keating argues that faculty must embrace a “connectionist” approach in the classroom. A “connectionist approach

is relational, starting with what ties people together, beyond their differences, and is non-divisive” (Keating 2007). While the danger here lies in the potential avoidance of issues of power and inequality, we avoid this pitfall by focusing on privilege as the point of connection. When we begin with privilege, situated in an intersectional context, students are connected by this shared position. This framework emphasizes that everyone experiences privilege (whether race, gender, sexual orientation, class, age, ability, or nationality). Students see themselves as part of a larger struggle for social justice, where each of them must be accountable for the privilege they are the beneficiaries of.

5. *Does not blame individuals*: Another assumption of this approach is that privilege and oppression are not characteristics of people, but of society. According to Allan Johnson, “Oppression and dominance name social realities that we can participate in without being oppressive or dominating people” (13). Emphasizing this sociological insight also contributes to minimizing resistance, as well as feelings of guilt or shame that often accompany the recognition of privilege.
6. *Sees oppression and privilege as harmful to everyone*: We emphasize that narrow group identities can be harmful to everyone, even those in the privileged group. For example, boys experience many negative effects from our culture’s narrow definition of masculinity and others have examined the negative effects of white privilege on whites. While being careful not to allow this point to lead students to conclude that everyone is thus equally oppressed, noting these harms increases student buy-in.
7. *Proactive*: The matrix framework recognizes that we are all a part of the problem *and* the solution. Racism can no longer be assumed to be just a people of color problem. We all must take ownership for these issues and responsibility for creating change. Emphasizing this point can be empowering for students, and can help minimize the hopelessness and despair many students feel once they understand the reality and extent of inequality. It is helpful to provide examples of role models from privileged groups fighting to end inequality, and to examine what it means to be an ally. This also serves as a mechanism for community building in the classroom.

14.3 Theoretical Foundations

This approach is built on the foundation of intersectionality. Sociologist Patricia Hill Collins developed the concept to the matrix of domination to provide insight into the experiences of African-American women. Moving beyond approaches that conceptualized their experiences as dual oppression, or explained black lesbians as facing “triple jeopardy,” the concept of the matrix is not additive. Rather, it reveals the ways in which social identities intersect, are contingent and mutually constitutive. Theories of intersectionality have been most fully developed and advanced by women of color, seeking to understand the reality of their lives where race and gender could not be separated. Historically, women of color have

repeatedly faced demands that they prioritize one or the other identity in their social movement activism, finding that their experiences end up represented in none. In the suffrage movement, women were divided by race when asked to focus only on gender; in the civil rights and chicano movements, women were often asked to abandon issues of gender and prioritize the struggle for racial equality. In these cases, the specific experiences, needs, and voices of women of color end up marginalized. Collins' use of standpoint methodology shifted the focus specifically to black women, and started from their standpoint. Examining the lives of those who are multiply oppressed lead to the development of an intentionally intersectional approach arguing that categories of race, gender, class, sexuality, and others (depending upon the context) cannot be easily separated (Collins 2004; Crenshaw 1989).

Legal scholar Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) is credited with coining the term "intersectionality," and her analyses demonstrate the need for an intersectional perspective in addressing major social problems. She examines issues such as domestic violence and affirmative action to argue that: "Intersectionality is a concept that enables us to recognize the fact that perceived group membership can make people vulnerable to various forms of bias, yet because we are simultaneously members of many groups, our complex identities can shape the specific way we each experience that bias. For example, men and women can often experience racism differently, just as women of different races can experience sexism differently, and so on" (3).

Intersectional theorizing has blossomed to examine intersectionality on many levels, beyond just focusing on lived experience. For example, the work of Siobhan Somerville explores the nineteenth and twentieth century narratives of race and sexuality, demonstrating that "the concurrent bifurcations of categories of race and sexuality were not only historically coincident but in fact structurally interdependent and perhaps mutually productive" (286). Her research examines the ways in which racial ideologies influenced and made possible the arrival of medical definitions of homosexuality.

This approach has been very successful at limiting and preempting resistance for a number of reasons. Because the focus is on privilege from an intersectional perspective, "us vs. them" divisions among students are avoided. Instead, every student sees her/himself as experiencing some form of privilege, whether it is tied to gender, disability, nationality or some other social identity. This allows us to focus on the dynamics of privilege and oppression without some students feeling like they are specifically being targeted as the villains.

This approach is also the best method I have found to respond to the negative experiences of students of color in many anti-racist classrooms, as suggested by Blackwell. The focus here is not about seeing and decentering whiteness, but coming to see all forms of privilege, and examining their intersections. Each student is asked to examine her/his own position, in terms of the interactions of race, gender, class, sexuality, and ability. In this context students are positioned in the classroom not as bad guys and victims, but as students who all experience some forms of privilege, which interact in shaping their lives. As we move beyond that point, it is

crucial to examine the ways in which these experiences of privilege are nevertheless not the same, or equal, and we avoid attempts to rank them.

One of the common misperceptions of intersectionality is that it is a “let’s look at everyone” approach. Too often we slip back into an additive perspective. For example, when leading a recent teaching workshop, one participant objected and explained, “I don’t want to focus my efforts on women. I am interested in serving the Native American community. That is where my passion lies. I don’t want to shift my attention away from the Native American community to work on women’s issues.” She imagined Native Americans and women as two separate and distinct groups, rather than recognizing that about half the Native American population is women, and their needs and experiences may differ from men’s.

Examining classifications of race, gender, and other classifications from the matrix framework, they are seen in their complexity and variability. “Contrary to the dominant framing of some of these issues, contemporary immigrants are not all Latino; prisoners are not all men; affirmative action beneficiaries are not all African American; and LGBTs are not all white and middle class. Recognizing that these constituencies are multiply-constituted means that interventions and programs designed to address group interests can no longer be framed in exclusionary terms. There are constituencies within constituencies that are not well-served by such categorical thinking” (Crenshaw 1989).

Intersectionality does not mean that there is equal emphasis on every social identity. This approach can be implemented in any class. For example, when I teach my “Race and Ethnic Relations” courses, I focus specifically on race, but from an intersectional perspective. This means that students see race within a broader context, where gender, class, sexuality and other social identities shape each person’s experiences of their racial identity, and we examine the ways in which systems of racial inequality are intertwined with other systems of inequality.

I have seen in my own classes the ways in which this approach changes the dynamics and impacts student learning. I have been teaching for close to 20 years. I remember examples from my first few years teaching about race that raised pedagogical questions I was not well prepared to deal with. On numerous occasions I had students of color in class that argued against the reality of ongoing racism. The first time this occurred I was shocked: a young woman who self-identified as African-American and multi racial, vehemently argued against racism as a contemporary issue, and claimed she had never experienced racism in her life. She had been raised most of her life outside of the U.S. in a very wealthy family. I had mistakenly assumed that all students of color would recognize that racism still exists. The white students in the classroom quickly co-opted these students’ statements to support their contention that we sociologists need to stop making such a big deal about race, because even people of color were arguing it did not exist. In some cases this also led to students of color being pitted against each other.

In other cases, I remember reading the journals of some of the students of color that revealed the emotional distress the class was causing them. They expressed frustration, dismay, and hopelessness at the extent of inequality that still existed, the lack of knowledge most students possessed, and the resistance they were witnessing

in classmates. These students often remained silent in class, feeling that their voice would not be heard in that context. I met with these students individually to try to address their needs, yet at the same time, did not know how to adequately address all students' needs within the classroom itself.

Over time, my experiences teaching these same courses have changed dramatically, as I have gradually implemented an intersectional, privilege-focused framework. Using this framework, students in the class are connected in terms of struggling to see the ways in which they are privileged. This is still a difficult issue for students to engage, and requires a lot of emotional labor, but they see themselves as united in that struggle. There are still arguments and moments of tension, but they do not take place along color lines. It is not a case of white students trying to understand their privilege, and students of color having to teach them, and make themselves vulnerable at the same time.

In addition, this framework provides an avenue for students of color to come to understand their experiences of race more deeply. A few recent experiences demonstrate this. In a recent race and ethnicity class, an African-American student who declared on the first day that she never experienced racism and did not see race as a problem anymore, within a few weeks began to see her own experiences as shaped by her family's class privilege. Over the semester, she came to examine race sociologically, understanding systematic and institutional racism, and her own position in relation to those structures. As a class we were able to focus on structural racism and the ways in which it operates in interaction with other systems of inequality so that individuals experience racial inequality differently. In this same course, a number of working class, white, male students followed a similar trajectory, moving from a position of denying racial inequality and blind to their own white privilege, to a position where they were beginning to understand the ways in which their lives had been shaped by class inequality, while at the same time recognize that they were nevertheless beneficiaries of white privilege. By minimizing the defensiveness that so often occurs, they were more open to learning about systemic racism.

In another recent course, the feedback I received from a Latina student is representative of a number of students' experiences. She explained that it was the first course she had taken on race where she did not leave feeling angry each week. She recounted stories similar to those shared by Blackwell, where she felt she was always compelled to focus on educating white students. Instead, she felt her knowledge and understanding of Latina identity, culture, experience, and inequality deepened and became more complex. Working from an intersectional, privilege based approach, it was the first time she began to examine her own heterosexual privilege, and the way in which it manifests itself in her anti-racist activism. She began to examine issues of sexual orientation within Latina community organizations, and questions of who was being included or excluded. Bringing sexual orientation into the picture did not detract from the focus on race, but instead afforded an opportunity to examine diversity within the Latina community, and to understand more clearly how Latina experiences of racial oppression vary, as well as to develop more successful strategies for bringing local Latinas together across their differences to work for social change.

14.4 Part Three: Teaching Tools

Because race is such a highly personal, emotional issue, which everyone has direct experience with, tools for helping students understand the subject matter at a personal, affective level are essential. While the objectives of my courses are largely sociological, I have come to realize that I cannot only focus on sociological theory and knowledge. Much of the emotional resistance we face stems from students' own personal experiences and lessons internalized about race throughout their lives. If we do not attack and examine those assumptions at that level, many students will never move beyond resistance to entertain sociological perspectives on systematic racism.

In addition to employing ground rules, or a community agreement, one of the most essential tools I rely upon is journaling. I require students to write journal entries in every class I teach. Journals can be used in a variety of ways, but my approach is to require students to write a 2–3 page journal entry, engaging the required readings, before each class. This is important for a number of reasons. First, students actually do the reading (or at least more of it). The quality of classroom discussion changes dramatically when students have read the required texts. Second, it provides students with an opportunity to ponder, reflect upon, and process the subject matter from their own perspective, before participating in the class discussion. Third, it provides me with insight into students' experience in the class. It allows me to assess, from the start, where various students are coming from in terms of their level of resistance, their existing knowledge and understanding of the issues, their comprehension of the readings, and to see their development throughout the course. It provides me with insight into each student's learning: the degrees of resistance some students are experiencing, as well as the voices of students who already "get it." While this requirement is very time consuming, I find the payoff well worth it. I grade journals based on the extent to which they do what they are supposed to do, and demonstrate thoughtful engagement with the readings and class discussions. Students know that their journals will be confidential, and will not be graded based on their own personal, subjective views. An added benefit of grading the journals this way is that if the class is very large, I can more quickly skim the journals; I find this preferable to not requiring journals at all.

I also find it is very helpful to provide students with tools they can use to understand their own emotions around the subject that may affect their learning. One strategy I have found especially helpful is to have students examine their own triggers (Adams et al. 1997). Often, a seemingly simple comment made by one student can be an emotional trigger for others. When we are triggered, we may experience any of a wide range of emotions. Some triggers may leave us feeling attacked, dismissed, hurt, threatened, or ashamed based on some aspect of our own social identity.

For example, one of the most common triggering comments in my classes on race is when one student claims, "America is a meritocracy. Anyone who works hard can be successful." The statement is usually proclaimed with strong

emotion, and other students respond immediately and emotionally. Discussing the concept with students early on provides them with the language to understand what they experience, or what they see other students experience. It also helps them to understand the reactions they often receive from family members or friends when trying to explain what they learn in class. Simply being able to name the feeling/experience is helpful. When discussed at the beginning of the term, I find students use the language in class often. For example, a student will say, "I feel really triggered by that comment Jack made, because . . ." When a student responds in this way, we are able to proceed with a discussion in a much more productive manner than if the student had responded with something like "that comment Jack made is racist." The first response opens up discussion, whereas the second response shuts it down.

I often have students identify some of their own personal triggers related to race, and ask them to consider specific examples of when they have felt triggered in other classes. Then I ask them to think about examples when they have been happy with their response to the trigger, and examples of when they were not happy with their response, and what they might have done differently. Students often share examples with the class of comments they have heard family members make that they consider racist and offensive, and are hungry for strategies to respond. A simple but useful tool I recommend is a booklet entitled "Speak Up!" from the Southern Poverty Law Center's Teaching Tolerance project. This tool can also be integrated into a sociological discussion of "backstage racism." (Picca and Feagin 2007).

Another tool students have appreciated is a social identity development handout based on social identity development models (see appendix). The handout summarizes theories of social identity development around "advantaged" and "disadvantaged" identities, including race. While these models are crude approximations of a complex reality, students find them very helpful in thinking about their own personal journey to understand racial inequality. We discuss the limitations of these models, and then students assess where they see themselves in terms of understanding their racial identity development. I often use this as a class assignment, asking them to consider one of their privileged social identities, and a second social identity, and require that one of the two identities they focus on is their race. I have them write up a discussion of where they see themselves and why. This tool helps them to see that resistance is common when one first encounters these issues, and allows them to think about how they might move beyond their current stage. They are able to examine their own position within a depersonalized framework, making it much less threatening, scary or emotional. By requiring them to examine two identities, they start to see the ways in which their understanding of race and racism is shaped by their multiple social identities. Students frequently discuss that this is the first time they have examined their own privilege, recognizing that they usually choose to focus on their oppressed identities. This avoids the problem many have noted often occurs when using an intersectional approach; students focus on their oppressed identities rather than face their privilege. Ann Curry-Stevens calls this the "race to oppression."

In seeking out these tools and strategies over the past 12 years facilitating the Knapsack Institute, I have learned that as a faculty member, I can learn a great deal from professional facilitators. Like most faculty members of my generation, I received no instruction in teaching. I began my career thinking that my job was to pass on my knowledge to my students. I learned very quickly that it isn't that easy. While many subjects that are taught in college have little emotional content, that cannot be said of sociology, especially when we teach the subject of race. Racial issues are so contentious, we must expect that our students will bring their diverse assumptions and strong opinions into our classrooms. At the same time, my goal in teaching about race is to contribute to creating social change and social justice. In order to do this successfully, I need to meet students where they are at. I want them to not only understand the subject matter in their books, but to make a personal connection to the subject, and to spark their interest in taking additional classes.

14.5 Stages of Social Identity Development

Social Identity Development Theory – describes the identity development process for members of privileged and oppressed groups. While identity is far more complex than this overview suggests (people may not move neatly from one stage to the next, may experience several stages simultaneously, may backslide, etc.) it is a useful tool for self-assessment, reflection and learning.

Advantaged (A) – Privileged identity groups (such as whites, men, heterosexuals).

Disadvantaged (D) – Subordinated identity groups (such as people of color, the able-bodied).

14.5.1 Stage I: Naive/ No Social Consciousness

A and D are both:

- Becoming aware of differences between self and members of other social groups.
- Unaware of the complex codes of appropriate behavior for members of their social group.
- Naively operate from their needs, interests, and curiosity about social group differences.
- Break rules and resist boundaries of social identity group membership.
- Still learning what it means to be a member of their social identity group.

Numerous events/factors (such as schooling, family, media) transform children from naive (unsocialized) to accepting of their social dominance or subordination.

14.5.2 Stage II: Acceptance

This stage represents some degree of internalization, whether conscious or unconscious, of the dominant culture's hierarchies. People at this stage have "accepted" the messages about their group identity, and its place in the hierarchy. The acceptance stage has *two* manifestations, *passive* and *active*, which refer to the relative consciousness and intentionality with which a person holds to the dominant belief system.

14.5.2.1 Passive Acceptance for the Advantaged

- Codes of appropriate behavior more or less internalized.
- Conscious effort is no longer necessary to remind them of what to do and think.
- Dominant actions and beliefs are part of everyday life.
- System of rationalization is in place.
- Engages in blaming the victim.
- Passive acceptance of the agent's perspective as normative is more subtle than outright belief that they are superior, but in practice it has many of the same consequences as active acceptance.

14.5.2.2 Active Acceptance for the Advantaged

- Agents raised in an active acceptance environment are given direct instruction about the inadequacies, weaknesses, deviance, and basic inferiority of "Others."
- Generally unaware of their privilege as dominant group members in an oppressive society, internalized sense of superior.
- Often view their life experience as normative or "the way things are."

Information or experiences that contradict the *acceptance* world view may initially be ignored, but as they experience more conflicting circumstances, the transition to stage three may begin. These conflicts may include personal connection or friendship with a **D**, books, classes, etc. The accepted privileged identity is under scrutiny at this point, and the **A** may experience a range of emotions and fear self-examination.

14.5.2.3 For Disadvantaged

Ds in Acceptance stage have learned and accepted messages about the inferiority of the oppressed and their culture. Negative/oppressive messages are often held simultaneously and in contradiction to positive messages about their social group as conveyed by same group adults or peers. **Ds** live with varying degrees of cognitive dissonance on a daily basis.

Ds in Passive Acceptance: In this environment are unaware they are operating with thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that reflect the dominant group ideology.

Ds in Active Acceptance: Tend to consciously identify with dominant group ideologies. For example, some people of color may oppose civil rights laws and affirmative action because they believe that people of color are less successful due to their own “laziness” or “pathological culture.”

Ds who exit this stage begin to acknowledge the harmful effects of the predominant hierarchy based on their own experiences of oppression and/or connections with powerful role models.

14.5.3 Stage III: Resistance

This stage is one of increased awareness of privilege/oppression and its impact.

14.5.3.1 Advantaged

- Experience a dramatic paradigm shift from blaming the targets for their condition to blaming one’s own group as the source of oppression.
- Examine their own role in perpetuating oppression, often accompanied by anger.
- May be ostracized by those in acceptance stage when challenging inequality.
- Become distanced from others who don’t share their new consciousness.
- Recognize that their identity has been shaped by social factors beyond their control.
- Begin to redefine inequality and oppression as *their* problem.

14.5.3.2 Disadvantaged

- Enter this stage by questioning previously accepted “truths” about the way things are.
- Become more skilled at identifying their experiences of oppression.
- May feel hostility toward As and other Ds who are in the Acceptance stage.
- May experience anger, pain, hurt, and rage as they realize the falsity of their earlier *acceptance* consciousness. Powerful emotions and intellectual understanding of how oppression works can become all-consuming.
- May lose benefits acquired when they ignored inequality, and may choose to embrace a passive form of resistance to avoid negative consequences.

14.5.4 Stage IV: Redefinition

The focus here is on creating an identity independent of the hierarchical system of oppression and privilege.

14.5.4.1 Advantaged

- May begin this stage with negative feelings about their privileged identity and confusion about their role in dealing with oppression.
- May be isolated from others in their social identity group.
- Begin developing a positive definition of their social identity and seek aspects of their culture that are affirming.
- Begin to develop pride in their group and themselves.
- Gradually recognizing value in all groups and moving away from hierarchical thinking.

14.5.4.2 Disadvantaged

- Focus on defining themselves independently of the dominant culture.
- Seek primary contact with members of their own social identity group who are at the same stage of consciousness.
- May not see interaction with As as useful in their quest for a positive nurturing identity.

14.5.5 Stage V: Internalization

The main task in this stage is to incorporate the identity developed in the Redefinition stage into all aspects of daily life. The process of refining identity can be ongoing as new sources of history, past feelings or thoughts characteristic of earlier stages reemerge or are triggered. There is essentially no exit phase for this stage; the ongoing task is one of lifelong exploration and learning, including how to become an ally to others and how to work for social justice.

14.5.5.1 Advantaged

- Try to apply and integrate their new social identity into other facets of their overall identity.

- Redefined identity becomes a natural part of behavior so people act unconsciously, without external controls, and without having to think about what they are doing.

14.5.5.2 Disadvantaged

- In the process of integrating and internalizing newly developed consciousness and group pride.
- Learning how their new sense of social identity will affect all aspects of their lives.
- Are renegotiating interactions and relationships with significant people in their lives.
- Recognizing that they need not feel their sense of self is threatened if their new social identity is not valued by those around them.
- Empathy for other oppressed groups becomes more prominent.

Adapted by Abby L. Ferber and Nicole Nicoletta, from “Conceptual Foundations for Social Justice Courses,” by Rita Hardiman and Bailey W. Jackson. In *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice*, Routledge, 1997, pp. 16–29.

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Part IV
Innovative Techniques

Chapter 15

Transformatory, Community Based Teaching About Race

Rose M. Brewer

Community service is the accepted mainstream term for student-community engagements. My goal in teaching about race in the twenty-first century is to turn this traditional definition on its head and really connect students to communities that have been racialized. Students are engaged through socially meaningful, community based action research projects. Teaching and research are collaborative, structured in deep relationality with community partners. Students work closely with community organizations that are organized by and for communities of color and based in these communities. This work connects readings, reflections, writing, and the actual community based research and engagement. This is not easy work to put into practice; nor should it be. As I have come to understand it pedagogically, I must work in alliance over time with the communities involved in the common work of building movements for social change. Indeed this kind of community based learning requires that scholars take action in the world to transform racial injustice. This is not simply about student engagement but faculty commitment to social change through scholarship and action with an eye to disrupting twenty-first century racial formations rooted in inequality.

At the core of this work is the principle of thinking and acting in deep relationality (Collins 1990; hooks 1994; James 1997) with communities engaged in the struggle for change and justice. Our values are clear: the goal is to make connections to oppositional struggles, not simply advocacy or reform efforts. Thus students, through action, become engaged in observation, learning and research, working with communities on a collaborative basis to create a useful, transformational project. The Black feminist principle of simultaneity is the guiding one (Collins 1990). Communities shape us, and we shape communities that have been deeply racialized. This cannot be done without critical interrogation of the meaning of race

R.M. Brewer (✉)
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, USA
e-mail: brewe001@umn.edu

in the twenty-first century. This essay is structured around insights gained from teaching race through community engagement with insights learned from work on the ground.

15.1 Twenty-First Century Pedagogy, Community and Resistance to Racial Injustice

A critical understanding of race is essential to the work of teaching about and ending racism in the twenty-first century. This means developing a good meaning of racial formations in the U.S. over time and problematizing the ideas of colorblindness and the so-called post-racial U.S. An analytical shift in thinking about race involves deploying the frame of racial formation. At core here is the idea that racial formations are disrupted and changed through active resistance and struggle. This framing cannot simply be accomplished in the classroom. The dialectic among classroom understanding of race theory, connecting to on the ground struggles, and then reflecting back on race theory centers my teaching, and the argument I make in this essay foregrounds this reflexivity. If we start with the idea of racial formation, drawing upon the work of Frankenberg (1993), Omi and Winant (1994), Mills (1996), Bonilla-Silva (2006), Lui et al. (2006), Brewer (2010), here are some of the core ideas that students carry into our work with community partners:

1. The construction and transformation of racial meanings shifts and changes. This means that racial construction is made and remade over time. Racial meanings are not completely stable, although powerful. They are disrupted through resistance and struggle.
2. Race structures both state and civil society. Race is remade at the level of the state (from racial apartheid to the dismantling of racial separation in societies such as the United States and South Africa) to the ideological deployment of the ideas of colorblindness and a post-racial order in countries such as the United States and South Africa.
3. Race shapes both identities and institutions. At the center of identity formation is how individuals and groups think of themselves and are thought about in highly racialized social orders. These identities are not just for people of color but are also central to the self-conception of whites. Although it is true that whites often do not see themselves as raced.
4. Every institution in the U.S. is structured racially: economy, polity, education, health. Because of racial inequities, life chances are fundamentally different for groups of color in comparison to whites. This is especially true regarding the racial wealth divide. For every \$1.00 in assets whites have, communities of color have 10 cents (Lui et al. 2006). By 2010 whites had 20 times the wealth of African Americans and 18 times that of Latinos (Kochlar et al. 2011).
5. Race is deeply inscribed in the geography of space and place in U.S. society. Geographic apartheid remains alive and well. This means that people may

come together in public space to some degree, but largely live in separate neighborhoods. African Americans are the most geographically separated from whites in U.S. society (Brewer 2010). Race is kept alive through racialized, economically exclusionary space.

6. From the 1960s through the 1980s, largely through Black resistance from the bottom up, the legal order of racial apartheid was largely dismantled. Legislation was passed, enfranchising African Americans. The other institutions were not fundamentally transformed and large scale resistance to educational desegregation was mounted in the wake of the 1954 *Brown v Board* decision. Indeed, despite talk of a colorblind society, race matters and remains deeply rooted in twenty-first century America. There is a twenty first century structural backlash to the pursuit of racial justice in U.S. society. It takes the form of so-called “reverse discrimination” suits, active resistance to affirmative action, and the assertion that we’re now a colorblind society when disparities in health, economy, education, incarceration are palpable (Bonilla-Silva 2006). Structurally, the growth of the prison-industrial complex with large numbers of Black and Brown males and females incarcerated/profiled and/or connected to the criminal justice system is a vivid example of how race remains deeply inscribed in the law (Alexander 2011).
7. Omi and Winant argue that race is a central organizing principle in U.S. society. Moreover, there is a failure of social theory to capture the centrality of race in American politics and life. Theorists have often not been successful in grasping the shifting nature of racial dynamics in the postwar U.S – a failure which continues to haunt us into the twenty-first century.
8. We cannot reduce race to a mere manifestation of other supposedly more fundamental social and political relations such as class and gender. Although it is deeply interconnected with these social forces. Women of color have made a powerful case for the intersection and relationality of race with class and gender. This paradigm shift is captured in the work of Collins (1986a, b, 1990), Hooks (1994), Hull et al. (1982), James (1997) among others.

The late Manning Marable (2000) captures race conceptually in the following way. He asserts:

When we talk about race, we don’t mean a biological or genetic category, but rather, a way of interpreting differences between people which creates or reinforces inequalities among them. In other words, race is an unequal relationship between social groups represented by the privileged access to power . . . race is never fixed, but dynamic and constantly changing.

Given this, teaching race today means opening up a space for students to see systems of power at work. It means preparing them to critically interrogate the so-called post-racial and colorblind. It means preparing them to go behind the appearance of racial equity to interrogate how things work on the ground through community based learning. In the midst of the ascent of President Barack Obama, a man of African and European heritage, preparing students to see that systemic racism remains alive is imperative. His ascent is contradictory and fraught with difficulty. Thus to act to dismantle structural racism, those structural barriers which

sever democratic rights and economic possibility for communities of color is essential. Beyond the symbolic and historical importance of electing “the first Black president of the United States,” the issue remains the persistence of structures of racial inequality for broad sectors of the Black population and other communities of color. This means for my pedagogy that we must connect the work of academy with those communities caught up in the vise of persistent racial inequality. This idea of relevant and engaged learning is rooted in the theory and practice of Black Studies. Before it became trendy for universities to encourage student engagement, the militant spirit of the Ethnic Studies fights of the late 1960s placed such community engagement at the heart of the theory and practice of the field.

15.2 The Black Studies Tradition: Laying the foundation for Relevant, Anti-Racist Education

For many of us involved with the teaching and theory of Black Studies, the legacy of the late 1960s and the Black Studies movement informs our commitments. At the center of that movement was asserting the need for study and struggle. The first Black studies programs did involve overt struggle with the state and the police (Karenga 1993). As Maulana Karenga points out, what is less focused on is the intellectual activist history which runs through the long tradition of Black liberation struggles here and across the Diaspora. These intellectual demands shaped the Black Studies tradition. The activists of the period understood you could not confront racism strictly in the halls of academe. Indeed as Karenga notes, one of the most important concepts in the general student movement and especially in the Black student movement was relevance – in its academic and social dimensions. He contends that relevance emanates from education’s contribution to liberation and a higher level of life for Blacks. Dr. Nathan Hare, the chair of the first Black Studies Program at San Francisco State, called it education which would contribute to solving “the problems of the race” by producing persons capable of solving problems of a “contagious American society” (Jennings 2004). To not do so would make education irrelevant and useless. As Jennings points out further at “the core is the idea of dismantling systemic and not just individual prejudice.” This was expressed in the struggles at San Francisco State and other sites such as the University of Minnesota. These struggles were not disconnected from community support. In fact they occurred in deep connection with communities (Massey et al. 2006; Ladner 1973). At San Francisco State students established a Black arts and culture series in the Experimental College which was created in 1966. The program became involved in San Francisco State’s tutorial program for the surrounding community. This and other community service activities signaled the social commitment of Black studies to activism. It would place engagement and commitment to social change at the center of the academic and social mission of the field (Jennings 2004). At that time, there was significant resistance to the idea of pursuing vulgar careerism, being absorbed into the logic of the capitalist

academy. As bad, from the perspective of the field, would be emerging as an obscene caricature of Europe, a pathetic imitator of the oppressor (Fanon 2004). The idea was to work in conjunction with those in struggle on the ground as well as create a body of knowledge which would contribute to the intellectual and political emancipation of a people (Marable 2000; Aldridge and Young 2003; Bobo et al. 2004; Boyce-Davis 2003). In short, intellectual freedom would be inextricably bound up with political emancipation (Karenga 1993).

Jennings sums up the commitment in this way,

Within the field of Black studies, however, community service focuses on changing system-based and dominant/subordinate social and economic relations and improving living conditions for Blacks and, thereby, other communities. (2004, p. 35)

Thus we must fully understand how racial formation occurs by tapping into the experiences and working with those most impacted by racism. From this perspective, theory is most effective when grounded in real life experience. It means if we don't struggle around the difficult and messy relationships between the academy and the community, we cannot build the democratic society that is so needed. This means raising the thorny issue of research for whom by whom (Stoecker 2005). It means "claiming" as asserted by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), "people must claim their reality and come to consciousness about the prospects of changing their reality."

15.3 What Happens on the Ground: The Case of Project South

Here my strategy is to look at an example of how student and community can work together in struggle for social change. Project South has a long history of forging such community/university common work. Jerome Scott and Emery Wright speak to the challenges and possibilities of these efforts in an interview conducted in 2007. The full discussion can be found in the Project South publication, *The Critical Classroom: Education for Liberation & Movement Building* (Katz-Fishman et al. 2007). I draw upon my work with Project South in forging these scholar/community connections and how my students become critically informed of the work of Project South in our class discussions and reflections in preparation for our community based initiatives.

Project South was founded in 1986 in the struggles to ensure Black political rights in Alabama. By 1992 a founding board was established. The organization defines its mission as,

A leadership development organization based in the US South creating spaces for movement building. We work with communities pushed forward by the struggle to strengthen leadership and provide popular political and economic education for personal and social transformation. We build relationships with organizations and networks across the US and global South to inform our local work and to engage in bottom-up movement building for social and economic justice. (Project South 2007, p. 3)

Jerome Scott is the co-founder of Project South and transitioned out of the executive directorship in 2008. He is a long-time organizer for racial, economic, and political change. Emery Wright is a member of the collective leadership team now in place. As a student, he worked with community based learning at Tufts University. In the briefly excerpted interview below, Emery and Jerome share their insights on what it means to do the critical work of bringing universities, professors, students, and movement building community organizations together. Their interview initially appeared in *The Critical Classroom*, 2007.

15.4 Jerome

We had some relationships and still have some relationships with some professors and we could recruit (students) through them. The lesson that we learned from that process was that you had to have some serious political education to go along with the process because if you didn't, particularly the student, would have a hard time understanding what they got from the community person. You know, what kind of leadership was the community person bringing to the table, and how it would affect the work. Because the work, the research, was in the community. If the researcher didn't appreciate the leadership of the community person, a lot of times they would not get the information that they needed out of the community. We were on a learning curve, you know. We didn't quite get to the place where we figured out that we had to start this process off with some political education and then we had to have regular political education. It was a 6 month project, and we had to have political education throughout the project.

The point Jerome makes is that community leadership must be respected for community based/university relations to work. In his experience that is most possible when a broad based societal level movement is being formed. That is the ideal situation, from my perspective, of connecting students to community and community to universities. It takes political commitment on the part of the professor to forge these connections. This is not something that can be delegated to the office of community service.

Emery makes the following point,

Yes, we definitely experimented with scholar-activist and student-community relationships a lot. I think that the challenge was always whether we were talking about student-community or professor-community-activist relationships. It was really a problem about power and privilege. I agree with what Jerome talks about, about the need for political education as a way that you can start to unpack some of the power and privilege that can play out in a really negative way with these kinds of relationships. If you're working with two different communities where one community has more power and privilege, that can really be a problem. For example, when we were doing some multi-racial work, and we had white people and Black people working together, there's a lot of power and privilege that was playing out there, and it was only through political education that we could start to unpack some of those things. I think that that is a key. I think that the problem with scholar activist and community relationships is that too many times there's not a process, an intentional process to unpack a lot of that power and privilege, so it just plays itself out in the way that oppression re-enforces power differences. So yeah, I think that's a big, big piece. You just have to have a space where you can reflect on your work. Maybe the theory's not working out with your work and so you need to look at some other things. That's definitely what we did. And that process has continued for me.

These insights from Project South and from other community based partners have informed my work in the classroom. The classroom teaching space and the community connections must be relevant and deeply connected to community knowledge and insights. It is the lynchpin of higher education's contribution to liberation and a higher level of life for Black student activists asserted Huntley, Williams, and others. A race critical pedagogy is inextricably linked to community change. This is beyond a "helping" and "aid" endeavor, especially if we are connecting with communities of color situated in neighborhoods off campus. It pushes beyond the dominant discourses and assumptions about who knows.

The issue that continues to be challenging in my community work is drawing upon indigenous knowledge(s). How do we move with critical sociological theory, while important, to transform through oppositional histories, and alternative stories? What about the powerful on the ground challenges to disciplinary hegemony about race? What about the history of Black resistance and other communities of color? These important questions are not easily resolved even in the critical race classroom knowledge. Yet, they are the bedrock of a transformatory, critical race teaching.

Students going into communities must deeply understand that the issue is not about a "problem people". This stance has become so naturalized that it very difficult to deconstruct it. Even still, W.E.B. DuBois' insights are useful here. In *Souls of Black Folks* DuBois raised the question: "What does it mean to be defined as a problem?" This frame, of course, has been the stock and trade in the social problems tradition in U.S. sociology, especially when studying the Black experience. We can extend the DuBoisian interrogation to the worrisome persistence of racist scholarship and discourses into the twenty-first century. For example, it was less than two decades ago that social science racism gained respectability in the work of Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray (1994). They published the highly received (in some circles and strongly criticized in others) *Bell Curve*.

Given these realities, I contend that we must teach race through a value centered logic of emancipation. This value aligns with Trevino's notion of declaring one's values openingly (Trevino and Service 2011 at <http://www.sssp1.org/index.cfm/pageid/1419>).

15.5 Classroom Praxis: Anti-Racist and Systemic

The crux of my pedagogy is preparing my students to deal with issues of power and privilege in their community based work. This is the Project South model as well as what organizer Sam Grant calls "consistent active reflection on what we are each doing in our projects, and actively supporting each other to be as effective as possible." Community engagement is thought about in deep reflection with the readings and discussions of race in relationship to the community based projects. We thus develop an experientially rooted theory and practice of community based learning through action research and in class reflections, reading and writing.

While we struggle with the idea of incorporating indigenous knowledge, that knowledge informs our understanding of race and racism and is rooted in the lived realities of those populations most impacted by racism. In short, this embrace of “knowledge from below” is central to understanding race today. Indeed, the classroom becomes a transformed social space for rethinking what is valorized as knowledge and how social change occurs. Thus students are remade through community learning as they engage with communities to remake the world. We know we do not live in a post-racial world nor a colorblind one. The question becomes how to dismantle a uniquely American racial formation in deep relationality with communities most impacted by racial oppression in the twenty-first century. Blacks, Native Americans, Latinos and other communities of color continue to be defined outside the social contract – in fact, as Charles Mills (1996) so aptly asserts, a racial contract rooted in white supremacy was never completely dismantled and is entangled in the present era.

No doubt, the issues are complex, centered in a complicated set of social and political realities. Here I want to speak directly to the issue of the so-called engaged university, the public university. The university in its construction today is a microcosm of the larger society (as it has been historically). Nonetheless, the domination of corporate interests in the larger society and transnational economy is expressed in today’s academy quite deeply (Tuchman 2009). While there has always been an interrelationship between corporations and the university, under current conditions there is a weakening of the idea that the university is a space independent of the economy and that university actors (faculty, administrators, boards of trustees, etc.) are autonomous. Some of the main features of today’s corporate university are the merger of corporate interests with intellectual production in the university – making intellectual production property that corporations can appropriate and use to make profits. This is the neoliberal university. Neoliberalism’s logic of markets and privatization (Chang 2003) shapes the public universities today. We see it in corporate funding of laboratory research, often in the sciences but not solely. Ensuring that the power and privilege of this corporate form isn’t imposed on communities in struggle is a major political and pedagogical concern of community based learning. As Jerome Scott notes in the *Critical Classroom* volume, this organizational form with corporate tentacles is a major impediment to building community/university alliances. Given this, we must struggle to make the classroom a site of transformatory education.

15.6 Concluding Reflections

In terms of anti-racist, twenty-first century education, the classroom can be site of transformatory education. I contend that it must be connected to communities of change within and outside the academy. The classroom is not a simple space nor one without contradictions. Minimally, we should be aware that:

1. The core relationship between scholars, activists and communities is not automatic or easy, and often difficult and messy.
2. These relationships must be constantly struggled around if we are do the core work of preparing our students for a participatory democracy centered in the practice of social justice.
3. Social and political theory, analysis and practice are critically assessed in the critical classroom space, an intentional aspect of community/university engagement.
4. Classroom and community spaces are themselves sites of race, class, gender/sexuality privilege and struggle that must be struggled against.
5. The idea is to build relationships, not a simple model of “helping those people”.

Community based teaching and learning demands being explicit about the relationship between theory and practice. It means making clear that both reflection and action are necessary for effective praxis and engagement. To go from action to reflection and action about race in the twenty-first century is key. Importantly, this comes from the communities engaged in social change as they push to transform university/community relations. There is no uncritical embrace of a university posed “to help.” In short, a critical anti-racist pedagogy is a space where activists, scholars and students co-create knowledge working to transform a highly unequal society. It is also a space where we draw upon the knowledge and histories of communities in struggle – the signature importance of Black, Native, Latinos in resistance. While today the language of the university is that of community engagement, service learning community university partnership, the public university, this language and the practice that informs this discourse is often flawed. It embraces high degrees of exclusion and elitism (Tuchman 2009). The history of universities exploiting historically marginalized communities through both research on these community and by expansion into these communities must be critically challenged and changed through a radical model of engagement and change. This transformation must be led by the communities most impacted by injustice.

As the Project South volume on *The Critical Classroom* asserts:

A key challenge we face is creating a critical classroom and campus space that respects the integrity of that diverse social location while, at the same time, being a bridge to even more complex community and movement spaces. For student and scholar activists to move as co-equals with community and low-income activists can be a difficult process. It take time, patience, and hard work to share a common space-to understand our relative privilege, and to build relationships and trust so we an have a place at the social movement table. (2007, p. 35)

As well as the critical insights of radical organizer/educator Sam Grant,

If we accept the reality that we all live in socially constructed and culturally defined “boxes” it is then only in deep relationships across our distinct boxes that we can re-examine our lenses on the world, and change our behaviors in the structures we share - towards a shared vision of a better possible world. Yet, because of the deeply ingrained conditions of living in oppressive societies, which separate us from each other by lines of privilege and power, it is very difficult for us to come together. When we do come together, we usually are quick to find reasons to drift back apart. Issues of power are inherent in partnerships, and thus must be addressed head on. In my view, this means constructing processes of mutual

investigation led by the poor and oppressed constituencies, not led by the universities and institutions. I expect that staying true to this guiding assumption about power, and consistently supporting the poor constituency to hold the reins of power in the process will be difficult. I also expect that it is possible.

Audre Lorde (1984) asserts the need of the dispossessed to break the silence. This is the need of marginalized, historically silenced and invisible subjects to transform silence into speech and action. This is the imperative behind a race critical pedagogy deeply connected to communities engaged in social change and possibility.

Finally, Black feminist intellectual bell hooks in *Teaching to Transgress* articulates this most important observation about teaching:

The classroom remains the most radical space of possibility in the academy. For years it has been a place where education has been undermined by teachers and students alike who seek to use it as a platform for opportunistic concerns rather than as a place to learn. I add my voice to the collective call for renewal and rejuvenation in our teaching practices. Urging all of us to open our minds and hearts so that we can know beyond the boundaries of what is acceptable, so that we can think And so that we can create new visions. I celebrate teaching that enables transgressions—a movement against and beyond boundaries. It is that movement which makes education the practice of freedom. (1996, p. 12)

Once again, as I have come to understand critical community based teaching about race, I must work in alliance over time with the communities involved in the common work of building movements for social change. Indeed this kind of community based learning requires that scholars take action in the world to transform racial injustice. This is not simply about student engagement but faculty commitment to social change through scholarship and action with an eye on disrupting and dismantling twenty-first century racial formations rooted in inequality.

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Chapter 16

Teaching About Race Through Sports: Documents from the Jack Johnson-Jim Jeffries Fight

John Bloom

Teaching about race should be central to any course about American history, culture, and society. Yet given how relevant and central the history of race, racial categories, and white supremacy are to the development of Europe and the Americas over the past 500 years, it is sometimes surprisingly difficult to sustain student interest in the topic. As a number of scholars have pointed out over the past 20 years or so, many white college students easily dismiss any discussion of race as guilt mongering. Even students of color become impatient with, or even embarrassed by, historical units that emphasize their victimization. Given these challenges, academics who teach about race often look for new materials with which to engage students, to illustrate the concrete roles that racial discourses have played in American history, and to spark discussions that connect the history of race in America to the present.

One area of U.S. cultural history that can serve this purpose is sports history. Becoming increasingly recognized by cultural historians, the world of sports provides primary materials that can serve as valuable teaching tools, particularly when discussing the history of race in American life since the late nineteenth century. This chapter will discuss a unit in my upper level/graduate course on United States Cultural History that I teach at Shippensburg University, a public university in central Pennsylvania. The course is geared toward junior and senior history majors, and students in our Applied History Masters of Arts program, a graduate degree focused primarily upon public history training. The unit in my cultural history course focuses upon the racial ideology of white supremacy that emerged in the decades following *Plessy v. Ferguson* through the 1920s, an era characterized by the violent rise of Jim Crow segregation throughout the United States. To illustrate these themes, my class examines a series of popular newspaper articles related to one of the most sensational prizefights of the twentieth century, the heavyweight title bout between Jack Johnson, an African American and defending champion, and

J. Bloom (✉)
Shippensburg University, Shippensburg, PA, USA
e-mail: jdbloo@ship.edu

Jim Jeffries, a white former world heavyweight champion, on July 4, 1910. This fight was not Jack Johnson's first defense of his heavyweight title, but it was the first against a fellow heavyweight. Encouraged by the fight's promoter, Tex Rickard Popular accounts of the event portray it explicitly in terms of racial combat, and newspaper coverage employed many of the tropes and images familiar to anyone who studies the cultural history of race in America. In my courses, students have found this unit to be a particularly successful one that not only provides valuable illustrations, but sparks connections between racial ideologies of the past and racial ideas and images that they recognize in the present. Students often come away recognizing how sports continue to serve as a powerful medium through which people learn about and negotiate understandings of race.

A great deal of my course on U.S. cultural history addresses the significance of racial hierarchies, categories, and knowledges to American life over the course of its history. We study this by examining the centrality of racial images and stories to some of the most popular cultural expressions in each of the time periods that we cover. Before getting to the unit on the early twentieth century in which we discuss the Johnson-Jeffries fight, for example, we would have studied the popularity of the minstrel stage during the nineteenth century, and its relationship to ante bellum and post bellum American life in both the north and the south. During the week before our discussion of the boxing match, students also would have viewed the film *Birth of a Nation* on their own (the film is now available for free online). Placed within this context, our classroom discussion of the boxing match focuses upon how we can read such a sporting event as a focused and meaningful cultural event.

In fact, sports serve as a valuable tool for interrogating racial ideologies because modern sports have been so strongly linked to national and local chauvinism. Even when not explicitly linked to race, success in sports could at the very least galvanize local pride in modern communities, and during international competitions like the Olympics or World Cup, represent romantic sentiments of national exceptionalism. In fact, as Susan Brownell (2008) explores in her edited volume on the 1904 St. Louis Olympics, ideas of national exceptionalism were explicitly tied to ideologies of racial capabilities at those games. At the 1904 St. Louis Olympics, white supremacy was affirmed symbolically as "primitives" from colonized regions of the world, not trained as modern athletes, performed highly controlled standard Olympic events. When their performances did not rise to the level of those measured for highly trained European and American athletes, it was used as evidence of racial inferiority (Brownell 2008).

The Johnson-Jeffries fight, however, offers students a chance to learn about a more complex moment because, in this case, an African American defeated a highly regarded white opponent in a major sporting and media event, creating a paradigm shift for representations of white supremacy. This event serves as a useful case study for my course unit which focuses upon commercial culture and asks about the complex ways that Americans redefined ideas of sexuality, gender, and race as they engaged with popular culture at the turn of the twentieth century. In addition to continuing to explore the centrality of race to American culture and society, my goals in this unit are also to illustrate the degree to which cultural ideologies

and categories are dynamic and subject to change. Even more than this, I find that students tend to do a very good job critically reading the articles and cartoons from this unit, and that this critical reading of race from early sources helps to develop critical reading skills for evaluating more contemporary sources.

Despite pursuing a boxing career during the height of the Jim Crow era, Johnson had climbed the ranks of professional heavyweight boxers during the late 1890s and early 1900s. While able to schedule fights in the United States against top boxers, he was not able to secure a bout for the heavyweight title on American soil. In 1908, however, heavyweight champion Tommy Burns, a Canadian, agreed to allow Johnson to challenge him for the title in Sydney, Australia. On December 26, 1908, Johnson defeated Burns in the 14th round and became the heavyweight champion of the world. While not the first African American boxing champion (lightweight Joe Gins had preceded Johnson 6 years earlier), he was the first to win the coveted title of heavyweight champion, a status that connoted that of the strongest and greatest fighter on earth.

After fighting and defeating a number of lesser weighted “white hopes,” Johnson finally got the opportunity to go against a formidable opponent in his weight class when the former heavyweight champion Jim Jeffries – responding to a call from writer Jack London to save the sport of boxing from black domination and to “remove the golden smile from Jack Johnson’s face” – came out of retirement to challenge the champion (Sammons 1990). The heavyweight title match between Jack Johnson and Jim Jeffries took place on July 4, 1910, and it was one of the most celebrated and highly anticipated sporting events of its era. In front of 16,000 fans, Johnson knocked out Jeffries in the 15th round of a planned 45 round fight. Afterward, in cities across the country, angry white mobs rioted through African American communities, burning down housing units and engaging in lynching campaigns. These actions resulted in at least a dozen deaths and scores of injuries. Several municipalities around the country banned public viewings of the film documenting the bout.

As a cultural event, the Jack Johnson title fight against Jim Jeffries is a touchstone historically, and this has been noted by a number of scholars who have chronicled sports history. Among them are Randy Roberts in *Papa Jack: Jack Johnson and the Era of White Hopes*; Geoffrey Ward in *Unforgivable Blackness: The Rise and Fall of Jack Johnson*; and Jack Johnson in his autobiography, *My Life and Battles*. In addition, Jeffrey Sammons (1990), in his chronicle of twentieth century boxing, *Beyond the Ring*, provides one of the most insightful interpretations of the ways that reactions to the fight foreshadowed racial conflicts that emerged after World War I. Students in my cultural history class would have also read Elliott Gorn’s (1986), *The Manly Art* which documents the rise of boxing in the nineteenth century and its relationship to the rise and fall of a Victorian cultural ethos and, eventually, the emergence of commercial entertainment.

The documents that surrounded the Johnson-Jeffries fight, particularly the coverage of the fight in the popular press, provide specific and explicit examples of racial stereotypes, assumptions, and images that underscored Jim Crow social structures during this era. At the same time, however, because Johnson soundly defeated the

Great White Hope, the fight struck a blow against white supremacy, complicating the more straightforward expressions of racial hierarchy that newspaper article writers expressed before and after the fight. In this way, the Johnson-Jeffries fight embodied key tensions that emerged over African American citizenship during the Jim Crow era, and it did so within a discourse established by popular print media, part of the emerging commercial culture that is the focus of readings that students would have read before class.

I begin our discussion of the fight by providing a brief description of the event, emphasizing its enormous national and international interest. Then, I separate students into groups of four. As this class typically seats 20, there are a total of five groups. I hand each group a set of documents related to the fight from 1910. One set of documents is a packet of newspaper cartoons from the *Chicago Tribune* (a newspaper that provided coverage that was especially overt with its representations of racial stereotypes). Other packets contain newspaper articles also from the *Tribune*, and a final one contains coverage from African American newspapers like the *Chicago Defender*.

The documents that the students study provide a range of evidence, from representations of racial stereotypes to popular responses to the fight. Among those that illustrate stereotypes most explicitly are articles and cartoons published in the *Chicago Tribune* during the weeks leading up to the bout. The *Tribune* printed a series of offensive cartoons, sometimes on its front page, during the week of the fight titled “Sambo Remo Rastus Brown.” The cartoons follow the exploits of Rastus Brown, a paunchy minstrel character drawn with large, bulging eyes, dark skin, and large, protruding, white lips who follows Jack Johnson to Reno hoping to cheer him on to victory. In a manner that is typical of minstrel characters, he speaks with an exaggerated southern accent, and is portrayed as childish, simple minded, incompetent, and largely interested in satisfying his base desires.

The cartoon printed on July 1, for example, is titled “Sambo Remo Rastus Brown – He Meets Jack in Reno Town” (Fig. 16.1). In this series of panels, Brown arrives in Reno wearing a top hat and tails, saying, “Reno am quite a likely town – dey sho does treat me fine.” He ends up at Johnson’s training facility, where, after being greeted by the champ, gets conscripted to go three rounds as a sparring partner. A quivering and cowardly Brown tries to back out in the last panel, stammering, “If Jack am too fatigued ah kin jes as well wait till tomorrow.” The next day’s cartoon finds Brown in the ring with Johnson (Fig. 16.2). After taking two jabs, Brown returns with a punch to Johnson’s nose, knocking out the champ. In the last panel, Johnson gives Brown a “hundred bones” in admiration, and wishes him a “good time.” In the final cartoon, Brown has spent some of his new money on a ridiculous looking western outfit, and bets 30 dollars on Johnson against a white gambler who bets on Jeffries (Fig. 16.3). Walking away from his betting opponent, but unknowingly into the Jim Jeffries training camp, Brown says to himself, “Po ol’ Jim Jeff – am suttinly feel sorry fo’ him. – He’s goin’ to get one awful beatin’.” In the last frame, Jeffries, chest and arms bulging with hands on hips, squinted eyes, and a square jaw, interrupts Brown’s path. He says, “Well?” to which Brown, now



Fig. 16.1 Sambo Remo Rastus Brown – He Meets Jack in Reno Town

Chicago Daily Tribune, 7-2-10

SAMBO REMO RASTUS BROWN—JACK TAKES HIM ON IN RENO TOWN

Panel 1: "MAN GODNESS MISTAH JOHNSING IS 'O CALCULATING FO' TO KILL ME F!!!?" "COME ON SON"

Panel 2: "FO' DE LAND SAKI MISTAH JOHNSING!" "SOFT FO' JOHNSING?"

Panel 3: "OH MISTAH JOHNSING—!!"

Panel 4: "—YOU DONE MAKE ME LOSE MAN TEMPAN"

Panel 5: "OH AH BEGS TO PARDON—AH DIDN'T MEAN FO' TO DO IT MISTAH JOHNSING! MAM BANG JES' SLIPPED"

Panel 6: "THANKS MISTAH JOHNSING" "MISTO BROWN HERE AM ONE HUNDRED GONES HAVE A GOOD TIME"

Bryce '10

RENO NOW CENTER OF THE UNIVERSE, SAYS REX BEACH

(Continued from first page.)

SIDELIGHTS ON BIG FIGHT.

of their number there would be five at least who would pawn their shirts for the price of a ringside seat. I do not set myself up to say that these men are right or wrong, morally excellent or depraved, but certainly

fighter, and at first sight one refuses to credit the stories of his quickness, but it is there, and with it all is a certain irresistible power that is hard to describe. His arms are huge and in his blows there emanates a

Fig. 16.2 Brown in the ring with Johnson

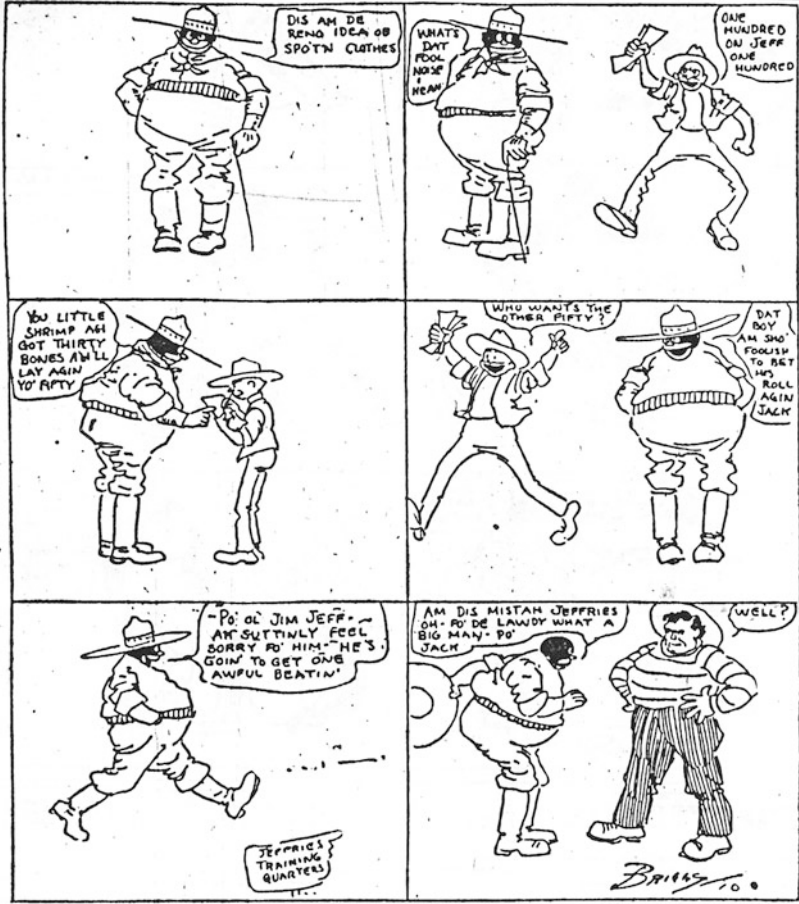
crouching in subservient replies, "Am dis mistah Jeffries oh - po'ed Lawdy what a big man - po' Jack."

As the class would have already studied, such racially offensive portrayals of African Americans were nothing new. They clearly reflect particular stereotypes of the "Sambo" from the minstrel stage that students would have read about in Alexander Saxton's "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology," and would have seen in Marlon Riggs' documentary *Ethnic Notions* (Riggs 1987; Saxton

Sunday Tribune

JULY 3, 1910.

SAMBO REMO RASTUS BROWN—HE BETS ON JACK IN RENO TOWN.



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Fig. 16.3 Brown Betting on Johnson

1975). In addition, however, as they appeared in the most popular mainstream newspaper in the second largest northern city in the United States, they illustrate how, as Saxton discusses in his article, minstrelsy, and its connected messages of white supremacy, were especially popular in northern cities (Saxton 1975). Yet, the Johnson-Jeffries fight took place after the end of what cultural historians think of

as the era of the minstrel stage. In this way, the “Sambo” cartoons that appeared in the run up to the fight allow students to witness the lingering power of minstrel images, something that they would have also witnessed in their viewing of *Birth of the Nation* (a film made five years after the Johnson-Jeffries fight).

Articles that appeared in the *Tribune* leading up to the bout provide even more explicit examples of how the fight served as an allegory for a racial ideology of white supremacy. Before the fight, *Tribune* writers profiled each of the contestants. The headline for Johnson’s biography reads, “Champion Coward in Youth – Disliking Work, Johnson Takes up Fighting to Get Money.” While the first paragraph of the article notes his rise from poverty through success in the ring, it does not portray his climb in social status as a product of virtue. The second paragraph, reflecting the headline, states “Work was a stranger in Johnson’s younger days. He never turned his hand to earn a penny until he was driven to it through sheer desperation.” Johnson, according to the profile, preferred working only in “soft” jobs, no matter what the pay. By stark contrast, headline of the profile of Jeffries announces, “Jeffries Son of Preacher.” While noting “Pugilist Defied Whishes of Parents in Entering Ring,” it hails his “Ability to Stand Punishment” as the main “Factor in Rapid Rise to Supremacy.”

Even more explicit is an editorial by former champion James J. Corbett that appeared on the front page of the *Tribune* on July 1. In that piece, Corbett predicts a Jeffries victory based upon his belief in racial character. The headline for Corbett’s article reads, “Tradition Factor in the Big Fight – Corbett Says Black’s Fear of White in Old Times Will Count on July 4 – Calls It ‘Great Crisis.’ – Prediction Made That Johnson Will Become Terrorized at His Ineffective Blows.” In the article Corbett opines that Jeffries is the “embodiment of all that is powerful and brutish in the white man,” and asks readers, “don’t you remember reading the tales of how the blacks bowed down to worship and feared – there’s the word, get that – feared the white man?” Claiming to have the science of psychology on his side, he writes, “In times of great stress, in great moments, we go back to original principles, the inborn characteristics; that, while they may be buried deep by disuse, invariable spring to the surface when great crisis arrives.”

Of course, if Johnson feared Jeffries’ whiteness, it was not apparent in the ring on July 4, 1910 in Reno. Films of the fight today show Johnson in firm control of the fight from the opening bell, eventually knocking Jeffries out of the ring, and the fight, in the fifteenth round. Of course, this outcome presented a challenge to the *Tribune* in particular, and to the idea that whites were inherently superior, in physicality and courage, to African Americans. Students often discuss how the pre-fight predictions and stereotypical depictions perhaps reflected white fears of what non-white physical prowess might suggest – the ability to resist, and even violently overthrow, a system of racial oppression, itself established through violence, throughout the United States during the Jim Crow era. Articles that appeared in the *Tribune* after the fight certainly affirm that such fears existed.

A cartoon on page seven shows a white, middle-class mother, son, and father racing down the winding staircase of their Victorian home in their sleeping clothes, each apparently trying to be the first to get their hands upon a newspaper on the floor

of the front hall. The headline on the mock *Morning Paper* reads, “Full Details!! All About It – List of Casualties on Sane Fourth – James J. Jeffries . . . Hurt – but Will Return.” Predictably, the *Tribune’s* front page article provides excuses for Jeffries’ loss, the headline reading, “Johnson and Age Defeat Jeffries – White Man, a Shell of Former Greatness, Beaten Down by Youthful Negro Antagonist – He Never Had a Chance.” The final headline, making no pretensions of objectivity, states, “Fight is Just a Pitiful Tragedy.” Yet, evidence of the fears that the whites felt in the wake of the prize fight appears in a headline two columns to the right that announces “Eleven Killed in Many Race Riots.” The article recounts how, after African Americans engaged in street celebrations in the wake of Johnson’s victory, white mobs reacted in violent retaliation. The article headline notes how police had to stop “Many Lynchings,” and provides a list of deaths and injuries from riots in Uvaldia, Georgia; Mounds, Illinois; Little Rock; Shreveport; Houston; Keystone, West Virginia; New Orleans; Wilmington; New York; Baltimore; Cincinnati; St. Joseph; Roanoke; Pueblo; Los Angeles; and Chattanooga.

Combined, these articles illustrate the widespread anxieties that existed over public conduct during Fourth of July celebrations as, aside from coverage of the fight, the headlines continually admonish the public to engage in a “safe and sane” holiday. Such public fears over holiday anarchy parallel those over the perceived impact that the *Chicago Tribune* seemed to suggest an African American heavyweight champion might have. In addition to these articles, however, students in my class also read material that appeared in the *Chicago Defender*, a prominent African American newspaper in Chicago, regarding the fight. While far more muted than the strident white supremacy of the *Tribune*, the *Defender* also exhibits examples of how, for African Americans, a Johnson victory represented an opportunity to express pride and confidence in the face of the painful oppression of Jim Crow America. A good example is Sylvester Russell’s poem titled “Fight Cheers” that appeared in the paper two days before the bout.

Hurray for the day
 When Jeffries will pray
 To win,
 While Johnson will grin.
 Hurrah for fireworks,
 And broke up white clerks,
 And wine –
 Johnson will shine.
 Hurrah for – oh well,
 The deuce with John L.
 We plan
 Johnson’s the man.
 Hurrah for the town.
 Old Reno’s the ground;
 Let’s weep
 Over Jeff’s coming sleep. (Russell 1910, 3)

Further discussion of Jack Johnson allows students to explore even more complexities within early twentieth century racial struggles. Johnson was not only

a great fighter, but also a black celebrity who entered white, mainstream society with an unusual confidence. He enjoyed the good life, drove fast cars, and dated white women. Sammons (1990) argues that he helped to model the “‘New Negro’ – a more militant black who was disillusioned with southern segregation, northern de facto discrimination, and the undelivered promises of the American creed.” Yet these very same qualities that made Johnson a hero to some blacks also made him an embarrassment to many middle-class and affluent African Americans seeking to gain a respectable image among white Americans.

Combined, these articles, documents, and discussion points provide students in my cultural history class a valuable exercise in the dynamics of racial ideology in the early twentieth century, and the role of commercial culture and sports in the articulation of these stereotypes. Students can see clearly the racial stereotypes of the era, and connect these to others that we would have discussed earlier in the semester. At the same time, however, students also learn about the complexities of racial hierarchies and ideologies. In this case, they can see how an event billed as one that would establish the legitimacy of white supremacy, and that would reassure white audiences that an expression of African American competitive violence would be contained, in fact accomplished the opposite. Instead of bolstering the racist oppression of the Jim Crow era, the Johnson-Jeffries fight served as a valuable inspiration for many African Americans who, according to Sammons (1990), found in Johnson’s championship “the most satisfying event since the end of slavery.”

The Johnson-Jeffries documents not only show how this bout was a symbolic combat over race, they also demonstrate how ideas about race overlapped with ideas about gender and sexuality. During the week in which we look at this event, students would have read Kathy Peiss’s book *Cheap Amusements* about young, immigrant women and commercial culture in New York City at the turn of the twentieth century. Peiss illustrates how the public spaces of commercial popular culture offered excitement and pleasure for women, but were frequently treacherous as well, often necessitating male companionship. The news coverage of this boxing match, and the violence that erupted upon its conclusion, vividly illustrate a public culture fascinated with a spectacle of violent masculine competition. It shows how a popular culture event could create male dominated public spaces that would have been difficult for women of the time to enjoy freely. Furthermore, we can see how the gendered passions connected to the fight overlap with its racial meanings. The primary documents clearly show popular sportswriters and news editors creating a storyline portraying Johnson as a threat to white manhood, and Jeffries as its valiant defender.

The Jack Johnson-Jim Jeffries fight is but one example of the valuable resource that sports history provides to educators teaching about race. Students react very positively to this exercise. First, although students are often very interested in sports (especially in regions like central Pennsylvania), most are also surprised that something like boxing or baseball can be critically discussed as cultural history. Critically examining sports within the context of cultural history offers students a new lens through which to interpret the sports culture that they know and understand first hand. Secondly, discussion of racial stereotypes and images of Jack Johnson

invariable leads to a discussion of ways that these images continue in the coverage of athletic performers today. Student reactions have been very positive as the exercise illustrates in material ways the history behind the language of race that students understand is part of the discourse surrounding sports throughout the contemporary world. In this manner, I have found the exploration of sports history can be an extremely relevant and enlightening experience for students that engages them in some of the most important aspects and complexities of racial ideology.

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Chapter 17

Teaching About Affirmative Action: Challenges from a Freshmen Seminar

Jennifer L. Pierce

For several years now, I have been teaching a freshman seminar that focuses on the emergence of affirmative action as a social policy for remedying racial and other kinds of inequality in the twentieth and twenty-first century United States. One of my central objectives is historical. I want students to understand that affirmative action as a policy did not emerge full-blown in the 1970s, but that its origins can be traced to the 1930s and President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal policy agenda. This means the course follows the trajectory of these early policy formations through WWII to the influential *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision which ruled that the "separate but equal" doctrine in public facilities unconstitutional. To understand the consequences of the *Brown* decision, we then focus on the desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1958 by reading life histories from former high school students who were there during this time period.

From there, the course moves through the civil rights period to the post-civil rights era and examines the varied meanings and debates about affirmative action in print news media accounts, scholarly discussions, and in legal terms. Here, my interest lies in showing students the role the media plays in framing the debate about affirmative action, uncovering myths about this policy, and introducing students to the realities of this policy through legal documents and Presidential decrees. The greatest challenge in teaching this course lies in moving from the past to the present. Most of my undergraduates are comfortable talking about racial discrimination in the past, but are much less so when discussing contemporary racial issues. Further, many tend to read contemporary news media accounts uncritically and are surprised to learn that newspaper stories can be biased in their presentation of policy debates. In what follows, I discuss how I teach this course, the questions students raise, and how I worked to increase their critical awareness of journalistic practices surrounding the debate on affirmative action in the 1990s.

J.L. Pierce (✉)
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, USA
e-mail: pierc012@umn.edu

17.1 Student Background and Previous Knowledge

Undergraduates take my freshman seminar for a variety of reasons. At the University of Minnesota, these seminars, limited to 20 participants, are now required for all first year students. The rationale for these courses is to give students attending a large public research university at least one small seminar experience where they will have close contact with a professor who is doing current research on the topic of the course. Given the large size of my university, this means there are a wide range of topics that students can choose from not only in the social sciences and the humanities, but also in the sciences. As I often learn on the first day of class when I ask why they are taking my seminar as opposed to another, many say they selected it because it also satisfies the general liberal education requirement on diversity and social justice, hence fulfilling two requirements with one course. Others find that the time slot of the seminar fits best with their other courses and part-time work schedule. (Many Minnesota students work part-time to finance their education.) Typically, only a handful of students report that they are interested in race relations, public policy, or the law.

Once I have laid out the framework for the course and its requirements (Appendix 1), I ask students to respond to two questions in writing on the first day of class that I have previously emailed to them. They hand them in to me, but I do not grade them. The first question I ask is: “What do you think affirmative action means?” I am quick to add, I don’t expect them to know everything about affirmative action – otherwise why bother taking the seminar? My intent is to gauge what they may already know so I can tailor lectures and discussions accordingly, but more importantly, I want them to have something to look back on at the end of the semester so they can see what they may have learned that is new to them. The second question I ask is: “What is the source for your information?” This question ties in with one of my goals for the course, that is, teaching students how to read media accounts and other sources critically. Again, I am quick to point out this is not intended as a judgment, but rather a means for all of us to begin thinking about what sources we rely upon for our knowledge of public policy issues. After reading them, I keep them until the end of the semester and hand them back for a discussion on the last day of class. (Examples are discussed in the conclusion of this chapter.)

Many say they think affirmative action might have something to do with “majority getting discriminated against,” while many others admit they don’t know. One student defined it literally as “positive action,” and another admitted she had no idea, but thought it might have to do with “Afghanistan and Iraq.” In the three times I have taught the course, only a handful produced responses such as: “I think it has something to do with leveling the playing field so that minorities and/or women get equal consideration for a job or something like that.” As I find when asked about their sources, most answers reflect reliance upon the print news media, though some mention parents, high school teachers, friends, or something they heard on the nightly news.

17.2 The News Media's Role in Constructing Myths About Affirmative Action

One of the central goals of the course is to show students how the print news media frames debates about public policy issues. Additionally, my interest lies in comparing the realities of affirmative action with the myths constructed about affirmative action in the media. In the first part of this section, we spend time going over presidential decrees such as President Lyndon Johnson's Executive Order No. 11246, Supreme Court Decisions such as the 1978 *Bakke* case, and other presidential policies such as President Richard Nixon's "Philadelphia Plan." These selections are intended to teach students what affirmative action is, how it's been practiced, and, in the aftermath of the *Bakke* ruling where "quotas" were ruled to be unconstitutional, how it should be practiced. For example, while the *Bakke* decision rendered racial quotas illegal, the Court also argued that race can be used in institutions where there was a history of discrimination, and in those instances, it can be used as a "plus factor" (in addition to test scores, grades, athletic ability, musical ability, student leadership, etc.), but not the sole factor in determining undergraduate, graduate, or professional school admissions.

In the next part of this section of the course, I teach students how to read print news media sources critically. Here I draw from the work of a number of sociologists and communications scholars to discuss the important role print media plays in American society not only in framing debates about social policy, but in facilitating Americans' understanding of key political leaders, important legal terms and concepts, and the language and rhetoric surrounding any given debate (Entman and Rojeki 2000; Gamson 1992; Tuchman 1980; Takagi 1993). Further, I lecture on the role profit making plays in encouraging editors and reporters to sensationalize stories with attention grabbing headlines and lead paragraphs to attract a wide readership to their newspapers. These practices, in turn, I point out can sometimes serve to exaggerate and amplify minor disagreements about social policy. In addition, I discuss the journalistic convention of "fair and balanced" reporting which translates into presenting "two sides" to any story.

My freshmen and women already believe that the media plays an important role in American society and usually understand the importance of "objectivity" in news reporting. Where I run into questions when I lecture about journalistic practices is the notion that there might be *more* than two sides to any one story or that by focusing on only two sides to a story conflict can be magnified. Many are puzzled to learn that there can be more than two sides to a story. Others, especially those considering careers in journalism, don't see how newspapers stories might be biased. Although they often recognize the difference between liberal and conservative television news channels such as MSNBC and FOX News, most don't see newspapers in the same light.

To engage students in learning how to read print media accounts critically, I draw from a series of articles I collected for my research on the backlash against affirmative action in the 1990s and ask them to read and discuss one together in

small groups of three. Their objective is to decide whether the article I have selected is slanted for affirmative action, against affirmative action, or represents a “fair and balanced” discussion of the issue. Each group is supposed to provide reasons to support their answers. The article I use is a front page newspaper article from the *San Francisco Chronicle* by Ben Wildavsky titled, “UC Campus Debates Affirmative Action, Some Say Success in Diversifying Berkeley Student Body Back.” I explain to students that the article came out in 1995, the same year that the Regents of the University of California decided to ban affirmative action in undergraduate and graduate admissions. As each group reads and discusses the article, I ask them to address the following questions:

1. *Key Arguments and Sources*: Identify the arguments from supporters and opponents of affirmative action in this article. What are their arguments? Does the journalist tell us why he has selected these particular people as sources? For example, why would Professor Searles (Philosophy), Professor Kirp (Public Policy), and Professor Duster (Sociology) be credible sources for this article? And, why interview these professors as opposed to the director of admissions at UC Berkeley? What about the students selected? Finally, whose perspectives might be left out in this article?
2. *Fair and Balanced Reporting*: Do you think this article fairly presents two viewpoints on affirmative action? For instance, do you think each side gets “equal time” in the article? Do some arguments receive more space and attention than others? Do some arguments appear more ambiguous or less detailed than others?
3. *Comparison to other Studies on the Media*: Do you think this article “sensationalizes” the debate in ways Gaye Tuchman describes in *Making News*? Why or why not? Do you think this particular article supports or contradicts Robert Entman and Andrew Rojeki’s argument from *Black Image in the White Mind* that stories in the news media tend to “affirm discord” in public discussions of affirmative action? Why or why not?

Students easily identify two different positions in the article and name the key players on each side of the debate. Further, most regard the account as “fair and balanced.” A few who read the article more closely will point out that “it’s not really balanced.” As one student observed, there was a lot more space given in the article to the student who opposed affirmative action than to those supporting it. Another thought the fact that grades and test scores were only mentioned for students of color, but not for the one white student suggested that the journalist assumed that students of color deserved more scrutiny than white students did. She thought this meant the journalist probably didn’t support affirmative action. As we discuss their evaluation of the article in class, I highlight the fact that there are indeed two sides in this news story. Drawing from student responses, I point out that if we read the article more closely, we can see that there is more space given to the anti-affirmative action argument. To illustrate this point, I go through the article with a red pen on an overhead projector and ask them to come up and underline each sentence that is against affirmative action. Then, I ask them to read aloud one representative from each position (e.g., David Kirp and Kevin Nguyen) and discuss whose opinion

makes more sense. The overhead highlights how much more space is given to the opponents' arguments. Further, as they begin to compare arguments, they can see that there is more detail in the opponents' arguments providing greater logic and clarity than there are for statements from proponents. From there, I go on to discuss the general findings from my own research with tables which show that most of the articles I read over a time period from 1990 to 1996, were slanted against affirmative action (See Chap. 1 in Pierce 2012). As I point out, this means that while some journalists wrote other news stories that were either "balanced" or "slanted toward affirmative action," most did not.

Students are often perplexed to learn that this one article represents a larger pattern of bias in the news media. As one journalism student asked, "Why would reporters do this?" This often leads to discussions about "bad reporters" who don't do their jobs well and "conspiracies" among journalists who don't like affirmative action. Here, I remind that not every story I analyzed fell into this category; some journalists provided stories that were "balanced" and others wrote accounts slanting toward a pro-affirmative action position. In examining all the articles, however, I found a clear pattern of news stories with a bias against affirmative action. Here I encourage them to think beyond individuals and to consider general patterns produced through media practices and conventions by asking: "How could media practices and conventions create such an outcome in this debate?"

To address this question, I remind them that by supplying only two sides to the story and sensationalizing news stories, journalists and their editors can amplify – wittingly or not – divides in public opinion. In addition, I introduce sociologists Adia Harvey Wingfield and Joe Feagin's (2010) research on "white racial frames" in news media surrounding the presidential election of Barack Obama. Their concept refers to the way the mainstream news media frames news stories to appeal to a white audience. In doing so, they argue, the media consistently depicts most whites as more moral, intelligent, and hardworking than most people of color, thereby rationalizing racial hierarchies. With respect to the Obama campaign, this "frame" simultaneously produced "colorblind" narratives of race relations while maintaining white privilege in coverage of the 2008 Presidential campaign. For example, in reporting on Obama's election, a number of articles from mainstream publications such as the *New York Times* described his election as evidence of a "post-racial" America. What is not mentioned in these articles is the material fact of continuing racial inequality in the United States, thereby reinforcing the notion that anyone can succeed in American society. Presumably, those who have not succeeded have not worked as hard as President Obama did. Thus, compared to other Black men, Obama is "exceptional."

Many students resist the concept of "white racial framing." While they will acknowledge that this kind of "framing" may have happened in the past – and here they often refer back to the book they read on white, former Little Rock High school students from 1958 who consistently described desegregation as something that "ruined" their senior year in high school (Roy 1999). Today, they claim, most Americans wouldn't do this because they are "colorblind." To counter this argument, I discuss the literary convention of considering the audience for whom

one writes and how that influences the kind of documents reporters, politicians, or a personal friend might write. I ask them, for instance, to consider the difference in writing a letter to a close friend about a university policy they disapprove of versus writing a letter to a university president whom they hope to convince to change the policy. “Would you say the same thing to a friend that you would say to the president of our university?” This provokes a discussion about whether they might, or might not say the same thing in each form of writing. At the end of the discussion, I ask students do a short in-class writing assignment (five min) in which they write to a friend and try to persuade them to support affirmative action. (I ask them to turn these in, and though I don’t grade them, I do read them and hand them back later for a discussion.)

Their next required assignment is to write a paper on a related topic in which they are to imagine themselves to be a member of an admissions panel at a highly competitive public research university with an affirmative action program. (I specifically ask about public universities because as they learn in class, public universities are often expected to follow federal guidelines for affirmative action, while private universities are not required to do so.) Here they are asked to write a memo to the general public explaining what affirmative action is and why it is important at their university. In doing so, they are expected to explain how the admissions process works at the university by giving an example of how decisions were made to admit one last student to fill the last admission slot. (At this point they have already read a number of sources that explain how public research universities make decisions about admissions.) The assignment gives them four potential applicants to consider (Appendix 2). Given the criteria laid out for them, they are expected to explain how they decided to admit this final student to the entering freshman class and in their closing, they are also supposed to explain to the general public why their decision as an admissions officer is a fair one.

When I return the student papers, I also return the letters they wrote to their friends. Then, I ask them to identify similarities and differences in how they considered making their arguments to each audience. Most have written letters that have very different appeals and arguments than those they make in writing a memo to the general public. For example, one student’s memo made the argument that affirmative action created diversity in the university and that diversity was good for college students because it exposed students to the perspectives and experiences of people of color. (In the personal letter, his argument for affirmative action was based on an appeal to their friendship.) His memo, like those of many other students, implicitly assumed a “white racial frame.” In other words, he assumed that white students would learn from students of color and made an argument implicitly appealing to a white audience. From here, we discuss how writing in different genres (e.g., personal letters, news stories, business memos) we imagine different kinds of audiences and tailor our arguments accordingly.

When I bring this point back to the *San Francisco Chronicle* newspaper article they read earlier and the findings in my research on media slant, students begin to see why newspaper reporters for the mainstream media might presume a white audience – they imagine themselves writing for the majority. I also provide other

examples to show how articles written by influential African Americans about Obama's election differed from those written by white Americans. Acclaimed novelist Alice Walker, for example, emphasizes the long history of the civil rights struggle, a "struggle that provided the social and organizational foundation that enabled Obama to deliver the political torch" (Wingfield and Feagin 2010, p. 203). By contrast, most white Americans who supported Obama said nothing about the civil rights movement or the history of discrimination in the US, but emphasized the role of "colorblindness" in their decision. As one reported, "He may be black in color, but his thinking doesn't have a color. I don't think he has a color" (Wingfield and Feagin 2010, p. 209). Consequently, in their view, his victory was seen as evidence of a "post-racial America." Here, students begin to see how imagining a white audience compels journalists who write for mainstream publications to craft particular kinds of news stories and not others.

17.3 Final Challenges

On the last day of the seminar, I hand back the short responses that students wrote on the first day of class about what they thought affirmative action was and what their source of information was. I ask them to read their initial responses and to consider another set of questions.

1. What have you learned that is new about affirmative action?
2. And, what is your source (or sources) of information?

Their responses go into a sealed envelope with course evaluations that I don't see until a month after grades have been submitted. Here is a sampling of their first impressions followed by their discussion of what they said they learned in the seminar. (I have used pseudonyms throughout.)

Janet's Initial Response:

My impression of affirmative action is taking control when we (as a country or politics) believe it is right. I am pretty sure affirmative action is mentioned or has to do with what is going on with Iraq and Afghanistan. I have heard about affirmative action on the news and in school. The last time in school that I heard about it was in my political science class when we were discussing world politics. I have also heard the term used on the news of when talking about politics.

Janet's Subsequent Response:

My response is so embarrassing. Glad that you didn't grade me on that...;-) Obviously, affirmative action has nothing to do with Afghanistan. What it does have to do with is leveling the playing field for women and minorities so they get a fair shot at getting into college or getting a job. I always thought discrimination was something from the past. Until I took this class, I didn't know that it continues today. That article about how even white men with prison records got hired and Black men didn't (a reference to Pager et al. 2010) made me think about how unfair it is that this keeps going on.

Daniel's Initial Response:

I have at least a basic idea of affirmative action or hope I do. We discussed it briefly in my sociology class [in high school] where the percent of minority of a city's college was larger than the percent in the actual city's population, affirmative action was involved. It presents preference in some cases for minority groups to give them 'equal opportunity' for jobs, education, etc. I suppose it wouldn't have to be specifically minorities . . . Almost feels like a new kind of discrimination against the majority. I hope I'll learn more. I know it can affect who is hired – such as some places must have a certain number of minorities employed . . . Based more on ethnicity than actual skill sometimes. My source, as stated from a sociology class discussion, where we covered was enough for me to run with and make my own ideas out of what was said in class. Most people have probably heard about it in the media, or from other sources (speeches, public opinion.)

Daniel's Subsequent Response:

Okay, now I am wondering what we read when I was in high school since you *always* ask us about sources and whether they are reliable. But I don't remember. I suppose where I was right about affirmative action is that it's about minorities. What I learned is that it is also about women and people with disabilities. Now I wonder whether affirmative action really does discriminate against the majority. My sources are the Anderson book we read on the history of affirmative action and a court decision that made quotas illegal.

Mary's Initial Response:

To my understanding, affirmative action is giving unfair advantage to another because of American racism. For example, colleges in the 20th century often admitted more black than white students to purposely to create more diversity, and almost as if to apologize for American racism. Honestly, I asked my roommate when I told her about the class and this assignment because I had no clue. I think most people learn what it is by asking something they know.

Mary's Subsequent Response:

I guess I shouldn't have asked my roommate . . . Actually, we talked a lot about what I read in your class this semester. She was surprised that the numbers of blacks who get admitted to colleges is still very small and that blacks and women are still discriminated against. I guess I didn't know all that either until I read the books and articles (my sources!) in your class. So, I learned a lot about what affirmative action is and how the media biased the debate, but honestly back to our discussion in class about fairness, I still don't think "two wrongs don't make a right."

As this sampling of responses suggests, those who knew the least about affirmative action appeared to have learned the most over the course of the semester. But as the last two responses suggest, there was also resistance to the material covered in class. Daniel, for example, references some of what he learned that is new about affirmative action – that it's not just about racial and ethnic minorities, but also about white women and disabled people – but he still "wonders" whether the policy "discriminates against the majority." This issue first came up when we discussed the *Bakke* decision and the concept of "reverse discrimination" in class and again later when I showed how the media consistently drew attention to anecdotes about white men and reverse discrimination even though the actual number of cases of "reverse discrimination" were quite small. Here, I described a 1995 government study conducted by the U.S. Labor Department that found

of the 300 discrimination cases filed by white men with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, “reverse discrimination was established in six cases, and the courts provided immediate relief in those cases.” The study concluded that many of the cases were “the result of a disappointed applicant failing to examine his or her own qualifications and erroneously assuming that when a women or minority got a job it was because of their race or sex, not qualifications” (U.S. Labor Department 1995). This particular student, however, was openly skeptical about the government report. When I asked him why, he said, “Then why would so many newspapers report that reverse discrimination existed? You know, where there’s smoke there’s fire.” Though I reminded the class that reporters tend to select sensational anecdotes and that news stories overall were not “balanced,” but slanted against affirmative action, his final written response about the seminar suggests that he was not convinced that “reverse discrimination” was a myth about affirmative action.

Mary’s initial response suggests a slightly different kind of resistance. Using her roommate’s voice, she conveys her own surprise about the continuing discrimination in the United States and how the media “biased” the debate. Her final remark that “two wrongs don’t make a right,” however, suggests that her initial assessment of affirmative action as unfair had not changed. This comment refers to a class discussion where students had read a number of editorials and articles by affirmative action proponents and opponents. In that discussion, one student said that “reverse discrimination” was unfair because “two wrongs”—his logic being that discriminating against people of color, and then remedying that by discriminating against white men – “doesn’t make a right.”

Such an argument about fairness invokes a zero-sum calculus in which affirmative action is understood as advantaging people of color, while disadvantaging whites. As my research on the news media shows, this rationale was central to 1990s anti-affirmative action rhetoric, a rhetoric informed by liberal individualistic notions of fairness (Pierce 2012). As sociologist Troy Duster has argued, within this framework fairness is “decontextualized.” “[S]ince there are only individuals and individual responsibility and individual entitlements are the only currency in the contemporary discourse about race policies and affirmative action policies, not having had a personal hand in the oppression of others makes one innocent. The mere fact that one’s group has accumulated wealth ten times that of another group is rendered irrelevant by the legerdemain of invoking individual fairness” (1998, p. 115).

Duster’s argument highlights not only the historical legacy of racial discrimination in the United States, but the central role that liberal individualism continues to play in public debates about policies such as affirmative action. Individualism and meritocracy are core elements of contemporary American culture and politics, and, as sociologists know all too well, this common sense framework often makes it difficult for students either to understand or accept structural arguments. One of the remaining challenges in teaching my freshman seminar on affirmative action lies in figuring out ways to overcome student resistance to structural explanations of racial discrimination in the United States.

A related challenge concerns the fact that when students already have strong beliefs about a topic, it is difficult to persuade them to consider other positions – even when presented with compelling and carefully researched evidence. While many of my freshmen and women were willing to engage in discussions, learn new material, and puzzle out their own stances on affirmative action, those who resisted new information like Daniel and Mary began the class with either pre-formed or hazily constructed opinions. While some might dismiss students like these as either lacking in curiosity or too lazy to do the work for the course, by contrast I maintain that their resistance speaks to a broader pedagogical question: Why is it that some information, concepts, or arguments “stick” with students and others do not?

In their book, *Making It Stick: Why Some Ideas Survive and Others Die*, Chip Heath and Dan Heath argue that part of making new ideas “stick” relies on a number of pedagogical strategies. One entails engaging students in a puzzle about a particular research finding. Their point here lies not only in asking undergraduates provocative questions, but also in engaging them through class assignments and projects in figuring out multiple, possible answers. For instance, as I ask in my book (Pierce 2012), why did so many white American men perceive themselves as disadvantaged vis-à-vis African Americans and Latinos in the late 1980s and 1990s when manufacturing job loss and racial discrimination disproportionately affected people of color? Rather than simply telling students the answer, a better strategy might be to ask them to work through various explanations, examine the evidence for each one, and then, select the one best supported by evidence. As Heath and Heath (2008) suggest, by engaging students in the process of discovery, they not only become responsible for finding answers and developing analytical skills along the way, but are also more likely to remember the most reliable explanation.

Although I didn’t read *Making it Stick* until after I had taught the seminar, I now see ways that I had incorporated, albeit unwittingly, some of their pedagogical strategies in the course. The media exercise where I involve students in analyzing a newspaper article for bias is one example. They were actively engaged in puzzling out the question of bias in a newspaper article and many reported enthusiastically to me afterwards about other newspaper articles they had read and discovered were not examples of “fair and balanced” reporting. Here, it appears that students learned new information and developed skills that they not only remembered, but also used in other situations. Still, resistance to structural explanations of racial inequality whether in the form of pre-formed opinions or in reliance on liberal individualism as a common sense framework continues to be an obstacle in teaching about affirmative action policy. The pedagogical challenge that remains lies in finding other ways to make new ideas “stick.”

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Chapter 18

Repacking the White Privilege Knapsack

Kristin Haltinner

As was mentioned in the introduction to this volume, according to a Wall Street Journal/NBC poll, 60 % of Americans agree that: “America is a nation where people are not judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.” (2010). A study from the University of Washington found that 70 % of whites agree with the statement “Irish, Italians, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without special favors.” Fifty-eight percent of white Americans disagree that historical mistreatment of black Americans, such as “generations of slavery and discrimination” have “created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class” while 56 % of Americans agree with the statement: “It’s really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites” (Parker 2010). Taken together, these results indicate that the majority of white Americans do not find structural barriers a significant factor contributing to current racial inequality (Parker 2010).

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2009) explains these beliefs, arguing that white Americans view contemporary racial inequality through an ideology of colorblindness, marked by four central frames: *abstract liberalism*, *naturalization*, *cultural racism*, and the *minimization of racism*. *Abstract liberalism*, the foundational frame, applies the ideology of liberalism to race and uses notions of equal opportunity, self-reliance, choice, and individualism to explain inequality (Bonilla-Silva 2009). For example, white individuals may suggest that affirmative action is misguided because it threatens the notion of equal opportunity, or they may justify the decision of white Americans to live in segregated neighborhoods as one of individual choice, open to all. *Naturalization* suggests “racial phenomena” are “natural occurrences” (Bonilla-Silva 2009, p. 28). Thus, someone employing this frame would claim that racial segregation is “natural” because all people tend to “gravitate towards likeness”

K. Haltinner (✉)

Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Idaho, Moscow, ID, USA
e-mail: khaltinner@uidaho.edu

(Bonilla-Silva 2009, p. 28). The frame of *cultural racism* employs “culturally based arguments” to explain racial phenomena. For example, someone using this frame may suggest that black people lack work ethic due to their culture. Finally, the *minimization of racism* frame discounts the persistence of racism in society or disregards the impact that racism has on black peoples’ life chances. This frame denies systemic racial inequality and sees racism as the acts of individuals or exceptions to a broader level of equality.

Colorblind ideology has primarily been examined among white Americans, who typically ignore facts that do not fit their ideology in order to maintain their racialized worldview (Feagin 2006). Over time, colorblindness becomes deeply ingrained in the white psyche such that it is harder to challenge and resist. This ideology and subsequent social climate present a particular challenge for college instructors when teaching about white privilege: resistance from white students (Davis 1992; Gillespie et al. 2002; Pence and Fields 1999).

In addition to their impact on whites, Bonilla-Silva (2009) finds that the frames of colorblindness also indirectly effect black individuals. While 96 % of whites in his sample employed the frame of *abstract liberalism*, only 35 % of black participants did. This pattern held true across the frames with 43 % of whites using the strategies of *naturalization*, in contrast to 25 % of black participants; 88 % of whites using the frame of *cultural racism*, as compared to 24 % of black participants; and 84 % of whites *minimizing the impact of racism* today, relative to 6 % of black participants. While black participants are more aware of structural barriers to black success than are whites, they are still affected by colorblind ideology.

People of color use the frames of colorblindness to a lesser extent than whites. Nevertheless, their persistent employment of the frames indicates the degree to which colorblind ideology pervades society and, as a result, may be present in the classroom. Today’s college students have been bombarded with the idea that the United States is a place where, if one works hard, they can achieve greatness and that any failure to succeed reflects on the individual (Feagin 2006). They have been taught to ignore structural challenges and see racial inequality as the result of ineptitude on the part of people of color (Feagin 2006). Moreover, students have learned a sort of racial blindness causing them to interpret realities and events in a way that erases racial histories and contexts while reinforcing negative stereotypes of people of color and positive images of whites (Feagin 2006).

Despite the pervasiveness of colorblind ideology, research suggests that when students are asked to critically examine their environment and experiences they are often able to reflect on the structural persistence of white privilege (Pence and Fields 1999). As a method of teaching students about contemporary white privilege, many faculty members turn to the classic piece *Unpacking the Knapsack of White Privilege* by Peggy McIntosh (1990). However, some students may resist its content, in part because the original piece was produced in 1990, making it older than many current college students. Upon reading the piece, students may dismiss it as irrelevant because of its outdated language – knapsacks are now called backpacks, for example – and this initial cynicism could cause them to reject still-relevant points regarding racial privilege.

This teaching note revisits Peggy McIntosh's (1990) article and uses it to empower students to examine the structural operation of white privilege in society and to reflect on its connection to their own lives. Over the course of two class periods students first edit McIntosh's (1990) list: producing contemporary examples to support her points, editing particular examples, or making the case to delete specific items from the list. After completing this first task, students subsequently develop additional examples of white privilege to expand McIntosh's (1990) piece. This essay reflects on the activity and provides insight for instructors seeking innovative approaches to teaching about white privilege in multiracial classrooms.

18.1 Course Learning Objectives and Demographics

This activity took place in three different sections of a mid-level sociology course on American race relations at a large public university in the Midwest in Fall 2009, Spring 2010, and Fall 2011. Though it varies by instructor, the course begins by looking at contemporary examples of hate crimes and white supremacist ideology, as well as sociological explanations for their persistence. It continues to explore modern stereotypes and essentialist thinking, institutional barriers to equality for each racial group, and sociological theories explaining them. The course also includes an assessment of identity politics and micro-level processes of racism.

The sections ranged in size from 60 to 90 students. Students in the sample broadly represent the racial demographics of the region: approximately 75 % of the students were white, 8 % were black, 7 % were Latino, 5 % were Asian, 1 % were Native American and the remaining students were multiracial. Two of the courses had black instructors and a white teaching assistant (the author). The third had a white instructor (the author) and an Asian teaching assistant.

18.2 The Activity

In order to thwart student's potential dismissal of McIntosh's (1990) article as outdated, this activity encourages students to use their own knowledge and critical thinking skills to update the piece such that it reflects current racial inequality. The goals of this activity are to introduce students to the concept of white privilege, to foster an understanding of the ways in which white privilege operates in U.S. society, and to enhance student ability to critically reflect on contemporary racial inequality.

The activity consists of two parts taking place on distinct days (preferably in 75–90 min class sessions): in the first portion students are expected to update McIntosh's (1990) examples and, in the second, to add contemporary examples of

white privilege to the list. The instructor is equipped to provide current examples of McIntosh's list as well as data illustrating its broader prevalence in society.¹

18.2.1 Part One

For the first part of the activity students are expected to come to class having read McIntosh's (1990) article. Once seated, they are divided into groups of four to five and handed a slip of paper containing eight of the 26 privileges. They are then tasked with working together to select items on the list that they wish to discuss, perceive to be outdated, and/or believe should be eliminated. Each group is responsible for choosing at least one item on their list and must be prepared to explain how they understand its continued relevance, how they would edit it to reflect modern racial inequality, or why they think the item is outdated. Students rewrite the statements using first person – in the same format as McIntosh – regardless of their own race.

Students' initial analyses of McIntosh's (1990) list may be limited, but can be enriched through proper instruction. For instance, one group of students suggested a slight alteration to two items from McIntosh's (1990) list: "We thought that, for the most part, these were still consistent with previous "white privileges" of the past, with two slight "clauses" (if you will) to 17 and 18." Regarding number 17 they sought to add the clause "or an extremist" to the end such that it would now read "I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a cultural outsider *or an extremist*." And, for number 18, they sought to make it more nuanced "I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to 'the person in charge' *I am more likely to face someone of my race than a different race*." While this example demonstrates that students understand that white privilege operates in concert with other social statuses to affect one's experience in society, it simultaneously creates space for the instructor to provide deeper analysis of the distinction between being treated differently due to one's race versus one's political activism as well as white dominance in leadership positions.

The majority of students' amendments were rejections of the absolutism in McIntosh's (1990) list. For example, another student group edited "I can easily buy posters, post-cards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, and children's magazines featuring people of my race." suggesting that it is now easier to find role models, dolls and toys for people of color and providing examples "Dora and Diego, the Princess and the Frog . . . American girl dolls." Despite suggesting that purchasing toys representing people of color is easier in contemporary society than in the past, this group did recognize that finding such toys would be difficult depending on one's location and the type of store one visited.

¹I use an extensive PowerPoint presentation with Internet links to contemporary examples and detailed graphs highlighting broader statistics on each privilege. I am happy to share it upon request.

As the instructor in class, one is subsequently tasked with demonstrating how McIntosh's (1990) article remains true and is not overly absolute. As mentioned, the instructor must be prepared with current statistics and examples of every item on the checklist. For example, students often suggest that businesses are more diverse and that "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." is irrelevant. However, it is clear that both in business and in national politics, whites hold the majority of leadership positions (78 % of management positions nation-wide are held by whites as are 87 % of the seats in Congress). Thus, the instructor is able to center the discussion on the continued whitewash of positions of power and the social forces that have caused this discrepancy.

In addition to suggesting minor changes, students highlight items they view as outdated or invalid. For instance, they select: "I can choose public accommodation without fearing that people of my race cannot get in or will be mistreated in the place I have chosen" as out of date and believe that blatant race-based discrimination has largely ended – the *minimization of racism* frame. Similarly, students select: "I can choose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" color and have them more or less match my skin" as irrelevant as invisible bandages are now common. Additionally, they choose: "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" as limited because music is largely bought online and in urban areas a broad variety of food is present. Finally, students challenge: "I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed" because age is also a factor in retail profiling.

The instructor, as mentioned, must be prepared to discuss current examples of blatant racial bias through anecdotes and statistics in all of these areas. For instance, one can discuss the continued prevalence of violent hate crimes, the denial of housing and unequal access, and treatment in public accommodation in order to demonstrate the continued relevance of these items. Additionally, discussion about intersectionality and geography are essential to extend student analysis.

18.2.2 Part Two

For the second portion of this activity, students are expected to add new examples of privileges to McIntosh's (1990) list. They are again placed in groups of four or five and asked to brainstorm new items to place on the checklist. Their ideas are presented in this section, organized by the degree to which they deviate from McIntosh's examples.

Many students have a difficult time moving beyond McIntosh's (1990) list and initially produce examples that are quite similar to hers: "as a young adult I can go out with my friends and family and not worry about being attacked in certain settings." This is an important point, recognizing the persistence of racial violence,

but is quite similar to McIntosh's (1990) argument regarding public accommodation and parenting. Similarly, students suggested the addition of: "Whenever I walk into a class for the first time, I can assume the professor will look like me." This is an extension of McIntosh's (1990) argument regarding the prevalence of white people in positions of power in our society. However, this suggestion can lead to discussions on the operation of power in society and the concept of intersectionality. For example, the instructor could lead students in a conversation on how power operates in the position of professor; specifically, the relative power experienced by faculty based on their race, gender, physical ability, and the intersection of these statuses.

As students spend more time reflecting on their experiences and structural racism, the examples become more distinct from the original list. For example, one student suggested adding the following privilege: "I can be assured that the legal system will treat me fairly and not assume my guilt based on my race." This argument moves beyond McIntosh's (1990) point on racism with regards to perceived traffic violations to the broader discrimination of the criminal justice system and can lead to a discussion on racism within these institutions.

Given encouragement by the instructor, a third pattern emerges: the addition of innovative ideas, not directly connected to McIntosh's (1990) list. For instance, students often add examples related to family life: "I can have as many kids as I want and not be seen as taking advantage of the system" specifically referencing the popular television show *John and Kate Plus Eight*. Others suggest adding examples related to educational dedication: "I can reject my educational opportunities and be viewed as a free spirit, like Ferris Bueller in the film, *Ferris Bueller's Day Off*, rather than be viewed as a slacker or degenerate."

With encouragement to reflect critically on their communities, students are able to recognize the persistence of biases related to American ideas of individualism and the rejection of structural barriers to social problems. As a result, the most common additions are related to the issues of affirmative action: "If I get accepted to a university I can be sure that no one would question it due to affirmative action" and social services: "I can ask for social services and be seen as a victim of my circumstances rather than attributed to my race." Despite popular notions of individual responsibility – *abstract liberalism* – students, when challenged, illustrate an awareness of the unjust stigmatization of people of color via affirmative action programs.

Other students focus on behavior in social situations or issues of identity. Many point out that society generally blames people of color for segregation – *naturalization*: "If I chose to only have friends of my race it wouldn't be stigmatized or seen as unwillingness to branch out and assimilate." Other students recognize the pressure placed on people of color, particularly black or Latino men, to accommodate the stereotypical fears of whites: "I can be sure when walking alone at night, I don't have to go out of my way to make others feel safe." Still others recognize the ability of whites to claim "optional ethnicities" as discussed by Waters (1996): "I can choose what ethnic group to identify with" or "I have the ability to identify as American, without people questioning me about where I came from."

In addition to issues of behavior and identity, students highlight McIntosh's (1990) examples related to the ability to express oneself without fear of retribution. Students developed the following items: "When I talk about racial inequalities, I am not often seen as playing the race card" and "I'm free to express my religion without speculation." These and other examples indicate that students recognize the privilege whites have of dressing in particular ways and their freedom in owning nice goods: "If I own expensive clothing/cars/accessories or anything of luxury I am seen as someone classy, and its not often questioned as fake or given as gifts/handouts" and "I can dress casually in public and not be judged by others."

Students are also keenly aware of issues related to the perpetuation of stereotypes. They cite those related to issues of violence: "If I own a gun, it is seen as a protection or part of a hobby (hunting) and not as criminal or threatening" as well as those related to athletic ability: "I can wear athletic clothing without others assuming I'm a school athlete" or "My athletic ability is assumed to be based on my talent and achievement rather than as a credit to my race." Similarly, they recognize the misinformation regarding diseases: "I can get a disease without it being attributed to my race/sexuality or my morality." Additionally, students recognize that for white people, having an accent is a sign of intelligence whereas people of color are traditionally thought to be less intelligent: "I can speak with an accent without having my race or intelligence questioned or have it attributed to my race."

Finally, many students develop privileges related to behavior in the workplace or in the participation of commerce. For example, they added the fact that: "Whites are assumed to have higher prestige jobs in school, while minorities may be assumed to be coaches, janitors, and not the teacher/professor." They also drew on common experiences of people of color when purchasing goods or services adding: "I can be pretty sure when purchasing a car, I will receive the attention of the dealer/be taken seriously," "I can adequately search for a place to live without worrying that my race is a factor in which houses are shown and the interests I receive to buy them. The location in which I am placed is my own choosing" and "I can get a cab late at night and not have my race prevent me from obtaining a ride."

When challenged to critically reflect on their community and experiences, students are able to recognize white privilege, despite the pervasiveness of colorblind ideology. This activity empowers students to use their knowledge of race relations to further McIntosh's (1990) analysis to include contemporary examples.

18.3 Assessment of Activity

As stated, the goals of this activity are to introduce students to the concept of white privilege, to foster an understanding of the ways white privilege operates in U.S. society, and to enhance student ability to critically reflect on contemporary racial inequality. While its success in this area is illustrated in their performance during the activity, it is also evidenced in feedback from students following the activity.

Students report that this activity deepened their understanding of white privilege and its operation in U.S. society. First, it made white privilege visible for them in a new way. Take Megan's² analysis of the activity: "the term white privilege is not something that many college students – or anyone for that matter – use in their daily conversations, let alone thought of. This activity forces students to analyze the many things that are taken for granted, and in many cases not noticed". Similarly, Samuel believes the activity helps make white privilege more visible and begins an important conversation on race relations:

To me, the really important thing about understanding white privilege (and the part of the major point of the activity) is that it makes whiteness visible. Most discussions on race focus on the ways that people of color are disadvantaged so making white privilege visible and understandable for students is incredibly important . . .

Similarly, Jasmine suggests: "The activity helped to highlight some of the more common-place privileges, which were more relevant to my everyday life. It not only focused my attention on some solid situations which I could quickly relate to things I saw happen every day, but also highlight[ed] the problems with them."

Furthermore, students felt that the activity presented them with a deeper understanding of the operation of white privilege in society. According to Michael: "The activity helped highlight the different experiences of white versus [individuals of] color in our social context, an important aspect of any race relations course." Additionally, James suggested that: "The activity also forced white students to confront white privilege and acknowledge its presence, which is vital to helping members of the dominant racial group understand why we minorities are not on board with the white-constructed idea that to see race is to be racist." Like Michael and James, Jane argues that the activity helped her see that white privilege and racism remain contemporary challenges:

It definitely helped to 'update' my view of white privilege. I think the most common misconception about white privilege is that somehow, by eliminating some of the older examples of racism, we are getting rid of it altogether. Looking into other places where white privilege shows helps to keep on track about how prevalent it is.

In addition to deepening understanding of white privilege, students felt as if the activity empowered them to think more critically about contemporary race relations and its effect on their lives. Mark suggests:

[The Activity] definitely helped me to understand race relations in contemporary America. Though I had been exposed to the material prior to the course and thought I had a decent understanding of race in the US, I think my understanding was enhanced by the activity. Specifically, coming up with new privileges and updating the privileges to a more contemporary context helped because it forced me to think beyond just what we had read/what is on the McIntosh list.

Similarly, Lindsay suggests that it made her aware of how little has changed and the way that white privilege relates to her: "This activity allows you to see how things have changed, or the lack thereof in terms of racial progression . . . From

²All names are pseudonyms.

my perspective the activity forced me to determine how the definition of race has been shifting over time, and how it applies to my life, and to those around me.” Jonathon also reflects on the personal nature of his reflection: “The activity was helpful in understanding white privilege because it made me think about situations or activities I would usually take for granted. As a Jew I don’t automatically see myself as white but this activity made me understand that I get a lot out of the white identity even when I don’t assume it.”

Students feel as if the activity helped facilitate an open conversation about race. They listed the strengths of the activity as “[the] directness of discourse”, the “involvement of entire class in discussion”, the “respectful environment without attacks” and the fact that “all students felt comfortable.” According to Stephen:

... the strength of the activity is in the contemporary examples you provide and the feedback students can give... It’s too easy for students (almost exclusively white) to dismiss the white privileges on the list if there isn’t [sic] real instances and studies that one can point to, which is why the examples were so important. Also, I think students being able to critique the white privileges on the list helps, too.

This discussion was particularly important across racial lines. According to Jeffrey:

The biggest strength of the activity was that it brought together people who didn’t always have the same racial background but who did have a similar background knowledge on the topic. Because we had all been in the same class and had learned the same things we had a framework that we could use to compare and contrast our experiences with the examples on the list.

Students report that the activity is successful in accomplishing its goals of educating students on the existence and operation of white privilege in U.S. society as well as facilitating a deeper understanding of contemporary race relations. In addition to the anecdotal data from students, their critical engagement with the activity is evident in the activity’s examples mentioned above.

18.4 Best Practices

This activity is successful in empowering students to think critically about white privilege and its operation in their lives. However, for this activity to work at encouraging critical thinking it is important that instructors connect the micro-level examples in McIntosh’s (1990) article – and those students develop – with broader social patterns. For example, an instructor could explain contemporary inequality in wealth by discussing historical challenges regarding homeownership, the GI Bill, redlining, blockbusting and other strategies preventing wealth acquisition for black Americans (Lui et al. 2006). If instructors fail to place these privileges in context, they risk bolstering colorblind ideology – particularly those regarding *abstract liberalism* or the *minimization of racism*.

A second opportunity with this activity is to verify that the material challenges everyone. This activity is generally successful in maintaining an appropriate

balance because students are expected to work together to update and contribute to McIntosh's (1990) list. If an appropriate atmosphere has been created in the classroom (Froyum 2013) students should feel comfortable challenging one another and deepening the classroom analysis regarding the items selected for discussion.

Related to this issue is the topic of the demographics of one's classroom. While this activity should work regardless of the race of one's students, the instructor may want to shift the language (from first person to third) to ease confusion among students. In classes predominately made up of immigrant students, faculty may want to emphasize the second half of the activity – developing new items for the list – as new immigrants may be unaware of the operation of white privilege in the United States and the challenges faced by immigrants are largely absent from McIntosh's list.

A third caution is the tendency of professors to exercise and reproduce the very elements of white privilege discussed in the article. Students of color have distinct backgrounds and paths to a class on race relations relative to both their white peers and one another (Logan 2013). One of the most common transgressions committed by instructors is to assume that all people of a particular racial group have had similar experiences. As a corollary, they often call on people of color to speak as "experts" for their racial or ethnic groups – a challenge mentioned by many students. This and other patterns are discussed in the edited volume *Making a Difference: University Students of Color Speak Out* (Lesage et al. 2002).

Finally, this activity is more successful if used later in the semester when students have reached some level of awareness of systemic racial discrimination so that they are able to critically reflect on their communities and experiences. Some instructors may wish to use it as a way to recap lessons from the entire semester.

18.5 Final Thoughts

College instructors of race are tasked with dismantling 20 years of exposure to colorblind ideology in a single semester. While this may seem insurmountable, it is important to recognize and exploit the existing cracks in colorblind ideology. This activity facilitates student learning regarding white privilege and race relations. It also helps empower students to think critically about the operation of these forces in society.

Despite the prevalence of colorblind ideology in society, critically minded students, regardless of their race, are aware that race relations are complicated. Recently, the University of Minnesota conducted a nationwide survey and interview study called *The American Mosaic Project*. This research highlights the complexities in people's perceptions of U.S. racial inequality. It concludes that whites recognize the importance of racial identity: 74 % of whites state that their white racial identity was somewhat or very important to them (in contrast to 90 % of people of color) (Croll 2007). It also finds that Americans "live with... various tensions and contradictions" in terms of their understanding of the racial structure of America (Bell and Hartmann 2007, p. 907). Despite viewing the world from a

colorblind perspective, and denying the role of structural barriers in explaining racial inequality, many whites do recognize that they benefit from societal structures: 59 % of whites (along with 83 % of black people and 84 % of Latinos) believe that prejudice and discrimination are important factors in explaining white advantage in society (Bell and Hartmann 2007).

This hidden awareness of prejudice and discrimination can be a useful launching point for critical discussion, which this activity facilitates. Instructors are tasked with empowering all students to think reflectively about the structural barriers in society and the ways in which contemporary racial inequality operates. Through this activity, teachers and students can burst open the fissures in colorblind ideology by asking students to employ their own awareness of social relations. All students experience the social consequences of white privilege. This activity can help them to recognize and think critically about its presence in society.

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Chapter 19

Connections and Crossroads: Using Memoirs to Teach About Race/Ethnicity in the United States

Kristina B. Wolff

As with many ‘new’ academics, when I was chosen to teach a course on race in the United States, I was excited but hesitant due to the enormity of the topic. I was fortunate to have a lot of flexibility in terms of designing the course. I gathered together all my previous syllabi from race, class and gender courses as well as material from race and ethnicity courses available on-line and went to work on creating my first course. As many others have noted, one of the challenges of offering a course on race and racism is getting students to understand the complexities of structural racism as well as other forms of structured inequality such as but not limited to sexism, classism, and heterosexism. In addition to using Mills’ theory of the sociological imagination and various theories addressing social construction, I included intersectionality as one of the foundational elements of the course. Since this was my first course, I decided to follow a fairly common organizational model that began the course with definitions and theories of race and racism as well as colonialism and imperialism. The mid-section of the course, close to seven weeks of the semester, focused on issues related to specific racial/ethnic groups which then moved into a discussion on whiteness and intersectionality. The remaining few weeks of the course looked at larger topics such as the co-optation of culture, multiculturalism and the dismantling of racism.

Reading materials for the course consisted of a reader of articles about race and racism which were primarily theoretical, an assigned memoir and a short collection of essays connecting structural racism to an individual’s experience. Using memoirs in courses exploring issues related to inequality and identity is not a new practice. In about one-third of the syllabi I reviewed when I prepared this course, a memoir,

K.B. Wolff, Ph.D., MPA (✉)
Gender Research Institute at Dartmouth (GRID) Fellow [Dartmouth College],
Senior Strategic Research Analyst, National College Health Improvement Project (NCHIP),
The Dartmouth Institute for Health Policy and Clinical Practice, 46 Centerra Parkway,
NH 03766, Lebanon
e-mail: Kristina.B.Wolff.GR@dartmouth.edu

personal stories or an assignment to read a memoir outside of class were part of the assignments. For my course I decided to include a memoir in the course for everyone to read as we progressed and students also had to choose a memoir of their own to read outside of class. My goal was to have a means for students to explore a couple of individual's experiences and to be able to use these materials as part of class discussion particularly if they were having difficulties relating to the material or were uncomfortable talking about their own experiences. Additionally, I hoped it would reduce the tendency I'd experienced in the classroom before, where white students expect the non-white students to represent and speak for their racial or ethnic group while also avoiding discussion on their own racial identity as white people. The list of recommended memoirs as well as the one used in the course, consisted of a variety of people and their experiences; in addition to obviously addressing issues related to race, ethnicity and racism in the United States, a discussion on other forms of inequality as well as a focus on social change were also key elements in these books.

In order to engage students in discussion as well as strengthen their analytic skills, there were no tests in this course, instead students were evaluated based on their participation in class discussion, a small group presentation on a topic of their choosing, four section papers (out of five assigned), a memoir paper and a personal journal students were required to turn in every two weeks. Prompts were given each week to students for their journals as a means to provide a starting point for them as well as to reinforce some of the topics or connections between topics that we were focusing on at that time. Students had the choice to use the prompt or not if they had something they wished to write about as long as it connected to the current topic. This provided flexibility for them, served as a venue to discuss things they may have been uncomfortable addressing with the larger group and provided a means for me to have continual contact with each student. I chose not to have a final due to the amount of material we were both covering and students were producing.

The results of the course were quite mixed. The majority of students were able to keep up with the readings and understandably, they were also a bit overwhelmed. Many reported learning a great deal and certainly I saw students grow both academically and personally. As a new faculty member wrestling with a new course, particularly one that is sensitive and at times controversial, I had difficulties keeping the course organized. Instead of being confident and relaxed enough to go with the flow of the class, to run with teachable moments, and restructure the course when necessary, I pushed forward to make sure we covered the material. Structurally I also made the mistake of not taking better advantage of the memoirs. I had assumed that students would be as excited about the material as I was and would immerse her or himself into the course and therefore bring in material from the memoirs without prompting from me. This did not occur for a number of reasons including student's tendency to wait until the last minute to read their memoir shortly before their memoir paper was due. They were expected to integrate material in their journal entries but most failed to do so even though they lost points because of it. This made it more challenging for each of us to take advantage of the memoirs people were reading. Additionally, I did not anticipate the level of resistance I would receive in

the course as well. Most of the students identified as white and a majority were from the South, which added a complexity to the course that I hadn't prepared for. Most students made passive negative comments but a few were quite openly resistant to the material which added some 'spice' to the conversation but was also tricky to deal with in a respectful and positive manner.

19.1 Course Revision

A few years after this initial experience, I was able to offer the course again. When starting the process to revise the class, I reflected a lot on what went well and what needed more work in the first course and thought about experiences I have had since then in other courses where issues related to race and racism were explored. I had become more confident and skilled in the classroom particularly when dealing with challenging topics. Unlike my early years of teaching, I was less wedded to traditional approaches to teaching and presenting material. While I had strived to create an atmosphere based on ideas of feminist and liberatory approaches to education, where the relationship of "teacher-student and student-teacher, act as subjects, not objects" (Shrewsbury 1987, p. 6). I recognized that I had fallen into using a model that was comfortable when I developed the first course on race, but was not the most effective or encouraging to students to take personal intellectual risks in the classroom. I knew that I still needed to use some traditional approaches particularly because the material I was using in the race and ethnicity course was challenging on many levels for students, but I also wanted to stress the importance of keeping the course 'real' for students as regardless of what the topic was, we were talking about people's lived experiences including our own individual lives.

When working on the revision, I kept asking myself, 'how do I move beyond memorizing facts, concepts and theories, to a place where each student has the opportunity to have an authentic learning experience?' Granted there's no guarantee that students will move beyond the surface of understanding, but I believe that part of my responsibility as an educator is to create a course that provides a chance for students to achieve deep levels of understanding. There were two main areas I realized I needed to strengthen first when working on the revision. My first step was to examine how I introduced and used Mills' theory of the sociological imagination in the course. Since the race and ethnicity course I was teaching was upper division, many students were familiar with Mills' theory from previous sociology courses they had taken. However, as noted by Eckstein et al. (1995), often the approach used to teach this theory is to provide a short explanation with a definition of the theory and to continue the course with the assumption that students immediately grasp the complexities of the sociological imagination. Since many students used symbolic interaction sporadically or simply forgot to include it in their written work, I worked to integrate it into the assignments, particularly the ones occurring toward the end of the semester and reviewed my course notes to make sure that I was revising and applying the theory frequently throughout the course.

The second part I addressed definitely needed more improvement. The concept of intersectionality was introduced at the beginning of the course and mentioned throughout the class but there wasn't any focused attention on it until the last few weeks of the semester. What happened as a result of this was that there was a lack of attention paid to intersectionality and often students would confuse intersectionality, which "refers to particular forms of intersecting oppression, for example, intersections of race and gender, or of sexuality and nation" with the matrix of domination (Collins 2000, p. 18). I see this as similar to how students often understand the sociological imagination; they can grasp and discuss 'personal troubles' as this is micro level analysis that can easily be applied to their own lives (Mills 1959). Where students have difficulties and often feel overwhelmed or even powerless, is in understanding and applying the second part; what Mills describes as 'public issues' or macro level forces, in their scholarship (Mills 1959). When reflecting on intersectionality and students' level of understanding and application, I found that students frequently could relate to and see how an individual may struggle due to the combination of being poor and non-white but they often floundered when learning about and applying another part of intersectionality, which Collins calls the *matrix of domination*. Building off of bell hooks' *politics of domination*, she describes the matrix of domination as "how these intersecting oppressions are actually organized. Regardless of the particular intersections involved, structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains of power reappear across quite different forms of oppression" (Collins 2000, p. 18; Hooks 1989). Again, similar to the sociological imagination, students were challenged when examining inequality, particularly related to race, on a macro level.

I also realized that by following a more traditional organizational framework, where the emphasis was often on individual population's experiences rather than on overarching topics or themes, I had reproduced a hierarchical, additive model of examining oppression. This approach reinforces the Eurocentric belief that race (and other markers of difference) is a distinct category that can be quantified and ranked, thus providing a means to privilege one group over another or one marker of difference (gender, race, class, etc.) over another (Collins 2000; Hooks 1989). The result of doing this reified the existing social structures I was asking students to analyze and critique and certainly added a barrier to exploring and examining the complexities of race, ethnicity, racism, other isms, and the challenge to understand and view our social worlds through an intersectional lens.

In addition to altering some of the assignments and class activities, I restructured the course to support an intersectional model of analysis. Readings still consisted of a general reader on race and ethnicity, selected short articles and six memoirs that the entire class read at the same time. Assignments were changed to weekly short papers that were a combination of analysis and reflection since the journal idea did not work well before. Students now wrote three section papers, did a short group presentation on a topic of their choice, and completed a final project which they had part in designing. The course now began with a focus on ways in which society constructs the 'other' in combination with a historical context on the evolution of creating and defining race while students were asked to immediately reflect on 'who' and 'where'

they are in society. Since the majority of my students identify as part of the dominant racial category (white) in the United States, the course now began with looking at privilege through the lens of whiteness. Memoirs were integrated throughout the course and each book was examined using an intersectional framework in addition to other theories, concepts, and topics we were exploring in the course.

Each memoir had a strong theme of social change and social justice within it. To start the course, the first memoir used was *Memoir of a Race Traitor* by Mab Segrest. This book discusses her life growing up in a poor, Southern family with strong ties to white supremacy and her experiences doing anti-racism work as well as her involvement in the GLBT and women's rights movements. This was chosen to compliment materials on the construction of race/racism and whiteness in the United States. Rather than waiting until the end of the semester, I decided it would be more powerful to begin where students did not expect to start, to capture their attention, thus the decision to start with a memoir about a white woman. It also helped to establish 'white' as a racial category at the very beginning as a number of students felt that race didn't impact them in any way. The remaining memoirs offer similar combinations and were assigned to parallel and reinforce topics that we were covering. For example, when looking at issues of immigration with race and ethnicity, students would read a book about someone who was an Asian/Pacific Islander or Chicano and her/his experiences immigrating to the United States. This structural change added consistency to the course and made a positive difference in students' ability to comprehend and apply the concepts of intersectionality and the matrix of domination to their work, while also making connections with other material in the course and their own lives.

19.2 Concluding Note

Based on their progression academically and what they conveyed to me personally, the course continued to be challenging but there was a deeper level of understanding of the ways in which race and racism operate on micro and macro levels in the United States. Students took more risks in their written work as well as in class discussion as they were able to relate to people in the memoir's they read. They may not have understood exactly what it felt like immigrating to the U.S. but understood the struggles of the person in the memoir who was struggling to obtain an education and could empathize with the increased challenges of being a non-English speaking immigrant. Since the memoirs were read solely to learn about people's experiences, students were also more likely to read them. The most challenging piece was getting white students to recognize their own racial identities, particularly those placed on them by larger society. Some students felt guilty when they realized they had some level of privilege even if they didn't believe they had advantages that non-whites don't have on a structural level. While open resistance and hostility decreased, it was still present and often was a source of underlying tension in the course. To the students' credit, they worked extremely hard at understanding the material and of

being more reflective which I attribute to the increased use of memoirs, the structural changes to the course and my increased experience at teaching and my willingness to move with the flow of the class more than sticking to the structure of the syllabus.

A note of caution needs to be made here. These courses were offered at small, liberal arts colleges in the United States. Many of the students enrolled in the course were existing students of mine who I had developed a strong relationship with, particularly people within the sociology major as I taught the majority of sociology courses. Since the class size was small, average about 15 students, I was able to spend more time with each student as well as take extra time if necessary with grading. This course was initially offered at the 200 level and was moved to a 300 level course not because of the amount of work but the necessity to have students who had simply been in school for a while as they have a different level of maturity and approach to their work than a first year student typically has. Revisiting the ways in which I used the sociological imagination and intersectionality in this course improved how I used these concepts in other courses.

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Chapter 20

Lessons from *Crash*

Charlotte A. Kunkel

Teaching the sociology of racism is sometimes a challenging task. It can be difficult to get students to understand the institutionalized nature of racism when they cling to an individualistic understanding. This phenomenon we know as racism is not, as McIntosh (1988) articulated so well, “individual acts of meanness,” but systemic advantage and oppression. White students often use avoidance, denial and minimization (Bonilla-Silva 2010) to skirt acknowledging racism in their own lives and see racism as a personal flaw, thus assuring themselves they are not “racist.” As sociologists, we urge them through the shame and guilt to acknowledge the systematic differential access to power and resources. Understanding the systemic or institutional nature of racism is key to the teaching and learning of the sociology of racism, however, teaching the concept of institutional racism without attention to personal practices and experiences of racism in individual lives leaves us with incomplete understanding and few practical applications.

Teaching about institutionalized racism requires us to talk about and examine individual experiences – in fact, institutional racism is most profoundly felt and lived in individual lives. Systemic racism exists at the institutional level but systemic inequalities are lived realities. The power of a sociological perspective is understanding this connection. The basic premise that society and individuals are dialectically interrelated and that we as individuals can change social structures through daily practice *is* the power of a sociological perspective. We must understand that systemic or institutionalized racism is perpetuated by daily practices of social interaction. Connecting the macro level of analysis to the micro level of lived experience allows us to understand and envision solutions we can enact in everyday life. Society isn’t just out there, it is right here in our daily interaction.

C.A. Kunkel (✉)
Luther College, Decorah, IA, USA
e-mail: kunkelch@luther.edu

In this paper, I offer some reflections and report on lessons learned in the classroom from using the film *Crash* (2005) in the teaching of the sociology of racism. I use *Crash* not only because it won Best Picture at the Academy Awards in 2006, but because it is controversial, and thus offers us insight on the state of race relations today. Film is a text that not only mirrors but constructs social life. As Sutherland and Feltey (2010, p. 5) remind us, it also “enables us to locate ourselves in the institutions that shape our lives.” *Crash* is still being used on campuses to teach or facilitate discussions of racism (Giroux and Giroux 2010) even though many contend “it is a racist film.” It is for this very reason that I think we must teach *Crash* to our students and continue to critically discuss the film and reactions to it. As a major box office hit and now popular campus presentation, we must continue the discussion, otherwise it will have the effect critics fear – to reinscribe rather than challenge the social hierarchy. It is imperative that we do so from a critical and sociological perspective. I discuss the film and some of the reactions to it before I provide a sociological analysis in response. I conclude with several suggestions about teaching the film.

Crash evokes strong emotions: shame, fear, anger, even relief. It is often either loved or hated by viewers. I think this emotional response speaks not only to the power of the film but to the highly emotive and visceral response that race and racism still evoke among many people in society today. Discussions of racism often digress to that emotional level of guilt, fear, or anger, and many avoid them for this very reason.

Students after their first screening of the film said:

I liked it because it showed how everyone is racist. (White student, Jan 2010)

It made me sad because everyone is racist. (White student, Jan 2010)

On the one hand, students, critics and viewers alike, favor *Crash* because, they say, it illustrates that “everyone is racist,” while others dislike it for the very same reason. These responses are more complex than they appear. Why might we feel good about the purported fact that we all hate, that we all have stereotyped images of each other? Believing we are all racist levels the playing field and creates comfort for some viewers; the belief is that we have equal opportunity prejudice. If we are all racist, then I am not unique in my racism. On the other hand, the same observation that “everyone is racist” leads some viewers to hate the film. Reducing racism to an interpersonal level, this perspective argues, serves to perpetuate racial inequality and maintain institutional racism (Giroux and Giroux 2010). What can we do about it if everyone is racist – Whites and non-Whites alike – they ask? If all are racist, then institutional structures of White domination in the US become invisible and irrelevant to the problem. Moreover, if racism is “natural,” human, and inevitable, some may argue we cannot do anything to change it. Anti-racist activists reading the film in this way, see the film as harmful, as reproducing racial inequalities, and fueling the fires of White supremacy.

There are other critiques of the film, of course, and legitimately so. Some argue that the lack of development of the Asian characters, for example, leads to the dehumanization of Asians and Asian-Americans whereas the White and Black

characters in the film are complex and allowed to redeem themselves for their immoral acts (Rhee 2007). Others point to the damaging portrayal of Black women (Giroux and Giroux 2010) or to the absence of Native characters (Jolivet 2007). Still some think the film broadens the discussion of racism beyond the traditionally dichotomous Black-White dynamic.

The most problematic criticism, I think, is that it ignores systemic racism and therefore perpetuates that very system.

[A]s many critics of *Crash* have pointed out, through these various characterizations of racial groups, the film ignores systematic institutions of racism by its mantra, “everyone is racist.” (Rhee 2007, p. 44)

Crash plays to that individualistic understanding of racism, by presenting racism in only its interpersonal, rather than institutional forms. (Wise 2007, p. 57)

Crash is a White-supremacist movie. (Jensen and Wosnitzer 2007, p. 68)

These responses miss a critical reading of *Crash*. By applying a sociological imagination and using a symbolic interactionist approach to *Crash*, we can see society in the individual, see the macro in the micro, and see social structures in the everyday interactions and practices of members of society (Mead 1934). From this perspective, we can see the structures of institutional racism in the everyday lives of those depicted in the film. One major problem in reading the film is failing to see the difference between interpersonal prejudice and institutional racism. Racial hatred and racial prejudice may certainly be represented as characteristics of everyone in the film; however, racism is systematic and institutional so the problem is not that we are all equally racist, but only, perhaps, equally prejudiced. The key to understanding the difference between interpersonal prejudice and institutional racism is a sociological imagination, or the ability to see the relationship between individuals and society (Mead 1934).

Interpersonal prejudice is an attitude or belief about a person or group. It may be expressed in stereotypes or over-generalized statements about all members of a group. Racism, however, is an ideology or set of beliefs that justify a social arrangement, i.e., Blacks are innately less intelligent so tracking in schools is a natural outcome of ability. Racism is often conceptualized as having the power to societally enforce your prejudices (Barndt 2007); it is institutional or systemic and is built into the social fabric. It encompasses racial prejudice but is also comprised of privilege and discrimination. In the United States today, the operating system of racial dominance is White supremacy (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Desmond and Emirbayer 2010; Feagin 2006). What is often overlooked is that interpersonal prejudice is informed by the practices of social institutions (Desmond and Emirbayer 2010, p. 31). Our personal prejudices are not innate but learned patterns of behavior. That we have cultural patterns of beliefs about specific groups of people, and that they change over time, illustrate that they are socially constructed, not innate.

Thus, I argue that reading *Crash* as merely leveling the playing field is not a sociological reading of the film. Using a sociological lens helps us to see the context in which interpersonal prejudices are not isolated or natural occurrences but reflections of social institutions and cultural patterns that can be changed. A

sociological lens allows a more nuanced and complex understanding of racism. The film is rife with examples of institutional racism exposed. The key is in seeing the institutions evident in the characters' (and, by extension, our) daily interactions. Some examples include:

- In the gun buying scene, the White store owner (Jack McGee) orders the removal of Farhad (Shaun Toub), the Iranian father, by calling a White security guard to help him, and invokes capitalist notions of privacy. All reference the institutional power of Whites in capitalist systems of materialism and oppression (Ohlin and Smith 2007).
- Two young Black men engage in critical analysis of Black people's tipping habits and the internalized oppression/self-fulfilling prophecy when they don't tip due to bad service. The stereotype is that Black people don't tip well, so wait-staff give (a Black waitress in the film) poorer service to Blacks, and thus, the prediction that Black people don't tip well (for bad service) is fulfilled.
- The White police officer's harassment of the Black couple as well as two other White police officer shootings of Black characters are either unreported or unremarkable. Without White supremacy, would they get away with it? A critical lens would question the institutional racism in the LAPD, as does the character of Anthony (Ludicris) when in the film he explicitly references the corruption of the LAPD and its racist past.
- The patronizing of the maid by Jean (Sandra Bullock's character) when she says to Maria, "You are my best friend" leads us to examine White privilege and the patterns of racialized employment strategies of the wealthy, as well as racialized employment opportunities for Latinas.
- The stereotyping of the Latino locksmith Daniel (Michael Pena) as a gangbanger, again by Bullock's character, in contrast with his lived reality invokes employment opportunities, ghettoization, gang violence and neighborhood segregation.
- Fred (Tony Danza), a White movie executive's rewriting a script so the character is more authentically 'Black' questions Hollywood and the movie industry.
- Human trafficking highlights the institutional and capitalist exploitation of Asian workers.
- Playing the race card in politics when the DA says "he needs a picture of me pinning a medal on a Black man" invokes the role of racism in politics, and the "spinning" of racialized realities.

Each of these instances may be read as individuals acting on personal prejudice, however, we are not born prejudiced or racist. From where do these attitudes and social practices stem? The sociologist can trace their origins to a racist social structure of political, social, economic, legal and material inequality. In addition, I think the film can be read as articulating several of the concepts necessary to a sociological analysis of racism. Internalized oppression, cultural appropriation, residential segregation, White privilege, White habitus and racial geographies of

space, and horizontal hostility are all evidenced in the film, to name just a few. A simplistic reading of *Crash* might see Latinos stereotyping Asians, Iranians stereotyping Latinos, Asians oppressing each other, Blacks carjacking Whites, and Whites harassing Blacks, but a sociological analysis using the concept of horizontal hostility (Pharr 1988) could introduce the historical relationships between Koreans and Blacks, evidenced in the Los Angeles riots for example, and the consequences of keeping those on the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy fighting each other instead of them forming alliances to resist the system.

In many scenes of the film, applying a sociological lens allows viewers to see not just interpersonal prejudice but institutional racism and the effects of a White racist system. As the notion of horizontal hostility explains, if the powerful can articulate groups amongst the oppressed and get them to fight over limited resources then the power structure, i.e., of White domination, basically goes undisturbed. In fact as long as the dominant group can deflect criticism and attention, their power goes unchallenged and the status quo is maintained.

I offer two additional scenes to draw your attention to the possibility of seeing the institutional in the personal. First, recall the scene in the car with the two Black men driving the SUV after the car jacking. While Peter (played by Larenz Tate) is listening to rap music, Anthony (played by Chris “Ludicris” Bridges) says “you are listening to the music of the oppressor.” Peter responds, “how in the lunacy of your mind is hip hop the music of the oppressor?” Anthony goes on to reference the history of hip hop and how in the 1960s “we had articulate Black men writing about oppression and resistance . . . and then the White music industry took over and made the Black singers look like fools.” Using this as an introduction to an institutional analysis of the music industry, allows not only for a historical examination of hip hop (Kitwana 2002), but the study of the cultural appropriation of Black music and the economic exploitation of Black entertainers. A sociological analysis of the culture of hip hop and the social institutions surrounding it can illustrate the point that our listening habits are not individual, but social, and that they are racialized.

Another critical scene occurs when the White assistant to the D.A., Jake Flanagan, says, “I know all the sociological reasons why per capita eight times more Black men are incarcerated than White men. Schools are a disgrace, lack of opportunity, bias in the judicial system.” And he then asks Detective Graham Waters (Don Cheadle) if it doesn’t get to him when Black men/Black cops go bad and fulfill the stereotype. This scene is a critical teaching moment in the film, not because it mentions sociology, but because it invokes the personal interaction between individuals and social systems. The White D.A. is asking the Black cop how he personally interacts with a racist structure. Moreover, the scene makes visible a potential Black reaction to lived reality. People of color not only experience the inequalities of a racist system but have agency in it. We are able to cue students to investigate the institutional racism in education, occupations, and the criminal justice system, and acknowledge individual agency in examining potential reactions to it.

In sum, I think there are multiple lessons we can learn from *Crash*. My intention is not to redeem the film or to suggest that it may not be read as a White supremacist film; I agree that it may be read in that way. I do however, think there is another way to read the film, and that as sociologists we can bring a symbolic interactionist perspective to the table. We can, and must, see the social structures of institutionalized racism in a film that presents moments of interpersonal prejudice on the screen. In fact, I think it is imperative to see, and to teach our students to see, institutional racism not as something out there beyond the everyday interpersonal interactions of everyday life, but as represented in the micro interactions of daily life. Indeed, it is practiced and perpetuated by individuals in everyday life. By applying a sociological imagination we not only see how human behavior is influenced by societal constructions of race and racism, but how social institutions influence us. Interpersonal prejudice is practiced in systemically patterned forms developed and reinforced by institutional racism. Interpersonal racial prejudice is not innate or inevitable. As educators and activists we have to see the political in the personal in order to imagine solutions we can enact in everyday life.

As one student asserted, "I think the first step to dealing with racism is getting it out in the open and that it is more important to show it as the ugly reality that it is rather than show it as a problem that can be solved by an overnight epiphany. For this reason I believe *Crash* is not only a great eye opener but also a valuable teaching tool (White Student, Jan 2010)." The film gives us as educators the material with which to teach lessons about institutional racism.

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Chapter 21

Experiencing Racialization: Digital Ethnography as Professional Development for Teachers

Nicholas P. Wysocki

The demographic profile of the teaching force in North America is primarily white, middle-class, female, and monolingual, while the students these teachers educate noticeably do not share these demographic characteristics (Howard 2006). Teacher education programs have the task of preparing teacher candidates for classrooms that are increasingly heterogeneous in terms of the ethnic, racial, socioeconomic, and linguistic diversity of the learners (Hodgkinson 2001). Research demonstrates that teachers can develop the competence to make their curriculum choices, pedagogy, and classroom management techniques more relevant to the cultural backgrounds, worldviews, and circumstances facing diverse learners (Ladson-Billings 2001; Moll and González 1997; González et al. 1995; Weinstein et al. 2004; Villegas and Lucas 2002). Teacher education programs are required by their accreditation agencies, at both the state and national level (e.g., Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation), to provide evidence that they are equipping teacher candidates with these competencies to meet the academic needs of their diverse learners.

Teacher candidates are required to take at least one obligatory course on multicultural education as part of their requirements for state licensure, and the intention of this course is to provide them with exposure to both these diverse learners and the aforementioned research. The first problem with these courses is that candidates can erroneously perceive them as a 16-week panacea designed to magically prepare them for the complexities and challenges surrounding teaching and learning in demographically diverse academic settings. In reality, they need to spend years developing the knowledge base, dispositions, and skill sets to work competently with a variety of learners. The second problem is that these courses vary in how they address the phenomenon of racialization and its meaning for teaching and learning. Discussions about race seem the most difficult for teacher candidates,

N.P. Wysocki, Ph.D. (✉)
Winona State University, Winona, MN, USA
e-mail: nwysocki@winona.edu

especially those with little or not sustained contact with ethnically and racially different populations. This chapter discusses how one such course is implementing an analytical project to better prepare teacher candidates to transform both their thinking and comfort level in talking about the construct of race. It begins with a discussion of how racialization occurs for teacher candidates, and then it discusses the meanings that such racialization has for the process of teaching and learning. A Digital Ethnography project is offered as a useful technique to help these candidates work through their views about the phenomenon of racialization.

21.1 Racialization

Omi and Winant (1994) describe racialization as the meanings attributed to human populations, socially constructed as “races,” resulting from the social, economic, and political circumstances occurring throughout a nation’s history. Teacher candidates intuitively understand that students, as members of various racial groups, have different experiences in institutional settings like schools. They are all too familiar with the existence of achievement gaps, learning styles differences, and the necessity of differentiated instruction to meet the academic levels of these learners. They often fail to familiarize themselves with the ways that they participate in their own constructions of race. They may not often ask themselves the role that their family members, friends, and significant others in their social environments play in their thinking about race. They may not be cognizant of how media images shape their thoughts, feelings, fears, and affinities toward particular racial groups. Finally, they may not understand how these sources may blind them from seeing the myriad challenges facing non-white learners in the learning spaces they ideally perceive as democratic. Candidates may perceive racial differences as something to be minimized in the spirit of teaching in a manner they perceive to be “color-blind.” For example, they will make such comments as “I don’t see race, I see students” or “All students are the same, regardless of their race”. These perceptions afford candidates the opportunity to dismiss the systemic racism that has historically been associated with the schooling of non-white students in the Americas. Candidates may also perceive the racial backgrounds of some students, particularly those of African or Latino descent, as a deficit to their learning. They associate racial differences with anticipated problems with classroom management, lack of respect for authority, minimal parental involvement, and an unwillingness to learn (Hammond et al. 2004; Weinstein et al. 2004).

Teacher candidates are members of numerous campus, city, state, regional, national, and global communities, and these communities shape the perceptual filter through which they view the racial differences of their learners (Hybels and Weaver 2007). Lawrence Breitborde (1997), in “Anthropology’s Challenge: Disquieting Ideas for Diverse Students”, discusses the importance of undergraduates student being exposed to the theories and practices of the social sciences. As he states,

Today, students often see themselves as persons ‘sheathed’ in a particular culture or identity – an ethnic or gendered or social identity that is not simply fundamental but also constraining, one that separates them from others sheathed in other kinds of cultures or identities, making communication and understanding each others’ ideas difficult if not impossible. (Breitborde 1997)

His central point in this reading is that undergraduate learners have been socialized to view cultural differences as competing perspectives or barriers to understanding. He argues that the theories and techniques of the social sciences (e.g., Anthropology and Sociology) can be used to help students articulate their perceptions, feelings, and emotions concerning the cultural differences associated with ethnic and racial differences in schools.

21.2 Racialization, Teaching, and Learning

Willis D. Hawley and Sonia Nieto (2010) state, “We need, however, to recognize an inconvenient truth – that when it comes to maximizing learning opportunities and outcomes for students from racially and ethnically diverse backgrounds, race and ethnicity matter (p. 66).” Ethnicity and race affect teachers’ assumptions about non-white students’ capacity to learn, non-white students’ responses to curriculum and instruction, as well as these learners’ perceived and actual exposure to discriminatory educational practices (e.g., tracking, disciplinary referrals, disproportionate placement in special education, etc.) (Gay 2000; Gollnick and Chin 2004; Ladson-Billings 1994; Valenzuela 1999).

Teacher candidates are conditioned in preparatory programs to express the time worn statement that they will treat every learner equally in their classrooms, but they fail to both acknowledge and express their real dispositions toward non-white students. For example, exercises designed to get them to express these dispositions reveals that they racialize learners of Asian descent as good students possessing a willingness to learn in a respectful manner while African American learners are loud, disruptive, and perceived to be potential problems for classroom management. They are also unaware of the discriminatory experiences that different ethnic and racial learners have historically had with American schools that have attempted to de-culturalize them (Spring 2009).

Hawley and Nieto (2010) argue for the use of ethnic- and race-responsive teaching practices in schools in order to challenge this history of de-culturalization. Their suggestions can be used to frame some larger rhetorical questions about teacher candidates’ construction of race: Are these candidates more willing to develop caring, nurturing relationships with some ethnic or racial groups versus others? Do they have higher expectations for some ethnic or racial groups over others? Are they willing to learn more about the families, cultural backgrounds, and learning experiences of the former as opposed to the latter? Do they seek to build off of these areas of knowledge in ways that are both culturally aware and demanding in

academic rigor? Do they have the tools to interpret and manage disruptive behaviors in a manner that does not impact particular groups of ethnic and racial learners in disproportionate ways? The answers to these questions indicate if teacher candidates are going to have to “deal with” ethnic and racial diversity or if they seek to embrace it as a variable that actually enriches the classroom.

The following section discusses a Digital Ethnography project developed to both expose teacher candidates to ethnically and racially diverse learners as well as give them the language to talk honestly about how they construct race. Three primary research questions guide the development of this project: (1) What exposure do teacher candidates in EFRT 308 have to the racialization of non-white students? (2) What meanings does this exposure have for these candidates as they anticipate teaching these learners? (3) How can a Digital Ethnography project help them think reflectively about their racialization of non-white students?

21.3 Digital Ethnography: Acknowledging Racialization

David Fetterman (2010) describes ethnography as the art and science of describing a group or culture. It is art in the sense that ethnographers spend quality time in a foreign cultural space with the intention of developing a portrait of their informed interpretations. It is science because their interpretations arise from the interviews, observations, and documents gathered in the natural field as well as the qualitative and quantitative methodologies used to analyze the acquired data (e.g., quotations, descriptions, document excerpts) (Genzuk 2003). The intention of ethnographers is to use participant observation to gain an understanding of the cultural environment from the point of view of the members within it (Fetterman 2010; Genzuk 2003). Ethnographers engage in purposeful interaction with members of the cultural environment under investigation in order to factually capture context and interpret members’ commentary and behaviors that arise within it as accurately as they are able. They begin with an “etic” perspective in which they filter information through the lens of their own cultural programming. Ideally, experience, training, and guidance from cultural insiders in that culture help the ethnographer slowly move to the “emic” perspective in which cultural information is now understood and valued similar to that of the members of the culture (Fetterman 2010).

Ethnographers can never completely silence their own cultural voice and perspectives when they are immersed in the new culture, but they can constantly suppress the urge to interpret and evaluate context phenomena through their “etic” lens. The techniques of ethnography, specifically gaining prior understanding, choosing a field of investigation, making methodological decisions, engaging in participant observation, taking field notes, and encountering ethical considerations lend themselves well to helping teacher candidates talk about how they come to construct race. Hawley and Nieto (2010) argue that race matters to teaching and learning, and the most fundamental reason for this is that human behavior is based in cultural perspectives and understandings. More specifically, the commentary and

behaviors of non-white students in American schools needs to be understood in the context of their own cultural ways of knowing. The next few paragraphs describe how teacher candidates are prepared to engage in this ethnographic practice in order to gain a deeper understanding of how they construct race.

Teacher candidates in EFRT 308 spend approximately 10 weeks gaining an anthropological and sociological understanding of both culture and the way that culture shapes their own perceptual filter through which they come to “know” the world around them. It is important for them to gain an understanding of their own perceptual filter before they can even begin to be sensitive to the fact that this filter operates in the same way for their own learners as they make meaning in the teaching and learning process. These candidates then come to understand how race, social class, gender, and sexual orientation are constructed in their social and academic environments. These social constructs are examined both individually and collectively (i.e., intersectionality) in an effort to understand how they shape experiences for the teacher candidate and each of their students simultaneously. The candidates arrive at this understanding through a series of classroom discussions and research reports in which they study specific cultural aspects of ethnically and racially diverse learners and the way in which these aspects have meaning for such academic indicators as opportunities to learn, grades and GPA, achievement test scores, referrals for linguistic or special education services, behavior sanctions, health and fitness, access to supportive relationships, graduation rates, and the acquisition of knowledge and skills for college and career success.

Teacher candidates are also provided with a series of workshops on the techniques of ethnography and how to ethically collect and store ethnographic information in the Wordpress Web 2.0 digital platform. They are then presented with a variety of clinical settings in which they are guaranteed interaction with ethically and racially diverse learners over the course of 5–6 weeks. These settings include PK-12 classroom settings in rural and urban settings, a Native American learning center, Boys and Girls Clubs, alternative learning centers, and tutoring rooms. Candidates go through a thorough background check and gain an understanding of the information gathering protocols required from the University’s Internal Review Board (IRB). They also gain familiarity with their roles and responsibilities as participant-observers functioning in a co-teaching capacity with the school personnel on site. Candidates videotape themselves, prior to the field experience, in order to talk candidly about the types of knowledge that shape both their constructions of race and the way that they tend to racialize ethnically diverse students. Upon entry into their respective settings, teacher candidates take pictures of the academic settings and curricula materials in order to capture the dynamic learning context. They periodically identify significant informants in the setting, including school personnel, paraprofessionals, volunteers, and learners, who can provide additional information to analyze. They also locate, read, and analyze a number of peer-reviewed journal articles in order to give them some academic understanding of the way that intersectional variables such as race, gender, and social class function together to impact the academic success of ethnically and racially diverse students. They concurrently develop a number of journal tables

in which they make analytical connections among information they capture in their field notes, the aforementioned course content, and the peer-review research articles. Finally, the teacher candidates are asked to view and reflect on their initial tendencies to racialize non-white students as captured in their pre-clinical videos.

21.4 Conclusion: Digital Ethnography and “Disquieting” the Construct of Race

This Digital Ethnography project was piloted during the Spring 2012 semester, and the data from this pilot will inform the subsequent development of this analytical work. Teacher candidates have a difficult time talking about race because of their lack of familiarity with the academic language associated with this construct. This Digital Ethnography project provides them with the tools to, as Lawrence Breitborde (1997) states, “disquiet ideas” about race. These tools can “help [teacher candidates] constrained by their culturally shaped feelings, emotions, and perceptions to understand realities radically different from their own (Breitborde 1997, p. 39).” They are able to participate in open and intellectual engagement with racializing ideas generated by learners’ ethnic and racial differences as opposed to continuing the tendency to lapse into the silences that come with conditioned educational tolerance. This Digital Ethnography project affords teacher candidates the opportunity to have in-depth, sustained contact with ethnically and racially diverse populations in order to gain knowledge about how human behavior is shaped by the complexities of social, economic, cultural and political contexts (Breitborde 1997). Similarly, these project tools can help candidates collect and analyze information about the learning experiences of ethnically and racially diverse learners, more specifically their academic needs, social challenges, and available resources (Moll and Arnot-Hopffer 2005; Moll 2000). Most importantly, this project provides teacher candidates with the chance to raise their own consciousness about both how they come to construct race and how they may be complicit in the social and cultural processes that marginalize non-white students.

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Chapter 22

‘Veiled for Day’: Social Justice Experiments and Race Pedagogies

Jamil Khader

This chapter describes a social justice experiment, called “Veiled for a Day,” that aimed at challenging students’ assumptions about our so-called “post-racial” society, fostering in them the need for critical reflection and reevaluation of their own cultural norms, identities, and values through a perspectival shift that allows them to inhabit Otherness and experience the Other’s difference through the eyes of the Other herself. While contemporary theories of multicultural education frequently appeal to practices of intercultural competency grounded in the ideals of tolerance, pluralism, and inclusion that promote the value of living together with and across (essentialized) forms of difference, these theories end up promoting the (aesthetic and/or erotic) appreciation, commodification, and consumption of difference through “progressive discovery” of the Other and her secret source of enjoyment (Žižek 1997) especially, what I call the Other’s three F’s namely, food, fabrics, and festivities.

Against this consumptive and incorporative politics that at best encourages empathy for the Other from one’s own presumably superior position, this experiment sought to encourage mainstream American students to develop what the postcolonial critic, Gayatri Spivak, calls “transnational literacy,” through which students not only rethink their relationships with the Other in terms of the ethics of singularity, but also examine these ethical relationships in the context of economic inequality within the international division of labor (Spivak 1997). This shift from the culturalization of difference to its politicization reframes the problem of diversity within the imbrication of difference within individual identity (difference), intersubjective relations (privilege and inequality), and socio-cultural institutions (sites where privilege and inequality are reproduced) at both local and global levels. Invoking an iconic signifier of cultural differences, the veil or hijab, and its controversial cultural, religious, and political meanings in an increasingly

J. Khader (✉)
Stetson University, DeLand, FL, USA
e-mail: jkhader@stetson.edu

Islamophobic public sphere, this experiment demonstrates that to be effective, race pedagogies in the twenty-first century must be able to encourage students to develop not only their moral imagination and empathy for the Other, but also their transnational literacies and forms of international subject positions that will allow them to interrogate the power differentials between Self and Other within existing geopolitical conflicts that implicate them as well.

22.1 “Veiled for a Day”: Institutional and Cultural Contexts

In this social justice experiment, which was conducted prior to and on Diversity Day (Feb 10, 2010) at a predominantly White and Christian private university in Florida (with historical ties to the Baptist tradition that were disconnected in the 1990s), participants, including 15 female students and a female faculty member of different ethnic and religious backgrounds, volunteered to don the veil, or hijab, for a day or more, and keep a journal, in which they were asked to record their thoughts and feelings about participating in this experiment as well as their impressions about the ways in which other students and community members perceived them and interacted with them on and off campus. In this predominantly White and Christian institution, an annual Diversity Day (currently called Values Day) has been proposed not only as a remedy for the problems of intolerance and discrimination, but also as a way of stretching students’ imagination and move them out of their comfort zone, by providing them with opportunities to listen to and interact with students from traditionally underrepresented groups (neatly lumped together under the label ALANA students and faculty). Despite the progress that has been made in several areas pertaining to diversity especially, the institutional openness for diverse views, lifestyles, and persuasions in the last decade, there is an obvious resistance to diversity in this institution at both the individual and institutional levels.

Working within the outdated model of integrationist politics, at the individual level diversity is translated here into a simple matter of learning about other cultures or celebrating difference in the abstract level. Hence, students generally believe in “color-blind racism,” as Eduardo Bonilla-Silva calls it (Bonilla-Silva 2007), and attribute prejudicial and discriminatory behavior to personal pathology (any unbecoming behavior is re-presented simply as an act of individual meanness that bears no relationship to the power structure). At the institutional level, diversity is translated into initiatives to accommodate, or tolerate, cultural differences, alleviate intergroup conflicts, and improve ethnoracial relations. In short, the policy on diversity has been framed, as the 1998 Nethersole report on diversity in this institution has plainly made, within the politics of tokenism. Despite recent conversations about reconfiguring diversity in terms of inclusive excellence that seek to embed diversity as a core educational value in every aspect of the institution, efforts at implementing diversity at this institution have been made around its periphery. In her report, Nethersole thus notes that the core of the institution, “who

controls the institution, who teaches at the institution, who is taught at Stetson, and what is taught at Stetson has not been the focus of diversity initiatives." Until recently, therefore, ALANA students and faculty have complained about institutional non-accountability regarding individual practices of discrimination against and insensitivity towards students from historically underrepresented groups as well as the limited institutional mechanisms available for these students and faculty members to deal with such practices. In the context of the "Veiled for a Day" experiment, it is important to note that there seems to be, as the Nethesole report also indicated, "a greater acceptance of religious diversity than of diversity of sexual preference," even though sexual orientation has more recently been elevated as the most privileged signifier or site for managing difference at this institution.

The idea for this experiment came out in an introductory course to the Women and Gender Studies minor (also renamed Gender Studies program) that I periodically teach. I usually structure this course around a variety of themes divided into five major units that reflect the evolution of the discipline of women and gender studies: the biology/social construction debate; representations of women in popular culture and fairy tales; masculinity and GLBTQ issues; racial politics; and women's issues in an international context. In the fifth and last unit of this course, I encourage students to question their preconceived beliefs about Third World women, in general, and Muslim women, in particular, by examining the diverse meanings of the veil within the context of the increasing Islamophobia in the U.S. after 9/11 and the American invasion of Afghanistan. For the last two years, therefore, I have assigned Khaled Hosseini's provocative and deceptively straightforward novel, *A Thousand Splendid Suns* (2007), in which Hosseini foregrounds the ambivalent feelings of Muslim women towards the veil and burqa that can be only understood within the context of the specific social relations that have crystallized throughout the complex history of Afghanistan. While for the two female protagonists, Mariam and Laila, the veil is viewed positively as a protection against the prying gaze of others and as a sign of the love of the significant Other, a doctor views her veil and burqa as a professional hindrance. These contradictory representations are read in relation to the invocation of the changing political climate in Afghanistan especially, the Soviet invasion, the rise of the Taliban to power, and the American invasion of the country. Students, moreover, read Hosseini with and against other supplementary readings about the colonial subtext of Western feminist (mis)representations of Third world women (Mohanty 1984), the polysemy of the veil for Muslim women (Bulbeck 1998; Sayeed 2007), and the appropriation of women's rights and human rights in the American wars of humanitarian intervention (Kolhatkar and Ingalls 2006). In this unit, we also watch two documentaries that play out these themes: Liz Mermin's *The Beauty Academy of Kabul* (2004) and Jennifer Khawaja's *Under One Sky: Arab Women in North America Talk about the Hijab* (2003). Both of these films problematize not only the diverse meanings of the veil for Muslim women and its controversial status in both Muslim and Western countries, but also the relations between Western and Third World women within the context of geopolitical power struggle.

As students began to grasp the complexity of the veil as a cultural signifier and question their beliefs about the oppressed veiled Muslim woman within the geopolitical arena, they were also asked to complicate the debate surrounding the veil and cross-cultural communication even further, by reading about ways for building global bridges among women through coalition politics and what Chilla Bulbeck calls, “seeing our selves through the eyes of the Other” (Bulbeck 1998, p. 211). Drawing on what the Argentinean philosopher Maria Lugones calls “world-traveling,” Bulbeck maintains that bridging differences among women around the world requires recognizing the similarities *and* the differences between women which enables women to identify common values among them as well as divergent histories and perspectives between them (Bulbeck 1998, p. 211). While she acknowledges the role of power relations between Self and Other, her cross-cultural pedagogy, however, valorizes the dimension of individual difference over the importance of geopolitical struggle for power and hegemony in the construction of women’s identities. The veil experiment, therefore, sought to examine the ways in which donning the veil in a predominantly White and Christian institution of higher learning can raise the students’ awareness of the role of power, privilege, and optional (ethnic, cultural, or religious) identity, and afford them the opportunity to experience a perspectival shift in their understanding of the Self/Other relations within an increasingly Islamophobic public discourse.

Two weeks before Diversity Day, announcements of the “Veiled for a Day” social justice experiment went out to the students, staff, and faculty and fliers were posted around the campus to inform the community of the experiment and encourage them to take a part in it. These announcements highlighted the individual aspect of the experiment, by asking students to think about how it feels to wear the veil, how others might react to the student wearing the veil, and how it would feel to view oneself “from the other side of the veil,” from within the veil. There were 20 veils of different colors and styles available for pick up, but only 16 of them were used by 15 students and one faculty member of different racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. Participants were expected to keep a record of their feelings, impressions, and whatever happens to and with them as they wear the veil in the days leading to the special Diversity Day session, in which they were also expected to share their experiences with the other attendees. The session was scheduled for the early afternoon on that day in a regular classroom; as the students, staff, faculty members, and journalists started to show up, it became clear right away that the venue would be too small to accommodate the scores of attendees. Another venue was soon located and the event was moved to an auditorium; over 200 people were in attendance.

In the session itself, I explained how the idea of the experiment came into being, screened a clip from Khawaja’s *Under One Sky* in which Arab and Muslim women in North America discussed their ambivalent position on the veil as they straddle two different cultures, and then asked the participants in the experiment to share their thoughts and experiences with the crowd. Their reactions were mixed: while a couple of these women received very positive comments from significant Others especially, regarding their looks (aesthetic and erotic investment), the rest had very

negative experiences ranging from complete disrespect, dirty looks, “off-color” remarks, alienation, marginalization, exclusion, to outright hostility. One of the participants, for example, noted in her journal that, “The veil-for-a-day experience really opened my eyes in multiple ways. I have never had a more enlightening moment of understanding towards other peoples and cultures. The experiment took me out of my comfort zone and placed me in the role of the Other. Rather than being taught about oppression, I experienced it (and only on a small scale compared to those who must live with this feeling on a daily basis). . . . [It] was a step in the right direction toward true understanding of diversity.”

The experiment made these students question the basis of social relations, our attitudes about strangers, and the nature of identity. One student, for example, discussed how she was “judged by familiar faces in a familiar background.” As she explained in her journal, one of her closest friends did not recognize her when she first approached her, and when the friend finally realized who that veiled person was, she simply ignored her as if she was completely invisible. Another student was turned back from a fraternity party, because they were not allowing women wearing the veil in. Other students became aware of the extent to which their ethnic identities have been socially constructed and for the white students, in particular, the extent to which these identities have been optional. As one student wrote in her journal: “I was astounded at how differently I was treated because of a piece of cloth that I had over my head. I was still “me” but so many people had difficulty looking past it” By wearing the veil, a mere “piece of cloth” as she wrote, this student suddenly realized that ethnicity is not after all optional or voluntary, a matter of individual choice, but that it can rather be an “involuntary ascription” (Waters 2007, p. 206) forced upon her in this case by an increasingly Islamophobic society. The same sentiments were echoed by a Latina student, who noted: “Being a Hispanic, I’ve had my fair share of prejudice and misconceptions about my culture Of course these prejudices and ignorant comments only came AFTER I revealed my ethnicity. The difference with the veil was that it only took one look for the prejudice and ignorant comments to come about. One look. I didn’t have to say a thing. It’s amazing what a difference a piece of material can make to some people. In my eyes I didn’t look that different but to some I looked too different.” In a society that deems American national identity and Islam as exclusive, the veil can indeed exacerbate the marginalization of those who are already underrepresented and excluded. Finally, a few students were able to place the experiment in the wider context of Islamophobia and power struggle in a post-9/11 world. As one student wrote in her journal: “By participating in the Veiled for a Day experiment I learned more about prejudice than anything else. Coming from my background, I never thought it odd to see a woman wearing the hijab, although I did feel sympathy for her knowing that she probably was the recipient of dirty looks and off-color remarks. But I never really understood how intense the misinformation about Islam is in our society until I took part in this experiment.”

These students considered this experiment an enlightening and an “eye opening experience.” It made them realize not only that as a society we still have a long way to go to achieve a true diversity, but also that it is important to continue to educate

oneself and others about prejudice and hate, and to encourage understanding, empathy for, even “feeling angry,” as one student wrote, at what happens in Muslim women’s lives on campus, in the community, and in the country. By externalizing difference in the form of a reified cultural object, this experiment forced students to rethink the ways in which they consciously or unconsciously, covertly or overtly, benefit from dominant power structures that keep intact the dominant core values that reproduce the racial, class, gender, and sexual inequalities on the campus and beyond. It is hoped that this new teaching moment would clear a space for these students to cultivate transnational literacies and alternative forms of international subjectivity through which they can develop communitarian politics of solidarity that can affect change in the world. This should be the ultimate message of any race pedagogy in the twenty-first century.

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Part V
Engaging with Academic Institutions

Chapter 23

How “Diversity” Trumped “Race” at One Elite Research University

Jorge Mariscal

One day I pointed out to an administrator in charge of faculty diversity that the university’s overly broad definition of diversity meant that it would be virtually impossible to make meaningful reforms that might improve the lot of women and minority groups on campus. Her response was that she would rather have a general definition of diversity than “start a fight.” It is evident, from her statement, that the goal was not to transform the institution in serious ways but simply to avoid controversy. For this well-meaning bureaucrat, the creative tension posited by Martin Luther King, Jr. as a prerequisite to any social change was to be avoided at all costs.

At another level of the bureaucracy, a well-respected college provost argued for several years that provosts should avoid involving themselves with diversity issues because such issues were too controversial. Speaking out on the status of minority students would cost the provosts too much political capital, she lectured, and the other provosts fell in line. A gigantic rhetorical smokescreen about how “diversity” was a prime institutional value hid the fact that almost every person in charge of policymaking was determined to avoid the issue of how “race” and to a lesser degree gender played out on campus.

In the new century, the corporatized liberal or neoliberal university continues to function in ways James Baldwin 50 years ago described the nation as a whole: “America, of all the Western nations, has been best placed to prove the uselessness and the obsolescence of the concept of color. But it has not dared to accept this opportunity.” (1983) The public university in the United States might have contributed to the unraveling of white supremacy but chose instead to perpetuate the notion that research on minority communities was less important than other research areas, that by extension minority faculty were on campus because majority faculty had allowed exceptions to its standards of “excellence,” and that “race” was too

J. Mariscal (✉)
University of California – San Diego, San Diego, CA, USA
e-mail: jmariscal@ucsd.edu

controversial a topic for polite public discourse. Over 40 years after the murder of Dr. King, the fact that a highly-rated institution like the University of California, San Diego, has never had a chancellor of color in its 50 year existence; that during those 50 years the most powerful faculty committees have been chaired almost exclusively by white male faculty; that in 2010 the faculty of major departments continued to be over 90 % male reveal one elite semi-private university's embedded assumptions around race and gender.

Other more subtle variations on the desire to avoid tension and maintain existing relations on many campuses mirror classic liberal behavior. For example, the claim is often made that no single administrative office should be promoting diversity and equity issues but that in fact everyone on campus should be promoting diversity. This is of course a laudable (if finally a naïve) approach. If "everyone" is doing it, then no one is doing it in a concerted way. At another level, we encounter those who will not promote equity at all either because of a lack of interest or outright hostility to what it might produce – an influx of students from racialized communities, new social relations on campus, the loss of certain privileges for already privileged groups, etc. In the absence of a centralized effort, does it not then fall to the dedicated activists to force the issue back into everyday discussions?

Once compelled by external pressure from minority students, politicians, the media, and system-wide administrators, the bureaucracy will kick into gear and work groups and committees will be formed. The problem, however, is that given the demographic profile of campus policy makers too few if any of the professors appointed to these committees have the slightest understanding of issues related to historically excluded populations and almost none of them are conversant with the scholarly literature on diversity in higher education.

The assumption that anyone with a Ph.D. can determine the best institutional course of action on issues that affect minority populations on campus is widespread. The academic obsession with disciplinary expertise falls away when it comes to issues of equity and diversity; faculty who conduct research on fourteenth century English poetry are suddenly making decisions about the syllabus for a new U.S. history/diversity required course or which professors should teach it. Rather than stepping aside in favor of colleagues or students with hands-on experience in the areas of higher education, U.S. history, or race, gender, and sexuality studies, traditional professors promote remedies that are either hopelessly diluted and therefore counterproductive or that do not address the core issues that marginalized groups on campus already have identified.

This entire process might be written off as academic arrogance and certainly that has something to do with it, but for the most part those involved are well-intentioned do-gooders who fall somewhere on the liberal side of American politics. These professors' inability to empower students and staff can be attributed to the deep-rooted professorial belief that the faculty knows better. But the too easy transference of that attitude to colleagues of color suggests that a process of infantilization is at work. In this view, a committee made up of all white faculty can be entrusted to make policy on diversity and equity issues simply because they hold positions

of (limited) authority in the university bureaucracy. The fact that none of them has expertise in relevant areas and lack any direct contact with the communities in question is never raised.

Of course the great unspoken “best practice” at most institutions is for administrators to isolate faculty and staff who have been outspoken on issues affecting minority students. Liberal white faculty, convinced that they have the best intentions, will deploy hyper-racialized language against those with the most commitment and experience in order to isolate reformists as “combative,” “distrustful,” malcontents or loose cannons and scrupulously keep critics of the status quo away from the policy-making apparatus. Especially at the most elite research campuses more subtle forms of racialization often are at play because when administrators refer to outspoken faculty or students as being “passionate” they shift to a slightly softer form of the category “uncivilized” that is simply a screen word for a first-generation professional with working class origins. Ironically, those with the most “passion” for racial and gender issues often wind up doing the most work, yet because they are kept away from high status administrative positions they in essence are providing unseen and often uncompensated labor while administrators claim credit for whatever positive outcome might be achieved.

For the most part, the bureaucracy is sustained by inertia itself, and any individual or group offering reform or more radical change is subject to caricature and marginalization. As Jean Paul Sartre taught us, for those in positions of relative power: “Every proposal is ‘divisive’ and its proposer is suspect . . . and a divider . . . The institution as a stereotyped praxis . . . adumbrates the future in its rigidity . . . as the inert persistence of a reified organization (1976: 607).” In the neoliberal university, where corporate managers outnumber teaching staff and “community” contacts are limited to the business and donor sectors, the resistance to change is even stronger.

The ability of liberal administrators to misidentify their own motives is often quite astounding. After a particularly nasty series of racist incidents at the University of California, San Diego, subsequent protests by students of color, and the administration’s capitulation on several long-standing demands, a high-ranking official opined: “The students made us do what we wanted to do all along.” Apparently, the liberal university always has the best intentions but those intentions cannot lead to concrete policies until minority students who feel threatened are forced to plan and execute a series of complex and time-consuming activities in order to resolve the crisis. Once again, the aggrieved population’s labor and sweat is the necessary ingredient that allows the liberal conscience “to become itself.” Without the key ingredients of minority oppression and resistance, the liberal university continues merrily on its way maintaining what is an intolerable status quo for a significant number of marginalized students and staff of color.

In his 1963 classic *The Uses of the University*, Clark Kerr cited scholars such as Frederick Rudolph and Nevitt Sanford on the essential conservative character of university faculty. Rudolph had concluded: “Resistance to fundamental reform was ingrained in the American collegiate and university tradition (2001)” and Sanford opined that whenever change came to campus “it is the collective faculty who

usually seem to be dragging their feet.” As president of the University of California system, Kerr himself described the “guild” model of faculty culture as “elitist toward the external environment, conservative toward internal change, conformist in relation to the opinion of colleagues.”

This unfortunate situation is not unique to the public university but in fact is a complex variation on how large institutions reproduce fossilized structures. Institutional bureaucracies, as Sartre (1976: 603) explained, are nothing more than systems of “solidified relations” that are sustained by hyper-activity, a disguised form of passivity insofar as it rarely produces anything new but rather continually reproduces what is given. University structures that are highly fragmented are especially given to hyper-activity along a superficial horizontal grid in which hundreds of staff personnel operate in their distinct silos but rarely have a grasp of the total context in which they work. This in effect is the essence of reification – the obfuscation of internal connections works both to hide institutional bias and insulate the institution from external critique. From within this confused hall of mirrors it is particularly difficult to address or even recognize the on the ground realities of racial or gender relations on campus.

Further ensuring a lack of change, the concept of “shared governance” allows administrators (especially those in charge of the controversial area of “diversity”) to justify their inaction by claiming they cannot institute reforms without deferring to the wishes of “the faculty.” Once again, sites of power claim to be separate when in fact they are functioning together in order to maintain the institutional status quo. Even college chancellors and presidents, rather than exercising strong leadership on equity issues, argue that they cannot “micromanage” campus policies. This refusal to intervene with strong solutions to the problems of racial and gender inequality is reinforced by the neoliberal university’s mandate that faculty and administrators pursue only uncontroversial and revenue-generating initiatives designed to enhance the institution’s national rankings.

More important, where the neoliberal university most successfully reproduces fossilized praxis is at the site of campus power relations. It is here that “white privilege” becomes evident to anyone paying attention. Policy-making structures are jealously protected by small groups of white (usually male) faculty and kept far away from faculty of color except where token positions are doled out in order to maintain appearances. The ability of those who are excluded to reorganize power relations is especially weak where ideologies of color-blindness dominate the public debate about race.

23.1 One Size Fits All or Trickle Down Equity

One approach to the issue of educational disparities, especially around the question of campus climate, supposes that a general overhaul of surface structures will eventually satisfy a majority of students. Such an approach rejects the idea

that specific groups of students experience the campus differently; to recognize difference would be too “political” and disruptive to genteel conversations about institutional commitments to “diversity.” The reluctance to analyze specific groups with particular experiences of higher education has produced what I call the generic approach to diversity. Once those communities pressuring the university for equitable outcomes have been evacuated of historical and political content, administrators can pursue a “rising tide lifts all boats” approach that implicitly assumes women and minority staff, students, and faculty do not experience campus life differently.

At one meeting of departmental chairs devoted to faculty recruitment and retention, for example, the word “diversity” was not mentioned once simply because planners had decided to homogenize the target audience. If some women and minority faculty were captured in the process, so much the better but no ethnic-specific strategies would be employed. By eliminating important differences among communities, the potential for change is reduced in a process outlined by Herbert Marcuse (1968) in his discussion of “repressive tolerance”: “I call this non-partisan tolerance ‘abstract’ or ‘pure’ inasmuch as it refrains from taking sides – but in doing so it actually protects the already established machinery of discrimination.” (Feenberg 1988: 232) In the neoliberal university, “abstract” or “pure” diversity voids the entire historical record and homogenizes all claims along a horizontal plane of interests. By doing so, it perpetuates embedded institutional structures that produce inequality or, as one student of Marcuse put it: “The apparent fairness of the system, taken in isolation, hides the systematic unfairness of the results of its application.”

In a like manner, issues of campus climate are often addressed with a “trickle down” approach. If a majority of students and staff reported in surveys that the campus was experienced as “cold” and even “hostile,” administrators will respond to only the most generic features of campus life on the assumption that improvements would affect everyone in the same way. Again, little thought is given to the way in which African American or LGBT or Chicano/a students, for example, might view the campus through very different prisms. At those public events where students of color thoughtfully presented an analysis of the origins of their dissatisfaction, administrators responded with two stunning interpretations: (1) the students were part of a small disgruntled minority on campus, and (2) the students had been “brainwashed” by disgruntled staff and faculty. In a knee jerk reaction to the students’ sincere declarations, the administrators stripped them of even minimal agency and reinforced the convenient notion that only a few militant malcontents and not the micro-aggressions of daily campus life were responsible for the tumult.

The fact that such responses smack of racializing psychologism seemed to escape these otherwise liberal and well-meaning bureaucrats. One administrator added her opinion that student protests were simply a developmental stage through which some would have to pass before reaching maturity – a well-known trope taken from older psychological and individual-based interpretations of social movements. Others took refuge in the age-old argument that those who were “complaining”

made up only a small fraction of the total minority population on campus and thus could be ignored. After all, they argued, all the people of color they knew seemed happy enough.

As we approach the final stages of the privatization of California's public universities, it may be well to reflect on how we got here. During the economic bubble years of the 1990s, those disciplines created by the mass social movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s morphed, at least at the large research campuses, into curricula and scholarship obsessed with the latest "theory" fashions and increasingly abstract and liberal notions of culture, "race," citizenship, and "difference." Faculty in areas such as ethnic studies detached themselves from off-campus communities at precisely the same time that university administrators shifted the meaning of "community" to mean local hi-tech firms and wealthy donors and redefined "public service" to mean corporate "partnerships."

By the end of the first decade of the new century, it was not difficult to find "Research 1" campuses where international faculty outnumbered U.S. minority faculty by four or five to one. Those who called attention to this disparity, while not quite being accused of xenophobia, were labeled "nationalists" or "protectionists" although the point was simply that universities were not recruiting U.S. minority faculty with the same single-minded focus that they placed on foreign faculty. A 2007 joint study by Princeton University and the University of Pennsylvania found that many institutions preferred international Black (i.e., African) and "Hispanic" (i.e., Spanish or Latin American) students and faculty over domestic African Americans and Latinos because the former tend to be wealthier, carry less "cultural baggage," and therefore were perceived to be "easier to get along with." (James 2007).

23.2 The Future of "Race" on Campus

The academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime coexists with the public good knowledge regime. Some heads and many faculty who came into the institution under an 'old regime' with a different set of values attached to academic work coexist with newly arrived faculty and heads, some of whom are committed to a more entrepreneurial conception of academe.

Perhaps the greatest paradox faced by ethnic studies programs at elite universities has to do with the way in which the new corporate culture of the semi-private institution coincides with elite notions of "knowledge production." This "critical knowledge" may include certain "oppositional" claims yet its language and style are often crafted exclusively for academic audiences and therefore disconnected from working class issues and communities. An older regime of ethnic studies, one that grew out of the original mobilizations of the Civil Rights-Viet Nam War era, may coexist within the new regime on some campuses but given the institutional bias toward theoretical fashion and professorial self-promotion that older regime is invoked when useful but more often is undervalued and marginalized.

In the neoliberal context many ethnic studies scholars participate in practices that very well could lead to the demise of their own field of inquiry. As ethnic studies scholarship and curricula increasingly privileges abstract and universal understandings of “race,” the historical particularities of specific communities is lost and the potential for converting “knowledge production” into praxis is minimized. This, of course, is a development that contributes to the consolidation of the neoliberal regime, for without an understanding of history and the dialectical movement from the abstract to the concrete the status quo is secured and institutional change is unlikely to occur.

We have seen already that the erasure of collective historical experience is what university bureaucrats accomplish whenever they promote generic “cures” for particular situations on campus that contribute to racial tension and racist provocations. Given the logic of inertia that rules elitist organizations, the drive to homogenize is not surprising. What was less predictable was the transformation of high profile ethnic studies research into a narrow niche within the theory fashion market where a different kind of universalizing took place, driving academic practices further away from the lived experience of working class communities.

Under these twin regimes of the generic, the teaching of “race” would take an even more bizarre turn at some elite universities. Although the theoretical concept of “intersectionality” was not new – feminist and at a later moment cultural studies scholars had long argued that categories of gender, class, “race,” and so on could not be understood separately – the conversion of the intersectional into a demand that all groups and “oppressions” be included in every single analysis would lead at the level of praxis to a paralysis that made political action virtually impossible.

Whereas at earlier moments “social analysis” meant breaking apart totalities for heuristic and tactical purposes, the new dispensation meant refusing to delink a hodgepodge of identities thereby converting the “intersection” into a new universal. Put another way, each category of oppression was linked across a horizontal plane, and any attempt to isolate, even provisionally, a single mediation in order to strategize a targeted political intervention was criticized for being incomplete. On the surface, this situation seemed to be little more than an academic debate between “theorists” and pragmatists. But at the level of institutional politics it played out in damaging ways that hampered reform efforts because “cutting edge” faculty attacked potential allies whose approach they viewed as not sufficiently intersectional as naïve or “conservative” or exclusionary.

From within this elitist “ethnic studies” paradigm (itself a mirror image of neoliberal notions of “excellence”), it would become extremely difficult to understand and act upon specific institutions at key moments. While one certainly would want as complete and inclusive an analysis as possible at the interpretive stage, the moment of praxis demands a provisional ranking of the various mediations in order to locate the weakest points of the institutional apparatus. The representation of women at elite universities, for example, continues to lag behind the number of male faculty but under pressure from affirmative action and other policies some gains were made in the final decades of the last century. There is still much work to do on this

front, especially in male-dominated disciplines and at the highest administrative levels, but like the liberal university before it the neoliberal university is much more likely to capitulate on the issue of increasing the number of non-minority women than it is on populating its faculties with qualified people of color. At the political level, this means that “race” in a vast number of concrete situations (but not all) may still be the most powerful tool for those seeking to overturn the status quo of “exclusionary diversity,” that is, a regime saturated with “diversity” rhetoric and weak organizational structures but incapable of creating an hospitable campus environment or, more important, overturning obstacles to the equitable inclusion of historically underrepresented groups.

What happens to the teaching of “race” once it is separated from the potential for praxis? If “race” is theorized only in seminar rooms and critique remains frozen at the intellectual level, the potential for creating tactical interventions designed to challenge the neoliberal university will be minimal. The neoliberal regime even more than its liberal predecessor can tolerate courses on the history of oppressions based on race, gender, class, and sexuality, especially when that curriculum stays inside the classroom. It can easily accommodate faculty who claim to “question” corporatized academic practices when those same faculty advanced by pursuing hyper-professionalization and self-promotion and continue to preach those values to their graduate students and junior colleagues.

Whereas the liberal university could congratulate itself for “embracing” such courses (usually after protracted efforts to reject them or underfund them), the neoliberal university simply imposes a “pay as you go” regime in which those programs unable to raise external funding begin to disappear. There are very few foundations, corporations, and wealthy donors eager to fund academic programs that challenge the status quo by engaging too deeply in radical critique.

This means that the teaching of racial subjects at neoliberal educational institutions in the early twenty-first century, while as necessary as ever, will be an incomplete project that is unintentionally complicit with market values whenever it is not accompanied by anti-racist reform movements led by student, staff, non-academic organizations, and faculty coalitions. Being “non-racist” at the level of personal relations is not being “anti-racist” at the level of institutional change. In elite research campuses, theorizing “race” (even in juxtaposition to other categories) is easily co-opted and therefore rarely produces a challenge to institutional racism. The shift from radical critique to “diversity training,” “individual caring,” and “checking privilege” coincides with neoliberalism’s exaltation of “individual freedom,” dehistoricized identities, and ultimately “humanitarian military intervention.” On campus, students from historically excluded groups are trained to negotiate the institutional obstacles that make their success more difficult while discriminatory structures and practices remain in tact.

The multiple functions of “race” in the neoliberal university are inextricably linked to the hegemonic force of privatization and its accomplices – generic diversity, “paper revolutionism,” and their ultimate enabler – class-based elitism (“excellence”). It will be a multi-generational struggle to mitigate and when possible roll back these enemies of a truly democratic system of higher education.

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Chapter 24

Teaching About Systemic White Racism

Noel A. Cazenave

One day a department colleague expressed to me her surprise regarding student reports she had been hearing about how much content I am able to cover in my White Racism class; a course which in the mid-1990s became the object of national and even international interest when its approval was twice “tabled” by a college-level curriculum committee which contained no African American or Latino/a American faculty. I looked at her and smiled as I replied that it was amazing how much one can teach when there is no need to spend half the semester debating whether the course topic actually exists. What went unsaid – but was understood – was the huge struggle that was waged by numerous course supporters about a decade and a half earlier to ensure, just that; that is, from the first day of class I could “hit the ground running” as I taught my students all I knew about systemic white racism (Cazenave and Maddern 2000; Feagin and Vera 2001, pp. 155–164; Steinberg 2007, p. 30).

The University of Connecticut’s White Racism course is not only important because it is one of the most straightforward and honest courses taught anywhere on the topic of – what for political reasons alone is generally and confusingly framed as – “race.” As was noted by an associate dean during its controversy, the course is situated at the conceptual nexus of two important intellectual developments in American academia; the emergence of whiteness studies and of racism studies. It also generates unusual teaching and learning power because it places the chief beneficiaries of racial oppression, not its “minorities” victims, at its analytical core. In this way the nation’s historical “Negro problem” is recast as what it actually is, a systemic white racism problem. Because of the importance of this course and space limitations I will limit the focus of this essay to that one class.

Still another reason why UConn’s White Racism course is at the conceptual cutting edge is its rejection of what I and other racism-focused scholars consider to be the failed Race and Ethnic Relations paradigm which despite its lack of success

N.A. Cazenave (✉)
University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT, USA
e-mail: noel.cazenave@uconn.edu

in predicting the modern civil rights movement and other significant racial events in the nation's history is still dominant in American sociology (Steinberg 2007, p. 4, 8–19). This rejection raises an important question of how does a racism-centered course fit a reader entitled, *Teaching Race and Anti-Racism in Contemporary America*. For conceptually-centered scholars and teachers like myself, who pride ourselves in being on the cutting edge of intellectual challenges to prevailing social science and other ideological paradigms, being able to “work and play well with others” can be as difficult as it is for any gifted but nonconforming preschooler. So when I was asked to submit an essay to this “race”-centered volume I knew that my first order of business was to enlarge the conceptual frame so that what I do in the way of racism studies could fit. This was essential because not only don't I “do race” – but aside from it being an ideology used to justify a highly organized “race”-based system of white privilege – I don't even know what “race” is (Cazenave 2004). I do, however, know what racism is – that highly organized system of “race”-based oppression with the ideology of race at its core. What I do is *racism studies* – with its emphasis on the importance of studying racism directly and explicitly through the use of a body of racism-focused theory and concepts I refer to as *racism theory*. The focus of my essay is therefore teaching about *racism*, not about *race*. Moreover, because my methodology is historical sociology – and I believe contemporary social structures are built on a solid and highly institutionalized historical legacy – I do not limit my focus to the present-day.

Despite these differences I believe my essay will find itself in a comfortable place within the covers of this reader for two reasons. First, in my teaching and writing (Neubeck and Cazenave 2001, p. 37; Cazenave 2011) I stress that although today's systemic white racism is not essentially new it persists because of its ability to adapt to changing needs and circumstances by manifesting itself in new forms and processes. Second, although words matter mightily and I choose a different lexicon than “race”-centered scholars I do believe that many of them, including the editor and some of the other contributors to this collection are attempting to examine “race” critically in ways they believe encompass our shared concerns about racial oppression and systemic racism.

In the remainder of this essay I will discuss: my white racism course's content, organization, and basic assumptions; its two key concepts of “race” and racism; and conclude with a summary of the major lessons students take away from that course.

24.1 Course Content, Organization, and Assumptions

Although there was extensive local newspaper coverage (Cazenave 1996; Farrish 1995; Feeney 1996; Lang 1998; Simpson 1996; Smith 1995; Taylor 1996), an article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (Magner 1997), a journal article (Cazenave and Maddern 2000) and a section of a book chapter (Feagin and Vera

2001) written about the course and its syllabus has been published in three editions of the American Sociological Association's *Teaching Race and Ethnic Relations: Syllabi and Instructional Material* (Cazenave 1997, 2001, 2007), this is the first article in which I discuss the actual content of the course in some detail.

24.1.1 Content and Organization

The course is organized into the following lecture topics. I begin with “Why study white racism?” – which includes videos and lectures as an overview of the prevalence and persistence of white racism in the United States. That lecture topic is followed by “How is white racism structured” – which encompasses an introduction to key course-centered theories and concepts. Next I lecture on “The historical construction of “race” with particular attention given to the origins of the “race” concept” and to the myth of race. I then discuss “The meaning of whiteness.” That lecture topic is followed by my examination of “The historical experiences of racially oppressed groups in the Americas,” with lectures on each of the racialized ethnic groups that has been assigned its own racial color; Native Americans (Red), African Americans (Black), Latino/a Americans (Brown), and Asian Americans (Yellow). My next topic is “White supremacist thought and organizations” as a more explicit statement of more ordinary racism, followed by “Experiencing white racism in everyday life.” Finally, I conclude the course with “Conclusion: Toward a society in which there are no “races” and no racism,” which includes discussions of strategies to combat white racism and of the major lessons learned in the course.

24.1.2 Basic Assumptions

The course's no race premise. In one of my early lectures where I discuss the opposition to the course by a few European-American faculty members on the college-level curriculum and courses committee that needed to give its approval I picture them as comedic Musketeers who thrust their swords high into the air as they loudly proclaimed “On guard! We must defend the white race!” Then, in discussing the opposition to the course as being offensive to the “white race,” I share with my students a “secret” which if it had been known prior to the course being approved would have been even more upsetting to those who opposed the course title. That is the course is built on a “no race” premise (Littlefield et al. 1982, p. 642; Smedley 2007, p. 2). Based on the best historical, anthropological, and human genome evidence available it categorically rejects the notion that there are biologically distinct races of people. There is no “race;” “black;” “white” or otherwise. Therefore there is no white race to offend or to defend (Cazenave and

Maddern 2000, p. 43; Cazenave 2004). Because of the importance of this premise for everything else I teach in the course I devote about 40 % of the lecture material to that topic – backed by extensive readings from Audrey Smedley and Brian D. Smedley’s *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*.

The course’s systemic racism approach. Periodically I also remind students that “I am not talking about your mama” as another way of stressing that they should not take what I am saying about white racism personally. Here I stress that as a sociologist (or what I sometimes for emphasis refer to as a social structuralist) it is my job to examine social structures, not individual attitudes and behavior. I make this point clear in my course syllabus in the following first three sentences of the course description.

In the United States, as well as throughout much of the world today, people designated as “white” are the socially dominant racialized group. The highly organized system of racial oppression which maintains their privileged position is systemic white racism. This course explores white racism as a central and enduring social structure around which the United States and other modern societies are organized and evolve.

I make the same point by sharing with my students excerpts from a *Hartford Courant* commentary essay debate on whether American is racist in which I argue the affirmative, “Yes. America is racist to its core.” I make my case by arguing that racism is rooted in the nation’s: (1) historical foundations and legacy upon which, like the foundation of a two storied house, its present and future are built, and (2) its white supremacist beliefs which serve as the ideological glue that holds together (3) the interrelated institutions that comprise its social system. In brief far from being an off the top assertion, saying that America is *racist to its core* is simply another way of stating that it is *racist in its social structure*; a fact backed by tons of social science research available in most university libraries (Cazenave 1998).

In these and other ways I stress that white racism is *systemic*. Therefore, white racism is *systemic racism* or *systemic white racism*.

24.2 Conceptualizing “Race” and Racism

In another *Hartford Courant* op-ed essay I stress that those who are serious about addressing this nation’s serious racial problems must be prepared to both reject the Myth of Race and to accept the Reality of Racism (Cazenave 1994). In that essay and in a class lecture I also state that doing so is quite a challenge because in the United States and other highly racialized societies the racial status quo is maintained by the exact opposite tendency; that is through the widespread uncritical acceptance of race as a reality and the dismissal of racism as a myth. As you have already seen in this essay’s introduction and its brief discussion of my white racism course’s two basic assumptions, that course’s two key concepts are “race” and racism. Let’s take a closer look at how I approach these two conceptualizations in the course.

24.2.1 Challenging “Race”

After quickly mentioning that “race” is a social construction rather than a biological reality, many if not most professors who teach in the area actually reify that bogus and socially injurious conceptualization by quickly moving away from that cautious caveat to teach about race as if it is, indeed, real. They may think they have good reasons for doing so: e.g., owning up to white racial privilege or being vigilant against perceived threats from the political right to use color-blind ideology to deny the real impacts of “race,” but for whatever reason, they do just that – they reify the race concept. Perhaps the most important reason they do so is because they accept a race liberal standpoint that the social structure of highly racialized societies is basically good and just needs some minimal tinkering with to make it more inclusive of those groups that have traditionally been left along its margins. In stark contrast a radical perspective on “race” and racism assumes that racism is a highly organized system of oppression with “race” as its ideological core. Therefore, as is true for dismantling any ideology-based system of oppression, more is needed than presenting statistical facts about the suffering of the oppressed. That system’s core ideology – in this case the “race” concept – must be successfully challenged.

Fortunately the growing historical and natural science evidence on “race” makes that concept much easier to reject than to defend. Anthropologist Audrey Smedley has done an impressive job of documenting the origin and evolution of the race concept in such a way that it is clear that it has always been and must always be about establishing and maintaining “race-” based hierarchies. Consequently, as I stress in my class, the very concept of race is inherently racist just as the very notion of racial equality is oxymoronic. True liberation from racial fetters can only come therefore with the abolition of the race concept within the context of a sustained anti-racist struggle (*Race Traitor* 2005). To keep my students mindful that there is nothing natural about the idea of race I emphasize the fact that it has a relatively recent history. I also make clear to them that this is profoundly good news, because if there was a time when people were not categorized into inherently unequal “races” there may come a time when, through lots of struggle, that race concept will be toppled. To make the point about race not being a physical thing but a social fact produced and maintained by unequal power relations, in class I refer not to racial groups but to *racialized* ethnic and pan-ethnic groups.

24.2.2 Defining Racism

In helping students to understand why there is often confusion about racism I trace the relatively recent origins of the word to explain the atrocities of Nazi Germany in the 1930s and share with them a power point slide that shows three current uses of the term. That as: (1) a set of beliefs, (2) racially discriminatory behavior, and finally (3) as a system of “race-” based oppression. Although I stress that my approach

emphasizes the latter of the three I also note that it encompasses the other two definitions as well. For example, in class although I trace the origin of racism to the ideology used to justify the economic exploitation of colonialization and slavery I emphasize that today it has taken on a life of its own and is now embedded in the workings of every institution of highly racialized societies like the United States that together comprise their social systems. To illustrate this point I use a display showing a society's major social institutions as the overlapping petals of a flower with the ideology of race at its center. That flower and its stem rest on a base of the nation's racial historical legacy.

For my class I crafted two definitions of white racism. First, to stress its systemic nature and the role of "race" as its ideological core, I define white racism as a highly organized system of color/"race"-based group privilege. Later, to emphasize the course's position as a conceptual nexus of whiteness studies and racism studies I define white racism as the organization of "white" racial identity in the acquisition and sustenance of white racial privilege.

The difference between racial bigotry and systemic white racism. I stress to my students that if there are only two things they take away from my White Racism class they should be: (1) the fact that race is a myth and (2) an understanding of the difference between racial bigotry and systemic racism. Earlier in this essay I noted that a major technique that is frequently deployed in the denial of the existence or the significance of white racism is the reduction of systemic racism to individual-level racial bigotry. In this way there is a refusal to acknowledge that white racism is systemic or in anyway different from people of color who express, often as a reaction to perceived white racial animus, bigoted attitudes and behavior toward "white" people. In my class I use an especially powerful graphic I developed – which also works in explaining gender oppression (Glasberg and Shannon 2011, pp. 8–10) – to make the important distinction between racial bigotry and systemic racism.

That graphic examines the relationship between white racism, bigotry involving African Americans and other people of color, and level of organizational analysis. It is comprised of two upside down triangles laid out side by side. The one labeled White Racism is comprised of the following levels of organization; the societal level (e.g., ideology of white supremacy), the institutional level (e.g., racist politics), the formal organizational level (e.g., white supremacist organizations); the primarily group level (e.g., peer group racial violence), and the individual level (e.g., racially bigoted individuals). The African American and Other Forms of Racial Bigotry labeled figure is virtually identical to the White Racism drawing to its left, except for the very important difference that it exists at only three of those five levels of organization (i.e., the formal organizational level which includes some African American and other separatist organizations, the primary group level which can include peer group racial violence, and the individual level which includes racially bigoted individuals). Noticeably absent, and what distinguishes this racial bigotry from systemic white racism are the societal and institutional levels of organization.

In a class lecture I use that figure to make my point that terms like racism and racist should be limited to *systems* of "race"-based oppression and their

various components (e.g., social institutions and cultural images) and that individual people who display racially-biased attitudes and behavior should be referred to as *racial bigots*, not racists. So while in my lecture I acknowledge there are, indeed, racial bigots from all racialized ethnic groups, and such bigotry can have terrible consequences, including murder, the two are not socially equivalent phenomenon. White racism is different. It includes both personal and institutionalized racial bigotry and more, much more. Although it exists at the three levels of organization of any form of racial bigotry it is also present at two, much larger and higher, levels of organization. They include the institutional level (e.g., of the racist criminal justice system and the mass media) and ultimately the societal level, which consists of all of the inter-related institutions comprising a particular society, or what might be simply referred to broadly as the social system, and the various racist ideologies which hold it together. Racism at this level is a highly organized – and as Feagin et al. (2001, p. 3) stress – centuries old, feature of American society which through its routine operation now needs no one to overtly express racial animus but can still adversely impact tens of millions of racially oppressed people on a regular basis.

24.3 Lessons Learned in the Course

After I playfully dare my students to claim once the course is over that they can't remember **one** thing they learned from it I pass out the following list of a half-dozen specific things they should have learned.

1. White racism is a highly structured and persistent feature of American society. It will not simply go away.
2. White racism is largely invisible and is protected by a system of intense denial. That denial must be addressed to combat the problem of white racism.
3. The concept of “race,” generally, and “white” racial identity, in particular provide the ideology which holds the system of white racial supremacy together. These erroneous and injurious ideas *must* be challenged to challenge white racism.
4. White racism is a system of exploitation which is closely linked to other systems of exploitation (e.g. class, gender and sexual preferences based oppression). Addressing these issues will create an environment and allies for challenging white racial supremacy.
5. White racism does not only affect so-called “black” people. That is, white racism is not just a “black-white” issue. Millions of people of various racialized ethnic backgrounds are adversely affected by white racism; and when they are made aware of that fact can be brought into the struggle against white racism.
6. White racism can only be challenged through *active* resistance and challenges to the system of white racial supremacy.

I end that list and the course by asking my students “Can you think of any other lessons we have learned in this class that can be phrased as suggestions for combating white racism?”

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Chapter 25

Teaching Anti-Racism Through Environmental Justice Studies

David N. Pellow

The literature on Environmental Justice Studies is only rarely used to explicitly explore and/or advocate an anti-racist politics (Pulido 1996). Fortunately, a small but growing number of scholars are expanding the boundaries of EJ Studies, embracing anti-racism and pushing our understanding of how race is intimately linked with other social categories of difference. Accordingly, in this chapter, I discuss how, in my course on Environmental (In)Justice, I employ this body of ideas to connect environmental studies to theories emerging from the field of racial and ethnic studies. Importantly, I also demonstrate how the connections between race and environmental justice studies allows students to make deeper and broader links to other social categories such as gender, nationality, species, and nonhuman natures. That is, students not only learn to engage anti-racist and environmental justice theories, but they also come away from the course with a stronger foundation for those ideas because they learn how the categories of “race” and “nature” are co-constructed and articulated through other equally significant modes of difference. This course therefore provides students with a basis for critical thinking and political action around multiple and seemingly divergent issue areas. I consider a number of examples from the class that reveal how students engaged these topics in discussion and exercises.

Environmental justice studies began when social scientists and other scholars documented social disparities in exposure to pollution in U.S. cities in the early 1970s (Freeman 1972). At that time, scholars demonstrated statistical correlations between community socioeconomic conditions and high levels of air pollution, suggesting a strong class bias in the location of environmental hazards. A decade later, researchers extended the analysis to conclude that the uneven terrain of environmental policymaking and the production of industrial hazards has clear racially unequal effects as well (Ringquist 2005; US GAO 1983). Studies frequently

D.N. Pellow (✉)
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, USA
e-mail: dpellow@umn.edu

emphasized the role individual activists, organizations, and networks mobilizing to respond to these threats via what became known as the Environmental Justice movement (Bullard 1996; Cole and Foster 2000). Since that time, the field has become highly interdisciplinary, global in scope, and rich in theoretical and methodological perspectives as studies have expanded the range of social categories examined to include gender, sexuality, citizenship, and nonhuman natures (Adamson et al. 2002; Buckingham and Kulcur 2010). Scholars in this field tend to support ideas and policy approaches that would reduce environmental inequalities and promote social justice and ecological sustainability, but there has been less emphasis on an explicit focus on anti-racism and the problem of white supremacy. This is one of the goals I pursue in my class on environmental justice.

25.1 Challenges When Linking Race and Environment in a Classroom

There are a few basic challenges involved in teaching about racism in a class whose title typically might contain the words “Nature” or “Environment” in it. First, in my experience having taught in both Sociology and Ethnic Studies departments, many students of color are not attracted to environmental studies topics unless they are explicitly about environmental justice and race. This is likely because – as is the case with the environmental movement more broadly – environmental studies courses tend to lack an emphasis on the great diversity of humankind that suffers from environmental harm. That is, these courses are often taught by European American professors from a strictly science-based focus that infrequently pays attention to how people might be placed at the center of the discussion, along with nonhuman species and ecosystems. The content and focus of such courses is, of course, important, but does not speak to the interests of many students whose experience with environmental issues has been one of exclusion, disrespect, and racism. So I make sure that I include words like “race,” “racism,” and “social justice” in the syllabus and other materials that accompany the publicity for my course so that a diverse group of students will consider registering for it.

Similarly, many white university and college students are primarily interested in and focused on the allegedly purely “ecological” aspects of environmental politics and may have less interest in the topics of social justice and racial justice. Thus I make sure to include topics of interest to a broad range of students such as climate change, the politics of oil, conflicts over hydroelectric dams and mining, and a strong focus on social movements that students themselves can plug into with the goal of participating in environmental change themselves. These two strategies appear to be successful at attracting a robust cross section of the student population to the class.

Despite these challenges and limitations, there are always wonderful surprises in my course. For example, I sometimes make the mistake of expecting that social science and humanities majors will grasp the topic more quickly and deeply than

others, but there are many times when science (particularly biology) majors “get it” and become as excited about the sociological aspects of EJ politics as anyone else. This is truly rewarding when science majors then import ideas from my class into their science course discussions and senior theses.

25.2 Connecting the Dots: Environment and Race

The hard work begins on the first day of class when I take two topics that most students are quite familiar thinking about separately, and unite them. During that first session, I have the students join me in an exercise that begins with me writing the word “Environment” on the screen and I ask them to take several minutes to write down any words, thoughts, images, or topics that come to mind when they hear that term. Generally, this exercise produces responses like “nature,” “wilderness,” “global warming,” “deforestation,” “pollution,” “crisis,” and “habitat protection.” Then I ask the students to do the same for the term “Racism” and this exercise often produces responses like “KKK,” “discrimination,” “institutional racism,” and “segregation.” I then ask them how might we connect the two terms and the responses they have just presented, and this elicits a rich conversation that reveals the gaps and lack of connections between “environment” and “racism” in the experiences of most students. Of course, that is the point of the exercise – to have them begin to see, acknowledge, and challenge those disconnections. By the next class period, students have read some of the foundational writings in the field of EJ studies and they begin to make the links and ask more challenging questions of themselves and of me.

At the core of Ethnic Studies, Racial Formation theory, and Critical Race Theory is the claim that race, racism, and racialization are central driving forces in society. This includes but is not limited to the way that race is involved in shaping the state, legal systems, educational institutions, labor markets, the economy, language, and national identity (Delgado and Stefancic 2012; Goldberg 2002; Kurtz 2010; Omi and Winant 1994). Because race is so central to the way human societies operate (particularly in the West), it is also deeply involved in the way that environmental injustices unfold and impact human populations. Local, regional, and national studies have demonstrated that race is frequently the strongest predictor of where polluting industries and hazardous waste sites are located (Bullard et al. 2007; UCC 1987; USGAO 1983).

In my course I consider the evolution of EJ studies with respect to race and I require students to expand our conception of that term in relation to citizenship, immigration, indigeneity, and nation because these social categories also play significant roles in the production of environmental inequalities and racism in the U.S. Large-scale studies demonstrate that immigrants in the U.S. are more likely to live in residential communities with high levels of pollution than non-immigrant communities (Bullard et al. 2007; Hunter 2000; UCC 1987). Smaller scale ethnographic studies reveal similar dynamics and demonstrate how ideologies

of exclusion and nativism support the production and maintenance of such an unequal socioecological terrain (Pellow and Park 2002; Park and Pellow 2011). Here I have students read and discuss the ways in which our contemporary discourses around immigration, indigeneity, and nationalism produce and reinforce centuries old nativist traditions and form an ideological structure within which environmental racism directed at newcomers and Native Americans can better be grasped and understood.

25.3 Expanding Horizons: Gender, Nonhuman Natures, and Environmental Justice

With regard to the category of gender, I introduce the students to the literatures on ecofeminism, which is perhaps the most challenging body of work they encounter. While the majority of EJ research has been devoted to the intersections between race, class, and environmental harm, there are numerous additional social categories of difference that are of critical importance to developing a comprehensive grasp of environmental inequality. Gender inequalities, for example, are also integrally embedded in environmental inequalities. Men tend to exercise control over states and corporations that produce environmental and economic inequalities, thus gaining the material and social benefits of both the financial and political power that results from and is reflected in environmental injustices. Furthermore, men exercise control over national labor and mainstream environmental organizations and enjoy the status and credit for valiantly representing the interests of “the people” in national discourses and campaigns (Seager 1994). Women tend to benefit the least from these struggles, as they are often physically and socially relegated to some of the most toxic residential and occupational spaces in communities and workplaces. In addition, women are less politically visible because they tend to work for smaller, community-based organizations that rarely make headlines and survive on volunteer labor and small grants (Brown and Ferguson 1995; Pellow and Park 2002). Lastly, the very material landscapes being polluted and fought over in EJ struggles are deeply imbued with meanings that are gendered and contained in local and global imaginaries, state policies, corporate practices, and activist resistance campaigns (Adamson et al. 2002; Stein 2004). Several studies document the ways that women experience and resist discriminatory environmental policies in workplaces, residential communities, and elsewhere (Pellow and Park 2002; Buckingham and Kulcur 2010).

Building on these insights, the literature on ecofeminism links ecological politics to gender, sexuality, race, class, species, and other social categories of difference. Ecofeminism is an umbrella term that encapsulates a range of perspectives whose “basic premise is that the ideology which authorizes oppressions such as those based on race, class, gender, sexuality, physical abilities, and species is the same ideology which sanctions the oppression of nature” (Gaard 1993, p. 1). Furthermore, ecofeminism “calls for an end to all oppressions, arguing that no attempt to

liberate women (or any other oppressed group) will be successful without an equal attempt to liberate nature” (*ibid*; see also Warren 1994, p.1; Gaard 2004). What makes ecofeminism a distinct body of ideas is its position that nonhuman nature and naturism or dominionism (the domination of nonhuman nature) are feminist concerns (MacGregor 2006; Warren 1997, p. 4). Ecofeminism and environmental justice discourses and movements have much common ground, but surprisingly few scholars have explored this terrain (Smith 2005; Sturgeon 1997; Taylor 1997). I push the students to build those bridges that allow for a more deeply gendered understanding of environmental justice, which also extends to a range of other social categories, including species and nonhuman natures.

Speciesism and dominionism are ideas that students grasp quite easily because when they hear or read about these systems of control, they immediately can draw from their own experiences with them. Speciesism is the ideology that one species (usually humans) is superior to all others, and dominionism is the broader ideology that humans have a (usually divinely ordained) rightful place over all of nonhuman nature. Students almost instantly understand these concepts and usually participate in sophisticated discussion and debate about their origins, impacts, and implications for ecosystem sustainability. But when I attempt to relate speciesism and dominionism to the politics of race, class, and gender, this requires more work. This, of course, is the goal of ecofeminism, but that literature and theoretical terrain are quite abstract for most students. I have observed that many students quickly comprehend the ways in which ideologies of racism, class domination, and patriarchy have always drawn on metaphors and claims to “nature” in order to support those systems of control (Gaard 2004, p. 36; Torres 2007). But many students, however, justifiably raise important ethical, moral, and political pitfalls that arise from literatures and activist discourses that might appear to equate the experiences of certain humans with the suffering of nonhuman animal populations. For example, a recent action by People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) outside the Westminster Kennel Club convention involved animal rights activists wearing Ku Klux Klan robes and handing out flyers protesting what they described as the dog breeders’ efforts to create a “master race” of canines. PETA also produced an infamous exhibit that attempted to make parallels between the enslavement and lynching of African Americans and the treatment and exploitation of nonhumans, which was at least as controversial as PETA’s “Holocaust on a Plate” campaign that drew parallels between the Nazi Holocaust and the human consumption of nonhumans (Patterson 2002). Each of these PETA actions was meant to connect speciesism and nonhuman suffering to more familiar examples of human suffering, but largely failed to build alliances with people of color and Jews because they were viewed as insensitive, inappropriate, and exploitative. Thus, the animal rights movement often perpetuates social injustices in numerous ways – namely, by reinforcing white privilege and ignoring racial, class, national, and gender inequalities. Environmental politics is generally no different and has a long history of exclusion and alienation of marginalized groups who might otherwise be supporters. So the students who point out these problems and limitations of social movements actually spark truly animated and productive debates about the pitfalls

and promises of certain theoretical and political perspectives on social difference and social and environmental justice. And ultimately, the conversation returns to the question of our collective commitment to considering anti-racist ideas and practices, which was my goal. The path back to anti-racism is usually bumpy and never linear, but we return there eventually and with a much stronger sense of why anti-racism is important to environmental politics, and how one cannot isolate race and racism from the politics of class, gender, sexuality, citizenship, and species.

25.4 Concluding Thoughts

The field of environmental justice studies has grown by leaps and bounds in recent years, becoming more interdisciplinary, more global, and more theoretically complex. While those developments sit well with those of us scholars who are the primary producers of these ideas, it remains a serious challenge as to how faculty can teach this subject to undergraduate students. In many ways, my pedagogical approach outlined above mirrors Lani Guinier and Gerald Torres's approach to what they term "political race" – which is a method of coalition building across diverse groups of people that begins with attention to race, extends to class, gender and other social categories, but never loses sight of race and the role of anti-racist theory and politics (Guinier and Torres 2002). In my class on environmental justice studies, I also begin with the centrality of race in environmental politics, and work with the students to make the links between environmental racism and inequalities by gender, sexuality, class, citizenship, nation, and species. I am pleased that many of my students go on to volunteer and even pursue careers in social and environmental justice work, whether as staff members of nongovernmental organizations, public servants working at government agencies, or as university scholars. They have, by their own example, taught me the critical importance of an anti-racist education.

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Chapter 26

Race, Class and Transformation: Confronting Our History to Move Forward

Walda Katz-Fishman, Jerome Scott, and Ralph Gomes

From inside today's bottom-up movement for equality, justice, democracy and social transformation, we share experiences and lessons for understanding race and class in the context of historical and contemporary U.S. capitalism and social struggle. We cannot resolve a problem unless there is clarity about its root cause. America at its inception was a Southern nation grounded in genocide and slavery. The colonial occupation and stealth of the land and resources of the western hemisphere from Indigenous peoples combined with the super-exploitation of African slave labor in the plantation system was extraordinarily profitable for capital. To continue to produce and reproduce this source of capital accumulation and wealth, white supremacy and institutional racism were embedded in U.S. law, ideology, and society. Though no longer *de jure*, the content of white supremacy and racism remains *de facto* in every aspect of social life, even in the so-called "post-racial era" of the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Feagin 2006; Heagerty and Peery 2000).

The question of race in America – from Indigenous genocide and the slave system, to the attack on immigrant communities and the state execution of Troy Davis – inextricably links race and a racially exploitative and oppressive system to the very core of American class exploitation and super-exploitation, State power and repression, ideological hegemony, and social and environmental crises. Based on this history of U.S. capitalism and the deep interpenetration of race and class, we argue that it is not possible to resolve the fundamental problems of capitalism, especially white supremacy and institutional racism, without ending capitalism (Katz-Fishman and Scott 2004; Peery 2002).

W. Katz-Fishman (✉) • R. Gomes
Howard University, Washington, DC, USA
e-mail: wkatzfishman@igc.org

J. Scott
Founder and Former Director, Project South, Atlanta, GA, USA

In the classroom of life – whether formal education settings, or the movement itself – theory, practice, and study around these questions is increasingly converging. We offer as a pedagogical tool the critical study of social history – the debunking of historical myth and the claiming of our real history of domination, oppression, exploitation, and of resistance and social struggle. This means gaining clarity around the victories of past movements, what has and has not been won, where we are today and why, and the path forward (Katz-Fishman et al. 2007).

26.1 The Current Crisis, Developing Motion, and Openings for Education and Consciousness-Raising

This examination of race and class in America takes place in the context of today's crisis and developing social motion. We are experiencing a crisis of the entire global capitalist system and, thus, for all of its components and institutions. Systemic crisis exacerbates and exposes the ever starker contradictions of society – of great abundance on a global scale of all the things people require, but of great want, deprivation, exploitation, oppression, and dispossession. Vanishing jobs, plummeting wages, soaring poverty, a broken social contract and neoliberal policies, growing militarism and police repression, and ecological collapse are a daily reality for U.S. workers and the vast majority of the world's peoples (Amin 2011; Berberoglu 2009).

Because of the historic reality of white supremacy, Blacks, Indigenous peoples, Latinos and immigrant communities are disproportionately affected by these multiple crises. In addition, patriarchy results in working class women and children being among the most impoverished and oppressed. At the same time wealth and power are being concentrated among an ever smaller class of global capitalists, who are using global institutions and their national governments to bailout capital's global financial institutions and corporations and to wage war to advance their class interests (Harvey 2010; Katz-Fishman and Scott 2011).

The question is how to secure the necessities of life for all humanity, eliminate white supremacy and national and gender oppression, protect the planet, and win the peace. Social movements and revolutionaries are in motion. Twenty-first century global capitalism requires a coordinated global movement from the bottom-up with diverse working class leadership, including workers of color and Indigenous as part of collective leadership (Peery 2002; Pleyers 2010; Santos 2006). The struggle is growing in the United States and around the world – from uprisings in Tunisia, in Egypt's Tahrir Square and throughout the Middle East, to the *Indignados* in Spain, to Greece, Britain and across Europe, to Wisconsin and, most recently, to Occupy Wall Street and Occupy Together, including cities in Africa, Asia, and Latin America (Associated Press 2011).

These realities present new openings for movement organizing, analyzing, visioning, and strategizing (Gonzales and Katz-Fishman 2010; Harvey 2010). The

growing popular response to the deepening crisis is the beginning of a rupture in consciousness of the past period and is a strategic opportunity for creating critical learning spaces – in K-12 and higher education and in the movement struggle. Today's emerging counter-hegemonic movement requires that we undertake a mass education project to raise consciousness and to develop the collective leadership from below that embodies a political clarity of vision and strategy to keep the movement on its path to the real resolution to the problems before us – the path to an egalitarian and cooperative society in which all human needs are met and the earth is renewed and protected. In the United States, this means confronting our history of division based on race, class, and capitalism within social movements and in the larger society to move forward in unity (Katz-Fishman and Scott 2008, 2011).

26.2 Lessons from Social History on White Supremacy, Race and Class

Knowing our history so we can grasp the root causes of today's crises and move beyond the mistakes of the past sets the conditions for us to move into the future we want for ourselves, humanity and the planet. Through the lens of public sociology and scholar activism, social history contains powerful lessons for the classroom, and especially for students, scholars and activists engaged in today's transformative movement from below. We have to understand the ongoing disproportionate oppression and exploitation of Black, Indigenous, Latino and immigrant workers and, at the same time, explain why workers, and especially White workers over the centuries, have acted against their own self-interest because of the racial divide.

The daily struggle against exploitation and oppression and for the necessities of life – housing, health care, food and water, education, energy and transportation, jobs and living wages – is a school for learning how capitalism, the State, and ideology move to crush working and poor people of all races and nationalities, across gender and sexuality, and intensify white supremacist inequality and oppression. So, any effort to eliminate white supremacy and institutional racism requires addressing it within in the transformative movement against capitalism (Katz-Fishman et al. 2007; Katz-Fishman and Scott 2008).

Here we lift up key lessons on white supremacy, race and class from social history for today's struggle

1. *The ruling class early on developed a strategy based on white supremacy and race to control the multiracial working class and to justify forms of wealth accumulation.*

Capitalism in the United States and worldwide embodies white supremacy and institutional racism in the material conditions of political economy, the State, and

social structures, and in ideological institutions and culture. White supremacy is deeply embedded in U.S. State law and practice, in the economy and reality of daily life, and in the social consciousness of masses of people. Consider the historical record – from genocide to the Indian Removal Act and the Trail of Tears, and continuing broken treaties. From Slave Codes to the Three-fifths rule in the U.S. Constitution, from Black Codes to Jim Crow Constitutions, to recent anti-immigrant law for ICE (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement) enforcement and massive deportations (see Heagerty and Peery 2000; Katz-Fishman and Scott 2004; Peery 2002 for detailed discussion).

White supremacy and institutional racism in all these forms has been and continues to be strategic to the method of control of the working class – to divide the working class along color lines to insure rule by capital. White supremacy and racism are also strategic to the justification for wealth accumulation through genocide and stealth from the Indigenous peoples, the super-exploitation of Black labor in the slave system and sharecropping, and the continuing racial divide and white privilege economically, politically and socially among Whites in America today.

Realizing maximum profits and suppressing working class struggle through division across race, nationality, and gender are essential to capitalist class rule and are reproduced within and through education, culture, and State repression. White supremacy and institutional racism are thus strategic and foundational to ruling class control and domination and are central to the whole capitalist system and its continuity.

2. *Victories resulting in policy changes around white supremacy and race do not change fundamental systemic structures and realities. And, for every victory and advance, there is reaction and repression by the state and extralegal terror. The struggle continues.*

As brutal and violent as the history of white supremacy and institutional racism in America is, it has been met over the centuries with fierce resistance and powerful movements that have brought about heroic victories. Slave rebellions and Maroon communities of Native Americans and African Americans challenged systemic genocide and slavery. The Seminole Wars waged by Native Americans and liberated slaves from 1816 to 1842 opposed Indian removal, and the Underground Railroad transported thousands of slaves to freedom. All this was prelude to the Civil War (see Heagerty and Peery 2000; Katz-Fishman and Scott 2004; Peery 2002 for detailed discussion).

Among the legal victories of this bloody war were the Civil War Amendments and Reconstruction Act of 1867. The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime – which is a huge exception. The Fourteenth Amendment established very generally the rights of citizenship, and the Fifteenth granted citizens the right to vote regardless of race, color, and previous servitude. Armed with new legislation, Blacks made gains in the election of Black officials during the Reconstruction period and reorganizing Southern society.

But, no sooner had the Civil War ended than the reaction and counter–revolution set in. The Ku Klux Klan, Knights of the White Camellia and other vigilante organizations, led by the ex-planter class, resisted and rebelled against Reconstruction and unleashed a reign of terror on former slaves, poor Whites, and their allies. The near slave conditions of the sharecropping system replaced chattel slavery, but Blacks remained trapped in a super-exploitative economic system enforced by an oppressive political system. The Hayes Tilden Compromise of 1877 and withdrawal of federal troops from the South, along with Black Codes and Jim Crow constitutions, set the conditions for extreme white supremacy, and bloody and repressive fascist rule in the South. Legal and extra-legal methods including violent lynch mobs became the daily reality of life well into the twentieth century.

Thus, almost a century later, the victories and gains of the Civil War had to be revisited to once again mount an oppositional movement to the white supremacy and institutional racism so deeply embedded in the American State and society. The movement activists – students and children, women and men – strategized, organized, and educated, boycotted busses, sat in at lunch counters, marched, sang, prayed, rode freedom busses, and camped out. They suffered the abuse and violence of the lynch mob, dogs and water hoses, police billy clubs and beatings, fires and bombs, prison and death. And they endured and were resilient. The Black freedom struggle of the twentieth century again won victories and made advances through civil rights and anti-discrimination legislation of the 1950s and 1960s. *Brown v. Board of Education* outlawed separate but equal education; the Montgomery Bus Boycott ended legal segregation in public transit in Alabama; the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made it illegal to discriminate based on race, color, nationality, religion, or gender; and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 again protected the right of all citizens to vote (Heagerty and Peery 2000; Peery 2002).

Once again, reaction against these reforms and the pull of history asserted themselves. Five decades later, systemic white supremacy and institutional racism have again intensified. The economic crisis of corporate capitalism means a disproportionate crisis in unemployment and poverty among Black, Indigenous, Latino and immigrant workers and their families, and a lack of access to housing, education, and health care. The ecological crisis means more environmental racism and growing struggles often led by indigenous communities over commodification of nature and natural resources and their treaty rights. An increasingly repressive and racialized State, from the so-called “war on drugs” to ICE arrests and deportations, means massive rates of incarceration and state repression of Black, Indigenous, Latino and immigrant workers (Alexander 2010; Bonilla-Silva 2010; Harvey 2010).

Over the centuries, the hard fought battles for reforms changed law, but not the deep institutions, structures, daily life and overall capitalist system within which white supremacy and racism are embedded. To say that a change in law or the historic election of the first Black president, as essential and powerful as these things are, is sufficient to eliminate all aspects of white supremacy and institutional racism is to fly in the face of history and social reality.

Policy changes do not change the content of the economic and political system – leaving intact the root cause. White supremacy and institutional racism are not just a “policy” that can be changed or reformed. They are systemic and thus require system change (Feagin 2006; Heagerty and Peery 2000; Katz-Fishman and Scott 2004).

3. *The reform movement is good, but is not enduring. What is our vision and strategy for the future?*

Resurgent bottom-up social movements won major victories and reforms in the twentieth century around labor, civil rights, gender, sexuality, poverty, ability, the environment, and peace. These reforms made a real difference in peoples’ lives – a section of workers (mostly White and male) gained collective bargaining rights and better working conditions. The Indigenous, Blacks, Latinos and immigrants became integrated into the class structure. Ending *de jure* forms of Jim Crow domination and super-exploitation lessened extreme inequality and racial oppression. Environmental consciousness was raised. And the Vietnam War came to a close.

Yet, many of these reforms themselves were flawed and informed by white supremacy and racism. The New Deal social contract of the 1920s–1930s excluded agricultural workers, domestic workers, and many service workers – sections of the labor force where Black, Latino, immigrant, women, and poor workers are concentrated. As social reform and the welfare state expanded in the 1960s, the poor – again disproportionately women, Black, Indigenous, Latino and immigrant workers and families – were subjected to indignities and scrutiny other workers were not to receive government benefits. And during the 1950s and 1960s the government’s COINTELPRO program of counter-insurgency at home brought the most extreme forms of political repression – disruption, incarceration and even assassination – to especially the Black, Indigenous and Puerto Rican liberation struggles (Williams 2003).

By the late 1970s and 1980s, the popular movements were not able to hold onto the victories and gains of the reform period in the context of a rapidly transforming and crisis driven economy, ecology, and society. The “war on drugs” swelled the prison population with young working class Black and Brown men and the prison-industrial complex took on new life. With the destruction of the welfare state and social reforms, neoliberal policies prevailed. The safety net was shredded; the public sphere, nature, and common goods were privatized; the private sector was deregulated, and the political class got busy with reorganizing the State to serve the interests of global corporations with no concern for the well being of the masses – the people now rising up representing the 99 % (Amin 2011; Berberoglu 2009; Gonzales and Katz-Fishman 2010; Harvey 2010). In the post-911 years the U.S. Patriot Act and Homeland Security renewed a deeply repressive policy of State control over all who dare challenge the system. But, as usual, Indigenous, Black, Latino and immigrant workers were disproportionately ensnared (Alexander 2010).

These key lessons of the U.S. capitalist State creating and reproducing new forms of white supremacy and institutional racism across history that oppress, super-exploit and dispossess especially Black, Indigenous, Latino and immigrant workers

and their families, and divide the multiracial working class make real the limitations of reform struggles (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Feagin 2006).

Today shifts in the base of the capitalist economy – globalization and the technological revolution using electronic tools (computers, automation, robotics) that are labor replacing – have created a systemic rupture in capitalist relations and accumulation. Workers, increasingly replaced by robots, are becoming redundant and disposable. Huge swathes of Black, Indigenous, Latino, immigrant and women workers are disproportionately poor, underemployed and unemployed, homeless, hungry, without quality education and health care, and exposed to environmental toxins and disasters. At the same time the entire working class is more and more dispossessed and experiencing these new realities of economic and ecological crisis and destruction and political repression. The corporate state has replaced the welfare state, and while this affects the working class as a whole, it weighs most heavily on those it always has (Amin 2011; Berberoglu 2009; Katz-Fishman and Scott 2011).

Social movements are creating an alter-globalization from below, and because of electronic technology we can produce an abundance of all the things humanity requires to satisfy our needs. The vision of an egalitarian, cooperative and peaceful society in which production, distribution and consumption are organized to meet human needs and to protect the planet is possible and necessary. In social struggle – e.g., in the Social Forum process and the Occupy Together movement – new forms of self-organizing and horizontal processes of collective leadership and consensus are being practiced. Over the centuries social movements did not resolve the systemic problems of exploitation, poverty, and oppression at their root, leaving this unfinished task to social movements in this historic moment (Karides et al. 2010; Pleyers 2010; Santos 2006).

26.2.1 Confronting Our History to Move Forward for System Change

To rise to this challenge, scholar and student activists and social movement actors have to engage the truth of our diverse realities in critical learning and consciousness raising spaces. As we prepare for the coming political struggle to transfer power from domination in the hands of the ruling class to cooperation in the hands of the working class, we have to confront our history. To be silent about the hierarchies of power and oppression within the larger society that are reproduced within our learning and movement processes is to consent to them and to the dominant ideology of our oppressor (Katz-Fishman et al. 2007; Katz-Fishman and Scott 2011).

The final lesson is that if the problem of white supremacy and racism, along with classism, sexism and other oppressions, are deeply and historically rooted within the capitalist system, we have to change the system upon which it rests to resolve the problem. We as a society and a movement cannot move forward without confronting the long history of white supremacy and racism and how they continually erupt in

relationships as well as structurally. When individuals reproduce white supremacy and white privilege in their daily interaction, they are acting out the script written by the ruling class. History, the State, culture and education have programmed the American people to play out this scenario of racial division and white privilege. This insures confusion, dissension, a divided working class and a divided movement, and thus continued domination and control by the capitalist class.

What history also teaches us is that while white supremacy is strategic in divide and conquer, it is also the Achilles heel of the ruling class. Thus, swathes of Whites from all strata of the working class are themselves experiencing unemployment and underemployment, poverty, and dispossession of what their privilege historically guaranteed to them. In this context it becomes possible to study and understand the historic hierarchies among working people in the United States and to intentionally struggle to negate these, and also to value our difference and diversity while moving to consciousness of our common working class realities and interests for the long haul (Heagerty and Peery 2000).

The day to day struggle is the school where educators and movement builders connect theory and practice, and teach the truth of our history and the trap it sets for us unless we develop a collective oppositional understanding. It is time to seize the moment to develop a mass education project to raise and deepen consciousness about the need to transform the system, to create a shared vision of the world we are fighting for, and the capacity and strategy to make it happen. In this process we have to walk our talk and model the world we are trying to create (Gonzales and Katz-Fishman 2010; Karides et al. 2010; Katz-Fishman et al. 2007; Katz-Fishman and Scott 2008).

Today's student, scholar, and movement activists are in motion in response to the objective conditions of crisis in society, and are part of the emerging anti-systemic transformative movement in the United States and the world. The social struggle has the mandate and the capacity to confront the enduring history of white supremacy to keep the motion on track and to realize working class unity. The movement toward the future has to be not only anti-capitalist, but also anti-white supremacist and anti-patriarchy. All the various currents of struggle point in the same direction – the need for independent working class politics rooted in the consciousness that capitalism has failed us. History is on the side of the exploited, the oppressed, the impoverished, and the dispossessed. The future is up to us.

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Chapter 27

Conclusion: Lessons Learned – Pedagogical and Theoretical Strategies for Teaching Race

Kristin Haltinner

Two challenges facing instructors in the twenty-first century are the social discourse of colorblindness and the fact that many teachers do not have adequate tools with which to educate students on this issue. As a result, courses about race often reinforce notions of colorblindness rather than providing students with the tools to challenge contemporary ideologies and position it and themselves within a cultural and historical context. To that end, the scholars included in this book highlight and present solutions for some of the major challenges facing instructors of race and inequality.

The issues explored in this collection mirror broader dilemmas in higher education discussed by Aminzade and Pescosolido (1999, pp. 601–608) who outline five dilemmas that require instructors to embrace the inherent contradictions in their roles and that pose challenges to effective teaching. The chapters in this book reflect these dilemmas and propose possible solutions. Although the dilemmas Aminzade and Pescosolido identify challenge educators in a wide range of courses, they are especially salient, and typically more difficult to address, in courses on race and racism. This is due in large part to the dominance of color-blind ideology, invisibility of white privilege, and long history of racial injustice and inequality, all of which are discussed at length in preceding chapters. These make courses on race relations more challenging since the taken-for-granted assumptions of students concerning race are part of a hegemonic racial ideology based on notions of color blindness and meritocracy, and a failure to confront history and historical legacies. In the classroom, this means that discussions of race are more likely to evoke strong emotions (of guilt, shame, anger, pride, etc.), defensive reactions among the ignorantly privileged, and defenses of inequality that deny responsibility for past injustices.

K. Haltinner (✉)

Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Idaho, Moscow, ID, USA
e-mail: khaltinner@uidaho.edu

The first dilemma identified by Aminzade and Pescosolido is that of expecting students to reflect critically, and publicly, on the painful and emotionally powerful experiences they have faced in their lives while also respecting their right to privacy. In other words, we need to acknowledge the pain and embarrassment that may accompany public revelations of personal experiences while using those experiences to help foster the sociological imagination. The contributors to this volume demonstrate success in this dilemma through making abstract the personal in classroom settings or depersonalizing course content while also constructing a class environment in which it is both acceptable and educational for students to “say the wrong thing” (Froyum, Croll).

Secondly, teachers face the dilemma of teaching abstract and complex concepts and methodological tools that students find inaccessible or uninteresting. Aminzade and Pescosolido suggest the use of interesting, provocative and engaging stories and case studies in order to help students ground abstract problems in concrete situations. Additional possibilities exist through active learning exercises, the use of memoir, fun and creative topics such as sports, community based learning and service, film and television, Facebook, news articles, journaling, and race-based breaching experiments (See Appendix 1 for examples).

Third, instructors face the challenge of creating a supportive, nurturing learning environment while maintaining standards of excellence for students. This can be done through facilitating a classroom climate in which students can speak openly (Croll), in which faculty members are willing to learn from students (Haskie and Shreve), students are encouraged to ask solid sociological questions (Blee), and in which students are held accountable to understanding the ways in which historical social processes affect contemporary institutions and interactions between people (Mueller and Feagin, Bell, Okun, and Weiner).

Fourth, teachers need to strike an appropriate balance between passion and neutrality, between expressing their own values and respecting the positions of others. Instructors can accomplish this through providing students with a classroom setting that empowers students to talk openly about race (Croll). Through extending appreciation for students who bring up controversial topics and using their comments to unpack structural and historical racism, students become more willing to take risks in classroom conversations (Croll). Finally, the willingness of faculty members to learn from their students’ experiences and wisdom further facilitates the balance between passion and neutrality (Haskie and Shreve).

The fifth dilemma addresses the tension between universalism (treating all students fairly), and particularism (addressing and supporting the particular life experiences that affect individual students’ ability to perform). In this volume, solutions are focused on particular demographic groups, such as progressive whites, and the need to hold them accountable for examining their own role in maintaining the current racial hierarchy (Warren). Other suggestions focus on students who are new to the study of race and the importance of facilitating open discussion rooted in historical context (Croll, Mueller and Feagin). Additionally, in resolving this dilemma it is important for faculty to recognize the positionality of students in

their class as well as the way their own experiences shape their relationship to the classroom (Logan et al.). Finally, it is essential to find a way to teach that challenges and empowers all students to learn and does not use students of color to teach whites (Ferber).

This volume further suggests broad solutions to these dilemmas, notably in the ability to examine race and racial inequality from an institutional level first, and using that foundation to examine one's self and one's society. The challenge is to provide a contemporary analysis of American race relations and students' position within its matrix (Ferber) while concurrently empowering students to understand and analyze the ways in which race has been imbedded in our national history. There is a danger involved in focusing too narrowly on issues of individual motivations without awareness of structural causes for these motivations and ideologies (Bell, Blee and Burke, Meuller and Feagin, Okun, Weiner, Page and Whetstone). Through employing a "race-critical" pedagogy in the classroom, teachers can provide a balance between understanding racist acts and institutional racist histories and teach about race holistically through the "matrix of privilege and oppression framework" (Bell, Ferber).

These posed solutions raise the question of the extent to which teaching anti-racism within the confines of a university or college is simply a "reformist" approach, when perhaps broader radical education and social change is needed. In order to do the best one can with the "masters tools" (Lorde 1984) it is essential to reframe the way instructors think of, and teach about, race and anti-racism. In this volume, Mariscal argues that, within the neo-liberal institution, a radical teaching of race becomes quite difficult given the "pay-as-you-go", demand-based model for curriculum offerings. Furthermore, diversity initiatives become "generic" and fail to resolve any challenges of recruitment or safety within the University.

Given these constraints, how, then, can instructors make the most of their position to radically reframe the way that race is taught and understood? The first step is to provide a dramatic shift in how instructors present current racial phenomena: to provide an honest examination of the "real history of domination, oppression, exploitation, and of resistance and social struggle" (Katz-Fishman et al.). By devoting significant class time to race as a social construction and by examining the ways in which racism is enacted institutionally, instructors are able to challenge the very structures that embody white racism, including the education system (Cazenave). Through this process, educational institutions can be the tool through which change can occur.

Instructors who honestly work to challenge their students' understandings of race and the racism imbedded in both the institutions in which they work and society at large will be met with great resistance from students, their peers, administrators, and funders. Nonetheless, this work is essential for honest teaching about race and racism, and to alter the racial structures of America. The tools provided in this volume should provide assistance down this challenging path. In the words of Katz-Fishman et al.: "It is time to seize the moment to develop a mass education project to raise and deepen consciousness about the need to transform the system, to create

a shared vision of the world we are fighting for, and the capacity and strategy to make it happen. In this process we have to walk our talk and model the world we are trying to create”.

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Appendix 1: Classroom Activities

This Appendix consists of a variety of classroom activities to assist instructors in teaching about topics regarding race and anti-racism. Section 1 features activities developed by the authors of preceding chapters. Section 2, organized by theme, features those created by additional scholars.

Activity I: The Virtual Discussion Section: Using Facebook to Encourage Meaningful Dialogue by Dr. Joyce M. Bell and Nicholas Burks, University of Pittsburgh

Activity II: Critical Reading Papers by Dr. Melissa F. Weiner, College of the Holy Cross

Activity III: The History of the Race Construct: A Reflection and a Way Through Assignment by Dr. Tema Okun, National Louis University

Activity IV: *This is Organized Racism: A Classroom Activity for Teaching about Racist Groups* by Dr. Kelsy Burke, University of Pittsburgh

Activity V: College Admissions Active Learning Activity by Dr. Paul R. Croll, Augustana College

Activity VI: Self-Reflection on Explicit Racial Beliefs by Dr. Carissa M. Froyum, University of Northern Iowa

Activity VII: Implicit Association Test Assignment by Dr. Carissa M. Froyum, University of Northern Iowa

Activity VIII: Racial Disparity in Incarceration Assignment by Dr. Carissa M. Froyum, University of Northern Iowa

Activity IX: Segregation by Dr. Carissa M. Froyum, University of Northern Iowa

Activity X: Modifying “The Game of “Life” to Teach About Racial Inequality in the Contemporary United States by Derek Robey, University of Minnesota

Activity XI: Race and Ethnic Relations, Colorblind Racism Activity and Assignment by Dr. Ryanne Pilgeram, University of Idaho

Activity XII: The Salience of Race: A Reflective Essay on Racial Awareness For Race Related Classes by Dr. Wendy Leo Moore, Texas A&M University

Activity XVIII: Student Journal Writing: Connecting Academic Theories to Everyday Racial Events by Dr. Leslie Picca and Dr. Ruth Thompson-Miller, University of Dayton

Activity XIX: Doing Anti-Racism by Dr. Enobong Hannah Branch, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Activity XX: Reading Racial Profiling and Racial Constructionism by Dr. Allison Padilla-Goodman, City University of New York Graduate Center

Activity XXI: *Smell The Smoke*: An Activity For Discussing Race Through Television by Karl Richardson

Activity XXII: Understanding and Attending to Classroom Dynamics: Using the Critical Incident Questionnaire When Teaching Race by Vern Klobassa, University of St. Thomas

Activity XXIII: “Measuring” Race: A Case Study Activity by jim saliba, University of Minnesota

Section I: Activities Corresponding to Book Chapters

The first section includes activities from the authors of chapters and pertains directly to the reflections contained in the book. The first is from Joyce M. Bell and Nicholas Burks, and can be paired with Bell's chapter *The Importance of a Race Critical Perspective*. The second is from Melissa Weiner and corresponds with her chapter: *Confronting White Educational Privilege in the Classroom*. This is followed by an activity by Tema Okun that reflects her chapter: *Teaching About Race and Racism: The Importance of History*. Next, Kelsy Burke provides an activity to correspond with the chapter she and Kathleen Blee wrote on *Teaching About Organized Racism*. Paul Croll and Carissa Froyum also provide activities based on their chapters on communication and emotions in the classroom, entitled *Getting Students to Say What They Are Not Supposed to Say* and *Dealing with Emotions in the Classroom*, respectfully.

Activity I: The Virtual Discussion Section: Using Facebook to Encourage Meaningful Dialogue

Joyce M. Bell • Nicholas Burks
University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, USA
e-mail: jmb267@pitt.edu

Description

This activity utilizes the popular social networking site, Facebook, as an arena for an online class discussion. Because discussions about race have become increasingly difficult in university classrooms, this activity encourages students to serve as active participants by using, what we call a virtual discussion section. The idea behind this activity is that by promoting an open discussion of course materials related to race that students' views of race, racism, and racial inequality can be expressed, challenged and expanded in a virtual race-critical classroom.

Facebook was chosen as the forum for discussion for several reasons. Aside from creating a virtual, race-critical classroom, this activity requires students who normally might not speak in class to engage in discussion, and its online component decreases the discomfort these students may potentially feel. Further, young people today are accustomed to using social networking sites to share additional forms of media, discuss topics with their peers, and simply stay connected. This activity builds on the social networking that many of our students engage in daily to encourage thoughtful discussion of race related topics.

Activity Handout for Students

Virtual Discussion Section

On the following dates we will not meet as a class. Rather, we will participate in an online discussion on Facebook.

Friday, February 25

Friday, March 4

Friday, March 18

Friday, April 1

Friday, April 8

The goal of the online discussion section is to encourage critical engagement with class materials in a way that involves everyone. We will hold the virtual discussion section on Facebook. If you do not have an account, you will need to create a free account. You do not have to add any photos or information about yourself and you can keep your membership private by using Facebook settings. Let me know or ask a classmate if you need help doing that.

Please search Facebook for the group. It is called Sociology of Race Virtual Discussion Section. Request to join and I will add you. *please make sure you join the right group*

The Virtual Discussion Section assignments are worth a total of 15 % of your grade.

Each student is responsible for creating one original post and responding to at least three other posts for each due date. You are encouraged to post more than this. Each original post should be about a page of writing and should ask a question (or series of questions) for your classmates to respond to. Your responses to other people's posts may be shorter.

You are also responsible for keeping your thread going. As people respond, it is your job to engage them by asking additional questions or reflecting on what they have said. If you realize that no one is responding to your post, you should try to rephrase your questions, ask new ones, or provide new insights that might encourage people to post under your thread.

Some ideas for original posts:

Find a current news story that is relevant to the topic for the week, write a brief opinion piece about it that connects it to the course material and ask your classmates a set of questions.

Pull out an interesting idea from the reading, summarize it, give your take on it and ask your classmates questions.

Post a short video clip about the topic for the week. Write a response that makes connections to course material and ask your classmates questions.

Reflect on a set of issues from a lecture or film for the week and pose questions. Get creative!

Logistics

You should log in to Facebook and go to the page for our group. You should create a new wall post there with a representative title for your post. Your original post is due by 12:00 NOON on the date of the discussion. All responses are due by the following Monday at 5:00 PM. I will only grade the posts that have been submitted by that time. Keep in mind that a part of your grade is timeliness. You need to post and respond to people in a timely manner so that people have a chance to respond within the discussion window.

Rubric

Criteria	5 POINTS Outstanding	4 POINTS Proficient	3 POINTS Basic	0-2 POINTS Below Expectations
Focused on the Topic & Course	Clear indication that the post and responses are motivated by the particular reading and lectures for the week Makes connections to other previous course material Obvious that the writer has taken a particular slant on that reading and developed it. Evidence of college level thinking that relates course material to real life situations	Posts are connected to the readings Develops new and interesting ideas about the reading Lack depth and/or detail	Vague connection to the course material Develops simple or superficial ideas about the readings Limited, if any connections Vague generalities	No clear connection to the week's course material Doesn't develop ideas about the reading Off topic
Critical Thinking	Posts are rich in content, full of thought, insight, and analysis	Contains substantial information Clear that thought, insight, and analysis has taken place	Generally competent Information is thin and commonplace	Rudimentary and superficial No analysis or insight is displayed
Uniqueness	New ideas New connections made with depth and detail	New ideas or connections Lack depth and/or detail	Few, if any new ideas or connections Rehashes or summarizes other postings	No new ideas Simple, "I agree with..." statements
Thoughtfulness	Appropriate comments, thoughtful, reflective, and respectful of other student's postings.	Appropriate comments and responds respectfully to other student's postings.	Responds, but with minimum effort. (i.e. 'I agree with Bob') Posts may show a lack of understanding of classmate's comments.	Shows any level of disregard or disrespect for classmate comments, doesn't reply to comments
Timeliness	Makes more than the required posts Early in discussion Throughout the discussion	All required postings Some not in time for others to read and respond	All required postings Most at the last minute without allowing for response time	Some, or all, required postings missing
Stylistics	Few grammatical or stylistic errors Obvious grammatical or stylistic errors	Several grammatical or stylistic errors	Errors interfere with content Obvious grammatical or stylistic errors	Makes understanding impossible

Activity II: Critical Reading Papers

Melissa F. Weiner

e-mail: mfweiner@holycross.edu

To ensure that you are engaging with assigned readings and considering the ways in which they relate to your own life, as well as to allow me to determine your understandings of the readings before the topics are discussed in class, you will submit eight critical reading papers during the course of the semester. Everyone will submit a reaction paper for weeks two, three, four, and five and then choose which of the other four weeks to submit your papers. You should treat this as a regular paper (i.e. with an introduction, thesis statement with your main idea and conclusion) as you offer a critical summary of the key points of the readings as they relate to the topic for the week and consider how they relate to your own life. This might include describing the ways in which you have encountered something similar to the phenomena described in the readings, how you have never had to consider the phenomena described, something you saw in the media, etc. Each paper must communicate that you have both read and understood each assigned reading but as long as you address key issues, you do not have to summarize each chapter individually (or write the paper chapter-by-chapter). Finally, if you have any questions about the readings, please feel free to include these at the end of the paper so that they can be addressed in class.

Critical reading papers are due in class on Monday or online via Moodle *prior to* the beginning of class on Monday and must address the readings *that are due on that week* and *I will not accept late papers*. If you are absent on Monday and/or do not submit your paper online before class begins, you will need to submit another paper during a different week. I will use your top seven paper grades to calculate the final grade for this assignment. ***Your Critical Reading Papers final grade is equal to the grade of, and will be very helpful for, the final exam.***

Papers should be approximately three to five pages long (depending on the number of readings for the week and not including the bibliography), with 1" margins and written in no bigger than 12-point Times New Roman font. References are important to show that you have done the reading. Failure to include proper in-text citations and a bibliography will result in the loss of 0.25 points for *each* (i.e. incorrect in-text citations and bibliographical citations will result in the loss of 0.5 points). If you are a sociology major, you should be using ASA format. All others can choose their preferred citation style (APA, MLA, etc.) but be sure to use the same format in the body of the paper as you do in the bibliography. Be sure to use the information on the syllabus for full and correct citations.

Information about grading can be found on the reverse.

 Grading

5	Addresses key points in each article/book for the week demonstrating both a thorough reading and understanding of the material as it relates to the topic that week. Relates the concepts/topic to your own life experiences
4.75	Addresses key points in each article/book for the week demonstrating both a thorough reading and understanding of the material as it relates to the topic that week. Does not relate the concepts/topic to your own life experiences
4.5	Addresses all of the readings but misses some key points of less than half of the articles or is missing just one article. Relates the readings to your life
4.25	Is missing between two (2) and half of the readings for the week but demonstrates a full understanding of most of the material presented in the articles/books addressed <i>or</i> addresses all the readings but is missing key points from more than half. Relates articles to your life
4	Is missing between two (2) and half of the readings for the week but demonstrates a full understanding of the material presented in the articles/books addressed <i>or</i> addresses all the readings but is missing key points from more than half. Does not relate articles to your life
3.75	Is missing one or more articles, but less than half those assigned <i>and</i> is missing key points from more than half of the articles. Relates the material to your life
3.5	Is missing between two (2) and half of the readings and/or does not demonstrate a full understanding of the material presented in the articles/books addressed. Relates the material to your life
3	Is missing more than half of the assigned course readings <i>and</i> is missing key points from more than half of the articles but relates the course readings to the students life
2.5	Is missing more than half of the readings and does not demonstrate a full understanding of the material presented in the articles/books addressed. Does not relate the readings to your own life

Note above: Not including a bibliography and/or in-text citations will result in the loss of up to 0.5 points

Activity III: The History of the Race Construct: A Reflection and a Way Through Assignment

Tema Okun

National Louis University, Chicago, USA

e-mail: tema.okun@nl.edu

The Goals of this Assignment are to Support Students

- To develop or enhance a shared language, a shared analytical framework, and a shared history of race, racism, and the race construct
- To better understand the institutional and cultural construction of race
- To support and enhance research and analysis skills
- To reflect on how the construction of race informs both personal and societal paradigms, policies, and values today
- To investigate ways in which students can personally and collectively resist, transgress, and/or transform the legacy of the race construct

Assumptions

- This assignment assumes that the teacher/instructor has a strong working knowledge about the institutional and cultural construction of race as a hierarchy.
- This assignment assumes that the classroom or workshop space has developed a set of guidelines and time has been spent building relationships and a culture of storytelling, risk-taking, and authentic conversation.
- This assignment assumes the teacher/instructor has experience holding and working with emotion that arises (often very differently) in students of color and white students when investigating and studying race and racism. Teachers/instructors are prepared to handle emotions including discomfort, anger, denial, and guilt.

Materials Required

- A timeline with 10–15 seminal events in the construction of race. The timeline needs to be posted so that students can add to it, write on it, etc.
- Post-it notes and/or markers for working with the timeline.
- Handouts (see agenda).
- Students/participants need to have at least one laptop per group.

Setting the Stage

Invite students to share their family background, starting as far back on the timeline as they can. For example, one student might have four post-it notes with the names of great-grandparents, grandparents, parents, and one for her or himself. Each post-it note can indicate where the ancestors lived and/or came from and something important about how they lived.

Digging Deeper

Divide the class into small groups of no more than three or four people. Ask each small group to look at one of three incidents in the construction of race (see below). If you have more than three groups, you can have three or more small groups investigate the same incident.

Hugh Gwyn and the runaway servants: Three servants working for a farmer named Hugh Gwyn run away to Maryland. Two are white; one is black. They are captured in Maryland and returned to Jamestown, where the court sentences all three to 30 lashes – a severe punishment even by the standards of seventeenth-century Virginia. The two white men are sentenced to an additional four years of servitude. But, in addition to the whipping, the black man, named John Punch, is ordered to “serve his said master or his assigns for the time of his natural Life here or elsewhere.”

Resources:

- <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/slavery/experience/responses/spotlight.html>
- <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/awhhtml/awlaw3/slavery.html>

Ozawa/Thind case: 1922: Early in the century, many immigrants petition the courts to be legally designated white to gain citizenship under the 1790 Naturalization Act. The Supreme Court rules that Japanese are not legally white because science classifies them as Mongoloid rather than Caucasian. A year later, the court contradicts itself, saying that Asian Indians are not legally white, even though science classifies them as Caucasian, saying that whiteness should be based on “the common understanding of the white man.”

Resources:

- <http://newsreel.org/transcripts/race3.htm>
- <http://chnm.gmu.edu/courses/ncc375/rp/rp2.html>
- <http://books.google.com/books?id=gxYqorjC4gUC&pg=PA56&lpg=PA56&dq=ozawa+and+thind+cases&source=bl&ots=INCiL7WR5C&sig=13D9sK43A-Kx8slTO95HoaQsvCA&hl=en&sa=X&ei=hdTAUKSEnou89QTE4oHQBg&ved=0CFwQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=ozawa%20and%20thind%20cases&f=false>

GI Bill: The G.I. Bill subsidizes employment, suburban home loans, college education opportunities for veterans returning from WWII but refuses to challenge

the discriminatory policies embedded in the practices and policies of employers, bank lenders, and college institutions; as a result, almost all of the benefits of the bill go to white veterans and their families.

Resources:

- http://www.thecincinnatiherald.com/news/2011-04-23/News/Winter_20072008_How_the_GI_Bill_Failed_AfricanAmer.html
- Uncle Sam Lends a Hand at http://www.pbs.org/race/006_WhereRaceLives/006_00-home.htm
- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mW764dXEI.8>

Homework

Ask each group to research their story and prepare a 10–15 min presentation to share with the class. The goal of the research is to answer the following questions:

- Identify the institution(s) that had a role in the story
 - What did the institution do (what policies and procedures did they establish and/or follow)?
- Identify the cultural beliefs and values that allowed the institution to create the policies and procedures and that then reinforced those policies and procedures? what were the operating assumptions?
- Identify how the white people in the story have internalized the policies and procedure and the values making those possible?
 - What did the white people give up (willingly or not) in order to receive these privileges?
 - What might that have done to their minds, bodies, hearts, souls?
 - What might their legacy be to their children and their children’s children?
 - Would this have been different for different white people in the story?
- Identify how Person/People Of Color (POC) in the story have internalized the policies and procedure and the values making those possible?
 - What was the cost to POC in the story? mentally, physically, emotionally, spiritually?
 - What might be their legacy to their children and their children’s children?
 - Would this have been different for different POC in the story?
- Identify at least two acts of resistance related to this story
 - Who was resisting and why? what was their self-interest?
 - What might this resistance have done to their minds, bodies, hearts, souls?
 - What might their legacy be to their children and their children’s children?
 - How would the answers be different if you’ve chosen a story about a white person/group or a story about a Person or Group of Color?

Sharing Research in Class

Ask each group to present their research. If more than one group is presenting on the same incident, ask them to supplement the initial presentation. After each presentation, ask people to break into pairs to talk about:

- Which person do you relate to in the story about the construction of race? in the resistance stories? (make sure you answer for both)
- Can you think of a specific incident in which you have been that person? (use the context of school, organization, or community if possible)
- What did you have to do, feel, be in that moment when you participated in the construction of race? when you resisted?
- What was the cost to your humanity or to you?
- How has that impacted you and those you love?

In the large group, discuss the following questions:

- What struck you?
- What ah-ha moments did you have or what moments of confirmation or defensiveness did you have?
- How does this inform you, your thinking, your practice moving forward?

Ask people to return to the timeline and think about how their family stories may look or feel different as a result of their research.

You can also debrief the research process if building research skills is an important goal for your class.

Activity IV: *This is Organized Racism: A Classroom Activity for Teaching About Racist Groups*

Kelsy Burke

University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, USA

e-mail: Kcb17@pitt.edu

Description

Teaching about organized racism, although important, is often difficult in university classrooms. This activity provides a way for instructors to discuss organized racism without falling into common traps that make the subject uncomfortable and unproductive (see the chapter written by Blee and Burke in this volume).

Instead of focusing on the psychology of racist activists or the sensational nature of racist groups' writings and images, this activity uses the film, *This is England*, to discuss the properties of racist groups. Students imagine they are researchers attempting to answer two research questions by observing the racist group depicted in the film and by creating interview questions for the film's characters. In doing so, they learn about organized racism in a way that is productive for sociological analysis. This activity may be useful for a variety of sociology courses, including ones on social inequality, race and ethnicity, qualitative methods, and social movements.

About the Film

Based on the experiences of writer and director Shane Meadows, *This is England* is a 2006 film about a 12-year-old boy, Shaun, who befriends a group of skinheads during the summer of 1983. The film follows Shaun as he becomes immersed in the group, hanging out at parties and participating in acts of violence. Particularly suited for this classroom activity, it is filmed from the perspective of a passive observer who is able to watch group interactions but is unaware of internal thoughts or emotions.

If instructors are able to conduct this activity during multiple class periods, students should watch the entire film (90 min without opening or closing credits). This activity may take as little as 75 min if the class watches about 30 min of pre-selected clips to allow 45 min for the remaining activity tasks.

Activity Instructions

For this activity, the class imagines itself as a research team whose goal it is to conduct a research project answering the following research questions:

1. How do people join racist groups?
2. What do racist groups do?

In order to conduct this mock research project, students take observational field notes while watching the film, *This is England*. Students should imagine that the characters of the films have given them permission to follow them and observe their interactions. Remind students that their observational notes should help answer the research questions.

After viewing some or all of the film, divide the class into five or ten groups, depending on the class size. Assign each group one or two characters from the film and ask them to create interview questions for their character(s):

Shaun (12-year old protagonist)

Combo (skinhead who returns from prison)

Woody (the leader of the group before Combo's return)

Milky (the black skinhead)

Smell (Shaun's girlfriend)

Lol (Woody's girlfriend)

Banjo (Combo's big, leather-wearing friend)

Pukey Nicholls (skinhead who gets kicked out of Combo's car)

Mr. Sandhu (Indian shop owner)

Shaun's mom

Remind students that interview questions should help answer at least one of the research questions. All imaginary interviews take place after the events of the film.

Follow-Up Discussion

As a class or remaining in small groups, ask students to share observational notes and interview questions that help answer each research question.

1. How do people join racist groups? – emphasize that racist beliefs did not initially motivate Shaun's involvement with the Neo-Nazi group. You may want to ask whether or not students observed or posed interview questions about the appeal of fashion, music, and friendships.
2. What do racist groups do? – ask whether or not students observed or posed interview questions related to the violent acts of Combo's group as well as the frequent parties for which the members engaged. Note the relatively small amount of time the group spends discussing racist ideology in a formal setting.

Personalize the remainder of the follow-up discussion based on the focus of your course. You may consider asking the following discussion questions:

1. What assumptions did you have before watching the film about individuals who join racist groups? How did the film challenge those assumptions?
2. This film is set in England in the 1980s. Do you think a similar scenario could take place today in the United States? Why or why not?
3. Would researching a group like the one depicted in the film be a feasible project for a sociologist? Why or why not?

Activity V: College Admissions Active Learning Activity

Paul R. Croll
Augustana College, Rock Island, USA

For the Instructor

For this active learning activity, I divide the students into small groups. I explain that they are in charge of admissions at a university or college. They have to decide which criteria should be used in admissions decisions. The key is that they all have to agree. The group has to come to consensus on each item. This is where I feel the assignment really takes on a life of its own. Students find some criteria easy to agree upon. Most agree high school transcripts should be used but that junior high transcripts should not be used. However, the very next item, Race, always causes productive problems in the groups. Should race be used as part of the criteria for admission? Race shouldn't matter. We shouldn't care, but students know from the course that race affects all aspects of people's lives. So how should this be addressed in the college admissions decision? This lies at the heart of the racial preferences debates. This activity helps students work through the issues and gives them a long list of possibly criteria and personal characteristics to consider.

Once all the small groups have finished (or when most have), we come back together as a class and see where groups agree and disagree. This is important as well for the activity, because groups will take each other on and argue their position when there is disagreement. The goal is not to come up with the "right answers" but rather to work through the difficulties and complexities inherent in these decisions. Students often tell me this activity is hard and not fair. I remind them that while that may be the case, higher education institutions across the country have to make these decisions every day. Easy or not, every institution has to decide for themselves what is best.

College Admissions Active Learning Activity

There has been a lot of discussion in recent years about preferential treatment in university admissions. Listed below are different criteria that could be used in making admissions decisions. Your group is the admissions office at your school. For each of the criteria below, circle whether or not you think the criteria should be considered in the admissions process. ***Your group must come to an agreement for each item listed below:***

Criteria:	Should it be used in admissions decisions?	
1. High school grades transcript	Y	N
2. Junior high school grades/transcript	Y	N
3. Race	Y	N
4. National origin	Y	N
5. Gender	Y	N
6. Family income	Y	N
7. Sexual preference	Y	N
8. Religion	Y	N
9. Region (east, south, midwest, west, etc.)	Y	N
10. Urban/suburban/rural	Y	N
11. Athletic ability	Y	N
12. Extracurricular activities	Y	N
13. Musical ability	Y	N
14. Entrance exam scores (SAT, ACT, etc.)	Y	N
15. Disability status	Y	N
16. Military service	Y	N
17. Age	Y	N
18. Marital status	Y	N
19. Political affiliation/views	Y	N
20. IQ	Y	N
21. Psychological profile	Y	N
22. Alumni status of parents & relatives (legacy)	Y	N
23. Family donations to university	Y	N
24. Writing ability	Y	N
25. Other? _____	Y	N

Activity VI: Self-Reflection on Explicit Racial Beliefs

Carissa M. Froyum
University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, USA
e-mail: carissa.froyum@uni.edu

Purpose: This paper asks you to reflect on your own racial beliefs and their relationship to your upbringing. A second part of the paper asks you to compare your own beliefs to Americans.

Directions: Read through the entire assignment, gather your thoughts and outline your response. Then, write your paper so to address the questions most relevant to your personal story. In other words, do not answer each question in order. Rather, use the questions to guide the construction of your own unique argument. When comparing your beliefs to others, use specific data (as in, report actual numbers).

Paper structure:

- Organize your paper like any formal essay: with a clear introduction, thesis, main body, and conclusion. Feel free to use headings and subheadings as necessary.
- Minimum of five pages, double spaced in Times New Roman 12 pt with 1 in. margins
- Include in-text citations as appropriate and a References page using ASA style format. At a minimum, you should cite the readings for today's class. Undergraduate students: You do not need to reference other outside sources but are welcome to do so. All sources should be academic sources (not newspapers or internet sources). (Graduate students: You should seek out additional sources.)
- Attach grading rubric and sign integrity statement.

Part I. Self-Reflection

Think back to when you were younger. What lessons did you learn about race growing up? What was the racial and ethnic makeup of your town/school? Think of the three most important influences (e.g., your family, schooling, the media) on your racial beliefs, that is, your beliefs about who belongs to which groups and what it means to be one race (or ethnicity) or another. What were they and what did they teach you to believe about race (or ethnicity)? Explain each influence in as much detail as you can remember. You may want to use a specific story to illustrate each influence's effect, for example.

Consider your racial beliefs now. Have they changed from what you were taught? How so, or why not? What do you believe: how consequential is racial categorization in the United States? Is racial inequality a problem? If so, how or in what ways? If not, why not? Do you believe you have racial biases? If so, what? If not, why not?

Part II. How do You Compare?

How do your racial beliefs compare to Americans' racial beliefs? Are Americans racially neutral in their beliefs? Are they colorblind? Are racist beliefs dead?

Read Hunt (2007) and Bonilla-Silva et al. (2004). According to the GSS data reported in Hunt, what explanations for black-white disparities are most common among Americans? How have they changed over time? What explanations do non-Hispanic whites most often offer? Blacks? Hispanics? Are Americans "colorblind" and does colorblindness translate into being post-racist?

Activity VII: Implicit Association Test Assignment

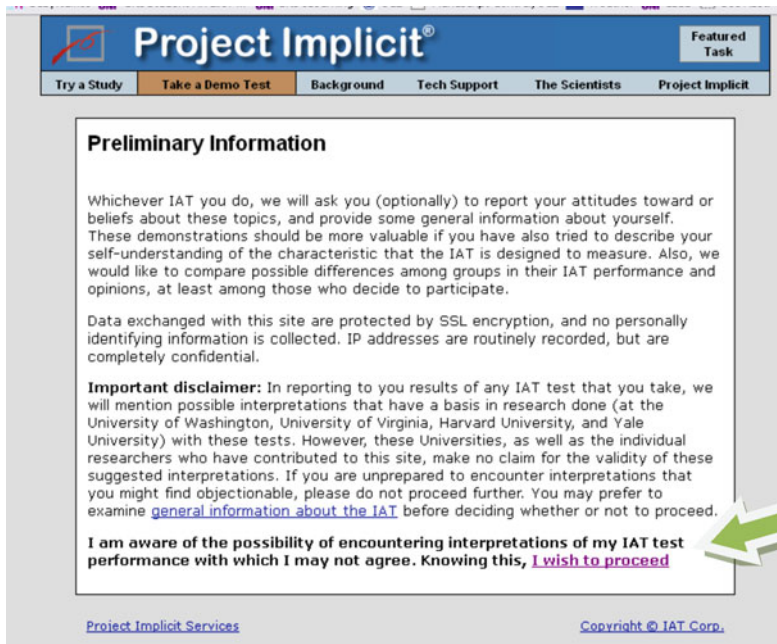
Carissa M. Froyum
University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, USA
e-mail: carissa.froyum@uni.edu

Purpose: This paper asks you to test your implicit biases and explain why they do or do not exist.

Directions: Follow the instructions below to take the IAT test **BEFORE** reading the readings for class.

Part I. Take the IAT Test

Go to the website: <https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/demo/takeatest.html>
Click on “I wish to proceed”



Select ONE of the following tests to complete:

- Race IAT
- Asian IAT
- Native IAT

- Skin-tone IAT
- Arab-Muslim IAT

Take the test.

Part II. Reflect on Your Test Results

What did your test results show: do you have an implicit racial bias? How were biases measured, according to the test interpretation page? What do you think of this measure?

Were your test results what you expected or hoping for? Do they match your stated racial beliefs?

Now read the readings for class on implicit bias. Using the readings from class, explain your test results and what they mean.

Paper structure:

- Organize your paper like any formal essay: with a clear introduction, thesis, main body, and conclusion. Feel free to use headings and subheadings as necessary.
- Minimum of five pages, double spaced in Times New Roman 12 pt with 1 in. margins
- Include in-text citations as appropriate and a References page using ASA style format. At a minimum, you should cite the readings for today's class. Undergraduate students: You do not need to reference other outside sources but are welcome to do so. All sources should be academic sources (not newspapers or internet sources). (Graduate students: You should seek out additional sources.)
- Attach grading rubric and sign integrity statement.

Activity VIII: Racial Disparity in Incarceration Assignment

Carissa M. Froyum
University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, USA
e-mail: carissa.froyum@uni.edu

Purpose: This paper asks you to analyze the racial disparities in incarceration in the United States and Iowa. How is Iowa doing?

Directions: Read the readings for today's class. Complete each part below and then write a paper on what the racial/ethnic disparities in incarceration in the United States look like. Explain how Iowa compares to the rest of the United States. Again, don't simply answer the questions in order in paragraph-form. Instead, work through the parts below and then develop your own argument.

Paper structure:

- Organize your paper like any formal essay: with a clear introduction, thesis, main body, and conclusion. Feel free to use headings and subheadings as necessary.
- Minimum of five pages, double spaced in Times New Roman 12 pt with 1 in. margins
- Include in-text citations as appropriate and a References page using ASA style format. At a minimum, you should cite the readings for today's class. Undergraduate students: You do not need to reference other outside sources but are welcome to do so. All sources should be academic sources (not newspapers or internet sources). (Graduate students: You should seek out additional sources.)
- Attach grading rubric and sign integrity statement.

Part I. Determine the racial composition of the United States and Iowa. Retrieve data from the Census Bureau at: <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/19000.html>. What percentage of Americans are in each racial and ethnic group? What percentage of Iowans are?

Part II. How have incarceration rates in the United States changed over time? (Be specific – provide specific numbers.) How, if at all, are those trends racialized? Who is most at risk of going to prison (what are the characteristics of the people, including sex, age, race, education level)? What are the primary causes of the changes in incarceration across time and racialized incarceration?

Part III. Examine the state-by-state data on incarceration and correctional spending. Go to the Pew Charitable Trusts' report on incarceration at http://www.pewtrusts.org/our_work_report_detail.aspx?id=35900. View The Sentencing Projects' website at <http://www.sentencingproject.org/map/map.cfm#map>. How does Iowa's racial disparity in incarceration compare to the rest of the country? How does Iowa's correctional spending compare to its educational spending? Is Iowa's spending ratio above or below the national average? What percentage of Iowa's felons are disenfranchised (barred from voting)? Is disenfranchisement in Iowa racialized? What is Iowa's felon disenfranchisement law? (Do some internet research related to Governor Branstad's Executive Order Number 70 which rescinded Vilsack's Executive Order Number 42.)

Activity IX: Segregation

Carissa M. Froyum
University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, USA

Purpose: This paper asks you to analyze racial segregation, including your own level of segregation/integration and offer explanations for why. What are the likely consequences of your own segregation/integration?

Directions: Complete Part I BEFORE reading the assigned articles for today. Then, read them and complete Part II. Write a paper answering; How segregated are you? How do you compare to others? What are the likely causes of your segregation/integration levels? What are some potential consequences?

Paper structure:

- Organize your paper like any formal essay: with a clear introduction, thesis, main body, and conclusion. Feel free to use headings and subheadings as necessary.
- Minimum of five pages, double spaced in Times New Roman 12 pt with 1 in. margins
- Include in-text citations as appropriate and a References page using ASA style format. At a minimum, you should cite the readings for today's class. Undergraduate students: You do not need to reference other outside sources but are welcome to do so. All sources should be academic sources (not newspapers or internet sources). (Graduate students: You should seek out additional sources.)
- Attach grading rubric and sign integrity statement.

Part I. Write down the names of your five closest friends. Then, record how you would identify each person racially. What percentage of them are the same race as you? What percentage of them are white? Now, consider your own interactions with white people versus people of color over the past month. How many non-whites have you had over to your house in the past month? How many people outside of your own race and ethnicity? Consider now your classes. Think through each of your classes. Estimating based on what you know about people in each of your classes, what percentage of students in each class do you consider to be white? Which classes are the most white? Least? Finally, consider the racial and ethnic makeup of your family. Out of your relatives (included extended family such as grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins only), what percentage of them are white? The same race/ethnicity as you?

Part II. Now, do the readings for today's class. Then, look at the "exposure index" and "dissimilarity indices" for Cedar Falls and Waterloo at the Census Scope at: <http://www.censusscope.org/segregation.html>. Who is the most segregated racial/ethnic group? Who has the most integration with non-whites? How do your own level of segregation/integration compare with the data for others of your race/ethnic group?

Section II: Activities to Promote Racial Awareness

This section contains activities that encourage students to become aware of race and racial inequality. The first activity, by Derek Robey, uses the game of Life to teach students about the contemporary racial wealth gap. The second, by RYanne Pilgeram helps students become aware of and see colorblind racism. Next, Wendy Leo Moore presents a writing activity that encourages students to consider the effect of race in their everyday lives and make whiteness visible. Similarly seeking to assist students in recognizing the impact of structural racism, Leslie Picca and Ruth Thompson-Miller, contribute a journal activity that asks students to be ethnographers in their own lives. Using similar methods the next activity, by Enobong Hannah Branch, encourages students to write on anti-racist behaviors, reflect on them, and perform them in their daily lives. Then, Allison Padilla-Goodman, encourages students to think critically about the news and issues related to racial profiling. Next, Karl Richardson asks students to develop their own racially conscious television show, after demonstrating the problems with shows like *Girls* that focus on white women in New York City. Subsequently, Vern Klobassa, provides an activity, using the Critical Incident Questionnaire, to empower students to share their questions and concerns regarding issues that arise in class. This further enables instructors to address relevant topics in class discussion. Finally, jim saliba, uses a case study to help students think about racial classification. This activity may be best suited for a methods course.

Activity X: Modifying “The Game of ‘Life’” to Teach About Racial Inequality in the Contemporary United States

Derek Robey
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, USA
e-mail: robey017@umn.edu

Introduction

This activity involves modifying “The Game of ‘Life’” to reflect the realities of race in contemporary America. The goal of this activity is twofold: (1) to communicate to students that racial inequality continues to be a problem in the United States and (2) to emphasize that these inequalities extend far beyond negative stereotypes of people of color – they are injustices built into many of the major institutions (education, finance, criminal justice, etc.) of society.

I consider these goals to be especially important to the teaching of race and race relations because the dominant rhetoric of color-blindness tends to categorize racial discrimination as a thing of the past, which only exists in its present form as negative stereotypes. By structuring the activity with up to date statistics about inequality, students will be exposed to some of the many (certainly not all) different institutional forms of discrimination people of color face throughout their lives.

Description of Modifications

Setup

- Class should be split up into groups of four. Players should choose a number one through four (no number can be chosen more than once), which will correspond to a particular role in the game.
 - Student 1 represents the black-lived reality in this game.
 - Student 2 represents the Hispanic-lived reality.
 - Student 3 represents the white-lived reality.
 - Student 4 serves as the banker. S/he deals with money transactions and adjusting salaries/home values/etc.
 - Student 5 serves as the recorder. This student should write down reactions and quotes said by other students.
- Each group should have its own game board and set of rules/modifications.

Starting the Game

- In the regular game, each player starts with \$10,000. Being that this represents the concept of wealth, students will start with unequal amounts of money to represent the racial wealth gap.
 - Student 1 will start with \$5,000 (median black household has net wealth of \$5,677)
 - Student 2 will start with \$5,000 (median Hispanic household has net wealth of \$6,325)
 - Student 3 will start with \$115,000 (median white household has net wealth of \$113,149)
- In the standard game, each player chooses whether or not s/he will attend college (representing a 4-year college/university, not a 2-year, community, or technical college). Students of color do not have an equal chance of being admitted to university and obtaining a bachelor's degree.
 - If student 1 wishes to go to college, s/he must spin a 9 or 10 (then spin again and move accordingly). This represents about a 20 % of being able to attain a college degree (18.0 % of black young adults have a college degree).
 - If student 2 wishes to go to college, s/he must spin 10 (then spin again and move accordingly). This represents a 10 % chance of being able to attain a college degree (12.3 % of Hispanic young adults have a college degree).
 - If student 3 wishes to go to college, s/he must spin 7, 8, 9, or 10 to have that option (then spin again and move accordingly). This represents a 40 % chance of being able to attain a college degree (35.9 % of white young adults have a college degree).

In-Game Modifications

- In the regular game, students pick a career card and receive the salary for that job. Being that racial discrimination in income exists at every level of educational attainment, this game will reflect that reality.
 - Player 1 with a college degree loses 16 % of base salary (multiply salary by 0.84)
 - Player 1 without a college degree loses 28 % of base salary (multiply salary by 0.72)
 - Player 2 with a college degree loses 10 % of base salary (multiply salary by .90)
 - Player 2 without a college degree loses 15 % of base salary (multiply salary by 0.85)
 - Player 3 receives the base salary regardless of educational attainment

- In the standard game, loans from the bank are distributed in \$20,000 increments. The interest on the loans is \$5,000 (so it takes \$25,000 to pay back each loan). Being that people of color have historically been steered into subprime loans, regardless of their credit score or other qualifications, oftentimes with double the interest rates.
 - Players 1 and 2 must pay \$10,000 interest on each loan (\$30,000 to pay back each loan).
 - Player 3 only pays \$5,000 interest on each loan (\$25,000 to pay back each loan).
- In the regular game, if a player spins a 10, s/he must pay a \$5,000 to the bank for speeding. People of color are much more likely to be pulled over because of racial profiling. The following data is based on a racial profiling study conducted in Minnesota.
 - If player 1 spins a 8, 9, or 10, s/he must pay the \$5,000 fine (in the study, black drivers were stopped 214 % more often than expected).
 - If player 2 spins a 9 or 10, s/he must pay the \$5,000 fine (in the study, Hispanic drivers were stopped 95 % more often than expected).
 - If player 3 spins a 10, s/he must pay the \$5,000 fine (in the study, white drivers were stopped 13 % less often than expected).
- In the regular game, there are various “Pay Raise” spaces at which players receive a \$10,000 pay raise to their base salary. Due to racial discrimination, people of color are often overlooked for these pay raises.
 - Players 1 and 2 only receive every third pay raise on which they land.
 - Player 3 receives every pay raise.
- Players buy homes of various values, which also have various sale values. Phenomena such as “white flight” and residential segregation have led to the devaluing of homes in neighborhoods of color.
 - Buy and sale values of houses purchased by player 1 are reduced by 52 % (multiply by 0.48).
 - Buy and sale values of houses purchased by player 2 are reduced by 16 % (multiply by 0.84).
 - Buy and sale values of houses purchased by player 3 are not reduced.

Discussion Session

Questions for discussion in large or small groups:

- How does it feel to experience this discrimination or privilege in a context in which you know race is directly affecting the situation?
- What kinds of things were said or done by people in reaction to discrimination or privilege?

- In what ways do many of these forms of discrimination intersect and function to compound upon one another?
- What other forms of discrimination could be incorporated into this game or what forms of discrimination are unable to be represented in a game such as this?
- In what ways does inequality get reproduced from generation to generation?
- With such vast inequality, why is it that society at large does not consider racial discrimination a major social problem?
- What strategies or programs can be implemented to combat these types of inequality?

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- Adequate and Affordable Housing. (2000). *Median home value by race/ethnicity*. Washington, DC: United States Census Bureau.

“The Game of Life” Handout

- This activity has five roles
 - 3 Players
 - 1 Recorder – records things said and done by players during the game
 - 1 Banker – deals with money transactions and calculates/records modifications for each player (all modifications must be rounded to nearest \$5,000 increment)
- Unless otherwise stated, the standard game rules should be followed

Modifications

- Player 1 starts with \$5,000; Player 2 starts with \$5,000; Player 3 starts with \$115,000.
- **College** – If the player wants to go to college, they must roll a 9 or 10 for Player 1, a 10 for Player 2, and a 7, 8, 9, or 10 for Player 3.
- **Base Salary** – Player 1’s base salary should be multiplied by 0.84 with a college degree or 0.72 without a college degree; Player 2’s base salary should be multiplied by 0.90 with a college degree or 0.85 without a college degree; Player 3 receives the base salary regardless of educational attainment
- **Interest Rates** – Players 1 and 2 must pay \$10,000 interest on each loan; Player 3 must pay \$5,000 interest on each loan
- **Speeding Fines** – If Player 1 spins a 8, 9, or 10, s/he must pay a \$5,000 fine; if Player 2 spins a 9 or 10, s/he must pay the fine; if Player 3 spins a 10, s/he must pay the fine.
- **Pay Raises** – Players 1 and 2 only receive every third available pay raise; Player 3 receives every available pay raise
- **Home Values** – The buy and sell values of Player 1’s house is multiplied by 0.48; the values of Player 2’s house is multiplied by 0.84; the values of Player 3’s house maintains its original value.

	Player 1	Player 2	Player 3
Base salary			
Salary (1 raise)			
Salary (2 raises)			
Salary (3 raises)			
Salary (4 raises)			
Salary (5 raises)			
Salary (6 raises)			
Sale value of home			

Activity XI: Race and Ethnic Relations, Colorblind Racism Activity and Assignment

Ryanne Pilgeram
 University of Idaho, Moscow, USA

This assignment is one that I developed to help students better understand the theoretical frames of “colorblind racism,” to see how sociologists process data, and push them to see the links between theoretical and methodological discussions of racial inequality. Moreover, because they are asked to interview themselves, this activity also has the possibility of pushing students to see they ways their own beliefs fall within the frames of colorblind racism.

Students begin by completing Part I:

Part I:

Interview yourself and three other people using the questions that follow. Bring your four typed up interviews to class.

QUESTIONS:

1. Most schools in the United States are still highly segregated by race. What do you think of this? Follow up: What do you think should be done about this situation?
2. Should minority students be provided unique opportunities to be admitted into universities?
3. Do you think there is still racial inequality in the United States even after the Civil Rights Movement? Follow up: (if NO) What you do think are signs that things are now equal? (if YES) How do you explain this inequality?

On the day students bring the interviews to class they are asked to read Chapter 2: “The Central Frames of Color-Blind Racism” from Bonilla-Silva’s 2009 book, *Racism without Racists*. We discuss all four frames of colorblind racism and I introduce them to the concepts of “old- fashioned racism,” “modern/colorblind racism,” and “anti-racism.”

Students are asked to use these three concepts to code their interviews into the Part II of the assignment. Whenever they use the “colorblind/modern code” they are asked to apply one of the frames from Bonilla-Silva’s chapter to fill out the next column of the table.

Part II: Table (We start working on this in class) and I provide them a template to type there results up in

Interviewee	Sample quote	Old fashion racism, modern racism, or anti-racist	If modern/ colorblind racism which ideological frame(s) is used?	Why did you categorize the interview in this frame?
#1				
#2				
#3				
#4				

Then, in class, students work in groups to review each other's tables. Next, as a class, we make one table on the board that combines all the results. We then discuss how closely their responses match to Bonilla-Silva's frames and the amount of overlap in their findings. Frankly, I was actually surprised the first time I did this activity at how closely the frames match up to their interviews. It is a good opportunity to show students the power of qualitative sociological methods, the process of collecting and coding data, and the ways that theory and methods inform each other.

Finally, in Part III of the assignment, students have an opportunity to go back and revise their table based on their classmates' feedback and are asked to write a reflection on their findings. Students generally note three things in their reflections: first, they are surprised that as a class the interviews fit extremely well into Bonilla-Silva's four ideological frameworks, which speaks to the reliability of the codes; second, they see first hand the ways that theory and methods are intimately related and work together; and third, they often find examples of colorblind racism in their own interviews.

I have been collecting feedback about the activity in anticipation of writing a teaching article about it. Every student answered that they (1) "strongly agreed" that the activity should be used in the future and (2) that it was useful in helping them understand what colorblind racism was.

The following are anonymous comments from students about whether the activity was effective in teaching them about colorblind racism.

Following the activity, students felt their understanding of colorblindness had changed substantially:

- The assignment has really shown me that racism still exists and it exists in many different forms, not just in old-fashion racism.
- I have noticed [colorblind racism] EVERYWHERE! It has changed my way of thinking completely. I am now analyzing music, TV, and my peers. So, it's really opened my eyes!
- I have noticed [colorblind racism] everywhere now and it helps me to be more careful about my actions so I don't say or do something that might disrespect a [person from a] different cultural background.
- I've noticed [colorblind racism] A LOT more in popular culture and a lot more in how people approach these discussions and more institutionalized colorblind racism.

Activity XII: The Salience of Race: A Reflective Essay on Racial Awareness for Race Related Classes

Wendy Leo Moore

Texas A&M University, College Station, USA

e-mail: wlmoore@tamu.edu

Description

This assignment asks students to think and write about a moment in which race became a salient element of their identity. In designing the assignment I had several goals in mind. First, I wanted to create a reflexive activity in conjunction with the component of the class in which we problematize biological notions of race and discuss race as a socially, politically and historically constructed concept. Specifically, I wanted students to think and write about how racial processes operate in their everyday lives and how we learn about race and the racial meanings that attach to taken-for-granted racial designations through social interactions.

Second, because I teach at a predominantly white university, I wanted to create an assignment that would engage students in an interrogation of the invisibility of whiteness. Ruth Frankenberg (1993) has noted that the social construction of whiteness often takes place through, “cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unexamined.” Through this assignment I wanted to both push white students to mark and examine their racialized experiences, and push all my students to think about the implications of the normativity of whiteness. I thus used this assignment to mark whiteness as a social location of privilege (as Frankenberg would suggest), and to get all students, white students and students of color to problematize the invisibility of whiteness as a mechanism of this privilege.

My third and related goal with the assignment is to epistemologically center the experience of students of color in the classroom. As the assignment and discussion points below illustrate, this assignment asks students to describe a moment when their own racial identity became salient to them. Students of color are generally able to point to many moments in their lives to illustrate the processes I ask them to consider. White students on the other hand are often completely unable to identify such a moment – often to the extent that white students write about a moment when *someone else's* race (generally a person of color) became salient to them. As a result, the process of completing this assignment has a tendency to disrupt the normativity of the experience of white students and shift the epistemological lens to the experiences of students of color.

By, on the one hand, marking whiteness and interrogating the connection between the invisibility of whiteness and racial oppression and, on the other hand, centering the racialized experiences of students of color as a lens through which to properly interrogate the dynamics of racial oppression, this assignment sets the ground work for my future interrogations of structural and institutional racism. I try to have them complete this assignment early in the semester.

The Essay Assignment Instructions

As we discussed in class, race is a socially constructed concept which has real consequences for people's lives. Professor Troy Duster compares the concept of race to water, or more precisely to H₂O. He says:

While water is a fluid state, at certain contingent moments, under thirty-two degrees, it is transformed into a solid state – ice. This is an easy binary formulation. But things get more complicated, because when H₂O, at still another contingent moment boils, it begins to vaporize or evaporate. And now the coup de grace of the analogy of H₂O to race: H₂O in its vapor state can condense, come back and transform into water, and then freeze and hit you in its solid state as an ice block; what you thought had evaporated into thin air can return in a form that is decidedly and consequentially real . . . Race, like H₂O can take many forms, but unlike H₂O it can transform itself in a nano-second.

A key aspect of Professor Duster's analogy is that race is at some moments more salient to our identity than in other moments. In other words, we sometimes become more aware of our own race and the race of those around us as a result of social situations and interactions. Professor Duster uses the example that he was once in a black neighborhood where his family lived, and he went to the corner store with a white male friend. The police became suspicious of he and his friend, accosted them outside the store, and ultimately threatened to hit Professor Duster with a club. When this happened, he became instantly aware that his race mattered in that context, not just because he was black (because the neighborhood was predominantly black) but because he was with a white man, and thus the policeman found their presence there *together* to be problematic.

In this assignment I ask that you think about a time when your race became salient for you. That is, I want you to think about a time when you were cognizant of your own race and when your race became a relevant element of a social situation. Ask yourself, did this happen when you were with people of different races, or were you with people who were racially similar to yourself? What was going on that made you think about your race? Explain the context of the situation, your feelings about your racial identification at that moment, and how that experience made you reflect upon the meaning of your racial identity.

If you have never had a moment in your life when race became salient, then I want you to think about why that might be. Discuss what aspects of your identity are important to you and discuss how these aspects of your identity became more important than race. Here you might want to think about whether there was ever a moment when you noticed another person's race. What was happening that made you notice this person's race and why do you think that noticing another person's race did not make you think about your own?

Your paper should be two to three pages in length, double spaced, normal (12 point) font.

Follow-up Discussion

I generally assign this essay on a Tuesday and ask them to turn it in on Thursday (which is why it is a short essay). I then read the essays over the weekend before the following Tuesday class. As I read and review the essays, I note the number and race of students who were unable to identify any moment in which race became salient for them. I have utilized this assignment now for approximately 10 years, and each time I find that quite a few (sometimes as many as ½) of the white students are unable to identify a moment, whereas very few (usually none) of the students of color fail to identify such a moment. Moreover, there are always a good number of white students who, rather than describing a moment when their own race became salient to them, describe a moment in which they became aware of another person's racial identity (generally a person of color). I then use the data from the essays to facilitate discussion. I tell the students about these racial patterns and ask them to talk about why it might be that so many white students were unable to identify a moment in which their own race became salient. From this we begin, as a class, to think about what it means that whiteness is often invisible.

Another pattern I often find in the essays is that while white students, when they do identify an experience in which they became aware of their race, nearly always share a moment in which they suddenly found themselves to be one of a few, or the only white person in a social setting. While some students of color have similar experiences, there are often a good number of students of color who share an experience in which a friend or family member talked to them about their racial identity and the particular ways in which race would influence their lives. Again, I present this finding to the class, and use it to lead a discussion about how one's racial identity in a society marked by racial inequality creates different social contexts within which we learn about the meaning of race.

And, finally, I generally find a pattern in the essays that indicates that race becomes salient for students of color through a process of learning about racial oppression (either through a family member or friend discussing racial oppression, or through an experience with racism), whereas white students generally learn about race either in a moment of incongruity (they find themselves for the first time in a space that is not majority white) or through an experience with privilege (for example, they get treated with more respect by an authority figure than a friend who is a person of color). Again I identify this pattern to the students, and I use this as a point of departure to discuss white privilege. Here I introduce Peggy McIntosh's article "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack." I discuss the examples she raises that particularly illustrate the generally normative and taken for granted elements of whiteness (such as "flesh" colored band-aids).

I end the discussion by noting the invisibility of whiteness, revealed in the essays, and the role of that invisibility in normalizing white privilege. As well, I note that centering the standpoint of people of color in the evaluation of a system of racial

oppression has a tendency to reveal elements of white privilege that many people might otherwise fail to notice. Thus, I note that throughout the class we will think about these general standpoints as we do the work of assessing the mechanisms that reproduce white privilege, power and wealth.

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Activity XVIII: Student Journal Writing: Connecting Academic Theories to Everyday Racial Events

Leslie Picca • Ruth Thompson-Miller
University of Dayton, Dayton, OH, USA
e-mail: Leslie.Picca@udayton.edu

Context

We teach at a very privileged private, Catholic, predominately white, institution. Although our school is nearly 90 % white, it is not uncommon to hear our white students say that our school represents “the most diverse place” of their interactions. Getting white students who are immersed in whiteness and celebrate colorblindness to critically examine their racial interactions is a challenge to say the least. In order for students to see the invisible, taken-for-granted, racial interactions, we ask our students to keep a racial journal. We ask students to pay attention to how race and ethnicity impacts their daily interactions, and to document their qualitative field research notes in a journal.

The instructor may decide to have students keep a journal every day for a set period of time, such as two weeks. Alternatively, we often have our students submit a certain number of journal entries, such as 10–15. Below are the journal instructions for having students submit at least 10 journal entries. We have found that certain times of the year elicit more responses than other times, for example, Halloween, Thanksgiving, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday, and St. Patrick’s Day tend to be critical times for when racial conversations emerge. Additionally, our students tend to find more racially obvious comments are made on evenings and weekends, especially when alcohol is present.

When given this assignment, the majority of white students will say that race doesn’t impact their daily lives; however, the vast majority of white students report surprise by how often race does impact their lives. After the students submit their journals, we facilitate a class discussion on the patterns, commonalities, and differences in their journals. We ask a few student volunteers to read one or two of their journal entries. In small or large group discussion, we might ask follow-up questions such as: What in your journal content surprised you? Do you notice any commonalities with your journal content as compared to your classmates? Are there any similarities or differences depending upon the race (or perceived racial identity), gender, and social class of the journal writer? We will often end the discussion with questions such as: What can we do now? What are active strategies we can use to resist racial hierarchies in our daily lives?

We have used this journal writing activity in a variety of classes such as race and ethnicity, social inequality, self and society, qualitative research methods, and introduction to sociology.

Assignment Goals

After completing the journal writing assignment, our goals are for students to:

- Reflect more deeply about the course material
- Make connections between their everyday lives and the academic course material they learn in class
- Reflect how their everyday lives reflect and reproduce larger social hierarchies (such as how often they witness blatant and subtle acts of racism, how often they witness hierarchies in organizations such as who is teaching their classes and serving as department chairs compared to who is taking out the trash and tending to the landscaping)
- Understand the contemporary issues of racial interactions, and not just see racism as issues of the past

Assignment Objectives

As a result of completing this assignment, students will be able to:

- Articulate how larger social structures impact their everyday lives
- Explain how specific course concepts, readings, and theories directly impact their everyday lives (such as white racial transparency, privilege)
- Document how often they witness an event that they identify as related to racial interactions
- Write field notes typical in the sociology of qualitative research (such as providing narrative details, and information about date, time, actors involved, etc.).

Advantages

- Students perceive this to be an “easy” assignment so they rarely complain. They do not have to interview anyone or conduct research, so they see it as minimal work involved to just “pay attention”
- This assignment makes the course concepts come to life. This project makes invisible social structures visible. Students will often remark that after completing the assignment, they had no idea how prevalent race is in their daily lives.
- As the instructor, it allows us a place to connect with students, and to learn more about them as individual people. We write many detailed comments (as part of a private conversation with the students) to personalize their experience in the class.
- Reading the journals as a whole, we are able to assess patterns on campus. For example, one semester, all of the African American male students in the class wrote about harassment they had received at the hands of campus police. We were able to have a meeting with the Chief of Campus Police and Dean of Students to address these concerns.

Disadvantages and Potential Dangers

- Professors may wish to clarify how much information they want their students to share. We sometimes will tell students to write this as if their parents were going to read it (as students in the past have written about behaviors that are very personal such as intimate relationships, drinking, drug use, etc.).
- This assignment may cause pain for students of color who have to relive potentially painful experiences. Measures should be taken to “check in” with all students (especially students of color). Halfway through the journal writing exercise, the faculty could set aside five min during their class to ask for a quick update and mid-point assessment.
- Students may feel a social desirability effect where they feel pressure to please the instructor rather than report actual experiences. Measures to show “normative” examples (not just egregious examples) should be taken.

Journal Instructions

Racial Journal Project: Applying Academic Material to Your Everyday Life

Instructions: The goal of this assignment is to examine what really goes on in our everyday lives with regards to what we think, act, and say about these often taken for granted issues of race and ethnicities. You will keep a journal of your observations of everyday events and conversations that deal with the issues we discuss in class— including scenes you encounter, conversations you take part in or observe, images you notice, and understandings you gather. The situations you observe do not need to be negative, derogatory, or discriminatory, (e.g. racism) but anytime when race/ethnicity come up (or do not come up).

How Do I Do This?

Unobtrusive Participant Observation: In your observations, please use unobtrusive research techniques so that the person(s) you write about in your journal will not be aware that they are being studied. In other words, you may not interview anyone you observe as a researcher, but you may interact with people as you usually would.

Please be detailed in your accounts, yet to ensure anonymity, it is important that you conceal all identities and disguise all names of persons you write about. Even though there will be no identifying markers in the journal, please keep your journal in a safe, private space so that it is not read by others.

Writing Up Your Observations: In your journal, you will be asked to emphasize (1) your observations, and (2) your reactions and perceptions to these everyday events. Please note details: such as, are you observing a middle aged white female, or a teenage Asian American male? It is helpful to note the approximate age, race, and gender of each person you mention in your journal.

As well as noting *what* happened, be sure to note *where* the observations took place, *when* it took place (such as was it on a Saturday night? On your Tuesday lunch break?), and *with whom* you were with. Often these dimensions of time, place, and other actors are critical when people feel comfortable (or not) talking about these issues.

When writing down your observations, be sure to be detailed in your comments on the manner and way in which people interact. Such as if someone makes a comment sarcastically, or whispers certain words, be sure to note the sarcasm or volume change.

For example:

February 17

I had just finished my 8 hour shift of waiting tables at a popular steak restaurant. It was about 12:30 am after a busy Saturday night; the restaurant was closed, and most of the (white) servers had either gone home, or were in the back of the restaurant finishing their chores. The front of the restaurant was empty except the white male bartender who was near the front entrance, and I was in the back (near the restrooms) cleaning tables. A fellow server (white male, early 20s) approached me, and as he waited for me to finish refilling a salt container, he told me in an animated voice that he had a great night and even got a compliment. His voice then dropped and he whispered, "and they were black!" It is intriguing that he would lower his voice considering I was the only person in the restaurant within hearing distance.

Also be sure to note the occasions when certain issues are blatantly ignored.

January 28

Monday night I was with a group of girlfriends (4 white, 1 Latina) watching tv in my dorm room. Sue [not her real name] mentioned another girl, Betty, and was trying to describe to the other girls who Betty is. I should mention Betty is from Korea. Sue described her as kinda short, ponytail, and works out around the same time that we do (which describes just about every girl at our school!!). I don't know why Sue didn't mention she is Asian—it would have made describing her a lot easier.

If you are finding that you haven't noticed any issues to write about, write that down as well! Jot down what you did that day (did you go to the gym, go to class, have lunch with three white friends, then hit the library). In Sociology, often even "no data" are data! Be sure to put on your sociological imagination and think critically of what you observe. You may also find it helpful to pay attention to small things: on campus, who do you see teaching your classes, or serving as department chair, or working as secretaries? Who do you see empty garbage cans, cleaning, and doing landscaping? What are interactions like with people of your own race, and is this the same as interactions you have with people of other races?

When Should I Write? If you can, you should jot down your notes as quickly after your observations, so the details will be fresh in your mind. You'll be surprised how quickly you'll forget key details if you don't jot it down right away. You should make it a point to write in your journal at least once a day, even to note that you did not observe any events.

How Should the Journal Entries Look? Your initial notes to remind yourself of what you saw may certainly be handwritten scribbles on small scraps of paper. (You may find it useful to carry small pads of paper around to jot down notes to yourself). The journal you submit should be typed. The entries should be single spaced; about a full paragraph/half-page in length is typical. Please submit at least 10 journal entries.

Oftentimes with these issues, people feel afraid to say or do “the wrong thing.” Keep in mind there are no “right” or “wrong” responses, so there are no “mistakes” that you can make while writing in your journal. You will not be graded on your observations or your reactions to your observations. You will be graded on your narrative detail and your analysis in the summary essay.

Besides the Journal Accounts, What Else Will I Submit? Summary Essay
After you have written in your journal, please reflect back on your experiences: How do your accounts relate to material we’ve covered in this course? Within the context of this course, were you surprised by your experiences? Does race/ethnicity structure and impact your everyday life? Please write up your responses to these questions in a 2-page double-spaced summary essay. (12-point font, 1” margins, essay-format, proofread, etc.)

How Will I Be Graded? To receive the maximum credit, you will write at least 10 entries plus a two-page summary essay. The quality of work counts. Turning in mediocre work (fewer entries, less detailed analysis, spelling/grammatical errors, etc.) will obviously not warrant full credit. Again, you will not be graded on “what” you see (so please don’t make up any accounts!), rather you will be evaluated on the quality and detail of your systematic observations and field notes, and obviously on your summary essay. If you have any questions about this assignment, I am willing to look over your first few journal entries to confirm that you are on the right track. Please feel free to contact me; I’ll be happy to answer any questions that you have regarding this project.

FAQ

“Can I write about interactions that have happened in the past?” Yes, but be sure to specify when the event took place (last year? When you were in elementary school?). Also, be sure to write down what caused you to remember the event. (Did something trigger your memory?)

“Can I write about things I see on tv or in the movies?” No. This assignment is about your everyday *interactions*, and not a content analysis of the media.

Grading Rubric

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = unsure, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree

Journal Entries

You provided narrative detail in your journals and contextualized your interactions (who, what, where, when, etc.)

1 2 3 4 5

You provided your personal reactions & reflections

1 2 3 4 5

You had at least 10 journal entry accounts

1 2 3 4 5

Overall layout

Your paper is well written, proofread, spell-checked

1 2 3 4 5

Your paper is neat, presentable & submitted on-time

1 2 3 4 5

Your paper is well organized and easy to read

1 2 3 4 5

Summary Essay

In detail, you describe how the accounts relate to course material

1 2 3 4 5

You described if/how race/ethnicity impacts your everyday life

1 2 3 4 5

Your essay is presented from a sociological analysis

1 2 3 4 5

(examining underlying themes and patterns)

Overall Grade -----

Assignment Variations

– **Gender/Sexuality or Class Focus**

We have also modified this project to not only examine race, but also used a similar journal assignment for examining gender, social class, and sexuality. [Please contact the authors to see a sample journal writing assignment for this modified version.]

– **Symbolic Interaction Focus**

We have emphasized the “frontstage” and “backstage” nature of racial interactions, pairing this journal activity with select chapters of Picca and Joe Feagin’s book *Two-Faced Racism: Whites in the Backstage and Frontstage* (2007).

– **Accountability: Resisting Racism Journal**

For upper-division courses, or students who may already have a strong racial consciousness, a next step in the journal writing activity is an accountability journal. In addition to asking students to pay attention to how race/ethnicity impacts their daily lives, students are asked to actively confront situations that they believe may sustain the racial hierarchy (e.g., racist jokes, racist stereotypes). Specifically, students are asked to think about the challenges and opportunities in confronting systematic privileges and oppression on an everyday level.

In their journal entries, students are asked to note: In this specific situation, what did you do? Why did you decide to act/not act in the way that you did? How are other ways that you could have reacted? What made you decide to confront (or not confront) racism in that setting? How did you feel about your decision, and about what happened? How did others react to you confronting (or not confronting) racism? In the summary essay: What are your overall reactions to confronting racism? Do you think you'll confront if after this course is over?

Activity XIX: Doing Anti-Racism

Enobong Hannah Branch
 University of Massachusetts-Amherst,
 e-mail: ebranch@soc.umass.edu

Description

Teaching about Race and Ethnicity with an emphasis on inequality can be very challenging. Students are often unaccustomed to thinking critically and talking openly about assumptions, biases, and discriminatory behavior. Once they do, often they can become disillusioned as the problem of race and racism seems impossible to overcome. This activity provides a way for instructors to make doing anti-racism less abstract starting with small changes.

Instead of just staying students should be anti-racist, this activity provides multiple examples of what anti-racism looks like. Students are encouraged to reflect on multiple anti-racist behaviors, choose three and write about how they could put it into practice in their daily lives. This is a solitary exercise initially but afterwards students should share their ideas with each other in small groups or with the entire class. In doing so, students learn from one another about how to form an anti-racist stance that moves them from knowing to doing. This activity may be useful for a variety of sociology courses, including ones on social inequality, race and ethnicity, and racism.

Anti-Racism Activity Instructions

- A**cknowledge the reality of white privilege¹
- N**ever exclude or deny access to opportunity on the basis of race (Discrimination)
- T**each children about race (Racial Socialization)
- I**nstitute equitable funding programs to allow all children to develop their potential
- R**ecognize the persistence of racism, in its color-blind form
- A**ddress your own racial bias/reject stereotypes (Individual racism)
- C**hallenge racist attitudes and behaviors (Anti-racism)
- I**nvolve yourself routinely in anti-racist work, at least within your sphere of influence
- S**top systemic racism by combating it wherever it appears
- M**aintain cross-racial contact in order to facilitate inter-group understanding

¹Distribute the activity. Give the students 5–10 min to read and complete the activity independently.

Directions: Of the anti-racist behaviors outlined above pick three and outline how you could start to apply them to your daily life.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Follow-Up Directions

Read through the list of anti-racist behaviors together as a class. Ask students their thoughts on the list.

1. Which anti-racist behaviors seemed doable? Why or Why not?
2. Which anti-racist behaviors were more challenging? Why or Why not?
3. Do they think some will become more or less difficult as they age (ex: college student vs. middle-aged)?
4. Do they think some will become more or less difficult in different settings (ex: work environment vs. college campus)?

Finally, as a class or form small groups, ask students to share the anti-racist behaviors they chose and how they plan to apply it to their daily lives.

Activity XX: Reading Racial Profiling and Racial Constructionism

Allison Padilla-Goodman

City University of New York Graduate Center, New York, USA

e-mail: agoodman@gc.cuny.edu

Description

The construction, alteration, and destruction of racial categories are amplified by the making of history. Race relations usually become intensified following a major global experience like war, economic crisis, or natural disaster. Sometimes these racial tensions are close to home, but more often we learn about them on the news. Most of our ideas about racial groups are reified, if not created, by the media. Breaking through these is challenging, but this is the job of academia: to push careful thought into areas that are lacking.

This lesson plan emerged as a response to my students' justification of racial profiling. Because they had been through a traumatic event – September 11th – many of them felt that their need for personal safety required blanket assumptions about a racial group.

This activity engages students directly with the news media, and provides the structure for them to discover in action the biases inherent in presenting a news story. By reading several versions of one story side by side, students are able to directly compare how the news is presented and what effect this has on readers. This activity is also powerful for deconstructing common racial biases, like “flying while Muslim,” by engaging students in a detailed analysis of an event involving racial profiling. The real strength of this activity is having students work directly with actual news articles, as it gives them the chance to learn about racial profiling and racial constructionism in real life artifacts rather than through hearsay by the professor.

This activity has been used in Introduction to Sociology, Race and Ethnicity, and American Society courses, but it would be just as suitable for a course on Media and Communications, Identity Building, Deviance, and Social Problems. It could also be adapted for many other relevant courses like Sex and Gender and Sociology of Religion.

Origins of the Activity

One semester while teaching at an urban university with a liberal reputation in New York City, I casually mentioned the phrase “flying while Muslim” to an American Society course while discussing racial profiling. I did not think anything of it, as most students in the room seemed to nod their heads in an assumed consent. They were a savvy group of students who seemed to stay up-to-date with current events, and I frequently would bring in recent news in our class discussions.

Later that evening, however, I received an email from a normally quiet student who was suddenly very concerned. She began her carefully crafted email stating how curious she was about this idea of “flying while Muslim” as raised during our class discussion that day. She decided to learn more about it, and searched the internet for an article about the phenomenon. As I read, I initially felt extremely pleased with the student’s sense of inquiry, something that I had been strategically promoting throughout the course with extra credit. The student provided a link to the article that she found and decided to read, and then wrote a long narrative of how she thinks scrutinous homeland security is essential, especially to New Yorkers (which she knew that I am not) after September 11th. As I read her email, I immediately felt ashamed by my presumptuous insensitivity and permanently differentiated from my students. Being from New Orleans myself, I understood this selfish feeling of “no matter who they are, if they didn’t go through it than they can’t understand what I feel” with Hurricane Katrina. I initially assumed that I couldn’t understand what she feels and needed to be more sensitive to her experiences.

I then opened the link in her email to the article. It was a news piece written for an openly conservative news website. As I read the article and the story of a particularly infamous instance of “flying while Muslim,” I felt disturbed: this was not the way that I had remembered the event occurring. I did more research, and found a few different news articles about the event. I checked many of the popular news outlets, like the New York Times and Washington Post. Strangely, each article told a very different story of the event: details about the actual circumstances of the event were different, and sometimes even contradictory. Expectedly, the tones of the articles were all very different, and after reading each I had a very different understanding of the event.

This was certainly a teachable moment. With the permission of the student who raised the issue (and assurance of her anonymity), I turned this issue into a lesson plan on racial profiling and understanding the media.

Activity Preparation

For this lesson, choose a current event that involves the depiction of a racialized group. Preferably, the event will be something that the students will have an opinion about or will relate to.

Find several articles from vastly different news sources on that current event. Preferably, find at least one article from a very liberal news source, one article from a very conservative news source, and at least two articles from moderate news sources. If available, also find a more extensive transcript of an interview with the important actors in the event (perpetrators and victims, if available).

Put hard copies of the articles into packets, with strategically paired off articles put together in sequence. Number the articles clearly.

For the “flying while Muslim” version of this activity that I have done several times with students at a variety of schools, I chose articles about an event on November 20, 2006 when several Imams were removed from an airplane. The

articles were from the following sources: Muslim American Society, Ann Coulter, Conservative Voice, New York Times, and Washington Post. I also provided a transcript of an extensive interview with the leader of the Imams (the airline declined the interview) from Democracy Now. The articles are provided at the end of this essay.

Activity Description

Begin by asking students where they get their news and have them list all sources that they normally consult. Then ask students if they remember the specific event, and if so, what they remember about the event. Write their responses in a corner on the board.

Distribute the articles and briefly introduce the activity. Students should get into pairs, and each student should be assigned a different article to read. For example, I would pair the student reading the article from the Muslim American Society with the student reading the article from Ann Coulter, and the student reading the New York Times and/or Washington Post with the student reading the Conservative Voice.

Ask students to read the articles and note two things:

1. What are the details of the event that they learn by reading their article? Have them list every detail.
2. What do they think is the author's bias?

Once they finish reading the article and noting the above, have students compare notes with their pair. They should notice very different versions of the event's story. Give them 5–10 min to compare stories.

I have usually assigned the 1 or 2 students who come in late to the class to read the extensive interview with the actual victims/perpetrators silently to themselves. They will then be used as a resource for the follow-up discussion.

Follow-Up Discussion

Bring the class back together, and go through each article one-by-one to review the details of the event. Write a running list of details on the board, separate per article. Once the details are listed on the board, ask the students how they identified the author's bias. Check the validity of the event's details with the student who read the extensive interview, and mark any that are questionable. Create a complete picture of the event by circling all details on the board, so that students see that no one article gives a complete picture.

The students should be very engaged and eager to hear the story of the complete event. Have the student(s) who read the interview to fill-in any details.

You can follow up the discussion with these questions, or adopt them to your event:

1. Compare the lists of details. What does this tell you about news sources?
2. How does the news media support racial profiling?
3. There is obviously an issue with getting the whole picture of an event from any news source. What can you do about it? How can you remain an informed, smart citizen?
4. Think about an opinion you might have about a group and how that opinion might be supported by what you take from the news. Analyze your opinions.

The Articles

These are the six articles that I used in my version of this lesson on “flying while Muslim.” The articles are listed here in order that used them, the numbers indicating the pairing of students for the activity.

Article 1a: Militant Islam Monitor

<http://www.militantislammonitor.org/article/id/2637>

Article 1b: Ann Coulter

http://www.anncoulter.com/cgi-local/printer_friendly.cgi?article=158

Article 2a: New York Times

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/22/us/22muslim.html>

Article 2b: Washington Post

<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2006/nov/28/20061128-122902-7522r/?page=all>

Article 2c: MSNBC

http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/15824096/ns/us_news-security/t/six-muslim-imams-removed-us-airliner/#.T2_YHzHy92A

Article 3: Democracy Now!

http://www.democracynow.org/2006/11/29/high_flying_profiling_six_muslim_leaders

Activity XXI: *Smell The Smoke: An Activity For Discussing Race Through Television*

Karl Richardson

e-mail: Greensleeve1979@yahoo.com

As ubiquitously consumed products, television shows can prove to be extremely valuable mediums for critical discussions of race. The following activity attempts to engage students not only as consumers of popular culture, but creators as well.

The lack of racial diversity amongst prominent characters (which tend to be predominantly or exclusively white) in popular television programs had been well-criticized and well-documented well before the debut of the HBO show *Girls*. This group-oriented activity challenges students to create shows that not only put people of color in the forefront, but also critically engage issues of race. Related discussion topics aim to connect the experiences from the group activity with larger implications concerning contemporary understandings of race in the United States.

About *Girls*

Girls, created by Lena Dunham, follows the lives of four 20-something, privileged, white women and documents their (mis-) adventures in contemporary New York City. While generally well-received by critics, the most common complaint about the show has been characters of color only appearing as stereotypes and “thinly drawn caricatures.” Another significant criticism has been how the show’s paucity of racial diversity speaks to larger issues of representation (or lack thereof) across the “media landscape.” While there are certainly white people who have few (if any) social/familiar relationships with people of color, the same may not be true for work relationships. Television programming- reflecting the social/familiar segregation-packages these complex issues into widely-consumed products and reproduces them indiscriminately and, perhaps, inappropriately, essentially whitewashing settings more readily conducive to racial diversity (such as work spaces).

Activity Instructions

Have the class break into groups for 15–20 min, each creating a television show that centers around people of color and a critical engagement of race (as it pertains to the course). There should be a premise (What is the show about? Why?), genre (Drama, action, comedy, science fiction, animated, etc.), and list of main characters, including how they function within the show. Briefly discuss (if possible) why their particular choices were made, followed by comments and/or criticisms from other groups.

Possible Questions for Each Group to Consider and/or Answer

- What did you find most difficult in creating your show? Least difficult? Why?
- Was class a consideration when creating your show? Gender? Sexuality? Why? If not, how might they affect your show?
- How did genre affect your show? Which genre lends itself the most to discussions of race in television?
- How are race and racism reflected in shows like *Girls*?
- How do television representations of racial diversity differ between social/familiar and workplace settings? Is it a case of “art imitating life”?
- What is the significance of whitewashing spaces that tend to be more integrated?
- What are some of the problems with having racially-stereotyped characters on shows with a predominantly/exclusively white cast?
- Should there be an explicit commitment to racial diversity in television? Why? Why not?
- Why is racial diversity important in television?
- What would a more racially diverse television landscape look like?
- What does the lack of diversity in programming say about race in the contemporary United States?

Activity XXII: Understanding and Attending to Classroom Dynamics: Using the Critical Incident Questionnaire When Teaching Race

Vern Klobassa

University of St. Thomas, St Paul, USA

e-mail: klob6303@stthomas.edu

When exploring issues of race in classroom settings, students enter with diverse and conflicting perspectives. These divergent perspectives make manifesting issues of race dialogically within the classroom difficult; a difficulty compounded by a culture where colorblindness is an axiom and fears of being labeled racist are pervasive. These dynamics are significant barriers to encouraging the trust and vulnerability necessary to interrogating race in significant and meaningful ways. Stephen Brookfield's (1995) Critical Incident Questionnaire (C.I.Q.) is a helpful tool for overcoming these barriers.

What is the C.I.Q.?

The C.I.Q. is a one-page assessment instrument used by teachers to better understand how students experience the classroom environment, to build trust with and among students, to reflect on pedagogy, and to attend to critical incidents in the classroom. The instrument is a series of five questions given to students for reflection once per week (Brookfield 1995, p. 115):

1. At what moment in class this week did you feel most engaged with what was happening?
2. At what moment in class this week did you feel most distanced from what was happening?
3. What action that anyone (teacher or student) took in class this week did you find most affirming or helpful?
4. What action that anyone (teacher or student) took in class this week did you find most puzzling or confusing?
5. What about the class this week surprised you the most? (This could be something about your own reactions to what went on, or something that someone did, or anything else that occurs to you).

Brookfield (1995) recommends a few practices with the instrument to increase the effectiveness of the tool. First, he advises the instrument be administered anonymously – the teacher leaves the room and asks a student to deliver the responses to an office or desk. Second, he suggests teachers use carbon copy prints and ask students to keep one copy and submit the other – this is helpful because it gives students the opportunity review and reflect on past responses. Third, he emphasizes the importance of debriefing themes, which involves the teacher reviewing student responses, developing themes, and discussing them during the following class.

Application to Teaching Race Relations

There are a number of advantages to using the C.I.Q. generally as a pedagogical tool, and specifically in teaching race. Brookfield (1995) identifies five advantages that relate to more general use of the C.I.Q., which are also helpful in the context of teaching race in the classroom (pp. 118–123):

1. “Alert[s] us to problems before they are disasters.” Race, more than most subjects, facilitates an environment prone to classroom disasters. Students may be activated, upset, confused, or irate due to comments made by fellow classmates or content put forth by a teacher. Because race is often seen as a taboo subject, students may not feel comfortable voicing concerns in the moment. The C.I.Q. can be a venue for students to surface these issues and alert and teacher before they become either a fleeting and unexplored opportunity or an explosive incident in the classroom. Furthermore, having issues surface in a C.I.Q. can give teachers time to prepare a thoughtful response or strategy for addressing such concerns.
2. “Encourage[s] students to be reflective learners.” The C.I.Q. requires that students take time to reflect on their experiences within the classroom, not just on course content. Thus, students have the opportunity to think more critically about interactions with classmates and the teacher, personal reactions to classroom experiences, and the reactions of classmates and the teacher. This type of reflection provides a rich opportunity to enhance the learning experience.
3. “Build[s] trust.” There are a number of elements of the C.I.Q. process that foster trust, which, as earlier chapters have highlighted, is crucial to interrogating race in a learning community. Regarding trust for the teacher, Brookfield (1995) writes, “Students say that the experience of having their opinions, reactions and feelings solicited regularly, and addressed publicly, is one that is crucial to their coming to trust a teacher” (p. 121). In addition to building trust between student and teacher, the C.I.Q. contributes to building a culture of trust within the classroom. This culture of trust is facilitated through the vulnerability modeled by the teacher to offer up pedagogical techniques for community discussion as well as the vulnerability on the part of students sharing honestly (though anonymously) about classroom experiences.
4. “Build[s] a case for diversity in teaching [strategies].” Students sometimes feel frustrated by the techniques teachers use to teach classroom material. Simultaneously, studies of learning and meaning-making argue for diverse methods of teaching (Baxter Magolda & King 2004; Kolb 1984). One particular method may work well for a student, leading them to question why a teacher employs other methods that seem trivial or even boring. The same methods found boring or trivial by one student may be experienced as very engaging by another. Results of the C.I.Q. serve the function of advocating for diverse teaching methods for students and teachers. When teachers discuss C.I.Q. themes with the class, students may begin to understand that what didn’t resonate with them did for others, and vice versa. Additionally, for teachers, the results often either confirm a case for or inspire the use of diverse teaching strategies.

5. “Suggest[s] possibilities for our development.” The questions about distance and engagement provide teachers valuable feedback on their pedagogy. Throughout the semester, students, as they build trust in the process, are more apt to share which techniques work for them and which do not. Teachers can use this data to learn what works well and what does not, which can inform decisions about what to keep or eliminate in the syllabus for the next class. Additionally, if a teacher attempts a new method or activity, she/he might find valuable feedback on its impact and results, and therefore she/he may enhance lesson for subsequent class sessions.

The C.I.Q. can be a powerful tool that aids teachers in understanding classroom dynamics when teaching race. The instrument can provide valuable data related to students’ classroom experience, critical incidents that may not surface in the classroom, content for assignments and future class discussion. Additionally, the C.I.Q. can provide timely data to help steer the direction of current and future courses. Additional resources related to the C.I.Q., including a copy of the instrument, can be found at www.stephenbrookfield.com.

References

- Brookfield, S. D. (1995). *Becoming a critically reflective teacher*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Baxter Magolda, M. B., & King, P. M. (Eds.) (2004). *Learning partnerships: Theory and models of practice to educate for self-authorship*. Sterling: Stylus.
- Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.

Activity XXIII: “Measuring” Race: A Case Study Activity

Jim saliba
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, USA
e-mail: salib002@umn.edu

Context and Purpose

I developed this case study for use in a research methods class to instigate thought and discussion around meaning, measurement, validity, and ethics. Given the importance of racial categorization to broader discussions about race, this case study could also be useful in the context of other courses or class sessions that address matters of race. Students would benefit from prior introduction to issues regarding meanings and constructions of race and ethnicity via readings or lectures. As designed, the case study calls for students to have some understanding of validity and reliability, but, outside of a methods class, the discussion question related to those concepts could be omitted. The case study is useful as either an introduction to or elaboration of writings about historical approaches to racial and ethnic categorization in governmental censuses or other surveys. I intend the case study to call on students to consider the usefulness, implications, and consequences of various approaches to asking about and categorizing race and ethnicity, not to lead students to any mythical one right way. That said, the group work around the case study is intended to push students beyond criticism towards thinking constructively about “measuring” the socially constructed “category” of race.

Case Study

Professor Churchill is the principal investigator on a multi-city research project based in Chicago investigating the health and health behaviors of young people aged 13–23. One aspect of her study is to investigate how health and health behaviors vary across racial/ethnic groups. She plans to field a survey including the following question:

Professor Churchill’s Original Version

What is your race/ethnicity? (Check one)

- White
- Black/African-American
- Hispanic/Latino
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- American Indian
- Other Please specify _____

In a team meeting reviewing the survey, David, one of her research assistants, questions why Arab or Arab-American is not included as an option. Professor

Churchill says that Arabs could check White, as they are classified in the United States Census, or check Other and write in Arab. David, who is Arab-American, argues that, especially since 2001, many Arabs in the United States have not been treated as Whites and objects to the marginalization of having to select “Other.” Maria, another research assistant, agrees with David and also questions why survey respondents have to only check one response. She argues that there are many people who identify as more than one race and that forcing people to choose one would be disrespectful. Professor Churchill suggests adding a checkbox for “Multiracial.” Maria says that that is not the point and that asking people to check “Multiracial” will be little better than asking them to check “Other.”

Maria & David’s Adaptation

What is your race/ethnicity? (Check all that apply)

- White
- Black/African-American
- Hispanic/Latino
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- American Indian
- Arab/Arab-American
- Other Please specify -----

Professor Churchill agrees to think more about the question, and they continue reviewing the rest of the survey.

After the meeting, Professor Churchill thinks more about the race-ethnicity question. She worries that adding Arabs as a separate category will raise the question of what other groups should also be included. How many groups will that lead to and will she be asking respondents to pick from a page long list of different groups? She is also concerned that allowing respondents to check more than one will cause problems with analyzing the data. If someone checks both Black and Hispanic, will she count them with Blacks or with Hispanics or both?

In her next conference call with the lead researchers in the other cities, Professor Churchill raises David and Maria’s concerns. Professor Rodriguez, the lead researcher in San Francisco, suggests that they remove the item from the survey altogether, and, instead, have the person administering the survey select the race/ethnicity of the survey respondent. He argues that the main reason to collect racial/ethnic identification is to examine the impacts of discrimination on health and health behaviors and that discrimination is based more on how others see a person than on a person’s own identity.

Professor Rodriguez’s Suggestion [asked of the administrator not the respondent]

What is the respondent’s race/ethnicity? (Check one)

- White
- Black/African-American

- Hispanic/Latino
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- American Indian
- Other Please specify _____

Dr. Wilson, the lead researcher in Atlanta, proposes leaving the question on the survey, but only as a blank for the respondent to write in rather than a list of options to check. He says that this approach will leave the most flexibility since the research team can decide later how to code the open-ended responses.

Dr. Wilson’s Proposal

What is your race/ethnicity? _____

Instructions

1. Divide into groups of 5. In each group letter off as A, B, C, D, and E.
2. Gather together by letter (A’s, B’s, etc.) and address the following question for each proposed approach (Churchill’s, David & Maria’s, Rodriguez’s, and Wilson’s):

A’s: What does each approach assume about the meaning(s) of race and ethnicity?

B’s: What purpose(s) would each approach be more or less helpful for?

C’s: How would each approach influence the uses others can make of the research findings?

D’s: What concerns does each approach raise regarding the treatment of research subjects?

E’s: How would you assess the validity and reliability of each approach?

3. Return to your original group and report back on your discussions of each question and then discuss these additional questions:|

If you were Professor Churchill which of these approaches would you choose and why? Is there another approach (possibly combining different aspects of these), that you would choose instead? What is it and why would you choose it?

If you were Maria or David, and Professor Churchill chose not to make any changes, what would you do and why?

Appendix 2: Examples of Syllabi

This appendix provides syllabi, developed by chapter authors, to facilitate course development for instructors. The syllabi are presented in the order by which chapters and activities were presented:

- Syllabus I: Race and Ethnic Relations by Dr. Jennifer Mueller
- Syllabus II: Race and Racism in America by Dr. Joyce Bell
- Syllabus III: The Sociology of Imprisonment by Dr. Josh Page
- Syllabus IV: Race and Ethnic Relations by Dr. Melissa Weiner
- Syllabus V: American Race and Ethnic Relations by Dr. Paul Croll
- Syllabus VI: Race, Ethnicity and Social Justice by Dr. Carissa Froyam
- Syllabus VII: American Race Relations by Dr. Enid Logan
- Syllabus VIII: Human Relations and Student Diversity by Dr. Nicholas Wysocki
- Syllabus IX: Gender, Race, Sexuality and Class by Dr. Jamil Khader
- Syllabus X: Analysis of Race Relations I by Dr. Walda Katz-Fishman
- Syllabus XI: Race and Ethnic Monitories by Dr. Leslie H. Picca
- Syllabus XII: American Race Relations by Dr. Kristin Haltinner
- Syllabus XIII: The Color of Public Policy by Dr. Kristin Haltinner

Syllabus I: Race and Ethnic Relations

Jennifer Mueller, (Professor)
Skidmore College

Course Description & Objectives

This course is designed to critically examine racial and ethnic relations, set within a global context, but primarily as engaged throughout the United States history from the foundation of the nation to the present day. We will analyze the construction of race, racial categories and racial hierarchy in the United States, as well as the dynamics of racial oppression and privilege. You will become familiar with some of the major sociological theories used to interpret race and ethnicity and the sociological meanings of terms used in popular discourse (e.g., prejudice, discrimination, racism). We will also examine research produced in this field regarding the historical experiences of different racial groups; the institutional dynamics of race and racial inequality (e.g., in education, law, employment); and the ways in which the social structures impact individuals and racial groups in their identities, interpersonal interactions, and the spaces and means available to navigate the racial terrain. Finally, we will round off the course by examining several contemporary debates surrounding race and racial inequality, and the future of racial and ethnic relations in the United States.

Course Materials

There is one book and a reading packet for this course:

- *Inheriting the Trade: A Northern Family Confronts Its Legacy as the Largest Slave-Trading Dynasty in United States History*, Thomas Norman DeWolf (2008, Beacon Press, Boston).
- Course reader available at Notes n' Quotes (701 University Dr. – across the street from Blocker).

Communications

I will sometimes send notices or announcements by email over neo, so please make sure to check your neo account regularly. Grades will be posted on TAMU Elearning, along with other course information. Should you need to contact me, I am best reached by email. I will make every effort to respond within 24 h (and usually sooner). To facilitate our email communications, please type “SOCI 317” in the subject line of any messages you send me.

Grading

Grading scale:			
Pop quizzes/journal reactions	80 pts	A (90–100 %)	360–400 pts
Take-home exam	100 pts	B (80–89 %)	320–359 pts
Midterm paper assignment	100 pts	C (70–79 %)	280–319 pts
Final paper	120 pts	D (60–69 %)	240–279 pts
	400 pts	F (59 % and below)	below 240 pts

Take-Home Exam

- There will be one take-home exam, which will consist of essay questions about the reading materials, lectures and discussion.
- I will distribute the exam on **THURSDAY, MARCH 5** and it will be due back at the beginning of the following class, **TUESDAY, MARCH 10**. Given the quick turnaround, it is in your best interest to keep up with both the reading and instruction in order to successfully complete this exam.
- There will be **NO MAKE-UP** or **LATE EXAMS** *except* in the case of **DOCUMENTED, EXCUSED ABSENCES** (e.g., severe illness, medical emergencies, death in the immediate family, observance of religious holy days). In non-emergency cases, please contact me well **IN ADVANCE** to make alternative arrangements. In emergency cases, students are expected to contact me **WITHIN 24 h** of missing the exam to make arrangements for completing/turning in the exam. I reserve the right to administer **IN-PERSON, CLOSED BOOK** make-up exams. Failure to provide documentation of an excused absence, and/or schedule a make up exam will result in a grade of zero for the missed exam.

Paper Assignments

- There will be two paper assignments designed to help develop your analytical and critical thinking abilities. These assignments are due, to be turned in at the beginning of class, on the following days:

Midterm paper assignment (5–7 pages)	THURSDAY, APRIL 16
Final paper assignment (6–8 pages)	FRIDAY, MAY 8

I will distribute information and discuss each assignment in more detail in future classes.

- Late papers will not be accepted, except in the case of **DOCUMENTED, EXCUSED ABSENCES** of an emergent nature. As with exams, students are

expected to contact me WITHIN 24 h of missing paper deadlines and must turn in the assignment WITHIN ONE WEEK from the last date of the excused absence. Failure to submit a paper will result in an assignment grade of zero.

- Each student must write his or her papers independently. Please heed the section below on plagiarism.

Pop Quizzes/Journal Reactions

- Advance preparation, attendance and discussion are all vital for this course – both in terms of your own success, and in what we can accomplish together as a class. As a way of encouraging and assessing these requirements, I will conduct pop quizzes or assign journal-like reaction papers randomly throughout the semester.
- These will vary in format, but all will be short and will require no more than a basic understanding of information from the readings and class discussions.
- There will be NO MAKE-UP POP QUIZZES/JOURNAL REACTIONS.

A Final Note on ABSENCES

Class periods will be comprised of both lecture and discussion. While it will be up to you whether or not you choose to attend class, I want to make clear that if you miss a class, it will be *your responsibility* to get any missed notes. While I will occasionally post PowerPoint slides on our Elearning page, I can assure you that much more will be covered and discussed during the class than is contained on these slides. For this reason, if your goal in this class is a high grade I strongly encourage you to both attend class and to “make friends” and exchange contact information with at least one other class member for those days you might miss.

Americans with Disabilities Act

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is a federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. Among other things, this legislation requires that all students with disabilities be guaranteed a learning environment that provides for reasonable accommodation of their disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring an accommodation, please contact the Department of Student Life, Services for Students with Disabilities, in Cain Hall or call 845-1637.

AGGIE HONOR CODE: “An Aggie does not lie, cheat, or steal or tolerate those who do.”

Upon accepting admission to Texas A&M University, a student immediately assumes a commitment to uphold the Honor Code, to accept responsibility for

learning, and to follow the philosophy and rules of the Honor System. Students will be required to state their commitment on examinations, research papers, and other academic work. Ignorance of the rules does not exclude any member of the TAMU community from the requirements or the processes of the Honor System.

A Note on ACADEMIC MISCONDUCT and Specifically PLAGIARISM

Please be clear that *cheating*, *fabrication* (making up data and/or results), and *multiple submissions* (submitting the same work for credit more than once w/o express permission) are all recognized forms of academic misconduct and dishonesty, as is *plagiarism*. As commonly defined, plagiarism consists of passing off as one's own the ideas, words, writings, etc., which belong to another. In accordance with this definition, you are committing plagiarism if you copy the work of another person and turn it in as your own, even if you have the permission of that person. You are also committing plagiarism if you present another's work as your own (for example by close paraphrasing) if you do not give clear attribution (for example by using quotation marks or otherwise indicating that the idea came from someone else, even if you include the person in your bibliography). When in doubt, give attribution. Failure to do so may result in serious sanctions.

For additional information on the Aggie Honor Code, or specific rules and definitions please visit:

<http://www.tamu.edu/aggiehonor/>. You are also free to address me with any questions or concerns.

A Note on RESOURCES

You may find as you move through the term that despite your best intentions and efforts, you are not achieving the grades you would like. Don't panic. Keep in mind that there are a number of assignments, so you will have a number of places to "build" your grade. Please, consider, too, taking advantage of the resources around you, like:

- **ME** – I strongly encourage you to maintain an open line of communication with me. I am available and happy to meet during my office hours or by appointment. The best way to contact me outside of class is to email me – I will make every effort to respond within 24 h.
- **The University Writing Center** – I will give you specific feedback on papers that, if followed, should improve paper grades. However, if you know that writing is not your strong suit, or if you continue to struggle with writing assignments, I would encourage you to seek support from the University Writing Center (<http://writingcenter.tamu.edu>).
- **Student Counseling Service** – Personal problems, learning challenges, time management issues or test anxiety can sometimes inhibit class performance.

Staff at the Student Counseling Center (SCS) (<http://scs.tamu.edu>) can help with strategies for improving exam performance. In addition, the SCS can provide support in a variety of areas such as time management, learning disabilities, or personal counseling.

Course Schedule and Readings

Note – Schedule/readings may be subject to changes, but I will give advance notice of any adjustments or additions

IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION, READINGS SHOULD BE COMPLETED BY THE CLASS PERIOD NEXT TO WHICH THEY ARE LISTED

TU Jan 20	<i>Introduction to course</i>
TH Jan 22	Debunking biological notions of race *Video: <i>race – the power of an illusion</i> (Episode 1)
TU Jan 27	Race as a social construct *Reader: Feagin, Joe. 2010. “Chapter 1 – Systemic Racism: A Comprehensive Perspective” from <i>Racist America</i> . New York: Routledge
TH Jan 29	Racial concepts, language and theory *Reader: Ture, Kwame & Charles V. Hamilton. [1967] 1992. “Chapter 1 – White Power: The Colonial Situation” from <i>Black Power: The Politics of Liberation</i> , Vintage edition. New York: Vintage
TU Feb 3	Racial concepts, language and theory (con’t)
TH Feb 5	Making race and nation: slavery *Book: <i>Inheriting the Trade: Preface – Chapter 5</i> (pp. 11–70)
TU Feb 10	Making race and nation: slavery *Book: <i>Inheriting the Trade: Chapters 6 – 11</i> (pp. 71–154)
TH Feb 12	Making race and nations: situating native Americans in the racial order *Reader: Cornell, Stephen. 1988. “Chapter 4 – ‘They Carry their Lives on their Finger Nails’” from <i>The Return of the Native</i> . New York: Oxford University Press *Video: <i>In Whose Honor?</i>
TU Feb 17	Making race and nation: Mexicans and the American Southwest *Reader: Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. 2002. “Chapter 5 – Mexicans and Anglos in the Southwest” from <i>Unequal Freedom</i> . Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
TH Feb 19	Legal and social constructions of whiteness *Reader: Haney López, Ian F. 2006. “Chapter 1 – White Lines,” pp. 1–26 & “Appendix A: The Racial Prerequisite Cases,” from <i>White by Law</i> (10th Anniversary Edition). New York: New York University Press *Video: excerpt from <i>Race – The Power of An Illusion</i> (Episode 3)

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IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION, READINGS SHOULD BE COMPLETED BY THE CLASS PERIOD NEXT TO WHICH THEY ARE LISTED

- TU Feb 24 Legal and social constructions of whiteness (con't)
 *Reader: **Roediger, David. 2002. "Whiteness and Ethnicity in the History of 'White Ethnics' in the United States"** from *Race Critical Theories*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
Harris, Cheryl. 1998 [1993]. "Whiteness as Property," from *Black on White*. New York: Schocken
- TH Feb 26 Making race and nation: situating Asian Americans in the racial order
 *Reader: **Okihiro, Gary Y. 2000. "Is Yellow Black or White?"** from *Asian Americans: Experiences and Perspectives*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall
Woo, Deborah. 2000. "The Inventing and Reinventing of 'Model Minorities': The Cultural Veil Obscuring Structural Sources of Inequality," from *Asian Americans: Experiences and Perspectives*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall
- TU Mar 3 Making Race and Nation: Situating Asian Americans in the Racial Order (con't)
 *Reader: **Chou, Rosalind S. and Joe R. Feagin. 2008. "Chapter 4: Struggle and Conformity"** from *The Myth of the Model Minority*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm
- TH Mar 5 Residential and educational segregation: space and the transmission of privilege
 *Reader: **Katznelson, Ira. 2006. "When Is Affirmative Action Fair? On Grievous Harms and Public Remedies" (Intro and Part I & II).** *Social Research* 73: 541–568
Shapiro, Thomas J. 2006. "Race, Homeownership and Wealth." *Washington University Journal of Law and Policy* 20: 53–74
Williams, Patricia J. (December 29) 1997. "Of Race and Risk: Diary of a Mad Law Professor." *The Nation* 265(22): 10
 *DISTRIBUTE TAKE-HOME EXAM
- TU Mar 10 Residential and educational segregation: the role of wealth
 *Video: excerpt from *Race – The Power of an Illusion* (Episode 3)
 *TAKE-HOME EXAM DUE
- TH Mar 12 Residential and educational segregation: everyday maintenance
 *Reader: **Shapiro, Thomas M. and Heather B. Johnson. 2003. "Good Neighborhoods, Good Schools: Race and the 'Good Choices' of White Families,"** from *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*. New York: Routledge
- M Mar 16 – SPRING BREAK
- F Mar 20
- TU Mar 24 Residential and educational segregation: educational consequences
 *Reader: **Darling-Hammond, Linda. 2009. "The Color Line in American Education: Race, Resources, and Student Achievement,"** from *Race and Ethnicity in Society: The Changing Landscape* (2nd edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth
Kozol, Jonathan. 2009. "Shame of the Nation," from *Race and Ethnicity in Society: The Changing Landscape* (2nd edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth
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IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION, READINGS SHOULD BE COMPLETED BY THE CLASS PERIOD NEXT TO WHICH THEY ARE LISTED

- TH Mar 26 Race and employment
 *Reader: **DiTomaso, Nancy, Rochelle Park-Yancy and Corinne Post. 2003. "Chapter 13 – White Views of Civil Rights: Color Blindness and Equal Opportunity,"** from *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*. New York: Routledge
Royster, Deirdre A. 2009. "Race and the Invisible Hand: How White Networks Exclude Black Men from Blue-Collar Jobs," from *Race and Ethnicity in Society: The Changing Landscape* (2nd edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth
- TU Mar 31 Race and the politics of representation: "Imagining Race" in everyday practice
 *Reader: **Mueller, Jennifer C., Danielle Dirks, and Leslie Houts Picca. 2007. "Unmasking Racism: Halloween Costuming and Engagement of the Racial Other."** *Qualitative Sociology* 30: 315–335
 *Video: excerpts from *Ethnic Notions*
***DISTRIBUTE MIDTERM PAPER PROMPT**
- TH Apr 2 NO CLASS
 M Apr 6 *NOTE*Last day for no-penalty drop (Q-drop)/Last day to officially withdraw
- TU Apr 7 Race and the politics of representation: "Imagining Race" in popular culture
 *Reader: **Gallagher, Charles A. 2009. "Color-Blind Privilege: The Social and Political Functions of Erasing the Color Line in Post Race America."** from *Understanding Society* (3rd edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
 *Video: excerpt from *Hip-Hop: Beyond Beats and Rhymes*
- TH Apr 9 Color-blind racism
 *Reader: **Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2010. "Chapter 1 – The Strange Enigma of Race in Contemporary America" & "Chapter 2 – The Central Frames of Color-Blind Racism,"** from *Racism without Racists* (3rd edition). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield
- TU Apr 14 Color-Blind Racism (con't)
 *Reader: **Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2010. "Chapter 3 – The Style of Colorblindness" & "Chapter 4 – 'I Didn't Get that Job Because of a Black Man'"** from *Racism without Racists* (3rd edition). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield
- TH Apr 16 The criminal justice system & images of criminality
 *Reader: **Alexander, Michelle. 2012. "Chapter 1 – The Rebirth of Caste,"** from *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press
Brown, Michael K., et. al. 2003. "Been in the Pen So Long: Race, Crime, and Justice," from *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- *MIDTERM PAPER DUE**
- TU Apr 21 Contemporary debates: affirmative action
 *Reader: **Katznelson, Ira. 2006. "When Is Affirmative Action Fair? On Grievous Harms and Public Remedies" (Parts III & IV).** *Social Research* 73: 541–568
Pierce, Jennifer. 2012. "Chapter 3 – Racing for Innocence: Stories of Disavowal and Exclusion," from *Racing for Innocence*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press

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IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION, READINGS SHOULD BE COMPLETED BY THE CLASS PERIOD NEXT TO WHICH THEY ARE LISTED

- TH Apr 23 Contemporary debates: American national identity & immigration
 *Reader: **Huntington, Samuel P. 2004. “The Hispanic Challenge.”***Foreign Policy* 141: 30–45
- TU Apr 28 The future of racial & ethnic relations: looking to the past & imagining new futures
 *Reader: **Feagin, Joe. 2010. “Chapter 8 – Antiracist Strategies and Solutions”** from *Racist America*. New York: Routledge
- TH Apr 30 *The future of racial & ethnic relations: looking to the past & imagining new futures (con’t)*
 *Reader: **Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2006. “Postscript: What Is to Be Done (For Real)”** from *Racism without Racists* (2nd edition). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield
 *Book: ***Inheriting the Trade: Chapters 17 – Afterword*** (pp. 219–251)
- TU May 5 NO CLASS – redefined day
- F MAY 8 FINAL PAPER DUE by 5:00 pm (submit on Elearning)**
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Rules of Engagement

We will explore a wide range of issues in this course – from United States national identity to institutional racism to racial privilege to well-loved movies and sports mascots – and issues surrounding race can be difficult to discuss. Some of the topics we will cover are controversial. Some will “trigger” us. Some will affect us in deep and personal and perhaps even painful ways. Therefore, I insist on high standards for classroom conduct, and I expect all of us, together as a group, to maintain respectful conduct toward each other and the material we engage. As such, I suggest the following “rules of engagement”:

1. **Take this class seriously.** As mentioned above, advance preparation (i.e., completing all readings before class), attendance and discussion will be essential to your AND our success in this class. If you come to class, I assume that you are here (and prepared) to be attentive and participate. I will consider it an affront should you make a habit of arriving late, text-messaging during class (I expect all cell phones to be turned off before class begins), surfing the web, falling asleep, working on crossword puzzles, talking/whispering during lecture or during discussion, completing assignments for another class, leaving early, etc., and will ask you to leave class if such behaviors become problematic.
2. **Participate and take intellectual risks.** Discussion is an essential part of any racial relations course. In support of active learning, I expect all students to contribute in classroom discussions at some point. While you may sometimes find the issues we discuss difficult, the more perspectives expressed in class, the more we can learn about race in the United States. I ask that you really engage the material and attempt to stretch yourself.
3. **Collectively build a safe and respectful classroom space.** Respect for all members of this class, including students and the instructor, is required. We have

a lot to learn from each other, and creating a space of respect is critical to allowing that learning exchange to occur. It is essential to the class that all students respect the opinions and experiences of other students. I encourage everyone to share information about our experiences with race and racism, and we must never invalidate or negate the painful experiences of others in the class. We will assume that everyone in the class is attempting to think critically about race, and we will not belittle the comments of others. Finally, we cannot hold individuals responsible for information that they do not have, but we will hold each other responsible for repeating misinformation after we have been informed otherwise.

SUGGESTED GROUND RULES:

Be fully present	Confidentiality
Respect	Share “air time”
Lean into discomfort	Hard on issues – not people
Suspend assumptions/judgments & listen for understanding	

4. ***Although sociology, as all disciplines, is a contested terrain, it is not simply a matter of opinions.*** The sociological observations I will share with you will always be supported by data or research. Because this course is structured to encourage your active critical thinking, you will be supported in your attempts to respectfully critique any and all readings and discussions; but, I will expect and encourage you, especially in your papers and in the evolution of our classroom discussions, to approach the issues from a *sociological perspective* and support your arguments with *empirical data* – produced by scholars trained in the social sciences and/or obtained from observed systematic patterns and trends. This does not mean our opinions and anecdotal experiences are irrelevant; however, I will regularly challenge you to discuss and think about topics as a social scientist.

Syllabus II: Race & Racism in America Syllabus

Joyce Bell (Professor)

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA

Course Overview

We live in a society steeped in racial understandings that are often invisible – some that are hard to see, and others that we work hard not to see. In this class, we will work hard not only to see, but also to understand and engage with these issues. There are many racial myths that exist in our society: black men are criminals, black women are bossy, Asians are good students, Mexicans are taking our jobs, and so on. We will look at these ideas in the face. We will deconstruct them and think deeply about them. You will be asked to interrogate some ideas about race that you have taken for granted and some that you have never thought about. You will also be asked to think like a sociologist. What sociology has to offer students in courses about race, that is different from say psychology or anthropology courses on race, is a focus on the structural nature of race. Because of this unique ability of sociology as a discipline to illuminate the social aspects of race relations it is crucial that, as a class of sociologists, we use the tools available to us to break out of individualistic ways of thinking about race.

Because we live in a society in which the ideology of rugged individualism is the dominant way of understanding the social world many people hold the view that the United States is a meritocratic society, that personal success or failure is about individual ability and drive, and that to the extent that we can observe racial inequality, it is due to personal failure at worst and the legacy of historical racism at best. While sociology is absolutely concerned with the relationship between the individual and social structure, in popular media and discourse, we are bombarded with messages about individual success, individual failure, and individual motivations for actions. We, as a society, have less access to the structure side of this puzzle. Because of this, while we will focus on how individuals (including each of us in this class) are shaped by social structure, we will pay most of our attention to social patterns and to the structural causes of inequality.

This course is designed to help students begin to develop their own informed perspectives on American racial “problems” by introducing them to the ways that sociologists deal with race, ethnicity, race relations and racism. We will begin by talking generally about the basic structure of racial formations in the contemporary United States, the mechanisms by which they are reproduced, and possibilities for resistance and change. In the second part of the course, we will turn to the issue of popular representations of people of color in the United States. We will look specifically at how African American, Asian American, Latino, and Native American women and men are portrayed in popular culture. We will look at how these images are related to racial inequality and how they shape the way that we

think about particular groups in American society. In the third part of the course, we will expand our understanding of racial and ethnic dynamics by exploring the experiences of specific groups in the United States and how race/ethnicity intersects with sources of stratification such as class, nationality, and gender. These units will focus especially on the experiences of Asian and Mexican immigrants. The objective in these units is both to learn more about these groups and also to consider what their experiences reveal with respect to the challenges racial and ethnic formations present for conventional, individualistic understandings of citizenship, group membership and social justice. The course will then conclude by re-considering ideas about assimilation, pluralism, and multiculturalism. Throughout, our goal will be to consider race both as a source of identity and social differentiation as well as a system of privilege, power and inequality affecting everyone in the society albeit in different ways.

Objectives

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

1. Explain several social causes of racial inequality in the United States;
2. Assess the relative value of various sociological theories for explaining American racial inequality;
3. Utilize appropriate language (based on sociological perspectives) to effectively discuss issues of race;
4. Develop and articulate a sociological perspective that explains processes by focusing on the interaction between individuals and social structure;
5. Distinguish between a sociological perspective and a popular perspective, focusing on de-bunking racial myths in public discourse and how we might think differently from sociological perspective;
6. Synthesize themes of the course to describe ways that race, class, and gender intersect;
7. Draw connections between course concepts and your own experience and identity.

Expectations

Students must be willing to attend lectures, keep up with the reading, and do the required work. Further though, students must be willing to engage in an environment of rigorous interrogation of social ideas about race, class, and gender. Students must also agree to engage with their classmates in a respectful manner and follow the guidelines for discussion of difficult issues within the class. Students must also take responsibility for their learning. You are expected to ask questions when you don't understand or need clarification and to make use of office hours if you need more guidance than can be offered in class.

Structure

Lectures will structure most of the class meetings; though these will often be discussion based and questions will always be encouraged. Some small group activity will also be utilized and films will play a central role in the course. There will be an average of 75 pages of reading per week. These will be drawn from three books, one of which is an edited collection of articles and essays. These books are (in the order in which they will be used):

- Gallagher, Charles A. *Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity*, Charles A. (2011 5th Edition);
- Kang, Miliann. *The Managed Hand: Race, Gender, and the Body in Beauty Service Work* (2010);
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierette. *Domestica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence* (2007)

These books are available for purchase at the campus bookstore as well as through various online outlets. Other readings will be distributed as assigned.

Progress and performance in the course will be evaluated in the form of

3 Exams 60 % (20 % each)

Two Short Papers 15 % (Photo Essay-10 % & Final Exam Cover Letter-5 %)

In-Class Writing 10 %

Virtual Recitation 25 % (3 posts @ 5 % each & 3 commenting periods @ 3.33 % each)

The dates of these various assignments are listed below; the content of each will be more fully elaborated in lecture. Students who make informed insightful contributions to class discussions, make regular and productive use of office hours, and/or improve significantly over the course of the semester may also receive special consideration for the In-Class writing portion of the grade.

Exams: There will be three exams of equal weight. Each exam will cover roughly equal amounts of material. The exams will include multiple-choice, true/false and include short essay questions. Everything in the class is fair game for exam questions. Therefore, exams may include questions on lecture materials, readings, films, class discussions, guest speakers, and supplementary handouts. I will give you guidelines and more information on the format before the exam. **Make-up exams will only be given in the most extreme cases with written documentation. All make-up exams will be essay format.**

Papers: You will be asked to write two short papers. The first paper is a photo essay where you choose a photograph of yourself and write to me about your identity as it relates to the photo. The second paper is a cover letter that you will attach to your final exam related to your experience in the course. I will give you guidelines for these before the assignments are due. All assignments are due in class on the due date listed in the syllabus. I do not accept papers by email. All late writing assignments will be penalized one full letter grade for each day it is late.

In Class Writing: There will be in-class writing activities in some class periods and not in others. These can be as simple as a question turned in at the end of class or as elaborate as a small group exercise. If you're there and turn in the activity/sign the sheet, you get full credit, if you're not, you don't. No exceptions. No late in-class writing will be accepted. You can miss three activities without penalty. You do not need to provide an excuse for missing these three activities. Because these writing activities are tied to in-class learning goals, they must be handed in with the class at the time they are collected or you will NOT receive credit. No exceptions.

My Style: Exams will cover material from reading, lectures, films, class discussions, guest speakers and supplementary handouts. That said, I generally do not lecture from the readings. I believe that my value to you is in offering original lectures that complement the readings, not in reviewing the readings for you. It is your responsibility to keep up with the reading and ask questions when you do not understand or need clarification. I also do not take attendance. I believe that at this point in your life you get to make decisions about where you spend your time. However, it is imperative that you attend class to do well. To be clear: at least 70 % of lecture material will not be found in your reading. Conversely, at least 70 % of what you read will not be covered in class.

Virtual Recitation: On several Fridays throughout the term we will "meet" online for a virtual recitation section. In other words, on the days marked "virtual recitation" on the schedule, we will not physically meet. Instead, we will conduct a discussion online, using the discussion board function on CourseWeb. If your last name starts with A-L you will post on A days and comment on B days. If your last name starts with M-Z you will post on B days and comment on A days. When you are responsible for posting, you will create an original blog post of sorts and reply to your commenters. Original posts are due by 3:00 PM on Fridays. When it's your turn to comment you will comment on at least three different posts. Comments must be completed by Mondays at 2:00. This means you are responsible for three blog posts total. Guidelines for posts and comments will be on CourseWeb.

Grading Scale

A +	= 98 to 100 %
A	= 93 to 97 %
A -	= 90 to 92 %
B +	= 87 to 89 %
B	= 83 to 86 %
B -	= 80 to 82 %
C +	= 77 to 79 %
C	= 73 to 76 %
C -	= 69 to 72 %
D +	= 67 to 68 %
D	= 63 to 66 %
D -	= 60 to 62 %
F	= less than 60 %

Course Policies

1. Race can be a very sensitive subject. We will all respect one another's viewpoints and opinions. We will also respect everyone's right to ask questions. I do ask that you think through your thought or question before you say it out loud to assess whether you think it will be outright offensive to anyone. I also will not tolerate personal or group-based attacks on anyone. To facilitate open discussion, I will ask students to submit any questions they do not want to ask in front of the class in writing after class or by email to the professor. I will try my best to get to all of them. Keep in mind that there will be many questions I do not know the answer to. However, I will do my best to get answers for us when possible.
2. Please arrive to class on time and prepared to be a full participant. You should have the readings completed before coming to class. This also means that reading the newspaper, surfing the internet, text messaging or whatever else, are unsuitable activities during class time. If you would prefer to do something else during class, you may choose not to attend.
3. I do not give my full lecture notes or power point slides to students under any circumstances. If you miss class, it is your responsibility to get any handouts from me and notes and/or an update from a classmate.
4. On written assignments: I do not bring a stapler to class. Please be sure the pages of your assignment are securely held together. Also, NO assignments will be accepted by email.
5. I will not discuss points on exams or grades on written assignments verbally. I spend a considerable amount of time developing grading criteria and giving thoughtful attention to the grading process. Therefore, I will only consider any grading issues in writing. If you disagree with your grade on a written assignment, or think an essay was scored wrong, if you disagree with the answer to a given question on a test, or even if you just think there was a calculation error, you may submit a written request for your exam or assignment to be rescored. The request should include a detailed description of the problem and a justification for your request. All written requests for exam, quiz or paper re-marking must be submitted within one (1) week of the day I hand back the assignment, quiz, or exam. All requests must be submitted in writing, in class. I do not accept them by email.

Academic Integrity

All students are expected to adhere to the highest standard of academic honesty. The University Policy that applies to plagiarism is Policy 02-03-03 (<http://www.pitt.edu/HOME/PP/policies/02/02-03-03.html>). The University Procedure that describes how plagiarism cases must be resolved is Procedure 02-03-03 (<http://www.pitt.edu/HOME/PP/procedures/02/02-03-03.html>). Among other things, the Policy states that a student may be found to have violated academic integrity obligations if he or she:

- Practices any form of deceit in an academic evaluation proceeding.
- Presents as [his or her] own, for academic evaluation, the ideas, representations, or works of another person or persons without customary and proper acknowledgement of sources.
- Submits the work of another person in a manner [that] represents the work to be [his or her] own.

Plagiarism is a serious offence and students who plagiarize will receive an F for the course and will be reported to the proper University Administrative Office. Students who cheat on exams will also receive an F for the course and will be reported to the proper University Administrative Office.

Withdrawal: The deadline for monitored withdrawal is Friday, March 8th.

Students with Disabilities: If you have a disability for which you are or may be requesting an accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both your instructor and the Office of Disability Resources and Services, 216 William Pitt Union, 412-648-7890/412-383-7355 (TTY), as early as possible in the term. Disability Resources and Services will verify your disability and determine reasonable accommodations for this course.

Email Communication: Each student is issued a University e-mail address (username@pitt.edu) upon admittance. This e-mail address may be used by the University for official communication with students. Students are expected to read e-mail sent to this account on a regular basis. Failure to read and react to University communications in a timely manner does not absolve the student from knowing and complying with the content of the communications. The University provides an e-mail forwarding service that allows students to read their e-mail via other service providers (e.g., Hotmail, AOL, Yahoo). Students that choose to forward their e-mail from their pitt.edu address to another address do so at their own risk. If e-mail is lost as a result of forwarding, it does not absolve the student from responding to official communications sent to their University e-mail address. To forward e-mail sent to your University account, go to <http://accounts.pitt.edu>, log into your account, click on Edit Forwarding Addresses, and follow the instructions on the page. Be sure to log out of your account when you have finished. (For the full E-mail Communication Policy, go to www.bc.pitt.edu/policies/policy/09/09-10-01.html.)

IMPORTANT: This syllabus represents a tentative guide to the course. The professor may make changes to it as deemed necessary throughout the term. Any changes will be brought to your attention in lecture. You are responsible for all information, announcements or changes discussed in lecture.

Lecture Schedule, Readings and Assignments

CL = Rethinking the Color Line

DO = Domestica

MH = The Managed Hand

Schedule

Part I: historical context and conceptual foundations

Social construction

- M 1.7 Course introduction and overview
 W 1.9 What is race?
 CL: xi-xiv (Preface) 1–3 (Introduction) AND 22–32 (Defining Race & Ethnicity)
 F 1.11 The Myth of Race as Biology
 CL: 7-17 (How Our Skins Got Their Color, Drawing the Color Line)
 M 1.14 Constructionism Continued—Race as Chameleon CL: 53-63 (Defining Race)
 W 1.16 Constructionism and Racial Identity
 No new Readings
 F 1.18 *Virtual Recitation*
M 1.21 NO CLASS MLK Holiday
W 1.23 Contemporary Constructionist Approaches
 CL: 17-22 (Racial Formations) AND 32-38 (Racialized Social System)
****PHOTO ESSAY DUE****
 F 1.25 Colorblindness
 CL: 92-114

Historical Constructions

- M 1.28 In Class viewing of Race: The Power of An Illusion Episode 2—No new readings
 W 1.30 Historical Constructions Constructions Contd – Readings TBA
 F 2.1 *Virtual Recitation*

Contemporary Legacies

- M 2.4 An Introduction to Contemporary Socioeconomic Trends: Focus on Education
 CL: 122-127 (Race & Gender Discrimination: Contemporary Trends) AND Excerpt
 from Savage Inequalities ONLINE
 W 2.6 Consequences of the Color Line
 CL: 49-53 (Transformative Assets) AND pp. 158–175 (Residential Segregation)
 F 2.8 In class Discussion
 M 2.11 Race: The Power of an Illusion episode 3 – No new readings
 W 2.13 Attitudes, Behaviors and Beliefs in a Structural Context
 CL: 117-122, 127-134 & 148-157 (Race Prejudice, Discrimination, Laissez-Faire
 Racism)
F 2.15 Exam 1

Part II: Structures of Race in the United States

Mechanisms of Racial Formation and Reproduction/Criminal Justice System

- M 2.18 Whiteness Studies
 CL: 139-147 (Possessive Investment) AND McIntosh, White Privilege (hand out)
 W 2.20 Institutional Racism/Criminal Justice System
 CL: 211-230
 F 2.22 Criminal Justice System Contd.
 CL: 230-240

Controlling Images: Race & Representation

- M 2.25 Controlling Images: Black Stereotypes CL: 285-303
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- W 2.28 Native American Stereotypes CL: 304-310 (Winnebagos, Cherokees, Apaches, and Dakotas)
- F 3.1 Asian American Images Yen Le Espiritu Chapter online
Immigration and Globalization
- M 3.4 Exam 2**
- W 3.6 Immigration History
DO: Chapters 1 & 2
- F 3.8 *Virtual Recitation*
- 3.10-17 SPRING BREAK**
- M 3.18 Globalization & Contemporary Immigration
DO: pp. 1-60
- W 3.10 Mexican Immigration to the US
Readings TBA
- F 3.20 Day intentionally left open for changes
Domestica
- M 3.25 On the job: Domestic workers
DO: 137-209
- W 3.27 Maid in America Viewing
- F 3.29 *Virtual Recitation*
Domestica Contd.
- M 4.1 Wrapping Up Domestica
DO: 210-243
- W 4.3 Wrapping Up Domestica Contd – No new Readings
- F 4.5 *Virtual Recitation*
The Managed Hand
- M 4.8 Race, Gender & Body work
MH: 1-56
- W 4.10 Race, Gender & Body Work MH: 133-165
- F 4.12 *Virtual Recitation*
Managed Hand & Conclusions
- M 4.15 Wrap up Managed Hand MH: 201-254
- W 4.17 What now? Solutions CL: 393-402
- F 4.19 Exam 3**
- **FINAL EXAM COVER LETTER DUE WITH EXAM****
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Syllabus III: The Sociology of Imprisonment

Joshua Page (Professor), Sarah Whetstone (Teaching Assistant)
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, USA

Focus and Purpose of the Course

This course is an in-depth sociological analysis of imprisonment in the United States. We examine the origins, functions, and effects of incarceration from the nineteenth century to the present. Topics include the culture and social relations in male and female prisons, the rise and fall of the rehabilitative ideal, the prisoner rights movement of the 1960 and 1970s, prison gangs and supermaximum confinement, the sub-culture(s) of prison officers, and the causes and consequences America's extraordinary and relatively recent prison boom. We study the relationships between imprisonment and social processes, including: ethnic, racial, class, and gender inequality; political and economic change; and popular representations of crime and criminals. Although we concentrate on imprisonment, this class introduces students to the sociology of punishment.

Format, Policies, and Requirements

This course combines interactive lectures, group discussions, and video screenings. You are expected to read and think through the assigned readings for each class before we meet. Some of the readings are rather difficult, so be sure to budget your time well to digest them as we proceed; otherwise, you will not be in a position to contribute fruitfully to discussions. Your final grade will be based on four elements:

1. Class participation (15 %) 2. Two quizzes (20 %) 3. In-class midterm exam (30 %) 4. In-class final exam (35 %)

Attendance: You are not required to attend class. However, you must be in class to participate (and earn the 15 % for participation). Moreover, there will be several in-class exercises. Be advised that students who attend and actively participate in my courses earn far better grades than students who do not come to class. If you miss class, you should get notes from your classmates. Although I am happy to discuss lectures with students in office hours, I will not give out lecture notes

Carefully read the following policies.

- All assignments (including extra credit assignments) are due at the beginning of the designated class sessions.
- I will only grant extensions and incompletes in cases of documented emergencies.
- If you want to contest a grade on an assignment, submit a typed list of your objections to me in office hours. Please note that I may lower as well as raise your grade.

- Students may not record class sessions or take notes with laptop computers without approval from the professor. All cellular phones and other electronic devices must be turned off during class. Do not text message during class, for it's very distracting.
- **On Scholastic Dishonesty.** I encourage students to work together inside and outside of class; however, I will not tolerate scholastic dishonesty. All written work should be your own. The attached form explains the U of M's policy on "scholastic dishonesty."
- **On Discussion.** Class discussions will include emotionally charged subjects. It is critical that we respect one another. Although I welcome debate (even heated debate) about ideas, I forbid personal attacks. This class is not a forum for demeaning or threatening language.
- **Required Books**
- Comfort, Megan. 2008. *Doing Time Together: Love and Family in the Shadow of the Prison*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Conover, Ted. 2001. *Newjack: Guarding Sing Sing*. New York: Vintage.
- Cummins, Eric. 1997. *The Rise and Fall of California's Radical Prison Movement*. Stanford: University of Stanford Press.
- Jacobs, James. 1977. *Stateville: The Penitentiary in Mass Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Oshinsky, David. 1996. *'Worse Than Slavery: Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice*. New York: The Free Press.
- Rierden, Andi. 1997. *The Farm: Life Inside a Women's Prison*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Optional Book

Bunker, Edward. 1977. *The Animal Factory*. New York: St. Martin's Minotaur.

Course Packet

The course packet is available via Ereserve (hard copies of the packet are not available).

Students are responsible for downloading and printing the readings. Please save hard and/or electronic copies of the articles.

Course Schedule

Week 1: Introduction to the Sociology of Imprisonment (September 2)

– Tuesday, September 2

No assigned reading

– Thursday, September 4

David Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society*, Chapter 1, pp. 3–10 (e-reserve) NOTE: The whole chapter is on e-reserve, but you are only required to read the listed pages.

Week 2: The Birth of the Prison

– Tuesday, September 9

Mathew Rogers, *Doing Time*, Chapter 1, pp. 1–25 (e-reserve)

– Thursday, September 11

David Rothman, “Perfecting the Prison: United States, 1789–1865,” pp. 111–129 (e-reserve)

Edgardo Rotman, “The Failure of Reform: United States, 1865–1965,” pp. 169–197 (e-reserve)

Week 3: The Big House and Correctional Institution

– Tuesday, September 16

James Jacobs, *Stateville*, Introduction and Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1–51

– Thursday, September 18

NO CLASS (Read, Read, Read)

James Jacobs, *Stateville*, Chapters 3 and 4, pp. 52–104

Week 4: The Big House and Correctional Institution continued

– Tuesday, September 23

James Jacobs, *Stateville*, Chapters 6 and 7, pp. 138–199

– Thursday, September 25

James Jacobs, *Stateville*, Chapter 8, pp. 200–211

Quiz #1

Week 5: Imprisonment Down South

– Tuesday, September 30

David Oshinsky, *Worse than Slavery*, Prologue and Chapters 1–4, pp. 1–106
Video: *The Farm*

– Thursday, October 2

David Oshinsky, *Worse than Slavery*, Chapters 5 and 6, pp. 109–155
Video: *The Farm*

Week 6: Imprisonment Down South continued, The Social World of Male Prisons

– Tuesday, October 7

David Oshinsky, *Worse Than Slavery*, Chapters 7–10 and Epilogue, pp. 157–255

– Thursday, October 9

Mathew Rogers, “Order Control and Adaptation in Prison,” pp. 51–80 (e-reserve)

Film: *American Me*

Week 7: The Social World of Female Prisons

– Tuesday, October 14

Andi Rierden, *The Farm*, Introduction and Chapters 1–6, pp. 1–73

– Thursday, October 16

Andi Rierden, *The Farm*, Chapters 7–10, pp. 74–117

Week 8: The Social World of Female Prisons continued

– Tuesday, October 21 Andi Rierden, *The Farm*, Chapters 11–17 and Epilogue, pp. 118–186

– Thursday, October 23

MID TERM

Week 9: From Prison Guard to Prison Officer

– Tuesday, October 28

Ted Conover, *Newjack*, Chapters 1–4, pp. 4–170

– Thursday, October 30

Ted Conover, *Newjack*, Chapters 6–7, Epilogue, and Afterword, pp. 210–319

Week 10: The Prisoner Rights’ Movement

– Tuesday, November 4

Eric Cummins, *Rise and Fall*, Chapters 1–4, pp. 1–92

– Thursday, November 6

Eric Cummins, *Rise and Fall*, Chapters 5 and 6, pp. 93–150

Week 11: The Prisoner Rights' Movement continued

- Tuesday, November 11

Eric Cummins, *Rise and Fall*, Chapters 7 and 8, pp.151–221

- Thursday, November 13

Eric Cummins, *Rise and Fall*, Chapters 9 and 10, pp. 222–278

Week 12: The Prison Boom and Supermax'

- Tuesday, November 18

Bruce Western, *Punishment and Inequality*, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 9–51
(e-reserve)
Quiz #2

- Thursday, November 20

Geoffrey Hunt et al. "Changes in Prison Culture: Prison Gangs and the Case of the Pepsi Generation," 398–409 (e-reserve)
Parenti, Christian. 1999. *Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis*. New York: Verso, pp. 193–210 (e-reserve)
Lorna Rhodes, *Total Confinement*, Chapter 1, pp. 21–60 (e-reserve) Radio Documentary: *Gangs in the Supermax'*

Week 13: The "Collateral" Costs of Incarceration

- Tuesday, November 25

Megan Comfort, *Doing Time Together*, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1–64

- Thursday, November 27

Holiday

Week 14: The "Collateral" Costs of Incarceration

- Tuesday, December 2

Megan Comfort, *Doing Time Together*, Chapters 3 and 4, pp. 65–125

- Thursday, December 4

Megan Comfort, *Doing Time Together*, Chapters 5 and 6, pp. 125–197

Week 15: Unlocking America?

- Tuesday, December 9

James Austin et al., "Unlocking America: How and Why to Reduce America's Prison Population," entire (e-reserve)
Final Exam

- Tuesday, December 16, 2 pm

Syllabus IV: Race and Ethnic Relations

Melissa F. Weiner (Professor)

Introduction

Race affects the lived experiences of every American but is often taken for granted and rarely confronted, challenged or contested in public. This class will do just that by focusing on how race, including whiteness, and racial identities exist, are constructed, experienced, challenged, and reinforced. After a brief introduction of concepts relating to race and ethnicity, the class will examine the experiences of different racial groups in America, followed by discussions of the ways in which racial and ethnic identities shape experiences in different social institutions, including work, education, family, and criminal justice as well as state policy realms such as immigration, citizenship and welfare. The course will conclude with discussions of resistance to the constraints of racial identities and the social movements that developed to contest racial meanings. Class time will consist of lectures, small-group activities, and discussion. Multimedia in the form of movies, poems, and popular culture such as music and TV shows will be incorporated throughout the semester. Besides discussing, in depth, the sociological meanings and ramifications that race has on all of our everyday lives, this class will also attempt to answer the following questions:

1. How have histories of different racial and ethnic groups shaped racial inequalities today?
2. How does race shape and constrain our actions, identities, thoughts, life experiences, and life chances?
3. How do the effects of race change in different institutional contexts?
4. How have these definitions been contested by various groups?

Required Reading

- Gallagher, Charles A. 2009. *Rethinking the Color Line*, 5th Edition (READER).
- Beals, Melba Patillo. 2007. *Warriors Don't Cry*.
- Kozol, Jonathan. 2006. *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America*.
- Lefkowitz, Bernard. 1998. *Our Guys*.
- Takaki, Ronald. 1993. *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*.
- Readings posted online on E-Res (full citations are on pp. 8–9 of the syllabus)

The professor reserves the right to make changes to readings at any time.

Assignments

<i>Grading breakdown</i>	
Midterm exam	20 points
Take home final exam	25 points
In-class activities	25 points
Critical reading papers	25 points
Meeting with professor	5 points
Total 100 points	

You will not be graded in comparison to your peers. Thus, it is possible for each of you to earn an A in this class provided that you complete all the assignments and they are of high quality. I sincerely hope this will be the case.

Class Participation and Attendance: In-Class Activities & Homework

Because much of the material on which you will be tested will be covered in class, you are expected to attend each and every class. Your attendance will be registered by exercises that you hand in during in-class activities and short homework assignment requiring you to reflect on class lectures and readings.

Absences for legitimate reasons (sickness, injury, death of a family member, a friend or relative being sent to Afghanistan, etc.) are excused. If you know about a day or days you will be absent in advance, be sure to let the professor know as early as possible. If you miss class for a legitimate reason, you or the Class Dean must provide the Professor with documentation, as soon after your return to class as possible.

Exams

You will have one in-class midterm exam and one take-home final exam that will be cumulative and will cover all course concepts until that date from the books, lectures, activities, and other assigned readings. The midterm exam will occur during class on October 19th. Questions will be short answer and multiple-choice. Students will have input into the midterm exam questions asked. Instructions for the final exam, which will be due during finals week, will be handed out 3 weeks prior to its due date.

Critical Reading Papers

As described on the separate assignment sheet, you will submit a minimum of eight critical reading papers over the course of the semester. Everyone will submit a reaction paper for weeks 2, 3, 4, and 5 and then you have a choice of the other 4 weeks. The grades of your seven highest scoring papers will be used to determine your final grade for this assignment. These papers require you to critically engage with the assigned readings and consider how they relate to your own life. Critical reading papers must be submitted either in class on Monday or online via Moodle

prior to the beginning of class on Monday and must address the readings for that week. Detailed instructions regarding reaction papers will be handed out on the first day. Late papers will not be accepted.

Meeting With Professor

Each student will be required to meet with the instructor prior to October 1. The purpose of the meeting is so that I can get to know each student individually. This meeting will occur during office hours (unless the student has a schedule conflict in which case appointments will be made outside of this time) and need not last more than 10–15 min.

Extra Credit

You have the opportunity to earn additional points towards your final grade by submitting examples from popular cultural forms, the media in general, or on-campus events along with a short paper regarding its relevance to the class. You can submit one extra credit paper per week and can earn up to 0.5 points for each one. Some examples include submitting the lyrics to a song, a picture from a magazine, a summary of a movie or TV show, etc. After describing the item, you should relate it to 1–2 course readings in a paper 2–3 pages long (typed, double-spaced), and be sure to include a bibliography. For each item that you relate to one reading you will receive up to 0.25 points added to your final grade. For each item you relate to two course readings you will receive up to 0.5 points added to your final grade. If you turn in a song, make sure to include the lyrics. These examples can be submitted at any point during the semester *prior to the last week of class but you can only submit one a week.*

Final Course Grades

A	93 and above	B	83–86	C	73–76	F	59 and below
A–	90–92	B–	80–82	C–	70–72		
B+	87–89	C+	77–79	D	60–69		

Incompletes will **not** be given for this course unless there is an extreme and legitimate reason.

Accommodations on an individual basis are available to students with learning disabilities that may affect their ability to participate in course activities or meet course requirements. Students with disabilities are encouraged to contact me regarding these accommodations (as well as the Office of Disability Services). This contact should occur before or during the first week of the semester. More information regarding disability policy at Holy Cross can be found at www.holycross.edu/disability_services/services

Course Expectations

Coming into a classroom, teachers and students have certain expectations. Hopefully you expect to learn about the histories of racial and ethnic groups and their different experiences in various social contexts, participate in discussions, and maybe even enjoy the class. If there is anything else that you are expecting to get out of this course, but are unsure that you will, please contact me so that I can attempt to include this material. Expectations for students in this class are below.

You will be expected to think critically about material that may make you uncomfortable. Throughout the semester, you are encouraged to challenge the material, the professor, and other students regarding the ideas and issues discussed in respectful and constructive manner. In doing so, you will show that you not only understand the material at hand but do so well enough to make criticisms and offer alternatives. Students are always encouraged to participate by asking questions.

There is more reading in the beginning of the semester to provide you with the historical background necessary to understand the concepts during the later months. Since the lectures and discussions for each class will be based on the readings assigned for the week, you are expected to have done the reading before coming to class.

Finally, the subjects we will cover, especially race and ethnic identities, are often controversial ones that many shy away from speaking about in public, in large groups or with people of different backgrounds. This class will attempt to break from this pattern by dealing with issues in a frank and honest way. The only way that these issues can be addressed is if they *are* addressed. Therefore, people should not be afraid to speak what is on their mind. In accordance with this, it is important that you listen to your classmates, be willing to think about their statements, and, above all, respect each other. This means that, at times, there may be heated discussion and it is important that you allow each other to speak and are respectful and have an open mind when a classmate has a different opinion than you. Hopefully doing so will allow each of you to learn from each others' experiences and search for the meanings and relevance of issues related to race together.

Because of the difficult and often deeply personal nature of class discussions that may arise, students may feel the need to speak with a trained counselor. For those seeking to do so, contact the Counseling Center, located in Hogan 207 (phone: 508-793-3363, or for emergencies after hours call Public Safety at 508-793-2222). Or, feel free to come talk to me at any time about any of the material or issues that may arise for you throughout the course of the semester.

Additional Course Policies

Because I know how tempting it is to update your facebook status, work on your farms, and message your friends, ***computers are not allowed in class*** unless you have a note from a doctor or the Office of Disability Services detailing your specific

academic needs. Nor should you be using your cell phone to text, IM, surf the web, etc. Engaging in these behaviors will have an effect on both whether the Professor rounds up your grade at the end of the semester and/or she writes you a recommendation in the future.

Academic integrity is a critical value within the college at large and within in the classroom. Violating Holy Cross's Academic Honesty Policy by cheating and/or plagiarizing depreciates both your own and other students' learning experiences. As such, plagiarism and cheating are unacceptable. You must observe the College's Academic Honesty Policy as found in the Holy Cross Student Catalog and which can be found online here: www.holycross.edu/catalog/academic-honesty-policy.pdf. Failure to follow this policy can lead to a failing grade on the assignment or the requirement to do compensatory work and academic probation. Students engaging in academic dishonesty multiple times can be expelled from Holy Cross. Students found to be cheating by copying other students' work, on exams, weekly reading questions, papers, or any other course assignment, and therefore in violation of these policies, recognized by the Holy Cross, will be reported to both the Department Chair and the Class Dean. Submitting any work that is not your own original creation, whether found online, written by friends, family, roommates, etc. or in another written source is considered plagiarism. Once you have gotten to this point in the syllabus, email the professor and tell her your favorite color. By taking the course and by attending Holy Cross you agree to these conditions. Please contact me at any time if you have any questions regarding what is and what is not considered plagiarism.

Helpful Tips

- Do all the reading, unless noted as otherwise in the syllabus, in preparation for class on Monday.
- When it comes to knowing whether you've understood the reading, if you can explain the title as if you were explaining it to your roommate, parent, friend, etc. (i.e. in your own words), you will be in good shape. If you can write three explanatory sentences, you are in even better shape.
- If there are questions at the beginning or end of a chapter, read them before doing the reading and answer them in your notebook after doing the reading.
- If you don't already have one, buy an academic planner and add all your assignments for this class and your others to it your first day. You might even make a note about when you have big things due the following week so you're not surprised.
- I am available to help you throughout the semester and I welcome your visits both during and outside of office hours and emails. I will do my best to answer your email within a few hours (although I may not answer you immediately if you email me after 10 pm). However, before emailing me with a question, please be sure it hasn't already been answered in the syllabus or on an assignment sheet.

Citation Examples for Chapters in the Reader (in ASA format):

- Snipp, C. Matthew. 2012. "Defining Race and Ethnicity." Pp. 22–32 in *Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity*, 5th Ed., Charles A. Gallagher, Ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Williams, David R. and Michelle Sternthal. 2012. "Understanding Racial-Ethnic Disparities in Health: Sociological Contributions." Pp. 39–48 in *Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity*, 5th Ed., Charles A. Gallagher, Ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Class Topic & Reading Schedule**Part I: Conceptualizing Race****Week 1 – August 29 & 31**

Ideology, Oppression, Privilege

Readings: Class syllabus
 READER: Intro, Chapters 1–5 (Pp. 1–38)
 E-Res: "White Privilege and Male Privilege," Peggy McIntosh
 READER: Intro, Chapters 1–5 (Pp. 1–38)
 E-Res: "White Privilege and Male Privilege," Peggy McIntosh

Week 2 – September 3, 5 & 7

What is Race?

Citizenship, Assimilation, Immigration, Multiculturalism

Readings: READER: Part 2 Intro, 8, 15, 16, 17 (pp. 53–63, 115–134)
 E-Res: "Citizenship: Universalism and Exclusionism," Evelyn Nakano Glenn
A Different Mirror: Chapter 1 and Part 1

Part II: Racial/Ethnic Group Experiences**Week 3 – September 10, 12 & 14**

Native American & African American Experience

Readings: READER: Chapters 9, 39, 42, 44 (pp. 63–78, 304–310, 327–336, 349–360)
 E-Res: "Full Circle," Lori Arviso Alvord
A Different Mirror: Part 2

Week 4 – September 17, 19 & 21

European Immigrant Experience

Readings: READER: Part 4 Intro, Chapters 19, 32, 41 (pp. 139–147, 241–249, 319–326)
 E-Res: “In-Between Peoples,” James Barrett and David Roediger
A Different Mirror: Part 3

Week 5 – September 24, 26 & 28

Contemporary Immigrants – Asians, Latinos, Arabs & Muslims

Readings: READER: Chapters 10, 18, 43 (pp. 79–86, 134–138, 337–348)
 E-Res: “Conclusions” from *Generations of Exclusion*, Edward E. Telles & Vilma Ortiz
 E-Res: “Multiple Identities among Arab Americans,” Jen’nan Ghazal Read
 E-Res: “Are Asian Americans Becoming ‘White?’” Min Zhou
A Different Mirror: Part 4

Racialized Experiences within Social Institutions**Week 6 – October 1, 3 & 5**

Are We Colorblind? Race as Daily Lived Experience

Readings: READER: Chapters 11, 12, 13, 20, 24 (pp. 86–105, 148–157, 195–203)
 E-Res: “Of Our Spiritual Strivings,” W.E.B. DuBois
 E-Res: “‘No Racism, Just That One Time,’” Eileen O’Brien

Fall Break – October 8–12 Read *Shame of the Nation***Week 7 – October 15, 17 & 19 ***MIDTERM EXAM on October 19th*****

Intro to Social Institutions, the State and Social Policies

Popular Culture & the Media

Readings: READER: Chapters Part III Intro, Chapters 36, 37, 38, 40, 46 (pp. 209–210, 285–303, 311–318, 368–373)
 E-Res: “Making the Strong Survive: The Contours and Contradictions of Message Rap,” Ernest W. Allen, Jr.

Week 8 – October 22, 24 & 26

Education

Readings: E-Res: “How We Learn about Race through History,” James D. Anderson
 E-Res: “The Defining Moment: Children’s Conceptualization of Race and Experiences with Racial Discrimination,” Akila Dulin-Keita et al.
 Finish *Shame of the Nation* if you haven’t already done so

Week 9 – October 29 & 31, November 2

Work & the Economy

Readings: READER: Chapters 7, 31, 35 (pp. 49–52, 240, 275–284)
 E-Res: “‘Soft Skills’ and Race,” Philip Moss and Chris Tilly
 Start *Our Guys*

Week 10 – November 5, 7 & 9

Poverty & Welfare

Readings: READER: Chapters 33, 34 (pp. 249–274)
 E-Res: “Hunger and the Working Poor,” Loretta Schwartz-Nobel

Week 11 – November 12, 14 & 16

Health and Health Care

Readings: READER: Chapters 6, 21, 22, 25 (pp. 39–48, 158–184, 204–208)
 E-Res: “Childhood Asthma in New York City,” Sze

Week 12 – Nov 19

Crime and the Criminal Justice System

Readings: READER: Chapters 26–30 (pp. 211–239)
 Finish *Our Guys*

Thanksgiving Break – Read *Warriors Don’t Cry***Part IV: Racially-Based Social Movements****Week 13 – Nov 26, 28 & 30**

Resistance and Social Change: Historical Social Movements

Readings: E-Res: “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” Martin Luther King, Jr.
 E-Res: “Freedom High: The Summer of ’64,” Doug McAdam
 E-Res: “A Party for the People,” Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar
 Finish *Warriors Don’t Cry* if haven’t already

Week 14 – December 3, 5 & 7

Contemporary Social Change: Movements and Personal Lives

Readings: READER: Part IV Intro, Chapters 14, 23, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50 (pp. 106–116,
 184–194, 319–320, 361–368, 374–402)
 E-Res: “Power to the People?” Julie Sze
 E-Res: “Winning Fair Labor Standards for Domestic Workers,” Claire Hobden

HAPPY WINTER VACATION!!!
 CONGRATULATIONS GRADUATES!!!
 Full Citations for Online Readings

Week 1: Ideology, Oppression, and Privilege

McIntosh, Peggy. 1997 "White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences through Work in Women's Studies." Pp. 290–99 in *Critical White Studies: Looking Behind the Mirror*, Richard Delgado & Jean Stefancic, Eds. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Week 2: Citizenship, Assimilation, Immigration and Multiculturalism

Glenn, Evelyn, Nakano. 2004. "Citizenship: Universalism and Exclusionism." Pp 18–55 in *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor*. Cambridge: Harvard.

Week 3: Native American and African American Experience

Alvord, Lori Arviso. 2001. "Full Circle." Pp. 235–56 in *Growing Up Poor: A Literary Anthology*, Robert Coles, Randy Testa, & Michael Coles, Eds. New York: New Press.

Week 4: European Immigrant Experience

Barrett, James R. and David Roediger. 1997. "Inbetween Peoples: Nationality and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16(3): 3–44.

Week 5: Contemporary Immigrants

Ghazal Read, Jen'an. 2008. "Multiple Identities among Arab Americans: A Tale of Two Congregations." Pp. 107–127 in *Being and Belonging: Muslims in the United States since 9/11*, Katherine Pratt Ewing, Ed. New York: Russell Sage.

Telles, Edward E. and Vilma Ortiz. 2008. "Conclusions." Pp. 264–292 in *Generations of Exclusion: Mexican Americans, Assimilation, and Race*. New York: Russell Sage.

Zhou, Min. 2004. "Are Asian Americans Becoming 'White'?" *Contexts* 3(1): 29–37.

Week 6: Are We Colorblind? Race as Daily Lived Experience.

DuBois, W.E.B. 1999 (1903). "Of Our Spiritual Strivings." Pp.9–16 in *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: W.W. Norton.

O'Brien, Eileen. 2008. "'No Racism, Only That One Time . . .': Clinging to the American Dream, Despite Exclusion." Pp. 124–162 in *The Racial Middle: Latinos and Asian Americans Living Beyond the Racial Divide*. New York: New York University Press.

Week 7: Popular Culture and the Media

Allen, Ernest, Jr. 1995. "Making the Strong Survive: The Contours & Contradictions of Message Rap." Pp. 159–91 in *Droppin' Science: Critical Essays on Rap Music and Hip Hop*, William Eric Perkins, Ed. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Week 8: Education

- Anderson, James D. 1994. "How We Learn about Race through History." Pp. 87–106 in *Learning History in America: Schools, Cultures and Politics*, Lloyd Kramer, Donald Reid, and William L. Barney, Eds. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Dulin-Keita, Akila, Lonnie Hannon III, Jose R. Fernandez, & William C. Cockerham. 2011. "The Defining Moment: Children's Conceptualization of Race and Experiences with Racial Discrimination." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34(4): 662–682.

Week 9: Work & the Economy

- Moss, Philip and Chris Tilly. 1996. "'Soft' Skills and Race." *Work and Occupations* 23: 252–76.

Week 11: Health and Health Care

- Sze, Julie. 2007. "Childhood Asthma in New York City: The Politics of Gender, Race, and Recognition." Pp. 91–108 in *Noxious New York: The Racial Politics of Urban Health and Environmental Justice*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Week 13: Historical Social Movements

- King, Martin Luther, Jr. 1963. "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." *The Atlantic Monthly* 212(2): 78–88.
- McAdam, Doug. 1988. "Freedom High: The Summer of '64." Pp. 66–115 in *Freedom Summer*, Doug McAdam. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ogbar, Jeffrey O.G. 2004. "A Party for the People: The Black Freedom Movement and the Rise of the Black Panther Party." Pp. 69–91 in *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Week 14: Contemporary Social Movements

- Hobden, Claire. 2010. "Winning Fair Labor Standards for Domestic Workers: Lessons Learned from the Campaign for a Domestic Worker Bill of Rights." International Labor Office, Global Union Research Network, Discussion Paper Number 14.
- Sze, Julie. 2007. "Power to the People? Deregulation and Environmental Justice Energy Activism." Pp. 143–75 in *Noxious New York: The Racial Politics of Urban Health and Environmental Justice*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Syllabus V: American Race and Ethnic Relations

Paul Croll (Professor)

Course Description

This course is an introduction to race in America from a sociological perspective. While each of you have had distinctive life experiences and already have some knowledge about race, we will be looking at racial and ethnic relations using a sociological framework. This means that we will be moving beyond the individual, both in opinions and experience, to look at broad social patterns and social institutions. We will be looking at race in a broad sense by examining how race affects all individuals. Conversations about these concepts often focus solely on minorities, but race affects all of us in ways we see and also in ways that are not so visible. Ideas such as privilege, power, and oppression will be woven throughout the course. While race is an individual characteristic on one level, it also plays important roles on a larger level in stratifying and shaping our society. Opportunities and life experiences are affected by every person's race and racial experiences.

Course Etiquette and Expectations

The topics we will discuss in this course can be very sensitive and often personal. I expect there will be times when you disagree with each other and disagree with me. It is okay that disagreements occur. However, it is important that the environment of this course remain open, comfortable, and most importantly, respectful. Regardless of whether you agree with someone or not, I expect that you will always be respectful of others' opinions and beliefs. We will have discussions throughout the course. I will expect you to participate and provide your opinions, but these opinions should be grounded in the readings for the day and from previous days. The difference between the discussions we will have in class and discussions you may have on similar topics outside of class is that our discussions here will be based on and evidence from the readings and arguments presented in this course. You may certainly disagree with any of the authors you will be reading, but you will be expected to support, and be able to defend, your argument with relevant evidence.

Overall structure of the course

The course starts begins by providing an overview of race and ethnicity in America including the major theoretical approaches and traditions used by sociologists to understand race. Next, we will look at racism, prejudice, and discrimination. From there, we will move into examining the unique experiences of particular racial and

ethnic groups in the United States. We then will examine various social contexts and how race is experienced through social institutions. The course will end with a look at social movements and possibilities for social change.

Required Reading

1. Gallagher, Charles A., editor 2009. *Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity, 4th Edition.*
2. D'Angelo, Raymond and Herbert Douglas, eds. 2010. *Taking Sides: Clashing Views in Race and Ethnicity, 8th Edition.*
3. Articles available through Moodle.

To access articles and other course material, go to: <http://moodle.augustana.edu/>
All books are available for purchase at the bookstore.

Course Requirements

Class Attendance/Participation/In-Class Writing – 10 % of your grade

You are expected to attend every class. Class attendance will be taken. The other component of your grade will be based on class participation and in-class writing. I will track class participation. Your class participation grade will be based on both the frequency of your in-class participation as well as the quality of what you contribute. There will be plenty of opportunities for you to participate. On occasion, we will break into small groups for discussion, which will provide another opportunity to participate. We also will be doing in-class writing exercises at various times throughout the course. If you have not participated in the class discussions when these in-class writing assignments occur, I strongly encourage you to volunteer to read your writings during these classes. Reading your in-class writings will count toward your class participation grade. Both attendance and participation are necessary to earn the full 10 % of this course requirement.

Reaction Papers – 10 % of your grade

You will be completing four reaction papers for this course. Each reaction paper will be based on a set of readings for one class session. It is up to you to decide which four class sessions you select for your reaction papers. However, I strongly encourage you to not wait until the last sessions of the course to complete these papers. Each reaction paper should be approximately three typed pages in length. Reaction papers are due at the beginning of the class in which the readings will be discussed.

The reaction papers should have three main parts:

1. *Summary*

Provide a summary of the main argument for at least three of the readings (1–2 paragraphs each). What are the main points that they wish to convey? What kinds

of evidence do they use (personal experience, statistics, interviews, historical data, etc.).

2. *Analysis*

Discuss what parts of the arguments you find particularly compelling, provocative, or interesting. Do you agree or disagree with the authors? Reflect on your personal experiences related to the arguments. Did something surprise you, shock you, or make you angry?

3. *Compare and Contrast*

Compare and contrast the readings to each other. Do the authors agree or disagree with each other? How do the topics raised in these readings relate to previous class sessions?

By the end of the course you should have turned in four reaction papers. **Please keep track of the number of reaction papers you complete.** Remember that even if you do not do a reaction paper for a class, you are still responsible for completing and understanding all of the assigned readings.

Paper – 25 % of your grade

There will be one paper required for this course. The paper will focus on the readings and ideas for a portion of the course. The paper will be 8–10 pages in length, typewritten and double-spaced. More details will be provided about the paper during the course. The paper will be due at the beginning of class on **Wednesday, February 8th.**

Taking Sides Debate – 15 % of your grade

You will be participating in one debate during the course. One of the texts we will be using in this course is *Taking Sides: Clashing Views in Race and Ethnicity*. You will be assigned to one side of one of the debates in the course and will work with 1–2 of your classmates to prepare your positions. The debates will occur in class on a regular basis throughout the course. More details will be provided about the debates during the course.

First Exam – 15 % of your grade

The First Exam for this course will occur in-class on **Friday, December 9th.** The First Exam will cover the lectures, class activities, and readings for the first 4 weeks of the course. The exam will include multiple choice, matching, and short answer questions.

Second Exam – 25 % of your grade

The Second Exam for this course will occur during Finals Week on **Monday, February 13th,** from 12 pm–2 pm. The Second Exam will cover the lectures, class activities, and readings from weeks 5 through 10 of the course. The exam will include multiple choice, matching, and short answer questions.

Policies

Grading

Grading will be based on the following components:

- Class Attendance/Participation/In-Class Writing (10 %)
- Reaction Papers (10 %)
- Paper (25 %)
- Debate (15 %)
- First Exam (15 %)
- Second Exam (25 %)
- TOTAL 100 %

Incompletes

No incompletes will be accepted for this course, except under extraordinary circumstances. If circumstances arise in which you think you will not be able to complete the course, you need to speak with me as soon as possible. An incomplete requires a written agreement between the student and the instructor.

Late Papers

If you know you will be absent from class on a due date, you are expected to turn your work in early. If you do not hand in a paper during class, you must turn in your paper to the front desk of the Sociology Department Office, Evald 111. Do not leave papers under doors or send them via email. **Late papers will lose up to ½ letter grade for each day they are late.**

Missed Exams

The Exams for this course will occur on **Friday, December 9th** and **Monday, February 13th**. Make-up exams will only be granted if you have written documentation for an excused absence (for example, funerals, extreme illness, scheduled activities of official College student organizations). If possible, please contact me in advance to make arrangements. You must contact me within 2 days of the scheduled exams if you miss the exam and want to take a make-up exam.

Honor Code

In the 2005–2006 academic year, Augustana College students – “committed to the ideals of integrity, accountability, fairness and honesty” – researched and drafted an academic Honor Code for Augustana College. Approved by the student body and faculty in May of 2006, the Honor Code “sets the foundation and boundaries to ensure academic excellence and stability in an evolving and dynamic world.”

The code cites the need for honor and integrity in carrying out the college mission of “offering a challenging education that develops mind, spirit and body,” concluding that “the Honor Code holds each individual accountable to the community of Augustana College.”

For additional information on academic integrity, please go to:

<http://www.augustana.edu/library/Services/AcademicIntegrity.html>

Given the amount of writing required for this class, it is very important that you understand what plagiarism means as well as what activities fall into the categories

of infractions in the Honor Code. I will be glad to answer any questions you may have about this either in class or during my office hours. I encourage you to talk to me if there is any confusion about these topics.

Resources

Please feel free to talk to me if you have any special circumstances we should be aware of. I want to give every student the opportunity to be successful in this course and will try my best to provide any reasonable accommodations you may require. Please let me know if you require any additional resources. I will be glad to talk about any needs or concerns you may have. There are many resources available at the college to help make courses accessible and productive for all students.

Dean of Students

The Dean of Students supports the academic mission of the college by providing a safe, healthy and educational environment for students outside of the classroom. Specifically, the Departments of Residential Life, Student Activities, Office of Diversity Services, The Student Counseling Center, The Career Center, Athletics, and Intramural Sports and Recreational Sports fall under the umbrella of Student Services which is managed by the Dean of Students. Health issues, disabilities, academic actions (probation, suspension, etc.), emergencies and parental concerns are also handled by the Dean. The Dean of Students is the “trouble shooter” on campus and is happy to receive any question or request for information not handled by another office.

To Contact the Dean of Students please email deanofstudentsoffice@augustana.edu or call at

1-800-798-8100 ext. 7533

Reading and Writing Center

The Reading/Writing Center provides all Augustana students with the opportunity to participate in individual instruction and support to gain ability and confidence as college students.

The center is staffed by two faculty members who conduct one-time student sessions or a one-credit, one-on-one course designed to promote academic self-confidence, skills and knowledge.

The center also employs peer tutors who have taken two terms of instruction in writing, learning and tutoring theory. These student tutors serve as academic mentors who understand what other students are experiencing and can explain course concepts and practices in a non-stressful way.

Students can use the Reading/Writing Center for:

- Advice on any stage of writing a paper: getting started, drafting, revising, or proofreading;
- Instruction on academic success skills such as time management, note taking, effective studying and test taking;

- Help starting essay assignments;
- Writing personal statements for graduate school or job placement;
- English skills, if English is not their first language;
- Using the computers available to write papers;
- Getting individual help in preparing for reading comprehension or writing portions of graduate examinations;
- Checking reference books concerning writing or academic success;
- Meeting classmates for group work; and
- Studying in one of the center’s comfortable chairs.

For more information about the Reading/Writing Center, contact Virginia Johnson, center director, at (800) 798-8100 x7372 or rwjohnson@augustana.edu.

Support for Disabilities

I encourage students with disabilities to contact me at the beginning of the course. Along with other campus resources, we can arrange to make this class work for you.

Class Topics and Readings

Week 1: Introduction and Overview

Monday, November 14: Introduction

Wednesday, November 16: Social Construction of Race

- “Racial Formations.” Omi & Winant in RCL, pp. 17–22
- “Drawing the Color Line.” Zinn in RCL, pp. 9–17

Friday, November 18: Theoretical Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity/Racialized Systems

- “Theoretical Perspectives in Race and Ethnic Relations.” Feagin & Booher Feagin in RCL, pp. 22–32
- “Racialized Social System Approach to Racism.” Bonilla-Silva in RCL, pp. 33–38

Week 2: Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism

Monday, November 21: Prejudice & Discrimination

- “Discrimination and the American Creed.” Merton in RCL, pp. 130–137
- Selection from “The Nature of Prejudice.” Allport in TS, pp. 162–174
- “Race and Civil Rights Pre September 11, 2001: The Targeting of Arabs and Muslims.” Akram & Johnson in RCL, pp. 137–145

Wednesday, November 23: Racism

- “Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position.” Blumer in RCL, pp. 125–130
- “Defining Racism: Can We Talk?” Tatum (Reserve)

- “Laissez-Faire Racism, Racial Inequality, and the Role of the Social Sciences.” Bobo in RCL, pp. 155–164.

Friday, November 25: NO CLASS

Week 3: Colorblindness, Whiteness, and Identity

Monday, November 28: Colorblindness

- “Racism without Racists,” Bonilla-Silva (Reserve)
- “Color Blind Privilege: The Social and Political Functions of Erasing the Color Line in Post-Race America.” Gallagher in RCL, pp. 100–108
- “The Ideology of Colorblindness.” Guinier & Torres in RCL, pp. 109–113
- Taking Sides Issue 9: “Is the Emphasis on a Color-Blind Society and Answer to Racism?” TS, pp. 78–94.

Wednesday, November 30: Whiteness

- “The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: Racialized Social Democracy.” Lipsitz in RCL, pp. 146–154
- “White Privilege Shapes the United States” Jensen (Reserve)
- “Unpacking the Knapsack.” McIntosh (Reserve) – BRING TO CLASS
- “How Jews Became White Folks.” Brodtkin (Reserve)
- “Optional Ethnicities: For Whites Only?” Waters (Reserve)

Friday, December 2: In-Class Taking Sides Debate

- Taking Sides Issue 1: “Do Americans Need a Common Identity?” TS, pp. 2–30.

Week 4: Racial Inequality

Monday, December 5: Racial Inequalities

- “An Overview of Trends in Social and Economic Well-Being, by Race.” Blank in RCL, pp. 39–49.
- “The Color of Health in the United States.” Williams & Collins in RCL, pp. 50–56.
- “Transformative Assets, the Racial Wealth Gap and the American Dream.” Shapiro in RCL, pp. 57–60.

Wednesday, December 7: Racial Inequalities

- “Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Conditions in United States Metropolitan Areas.” Massey in RCL, pp. 165–183.
- “Environmental Justice in the 21st Century: Race Still Matters.” Bullard in RCL, pp. 192–203.
- “Why are There No Supermarkets in My Neighborhood?: The Long Search for Fresh Fruit, Produce, and Healthy Food.” Zenk et al. in RCL, pp. 212–216.

Friday, December 9: FIRST EXAM

FIRST EXAM

Week 5: Experiences of Specific Racial and Ethnic Groups

Monday, December 12: The African American Experience

- “Of Race and Risk” Williams (Reserve)
- Taking Sides Issue 6: “Do Minorities and Whites Engage in Self-Segregation?” TS, pp. 345–366.
- “The Declining Significance of Race” Wilson (Reserve)

Wednesday, December 14: Native Americans

- “A Tour of Indian People and Indian Lands.” Wilkins in RCL, pp. 71–86
- “Winnebagos, Cherokees, Apaches, and Dakotas: The Persistence of Stereotyping of American Indians in American Advertising Brands.” Merskin in RCL, pp. 321–327
- “Playing Indian: Why Native American Mascots Must End.” Springwood and King (Reserve) – BRING TO CLASS

Friday, December 16: Asian Americans

- “Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities.” Espiritu in RCL, pp. 87–94.
- “A Hyphenated Identity” Kitano (Reserve)
- “Are Asian-Americans Becoming ‘White’?” Zhou (Reserve) – BRING TO CLASS
- Taking Sides: “Are Asian Americans a Model Minority?” (Reserve).

Week 6: Experiences of Specific Racial and Ethnic Groups

Social Contexts and Institutions

Monday, January 9: Latino/a Americans

- “Distorted Reality: Hispanic Characters in TV Entertainment.” Lichter and Amundson in RCL, pp. 310–320.
- “The Myth of the Latin Woman: I Just Met a Girl Named Maria.” Ortiz Cofer (Reserve)
- “Going Beyond Black and White, Hispanics in Census Pick ‘Other’” Navarro (Reserve)
- “Shades of Belonging: Latinos and Racial Identity.” Tafoya (Reserve)

Wednesday, January 11: Multiracial Groups and Identities

- “Beyond Black and White: Remaking Race in America.” Lee & Bean in RCL, pp. 94–99.
- “Redrawing the Color-Line? The Problems and Possibilities of Multiracial Families and Group Making.” McClain DaCosta in RCL, pp. 399–408.

Friday, January 13: Immigration

- “The Melting Pot and the Color Line.” Steinberg in RCL, pp. 337–342.
- “Who Are the Other African Americans? Contemporary African and Caribbean Immigrants in the United States.” Logan in RCL, pp. 343–352.
- “Ethnic and Racial Identities of Second-Generation Black Immigrants in New York City.” Waters in RCL, pp. 365–376.
- “The Arab Immigrant Experience.” Suleiman in RCL, pp. 353–364.

Week 7: Social Contexts and InstitutionsMonday, January 16: In-Class Taking Sides Debate

- Taking Sides Issue 2: “Does Immigration Contribute to a Better America?” TS, pp. 232–244.

Wednesday, January 18: Education

- Ogbu – Oppositional Identity Piece (Reserve)
- The Significance of Race and Gender in School Success among Latinas and Latinos in College Barajas and Pierce (Reserve)

Friday, January 20: NO CLASS***Week 8: Social Contexts and Institutions***Monday, January 23: Work

- “When the Melting Pot Boils Over: The Irish, Jews, Blacks, and Koreans of New York.” Waldinger in RCL, pp. 251–259
- “There’s No Shame in My Game: Status and Stigma among Harlem’s Working Poor.” In RCL, pp. 259–270.
- “Is Job Discrimination Dead?” Herring (Reserve – Higg)
- “We’d Love to Hire Them, But . . . The Meaning of Race for Employers” Kirshenman and Neckerman (Reserve)

Wednesday, January 25: In-Class Taking Sides Debate

- Taking Sides Issue 14: “Is There Room for Bilingualism in American Education?” TS, pp. 257–271.

Friday, January 27: In-Class Taking Sides Debate

- Taking Sides Issue 10: “Is Racial Profiling Defensible Public Policy?” TS, pp. 198–214.

Week 9: Social Contexts and InstitutionsMonday, January 30: Criminal Justice System

- “No Equal Justice: The Color of Punishment.” Cole in RCL, pp. 219–225
- “Masked Racism: Reflections on the Prison Industrial Complex.” Davis (Reserve)
- “The Mark of a Criminal Record.” Pager in RCL, pp. 246–249.

Wednesday, February 1: Affirmative Action/Racial Preferences

- “The Effects of Affirmative Action on Other Stakeholders,” Reskin (Reserve)
- “Why are Doves of Unqualified, Unprepared Kids Getting into our Top Colleges? Because Their Dads Are Alumni.” Larew (Reserve)
- “The Preference of White Privilege: In opposing Affirmative Action, President Bush resurrects Jim Crow” Crenshaw, <http://affirmativeactiontools.com/libraries/aarl/whiteprivilege/>
- “On the Defensive: Quota defenders are having a tough time.” Connerly <http://www.nationalreview.com/document/connerly200504150756.asp>
- “A ‘poison’ divides us” An Interview with Ward Connerly <http://archive.salon.com/politics2000/feature/2000/03/27/connerly/index.html?CP=SAL&DN=110>
- “From Missouri to Arizona” Dumke (Reserve)

Friday, February 3: In-Class Taking Sides Debates

- Taking Sides Issue 20: “Is Now the Time for Reparations for African Americans?” (Reserve)

Week 10: Prospects for Social Change/Wrap-upMonday, February 6: Social Movements

- “The Genius of the Civil Rights Movement: Can it Happen Again?” Morris (Reserve)
- “Reducing Inequalities: Doing Anti-Racism: Toward and Egalitarian American Society” Johnson, Rush, and Feagin (Reserve)

Wednesday, February 8: Prospects for Social Change**PAPER DUE AT BEGINNING OF CLASS**

- “Ten Simple Things You Can Do to Improve Race Relations,” Gallagher in RCL, pp. 416–418.
- “Policy Steps toward Closing the Gap” Lui, Robles, Leondar-Wright, Brewer, and Adamson in RCL, pp. 409–416.
- “Interrupting the Cycle of Oppression: The Role of Allies as Agents of Change” Ayvazian (Reserve)
- “Combating Intentional Bigotry and Inadvertently Racist Acts.” Blanchard (Reserve)

Friday, February 10: Wrap-up Concluding Thoughts & DiscussionMonday, February 13: 12 pm–2 pm SECOND EXAM**SECOND EXAM**

*** Instructor reserves the right to amend the syllabus and course schedule. Students will be notified of changes both in writing and verbally. ***

Syllabus VI: Race, Ethnicity and Social Justice

Carissa Froyum (Professor)

General Information

Welcome to Race, Ethnicity and Social Justice. This course is an in-depth examination of racial and ethnic inequalities, particularly in the United States, and the social justice efforts that strive to equalize them. Among other things, we will study how inequalities develop, the nature of inequalities, their effects on people, and some remedies that most promisingly address them. We will use the special case of incarceration in the United States as a case study in inequality and social justice. This course is reading, writing, and discussion intensive. We will complete four weekly writing assignments that require you to reflect on data about racial and ethnic inequality and your own personal history. Additionally, we will complete a major project that requires service learning outside of class every two weeks.

As a class, we will learn to:

- Understand the concepts of social construction and racial projects and use them to explain the nature of race
- Use our understanding of race and racism to make sense of broader social relationships, our identities, and our actions
- Identify different theoretical approaches for thinking about race and racism, and compare and contrast them
- Apply race and racism theories to make sense of the distribution of resources across groups
- Analyze data on the distribution of resources within and across racial groups
- Analyze how individual practices (micro-level) relate to the distribution of resources (macro-level) and vice versa
- Use evidence to construct arguments about inequality
- Complete a service-learning project
- Improve critical reading, writing, and speaking skills

Course Requirements

Required Readings. Our readings are journal articles readily available through UNI's library. The syllabus calendar indicates the full citation and location of each article.

Weekly Work. In order to contribute to class discussions and group learning, each person will prepare for class ahead of time. This prep includes reading the

assigned articles/chapters, thinking about them, and completing weekly writing assignments. These assignments take three forms:

- (a) **Weekly writing assignment papers.** We will have 4 weekly writing assignment papers that require at least five pages of analysis and self-reflection. These papers require students to address their own experiences with various aspects of race/ethnicity and compare them to empirical findings on the same topic. Instructions for each are available on Blackboard.
- (b) **Abstracts.** Abstracts have two parts: a complete citation (in ASA format) for each reading and a summary of each reading (1–2 hearty paragraphs long). Summaries should highlight the thesis of the reading, the research methods employed, and the main supporting evidence. A summary does *not* include your critique or analysis of the reading. You should turn in a 1–2 paragraph abstract for EACH reading/chapter, each week. *Put the readings away while you write your abstract.* Do not quote excessively – it should be in your own words.

Graduate Students. On top of the abstracts for each reading, graduate students must also write one *critical reflection* on the week’s readings. It should be 1–2 paragraphs long each week and focus on analyzing some aspect of the readings. Critical reflections must include critical thinking: evaluation of the ideas presented, application to some other aspect of social life, or critical questions the reading raised for you. It is not simply your opinion about or reactions to a reading.

To receive credit, abstracts and critical reflections must be turned in *at the beginning of each class*. If you miss class for any reason, you may turn in your abstracts before class starts to receive credit. Further instructions are available on Blackboard under “How To” and then “write abstracts and critical reflection papers.”

- (C) **Service-learning Notes.** These notes are comprehensive, detailed accounts of your experiences in your service-learning site. They should include two parts: (A) a play-by-play section that describes who did and said what in chronological order, and (B) a self-reflection section in which you critically analyze the experience. Your critical reflection must include critical thinking such as asking probing questions or drawing connections to our readings.
- (D) **Attendance.** In this class, much of what we learn will be generated through class discussion. It is especially critical in this course to attend class and, thus, is a requirement. If you will miss class, regardless of the reason, you may turn in your weekly writing assignment prior to the start of class as a hard copy to me. Late reaction papers will only be accepted in the case of personal or family emergency, in accordance to UNI’s policy. If you miss class because of a university-sponsored activity, you must turn in your abstracts ahead of time to receive credit for them. If you are going to miss more than one class meeting, you should not take this class as your learning (and grade) will be negatively affected.
- (E) **Leading Class Discussion (Graduate students only).** Each graduate student will lead class discussion for 1 h during a single class period. Class discussions

should cover both content (make sure everyone understands the author's argument) as well as evaluation or analysis of the argument. When you lead discussion, focus on one topic or reading to cover thoroughly. I encourage you to make these as interesting and creative as possible. Feel free to use media as you see fit. Email Dr. Froyum with a course plan and discussion questions by the Sunday prior to class.

- (F) **Class Participation.** This class will deal with many sensitive and political issues. The topics we cover, or the way we talk about them, may make you uncomfortable. That's normal. If you take this class, you'll need an open mind and positive attitude in order to learn successfully. Know that this sort of academic pursuit is often emotionally challenging and that students routinely find these topics to stir various emotions.

We will use a variety of learning techniques in this class but primarily dialogue, in-class activities, and small group discussion. Each person in the class is important and has contributions to make. Thus, I expect each person to participate in large and small group discussions – and to take notes daily. Participation takes the form of offering thoughtful comments and questions, listening attentively, taking leadership in discussion occasionally, engaging in class activities, and taking notes. If you have concerns about your class participation or note taking, please see me early on in the semester and we can brainstorm ways to include your input more. Do not wait until before an exam to seek help if you need it. I will evaluate each person's participation during the semester based on quality and quantity of participation, note taking, and discussion leadership. In taking this class, we pledge to these basic ground rules:

- Come to class on-time and be prepared for discussion and dialogue. Each person will have read the course readings, thought critically about them, and written abstracts beforehand.
- Turn off cell phones & mp3 players and be engaged in the class discussion rather than other activities.
- Listen attentively to each other by giving time to talk and explain ideas without interruption.
- Everyone participates and shares class time. Everyone takes on a leadership role in discussion and small groups regularly. During group projects, each person does his/her fair share.
- Disagree respectfully. Disagree with *ideas* without attacking people or implying they are stupid.
- Because language is power, be thoughtful and affirming in our word choice. We will pay special attention to using language that is inclusive in regards to sexuality, gender, race, and ability. If you have a question about what words are appropriate, please see me individually.
- Encourage and support self-reflection, thoughtful critiques, and open dialogue in this class.
- Laugh and have fun. Enjoy our time together.

If something occurs during class that makes you uncomfortable, you may contact me anonymously or in person. You may also contact the Office of Compliance and Equity Management (re: affirmative action and disabilities, 273–2846), or the Violence Intervention Services (re: sexual harassment, 273-SAFE).

Exams. You will have a midterm and a final exam in this class. The final is comprehensive. Exams will be essay.

Course Project. This course will include a service-learning course project. This project will require you to perform service learning for approximately 2 h every 2 weeks. You will document your volunteer experiences in a journal that describes each volunteer experience in detail. You will write a final course paper that requires you to analyze your service-learning experience and literature related to your experience.

Grades. Grades are posted on e-learning throughout the semester. Final grades are assigned according to the distribution requirements below. Students may calculate their own quarterly or midterm grades accordingly. Dr. Froyum will not do this for you. It is the student’s responsibility to make sure that each grade is correctly entered into the grade book within a week of their entry.

Breakdown:

Weekly papers		
Self-reflection on racial beliefs	10 %	
Implicit association test	10 %	
Racial disparity in incarceration	10 %	
Segregation	10 %	
Course project		
Notes	10 %	
Final paper	20 %	
Abstracts	5 %	
Exams		
Midterm	10 %	
Final	15 %	
Participation	up to +/-3 %	

Grade Assignment:

98–100A+	87–89 B+	77–79 C+	67–69 D+
93–97A	83–86 B	73–76 C	63–67 D
90–92A–	80–82 B–	70–72 C–	60–62 D–
			0–59 F

Blackboard. For our convenience, this course will have a homepage via Blackboard. It will include a copy of the syllabus, links to assignments, and your grades.. I have also included a link for discussion outside of class, where you can

raise issues or ideas that come up. The same expectations for respectful dialogue apply on here as in class. If there is something offensive on the discussion board, I will ask you to correct it or provide a justification along with the statement. You may use your catID to log on at <http://www.uni.edu/elearning/>

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

E-Mail Etiquette. *Think before you send.* Remember, you cannot get an email back once you've sent it. Check to see if your question or concern has already been addressed on e-learning or in class. Emails to faculty are professional correspondences so use formal etiquette. Always include a subject and the course. Be sure to address faculty with a salutation of "Dear Professor" or "Dear Dr." and include a closing. The body of the text should use standard language, rather than abbreviations or slang. Be concise and to the point. I will not respond to emails that do not follow these guidelines. Note: I check email during regular business hours so do not expect an email response from me outside of them.

Academic Integrity. I take academic honesty and integrity very seriously. This expectation includes showing respect for your colleagues, as well as other people's work. Cheating and plagiarism are not tolerated. Plagiarism is the presentation of another person's work, writings, or ideas as your own. All work must be your own work. This includes note taking, quiz or exam answers, and paper pieces. In general, the internet is not an appropriate source of academic information. If you plan to use the internet as a resource, you must consult with me beforehand. If in doubt, transform an argument into your own words and cite a reference – or ask me. During collaborative work, I expect each group member to fulfill his or her responsibilities to the group. If you have questions as to what constitutes a violation of academic integrity, see the Academic Ethics statement at <http://www.uni.edu/pres/policies/301.shtml> or talk to me. On each paper/exam, please include an affirmation statement that you have adhered to the University's standards of academic integrity and the above listed criteria. Include the following pledge and your signature on a coversheet or grading rubric for each project/exam: *"I have adhered to UNI's standards for academic honesty and integrity in completing this assignment."* I will not accept or grade projects/exams for which you have not signed this pledge.

Cheating, plagiarizing, or other violations of academic integrity will result in a zero for the assignment or class and a violation report sent to you, the Provost, the SAC head, and the head of your major department. It will become part of your confidential student file. Faculty may also recommend suspension from the class or the university. Students may grieve the faculty decision. Discuss it directly with the faculty member to resolve it informally. You may formally grieve using an Appeal Form that goes directly to the faculty member. If that doesn't resolve it, the appeal goes to the SAC department head. If that doesn't resolve it, the appeal goes to the CSBS dean. If that doesn't resolve it, the appeal goes to the Office of Academic

Affairs. See UNI’s full grievance procedures at <http://www.uni.edu/pres/policies/1202.shtml><http://www.uni.edu/pres/policies/1201.shtml>.

Teaching Assessment. The exams and assignments you complete for this course will be used to assess your attainment of the goals specified above. These exams and assignments will also be used for the purpose of writing student outcome assessment reports that are required by UNI and its accrediting body, the Higher Learning Commission. The instructor will hand out a consent form in class which will enable you to indicate whether you agree or object to having your exams or assignments used for this purpose.

Additional Services. If you require special assistance because of a documented disability, please see me so that we may work together to meet your needs. In order to take advantage of available accommodations, students must register with Student Disability Services. Their office is 103 Student Health Center. Visit <http://www.uni.edu/disability/>

Course Calendar

Week	Topic and readings	DUE
1 Tues. Aug. 21	How do we define race, ethnicity, and racism? Introduction	
2 Aug 28	Are racist beliefs dead? What are the racial beliefs of Americans? How do Americans think about race? Hunt, Matthew O. 2007. “African American, Hispanic, and White Beliefs about Black/White Inequality, 1977–2004.” <i>American Sociological Review</i> . 72(3):390–415. (library) Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo, Amanda Lewis, and David G. Embrick. 2004. “‘I Did Not Get that Job Because of a Black Man. . .’ The Story Lines and Testimonies of Color-Blind Racism.” <i>Sociological Forum</i> 19(4):555–581. (library)	Racial beliefs paper
3 Sept 4	Race and incarceration Barkan, Steven E. and Steve F. Cohn. 2005. “Why Whites Favor Spending More Money to Fight Crime.” <i>Social Problems</i> 52(2):300–314. (library) Do we hold implicit racial beliefs without even knowing it? How do cognitive biases form? Fiske, Susan T. 2002. “What We Know Now about Bias and Intergroup Conflict, the Problem of the Century.” <i>Current Directions in Psychological Science</i> 11(4):123–128. (library) Ridgeway, Cecilia L. and Shelley J. Correll. 2006. “Consensus and the Creation of Status Beliefs.” <i>Social Forces</i> . 85(1):431–453. (library) (status construction theory)	Implicit association bias test paper

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Week	Topic and readings	DUE
	<i>Graduate students only:</i> Webster, Murray, Jr. and Stuart J. Hysom. 1998. "Creating Status Characteristics." <i>American Sociological Review</i> . 63:351–378. (library)	
	Race and incarceration	
4	Saperstein, Aliya and Andrew M. Penner. 2009. "The Race of a Criminal Record: How Incarceration Colors Racial Perceptions." <i>Social Problems</i> 57(1):92–113. (library)	Notes from service work
	How does racial categorization lead to racial structuring? What resources do we use to structure around race?	
Sept 11	Winant, Howard. 2004. "One Hundred Years of Racial Theory." Pp. 153–165 in <i>The New Politics of Race: Globalism, Difference, Justice</i> . Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. (available electronically through the library, access through book title)	
	Froyum, Carissa. 2012. "For the Betterment of Kids Who Look Like Me." <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i> . (library)	
	Massey, Douglas S. 2009. "Racial Formation in Theory and Practice: The Case of Mexicans in the United States." <i>Race and Social Problems</i> 1(1):12–26. (available on the web)	
	<i>Graduate students only:</i> Meyers, Kristin. 2012. "Exotica: The Deployment of Intersecting Binaries." <i>Journal of Contemporary Ethnography</i> . 41(1):7–33. (library)	
5	Do gatekeepers discriminate?	Abstracts of readings
Sept 18	Zamudio, Margaret M. and Michael I. Lichter. 2009. "Bad Attitudes and Good Soldiers: Soft Skills as a Code for Tractability in the Hiring of Immigrant Latina/os over Native Blacks in the Hotel Industry." <i>Social Problems</i> 55(4):571–589. (library)	
	Downey, Douglas B. and Shana Pribesh. 2004. "When Race Matters: Teachers' Evaluations of Students' Classroom Behavior." <i>Sociology of Education</i> 77(4):267–282. (library)	
	<i>Graduate students only:</i> Hirsch, C. Elizabeth and Sabino Kornrich. 2008. "The Context of Discrimination." <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> . 5:1394–1432. (library)	
	Race and incarceration	
	Pager, Devah, and Lincoln Quillian. 2005. "Walking the Talk? What Employers Say versus What They Do." <i>American Sociological Review</i> 70 (3):355–380. (library)	
6	What do racial structures look like?	Notes from service work
Sept 25	Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. "We Are All Americans!: The Latin Americanization of Racial Stratification in the USA." <i>Race & Society</i> 5(1):3–26. (library)	
	Massey, Douglas S., Jonathan Rothwell, Domina Thurston. 2009. "The Changing Bases of Segregation in the United States." <i>The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i> 626(1): 74–90. (library)	

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Week	Topic and readings	DUE
	Hughey, Matthew W. 2007. "Color-Conscious Racism and the Unintentional Persistence of Inequality." <i>Social Thought & Research</i> (elearning)	
7	Is there a prison industrial complex? What are the racial causes and consequences?	Racial disparity in incarceration paper
Oct 2	Western, Bruce. 2007. <i>Punishment and Inequality in America</i> . New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Chapter 3: "The Politics and Economics of Punitive Criminal Justice." (handout)	
	Pettit, Becky and Bruce Western. 2004. "Mass Imprisonment and the Life Course: Race and Class Inequality in United States Incarceration." <i>American Sociological Review</i> 69:151–169. (Blackboard)	
	Eileen E. S. Bjornstrom, Eileen E.S., Robert L. Kaufman, Ruth D. Peterson, and Michael D. Slater. 2010. "Race and Ethnic Representations of Lawbreakers and Victims in Crime News: A National Study of Television Coverage." <i>Social Problems</i> 57(2): 269–293. (library)	
8	MIDTERM	
Oct 9		
9	What other structures matter?	Notes from service work
Oct 16	Rank, Mark R. 2009. "Measuring the Economic Racial Divide Across the Course of American Lives." <i>Race and Social Problems</i> 1(2):57–66. (available on the web)	
	Tomaskovic-Devey, Donald and Kevin Stainbeck. 2007. "Discrimination and Desegregation: Equal Opportunity Progress in United States Private Sector Workplaces Since the Civil Rights Act." <i>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i> 609(1):49–84. (library)	
	Hill Collins, Patricia. 2006. "New Commodities, New Consumers: Selling Blackness in a Global Marketplace." <i>Ethnicities</i> 6(3):297–317. (Blackboard)	
10	How do structures of race/ethnicity affect us?	Segregation paper
Oct 23	Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo and David G. Embrick. 2007. "'Every Place Has a Ghetto . . .': The Significance of Whites' Social and Residential Segregation." <i>Symbolic Interaction</i> 30(3): 323–345. (library)	
	Massey, Douglas S. and Margarita Mooney. 2007. "The Effects of America's Three Affirmative Action Programs on Academic Performance." <i>Social Problems</i> 54(1):99–117. (library)	
	Froyum, Carissa. 2012. "Leaving the Street Alone." <i>Journal of Gender Issues</i> (elearning)	
	<i>Graduate students only:</i> Charles, Camille Z., Gniesha Dinwiddie, and Douglas S. Massey. 2004. "The Continuing Consequences of Segregation: Family Stress and College Academic Performance." <i>Social Science Quarterly</i> 85(5):1353–1373. (library)	

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Week	Topic and readings	DUE
11 Oct 30	How does racialized incarceration affect people? Brown-Dean, Khalilah L. 2007. "Permanent Outsiders." <i>National Political Science Review</i> . 11:103–119. (Blackboard)Goffman, Alice. 2009. "On the Run: Wanted Men in a Philadelphia Ghetto." <i>American Sociological Review</i> 74:339–357. (library) Western, Bruce and Becky Pettit. 2005. "Black-White Wage Inequality, Employment Rates, and Incarceration." <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> . 111(2):553–578. (library)	Abstracts of readings
12 Nov 6	But hasn't Obama made us post-racial? Hill Collins, Patricia. 2012. "Just Another American Story?" <i>Qualitative Sociology</i> 35:123–141. (library) Harvey Wingfield, Adia and Joe Feagin. 2012. "The Racial Dialectic." <i>Qualitative Sociology</i> 35:143–162. (library) Hughey, Matthew W. 2012. "Show Me Your Papers!" <i>Qualitative Sociology</i> 35:163–181. (library)	Notes from service work
13 Nov 13	Social justice – structural approaches Herring, Cedric. "Does Diversity Pay?" Race, Gender, and the Business Case for Diversity. <i>American Sociological Review</i> 74:208–224. (library) Kalev, Alexandra, Frank Dobbin, and Erin Kelly. 2006. "Best Practices or Best Guesses? Assessing the Efficacy of Corporate Affirmative Action and Diversity Policies." <i>American Sociological Review</i> 71:589–617. (library) Race and incarceration Visher, Christy A. and Jeremy Travis. 2003. "Transitions form Prison to Community: Understanding Individual Pathways." <i>Annual Review of Sociology</i> 29:89–113	Abstracts of readings
14 Nov 20	THANKSGIVING BREAK	
15 Nov 27	Social justice – interactional approaches Cohen, Geoffrey L., Claude M. Steele, and Dorothy M. Steele. 1999. "The Mentors' Dilemma: Providing Critical Feedback across the Racial Divide." <i>Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin</i> 25(10):1302–1328. (library) Qian, Zhenchao and Daniel T. Lichter. 2007. "Social Boundaries and Marital Assimilation: Interpreting Trends in Racial and Ethnic Intermarriage." <i>American Sociological Review</i> 72:68–94. (library) Pettigrew, Thomas F. and Linda R. Tropp. 2008. "How Does Intergroup Contact Reduce Prejudice? Mega-Analytic Tests of Three Mediators." <i>European Journal of Social Psychology</i> . 38(6):922–934. (library)	Final paper due; all notes from service work

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Week	Topic and readings	DUE
16	Social justice – individual approaches	
Dec 4	Oyserman et al. 2003. “Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas.” <i>Social Psychology Quarterly</i> . 66(4):333–347. (library) Dasgupta, Nilanjana and Anthony G. Greenwald. 2001. “On the Malleability of Automatic Attitudes: Combating Automatic Prejudice With Images of Admired and Dislike Individuals.” <i>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology</i> . 81(5):800–814. (library)	
17	FINAL at 5 pm	
Dec 11		

Syllabus VII: American Race Relations

Enid Logan (Professor)
University of Minnesota

*** Overview & Goals**

This course is designed to provide you with an understanding of the contours of race in the post-civil rights era United States. Our goal is to examine the myriad ways that race structures American society and influences the experiences and life chances of all its members.

In the opening sections of the class, we study definitions of race and major theories of how race and racism “work” in the contemporary United States. The next unit begins with an overview of the concept of racial “identity,” and asks how social location impacts one’s identity and daily interactions. After inquiring into the general process of identity formation, we look at the specific experiences of whites, African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, and multiracial Americans. Though our central focus is on race relations in today’s society, we also provide a historical overview of the experiences of each group in order to help explain their present-day social status.

The next part of the course examines the significance of race in several specific contexts. We look at controversies over race and immigration, race and education, and race and popular culture. We close the class by considering the future of race relations in the United States, and evaluating remedies to racial inequality.

The questions we will ask in this course include:

- What is “race?” How does it differ from ethnicity? What does it mean to say that race is “socially constructed”? If race is socially constructed, does that mean that it is not “real”?
- What is “racism”? Does racism require an intent to discriminate, or overt prejudice? What is institutional racism? What is “racial privilege?” What are some of the pitfalls of a “colorblind” approach to dealing with race?
- How have racial hierarchies been perpetuated or reproduced in American society in the last several decades? Why are members of some racial groups persistently clustered at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder?
- How does the specter of “racial difference” play into current controversies over legal and illegal immigration in the United States?
- What explains the racial achievement gap in United States schools? Why is this gap especially pronounced in Minnesota?
- What are the benefits and shortcomings of different approaches to remedying racial inequality?
- What will the racial landscape of the United States look like as we move into the twenty-first century?

By the end of the term, I expect that students will have the analytical tools to think and write critically about race in the contemporary United States

* Readings

The readings for this class can be found in one of several places. The location of each of the readings is clearly indicated on the syllabus.

First, there are three (3) required texts and a coursepack for this class, all of which are available for purchase at the Coffman Union bookstore.

Higginbotham, Elizabeth and Margaret L. Andersen. Race and Ethnicity in Society: The Changing Landscape, 2nd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2009. (see below as the “Reader”)

Tatum, Beverly Daniel. “Why are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?” and Other Conversations about Race. New York: Basic Books, 2003. (see below as “Tatum”)

Rothenberg, Paula, S, editor. White Privilege: essential readings from the other side of racism, 3rd ed. New York: Worth Publishers, 2007. (see below as “WP”)

Coursepack. Sociology 3211W, Section 002.

Other readings are found on the course WebVista site and online. The location of each of the readings is clearly indicated on the syllabus.

There will be approximately **30–40** pages of reading per week. Readings should be completed before class. Students should bring all required readings to class as they will often be asked to refer to them.

Most weeks, in addition to the required readings, additional articles (or films) are listed on the syllabus in the “for further reading” section. You are NOT required to read these materials, however you may refer to them for your own reference.

* WebVista

All in-class materials (the weekly class packet, syllabus, etc.) will initially be distributed in class. However, these materials will also later be posted to WebVista. This semester, in order to keep the price of the coursepack down, some of the required articles for the class have also been posted to WebVista. Others, again, will be available via the internet.

Students registered for the course should be able to access the WebVista site immediately. To log into the course site, go to <http://myu.umn.edu>. Sign in, go to My Courses, and the course should be listed there. If you are having problems accessing the WebVista site, navigate to this page, <http://WebVista.umn.edu/students/> or call (612) 301–4357 (1-HELP on campus).

* Participation

To do well in this course, you must attend class, do the readings in a timely manner, and actively participate in discussions. The participation grade for the class is 20 % of the total. It is based upon attendance, participation in small and large-group discussion, and grades on reading response papers. Students who make informed, thoughtful contributions to class discussions, turn in insightful informal writing, or improve significantly over the course of the semester will also receive special consideration for the class participation proportion of their grade.

Attendance

Attendance will be taken at the beginning of class, and will count towards the participation grade.

Absences: As we only meet once a week, students are allowed ONE (1) absence that will not negatively impact their participation grade. (The first class session does not count towards attendance). This absence may be for any reason- illness, dental appointments, scheduling conflicts, make-up exams in other classes, work responsibilities, job training, family emergencies, trips out of town, car problems, needing to take a day off, etc. In other words, there is no distinction between “excused” and “unexcused” absences. Students who will be absent from class for university business must inform the professor or TA a week in advance, and will be required to provide written documentation. Neither the professor nor teaching assistant will be able to meet with you to review the material covered on any day you may be absent. However, if you miss class, remember that the handout for the night can be found on WebVista after the class.

Also- Please turn off cell phones at the start of class, and please do not eat or do crossword or other puzzles. Drinking water is fine. * Generally we will take a break before viewing a film towards the end of the evening. During the film portion of the class, you can have your snacks!* Students are also asked not to use laptops during the class.

Guidelines for Discussion

Our time this term will be principally divided between lecture, review of films, and discussion. Thus, participation in small and large-group discussion is an important part of your role as a member of this class. I expect students to be prepared and engaged in both settings. You should expect to be called on from time to time.

Race is a sensitive and controversial topic that stirs up strong emotions. I start from the assumption that those of you that have chosen this class have come with an open mind, ready not only to share your points of view but to try to understand the perspectives of others. Thoughtful, insightful, and honest points of view

are needed in order to help us all learn to communicate more effectively and openly about race. So that everyone feels respected in the classroom, use tact and understanding when presenting your ideas. Personal attacks, disparaging remarks, or attempts to dominate the conversation will not be tolerated. Remember as well that individuals in the classroom may have been personally affected by the issues that we are discussing; and to show respect to your peers and the educational process.

* Reading Reaction Papers

In addition to the formal papers you will write, students will be asked to prepare FOUR (4) reading reaction papers of approximately 4 typed pages in length throughout the term. In these assignments, you should discuss THREE (3) of the articles for the week.

Reaction papers are to be done on the readings in advance of class in which they will be discussed. The reaction paper on the “whiteness” readings, for example, is due in class on the evening that we are to discuss whiteness.

The format of the assignment is as follows:

- **Summary**- Provide a summary of the main argument presented by each author (1–2 paragraphs). What are main points that they wish to convey? What kinds of evidence do they use (i.e. interviews, personal experience, historical data, statistics, a list of privileges associated with race, or class, etc.)? You should include 1–2 key quotes from the text encapsulating the authors’ primary theses.
- **Analysis**- Discuss what parts of the arguments you find particularly compelling, provocative or interesting. Maybe you strongly agree or disagree with the author, had a similar experience to the one described, or found out something new or surprising – whatever it is, please explain.
- **Connections**- At some point in the essay, explain how the issues raised in the articles relate to themes discussed in the class in previous weeks. Also, briefly compare the articles to each other.
- **Format**- You are asked only to summarize and analyze the readings here. These informal papers do **not** need to have an introduction, title, conclusion, topic sentences, detailed citations, or a list of references.

By the end of the term you should have turned in 4 (FOUR) of these papers. Please keep track of the number of reading reaction papers you turn in as we will not do it for you. Remember that even if you do not do a reaction paper for a given week, you are still responsible for completing and understanding all of the assigned readings.

Reading response papers are due in class on Monday evenings.

No informal writing assignments will be accepted via email.

* Formal Papers

You will write three formal papers of approximately 6–8 pages in length, **each worth 15 %** of your total grade.

Paper 1- covers topics from the first 3 weeks of class—How Race Matters, the Social Construction of Race, Racism & Racial Discrimination. **(Due Friday October 7)**

Paper 2- is on Racial Identity, Whiteness, and the African-American Experience.

You will be asked to reflect upon your own experiences with race, and to integrate insights from films, readings, and lecture. **(Due Friday October 28)**

Paper 3- will focus on aspects of Asian-American, Multiracial, Latino & Native American experiences. **(Due Friday November 18, or Monday November 28)¹**

Turning in Papers

Topics for formal papers will be made available online. Papers will be due on the second Friday after they are assigned (i.e. 10 days) by 4:30 pm. I will remind you of the schedule of due dates throughout the term. Students who foresee that they will have difficulty turning in assignments on the due date should speak to the professor in advance.

Papers must be turned in to the Sociology Department Main Office, 909 Social Science Building. The office is open M-F, 7:45 am–4:30 pm. Papers turned in when the office is closed should be placed in the box on the door of 909 Social Science. **Late papers will lose up to ½ letter grade per day.** Technological glitches will not excuse late work and may be circumvented by printing out papers or drafts at least a day early.

Please **do not** slide any assignments under the TA's or professor's doors as these papers may be lost, and will not be accepted.

No formal papers will be accepted via email.

* Other Assignments & Grading Scale

- **Final Project- 20 % of grade.** In the last unit of the class, you will do a group presentation on a topic of your choice that was not covered previously in detail. Your group will give a 15 min presentation to the class, provide a detailed handout with facts and resources related to your topic, and answer questions from the audience.
- **Final Exam- 15 % of grade.** There will be one exam this term, administered at the end of the course. The focus of the exam will be the last

¹Paper 3 will be due Monday November 28 ONLY for students in final project groups 1–3. All others (students in groups 4–12) have the regular Friday November 18 due date.

several units of the class- Immigration, Education, Towards the Future, and Final Group Projects. Some of the questions will be based on material from previous units of the course. The exam will include both true/false and essay questions. You will receive a study guide with the text of the essay questions that will appear on the final several days in advance. This term, the final will take place on the last scheduled day of the course—December 12.

- **Participation- 20 % of grade.** Active participation in this class is essential. As discussed above, your participation grade will be based upon attendance, participation in small and large group discussions, and grades on reading response papers.
- **Grading Scale-** Your grade for this class will therefore be comprised of-

Papers 1–3 (15 % each)	45 %
Final group project	20 %
Final exam	15 %
Participation	20 %
	100 %

* Other Policies

Extra Credit

No extra credit assignments will be given in this course.

Incompletes

No incompletes will be granted for this course, except under extraordinary circumstances. Please note that an incomplete is designed to allow a student to turn in 1–2 outstanding assignments after the end of the term, not to make up the majority of the work in the class. This means that if you fall too far behind, you will not be eligible for an incomplete, and will need to consider dropping the class.

Writing-Intensive Course Expectations

This is a writing-intensive course. It is designed to help you improve your writing skills, and develop and express your ideas through writing. Thus we will do lots of writing in this class.

The feedback you receive on your writing will be focused around the content of your ideas, rather than primarily on issues of style, spelling, or grammar. While they may be separated, these two aspects of writing are nevertheless intertwined. Your ability to communicate effectively with others using the written word is contingent upon your ability to write well. Papers and essays completed outside of class meetings should be carefully edited, spell-checked, and typed.

Students who need help with their writing do not need to struggle alone. There is a great deal of support for student writing on this campus. Everyone in the class, at whatever level of writing fluidity or experience, is encouraged to visit the Center for Writing (phone 625-1893, main office, 15 Nicholson Hall). The center offers individual consultations, including help with writing style and the development of paper topics. It also offers special resources to non-native speakers of English. The center is able as well to refer you to other writing resources available on campus. The web page for the writing center is <http://writing.umn.edu/sws/index.htm>.

Academic Integrity

The University's Office for Student Academic Integrity writes the following: "Academic integrity is essential to a positive teaching and learning environment. All students enrolled in University courses are expected to complete coursework responsibilities with fairness and honesty. Failure to do so by seeking unfair advantage over others or misrepresenting someone else's work as your own, can result in disciplinary action.

The University Student Conduct Code defines scholastic dishonesty as follows: Scholastic dishonesty means plagiarizing; cheating on assignments or examinations; engaging in unauthorized collaboration on academic work; taking, acquiring, or using test materials without faculty permission; submitting false or incomplete records of academic achievement; acting alone or in cooperation with another to falsify records or to obtain dishonestly grades, honors, awards, or professional endorsement; altering forging or misusing a University academic record; or fabricating or falsifying data, research procedures, or data analysis." For more information see: <http://www.osai.umn.edu/students.html>.

What does this mean for this class? Most instances of plagiarism result from student's misunderstanding of what constitutes plagiarism or how to properly cite sources. Turning in work written by other students, copying and pasting sections from the internet, taking direct quotes, including individual sentences or phrases from published texts without providing citations – all these are instances of plagiarism, that are taken seriously by the university. Cases of suspected plagiarism will be considered on a case-by-case basis. Sanctions can range from a zero or an "F" on the individual assignment, to an "F" for the course, depending on the magnitude of the offense. If you are in doubt that you have cited something properly, please talk to me or the TA before turning it in.

Semester Schedule

Week 1 (September 12) Introduction & Race Matters

- **Online.** "A Nation of Minorities: America in 2050," by Chideya. As found at http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0HSP/is_1_4/ai_66678568/?tag=mantle_skin;content

- Reader, Pp. 7–10. “Race, Why It Matters,” by Higginbotham and Andersen.
- Reader, Chapter 5. “ASA statement on the importance of doing research on race.”
- Reader, Chapter 50. “Blacks and Ex-Cons Need Not Apply,” by Pager.

For Further Reading (i.e. Not Required)

- Online. “The Social Significance of Barack Obama,” *Contexts*, Fall 2008.
- **Film- *True Colors (Prime Time Live)***

Week 2 (September 19)- The Social Construction of Race

- **WebVista.** “Race,” pp. 3–6 in Yetman.
- Coursepack. “Race and Gene Studies” by Adelman.
- Coursepack. “Constructing Race, Creating White Privilege,” by Buck.
- Reader, Chapter 8. “Planting the Seed: The Invention of Race” by Ferber.
- Reader, Chapter 10. “Racial Formation,” by Omi and Winant.
- WP, Part 2, Chapter 2. “How White People Became White,” by Barrett and Roediger.
- **Film- *Race, the Power of An Illusion Volume 2- The Story We Tell***

Week 3 (September 26)- Racism & Racial Discrimination

- Reader, pp. 75–80. “Representations of Race and Group Beliefs”
- Reader, Chapter 11. “The Color Line, the Dilemma and the Dream” by Bobo.
- **WebVista.** “Prejudice, Discrimination and Racism.” Pp. 23–29, by Yetman.
- **WebVista.** “Color-Blind Privilege” by Gallagher.
- **WebVista.** “Discrimination.” Pp. 29–38, by Yetman.
- Coursepack. “Institutional Discrimination.” by Jo Freeman.
- Take the Implicit Association Race Test at - www.understandingprejudice.org/iat/
- **Film- *The Color of Fear***
- **Paper 1 assigned, due in 10 days**


Week 4 (October 3) – Racial Identity Formation

- Tatum, Chapter 2. “The Complexity of Identity. ‘Who Am I?’”
- Tatum, Chapter 4. “Identity Development in Adolescence.”
- Reader, Chapter 19. “White College Students Racial Identity,” by Chesler.
- Coursepack. “Just Walk on By,” by Staples.
- **Webvista.** “My Freshman Year: What a Professor Learned by Becoming a Student,” by Nathan.
- **WebVista.** “Growing Up, Growing Apart,” by Levin.

For Further Reading

- Tatum, Chapter 3. “The Early Years.”
- Tatum, Chapter 5. “Racial Identity In Adulthood”
- Online. “Is Obama Black Enough?,” by Ta-Nehisi Coates, *Time*, 2/1/07.

- Online. “A Deeper Black,” by Ta-Nehisi Coates. [On Barack Obama] The Nation/5/1/08.
- **Film-*A Girl Like Me***

 **Paper 1 due Friday October 7 by 4:30 pm, 909 Social Science Building**
Week 5 (October 10) – Whiteness

- **WP**, pp. 1–5. “Introduction” by Rothenberg.
- **WP**, Part 2, Chapter 3. “How Jews Became White Folks” by Brodtkin.
- **WP**, Part 3, Chapter 3. “Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack” by Peggy McIntosh.
- Coursepack. “White Privilege (the Remix): A Play in Three Acts,” by Wise.
- **WP**, Part 3, Chapter 5. “Membership has its Privileges” by Wise.
- **WP**, Part 4, Chapters 1–3. “Breaking the Silence,” by Tatum. “Confronting One’s Own Racism,” by Feagin and Vera. “How White People Can Serve as Allies” by Kivel.

For Further Reading

- **WP**, Part 1, Chapter 2. “Failing to See” by Dalton.
- **WP**, Part 3, Chapter 4. “White Privilege Shapes the United States” by Robert Jensen.
- White Like Me: Reflections on Race from a Privileged Son, by Tim Wise.
- Being White, by Karyn McKinney.
- **Film- *Race, The Power of An Illusion Volume 3- The House We Built***

Week 6 (October 17) – African-American Experience

- Coursepack. “Fences & Neighbors: Segregation in the twenty-first Century,” by Farley & Squires.
- Coursepack. “Residential Segregation in United States Metropolitan Areas,” by Massey.
- **Webvista**. “Of Race and Risk,” by Patricia Williams.
- Coursepack. “Forty Acres and a Gap in Wealth”, by Henry Louis Gates, NYT, 11/18/07.
- Reader, Chapter 34. “Is Job Discrimination Dead?” by Herring.
- Reader, Chapter 35. “How White Networks Exclude Black Men From Blue Collar Jobs,” by Royster.


For Further Reading

- Reader, Chapter 32. “A Tale of Two Classes: The Socio-Economic Divide among Black Americans Under 35,” by Watkins.
- “Back of the Bus: Mass transit, race and inequality,” by Bernstein and Solomon. <http://www.transportationnation.org/backofthebus/>
- “America’s Homeownership Gap.” <http://www.usmayors.org/publications/home.htm>
- “Beyond Crime & Punishment,” by Western and Pettit, Contexts, August 02.
- “What If America Pays Reparations?” by Conley, Contexts, Fall 02.

*** Paper 2 assigned, due in 10 days**

Week 7 (October 24) – Asian-American Experience

- Tatum, Chapter 8, pp. 153–159. “What do we mean when we say ‘Asian’?”
- Tatum, Chapter 8, pp. 159–166. “Beyond the Myth of the Model Minority.”
- Reader, Chapter 18. “Are Asian-Americans Becoming ‘White’?” by Min Zhou.
- Coursepack. “Yellow” by Frank Wu.
- Coursepack. “Ideological Racism and Cultural Resistance” by Yen Le Espiritu.
- **WebVista.** “Then Came the War,” by Yuri Kochiyama.
- **Film- *Honk if You Love Buddha***

 **Paper 2 Due Friday October 28 by 4:30 pm, 909 Social Science Building**
For Further Reading

- “The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans,” by Kim. Politics and Society, March 1999.
- Yellow. By Frank Wu.

Week 8 (October 31) – Multiracial Identity

*** Group Presentations Introduced**

- Tatum, Chapter 9, pp. 167–190. “Identity Development in Multiracial Families.”
- Reader, Chapter 17. “Tripping on the Color Line,” by Dalmage.
- Coursepack. “Beyond Black and White,” by Lee & Bean. Contexts, Summer 03
- Coursepack. “He’s Black, Get Over It,” by Serwer. American Prospect, (on Barack Obama).
- Coursepack. “Breaking the Last Taboo,” by Qian.
- **WebVista.** “Getting Under my Skin,” by Terry.

For Further Reading

- “Mixed Race America” <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/jefferson/mixed/>
- “Examining Mixed Race Identity” <http://examiningmixedraceidentity.blogspot.com/>
- “On Being Blackanese,” by Uehara-Carter. Interracial Voice, Vol 5, 1996. Pp. 56–58.
- **Film- *Just Black***

Week 9 (November 7) – Latino and Native American Experience

- Tatum, Chapter 8, pp. 131–143. “Critical Issues in Latino . . . Identity Development.”
- Coursepack. “A White Woman of Color,” by Alvarez.
- **WebVista.** “Best of Friends, Worlds Apart,” by Ojito.
- Coursepack. “The Latin-Americanization of Racial Stratification in the USA” by Bonilla-Silva
- Tatum, Chapter 8, pp. 143–153. “Critical Issues in . . . American Indian Identity Development.”
- Reader, Chapter 14. “Why Native American Mascots Must End,” by Springwood & King.

For Further Reading

- Reader, Chapter 3. “The Myth of the Latin Woman: I Just Met a Girl Named María,” by Cofer.
- **WP**, Part 2, Chapter 4. “Becoming Hispanic: Mexican Americans and Whiteness,” by Foley.
- Online. “Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: Census 2000 Brief.”
- Online. “In Search of Indians,” by C. Matthew Snipp. Contexts, Fall 04.
- **Film- *Homeland: Four Portraits of Native Action***


* **Paper 3 assigned, due Friday after next**

Week 10 (November 14) Immigration

- Reader, Chapter 24. “Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens,” by Ngai.
- **WebVista**. “Is this a White Country or What?” by Rubin.
- **Webvista**. “Princes of Norwalk [WI].” Chapter 11 in Crossing Over by Martínez.
- Coursepack. “Republicans Spar in N.H. over immigration,” by Egan, Reuters, 12/31/07.
- Coursepack. “Immigration Raid Jars a Small Town,” by Hsu. Washington Post, 5/18/08.
- Coursepack. “Critics Blast Arizona Immigration Law as Throwback to Jim Crow,” Fox, 4/28/10.
- Coursepack. “Did Obama Break Promise to Latinos?,” by Navarrette, CNN, 7/08/10.
- Coursepack. “Somali population, tension rising in St. Cloud,” by Espinoza, MPR, 3/15/10.

For Further Reading

- Reader, Chapter 4. “How Does it Feel to Be a Problem,” by Moustafa Bayoumi.
- Book. Crossing Over by Ruben Martinez, “Prologue: The Passion,” pp. 1–18.
- Online. “Interpreting the largest ICE raid in history,” [Postville] by Erik Camayd-Freixas
- Online. “1,200 janitors fired in ‘quiet’ immigration raid,” MPR, 11/9/09 [Minneapolis].
- **Film- *Farmingville or Welcome to Shelbyville***

 **Paper 3 Due by Friday November 18 (For Most of Class) by 4:30 pm, 909**

Social Science

Week 11 (November 21) Race & Education

 **First Set of Group Presentations Scheduled (Groups 1–3)**

- Reader, Chapter 45. “Shame of the Nation,” by Jonathan Kozol.
- Coursepack. “Plessy v. Ferguson” and “Brown v. Board of Ed.”
- Coursepack. “Divided court rejects school diversity plans,” from CNN.com, June 28, 2007.
- Coursepack. “The Resurgence of School Resegregation” by Orfield, Frankenberg, and Lee.

- **WebVista.** “Savage Inequalities of Public Education in New York,” by Kozol
- **WebVista.** “What It Takes to Make A Student,” by Tough in NYT, Nov 26, 2006.
- **Read through this website-** The Education Achievement Gap: Minnesota’s Embarrassment <http://news.minnesota.publicradio.org/projects/2004/09/achievementgap/>

For Further Reading

- Online. “Mourning in America,” by Patricia Williams, The Nation Magazine, July 30, 2007.
- Reader, Chapter 44. “The Color Line in American Education,” by Darling-Hammond.
- See Emmy-Nominated Documentary Film The Boys of Baraka, Golden Globe nominated film Waiting for Superman, HBO Series The Wire: Season 4

 **Paper 3 Due for Students in Groups 1–3 *Only*, Monday November 28
Week 12 (November 28) Towards the Future & Solutions**

 **Second Set of Group Presentations Scheduled (Groups 4–9)**

- **WebVista.** “Possibility of a New Racial Hierarchy in the 21st Century United States” by Gans.
- Reader, Chapter 55. “Doing Anti-Racism: Toward and Egalitarian American Society.”
- Coursepack. “The End of White America?” by Hsu.
- Coursepack. Transcript of Obama’s Race Speech, 3/18/08.
- Coursepack. “CP Ellis” by Studs Terkel.
- Coursepack. “Our House Is On Fire,” by Allan Johnson.

For Further Reading

- “Sixteen Maneuvers to Avoid Really Dealing with Racism” on Feministe. <http://www.feministe.us/blog/archives/2008/03/06/sixteen-maneuvers-to-avoid-really-dealing-with-racism/>
- Online magazine ColorLines. <http://colorlines.com/>. See for example the article, “Youth Say Race Still Matters, So What Are They Doing About It?”

Week 13 (December 5) Group Presentations & Conclusions

 **Last Set of Group Presentations Scheduled (Groups 10–12)**

Week 14 (December 12) Final Exam

 Final Exam

Syllabus VIII: Human Relations and Student Diversity

Nicholas Wysocki (Professor)

Required Course Materials

Course readings will periodically be posted to D2L.

This course has a clinical component that begins about half way through the semester, thus the College of Education requires that you have liability insurance. This can come in the form of EMSP insurance, a rider on the existing insurance policy held by your family, or the securing of your own insurance through a local agent. I need evidence of this insurance for you to receive points for your clinical requirement.

Catalog Description

This is a basic course in human relations for education majors. The course takes a laboratory and a directed study approach in areas such as communication, group interaction, trust, interpersonal relationships, and the study of minorities, ethnic groups, and second language learners. Prerequisites: Admission to the College of Education.

Core Belief in our Professional Education Unit's Conceptual Framework

We exist to prepare professionals to continuously improve student learning in twenty-first century schools. Through a continuum of clinical experiences and relevant and appropriate instructional methods, WSU graduates are prepared in a community of learners with developmentally appropriate content and pedagogical expertise, and professional dispositions to improve students' learning by: (1) actively engaging in a culture of reflective practice and continuous improvement (2) demonstrating awareness of – and an ability to respond to – broader psychosocial and global contexts; and (3) advocating for students and their learning through leadership, collaboration, innovation, flexibility, and critical thinking.

I seek to operationalize this Core Belief in this course by the advocating of both a “diversity orientation” and a model of multicultural curriculum development that will complement your instructional methods courses.

A “Diversity Orientation” **IS NOT**:

- Maintaining political correctness in your speech and actions.
- Using a “heroes and holidays” approach to your curriculum choices.
- Simply completing the course requirements and receiving your grade.
- Remaining in one's comfort zone because it is safer.

- Avoiding feelings of guilt through conscious resistance to historic and contemporary realities and privileges.
- Looking for the “1–2–3s” (i.e., searching for automatic solutions to educational problems, students’ challenges, achievement gaps, etc.)

A “Diversity Orientation” **IS**:

- Moving past simple “awareness” of student diversity toward conscious action and advocacy on their behalf.
- Developing an understanding of the perceptual filter operating in both your own life and those of your students.
- Recognizing and addressing how disciplinary concepts like culture, social constructions of difference, assimilation, acculturation, xenophobia, ethnocentrism, prejudice, and discrimination operate in both society and in schools.
- Translating knowledge of the above concepts into the necessary dispositions and skills that can result in more favorable learning experiences for your diverse learners.
- Acknowledging achievement gaps among student subgroups as well as the myriad variables that cause them.
- Committing one’s self to educational equity for all students, especially those traditionally marginalized in schools.
- Developing innovative plans to address some of the aforementioned achievement gap variables in both your school and your own classroom.
- Engaging in continuous professional development as it relates to understanding student diversity and the changing structure of schools.

To help you develop this diversity orientation, I use the multicultural curriculum model developed by Howe, W. & Lisi, P. (1995). *Beyond diversity awareness. Action strategies for adult education. Adult Learning (6)5*, 19–21, 31. The parts of this model include:

AWARENESS

1. Awareness and critical reflections about one’s own biases, their origins, and their impact on your students (i.e., social constructs, their meaning, and their effects)
2. Experiences that allow you to step outside your own cultural frameworks to take the perspective of students living lives different from your own.
3. Sociocultural contexts that surround the teaching and learning environment.

KNOWLEDGE

1. Historical and philosophical lenses to view schooling, past and present.
2. Research in education and content area theory that can provide you with both theoretical positions and pedagogical strategies.
3. The role of both the teacher and students’ cultures in the teaching and learning process.
4. Variety of teaching strategies in relation to students’ backgrounds, experiences, and opportunities to learn.

SKILLS

1. Analyze historical and contemporary learning contexts to identify educational experiences that both empower and marginalize diverse students.
2. Engage in culturally competent activities for personal growth.
3. Use ethnographic methods to develop culturally competent relationships with students and colleagues who lead different lives than you.
4. Develop, carry out, evaluate, and modify curricula with the flexibility to respond to sociocultural contexts that shape teaching and learning.
5. Adapt one's teaching to meet the needs of individual learners categorized as at risk, special needs, gifted and talented, etc.

ACTION

1. Develop a Digital Ethnography that demonstrates your analysis and understandings of the above parts of the model.
2. Collaborate with others to identify organizational frameworks that will systemically support your cultural competence.
3. Collaborate with others to minimize the barriers that prevent educators from developing ALL students' academic skills, critical thinking, and problem-solving abilities.

BOT (Board of Teachers) Standards Met in this Course

Standard 3 Diverse Learners: A teacher must understand how students differ in their approaches to learning and create instructional opportunities that are adapted to students with diverse backgrounds and exceptionalities. **Standard 5, Motivation and Management.** A teacher must be able to use an understanding of individual and group motivation and behavior to create learning environments that encourage positive social interaction, active engagement in learning, and self-motivation. **Standard 6, Communication.** A teacher must be able to use knowledge of effective verbal, nonverbal, and media communication techniques to foster active inquiry, collaboration, and supportive interaction in the classroom. **Standard 9, Reflection and professional development.** A teacher must be a reflective practitioner who continually evaluates the effects of choices and actions on others, including students, parents, and other professionals in the learning community, and who actively seeks out opportunities for professional growth. **Standard 10, collaboration, ethics, and relationships.** A teacher must be able to communicate and interact with parents or guardians, families, school colleagues, and the community to support student learning and well-being.

NOTE: See the table listing these standards and the relationship to course requirements. Think about your Eportfolios on an ongoing basis and be aware of how these course requirements can provide you with necessary artifacts for that culminating project before Student Teaching.

General Education Program

This course meets the Global or Multicultural Perspectives portion of the Unity and Diversity Requirement for the University's University Studies Program.

Inclusive Excellence

Commitment to Inclusive Excellence: WSU recognizes that our individual differences can deepen our understanding of one another and the world around us, rather than divide us. In this class, people of all ethnicities, genders and gender identities, religions, ages, sexual orientations, disabilities, socioeconomic backgrounds, regions, and nationalities are strongly encouraged to share their rich array of perspectives and experiences. If you feel your differences may in some way isolate you from WSU's community or if you have a need of any specific accommodations, please speak with the instructor early in the semester about your concerns and what we can do together to help you become an active and engaged member of our class and community.

Winona Campus Resources

- Student Support Services, Krueger Library 219, 457-5465 (www.winona.edu/studentssupportservices/)
- Inclusion and Diversity Office, Kryzsko Commons Room 236, 457-5595 (www.winona.edu/inclusion-diversity/)
- Access Services, Maxwell 314, 457-5878 (<http://www.winona.edu/accessservices/>)
- Counseling and Wellness Services, Integrated Wellness Center 222, 457-5330 (www.winona.edu/counselingcenter/)
- GLBTA Advocate, contact Counseling and Wellness Services for name and number of the current Advocate
- Tutoring Services, Krueger Library 220, 457-5680 (<http://www.winona.edu/tutoring/>)
- Writing Center, Minné Hall 348, 457-5505 (www.winona.edu/writingcenter/)
- Math Achievement Center, Tau 313, 457-5370
- Advising Services, Maxwell 314, 457-5878 (www.winona.edu/advising/)

Details about Campus Resources

- Two good places to help you find resources of all kinds on campus are Student Support Services and the Inclusion and Diversity Office. Both offices are dedicated to helping students of all races, ethnicities, economic backgrounds, nationalities, and sexual orientations. They can facilitate tutoring and point you to a wide range of resources. Student Support Services is in Krueger Library 219, and they can be reached at 457-5465. The Inclusion and Diversity Office is in Kryzsko Commons Room 236, and they can be reached at 457-5595.
- If you have a disability, the Access Services office can document it for your professors and facilitate accommodation. Their office is in Maxwell Hall, 3rd

floor, and they can be reached at 457-5878. If you have a documented disability that requires accommodation, please let me know as soon as possible. If you suspect you may have a disability, you are encouraged to visit Access Services as soon as possible.

- College can be very stressful. The Counseling Center is there to help you with a wide range of difficulties, ranging from sexual assault, depression, and grief after the loss of a loved one to stress management, anxiety, general adjustment to college, and many others. Their office is located in the Integrated Wellness Center (room 222) and they can be reached at 457-5330.
- For help with understanding the concepts of a particular class or understanding the requirements of an assignment, Tutoring Services offers three types of tutoring: drop-in appointments, 1-on-1 tutoring, and group sessions. You can visit them in the Library in room 220, or go on-line and use the TutorTrac program to schedule a session.
- For help specifically with writing and the development of papers, the English department has a Writing Center available to students and staffed by trained graduate students pursuing their Master's degree in English. The Writing Center is located in Minné Hall 348. You can make an appointment on the sign-up sheet on the door or call 457-5505.
- For help specifically with understanding math concepts and solving math problems, the Math Achievement Center (MAC) is staffed with friendly undergraduate tutors who will help you work through difficult material. The MAC is located in Tau 313 and provides free tutoring for all students in math, statistics, or math education courses. The center is open 1–10 pm Mon-Thurs, 1–5 pm Fri, and 4–8 pm Sun.
- The GLBTA Advocate is responsible for documenting homophobic and transphobic incidents on campus and working with the appropriate channels to get these incidents resolved. In addition, the advocate can direct people to GLBT resources on campus and in Winona.

Academic Dishonesty

Academic dishonesty of any kind will not be tolerated and will be addressed in a manner consistent with University policies that are described on the WSU web site: <http://www.winona.edu/handbook/policiesbullets.htm>, **which may include removal from the Education Program**. According to Webster, to plagiarize is “to steal or pass off the ideas or words of another as one’s own . . . to use created productions without crediting the source . . . to commit literary theft . . . to present as new and original an idea or product derived from an existing source.” WSU students are responsible for authenticating any assignment submitted to an instructor. If asked, you must be able to produce proof that the assignment you submitted is actually your own work. The inability to authenticate your work, should I request it, is sufficient grounds for failing the assignment.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. **Attendance and Participation Activities:** You are expected to **attend and participate actively** in all class discussions. Readings, research reports, and participation activities are to be completed before or during each discussion day. Important personal and professional growth occurs by engaging in conversations about course content that strengthen or challenge your own way of thinking. It is important that: (a) You are here and (b) You are not just a passive observer but rather an active, respectful participant committed to both your own individual growth and increased educational opportunities for all your students, especially those most marginalized in schools.

My Attendance/Participation Policy is that you will automatically lose 10 points for non-attendance when we have participation activities, individual discussions of research, group discussions or presentations, films, guest speakers, etc.

2. **Clinical Experiences:** You will be required to spend a minimum of 15 h working with my clinical partners and their learners in the Winona, Rochester, or Lacrosse areas. My intention is to provide you with 5 weeks of ongoing exposure to diverse populations as well as their learning contexts. You will be required to utilize ethnographic techniques and research to track, document, and analyze your experiences in these settings.
3. **Digital Ethnography** – You will use said ethnographic techniques, Web 2.0 tools, and digital mediums to analyze your clinical experiences as well as the related knowledge, dispositions, and skills that you are gaining in this course. Staff from the WSU TLT Center (Teaching and Learning with Technology) will discuss the digital and Web 2.0 materials available for the ethnography portion of this project.

Research Reports/Analysis Tables – You will submit drafts of research reports and/or analysis tables that demonstrate your understanding of course content. I will examine these drafts, make comments, award points, and then ask you for evidence of any necessary revisions prior to your uploading of these documents to your Digital Ethnography.

4. **Midterm Examination** – Your Midterm Exam consists of multiple choice, T-F, and short answer questions covering material examined during the first half of the course. You should be prepared to demonstrate your own knowledge and understanding of information gained from the lectures, readings, films, and course discussions.
5. **Group Presentation** – You will have the opportunity to better understand Native American tribal history, language, culture, and government. Ideally, these native tribes should be based in the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, or Iowa. Students will be assigned to a particular Native American population of their choice, and each group is responsible for providing an in-depth discussion of its research. Details of this assignment will be provided in a future handout. This presentation is intended to be a **case study** in how to study any cultural group making use of all the previous course content (see Midterm Study Guide).

COURSE EVALUATION/GRADING SCALE:

20 %	Attendance/participation activities
20 %	Midterm exam
20 %	Clinical experiences (e.g., hours sheet; check-ins; insurance)
10 %	Group research/presentation (native American populations)
30 %	Digital ethnography/research report drafts

A	95 % of total points
B	85–94 % of total points
C	75–84 % of total points
D	65–74 % of total points
F	64 % and under

COURSE OUTLINE

(This is a tentative outline, and it is subject to change due to unforeseen events.)

WEEK 1	Describing “Culture” and “Cultural Competence”
1/15, 1/17	Syllabus/course introductions Culture and competence lecture
Assignment: Racializing learners table	Discuss D2L Readings: Stephen Steinberg’s “The New Darwinism”; knowledge construction table (from James Banks’ Dimensions of Multicultural Education)
WEEK 2	Social constructs of difference: “Race” and ethnicity
1/22, 1/24	Film and social constructs lecture
Film: <i>Race the Power of an Illusion (Part I)</i>	Read/discuss <i>Another Inconvenient Truth</i> , and an additional journal article that you locate on the educational experiences of an ethnic or “racial” group
Research report #1: Ethnicity/race and academic indicators	Group analysis table #1: Analysis of ethnicity/race journal articles
WEEK 3	Social constructs of difference: “Race”, ethnicity, and social class
1/29, 1/31	Social class lecture
Film: <i>People Like Us</i>	D2L readings on Paul Gorski, Richard Rothstein, Jared Bernstein, and “Where the Jobs Are 2011”
Research report #2: Bibliography of 4 Ruby Payne sources and reading notes from the analysis of one of these sources	
WEEK 4	Social constructs of difference: Social class
2/5, 2/7	Work day (2/5) Ruby Payne/Paul Gorski analyses
	Group analysis table #2: Payne/Gorski analyses

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<p>WEEK 5 2/12, 2/14</p> <p>Research report 3: Gender, academic achievement, and your licensure area</p>	<p>Social constructs of difference: Gender (Online week)</p> <p>Gender lecture</p> <p>Read Judith Lorber’s “The Social Construction of Gender”; gender readings posted to D2L</p> <p>Analysis table #3: Gender and academic achievement in your licensure area</p>
<p>WEEK 6 2/19, 2/21</p> <p>Film: Bullied</p> <p>Research report 4: GLBT issues in contemporary schools</p>	<p>Social constructs of difference: Sexuality orientation</p> <p>Discuss <i>GLSEN National Climate Survey 2011; Strategies to Support GLBT Students</i></p> <p>Analysis table #4: GLBT issues</p> <p>Review clinical experiences</p> <p>Digital ethnography preparation</p> <p>Clinical setting placements</p>
<p>WEEK 7 2/26, 2/28</p> <p>WEEK 8 3/5, 3/7</p> <p>WEEK 9 3/12, 3/14</p> <p>WEEK 10 3/16–3/25</p> <p>WEEK 11 3/26, 3/28</p> <p>WEEK 12 4/2, 4/4</p> <p>WEEK 13 4/9, 4/11</p> <p>WEEK 14 4/16, 4/18</p>	<p>MIDTERM EXAM (Online)</p> <p>Clinical transition week</p> <p>Clinical experiences/check-ins required for clinical points/clinical assignment due this week</p> <p>SPRING BREAK</p> <p>Clinical experiences/check-ins required for clinical points/clinical assignment due this week</p> <p>Clinical experiences/check-ins required for clinical points/clinical assignment due this week</p> <p>Clinical experiences/check-ins required for clinical points/clinical assignment due this week</p> <p>Clinical experiences completed</p> <p>Research, intersectionality, and achievement gaps: Native American Populations</p> <p>Discuss format and requirements for the Group Presentations</p>
<p>WEEK 15 4/23, 4/25</p>	<p>Research, intersectionality, and achievement gaps: Native American Populations</p> <p>Group consultation day (Tues)</p> <p>Group consultation day (Thurs.)</p>
<p>WEEKS 16 4/30, 5/2</p> <p>GROUP PRESENTATIONS</p> <p>FINALS WEEK</p>	<p>Research, intersectionality, and achievement gaps: Native American Populations</p> <p>3 groups respectively (4/30; 5/2)</p> <p>DIGITAL ETHNOGRAPHY LINKS ARE DUE TO ME BY MONDAY (5/6) AT 10:00 A.M.</p>

5/6–5/10

**BOT Standards of Effective Practice
Assessment Table (EFRT 308)
* Knowledge, Disposition, or Skill**

Standard	Bold = Standards addressed in this course Language taken from the statute: the teacher must . . .	K, D, or S* opportunity in the syllabus	Assessment point in syllabus
3: Diverse learners	Understand how students differ in their approaches to learning and create instructional opportunities that are adapted to students with diverse backgrounds and exceptionalities		
3A	Understand and identify differences in approaches to learning and performance, including varied learning styles and performance modes and multiple intelligences; and know how to design instruction that uses a student’s strengths as the basis for continued learning;	Research report; Clinical	Analysis table Digital ethnography entry Midterm exam
3D	Understand how to recognize and deal with dehumanizing biases, discrimination, prejudices, and institutional and personal racism and sexism;	Research report	Digital ethnography entry
3E	Understand how a student’s learning is influenced by individual experiences, talents, and prior learning, as well as language, culture, family, and community values;	Research report	Analysis table Midterm exam
3F	Understand the contributions and lifestyles of the various racial, cultural, and economic groups in our society;	Research report; Clinical	Analysis table Midterm exam
3G	Understand the cultural content, world view, and concepts that comprise Minnesota-based American Indian tribal government, history, language, and culture;	Group research	Group presentation
3H	Understand cultural and community diversity; and know how to learn about and incorporate a student’s experiences, cultures, and community resources into instruction;	Research report	Analysis table Midterm exam

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3I	Understand that all students can and should learn at the highest possible levels and persist in helping all students achieve success;	Clinical	Digital ethnography entry
3J	Know about community and cultural norms	Research report	Analysis table Midterm exam
Standard	Bold = Standards addressed in this course Language taken from the statute: the teacher must . . .	K, D, or S Opportunity in the syllabus	Assessment point in syllabus
3K	Identify and design instruction appropriate to a student’s stages of development, learning styles, strengths, and needs;	Research report Clinical	Analysis table Digital ethnography entry Midterm exam
3L	Use teaching approaches that are sensitive to the varied experiences of students and that address different learning and performance modes;	Clinical	Digital ethnography entry
3M	Accommodate a student’s learning differences or needs regarding time and circumstances for work, tasks assigned, communication, and response modes;	Clinical	Digital ethnography entry
3O	Use information about students’ families, cultures, and communities as the basis for connecting instruction to students’ experiences;	Research report; Clinical	Analysis table Midterm exam
3P	Bring multiple perspectives to the discussion of subject matter, including attention to a student’s personal, family, and community experiences and cultural norms;	Research report; Clinical	Analysis table Digital ethnography entry Midterm exam
3Q	Develop a learning community in which individual differences are respected	Group research report	Analysis table Midterm exam
3R	Identify and apply technology resources to enable and empower learners with diverse backgrounds, characteristics, and abilities	Digital ethnography	Digital ethnography entry
5: Learning environment	Be able to use an understanding of individual and group motivation and behavior to create learning environments that encourage positive social interaction, active engagement in learning, and self-motivation		
5B	Understand how social groups function and influence people, and how people influence groups;	Research report; Clinical	Analysis table Midterm exam

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5F	Know factors and situations that are likely to promote or diminish intrinsic motivation and how to help students become self-motivated;	Research report; Clinical	Analysis table Midterm exam
5M	Engage students in individual and group learning activities that help them develop the motivation to achieve, by relating lessons to students' personal interests, allowing students to have choices in their learning, and leading students to ask questions and pursue problems that are meaningful to them and the learning;	Clinical	Digital ethnography entry
6: Commu- nication	Must be able to use knowledge of effective verbal, nonverbal, and media communication techniques to foster active inquiry, collaboration, and supportive interaction in the classroom		
6B	Understand how cultural and gender differences can affect communication in the classroom	Research report; Clinical	Analysis table Midterm exam
6I	Support and expand learner expression in speaking, writing, and other media;	Clinical	Digital ethnography entry
Standard	Bold = Standards addressed in this course Language taken from the statute: the teacher must . . .	K, D, or S Opportunity in the syllabus	Assessment point in syllabus
6K	Use a variety of media and educational technology to enrich learning opportunities	Digital ethnography	Digital ethnography
9: Reflec- tion and profes- sional develop- ment	Be a reflective practitioner who continually evaluates the effects of choices and actions on others, including students, parents, and other professionals in the learning community, and who actively seeks out opportunities for professional growth		
9C	Understand the influences of the teacher's behavior on student growth and learning;	Research report	Analysis table Digital ethnography entry Midterm exam
9H	Use classroom observation, information about students, and research as sources for evaluating the outcomes of teaching and learning and as a basis for reflecting on and revising practice;	Research report; Clinical	Analysis table Digital ethnography entry

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9J	Collaboratively use professional colleagues within the school and other professional arenas as supports for reflection, problem-solving, and new ideas, actively sharing experiences, and seeking and giving feedback;	Clinical	Digital ethnography entry
10: Collaboration, Ethics, and Relationships	Be able to communicate and interact with parents or guardians, families, school colleagues, and the community to support student learning and well-being		
10B	Understand how factors in a student’s environment outside of school, including family circumstances, community environments, health and economic conditions, may influence student life and learning;	Research report; Digital ethnography	Analysis table Digital ethnography entry Midterm exam
10I	Consult with parents, counselors, teachers of other classes and activities within the school, and professionals in other community agencies to link student environments;	Clinical; Research report	Digital ethnography entry
10J	Identify and use community resources to foster student learning;	Clinical; Research report	Digital ethnography entry
10K	Establish productive relationships with parents and guardians in support of student learning and well-being	Clinical; Research report	Digital ethnography entry

Syllabus IX: Gender, Race, Sexuality and Class

Jamil Khader (Professor)

Course Description

This course is an interdisciplinary as well as transnational introduction to the major categories, themes, and concepts in research about women's and men's lives around the world. We will read various fictional and non-fictional works, and watch a few feature and documentary films on issues that encompass the spectrum of gender studies, including:

- Patriarchy, gender oppression, and (post)feminism.
- The Crisis of Masculinity: Homosociality and dominant/subordinate masculinities
- Heteronormativity, homophobia, and LGBTQ rights.
- White supremacy, racial privilege, and color-blind racism.
- (Neo-)Colonialism, fundamentalism, and gender in global context.

In the first weeks of this course, we will discuss the possibilities and limits of the intersectional approach to gender studies. Students will develop a critical framework for thinking about the complex ways in which the above various microsystems of power and domination intersect and interlock not only to describe and inscribe identity (who we are and what we can be), but also how they use different power mechanisms to create social differences and inequalities among individuals and groups.

We will end the course with an examination of whether or not an exclusive focus on each power microsystems can help bring an end to ALL forms of oppression and exploitation. In other word, how effective is the intersectional analysis that does not look at the level of the formal constitution of macrosystem (global capitalism) itself? Rosemary Hennessey's book, *Profit and Pleasure: Sexual Identities in Late Capitalism*, offers us the opportunity for understanding the extent to which all these power microsystems especially, gay rights which have recently emerged as the ultimate sign of diversity and social revolution, tie into or link back to the fundamental class antagonism under global capitalism.

Required Texts

Rosemary Hennessey, *Profit and Pleasure: Sexual Identities in Late Capitalism*.

Khaled Hosseini, *A Thousand Splendid Suns*.

Shyam Selvadurai, *Funny Boy*.

Shira Tarrant, ed., *Men Speak Out: Views on gender, Sex, and Power* (Routledge 2007)

Tim Wise, *Speaking Treason Fluently: Anti-Racist Reflections From an Angry White Male*

Readings on Blackboard (BB) and online.

Documentaries and Films

Jean Killbourne's Killing Us Softly

Sex and the City

The War Zone

Tough Guise

Hip-Hop: Beyond Beats and Rhymes

Out: stories of lesbian and gay youth

The Cost of White Supremacy

Crash

Beauty Academy of Kabul

Under one sky: Arab women in North America talk about the Hijab

Course Requirements

1. **HWQ Responses (40 %):** You will write NINE full 3-page (with the works cited page appearing on the third page) typed **critical responses** to a prompt in which you will grapple with the issues raised in the readings. While you have to complete ALL these HWQs, only the best Eight of these responses will be counted towards your total grade in this assignment. In each response, you will have to grapple with a prompt that raises a question on one or more readings, in order to understand the readings critically and develop your own independent thoughts and voice about the issue under discussion. Think of these responses as short essays in which you are trying to contribute an independent and clear voice and opinion to an existing debate on the issues under discussion. These papers should demonstrate a well-organized argument, with all of the traditional structure of a good MLA style essay (introduction, thesis, topic sentences, analysis, persuasive examples, parenthetical citations, conclusion, and an MLA style works cited page). Your grade for each HW assignment will be based on doing the reading (or readings), your understanding of the reading(s), your ability to respond to the HWQ prompt intelligently and meaningfully, by using the readings to support your opinion. These questions will be distributed a week before they are due.
2. **Two Critical Reports (10 %):** You are asked to write Two 2-page reports on two campus activities sponsored by the GS program: One on a panel that deals with women, work, and families, and the other deals with migrant workers (Feb 7). For each report, you are asked to describe the event in general and write a summary of the main issues raised in one page. In the second page, you are asked to offer your own critical analysis of these views – which views you disagree with?

Why? Discuss your reasons for agreeing or disagreeing by utilizing the class discussions of these issues or similar ones. The reports are due a week after the event.

3. **Group Social Justice Experiments and Presentations (20 %):** You will work in small (3–5 person) groups to present on a Social Justice experiment of your choice that you will conduct OUTSIDE of class and present on in class, and perhaps the Stetson community and the general public. In the past, students conducted experiments on the veil, sex trafficking, transvestism, the college bride walk, etc. Early on in the semester, you will be divided into groups based on the topics you choose or will be assigned to you, and you will start meeting as a group to collect information about these topics from news coverage. Each group will make brief summaries and updates on the major trends and events happening in their area of interest to class every 3 weeks. Closer to the presentations date, group members will start planning their own performances and presentations, including documenting the project through photographs or videos, keeping a DAILY journal or diary of the experiment, and presenting about their experiment in class. Each group is responsible for

- Providing background information about the topic based on the news coverage of the issue as well as further researching that can shed more light on the magnitude and scope of the problem;
- Presenting on the actual experiment by sharing the most important conclusions from your journal, using photos and videos for clarification: Discuss and analyze the experiment using the major concepts and theories we studied this semester;
- Submitting a presentation portfolio that includes your research, documentation (videos/photos), and an analysis of the journal/diary.

Presentations should be approximately 20 min each. Grade will be a combination of an individual and a group grade and each student will be responsible for completing confidential evaluations of each group member's work. PPPs must be emailed to me before class (Due 4/02-4/04).

4. **A Take-home Final Exam (30 %):** The exam will consist of two broad questions, the answer to which requires references to the readings discussed in class. No further research is required.

Course Schedule

Please remember

1. Come to class **on time** and ready to participate. Tardiness is rude and disruptive.
2. **Turn off your cells** and all other electronic devices before you get into the classroom.
3. No texting during class.
4. Assigned readings are due for discussion on the day they are assigned, which means you **must read them BEFORE class.**

5. **Computer problems** will not excuse handing in work late. Keep saving your work and make sure you have a backup of your papers.
6. **This syllabus is an open document and is subject to revision (adding or subtracting) as deemed necessary.**

1/15 **Introduction:** overview syllabus
 Gender studies: PPP
 SQ3R: strategies for success
 HW: Read Patricia Collins, “Towards a New Vision: Race, Gender and Class as New Categories of Analysis.” (BB)

Unit I: the intersectional approach: promises and limits

1/17 Intersectionality: the liberal foundations of an approach to gender studies
 HW: Read Gimenez’s “Marxism and class, gender and race: rethinking the Trilogy” (BB)

1/22 The promises and limits of liberal intersectionality: Discuss Gimenez
 HW: read “Love, Actually” by Caitlin Flanagan and “All the Single Ladies” by Kate Bolick about how the recent economic crisis has affected women and traditional notions of romance, marriage, and family

Unit II: patriarchy, the new sexism, and the resurgence of feminism

1/24 Gender politics, romance, and family: discuss Flanagan and Bolick
 Screen/discuss: clip from The War Zone (on men’s sexual harassment of women on the street)
 HW: read in the order in which they appear a review of Ariel Levy’s female Chauvinist Pigs: Women and the Rise of Raunch Culture @ http://facweb.northseattle.edu/avoorhies/Gender/Readings/Culture/Female%20Chauvinist%20Pigs_Book%20Review.pdf; Perrault’s “Blue Beard” @ <http://www.surlalunefairytales.com/bluebeard/index.html>; and Carter’s rewrite, “The Bloody Chamber,” @ http://www.angelfire.com/falcon/rote/CARTER.html#the_snow_child

HWQ 1 assigned

1/29 Women, eroticism, and the secret of patriarchal power: Discuss Tyson, Perrault, and Carter
 “At some point in human history the concept of female inferiority was woven into the very fabric of how we see ourselves, how we treat each other, and how we organize society”
 Representations of women in mass media: From Jean Kilbourne’s Killing Us Softly: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ufHrVyVgwRg>
 “Do you want to be the one she tells her dark secret to or do you want to be her deep dark secret?”
 HW: Read Anne-Marie Slaughter’s “Why women still can’t have it all” @ <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/print/2012/07/why-women-still-cant-have-it-all/309020/>

1/31 Can women have it all? Has feminism deceived women? Discuss Slaughter
 The (post)feminism debate: Carter and Slaughter in a Feminist lens screen/discuss: from sex and the city <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s5WIJPSyhQ4&list=PL192436A460D74B48>
 HW: Read Selvadurai 1–97; and Tarrant (Poole 272–275)
 HWQ 2 assigned

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Unit III: Heteronormativity, homophobia, masculinity, and LGBTQ rights

- 2/05 Homophobia and the social construction of sexuality: Discuss Selvadurai, and Poole
Screen/discuss: Tough Guise. Normalizing masculinity and violence: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3exzMPT4nGI>
HW: Read Tarrant 17-24; 30-35; 43-46; 70-79; 147-62
- 2/07 Group project news Summary
Heteronormativity, homosociality, and hegemonic/subordinated masculinities: Discuss Tarrant
Screen/discuss: Hip-Hop: Beyond beats and rhymes <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ODZYkrCeaUI>
HW: Read Selvadurai 98–203; Tarrant 98–102 and 124–30
HWQ 3 assigned
- 2/12 Violence against women: The two I's: Discuss Selvadurai and readings in Tarrant
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j_khXBZIH38
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kXeFkSDcnNQ>
Sri Lanka war crimes: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4dFmlVw-uxI>
HW: Finish reading Selvadurai; Tarrant 80–93.
- 2/14 Gays of color and queer love: Discuss Selvadurai and Tarrant
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nRuj27pt65o>
Out: stories of lesbian and gay youth
HW: Read Tarrant 131–35; 151–53; 171–189; 264–71
HWQ 4 assigned
- 2/19 The Color ME brown project: Conversations with unmuted voices
(Sponsored by the cross-cultural center)
Class meets in the Rinker auditorium room 108, lynn business center
HW: Read Wise 15-92
- Unit IV: White supremacy, racial privilege, and color-blind racism**
- 2/21 Color-blind racism and multicultural (in)tolerance: Crash as a symptom
Screen/discuss: crash
HW: Read Wise 93-202
HQP 5 assigned
- 2/26 White denial, racial fantasies, and the irrationality of Racist thinking: Report: <https://soundcloud.com/#stateofthereunion/the-entire-pike-county-ohio>
HW: Read Wise 203-272
- 2/28 Challenging white privilege and the power of perspectivism: Discuss Wise
Screen/watch: The cost of white supremacy <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yxskSMgbhGU&feature=related>
HW: Finish reading Wise
HWQ 6 assigned
- 03/04-08 Spring break
- 3/12 The costs of white privilege: Discuss Wise
HW: Read Hosseini, Part I; and Mohanty (BB)

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Unit VI: (Neo)Colonialism, fundamentalism, and gender in a globalized world

- 3/14 Group project news update
The “average” Third World woman in Afghanistan: discuss Hosseini and Mohanty
Watch/discuss: beauty academy of Kabul
HW: Read Hosseini chapters 16–41; Kolhatkar and Ingalls; and Bulbeck pp. 29–33 (BB)
HWQ 7 assigned
- 3/19 Colonialism and the (Un)Veiling Muslim women: Discuss Hosseini, Kolhatkar and Ingalls, and Bulbeck
Watch/discuss: Under one sky: Arab women in North America talk about the Hijab
HW: Finish reading Hosseini
- 3/21 Discuss Hosseini
Group social justice experiments and presentations assigned
- 3/26 No class: work on your presentation
- 3/28 No class: work on your presentation
- 4/02 Group social justice experiments and presentations: student presentations
Portfolios due
- 4/04 Group social justice experiments and presentations: student presentations
Portfolios due
HW: Read Hennessy 1–73
HWQ 8 assigned

Unit VI: Capitalism, class, and the culturalization of difference

- 4/09 Capitalism, class and sex: discuss Hennessy
Screen/discuss: Queer Eye for the Straight Guy <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XmKhPcFMTgo>
HW: Read Hennessy 74–110
- 4/11 Commodity logic and sexual subjects: discuss Hennessy
HW: Read Hennessy 111–142; 175–202
HWQ 9 assigned
- 4/16 No classes: Stetson showcase
- 4/18 Queer visibility and the question of class: discuss Hennessy
HW: finish reading Hennessy
- 4/23 What’s love got to do with it? Capitalism and revolutionary love: discuss Hennessy
Take-home final exam distributed
- 4/25 Work on you final exams
Optional private conferences
- 4/30 Work on you final exams
Optional private conferences
- 5/03 Final exam due by 1 p.m. Email me a hard copy of the exam and drop a hard copy in my mail box, located in the English dep office in Flagler Bldg. Have it also stamped with the date and time, in which you submit it, by the administrative assistant or the work-study

Syllabus X: Analysis of Race Relations I

Walda Katz-Fishman (Professor)

The Subversive Syllabus & Critical Classroom

We continue to analyze systemic and structural “social inequality” within the social sciences. The focus will be on historic and contemporary systems of exploitation and multiple oppressions, i.e., global capitalism, white supremacy, and patriarchy – including expressions in colonialism and imperialism, and especially genocide and slavery within the United States context. With the rise of capitalism, white supremacy and racial/national domination became inextricably intertwined with emerging capitalist relations throughout the world and with earlier structures of gender relations and patriarchy as they developed within capitalism. Capitalism globally and in the United States embodies white supremacy and institutional racism in the material conditions of political economy, the State, social structures, in the ideological institutions and culture, and in the lived experience of daily life and social relations. Capitalism and the capitalist State and ideology have created and reproduced new forms of white supremacy and institutional racism across centuries that oppress, super-exploit and dispossess especially Black, Indigenous, and immigrant workers and their families, and divide the multiracial working class, making real the limitations of reform struggles.

The current moment shows ever intensifying systemic crises locally, nationally and globally – economic crisis, ecological collapse, social and cultural destruction, and political repression and war– including growing antagonism between labor and capital in the electronic age and intensifying fascism, with a leading edge of white supremacy and race/nationality.

Today shifts in the base of the capitalist economy – globalization and the technological revolution using electronic tools (computers, automation, robotics) that are labor replacing – have created a systemic rupture in capitalist relations and accumulation. Workers, increasingly replaced by robots, are becoming redundant and disposable. In the United States huge swathes of Black, Indigenous, Latino, immigrant and women workers are disproportionately poor, underemployed and unemployed, homeless, hungry, without quality education and health care, and exposed to environmental toxins and disasters. At the same time the entire working class is more and more dispossessed and experiencing these new realities of economic and ecological crisis and destruction and political repression. The corporate state has replaced the welfare state, and while this affects the working class as a whole, it weighs most heavily on those it always has.

We examine how this analysis is connected to consciousness, political praxis, and transformative social movements struggling to end systemic oppression and exploitation in society, and what scholar activists and movement actors are doing in the early decades of the twenty-first century. The process of change and the

revolutionary process are understood in terms of the relations between base and superstructure and the stages of social and political struggle – consciousness, vision, and strategy – and the participation of oppressed and exploited workers of color – including women and youth – as agents of change and revolution. This is the context for the theory-praxis nexus of analysis and political practice for social transformation, human liberation, and ecological survival.

The core of the seminar is shared readings and dialogue, a public sociology project (continuing to organize on campus &/or organizing and facilitating popular education workshops; participating in local social struggles), and a writing project analyzing and synthesizing the course readings. Popular education principles of participatory pedagogy (see *Critical Classroom* & handouts on Freire, Horton, hooks) will be used. Students will have major collective responsibility for organizing the class and facilitating class discussions, as well the public sociology project and reading and writing projects. Evaluation will be a collective process including self-evaluation, group evaluation and evaluation by professor.

Readings: core required (to be selected from these at first class meeting Aug 23 or earlier by email/call – what we do not read this semester will be rolled over to Analysis II in spring 2013)

- Allen, Theodore. 1994. *The Invention of the White Race: Racial Oppression and Social Control, Vol. 1*. NY: Verso.
- Allen, Theodore. 1997. *The Invention of the White Race: The Origin of Racial Oppression in Anglo-America, V.2*. NY: Verso.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2010. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and Racial Inequality in Contemporary America*. 3rd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Coates, R. (ed.). 2004. *Race and Ethnicity Across Times, Space and Discipline*. Boston: Brill.
- Cox, Oliver C. 1959. *Caste, Class & Race*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Debo, Angie. 1940/1991. *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes*. Princeton: Princeton U Press.
- Deloria, Vine, Jr. 1969/1988. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. Norman, OK: U of Oklahoma Press.
- Du Bois, W.E. B. 1969. *Black Reconstruction in America 1860–1880*. NY: Atheneum/Macmillan.
- Fanon, Franz. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York, NY: Grove Press.
- Galeano, Eduardo. 1973. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. NY: Monthly Review.
- James, C.L.R. 1963/1989. *Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolutions*. 2nd ed. NY: Vintage.
- Jung, Moon-Kie, Joao Costa Vagas & Eduardo Bonnila-Silva (editors). 2011. *State of White Supremacy: Racism, Governance, and the United States*. Stanford, CA: Stanford U Press.
- Hunter, Herbert & Sameer Abraham (editors). 1987. *Race, Class, and the World System: The Sociology of Oliver C. Cox*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Lipsitz, George. 1998. *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple U Press.
- Martinez, Elizabeth. 1998. *De Colores Means All of Us: Latina Views for a Multi-Colored Century*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
- Stephen, Lynn. 2002. *Zapata Lives: Histories and Cultural Politics in Southern Mexico*. Berkeley, CA: U of California Press.
- Winant, Howard. 2004. *The New Politics of Race: Globalism, Difference, Justice*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota.

Also e-articles emailed summer & fall 2012

“Must reads:” classical statements on historical materialism: can be found at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/>

Engels, F. *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*

Lenin, V.I. 1919. *The State: A Lecture Delivered at the Sverdlov University* <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1919/jul/11.htm>

Lenin, V.I. *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism & State and Revolution* <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/index.htm>

Lenin, V.I. *The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism* <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1913/mar/x01.htm>

Marx, K. *Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/preface.htm>

Marx, K. & F. Engels: *The Manifesto of the Communist Party & Wage Labor and Capital* <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/index.htm>

Stalin, J.V. *The Foundations of Leninism* :: <http://www.marx2mao.com/Stalin/FL24.html>

Stalin, J. 1938. *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*. www.marx.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1938/09.htm

Course activities

1. Theorizing capitalism & white supremacy/race/nationality in relation to patriarchy – as exploitation and oppression, colonialism & repression, and as social struggle & social movements: Class presentations and class participation during semester (50 %)

Students (individually &/or in teams) will prepare all readings for class presentation – organize by themes, theoretical paradigms, other. Short papers/handouts will accompany class presentations.

2. Analysis and synthesis paper (40 %)

Using text readings, class discussion & other readings as appropriate (emailings and reading list), write an analysis and synthesis paper (8–10 pages).

3. Public Sociology (including campus organizing work, DC Metro Social Forum & education/activism) (10 %)

Students will work throughout the semester in small work groups to help facilitate class and campus &/or community based workshops and/or participate in local social struggles. Includes short (2–4 pages) reflection paper grounded in theory-praxis framework.

Course outline

Weeks 1–3: Overview of theory & literature and organize class assignments/presentations

- Deepen our theorizing about white supremacy/race in relation to economy, power, ideology & struggle

- Develop our collective analysis of this historic moment of crisis and racial and national exploitation and oppression contextualized within structures and ideologies of capitalism and patriarchy, state power and ideology, state repression and militarism, and social movements for transformation
- Focus on the social history of white supremacy, reform and revolutionary struggles and movements, and twenty-first century world
- Review Assignments for semester

1. Read &/or review:

Theory texts and previous social inequality readings for discussions of white supremacy & race/nationality and interrelationship with social history, global capitalism, gender & patriarchy and social movements and capitalist crisis (Berberoglu, Zeitlin, Ritzer, monographs)

The Roots of Terror, Critical Classroom, Today's Globalization & Critical Classroom & Popular Education readings – handouts

2. Review assignments for core texts to individuals//teams for presentation: affirm order & select dates

3. Discuss semester writing project of analysis & synthesis

4. Discuss public sociology work, especially around the crisis and campus response &/or DC Metro Social Forum & PMA processes ongoing, other DC struggles, other.

Weeks 4–12: Discuss development of race and national oppression (systemic colonialism, genocide, slavery, imperialism) within social history of class society and current system of global capitalism and white supremacy & patriarchy. Explore capitalist state and ideology, and systemic exploitation and oppression (class, race, nationality, gender, sexuality, war & genocide). Examine structural and material basis of ideology and counter-hegemonic liberatory consciousness within context of current crisis and local-national-global movements from the bottom-up with strong women's participation. Analyze the dialectical relationship between material conditions of peoples' lives and their consciousness, vision and strategy for social reform and social revolution.

1. Class presentations of core texts, other related literature

2. Class dialogue: gain clarity and mastery of concepts, theory, methodology and praxis

3. Apply to current moment, public sociology, writing project, research interests

Weeks 13–14: Finish texts and discussion, review writing projects & evaluation

Assignments (projects and presentations) are due throughout the semester as indicated in the course outline and agreed upon in class. Final written assignments are due by **Nov 29, 2012**. Please consult course schedule & handbook for rules on classes, grades, "I"s, plagiarism, etc. Incompletes will not be given except under

the most extraordinary circumstances and must be accompanied by a signed student contract prior to the last day of formal class (Oct 25, 2012). No student on financial support or who has not earned a passing grade at the time may receive an “I.”

More “must” reads: white supremacy, race/nationality & structural oppression

- Alexander, Michelle. 2010. *The new Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: New Press.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2010. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and Racial Inequality in Contemporary America*. 3rd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Brewer, Rose. 2005. *The Color of Wealth*. New York: New Press.
- Bush, M. 2004. *Breaking the Code of Good Intentions*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield
- Bush, R. 2009. *The End of White World Supremacy: Black Internationalism . . .* Philadelphia: Temple Univ.
- Bush, R. 1999. *We are Not What We Seem: Black Nationalism and Class Struggle*. NY: NYU Press.
- Coates, R. (ed.). 2004. *Race and Ethnicity Across Times, Space and Discipline*. Boston: Brill.
- Davies, Carol Boyce. 2007. *Left of Karl Marx: Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones*. Duke Univ Press: Durham, NC
- Desai, A.. 2002. *We Are the Pooors: Community Struggles in Post-Apartheid SA*. NY: Monthly Review.
- Feagin, Joe. 2006. *Systemic Racism: A Theory of Oppression*. New York: Routledge.
- Frazier, E.F. 1962. *Black Bourgeoisie*. New York: Macmillan
- Freire, Paulo. 1995. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 2nd ed*. New York: Continuum.
- Galeano, Eduardo. *Open Veins of Latin America*
- Georgakas, Dan and Marvin Surkin. 1998. *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press
- Hall, T. & J. Fenelon. 2009. *Indigenous Peoples and Globalization: Resistance . . .* Boulder: Paradigm.
- Heagerty, B. & N. Peery. 2000. *Moving On: From racial division to class unity*. Chicago: People’s Tribune.
- Healy, Joseph. 1998. *Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Class . . .* Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Hennessey, Rosemary & C. Ingraham (ed). 1997. *Materialist Feminism: Class, Difference & Women’s Lives*. NY: Routledge.
- Hill-Collins, Patricia. 2000. *Black Feminist Thought, 2nd ed*. New York: Unwin
- Jones, Charles (ed.). 1998. *The Black Panther Party [Reconsidered]*. Baltimore, MD: Black Classics Press.
- Karides, Marina, Walda Katz-Fishman, Rose M. Brewer, Alice Lovelace & Jerome Scott. 2010. *The United States Social Forum: Perspectives of a Movement*. Chicago: ChangeMaker Publications
- Kelley, Robin DG. 1990. *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression*. Chapel Hill: NC: UNC Press
- League of Revolutionaries for a New America. 2010. *On the Edge of History*. Chicago, IL.
- Marx, Karl. 2010. *Political Writings: 3 volumes: The Revolutions of 1848, Surveys from Exile, The First International and After*. New York & London: Verso.
- Mills, Charles. 1997. *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Peery, Nelson. 2002. *The future is up to us: A revolutionary talking politics..* Chicago: Speakers for New America.
- Petras, J. & H. Veltmeyer. 2001. *Globalization Unmasked: Imperialism in the 21st Century*. NY: Zed.
- Ransby, Barbara. 2003. *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*. Chapel Hill: U of NC Press

- Rodney, W. 1981. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard U Press
- Roediger, D. R. 2007. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race & Making of American Working Class*. NY: V
- Rothenberg, Paula (ed.). 2008. *White Privilege: Essential Readings 3rd ed.* New York: Worth Publishers.
- Rousseau, Nicole. 2009. *Black Women's Burden: Commodifying Black Reproduction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Andrea. 2005. *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Cambridge: South End
- Williams, Linda Faye. 2003. *The Constraint of Race: Legacies of White Skin Privilege in America*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

And more “must” reads: power & the state, political economy, social movements & public soc

- Amin, Samir. 2004. *Obsolescent Capitalism: Contemporary Politics and Global Disorder*. New York: Zed.
- Berberoglu, B. (ed.). 2009. *Globalization in the 21st Century: Labor, Capital and the State on a World Scale*. NY: Palgrave Macmillan
- Berberoglu, B. 2009. *Class and Class Conflict Globalization and Change . . .* Lanham: Lexington
- Berberoglu, Berch with J. Petras & D. Elliott. 2008. *The State and Revolution in the Twentieth Century*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield
- Buechler, Steven. 2000. *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism*. NY: Oxford U Press.
- Correa Leite, Jose. 2005. *The World Social Forum: Strategies of Resistance*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.
- Dutt, Palme. *Fascism and Social Revolution*
- Engels, F. *Origin of Family, Private Property & the State* (see what edition is out there)
- Forgacs, D. (ed.). 2000. *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916–1935*. NYU Press: NYC.
- Harnecker, Marta. 2007. *Rebuilding the Left*. New York: Zed Books.
- Harvey, David. 2010. *A Companion to Marx's Capital*. London & NY: Verso
- Heagerty, B. & N. Peery. 2000. *Moving On: From racial division to class unity*. Chicago: People's Tribune.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 2001. *Revolutionaries*. NYC: The New Press
- Holloway, John. 2010. *Crack Capitalism*. London & NY: Pluto Press.
- Lebowitz, Michael. 2006. *Build It Now: Socialism for the Twenty-First Century*. NY: Monthly Review Press
- Mies, Maria. 1986. *Patriarchy & Accumulation on a World Scale . . .* New York: Zed Books.
- Mohanty, Chandra. 2004. *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory . . .* Durham: Duke.
- Nyden, Philip, G. Nyden, L. Hossfeld (eds). 2012. *Public Sociology: Research, Action & Change*. Los Angeles: Pine Forge.
- Plyers, Geoffrey. 2010. *Alter-Globalization: Becoming Actors in the Global Age*. Malden, MA: Polity Press
- Robinson, William. 2004. *A Theory of Global Capitalism*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins U Press.
- Santos, Boaventura De Sousa. 2006. *The Rise of the Global Left: World Social Forum & Beyond*. NY: Zed.
- Therborn, Goran. 2008 [1978]. *What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?* London/New York: Verso.
- Wacquant, L. 2009. *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.
- Wood, Ellen Meiskin. 2003. *Empire of Capital*. Verso: London/NY.

More Supplementary Readings

- Amin, Samir. 2004. *Obsolescent Capitalism: Contemporary Politics and Global Disorder*. N Y: Zed.
- Amin, S. 2008. *The World We Wish to See: Revolutionary Objectives in 21st Century*. NY: Monthly Review.
- Berberoglu, Berch. 2005. *Class and Class Conflict Globalization and Change ...* Lanham: Lexington
- Berberoglu, B. (ed.). 2009. *Globalization in the 21st Century: Labor, Capital and the State on a World Scale*. NY: Palgrave.
- Blasi, A. (ed.). 2005. *Diverse Histories of American Sociology*. Boston: Brill.
- Correa Leite, Jose. 2005. *The World Social Forum: Strategies of Resistance*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.
- Cox, Oliver C. 1959. *Caste, Class & Race*. New York: Monthly Review Press
- Davis, J., Hirschl & Stack. 1997. *The Cutting Edge: Technology, Capitalism & Social Revolution*. NY: Verso.
- Diamond, Jared. 1999. *Guns, Germs and Steel: the Fates of Human Societies*. New York: WW Norton.
- Hennessy, R. & C. Ingraham. 1997. *Materialist Feminism ...* NY: Routledge.
- Hill-Collins, P. 2000. *Black Feminist Thought, 2nd ed*. New York: Unwin
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- Wacquant, Loic. 2008. *Urban Outcasts: Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality*. Malden, MA: Polity

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- Brewer, Rose M. 2010. "Social Forum Process: The Praxis of Gender, Race, Class, Sexualities," Eds. Richard Dello Buono & D. Fasenfest, *Social Change, Resistance and Social Practices*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 57–72.
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Syllabus XI: Race and Ethnic Monitories

Leslie H. Picca

Course Description

This course is designed to provide an overview of the historical and contemporary experiences of racial and ethnic minorities, especially African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos/as, but also projected racial minorities (especially whites) in United States society. This course will examine how racial relations function in the political, social, and economic systems of the United States. Guided by several theoretical approaches, we will look at the effects of the racial hierarchy (including those who shape the racial hierarchy), and the communities of resistance. This is a sociology class and we will examine the racial social structure from macro and micro perspectives.

Required Course Material

- Gallagher, Charles A. 2012. *Rethinking the Color Line*. 5th Edition. McGraw Hill. [Note: If you find a cheaper earlier edition, that's fine, but just be sure to photocopy the articles you'll be missing.]
- Additional required readings will be made available on Isidore,

Academic Honesty

By enrolling in this course, you are indicating your consent to the University of Dayton's student code of conduct (as outlined in the Student Handbook: <http://community.udayton.edu/student/handbook/>). *Plagiarism, cheating of any kind, or other types of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated and will result in failing the course and other disciplinary action.* If you are unclear about what constitutes cheating, please see me. Students are expected to abide by the UD Honor Pledge:

The Honor Pledge

I understand that as a student of the University of Dayton, I am a member of our academic and social community. I recognize the importance of my education and the value of experiencing life in such an integrated community. I believe that the value of my education and degree is critically dependent upon the academic integrity of the university community, and so in order to maintain our academic integrity, I pledge to:

- Complete all assignments and examinations by the guidelines given to me by my instructors;

- Avoid plagiarism and any other form of misrepresenting someone else’s work as my own;
- Adhere to the Standards of Conduct as outlined in the Academic Honor Code.

In doing this, I hold myself and my community to a higher standard of excellence, and set an example for my peers to follow.

Class requirements and evaluation criteria	
Midterm exam:	150 points
Final exam:	150 points
Assignments/homework:	40 points
Racial autobiography:	40 points
Racial journal project:	120 points
Participation/leader:	80 points
8 reading responses:	120 points
Interview project:	100 points
Research project:	200 points
	1,000 points

Exams (2 @ 150pts each)

There will be 2 semi-cumulative exams, meaning that concepts from previous exams may appear on the current exam. Exams may be comprised of multiple choice, short essay, and essay questions. Exam dates are listed on the schedule, and the exams will begin promptly at the start of class. It is your responsibility to arrive to class on time. If you should arrive after someone has already finished the exam, you will not be permitted to start the exam, and you will have to schedule a make-up exam. Once the exams have been distributed, you will not be permitted to leave the room until you finish the exam. Please plan accordingly: use the restroom before class, bring tissue, etc. Additionally, please turn off your phone: given the sophistication of smart phones, I will assume you are cheating if you check your phone.

Make-Up Exams: If you must miss an exam, it is your responsibility to contact me before the exam, if possible. Make-up exams will be granted only when accompanied by a legitimate documented excuse (such as a doctor’s note). Make-up exams will be different from the original exam to prevent any unfair advantage that might be gained by taking the exam later. Unless prior arrangements have been made, the make-up exam must be taken *no later than 1 week* after the original exam. Students who fail to meet these requirements for a make-up exam will receive a zero for the exam grade.

Assignments/Homework (40pts)

Keeping up with the required readings and class attendance are crucial to your success in this class. In order to encourage you to keep up with the readings

and come to class, there will be regular graded assignments (such as writing assignments, group work, and *unannounced quizzes*). Class activities may not be made up. For example, if an unannounced quiz occurs right at the beginning of class and you come to class late, you may not make up the quiz. It's important to come to class on time and stay until class is dismissed or else this portion of your grade will suffer.

In-class assignments may also be homework assignments. Throughout the semester, you will be asked to complete homework assignments that will be described in class. Be sure to pay attention in class for details and deadlines. Unless otherwise noted, all homework assignments must be typed, and submitted at the beginning of class. I will not accept handwritten or late homework; please do not email me your writing assignment (it should be submitted in class).

Autobiography Project (40pts)

Everyone has some racial or ethnic heritage, though for some it may be less important than for others, both in how they see themselves, as well as in how others see them. This paper should focus on the racial/ethnic aspect of your identity. Throughout your paper, try to use as many specific examples and tell about as many specific experiences, memories and stories as you can. Choose stories from your life when you were most aware of race and ethnicity. Use details to try to describe your thoughts and experiences as thoroughly as possible. This should read like a regular autobiography, but with a focus on issues of race/ethnicity. Tell things that have happened to you. This paper should NOT simply read as a long essay that could be titled "What I Think about Race," or "Current Racial Issues That Interest Me Most." Tell a story about something that has happened to you, and then you may add something that you learned from it. ***Focus on things like change, stability, turning points, influences, stories, people, feelings, conflict, resolution, and recurring themes.***

Guiding Questions

Remember to mention specific events that you remember as being significant to you in regards to your race or ethnicity. What I am looking for is the shifts, progression, or other development of your racial/ethnic consciousness. Be specific. Again, remember to work chronologically, from the first time you remember being aware of your or someone else's race/ethnicity to the present.

(for any questions with a blank, fill in the blank when reading it with the term you use to identify your race/ethnicity, whichever you identify with more.)

- What are some of your first memories of recognizing racial/ethnic differences and your place in a racial/ethnic group?

- To any extent that you can, write about “___-ness” *without* writing about any other groups who are not ____.
- Broadly speaking, what does it mean to be ___?
- If you were not being asked to discuss your race or ethnicity, could you tell your life story without mentioning race or ethnicity?
- Is your racial/ethnic identity one of the most important aspects of your personality? For example, if you had to describe yourself, is it one of the first things you would think to say?
- If you identify more in racial terms, what do you know about your ethnic heritage (i.e., what countries did your ancestors immigrate/or were forced here from, or when did your ancestors cross the border to the United States/or have the border cross them)?
- What, if any, messages did your family give you about your own race/ethnicity as you were growing up?
- Does/did your family have any specific traditions related to your racial/ethnic heritage? How do you think this compares with other families of your same race/ethnicity? How about with other families of other races/ethnicities?
- How, if at all, have your ideas about race/ethnicity changed through the years?
- What *specific* world events, personal incidents, relationships (with friends, classmates, etc.), environmental factors (the neighborhood you lived in, family situations, etc.), media images (books, toys, movies, television – mention specific names/titles), etc., have had an effect on your ideas about race, ethnicity, and racism?
- What are some experiences that have made your race or ethnicity most visible to you?
- Throughout your life, have most of your friends and other people close to you been of your same racial/ethnic background? If so, why do you think this was the case? If not, what do you think led you to cross racial/ethnic lines in creating relationships?
- Have you been subject to discrimination based on your race or ethnicity? If so, what type(s)?
- Has your racial/ethnic identity brought you any privileges or benefits? If so, what type(s)?
- How do you think your racial/identity will be likely to affect your future, if at all? How do you think demographic changes that are currently underway will affect your experiences and attitudes relating to race, ethnicity, and racism?
- Do you think racism is becoming more of a problem, less of a problem, or not changing much in the United States? If you think it is a problem, what do you think the best solution(s) is/are?

Autobiography Project Grading Criteria

Since you are writing about your life, you will not be graded so much on the *substance* of your autobiography as you will on whether you followed the directions for the assignment. So be sure to do these things:

1. Submit your paper on-time, and meet the formatting requirements for the paper. Your autobiography should be about 2–3 pages, *single-spaced*. Please follow conventional formatting: 10–12-point font, 1" margins, and essay-format. **Papers are due by 10 am Friday, August 31st.** Late papers will receive 5 points off each late day (starting at 10:05 am on 8/31).
2. Proofread your paper flawlessly, and write a grammatically correct paper.
3. Focus on stories and experiences, not opinions.
4. Show me that you gave this some careful thought, in the context of topics we discuss in this class.

[Please Note: The Autobiography Project is from the book *Being White: Stories of Race and Racism* by Karyn D. McKinney (Routledge, 2004).]

Racial Journal Project (120pts)

Using journal writing, you will be asked to analyze your everyday life as it relates to material you've learned in this class. More details will be provided in class. Journals will be due in class and on Isidore on **November 19th**. Late submissions (starting 5 min after the start of class) will receive 5 points off each late day.

Participation (50pts)/Discussion Leader (30pts)

As a discussion facilitator, your responsibility is to initiate the class discussion, and ensure that the important concepts are covered within the context of this class. (Each week, there will be a group of discussion facilitators who will work together.) Discussion leaders will be assigned by me at the beginning of the semester. Expectations for the discussion leader include:

1. Read the assigned readings carefully and thoughtfully. Take into consideration how the readings relate to previous readings in this class.
2. Outline what you see as the 3 or 4 most important points of the readings. I recommend you make a handout summarizing the key points for the class. Discussion leaders should not simply summarize the readings (your peers will have read the material); summaries lasting *more* than 5 min will earn 0 points.

3. Formulate 2 or 3 open-ended questions that generate discussion (not just one word answers, or direct answers from the text). Be sure that your questions will focus the discussion on analytic points (not simply opinions) that are relevant to the course.
4. Suggest an activity (such as a class discussion, small group work, debate, etc.). Be creative: you can decide how to create work groups, or bring in other related materials to use as examples [This is your class; have fun with it!].
5. Meet with Dr. Picca no later than 12 noon on the day *before* you lead discussion.
6. You will also be evaluated based on your *participation* in class discussions. Throughout the semester, I will ask students to come to class with 2 or 3 prepared written comments or questions that you wish to contribute to class discussion. Periodically these will be collected and assessed as part of your grade.

Reading Responses (8 @ 15pts each)

Throughout the course, I will ask you to write eight brief responses about the class readings. The Reading Responses have two objectives: (1) to encourage students to keep up with the readings (. . . isn't that nicer than a pop quiz!), and (2) to facilitate a dialogue between student/professor. We will rely upon these reviews in class discussions and assignments. Ideally, writing these reviews will: provide you a place to respond to the readings, help you to identify the author's main points and arguments, assist you in thinking about how the readings related to each other, and to help you take ownership of the class material.

Guidelines:

- Reading Responses will reflect your analysis of the readings due for that week. In other words, if you write a review for week 4, it will be due on 9/12. Response due dates are listed on the syllabus. No late responses will be accepted. In other words, if you write about the readings for week 2 on Social Constructions & Theories, it will be due 8/29, and will not be accepted after that date.
- There are 11 opportunities to submit Reading Responses; I will count your 8 best responses.
- Your reviews will be responses to the articles that are assigned. You should write approximately 2 pages (typed, *single*-spaced, no more than 1-in. margins on all sides, 10–12 point font) for each week. Please write in complete sentences.
- You may **NOT** write a response for the week that you facilitate discussion. Plan accordingly!
- As you become more skilled at these responses, I expect your level of analysis to deepen and become less superficial (“I never thought about this issue” or “we’ve come a long way in race relations”).
- I may also give you questions to think about in class that you should respond to in your responses. In addition, I also encourage you to write about current events and/or your own personal experiences as they relate to things we talk about in class.

Suggested Reading Response Format -Please cover the following 3 points in each one review:

- A. **Summary:** *Briefly* describe the key points of *each* reading and summarize the main argument of the author in your own words. If you had to tell a roommate what the reading was about, what would you say? [Note: You do not have to summarize any videos for that week.] Length: approx 1–2 paragraphs *per* assigned reading.
- B. **Response:** Write your response to the reading. Do you agree? Disagree? How does it make you feel? Does it relate to your own life? How? [Note: You do not have to write a response to each reading – you may select one or two readings to write about.] Length: about 1–2 paragraphs
- C. **Connections:** Thinking broadly, discuss how the readings for this week relate to previous week’s readings in this class. Does it make similar points? Does it contrast with another reading? Do you have other comments you want to make about the readings? Length: about 2–3 paragraphs (less at the beginning of the semester; more as the semester progresses)

Interview Project (100pts)

In this course, we will explore the history of racial relations, especially how it impacts our perceptions today. In this project, you will be asked to examine racial relations in your family’s not-so-distant past, especially during legal segregation (1870–1960s). Ideally, you will interview a close family member who remembers living during the time of United States legal segregation (born around/before 1955). An actual voice-to-voice interview where you can ask follow-up questions is preferred to an email/text/IM exchange.

Sample interview guideline – note this is just a guideline, as circumstances may vary. Some of the questions are very broad, so you’ll want to follow-up with more specific questions:

- Introduction:
 - I’m taking a class on Racial & Ethnic Relations, and I’ve been asked to interview a family member who can tell me about their experiences living during legal segregation. Can I ask you a few questions? [If they have any questions about this project, please feel free to give them my contact information.]
- Background:
 - Provide background information, if you don’t already know this: What year were you born? Where did you grow up? What race do you identify yourself?

- Conversation starters about “the past”:
 - What is your earliest memory of contact with someone outside of your race?
 - Tell me about what it was like growing up as a person of your race.
 - How much contact did you have with others who were not of your race?
 - What were you taught about racial relations from your family? Peers? Media?
 - Tell me about the neighborhood that you grew up in. Who lived in your neighborhood?
 - Tell me about how race impacted your education/schooling. Did you attend a segregated or integrated school? What was that like?
 - Tell me about how race impacted public places (restaurants, parks, recreation, etc.).
 - What is one thing you think people of my generation should know about racial relations from when you were growing up?
 - If the person you are interviewing was/is not in the United States: what messages were you taught about United States racial relations? How are racial relations the same/different compared to where you were/are?
- Talking about today:
 - What are your feelings about racial interactions today?
- At the end of the interview
 - Is there anything else you’d like to tell me that might relate to my class on racial relations?
 - I really appreciate you taking the time to talk with me. THANK YOU!

After you’ve conducted your interview, please type a 4–6 pg summary/analysis paper (double spaced, 1” margins, etc.). Your final paper should have three parts:

1. Discuss the content of the interview: be sure to include the person’s background information, and summarize their responses in narrative form. For responses you found particularly striking, you may want to use direct quotes (you’ll want to take detailed notes or record the interview).
2. Provide your reaction to the interview (anything surprise you)?
3. Discuss how the content of the interview can be understood within the context of this class (social constructions, theoretical perspectives, etc.).

At the end of your paper, please provide your feedback to me. Was this a useful project? Waste of time? What questions should be added/deleted from the interview guide? [Note: you won’t be graded based on your feedback – that’s just for my benefit!]

Papers will be due at the beginning of class on **Monday, September 10th**. *Please submit a paper copy in class AND submit it electronically on “Isidore” under the “Assignments Tab.”* Late papers (starting 5 min after the start of class) will receive 5points off each late day. Please do not email me your papers.

Research Project (200pts)

Research Project (100pts for final paper)

The project will allow you the opportunity to further explore an area of your interest as it relates to the *sociology* of race and ethnicity. I will ask you to do research about your topic, discussing how it can be understood within the context of this class. Projects are due in-class at 10 am on **Wednesday, December 5th**. Late submissions (starting at 10:05 am on 12/5) will receive 5 % off each late day (including weekends). [Note: I am open to alternative assignments that are well thought out. Possible examples include writing a literature review (get started for Senior Project!) or “I Can Do Her Job Better: Write a Lecture and Lesson Plan for SOC 328.” As this project is worth 200 points, we’ll need to be clear about expectations. Please meet with me before Fall Break to explore possibilities.]

Research Project Proposal (25pts)

Due **Friday, October 12th** at the beginning of class (email submissions will not be accepted). Proposals turned in after 10/12 at 10:05 am may be accepted for 0 points (in other words, I will give you feedback, but you will forfeit 25 points). Please type up the following (you may enumerate your responses):

1. Briefly describe what your topic will be.
2. Discuss how you will approach it from a *sociological* perspective. In the past, students who have *not* done well on their research project have relied too heavily on a psychological or biological perspective, or have a topic that is way too broad.
3. You should explain what sources you will use (be sure the sources are available), and how you will narrow down your topic.
4. Explain how you will present your findings to the class for the visual project presentation.

Research Project Check-In (25pts)

Plan to submit a research update and bibliography by **Friday, November 9th**. Late submissions (after 11/9, 10:05 am) will earn 0pts. After November 14th, you will not be permitted to change your research topic, so please think carefully about your topic. Please include:

1. Submit the first paragraph of your paper, clearly indicating your thesis statement.
2. Describe your research topic; this should reflect the comments you received from the proposal. (Please save your proposal & submit it with your final paper.)
3. List the + 4 resources you will be using for your project. Please make sure at least two resources are from a peer-reviewed journal.
4. Please provide me with feedback on how your research is going. Do we need to meet? Do you feel good about your research project?

Research Project Presentation (50pts)

We will examine the issues of the class by hearing your well-researched, informed analysis through research presentations about your research project. You should plan for your presentation to visually highlight the major findings of your research (such as a poster presentation or other creative outlet – please

do not use “filler” youtube clips). Please rehearse your presentations in advance to ensure your presentation is organized, coherent, and does not exceed the time limit. (Time limit will be announced in class as it is dependent upon the number of students in class.) As presentations will take place at the end of the semester, missed presentations may not be made up. As a courtesy to your peers, all students are expected to attend presentation days. Each presentation day you miss will result in a 1 % point deduction from your final grade.

Grading

As well as evaluating your sociological insight, spelling, grammar, and logic will be considered in grading all work. Completion of course requirements is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for a good grade. You should seek to excel in all your work. If you receive a D or F on an assignment or exam, I encourage you to meet with me within 1 week after receiving the grade.

Attendance Policy

Attendance is strongly encouraged; you are responsible for the content of the lectures and anything covered during class time. If you miss a class, please obtain the notes from another student (**not** from the instructor). Although attendance is not “required” you will be held responsible for the material covered in class. Please keep in mind you’ll need to actively participate in class for the in-class assignment and discussion participation portions of your grade. Most class sessions I will take attendance to reward students who regularly attend class. As it is *very* distracting for students to show up late and leave early, I deduct 1 % point from the final grade for *each* time a student shows up late or leaves early (unless prior arrangements have been discussed).

Honors Course

Please do not enroll in this course if you are looking for an easy “A” course or a course with minimal expectations. Honors courses require a huge time commitment, and I expect rigorous standards from my courses. However, if you feel you are falling behind on the course material, please let me know a.s.a.p. (don’t wait until after a deadline has passed), so we can work together to stay on track.

Technology

- **Laptop Policy:** To my disappointment, in past classes I’ve taught at UD, students have inappropriately used their laptops in class. Therefore, students will not be allowed to use a laptop during class.

- **Powerpoints:** Some lectures will include PowerPoint presentations. Be sure to take notes from the lectures as well as the slides. If you focus only on the slides, you will miss important information.
- **UD Email Accounts:** I will send information (such as homework assignments) to your UD email accounts, so make sure to check your UD account frequently.

Courtesy Policy

When you are in this classroom, you should be focused on actively engaging in the material at hand. Behavior that interferes with the learning opportunities of others is not permitted. This may include talking/whispering during lecture, interrupting the speaker, text messaging, etc. Please turn off all noise making functions on cell phones, laptops, and other devices.

This is a course in which very interesting, and sometimes controversial, issues are considered. Ideally, every student in the course will be actively involved in classroom discussions. In order for everyone to feel comfortable in the class, a climate of tolerance, respect, and maturity is essential. Discrimination, harassment, or intimidation will not be tolerated. Everyone has the right to a classroom free from hostility, ridicule, or embarrassment. Please bear in mind this is a sociology class; we will not simply be debating opinions, but will be reflecting contemporary issues in an academic setting, through a SOCIOLOGICAL LENS, informed by theory. We should all treat each other with respect. I will give you my undivided attention, when you are speaking. I expect you to do the same, when I am speaking. You should also use this same rule when your peers are speaking. Any student engaging in inappropriate behavior will be asked to leave the classroom. If asked to leave, the student should do so *immediately* without further disruption. The student may return to the class only after an out-of-class meeting with the professor and department chair (or suitable substitute). Each violation of the courtesy policy (such as talking during lecture, texting, a ringing cell phone) will result in a 1 % point deduction from your final grade.

Important Notes

- If you have any questions, please ASK – either during class, in my office, or via email.
- For students with disabilities or special needs – please contact me as soon as possible and I will attempt to make any necessary accommodations. I will work with you to make your experience in this class both an enjoyable and educational one.
- I highly recommend that each of you exchange names and contact information with at least two students in the class. If you are absent, you'll need to contact a peer to get the notes/assignments for what you missed.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Phone #</u>	<u>Email</u>

Tentative Schedule

*Please complete reading assignment before coming to class on Wednesday, unless otherwise noted. All readings are required, unless noted as recommended. I reserve the right to change the schedule to best suit the needs of the class; pay attention for announcements in class. Readings are from *Rethinking the Color Line* (5th ed), unless denoted with [IS] = Isidore.*

Part I: Laying the Foundation

Week 1: 8/22, 8/24 **Introductions & Definitions**

Welcome! Introductions. [Readings for this week should be completed by 8/24]

Read the syllabus!

“Introduction: Rethinking the Color Line” & “Sorting by Color” (pp. 1–6)

“How Our Skins Got Their Color” (pp. 7–8)

“Biology and the Social Construction of the ‘Race’ Concept” [IS]

Recommended:

“Why ‘Race’ Makes No Scientific Sense” [IS]

Week 2: 8/27, 8/29, 8/31 **Social Constructions & Theories**

8/29: Reading Response Due

8/31: Racial Autobiography Due

“An Overview of Trends in Social and Economic Well-Being, By Race” [IS]

“Racial Formations” (pp. 17–22)

“Theoretical Perspectives in Race and Ethnic Relations” [IS]

“Racialized Social System Approach to Racism”—esp. “Conclusion” section (pp.33–38)

Recommended:

“How Jews Became White” [IS]

Week 3: 9/5, 9/7 **U.S. Racial & Ethnic Groups: Native Am., African Am., & whites**

9/3: No Class—Labor Day

9/7: Reading Response Due

“Chapter 1: Systemic Racism” from *Racist America* [IS]

“Drawing the Color Line” (pp. 9–17)

In Class Video: *Race: The Power of an Illusion – Episode 2: The Story We Tell*

Recommended:

“A Tour of Indian Peoples and Indian Lands” (pp. 63–78); “The Black Codes” [IS]; “Truth, Objectivity, and Agreement” [IS]

Week 4: 9/10, 9/12, 9/14 **U.S. Racial & Ethnic Groups: Asian Am., Latinos/as, & Arab Am.**

9/10: Interview Project Due

9/12: Reading Response Due

“Chapter 1: The Panethnic Racial Middle” from *The Racial Middle* [IS]

“Chapter 2: The Meanings of Race and Ethnicity from the Racial Middle” from *The Racial Middle* [IS]

“The Arab Immigrant Experience” (pp. 337–348)

Recommended:

“Chapter 1: Myth of the Model Minority: Asian Americans Facing Racism” [IS];
“Hispanics in a Multicultural Society” [IS]

“Race and Civil Rights Pre-September 11, 2001: The Targeting of Arabs . . .” [IS]; “Being Middle Eastern” [IS]

“TV Arabs” [IS]; “Black Hispanics: The Ties That Bind” [IS]; “Blacks and Hispanics: A Fragile Alliance” [IS]

Part II: Consequences of the Dominant Racial Ideology

Week 5: 9/17, 9/19, 9/21 **Prejudice and Discrimination (esp. Employment/Economic)**

9/19: Reading Response Due

“Prejudice and Discrimination, and Racism” (pp. 115–116)

“Young Children’s Use of Racial and Ethnic Identities” [IS]

“Employers’ Replies to Racial Names” [IS] [see also “Kristin v. Aisha; Brad v. Rasheed” (p. 240)]

“Transformative Assets, the Racial Wealth Gap, and the American Dream” (pp. 49–52)

“For the White Person Who Wants to Know How to be My Friend” [IS]

Recommended:

“How to Tell Your Friends From the Japs” [IS]; “The Complexity of Race Relations” [IS]; “Oppression” [IS]

“When the Melting Pot Boils Over” (pp. 251–259); “Something About the Subject Makes it Hard to Name” [IS]

Week 6: 9/24, 9/26, 9/28 **Racial Privilege; Racial Hierarchy and the Color Blind Ideology**

9/26: Reading Response Due

9/28: Review for Midterm Exam

“The Possessive Investment in Whiteness” (pp. 139–147)

“White Privilege & Male Privilege” [IS]

“White Privilege Shapes the United States” and “More Thoughts on . . .” [IS]

“Color-Blind Privilege: The Social & Political Functions . . .” (pp. 92–100)

In Class Video: *Tim Wise on White Privilege*

Recommended:

“Beyond Black and White: Remaking Race in America” (pp. 94–99); “Racism in the English Language” [IS]; “The Possibility of a New Racial Hierarchy in the 21st Century” (pp. 114–122); “Optional Ethnicities” [IS]; “Chapter 3: The Trouble We’re In: Privilege, . . .” [IS]; “Universal Freckle, or How I Learned to be White” [IS]; “Future of Affirmative Action” [IS]

Week 7: 10/1, 10/3 **Midterm Exam**

10/1: Midterm Exam Part I – multiple choice, short answer

10/3: Midterm Exam Part II – essay

10/5: No Class – Midterm Break

Week 8: 10/8, 10/10, 10/12 **Geography of Race: Spatial Dimensions**

10/10: Reading Response Due**10/12: Research Project Proposal Due**

“Environmental Justice in the 21st Century” (pp. 184–195)

“Savage Inequalities” [IS]

“Why Are There No Supermarkets in my Neighborhood?” (pp. 204–208)

“Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Conditions in United States Metropolitan Areas” (pp. 158–175)

In Class Video: *Race: The Power of an Illusion – Episode 3: The House We Live In*

Recommended:

“The Code of the Streets” (pp. 184–192); “Poem for the Young White Man Who Asked Me . . .” [IS]

Week 9: 10/15, 10/17, 10/19 **Institutions: Health and Medicine**

10/17: Reading Response Due

“The Color of Health in the United States” [IS]

“Chapter 3: The Physical Health Consequences of Racism” [IS]

“Lessons From History: Why Race and Ethnicity Have Played a Major Role in Biomedical Research” [IS]

In Class Video: *Unnatural Causes*

Recommended:

Dying While Black chapters 2 and 3 (discusses the health care industry; written by UD Law Professor, Dr. Randall) [IS]

“Buried Alive: The Concept of Race in Science” [IS]; “Race and Reification in Science” [IS]

Affirmative Action “chapter 1: Affirmative Action Past & Present” [IS]

Affirmative Action “chapter 3: Responding to Critics of Affirmative Action” [IS]

Week 10: 10/22, 10/24, 10/26 **Institutions: Law and Policing**

10/24: Reading Response Due

“No Equal Justice: The Color of Punishment” (pp. 211–217)

“The New Jim Crow” (pp. 217–225)

“Racialized Mass Incarceration” (pp. 225–230)

“The Mark of a Criminal Record” (pp. 230–233)

Week 11: 10/29, 10/31, 11/2 **Representations of Race: Politics of Identity**

10/31: Reading Response Due

“Racism and Popular Culture” (pp. 285–294)

“Sport in America: The New Racial Stereotypes” (pp. 311–318)

“Winnebagos, Cherokees, Apaches, and Dakotas . . .” (pp. 304–310)

“Who Are These White People? Rednecks, Hillbillies and White Trash as Marked Racial Subjects” [IS]

In Class Video: *In Whose Honor?* and part of *Mickey Mouse Monopoly*

Recommended:

“Why Are There No Male Asian Anchormen On TV?” [IS]; “Cool Pose” [IS]; “Don’t Want to Be Black Anymore” [IS];

“Television and the Politics of Representation” (pp. 302–310)

Week 12: 11/5, 11/7, 11/9 **Sexual Politics of Race & Constructions of Beauty**

11/7: Reading Response Due

11/9: Research Project Check In Due

“The Media as a System of Racialization” (pp. 295–301)

“King Kong and the White Woman” [IS]

“Dragon Ladies, Snow Queens, and Asian Americans Dykes” [IS]

“In Magazines (I Found Specimens of the Beautiful)” [IS]

Recommended:

“Black Man with a Nose Job” [IS]; “Ling Woo in Historical Context” [IS]; “The Sexual Politics of Black Womanhood” [IS];

“Ch 4: Mammies, Matriarchs, and Other . . .” from *Black Feminist Thought* [IS];

“Medicalization of Racial Features” [IS];

“Selling Hot Pussy” [IS]; “Stereotypes of Black Male Sexuality” [IS]; “The Myth of the Latin Woman: I Just Met a Girl Named Maria” [IS]

Week 13: 11/12, 11/14, 11/16 **Interracial Intimacy**

11/14: Reading Response Due

“Discovering Racial Borders” (pp. 374–382)

“Guess Who’s Been Coming to Dinner? . . .” (pp. 361–368)

“Redrawing the ColorLine? . . .” (pp. 383–392)

“Captain Kirk Kisses Lieutenant Uhura . . .” (pp. 368–373)

Week 14: 11/19 **Everyday Racial Interactions**

11/19: Racial Journal Project Due

11/21 and 11/23: No Class – Thanksgiving Break

Week 15: 11/26, 11/28, 11/30 **Everyday Racial Interactions, Resistance and**

Empowerment

Two-Faced Racism “chapter 3: The Backstage” [IS]

“Ten Simple Things You Can Do to Improve Race Relations” (pp. 400–402)

“Getting Along: Renewing America’s Commitment . . .” [IS]

Recommended:

“‘I Am Not a Racist, But . . .’: Mapping White College Students’ Racial Ideology in the USA” [IS]

Two-Faced Racism “chapter 5: Fluid Boundaries, Slippery Regions” [IS]

Week 16: 12/3, 12/5 **Your Turn: Course Wrap Up**

11/30, 12/3: Research Project Student Presentations

12/5: Research Project Due; Review for Final Exam

Final Exam Schedule

Friday, December 14th, 12:20–2:10 pm

Plan to attend the final exam scheduled for your section. If you need to adjust your final exam schedule, please make any requests *in writing* by December 5th. I will do my best to accommodate any requests, but I reserve the right to defer to the University Exam Schedule Policy. Wanting to leave early to catch a ride, or allowing your parents to make your travel plans without your knowledge are not sufficient reasons to alter your exam schedule.

Keep track of your grades here:

Assignment	Due date (due at 10 am)	Your earned points	Possible points
Racial autobiography	8/31		40 points
Interview project	9/10		100 points
Midterm	10/1 and 10/3		150 points
Research project proposal	10/12		25 points
Research project check-in	11/9		25 points
Racial journal project	11/19		120 points
Research project presentation	11/30 or 12/3		50 points
Research project due	12/5		100 points
Discussion leader	(varies)		30 points
Reading response 1			15 points
Reading response 2			15 points
Reading response 3			15 points
Reading response 4			15 points
Reading response 5			15 points
Reading response 6			15 points
Reading response 7			15 points
Reading response 8			15 points
Calculated 12/14/12:			
Final exam	12/14, 12:20 pm		150 points
Participation			50 points
Assignments/homework			40 points
TOTAL			1,000 points

Syllabus XII: American Race Relations by Kristin Haltinner

Course Overview

The overall objective of this course is to understand the nature of contemporary race relations in the United States, as well as different sociological theories explaining modern racism. Additionally, students will be expected to use course readings and conversations to think critically about their own experiences and American society in general.

In this class, we will consider how ideas about race and racism have changed over time and the degree to which the issue of race persists in United States society. The course will begin by looking at contemporary examples of hate crimes and white supremacist ideology, and sociological explanations for their persistence. It will continue to explore modern stereotypes and essentialist thinking, institutional barriers to equality for each racial group, and sociological theories explaining them. The course will also include an assessment of identity politics and micro-level processes of racism.

Course Expectations

Students must attend lectures, keep up with the reading, actively participate, and do the required work. The course is writing intensive (note the W after the number). Class periods will be primarily discussion based, with some lecturing, videos and in-class small group activities. There will be approximately 60–90 pages of reading per week drawn from articles and chapters on e-reserve as well as books. Students are expected to critically reflect on their own experiences with race in light of the material covered in the course.

Required Texts (Any remaining readings available on WebCT):

- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2009. Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.; 3rd Edition
- Lee, Stacey. 1996. Unraveling the “Model Minority” Stereotype. Teachers College Press.
- O’Brien, Eileen. 2008. The Racial Middle. NYU Press.
- Omi, Michael and Winant, Howard. 1994. Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s. Routledge; 2nd Edition.
- Smith, Andrea. 2005. Conquest. South End Press.

The final course grade is determined according to the following requirements:

- Participation and Classroom Etiquette (10 %)
- Attendance (10 %)
- Reflections (40 %)
- Research Proposal (5 %)

Rough Draft of Paper (10 %)

Final Paper Draft (25 %)

Late Assignments/Grading Information:

All assignments can be turned in using WebCT or handed in at the beginning of class, which ever works best for each individual student. I will not accept assignments turned in via email. Complete information about how to submit materials is explained on each assignment and available on WebCT.

All assignments must be typed and turned in on time unless otherwise noted.

Assignments are handed back as quickly as possible. Assignments are returned in the same format they were turned in as, meaning if you turned in an assignment via WebCT, your assignment will be returned to you via WebCT. Each assignment will have comments for improvement on them as well as a score.

Late work will be penalized for each day that it is late.

- Assignments are due at the beginning of class.
- Turning in a paper late results in the loss of 5 % (1/2 grade) per day.
- Emergency situations are handled on an individual basis. Computer or printer problems, conflicts with work or other courses, events, transportation problems etc. do not constitute emergencies. Plan ahead and do not wait until the last minute to print your work. If in doubt the best thing to do is to talk to me.

If you have any questions about grades, please feel free to ask me at any time.

Classroom Etiquette

This course explores issues that provoke strong emotions. Students are expected to respect others by challenging the ideas discussed and not individuals themselves. We all bring to the class distinct histories and perspectives – these differences will enable us to better understand each other and society at large. Individuals who fail to behave respectfully will be asked to leave the class.

Furthermore, respect for your peers is essential to have a class environment that is conducive to learning. As such, you are expected to come to all class sessions, arrive to class on time, have completed the assigned readings, and be an active participant in discussion. If you do not wish to pay attention in class, you should not come to the session (it will be reflected in your grade). Additionally, distractions such as cell phones, instant messaging, and newspapers will not be tolerated. In this class we will all teach each other; therefore, you need to be present to share your ideas and learn from your peers.

Also, please refrain from using photography or recording devices during class. This is a violation of your peers' privacy.

Finally, while I encourage group learning through discussions and debates, plagiarism will not be tolerated. If you are caught cheating on a paper you will receive an F for that assignment. If there is a second offense you will fail the class. We will discuss plagiarism more during the session.

For more information on policies see the CLA and Sociology Department policies at the end of the syllabus.

Attendance

Due to the structure of the course, there is a strict attendance policy. Your attendance grade will be based on percent attended. For example, if you attend 90 % of the classes, you will receive an A- for your attendance grade.

However, **if you attend fewer than 60 % of the classes, you will fail the course.**

Each student is responsible to keep track of their attendance and to obtain notes from other students. Even if you miss class, you remain completely responsible for the material missed. If you missed handouts, they will be available on WebCT. *You do not have to tell me when you will be absent.* You are adults and I believe you can make your own decisions regarding attendance.

Emergency situations (such as extended illnesses, family emergencies, etc.) will be handled on an individual basis.

Periodically we will be holding 1:1 consultations. You are expected to attend your scheduled appointment. If you miss the class period in which 1:1 meetings are scheduled, it is your responsibility to get on the instructor's schedule. If you fail to attend a scheduled meeting your grade on the relevant assignment will be dropped by 10 %. If something comes up and you need to reschedule your appointment you must contact either the instructor at least 1 day in advance to reschedule.

Writing Assignments

Reflection papers are assigned for each book read; you are expected to complete four of the five throughout the semester (note the last one is due the last day of class, while others are due close together – choose wisely). Reflection papers are to be approximately 4 pages double-spaced and reflect on your personal experiences in light of the week's readings. 'A' papers will include terms or citations from the week's readings and connect them to the author's social world.

The final term paper is on a topic of your choice, approved by the professor. Topics will be selected early in the term and peer review sessions will be scheduled throughout the semester. Papers are expected to be 10–15 pages long, double-spaced, and include a formal reference section with at least five sources (two of which can be course materials). Examples of topics will be discussed in class.

Service Learning Option (CSL)

Students who are interested in service learning must complete 30 h of service over the course of the semester. CSL students will have the option of writing their

reflection papers about their experience in the field, in light of course reading and discussion. Additionally, CSL students will be expected to bring their experiences to bear on the discussion and write their final paper about their experience at their site.

More information on Service Learning can be found on the CCSL website (<http://www.cclc.umn.edu/>) or by contacting XXXX, the class coordinator, at x9999 or email@email.com.

Academic integrity also applies to community work done for academic credit. Any of the following actions constitute academic dishonesty within a community-based learning context and will be addressed in the same way as any other act of academic dishonesty:

1. Misrepresenting hours completed at a community site or spent working on a community project (students can count time spent off-site doing work that is required to complete a project for a community organization).
2. Writing reflections or completing other assignments about events or activities the student was supposed to attend and participate in, but did not actually attend or participate in.
3. Signing in at a site or training session and leaving before the hours or training was completed OR signing in for a friend or classmate at a site.
4. Writing reflections based on previous community work or documenting hours done at a community organization during a previous semester and misrepresenting it as your current service-learning experience.

Accommodations for Students Registered with Disability Services Doing Service-Learning

If you are registered with Disability Services, you are eligible to receive accommodations from the University when doing service-learning in the community. While not all buildings where community groups are located are 100 % accessible to students with physical disabilities, service-learning staff can work with you to find a service-learning site that meets your needs. If you have an invisible disability, we encourage you to talk with your service-learning liaison and/or your DS specialist to discuss the type of work environment and structure you need to be successful during your community experience.

Confidentiality and Privacy Issues within the Service-Learning Context

Community organizations participating in service-learning expect students to work to the best of their abilities and act in a responsible manner. Furthermore, many service-learning students will be working with individuals who fall into protected categories, such as children, seniors, or individuals with disabilities. Be aware that through your service-learning, you may come to know information about individuals that is covered by rules and ethical guidelines about confidentiality. You should

speak to your community supervisor about how confidentiality obligations apply to you. Examples of how these issues might arise in your service-learning include:

1. You should not take photographs of anyone at your service-learning site without following the policy the organization has in place. This often involves getting written permission from the individual and/or written permission or the parent/guardian of children under 18 years of age.
2. During class discussions, be careful about revealing any information that could be used to personally identify any individual you work with in your service-learning.
3. In written assignments and especially when using online learning tools (Moodle, class blogs, etc.), be particularly attentive about the information you disclose about your service-learning experience, in case the site you are using is publicly available online. Refrain from mentioning the name of your organization and change the names of any individuals you write about if you are utilizing these online tools for your class.

Please note that Criminal Background Checks are also required for many service-learning placements, especially those that involve working with “vulnerable populations” such as children, the elderly, and individuals with disabilities. If the agency asks about any convictions and you have a criminal record:

- Be honest. Failure to state convictions that are then uncovered in a background check will likely result in your immediate dismissal from your service organization.
- Ask the agency representative to explain what types of convictions are not acceptable (these often involve convictions such as those involving theft, violence, drug sales, and/or crimes against minors).
- If you believe that your record could disqualify you from the approved service-learning options, **please be proactive and talk to your service-learning liaison** to discuss alternative placement options.

Weekly Assignments

Date	Reading (to be done by class)	Assignments due
September 6th		
September 8th	Holthouse and Potok “The Year in Hate and Extremism” http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2011/spring/the-year-in-hate-extremism-2010 Beirich. “The Year in Nativism” http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2011/spring/the-year-in-nativism Blee, Kathleen. “Evidence, Empathy and Ethics: Lessons from Oral Histories of the Klan” (WebCT)	

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Date	Reading (to be done by class)	Assignments due
September 13th	Lowen, James W. Intro and Chapter 14 <u>Sundown Towns</u> . (WebCT)	
Service learning presentation	Look at ADL website (http://www.adl.org/) and SPLC website (http://www.splcenter.org/)	
September 15th	Chapters 1 and 2 in <u>Racial Formation in the United States</u> . Omi and Winant	
September 20th	Chapters 3 and 4 in <u>Racial Formation in the United States</u> . Omi and Winant	Research proposal due
September 22nd	Chapters 5 and 6 in <u>Racial Formation in the United States</u> . Omi and Winant	
September 27th	Chapter 7-Conclusion in <u>Racial Formation in the United States</u> . Omi and Winant	
September 29th	Chapter 1 and 2 in <u>Unraveling the “Minority Stereotype”</u> . Lee	Reflection 1 due
No class – visit library		
October 4th	Chapters 3 and 4 in <u>Unraveling the “Minority Stereotype”</u> . Lee	
October 6th	Chapters 5 and 6 in <u>Unraveling the “Minority Stereotype”</u> . Lee	
October 11th	Chapter 1 in <u>The Racial Middle</u> . O’Brien Read “Personal Stories” and “U.S. Immigration” sections at http://www.pbs.org/destinationamerica/ps.html	
October 13th	Chapters 2 in <u>The Racial Middle</u> . O’Brien	Reflection 2 due
October 18th	Chapters 3 in <u>The Racial Middle</u> . O’Brien	
October 20th	Chapters 4 in <u>The Racial Middle</u> . O’Brien	
October 25th	Chapters 5 in <u>The Racial Middle</u> . O’Brien	
October 27th	Chapters 6 and 7 in <u>The Racial Middle</u> . O’Brien	
November 1st	Introduction – Chapter 2 in <u>Conquest</u> . Smith	
November 3rd	Chapter 3 in <u>Conquest</u> . Smith	Reflection 3 due
November 8th	Chapter 4 in <u>Conquest</u> . Smith	
November 10th	Chapters 5 and 6 in <u>Conquest</u> . Smith	First draft of final paper due
November 15th	Chapters 7 and 8 in <u>Conquest</u> . Smith	
No class – 1:1 meetings		
November 17th	Chapters 1 and 2 in <u>Racism Without Racists</u> by Bonilla-Silva	

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Date	Reading (to be done by class)	Assignments due
No class – 1:1 meetings		
November 22nd	Chapter 3 in <u>Racism Without Racists</u> by Bonilla-Silva	Reflection 4 due
November 24th	No class – thanksgiving break	
November 29th	Chapter 4 in <u>Racism Without Racists</u> by Bonilla-Silva	
December 1st	Chapter 5 in <u>Racism Without Racists</u> by Bonilla-Silva	
December 6th	Chapters 6 and 7 in <u>Racism Without Racists</u> by Bonilla-Silva	
December 8th	Chapter 8 in <u>Racism Without Racists</u> by Bonilla-Silva	
December 13th	Chapters 9 and 10 in <u>Racism Without Racists</u> by Bonilla-Silva	Reflection 5 due

Final Paper Due at 12 pm on December 19th on WebCT or in 909 Social Sciences

Syllabus XIII: The Color of Public Policy

Kristin Haltinner

Course Overview

This course examines the structural and institutional ways in which people of color have been, and continue to be, marginalized in American Society. In addition to mastering a conceptual understanding of these inequalities, students will be able to recognize how they operate in contemporary social structures and the lived experiences of people in the United States. Furthermore, students will wrestle with various social theories surrounding the challenges faced by communities of color in the United States.

Course Expectations

Students must attend lectures, keep up with the reading, actively participate, and do the required work. Class periods will be primarily discussion based, with some lecturing, videos and in-class small group activities. There will be approximately 60–90 pages of reading per week drawn from books. Students are expected to critically reflect on their own experiences with race in light of the material covered in the course.

Required Texts (Any remaining readings available on Moodle2):

- Alexander, Michelle. 2012. The New Jim Crow. New York, NY: The New Press.
- Bales, Kevin and Soodalter, Ron. 2009. The Slave Next Door. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Daniels, Roger. 2004. Guarding the Golden Door. New York, NY: Hill and Wang.
- Kozol, Jonathon. 2006. Shame of a Nation. New York, NY: Three Rivers Press.
- Lui, Meizhu; Robles, Barbara; Leonar-Wright, Betsy; Brewer, Rose; and Adamson, Rebecca. 2006. The Color of Wealth: The Story Behind the United States Racial Wealth Divide. New York, NY: The New Press.

The final course grade is determined according to the following requirements:

- Attendance and Classroom Etiquette (20 %)
- Reflections (80 %)

Late Assignments/Grading Information

All assignments can be turned in using Moodle2 or handed in at the beginning of class, which ever works best for each individual student. I will not accept assignments turned in via email. Complete information about how to submit materials is explained on each assignment and available on Moodle2.

All assignments must be typed and turned in on time.

Assignments are handed back as quickly as possible and will be returned in the same format as they were turned in. meaning, if you turned in an assignment online, your assignment will be returned to you online. Each assignment will have comments for improvement on them as well as a score.

Late work will be penalized for each day that it is late.

- Assignments are due at the beginning of class.
- Turning in a paper late results in the loss of 5 % per day.
- Emergency situations are handled on an individual basis. Computer or printer problems, conflicts with work or other courses, events, transportation problems etc. do not constitute emergencies. Plan ahead and do not wait until the last minute to print your work. If in doubt the best thing to do is to talk to me.

If you have any questions about grades, please feel free to ask me at any time.

Attendance

Due to the structure of the course, there is a strict attendance policy. Your attendance grade will be based on percent attended. For example, if you attend 90 % of the classes, you will receive and A- for your attendance grade.

Each student is responsible to keep track of their attendance and to obtain notes from other students. Even if you miss class, you remain completely responsible for the material missed. If you missed handouts, they will be available on Moodle2. *You do not have to tell me when you will be absent.* You are adults and I believe you can make your own decisions regarding attendance.

Emergency situations (such as extended illnesses, family emergencies, etc.) will be handled on an individual basis.

Classroom Etiquette

This course explores issues that provoke strong emotions. Students are expected to respect others by challenging the ideas discussed and not individuals themselves. We all bring to the class distinct histories and perspectives – these differences will enable us to better understand each other and society at large. Individuals who fail to behave respectfully will be asked to leave the class.

Furthermore, respect for your peers is essential to have a class environment that is conducive to learning. As such, you are expected to come to all class sessions, arrive to class on time, have completed the assigned readings, and be an active participant in discussion. If you do not wish to pay attention in class, you should not come to the session (it will be reflected in your grade). Additionally, distractions such as cell phones, instant messaging, and newspapers will not be tolerated. In this class we will all teach each other; therefore, you need to be present to share your ideas and learn from your peers.

Also, please refrain from using photography or recording devices during class. This is a violation of your peers' privacy.

Finally, while I encourage group learning through discussions and debates, plagiarism will not be tolerated. If you are caught cheating on a paper you will receive an F for that assignment. If there is a second offense you will fail the class.

For more information on policies see the CLA policies at the end of the syllabus.

Writing Assignments

Reflection papers are assigned for each book read; you are expected to complete them all. Reflection papers are to be approximately four-six pages double-spaced and reflect on your personal experiences in light of the week's readings. 'A' papers will include terms or citations from the week's readings and connect them to your social world.

Service Learning Option (CSL)

Students who are interested in service learning must complete 30 h of service over the course of the semester. CSL students will have the option of writing their

reflection papers about their experience in the field, in light of course reading and discussion (rather than answering the prompt). Additionally, CSL students will be expected to bring their experiences to bear on course discussion. CSL students will only be required to complete four of the five reading reflections.

More information on Service Learning can be found on the CCSL website (<http://www.cclc.umn.edu/>) or by contacting Laurel Hirt, the class coordinator, at x3344 or hirtx002@umn.edu

Academic integrity also applies to community work done for academic credit. Any of the following actions constitute academic dishonesty within a community-based learning context and will be addressed in the same way as any other act of academic dishonesty:

1. Misrepresenting hours completed at a community site or spent working on a community project (students can count time spent off-site doing work that is required to complete a project for a community organization).
2. Writing reflections or completing other assignments about events or activities the student was supposed to attend and participate in, but did not actually attend or participate in.
3. Signing in at a site or training session and leaving before the hours or training was completed OR signing in for a friend or classmate at a site.
4. Writing reflections based on previous community work or documenting hours done at a community organization during a previous semester and misrepresenting it as your current service-learning experience.

Accommodations for Students Registered with Disability Services Doing Service-Learning

If you are registered with Disability Services, you are eligible to receive accommodations from the University when doing service-learning in the community. While not all buildings where community groups are located are 100 % accessible to students with physical disabilities, service-learning staff can work with you to find a service-learning site that meets your needs. If you have an invisible disability, we encourage you to talk with your service-learning liaison and/or your DS specialist to discuss the type of work environment and structure you need to be successful during your community experience.

Confidentiality and Privacy Issues within the Service-Learning Context

Community organizations participating in service-learning expect students to work to the best of their abilities and act in a responsible manner. Furthermore, many service-learning students will be working with individuals who fall into protected categories, such as children, seniors, or individuals with disabilities. Be aware that through your service-learning, you may come to know information about individuals

that is covered by rules and ethical guidelines about confidentiality. You should speak to your community supervisor about how confidentiality obligations apply to you. Examples of how these issues might arise in your service-learning include:

1. You should not take photographs of anyone at your service-learning site without following the policy the organization has in place. This often involves getting written permission from the individual and/or written permission or the parent/guardian of children under 18 years of age.
2. During class discussions, be careful about revealing any information that could be used to personally identify any individual you work with in your service-learning.
3. In written assignments and especially when using online learning tools (Moodle, class blogs, etc.), be particularly attentive about the information you disclose about your service-learning experience, in case the site you are using is publicly available online. Refrain from mentioning the name of your organization and change the names of any individuals you write about if you are utilizing these online tools for your class.

Please note that Criminal Background Checks are also required for many service-learning placements, especially those that involve working with “vulnerable populations” such as children, the elderly, and individuals with disabilities. If the agency asks about any convictions and you have a criminal record:

- Be honest. Failure to state convictions that are then uncovered in a background check will likely result in your immediate dismissal from your service organization.
- Ask the agency representative to explain what types of convictions are not acceptable (these often involve convictions such as those involving theft, violence, drug sales, and/or crimes against minors).
- If you believe that your record could disqualify you from the approved service-learning options, **please be proactive and talk to your service-learning liaison** to discuss alternative placement options.

Weekly Assignments

Date	Reading (to be done by class)	Assignments due
January 23rd		
January 28th/30th	The Color of Wealth, Chapters 1 and 2 *CSL presentation 1/30	
February 4th/6th	The Color of Wealth, Chapters 3 and 4	
February 11th/13th	The Color of Wealth, Chapters 5 and 7	
February 18th/20th	The New Jim Crow, Introduction-Chapter 2	
February 25th/27th	The New Jim Crow, Chapters 3 and 4	Reflection 1 due February 27th
March 4th/6th	The New Jim Crow, Chapters 5 and 6	
March 11th/13th	Shame of a nation, introduction-Chapter 3	
March 18th/20th	No class – spring break	

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Date	Reading (to be done by class)	Assignments due
March 25th/27th	Shame of a nation, Chapters 4–7	Reflection 2 due March 27th
April 1st/3rd	Shame of a nation, Chapters 8–11	
April 8th/10th	Shame of a nation, Chapters 12- Epilogue; Guarding the golden door, Chapters 1 and 2	
April 15th/17th	Guarding the golden door, Chapters 3–7	Reflection 3 d April 17th
April 22nd/24th	Guarding the golden door, Chapters 8–11	
April 29th/May 1st	Guarding the golden door, Chapters 12-Epilogue; Slave next door Chapters 1 and 2	
May 6th/8th	Slave next door Chapters 3–6	Reflection 4 due May 8th

Reflection 5 Due at 4 pm on May 18th on Moodle2 or in 909 Social Sciences