BUILDING CAPACITY AND
CULTIVATING INTERDEPENDENCE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE

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Meetings on racial justice often resemble nothing so much as a bazaar filled with peddlers offering the all-purpose answer. The reality is that the problem has no single or simple solution … If there is one answer; it lies in recognizing how complex the issue has become and in not using that complexity as an excuse for inaction.
— Ellis Cose, author, columnist and contributing editor for *Newsweek* magazine

PART ONE –
CULTIVATING INTERDEPENDENCE IN COMMUNITY CHANGE PROCESS
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Introduction

Over the last few decades communities across the U.S. have experienced a significant domestic migration and immigration, often of populations from different racial and ethnic backgrounds than the current population. The Brookings Institution reports, "Hispanic, Asian, and black populations continue to migrate to, and expand their presence in, new destinations. They are increasingly living in suburbs, in rapidly growing job centers in the South and West, and in more affordable areas adjacent to higher-priced coastal metro areas."[1] For some predominantly white communities this is the first major racial change since white people moved onto Native American lands. Communities experiencing such rapid changes in the racial and ethnic composition of their populations have often faced tension and turmoil.

As a consequence of this tension and turmoil, some individuals have fled, destabilizing local housing markets. Some communities have changed their laws to enforce exclusion; others have increased institutional barriers to affordable housing and stable employment based on citizen status through prejudicial practices and policy changes (examples listed below[2]); and in some communities, residents have been victims of harassment and hate crimes.

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[1] "Diversity Spreads Out: Metropolitan Shifts in Hispanic, Asian, and Black Populations Since 2000," by William H. Frey, Senior Fellow, Metropolitan Policy Program. The Brookings Institution. March 2006.
[2] Recent examples: *Pennsylvania*: "Hazleton Mayor Lou Barletta told a gathering of Westmoreland County Republicans that he will not back off a controversial ordinance that fines landlords for renting to illegal aliens and revokes business licenses of firms that employ illegals." *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*, "Hazleton mayor defends law for illegals," by Paul Peirce, 7/13/07. *Michigan*: "This year, police have investigated cross burnings in Dearborn Heights and Trenton and racially motivated graffiti in Warren. Warren's mayor drew fierce criticism when he called his city a "fortress" against crime coming from Detroit, whose population is mostly black." *Detroit News*, "Racial divide haunts Metro Detroit; Livonia store controversy, Detroit mayoral election and suburban cross burnings reopen old wounds," by Brad Heath and Catherine Jun, 9/22/05. *Georgia*: "Georgia Gov. Sonny Perdue signed a bill requiring jailers to check the immigration status of anyone arrested for a felony or drunk driving. Local officers will be trained to start the deportation process for illegal immigrants they encounter during routine law enforcement." *Los*

The FBI reported that hate crimes rose 8% in 2006 and they are still being underreported by victims, as well as by the police.[3] Of the 7,720 single-bias incidents in 2006, 52% were motivated by racial bias and almost seven out of 10 incidents[4] were committed against blacks.

The unremitting gaps between people of color and whites in basic areas such as education, health, and employment are debilitating and destructive. Those who are actively engaged in combating racism and improving race relations have limited resources and are challenged on how to address all of these issues effectively and to sustain the progress that has been made. One critical task is to better assess the impact of different approaches to mitigate structural racism and consider different ways of working together, using approaches collectively, in order make the best use of the current limited resources. Creating a track record of organizations *working interdependently* across different approaches over a sustained time on specific community issues may be a possible tool to improve our effectiveness. To determine the value of collaborative efforts, we should consider creating multi-approach plans for community change processes that are tenaciously implemented, and then document whether such plans actually increase the likelihood of achieving progress toward racial equity.

Creating ways to work interdependently to address structural racism has several potential benefits:

1. We are more powerful when we address racism together rather than alone, in part because it is much harder to "divide and conquer" when we are allies in our work.
2. Due to the complexity and depth of effort it takes to address racism, collaboration could help us to use our scarce resources more wisely.
3. It is well-known how racism mutates and how retrenchment occurs, we must also evolve and grow as a field of practice.
4. Developing interdependence among race relations and racial justice organizations is one of the foundational components of movement building.

The building of a social movement usually is characterized by: intentional actions with some degree of coordination among groups that share common concerns, identities, and core values; collective action that "has to be maintained over time through some type or degree of organization;" and a shared collective identity that "enables people to see themselves as part of the broader 'we' and not engage in activities that are not bounded by a narrow definition of 'self-interest.'"[5] All of these are pressing reasons both for building the capacities of race relations and racial justice organizations to work interdependently and for encouraging the support of foundations working in communities.

Interdependence is based on a belief that each group's work has value and that the work can be strengthened through collaboration and accountability. A description of how racism mutates is shared by Joseph Barndt in his book, *Understanding and Dismantling Racism*: "Instead of disappearing, however, racism has mutated into new forms that are in fact far more devastating. The velvet glove symbolizes and represents racism's magical power to hide

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Angeles Times, "Dispatch From Tifton, GA.; With a Little Help From Neighbors; After six savage slayings of Latinos in a small city, police seek recruits who can lift culture barriers," by Jenny Jarvie, 7/9/06.

[3] "Defining Hate in the United States," by John Ireland. *In These Times*, May 9, 2007. www.inthesetimes.com/article/3132/defining_hate_in_the_united_states/.

4 "FBI describes thousands of hate crimes in 2006." Posted by Mike Carney, November 19, 2007 in Crime, http://blogs.usatoday.com/ondeadline/2007/11/fbi-describes-t.html, accessed July 9, 2008.

5 *Building Organizations in a Movement Moment*, Beth Zemsky and David Mann, Social Policy, Spring-Summer 2008. p. 12.

and delude. Racism has assumed new sophisticated forms that are not readily apparent and whose primary weapons of enforcement are bureaucracy, psychology, and public relations. The 'velvet glove' of racism creates an illusion that it does not exist and therefore is far more difficult to detect and eliminate. Yet its power to oppress no less that of open and blatant racism."[6]

The need for race relations and racial justice organizations to create a national network is critical. It potentially could support organizations to learn about the effectiveness and the impact of strategies, work collectively to be innovative, create accountability mechanisms, and respond to national incidents with strong and effective racial equity messages. It could also be the vehicle for organizations to work jointly and collaboratively toward building a movement for change.

Race Relations and Racial Justice Work: Pathways of Analysis and Change

Race relations and racial justice organizations tend to use different approaches to achieve their goals. The approaches can be grouped under three very broad pathways described below, and explained in detail in the following section:

1. *Racial and Ethnic Competency and Development* – Working with individuals and institutions to build their competencies around the concepts of race and ethnic differences (including knowledge and awareness), and in some cases, develop skills to address power dynamics, racism, internalized white supremacy, and internalized racism.

2. *Race Relations and Reconciliation* – Working to build relationships across racial and ethnic groups to effectively work on community issues and build collective action against racism.

3. *Racial Justice and Equity* – Working to achieve social justice goals, particularly those that involve racial/ethnic equity, through changing laws and institutional policies and practices.

The goals and strategies of each pathway sometimes overlap; each pathway has its strengths, limitations, and trade-offs. Many organizations using different paths still have similar goals for addressing institutional racism, but have different views about how to stimulate change. Each pathway has something to contribute, and clarity among individual organizations on what their strategies can and cannot accomplish in the long term is imperative to understanding their roles in the change process and in the context of a community's history. When implemented collectively in a high-quality manner, *each path can be critical in addressing structural racism in a community change process.*

What could be the impact if groups pursuing racial equity along different pathways worked together rather than separately on a community issue? Take for example, a grievous but common racial incident in too many cities across the U.S., a police shooting of an African American male or Latino. Some organizations will organize the community and insist on such actions as creation of a community-police advisory board to ensure police accountability to the community, and specifically communities of color, and demand legal consequences for the officer(s) involved. Other organizations might be invited into the police department to increase the awareness and sensitivity of officers and create an accountability structure to lessen racial profiling by police officers. Still other

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[6] Barndt, Joseph, *Understand and Dismantling Racism*. (Minneapolis MN: Fortress Press), 2007. p. 39

organizations might focus on relationship-building by creating youth development programs for police officers to work with youth of color by providing mentoring or coaching sport teams. Each of these groups is making progress in addressing this grievous incident. Some possibilities if they were working collectively could be creating shared messages to the police department and the community, strategizing in dealing with covert and overt resistance, and finding common ground on the issue among the different constituency groups and then widening their circle of allies. And, indeed, if we track their progress in working collectively, we might see a different level of impact.

Tensions and Barriers to Interdependence

Too often, groups taking different pathways toward racial equity coexist uneasily in communities, at times even working at cross-purposes to each other, due to a lack of understanding and appreciation of each other, as well as both organizational and systemic barriers. For example, in the short term, some organizations may not consider working collaboratively to be time well spent, especially when they are struggling with limited capacity to meet community challenges. Inadequate funding[7] for race relations and racial justice organizations triggers competition for funds, thus encouraging adversarial rather than collaborative relationships. In response to foundation funding requirements, organizations often must show why their work is uniquely qualified to achieve the desired change – thus putting each in the position of having to advocate for their approach to the work at the expense of another. In addition, though collaboration is often encouraged by foundations, the funding and the time necessary to build collaborative relationships are not always adequate.

Another set of challenges concerns how organizations and individuals pursue their particular race relations and racial justice pathways. It is relatively easy to see the importance of each in a community change process and the impact they each can have in improving race relations, strengthening personal and institutional competencies, and addressing structural racism. Unfortunately, groups don't always pursue a particular pathway in a manner consistent with their intent. The first challenge is operational: building the capacity of organizations, developing competencies to lead race relations and racial equity work in communities, finding time to mentor staff and volunteers, and evaluating the impact of strategies to assess whether they are meeting short-term outcomes. A second challenge is how messages get diluted due to pressure or perceptions about how key stakeholders and financial supporters will respond. This response is sometimes due to the scarcity of funds which results in changing the terms, or how strategies are described in grant proposals for fear of not being funded. But it also involves our own limitations--our racial identity development stage, our fear of conflict, and the tendency to rationalize the resistance of others as just part of the learning process rather than attributing it to the ineffectiveness of the strategy.

The third challenge stems from our capacity as a "field," with few established principles, insufficient accountability mechanisms, the lack of a professional association or community of practice, or the absence of national or regional gatherings (except by approaches e.g., multicultural education, community organizing). The fourth challenge is that in some cases, an organization's practices and policies better represent the system they are trying to dismantle than the just and inclusive system they are trying to create. Though organizational strategies may focus on creating equitable institutional practices, sometimes the mirror is not held up internally to an organization's governance structures, human resource policies, and recruiting practices.

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[7] Will Pitz and Rinku Sen, *Short Changed: Foundation Giving and Communities of Color* (Oakland: Applied Research Center, 2004), p.10

The one seemingly intractable tension is between approaches focused on reforming institutions versus approaches working toward transformation of institutions and systems. Though they may seem at first glance polar opposites, they are rather the ebb and flow of social change. The perception is that reformation and transformation are working against each other, which leads organizations to creating adversarial relationships. There can be assumptions that the reformist approach is colluding with the status quo or that the transformative approach is naïve and its goals unachievable. There is some reality to these assumptions, based on whether the pathways described above are implemented to their full intent. It is important to understand the incremental changes involved in a change process which leads toward social transformation. It is necessary to heighten our awareness and understanding of the cycle of change, historical patterns of how racism mutates, and the stages of social change movements.[8] This is essential knowledge needed to move toward interdependence.

There are other sources of tension among race relations and racial equity organizations which sometimes lead to marginalization of organizations that take different approaches or use different strategies, even though their missions also focuses on addressing race relations and racial inequities. These tensions include:
- Debating the *appropriateness and effectiveness of different strategies*, and how and when to use them in communities.
- Believing *there is only one particular way change happens* (e.g., we must change individuals and institutions will follow, or visa versa) without being willing to acknowledge that no one size could possibly fit all circumstances and contexts. This belief has led to the creation of a hierarchy of approaches.
- Disagreeing over whether the *process of change should start from the "bottom-up," "top-down," "middle-out,"* or from multiple entry points.
- Debating if the *work should focus exclusively on racism or if all oppressions should be addressed collectively.*

Organizations also regularly face limitations that challenge the concept of interdependence:
- *Limited time*, often consumed in responding to the daily demands of programs, staff, volunteers, and community issues, makes it difficult to spend the time necessary to build collaborative working relationships.
- Many organizations have *limited capacity to evaluate and assess their work*. Further, they are often pressured to assess their singular impact, rather than their contribution to an overall vision for racial justice.
- The *funding is competitive and it does not encourage collaboration* in the context of an overall community change process.
- There are *few incentives for organizations to work together within a community* to establish a set of strategies sufficient to meet both short-term and long-term goals.
- Without an established community of practice among organizations and between organizations and scholars, there are *missed opportunities to learn what is working and to share lessons* as well as increase our understanding of the nuances of racism.
- Smaller organizations fear that they would be lost in the process of interdependence and collaboration and would be asked to contribute in ways they could not. Organizations may also be fearful how it will shift resources from already overextended capacities or programs. Other unknowns that may effect decisions of organizations to work with others are: what conflicts might arise, or *what organizations would have to relinquish or change to work differently with other groups.*

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[8] For more information, see the book *Doing Democracy* mentioned earlier by Bill Moyer which includes case studies on five social movements.

Since many race relations and racial justice organizations work in isolation or do not have strong partnerships with each other, what sometimes results is a misperception among them that a shared vision does not exist.[9] To dismantle racism will require a robust collective approach, as well as a shared understanding that racism is structurally embedded in all systems. One of our responsibilities, at this critical time in history, is to answer the question:

***Will building interdependent and collective relationships in a community change process with organizations using different approaches bolster our effectiveness
in addressing structural racism in communities?***

What Do We Need to Do?

Organizations working on race relations and racial equity would do well to reflect on their traditional ways of working and to think about what is possible if they can create interdependent relationships and processes and consider functioning as a "community of practice" with a common vision to create a just and equitable society. Community organizations' creation of joint strategies to support individuals in different racial identity development stages[10] as well as organizational development stages (e.g., multicultural organizational development theory[11]) are essential components of fully developing a community change process that addresses structural racism.

It is important to guard against sending a message of exclusion to colleagues whose power or racial analysis differs from ours. It is equally important to create strategies for maintaining solidarity, even when there are conflicts, so that we don't help others to "divide and conquer." Our differences need to be addressed respectfully and we need to fully leverage our respective capacities.

Understanding the collective impact and unique contributions of our respective pathways in a community change process, creating relationships and partnerships with each other, and devising plans so our strategies may work interdependently likely will yield significant benefits. Hierarchies of approaches, whether spoken or unspoken, tend to hinder progress. Broadening our views on how change happens and considering the role of each pathway of race relations and racial justice work, when implemented well, plays in making change happen could make our work more effective.

Paul Kivel reminds us to keep in mind our larger vision, in his book, *You Call this a Democracy?—Who Benefits, Who Pays and Who Really Decides?*:

> *"If we understand that we are engaged in a common struggle with many fronts, our strategies would be less*

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[9] In 2001, the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies' NABRE program sponsored a national How-To Forum to explore how race relations and racial justice organization from across the spectrum of approaches can collaborate to address community issues. What we learned from this process is many organizations were "pleased to discover the ways they could work together and surprised to witness the similarities among their visions for dismantling structural racism." M. Potapchuk, *Cultivating Interdependence: A Guide for Race Relations and Racial Justice Organizations*. (Washington D.C.: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 2004) p. 3.
[10] Wijeyesinghe, Charmaine L., and Bailey W. Jackson III, *New Perspectives on Racial Identity Development*. New York: New York University Press, 2001.
11 Cross, Elsie, Judith H. Katz, Frederick A. Miller, Edith W. Seashore. *The Promise of Diversity*. New York: Irwin Professional Publishing, 1994; Scheie, David M., with T. Williams and Janis Foster. *Improving Race Relations and Undoing Racism: Roles and Strategies for Community Foundations*. Minneapolis, MN: Rainbow Research, Inc., 2001.

competitive and more effective. We wouldn't be fighting for ourselves and our interest group, but for our neighborhoods, communities, and for all people in a common humane future. We may have different needs and different visions, but none of our needs will be met or our vision realized unless we can overcome our differences and work together to dismantle the system …"[12]

The challenge of dismantling structural racism is too complex and multilayered for us to assume that any one organization or pathway can offer all the answers or foresee all the potential repercussions.

Working interdependently and continuing the development of organizational capacity means:

- Believing we are greater and more powerful together than each of our component parts;
- Strengthening our work through generating a shared vision, creating principles of practices and establishing accountability among organizations and with our communities;
- Understanding the unique role of each of our pathways of work in a change process;
- Discussing partnering with each other through the change process or adapting our strategies to ensure multilevel approaches are being used to initiate and sustain change;
- Educating foundations and donors that each race relations and racial justice pathway needs to be present in a community change process; and
- Assessing how we conduct business and identifying ways that the dominant culture and white privilege may be influencing our goals and strategies.[13] The question to continually ask is, "Do our policies, practices, and relationships align more with the very system we are trying to dismantle, or do they reflect the system we are trying to create?"

Cultivating interdependence is about more than just increasing our collaborative efforts. It is an opportunity to improve the impact of our strategies, assess whether they are sufficient, and invest in being innovative and revolutionary. History has taught us how racism mutates, how racial sorting evolves, and how retrenchment consistently happens. The Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change describes progress and retrenchment as "the dynamics of the struggle for racial equity. Historically, racial equity gains in specific areas have always been threatened or eroded by efforts to reinforce white privilege in other areas (e.g., Federal fair housing laws bar race discrimination but local zoning laws prevent affordable housing construction)."[14] Interdependence can be about strengthening our capacity individually and collectively, co-creating a national understanding that *race does matter while changing the assumptions and the messages about race*, and *transforming systems, so there are not disproportional racial outcomes for children and families.*

Obviously race relations and racial justice organizations understand all too well how racism is embedded, and that the process to transform systems is long and complicated. Pursuing the path of interdependence could help lessen the usual change obstacles and serve as a catalyst in movement building. By no means is interdependence being presented as a missed opportunity or an indictment of how groups work together. We know too well how the system of racism operates. Race relations and racial justice organizations have made progress in addressing racism through their strength, tenacity, and resilience. The time may be ripe for us now to take the next step toward interdependence.

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12 Paul Kivel, "*You Call This a Democracy?—Who Benefits, Who Plays and Who Really Decides?*" (New York: The Apex Press, 2004), p. 157.
13 M. Potapchuk, *Cultivating Interdependence: A Guide for Race Relations and Racial Justice Organizations*. (Washington D.C.: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 2004) p. 59.
14 Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change, *Dismantling Structural Racism: A Racial Equity Theory of Change*.

A Community of Practice

A community of practice for organizations working on race relations and racial justice would strengthen our effectiveness in addressing structural racism in communities across the nation. The definition of a community of practice is simply: "groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly."[15] A community of practice would include three components:

1. *The Domain* – Involvement implies a "shared competence that distinguishes members from other people. They value their collective competence and learn from each other, even though few people outside the group may recognize their expertise."

2. *The Community* – "Members engage in joint activities and discussions, help each other, and share information. They build relationships that enable them to learn from each other."

3. *The Practice* – "Members of a community of practice are practitioners. They develop a shared repertoire of resources: experiences, stories, tools, and ways to address recurring problems. This takes time and sustained interaction."[16]

It will be important for organizations to create the structure of their communities of practice. Elements of the community of practice could include: creating basic process points and principles for interdependent relationships; creating accountability mechanisms regionally and nationally; tracking the nuances of racism; developing a best practices clearinghouse; and sharing the latest research and policy debates, including scholar and activist convenings to create learning dialogues.

Some of the questions which could be addressed to lead to an interdependent process are:
- How do organizations frame a racial justice agenda and see themselves as part of a larger movement?
- What are different approaches' roles in a change process to create racial justice?
- Is there a way to know how to introduce a particular approach in a community change process? What needs to be present in a community for an approach/strategy to be most effective?
- Do we need to modify the way communities are typically assessed as this work begins (e.g., learning about how residents talk about race, understanding past change processes and what strategies were used, mapping current competencies and capacities by sector), so we can learn to phase in approaches to focus on individual awareness, strengthening relationships, and institutional change?
- What is our accountability among race relations and racial equity groups and how do we support each other's effectiveness?
- What are reasonable, feasible, and meaningful indicators for success or progress for the work of the community of practice (e.g., learning, relationship-building goals toward interdependence), and for the work that the members of the community of practice implement within communities and organizations (racial equity and race relations goals)?

Questions individual organizations can reflect on[17]:

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[15] From Etienne Wenger's website about community of practice. http://www.ewenger.com/theory/
16 ibid
[17] Some of these organizational reflection questions are from the national How-To Forum, Creating Collaborative Approaches to Address Racial

- What does your approach assume about individual change and human nature that informs the types of programs and activities you do? (For instance, people are changeable; people are unchangeable; inner change comes from awareness of one's deepest values and the need to align one's behaviors with one's values; inner change comes from healing of emotional distress, etc.)
- When, how and with whom is your approach most effective?
- What does your approach assume about collective change, and the links between collective and individual change? (For instance, changing the attitudes of individuals will lead to changes in institutions; changing laws and policies will lead to changes in individual attitudes; change requires top-down and within-system allies; change requires outside pressure and organized demand from large numbers of constituents, etc.)
- What assumptions does your approach make about people with significant power? People with little power?
- What ultimate outcomes are your programs and activities designed to achieve?
- How do these outcomes contribute to the overall movement toward justice and equality for all people? What else is necessary, and how do you influence or contribute to outcomes that are not in your direct control? How does your approach fall short of contributing to the overall movement toward justice and equality?
- Who and what informs your organization's thinking about future goals, priorities and intended outcomes?

Interdependence and Movement-Building

Bill Moyer, author of *Doing Democracy: The MAP Model for Organizing Social Movements*, defines social movements as "collective actions in which the populace is alerted, educated, and mobilized, sometimes over years and decades, to challenge the power holders and the whole society to redress social problems or grievances and restore critical social values."[18] Cultivating interdependence among race relations and racial justice organizations could strengthen our work by generating a shared vision, creating principles of practice and establishing accountability among organizations and with our communities. It is potentially our best strategy for lessening retrenchment, responding to mutations of racism, and for making progress toward mitigating structural racism.

As mentioned earlier, it is a key component in movement-building. Douglas McAdam, professor at Stanford University and author of two books on social movements, offers a critique of the limitations of contemporary social movement theory and what we need to do differently in response. The following passage about McAdam's critique is from Bill Moyer's *Doing Democracy: The MAP Model for Organizing Social Movements*:

- *"Lack of study of movement dynamics and movement outcomes*. While there has been considerable attention to movement emergence issues, there has been comparatively little work on movement dynamics and movement outcomes …
- *"Too little focus on activities of activists, particularly in framing processes*. In studies of the emergence of social movements there has been more emphasis on structural factors that facilitate and constrain movement emergence, and less focus on the actual activities of activists who create social movements. In particular, activists' efforts to frame issues in such a way as to build the support of various constituent have received little research attention.

- *"Absence of a focus on activists' work that creates social movements, that is, the agency of activists.* McAdam notes that 'the everyday activities of movement participants' have been, ironically, 'a neglected topic in the study of social movements.' We know little about the lived experience of activism or the everyday strategic concerns of movement groups … the movement's own 'theorizing through practice.'
- *"Insufficient focus on movement actions in the framing process.* Social movements convey their framing of an issue to the public in two ways: through public statements and through their public actions. … There has been too much focus on the verbal and written words of social movements and not enough focus on the way in which the actions themselves frame issues.
- *"Insufficient attention to non-movement actors.* Research has tended to be too movement-centered and has not paid sufficient attention to the other actors in a situation, for example, the government, the media, and other 'bystander publics'."[19]

If we are working toward creation of a movement for racial equity, a community of practice could strengthen our journey toward racial equity. The following are some initial steps to help build such a community.

Define who we are: The last national directory of organizations, focused on racial reconciliation, was created in 1999.[20]

Frame the issues: Recent research about framing racial equity messages has been conducted by three national organizations. Implement a national dissemination process to share the research and provide community organizations the tools and training needed to communicate racial equity messages more effectively.

Determine what's working: There has been no national effort to increase the capacity of organizations to evaluate their work or to create a central clearinghouse to share practices and strategies.[21] Evaluation is needed to: "reflect and refine what is being done; celebrate and publicize accomplishments and successes; expand engagement through information sharing; and to learn what differences the strategies made in the short- and long-term."[22]

Engage power holders in understanding the problem: One of the steps identified for movement building is engaging power holders in recognizing the problems, particularly whites. White privilege remains a vague concept to most mainstream institutions and white power holders. Until there is a common understanding of structural racism and an historical awareness of the myth of white supremacy and its legacy, we will hamper our progress and our ability to sustain change. Understanding white privilege is a 21st century leadership capacity. It's imperative for leaders, both white people and people of color, to have tools to analyze policies, outcomes, and institutional practices and create solutions which address the root causes and not symptoms.

Philip Klinkner shares his historical observation of whites' responses to understanding the problem, in his book, *The Unsteady March*:

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[19] ibid, p.108-109.
[20] *Pathways to One America in the 21st Century: Promising Practices for Racial Reconciliation*, The President's Initiative on Race. January 1999.
[21] Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change, Center for Assessment and Policy Development and MP Associates are partnering on a website, named www.racialequitytools.org to be launched in early 2009. The site will support communities working to reduce the effects of historical and current racism and related forms of privilege, racism and disadvantage. The resources included on the site will be based on their ability to help people and organizations plan and implement sufficient strategies to make a difference in their racial equity, social justice, anti-racism and/or inclusion work.
[22] www.evaluationtoolsforracialequity.org, produced by Center for Assessment and Policy Development and MP Associates. Tipsheet cited by Sally Leiderman, CAPD.

"But if white Americans …, have had powerful reasons ever since slavery to defend the various racially unequal political, economic, educational, and social arrangements they inhabit, then these shifts in public opinion may be significantly limited. We might expect that popular willingness to espouse the principles of racial equality that elites have sponsored since 1940 may not be matched by willingness to embrace policies that might actually transform those arrangements in major ways. Instead efforts to achieve such transformation are likely to be criticized on many grounds and accompanied by feelings of resentment. That is clearly what has occurred after every previous period of racial reform. And numerous studies of public opinion data provide substantial reasons to believe these reactions remain powerful in modern politics."[23]

Create a network of race relations and racial justice organizations: A community and strategic network is necessary for movement building. We need to work together to educate the American public about the costs and the debilitating realities of racism. There has been much discussion about the Bush Administration for its atrocious response to Hurricane Katrina and Rita. While we continue debate the Bush administration's response, it would be appropriate to examine how race relations and racial justice organizations responded. It's not about just improving our collective response to the next Hurricane Katrina, *it is about* the effectiveness of our strategies to confront structural racism, to motivate residents of this country to be outraged at the racial disparities, and increase their understanding of the implications of racial inequities to respond differently.

> *"Without a grand strategy, the disparate activists and groups involved in a movement do not have a common, consistent basis for planning, organizing, and evaluating their efforts and supporting each other. This leads to inefficiencies and unnecessary dissidence as groups go off in contradictory directions."*
> —Bill Moyer, *Doing Democracy*[24]

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[23] Klinkner, Philip A. with Rogers M. Smith. *The Unsteady March: The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press) 1999. p. 324.
[24] Moyer et al., *Doing Democracy*, p. 17.

PART TWO-

THREE PATHWAYS OF RACE RELATIONS AND RACIAL JUSTICE WORK

by Maggie Potapchuk, Gwen Wright, and Gita Gulati-Partee

Pathway 1: Race and Ethnic Competency and Development[25]

The Race and Ethnic Competency and Development pathway of work, work with individuals through introspection, education and skill-building, to build their competencies of racial and cultural differences without over-generalizing, unlearn prejudices and biases, appreciate and empathize with those who are different from us, and learn new attitudes, skills, and behaviors for personal change and healing. Also, some organizations' work to develop skills to address racism, white privilege and internalized racism, with the intent that people will become advocates and leaders in change work.

How Change Happens
The belief is after individuals increase their knowledge and skills and reduce personal prejudice and bigotry, they will influence their personal and professional spheres, thus generating a critical mass of transformed individuals who, ultimately, will lead to reforming institutions and communities to be more equitable and inclusive.

Strategies
The main strategies in this pathway of work focus on education – awareness-, knowledge-, and skill-building activities.   Approaches within this pathway implement its strategies focused on one or more of the following:
- Increase awareness and knowledge about cultures, prejudice, bias, discrimination and, in some cases, focus on system of racism, including power, white privilege, and internalized oppression;
- Improve individual's ability to value human differences, accept others, develop empathy, and enhance positive regard for self and group identity.
- Develop skills and competencies to interact effectively with people of different races and ethnicities, be an ally, interrupt racist comments and jokes, advocate for equity values, influence others to change their behaviors and attitudes, and become a leader in addressing racism.

These strategies play out on different levels, Ilana Shapiro, author of *Training for Racial Equity and Inclusion* cites, "Many practitioners discussed the importance of fostering feelings of self-efficacy, empowerment, and hope in participants to increase motivation for future action. Some focus on helping participants develop emotional literacy or experience some form of emotional catharsis as a tool for increased self awareness. Many also elicit participants existing knowledge and understanding in an effort to build upon them in introducing new knowledge."[26]

This pathway of work is highly prevalent in the field, perhaps because the focus on individuals is congruent with mainstream cultural values of individuals and autonomy. Also, the emphasis on personal experience and growth lend themselves to training as an intervention. The intent of most is to equalize all forms of oppression; highlighting the common, devastating impacts of oppression can help build empathy and understanding across

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[25] Created by Maggie Potapchuk, MP Associates with contributions from Gwen Wright and Gita Gulati-Partee
[26] Shapiro, Ilana, *Mapping Theories of Practice and Change*: *A Comparative Analysis of Intervention Programs Addressing Racial and Ethnic Tensions in U.S. Communities*, 2002. Dissertation, George Mason University. p. 552

groups, break down resistance to acknowledging racism, and create an anti-oppression movement. Various art forms can be employed, including, most recently, documentary film, performance art and hip hop music, to educate constituents.

The success of individual interventions are measured by individuals' ability to recognize oppressive comments or situations and have effective behavioral responses in the moment or directly afterwards. Other outcomes include self-awareness of one's culture and experience of oppression as well as bias/prejudice towards others; awareness of others' cultures and experience of oppression; recognizing social messages and cultural norms, and identifying institutional and systemic racism.

Implementation of Pathway: Race and Ethnic Competency and Development

This pathway is implemented effectively when:
- people become empowered to take leadership in reducing racism and other forms of discrimination.
- a group of individuals develops to become a catalyst to create deeper institutional changes.
- individuals are prepared competently to operate in a multiracial society.
- people and institutions examine the impact of institutional policies, practices and culture.
- individuals' self respect for their group identity is enhanced and native language and cultures are preserved
- differences of race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, gender, ability, religion and language are accepted, honored and understood.
- when the learning process is sustainable and core principles of change become imbedded as the 'norm.'

*This pathway is **not** implemented effectively when:*
- the context of structural racism, power, privilege, and internalized racism is not included as part of the curriculum, so individuals could assume reducing their personal prejudices and biases is sufficient for institutional change.
- only individual differences are valued without the explanation on how individual differences, specifically race and ethnicity, are treated within the racial hierarchy, resulting in disparate outcomes.
- the emphasis on "we are all the same," continuing the myths of color-blindness or being race neutral, and obscuring the need for viable solutions to racial inequities.
- educational offerings are provided one-time or short-term without the capacity or the commitment to create or instill this is a long-term educational process to change attitudes and behaviors.
- only working toward individual change for a long-term outcome.
- education methods and facilitation are imbalanced and focused on one of two extremes which can be problematic. Facilitation and educational methods are either confrontational to induce personal change or conflict avoidant to increase comfort levels.
- culture is generalized or trivialize by focusing on cultural traditions (food, dance, dress) "while avoiding the true picture of the everyday life of the people from that culture[27] without reference to history, issues, which can lead to further stereotyping.
- culture or race is seen only as something that "the other" has without adequate self-reflection and understanding about one's own culture and race.
- when language and learning tools have become so diluted that they are no longer effective in achieving the desired educational outcomes.

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[27] *15 Misconceptions about Multicultural Education*, Jerry Aldridge, Charles Calhoun, and Ricky Aman. From Focus on Elementary, Spring 2000, Vol. 12, #3.

- racism is defined and/or understood primarily through the relationship between African American and white Americans, excluding other people of color from the conversation, learning, and change.

Approaches within the Race and Ethnic Competency and Development Pathway

Prejudice Reduction – Grounded in psychoanalysis, counseling, and liberation theory, participants in training (the primary intervention) share personal stories and undergo cathartic experiences to become aware of the wounds of oppression they have faced. This builds empathy and a desire for healing and relationship building. By focusing on emotions, thoughts, shared experiences, and behaviors, this approach can help empower individuals to overcome their experience of oppression while at the same time avoid or overcome feelings of guilt, which can end up sabotaging efforts to move forward in alliances within and across groups.

The approach often employs processes for healing the pain of prejudice and acknowledges that such pain is present for the person who expresses prejudice, the person who receives prejudice, and the person who observes the prejudicial experience of another.[28] Discharging these emotional wounds empowers people to respond to act against oppression and build compassion among group members, which can lead to future alliances. Part of this process is sharing stories of pride about the identity groups one belongs to in life.

The strategies specifically use, in addition to same-race caucuses and workshops, are: how to be an ally, forming intergroup coalitions, skill building, and leadership development. Through skill building, participants learn how to redirect prejudicial habits of thinking and behaving and then learn how to encourage others to do the same. The strengths of this approach are working with individuals' emotions, thoughts, and behaviors to overcome oppression and guilt, and participants credit this approach for personal transformation. The limitations of this approach are that it underestimates or subordinates the impact of larger systemic and historical forces. Also, emotional work does not appeal to everyone, especially in a training setting. Some participants can dis-engage from the process, while others can become so immersed in it that larger institutional change work can be forsaken.

Multicultural Education - Multicultural education developed in the early 1960s, has evolved and been reconceptualized several times, and it is often mentioned that a teacher or scholar would not have the same definition of this approach. Contrary to some perceptions, the focus is not just on the student or skill sets but rather that schools are active participants in ending oppression of all types. The working definition shared: multicultural education is a progressive approach for transforming education that holistically critiques and addresses current shortcomings, failings, and discriminatory practices in education. It is grounded in ideals of social justice, education equity, and a dedication to facilitating educational experiences in which all students reach their full potential as learners and as socially aware and active beings, locally, nationally, and globally. Multicultural education acknowledges that schools are essential to laying the foundation for the transformation of society and the elimination of oppression and injustice."[29] In its most effective form, not only are students receiving "antiracist basic education" but also the schools are equitable institutions not only in regards to curriculum and instructional strategies, interactions among teachers, students and families but also outside of it[30] Multicultural education programs, predominantly found in primary and secondary schools but also in higher education.

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[28] Tammy Bormann, "An Organizational Framework for The Network of Alliances Bridging Race and Ethnicity" (unpublished draft document), p. 4.
[29] From EdChange Multicultural Pavilion website – Paul Gorski. http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/initial.html
[30] From the National Center for the Study of Adult Learning and Literacy, http://www.ncsall.net/?id=208

The strength of this approach is it being holistic and encompassing the other pathways of work in terms of building intergroup relationships and changing institutions. The limitations are when it is only focused only on the individual's education and awareness, or just on curricular changes and teaching practices. Though both are important components in the change process they are not sufficient for institutional change. Other limitations are focuses on educating about others and not on the individual's own role in the system. Structural racism analysis and power imbalances sometimes get lost in the individual-education process.

Cultural Competence - Cultural Competence, a newer offshoot, focuses on individual change but also seeks to establish new institutional standards. "Cultural competence is the integration and transformation of knowledge about individuals and groups of people into specific standards, policies, practices, and attitudes used in appropriate cultural settings to increase the quality of services, thereby producing better outcomes."[31] Being culturally competent in cross-cultural functioning means learning new patterns of behavior and effectively applying them in the appropriate settings and circumstances and having the capacity to function effectively in all cultural contexts. It requires awareness of one's own culture as well as an ability to understand cultural manifestations and employ listening, dialogue, story sharing, and other tools to uncover them.

Grounded in anthropology, the goal is the development of a set of congruent attitudes, behaviors, skills and policies that enables individuals and/or an institution to effectively work with diverse individuals and communities. A strength of this approach is greater understanding about culture, self-awareness about one's own culture (especially helpful for those in the dominant culture, who can become oblivious to its existence), and skills that promote listening and learning from others. The limitation is that "culture" can become too broadly generalized, and thus reinforce or create stereotypes that do not apply to all individuals.

Pathway 2: Race Relations and Reconciliation[32]

The core principles of this pathway include; valuing and appreciating differences, developing intergroup relationships and seeking racial reconciliation and healing. The foundational components include: individual strategies to help participants understand misconceptions, provide leadership development, developing skills to work across and within race and ethnic groups, focusing on building long-term relationships and sustainability and educate about different groups and culture. Also, sometimes used is an institutional strategy to connect to participants' dissatisfaction with the status quo with specific action strategies and developing self-sustaining teams to create action plans for long-term change.

How Change Happens
The fundamental premise for change to occur is that through relationship building and reconciliation across race and ethnicities, which will result in individuals, changing behaviors and this change can impact larger societal issues, such as, reducing prejudice, resolving conflicts, working together on addressing problems, and dismantling stereotypes of each other. Through an increase of cross race relationships – their resulting actions and the healing through reconciliation will lead to personal, institutional, and societal transformation.

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[31] Mark A. King, Anthony Sims, and David Osher, "How is Cultural Competence Integrated in Education?" (From the website, http://cecp.air.org/cultural/Q_integrated.html, accessed August 2002).
[32] Created by Gwen Wright, Change Matters, with contributions from Maggie Potapchuk and Gita Gulati-Partee

Strategies

The primary strategy in this approach is for groups to have direct contact with each other, and for that contact to impact the various types of interaction. This includes, face to face dialogue and conversation that builds relationships and trust that allows joint problem solving and action plans. Strategies to build common good and creating collective pride through community cohesiveness builds long-term community and society improvements.

Although group building through contact is this approach's primary premise, it also includes individual strategies to help understand misconceptions, provide leadership development, and share tools that educate about the cultural differences within the groups. There are also programs labeled as multicultural, moral education anti-bias, diversity, and cooperative learning. There are various race relations and reconciliations programs. Some use cognitive, verbal, and intellectual trainings (didactic interventions), while others use action-oriented and experience-based trainings (interactive interventions).

Variations of strategy frameworks include forms of honest dialogue and collaboration among individuals and groups that create conditions of trust between people of different racial and social backgrounds; personal responsibility deciding to move beyond blame, denial, and self pain to implement constructive action towards positive change; and acts of acknowledgement and reconciliation of a specific racial history and its impact on current issues.[33] The differences in how organizations implement this pathway of work, ranges from how terms are defined, where the entering into the change process occurs, the level of scale, and the type of participants (e.g., organization, sector, neighborhood). Another is the context in which the work is framed - some use healing and spirituality and others use a racism, prejudice, and discrimination lens.

In reconciliation work the framework for its strategies are described by the Williams Winter Institute of Racial Reconciliation, "Reconciliation involves three ideas. First, it recognizes that racism in America is both systemic and institutionalized, with far–reaching effects on both political engagement and economic opportunities for minorities. Second, reconciliation is engendered by empowering local communities through relationship- building and truth–telling. Dialogue between individuals and groups that have been historically divided encourages action based on redressing historical wrongs. Lastly, justice is the essential component of the conciliatory process—justice that is best termed as restorative rather than retributive, while still maintaining its vital punitive character."[34]

Implementation of this Pathway

This pathway is implemented effectively when:

- interaction across races and ethnicities increases and relationships are strengthen leading to better understanding of each other.
- trust develops and respect is earned across and within the groups.
- history is acknowledged through honest, respectful, inclusive storytelling, personal experience and truth-telling.
- unexpected and meaningful partnerships are created that may eventually transcend barriers of race, religion, economics and politics.

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[33] From Hope in the Cities website, (www.hopeinthecities.org)

[34] From the William Winters Institute of Racial Reconciliation website, (www.olemiss.edu/winterinstitute)

- relationships become the catalyst for institutional change.
- skills in interacting with people of different races and ethnicities are enhance.
- people acknowledge and repent past wrongdoings and reparations or different action steps occur.
- significant improvements in the racial climate and contacts, and race relations in general are promoted.
- issues are clarified so that there are understandings around disagreements with each other.
- dialogue challenges existing practices of power, privilege, wealth and control that contributes to inequities in society.
- people make the commitment and create a set of norms to enable to stick together through discomfort, anger, pain, and conflict.

*This pathway is **not** implemented effectively when:*
- the process of relationship-building between races is being implemented without the intent for it to lead to institutional change but solely to build relationships.
- the discussion of the repairs based on the impact that past historical incidents have had on individuals, families, and communities is not discussed as part of the reconciliation process and restorative justice does not occur.
- the conceptual understanding of structural racism, power, privilege, and internalized oppression is not included as part of the relationship building process, and by doing so, individuals could assume that building relationships across race is sufficient for institutional change.
- relationship building processes are only one-time events or short-term without the capacity or the commitment to create or instill this as long-term process that leads to institutional change.
- culture becomes generalized or trivialized by focusing on traditions (food, dance, dress) "while avoiding the true picture of the everyday life of the people belonging to that culture."[35]
- groups are pushed to become engaged in conflict without the skills or the process to continue to engage in relationship building activities and work through the conflict.
- relationship building focuses only across races and does not include time for same race/ethnicity relationship-building since people of different races have different work to do.
- racism is defined and/or understood primarily through the relationship between African American and white Americans, excluding other people of color from the conversation, learning, and change.

Approaches within the Race Relations and Reconciliation Pathway
There are three basic approaches woven into this pathway: (1) Valuing Differences, (2) Intergroup Relations, and (3) Racial Reconciliation and Healing. The first two, valuing differences and intergroup relations share a common theory, which is, the contact theory. Contact theory has been revised over the years, but is based on the concept that, "prejudice may be reduced by equal-status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals," given equal conditions, which are: equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and authority support.[36] The third approach, racial reconciliation, views racism as a spiritual disease that infects all races and seeks to understand and reconcile past and present inequities and achieve fuller cooperation among the races.[37]

Valuing Differences - Defines diversity in its broadest terms and includes the basic, identify groups and one's life experiences. Interventions include 'celebrating diversity' events, experiential pilgrimages, and presentations to

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[35] *15 Misconceptions about Multicultural Education*, Jerry Aldridge, Charles Calhoun, and Ricky Aman. From Focus on Elementary, Spring 2000, Vol. 12, #3.
[36] Allport, G.W, 1954, *The Nature of Prejudice*; Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
[37] From the William Winters Institute of Racial Reconciliation website, (www.olemiss.edu/winterinstitute)

provide "a greater understanding of exactly who we are-culturally, demographically, and ethnically." [38]   The strengths of this approach are that each person is seen and appreciated for her/his assets and uniqueness and relationships are created and maintained between people who are different from each other. The limitations of this approach occurs when these actions are seen as all that needs to happen is simply to like each other including our differences, yet there are no steps taken to consider how institutions are not valuing differences.

Intergroup Relations – Designed to address the racial, ethnic, cultural, religious, and other central group differences that exist in society, and generally aim to change biased attitudes, feelings, and behaviors.   Processes include: intergroup dialogue, cooperative learning, and morals and values education.[39] The relations are greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports and if leads to the perception of common interest and common humanity between people.[40]

Democracy building is also included in this approach which goes beyond dialogues to intentional focus on engaging citizens to become involved in the civic infrastructure that may help in addressing future community issues. In democracy building, consensus and decision-making requires that participants respect and listen to one another in order to find common solutions. Decisions are more likely to be based on the consideration of facts and understanding of the situation of others than on pre-established ideological positions and to incorporate multiple perspective and needs.[41] When consensus must be sought, everyone has an equal opportunity to express views and equal weight in decision making, which means that everyone has a concrete reason to participate.

The strength of this approach is that, intergroup contact can create more inclusive processes, transforming members of the different groups from "us" versus "them" to a more inclusive "we."[42] A limitation of this approach is that while it is generally agreed that intergroup contact may lead to improved relations in individuals – there is less agreement on how this plays out beyond the immediate situations of the group to groups not directly involved in the initial contact situation and will the contact and relationships lead to action.

Racial Reconciliation and Healing - Involves a moral and spiritual process. Actions should create conditions of trust between people of different racial, ethnic, social, and political backgrounds.[43]   This approach links personal transformation to societal change. It works to move beyond the paradigm of victims and victimizers, allies and enemies. It involves working with all sectors of the community in acknowledging a shared history which can lead to forgiveness and new level of understanding, so that each person takes responsibility for the change process.[44] Michael Ignatieff, author of *The Warrior's Honor*, explains, "Reconciliation means breaking the spiral of intergenerational vengeance. It means substituting the vicious downward spiral of violence with the virtuous upward spiral of mutually reinforcing respect. Reconciliation can stop the cycle of vengeance only if it can equal vengeance as a form of respect for the dead. Without an apology, without recognition of what happened, the

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[38]   Maggie Potapchuk, (with contributing writer, Lori Villarosa) *Cultivating Interdependence: A Guide for Race Relations and Racial Justice Organizations*, The Spectrum of Approaches, Appendix I, (Washington DC, The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 2004) p.75.
39 Stephan, WG & Stephan, CW, "Improving Inter-group Relations", Sage Publications. Inc; 1 Edition, July 27, 2001.
[40]   Allport, G.W, 1954, *The Nature of Prejudice*; Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
[41]   Seekurki, Leena, Incorporating Restorative and Community Justice Into American Sentencing and Corrections, Research Brief, U.S. Dept. of Justice, September 1999.
42 Gaertner, S. L. & Dovidio, J. F. *Reducing Intergroup Bias: The Common Intergroup Identity Model*. (Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press, 2000).
43 From the Hope in The Cities website, (www.hopeinthecities.org)
[44]   Maggie Potapchuk, (with contributing writer, Lori Villarosa) *Cultivating Interdependence: A Guide for Race Relations and Racial Justice Organizations*, The Spectrum of Approaches, Appendix I, (Washington DC, The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 2004) p. 77.

past cannot return to its place as the past."[45]

Within racial reconciliation and healing is also includes conflict transformation work. With this strategy, all parties are brought together to raise the issues, identify multiple perspectives and build on shared interests to resolve problems. Conflict transformation include specific processes, practices and skills offered to help individuals understand conflict and help empower them to use communication and creative thinking to begin new relationships and manage and resolve tensions fairly and peacefully. Its aims are broad, "to be a vehicle for transforming citizenry, communities, and the institutions of contemporary democratic society."

Some of the strengths of this approach are that it links personal transformation to societal change, works to move beyond the paradigm of victims and victimizers, allies and enemies, and involves working with all sectors of the community. However, a limitation to this approach is that steps towards reconciling includes establishing or rebuilding 'trust' through transparent conversation and forgiveness, may lead to healing – yet, often times in this process, individuals are reluctant to having such emotions bared and open; and others only spend time healing and requesting forgiveness but a plan for restorative justice is not created.

Pathway 3: Racial Justice and Equity[46]

For this pathway, groups endeavor to achieve racial/ethnic equity through changing laws and institutional policies and practices. Outcomes of approaches in this pathway include equitable, inclusive, and accountable social and institutional policies and practices; institutions with people of color in leadership positions; self-determination in communities of color; and communities characterized by equity, justice, access, opportunity, and integration.

How Change Happens
The fundamental premise is that changing laws or institutional policies and practices will have far-reaching, long-term impact on the lives of individuals. Thus, the priority is on identifying community or institutional levers for change, including individuals in key roles as managers, decision makers, and/or change agents, to enable institutional or public policy change. By creating more inclusive policies and changing institutional structures, initiating community organizing in neighborhoods to work on specific issues, and equipping people with a "power analysis," institutions and communities will begin to break down barriers and create more equitable policies, thus enabling individuals to change their behaviors, which will lead to improved race relations and more racial justice in our society.

Strategies
The strategies that groups in the pathway use can vary greatly depending on the approach but include the following:

Assessment – This includes sample benchmarks and tools to measure social and institutional policies and practices against, as well as road maps for changing them. It includes ways to identify, measure, and communicate about racial disparities (in employment, health, education, etc.) as well as recommendations for closing gaps. Overall

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[45] As quoted in Michael Henderson, *Forgiveness: Breaking the Chains of Hate* (Wilsonville, Oregon: BookPartners, 2000) p.15.
[46] Created by Gita Gulati-Partee, OpenSource Leadership Strategies, Inc. with contributions from Maggie Potapchuk and Gwen Wright.

questions guiding assessment would be (1) what policies and practices support or advance racial equity, (2) what policies and practices prevent or get in the way of racial equity, and (3) what policies and practices actively perpetuate inequity.

Training and Capacity Building – This can be customized to managers in a work setting, community organizers, or others identified as "change agents." Often, people who participate in training expect to serve as trainers or facilitators for others in their institution or community. Training and capacity building content can include scorecards and other assessment tools, sample policies for EEO and anti-harassment, timelines that reveal historical and contemporary racial inequities, and case studies. It also can include targeted coaching and support for leaders, as well as guidance to the institution or community about how sustain leadership from people of color.

Organizing and Political Education – "Organizing is a civic activity that brings people together to create change, in part by building their capacity to take action together."[47] Often, organizing is viewed as a tool only for the grassroots or others who are defined as outside of the highest echelons of power. While organizing the grassroots is critical, several organizers and scholars emphasize the need to organize people who hold power and influence – i.e., elected officials, media, foundations, and businesses – and to better connect them with community causes. By bringing people together to collectively define the change they want to achieve, as well as to see their struggle for change in a larger context of power dynamics and systems of privilege and oppression, while also creating a political consciousness among participants. Various art forms can be employed, including, most recently, documentary film and hip hop, to educate and organize constituents.

Affinity Groups – Groups encompassed in this pathway of work recognize that everyone has a role to play in making racial equity happen, and also that different people have different roles to play based on their identity and power. For example, both managers and employees must participate in the change process, but they have different levers for change. Likewise, white people and people of color must participate in dismantling inequitable structures and replacing them with equitable ones, but again they will have different opportunities for participation and change. Thus, groups in this pathway may employ affinity groups in which people with a shared identity relative to power and the change process can support and hold each other accountable. For example, a company might create support groups for managers and employees, respectively. Anti-racism groups often use race caucuses within mixed-race trainings and institutions.

Policy Development, Advocacy, Enforcement, and Litigation – Groups in this pathway aim to effect far-reaching and long-lasting change by reforming and preventing bad laws and regulations and promoting good laws and regulations that advance the cause of racial equity. By tapping expertise in policy and politics, these groups use a range of advocacy strategies from the more genteel like lobbying to the more radical like civil protest, boycotts, and other forms of political activism. They emphasize voting rights and participation by people of color. And they often play a watchdog role with government and employers to make sure that civil rights are being protected and implemented properly, utilizing the courts to remedy violations, compensate victims, and expand rights.

Racial Equity Lens – The leading edge of scholarship in this pathway defines racism as systemic or structural: *Many of the contours of opportunity for individuals and groups in the United States are defined – or 'structured' – by race and racism. The term 'structural racism' refers to a system in which public policies, institutional practices, cultural representations, and other norms work in various, often reinforcing ways to perpetuate racial group inequity. It identifies*

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[47] "Organizing Stakeholders, Building Movement, Setting the Agenda" by Xavier de Souza Briggs, The Community Problem-Solving Project @ MIT, June 2003.

dimensions of our history and culture to have allowed privileges associated with 'whiteness' and disadvantages associated with 'color' to endure and adapt over time…"[48]

Professor john powell adds, "racial animosity is not even necessary for racial disparities to be perpetuated. Were every person to behave in daily interactions with intelligence and kindness toward people of other races, ours would be a better society, but these disparities would not disappear. This is because the patterns for racial inequality have been set. Persistent racial disparities are not dependent upon racial animus or ill will; this is why they are termed 'structural.' This is the racism that is built into all of our structures, it is the status quo, and will only be undone in a lasting way when structures are reformed. To borrow from Newton and his notion of inertia, racism in motion stays in motion unless forces counteract it."[49]

Thus, to address structural racism, individuals and institutions must take on and apply a racial equity lens that Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity describes as:
- Analyzing data and information about race and ethnicity.
- Understanding disparities and learning why they exist.
- Looking at problems and their root causes from a structural standpoint.
- Naming race explicitly when talking about problems and solutions.[50]

Implementation of this Pathway
Approaches in this pathway are most applicable to groups that share an institutional or community context that can be the locus of change. Individual participants in open enrollment training, for example, can learn frameworks and tools from these approaches, but will likely need help applying them in their particular context.

This pathway is implemented effectively when:
- the group has the skill and will to acknowledge the truths about racial injustice within the institution or community, including current-day disparities in wealth, income, education, employment, health, housing, and other quality of life indicators.
- the group has a systems orientation and an ability to see and talk about power dynamics candidly.
- the institution has a transparent, comprehensive, and authentic approach to creating an equitable environment.
- the institution has top-level commitment for change in both formal policies and informal practices, as well as the will and ability to be accountable to constituents for results.
- outcomes are measured in relation to institutional or societal change and lessening of disparities.
- the group invests time in building an analysis of the historical roots and contemporary manifestations of racism as well as a vision and strategies for change.
- the group makes a commitment and creates a set of norms to enable it to stick together through discomfort, anger, pain, and conflict.
- people of color are involved in and leading the process of change and both people of color and white people feel empowered to do their respective work to confront racism.

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[48] *Structural Racism and Community Building* from the Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change, June 2004.
[49] "Does Racism in Motion have to Stay in Motion? Nonprofits as a Force Against Structural Racism" by john powell in *Nonprofit Quarterly*, Volume 9, Issue 2, Summer 2002.
[50] *Grant Making with a Racial Equity Lens*, GrantCraft in partnership with Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity, 2007.

- structures are in place to enable people of color from different racial and ethnic backgrounds to build solidarity based on authentic relationships and understanding about their unique as well as shared experiences in the racial paradigm.
- the institution moves beyond training to applying and sustaining an overall vision and structures for change.

This pathway is **not** *implemented effectively when:*

- the group does not have a systems orientation, and thus can become overwhelmed and retreat into denial.
- the group does not take time to build a shared analysis but tries to move immediately to generic actions.
- the group does not take into consideration emotional, spiritual, and relational experiences, in addition to analytical tools, or relies only on confrontational tactics without building a shared vision and sense that "we are all in this together."
- white people feel like the victims of "reverse racism" and become alienated from and/or disruptive to the process rather than seeing their role and responsibility in the change process.
- the institution does not have a commitment to policy change or demonstrate accountability.
- racism becomes the sole focus of change, thus alienating other marginalized groups (such as women, gay people, non-Christians) who could be allies in the cause and creating a hierarchy of oppression – or, at the other extreme, focuses so broadly on all types of difference that racism gets lost or diluted as a focus for change.
- the group focuses on an immediate or short-term campaign on a particular issue without considering or integrating a systemic approach to change and addressing the root causes.

Approaches within the Racial Justice and Equity Pathway

Managing Diversity – This is largely an organizational approach to dealing with differences in human identity and experience, which can be leveraged in order to optimize employee performance. In its purest form, diversity management helps build the business case for diversity. Motivated by rapidly changing demographics in the U.S., it focuses on individual and interpersonal dynamics of difference as well as assessing organizational systems, practices, and behaviors in an effort to embrace, value, and manage diversity through the entire organizational structure, from workforce issues to marketing to product development.

A strength of this approach is that change is a two-way street requiring mutual adaptation by the institution and individuals, but there must be transparency about boundaries to institutional change and the expectations for change by individual employees. Employee support groups balance diversity management training aimed at managers, who also gain access to tools to assess and change institutional structures. With top-level organizational commitment, the institution trains managers to facilitate, negotiate, and mediate employee interactions, assess organizational barriers and identify changes, and create an ongoing process so the organization can adapt to the changing workforce at the same time that the diverse workforce can understand and adapt to the organization.

A limitation of implementation is that the particularities of race/racism can be overlooked, with racial differences equated with all other kinds of differences. Without acknowledgment of oppression/privilege, strategies for change can be superficial and naïve. Furthermore, by describing diversity as a variable to be managed, this approach also can undervalue its potential for transformative impact.

Civil Rights/Anti-Hate – Based on a movement that has been described as reminding Americans of their commitment to true egalitarianism, this approach tests advances made through the Civil Rights Movement and address the legal, civil rights, and societal barriers that still exist. It acknowledges the historical truths about America's pluralism and its racial crimes, as well as the moral truths about harmony and justice. This approach addresses racism, bigotry, and prejudice as they are manifested through non-compliance with civil rights policies, verbal and physical violence, legal and illegal expressions of hatred, and organized white supremacy. Civil Rights and Anti-Hate groups employ EEO and anti-harassment training, compliance monitoring, public policy advocacy, litigation, protests, and political activism to combat discrimination and hate crimes.

A strength of this approach is the exploration of the intersection between racism and poverty (alternatively described as race and class), as well as the use of the legal and political systems to achieve far-reaching, often transformative change. Consultant Pattie DeRosa notes, "As a *training* strategy, … [the] approach can be regulatory and punitive, rather than transformative, and has limited effectiveness in organizational change. As a *legal* strategy, however, the power and necessity of civil rights law and class-action suits are essential, and are recognized as being one of the most effective tools for intervention and change, especially at the state and federal level."[51] A limitation is that this approach does not always expose the systemic relationship between existing economic, education, and health gaps and continued discriminatory practices. Also, some groups favor "colorblindness" as a means to racial equity.

Anti-Racism and Challenging White Supremacy – In this context, racism is defined as a system of disadvantages for people of color supported by a system of advantage for white people. (Other organizations utilizing the same approach within an inclusive and/or integrated analysis that includes other targeted and privileged groups refer to their approach as "anti-oppression.") By understanding racism as a historical and contemporary global system of economic, geo-political, and social policies rooted in the myth of white superiority, these groups seek to dismantle racist structures and replace them with equitable, just, and racially and culturally inclusive values, practices, and policies – and ultimately "a total restructuring of power relations."[52] At the same time, this approach engages individuals to address constructed and internalized racism, white privilege, and internalized white supremacy.

Anti-Racism and Challenging White Supremacy groups also employ training, but include tools such as timelines that reveal the social construction of race and racism, how social and institutional policies have systematically privileged white people throughout US history, and a delineation of racist crimes and tragedies. These approaches also employ race caucuses, as one acknowledgement that people of color and white people share responsibility in ending racism – and also have different work to do, thus requiring differentiated space for focused conversation. Through assessments, capacity building, community organizing, and policy change, these groups confront racism and its corollary, unearned white privilege, as well as internalized oppression and internalized white supremacy.

A strength of the leading edge of this work involves cross-racial coalition building as well as expanded analyses that incorporate diverse communities of color from an authentic, ethnically specific analysis. One limitation is that this approach may overly value the engagement of white people, as the guardians of white privilege, rather than people of color.

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[51] "Social Change or Status Quo – Approaches to Diversity Training," Pattie DeRosa, ChangeWorks Consulting, 2001.
[52] Ibid.