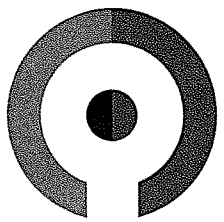


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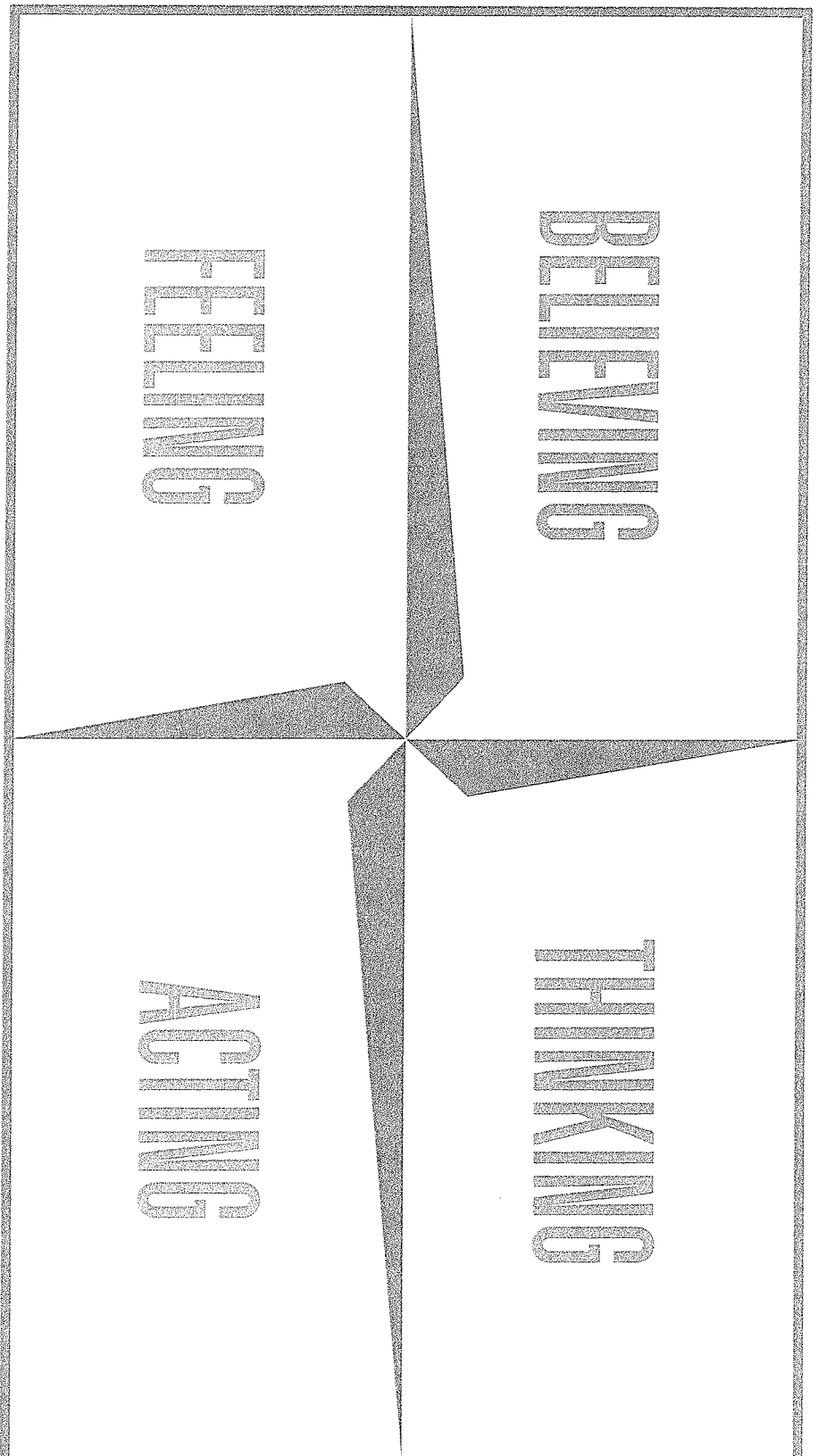


GOUBRAGEOUS CONVERSATION

BEYOND DIVERSITY

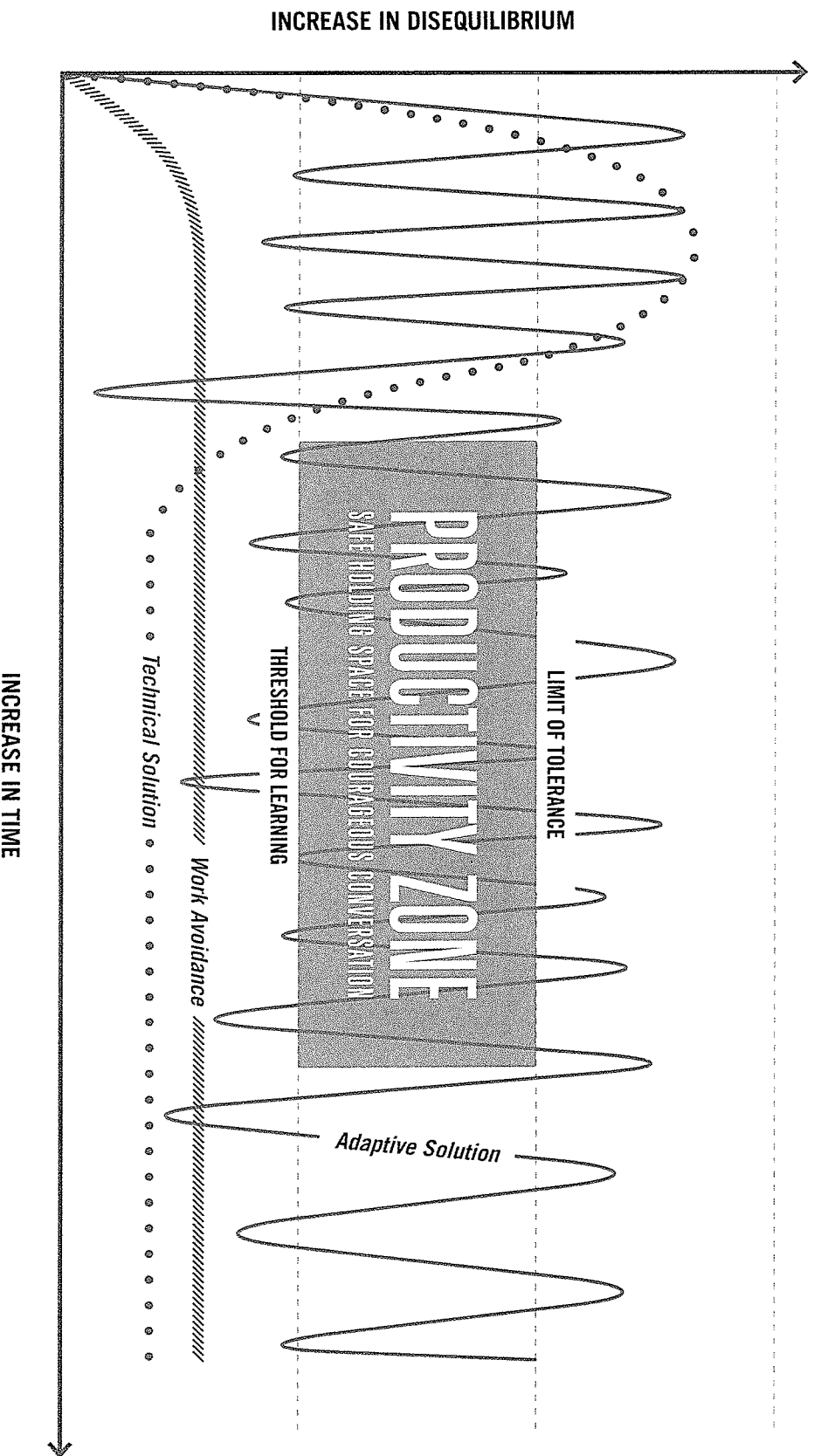
**GLENN E. SINGLETON | PRESIDENT & FOUNDER
PACIFIC EDUCATIONAL GROUP, INC.**

COURAGEOUS CONVERSATION COMPASS



Notes:

ADAPTIVE LEADERSHIP FOR RACIAL EQUITY



SOURCE: COURAGEOUS CONVERSATIONS ABOUT RACE, A FIELD GUIDE FOR ACHIEVING EQUITY IN SCHOOLS, SECOND EDITION, THOUSAND OAKS, CA

THE FOUR AGREEMENTS

- **STAY ENGAGED**
- **EXPERIENCE DISCOMFORT**
- **SPEAK YOUR TRUTH**
- **EXPECT/ACCEPT NON-CLOSURE**

DAY ONE

Introduction to the Agreements & Conditions

PERSONALIZING RACE

- How/Why Am I Showing Up?
- The Courageous Conversation Compass: Getting Centered
- Productive Disequilibrium & Adaptive Leadership
- The Four Agreements
- A Framework for Achieving Racial Equity
- Systems Thinking: What Do We Believe?
- What the Data Says About Economic Class?
- Why Beyond Diversity?
- Race Matters: Why We Don't Talk About Race.
- A Definition for Courageous Conversation
- Race in My Life
- The Social Construction of Race & Racial Knowledge
- Mindfulness: Listening, Inquiring and Responding
- Racial Consciousness
- The Compass: Getting Centered
- Race, Ethnicity, Nationality
- Color, Culture and Consciousness
- White Privilege
- "The Souls of Black Folks"
- Homework Assignments

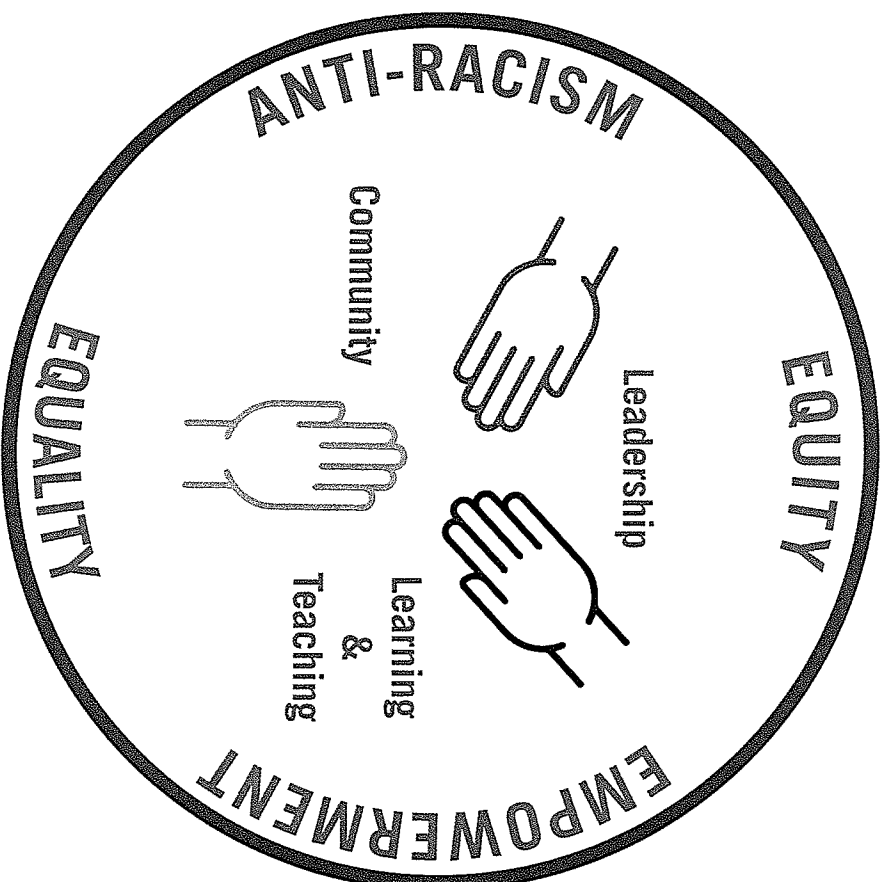
SYSTEMIC EQUITY TRANSFORMATION FRAMEWORK

SKILL

COURAGEOUS
CONVERSATION
ABOUT RACE:
PROTOCOL
Having an effective
way to talk about
race and racism

WILL

SYSTEMS
THINKING: TOOLS
Examining beliefs that
drive behaviors and
determine results



CAPACITY

ADAPTIVE
LEADERSHIP:
PRINCIPLES
Authorizing productive
disequilibrium

KNOWLEDGE

CRITICAL RACE
THEORY: TENETS
Developing racial literacy
and consciousness



1

6

2

7

3

8

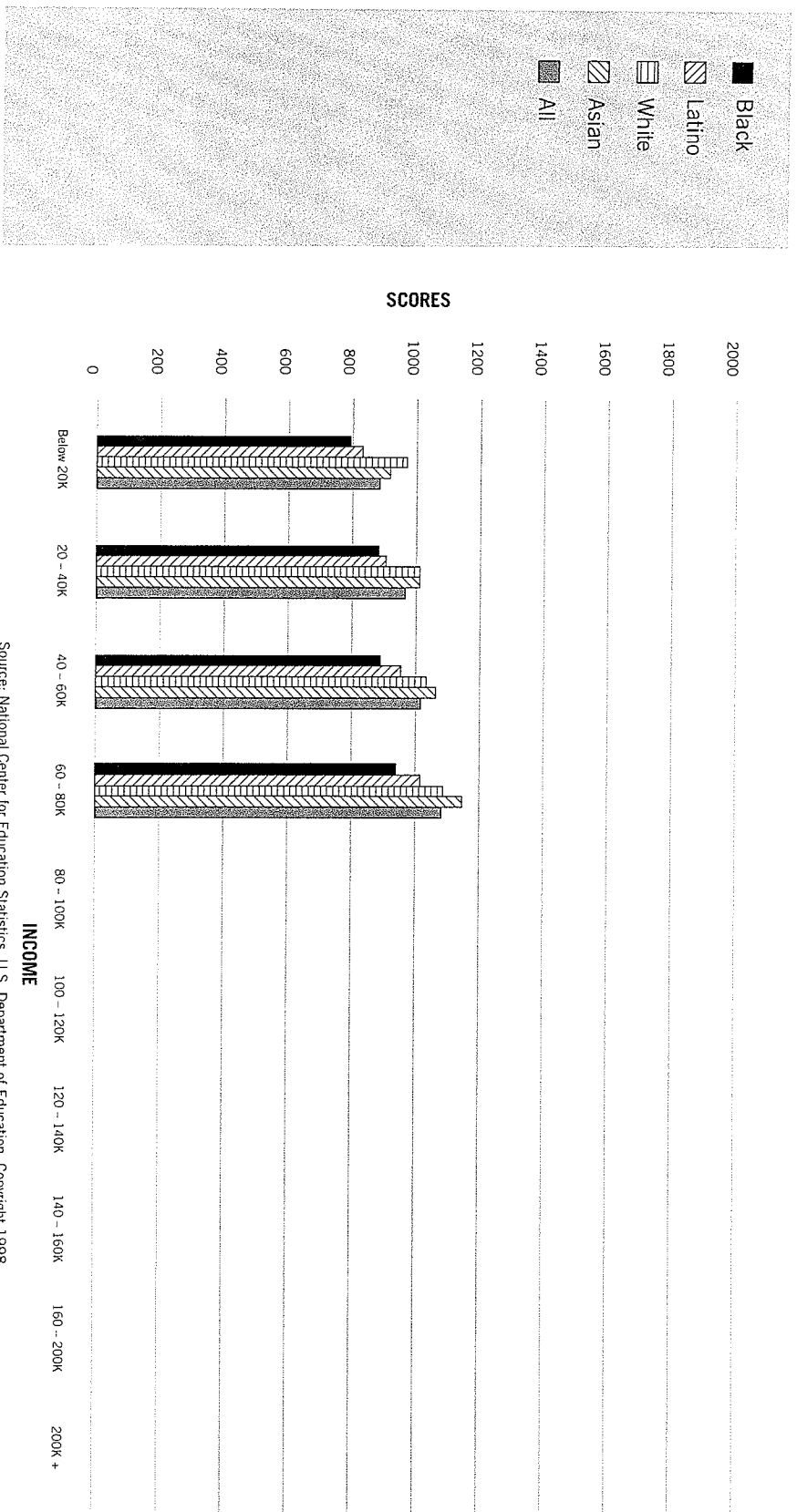
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9

5

10

AVERAGE SAT SCORES BY PARENTAL INCOME AND RACE/ETHNICITY 1998

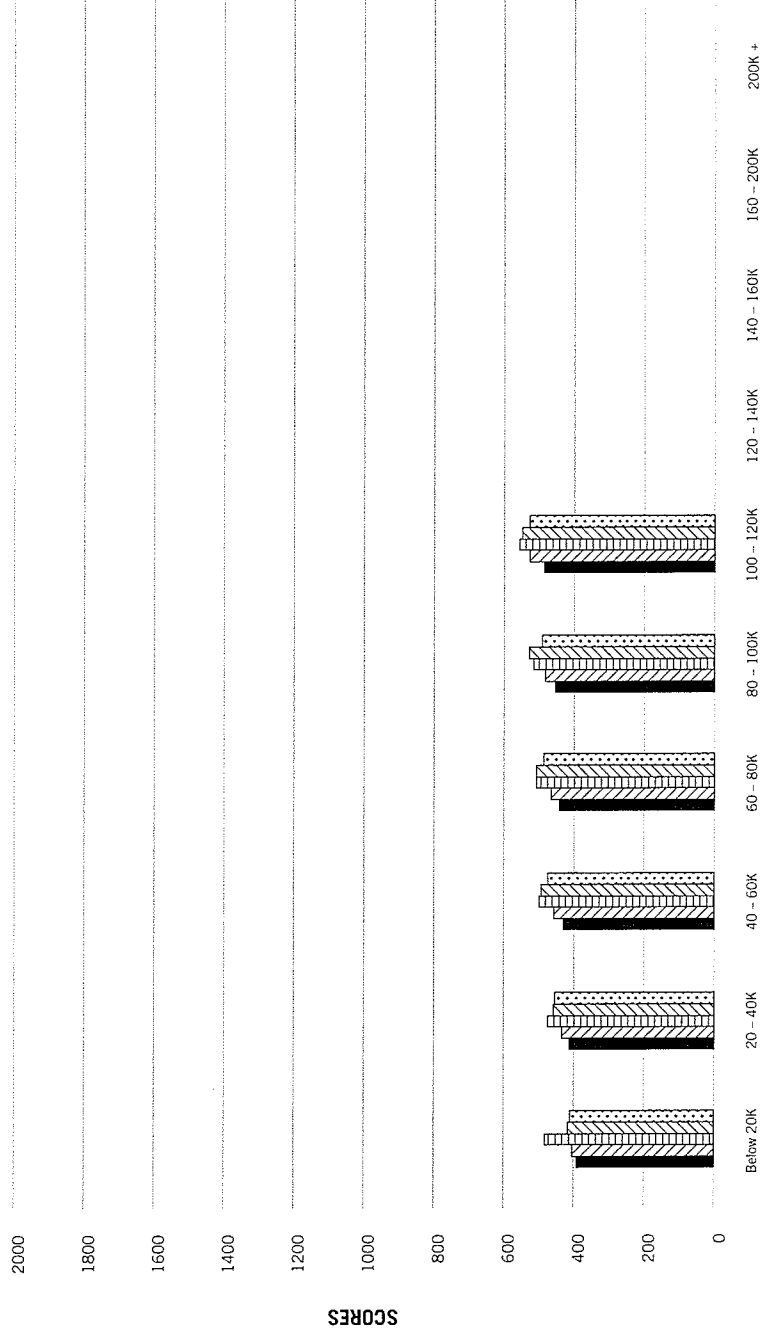
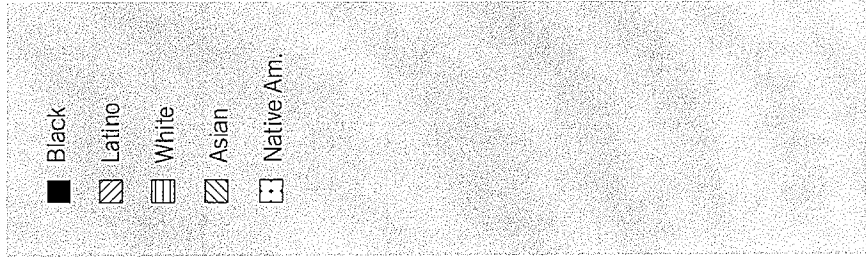


Source: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education. Copyright 1998.



ONE DECADE LATER

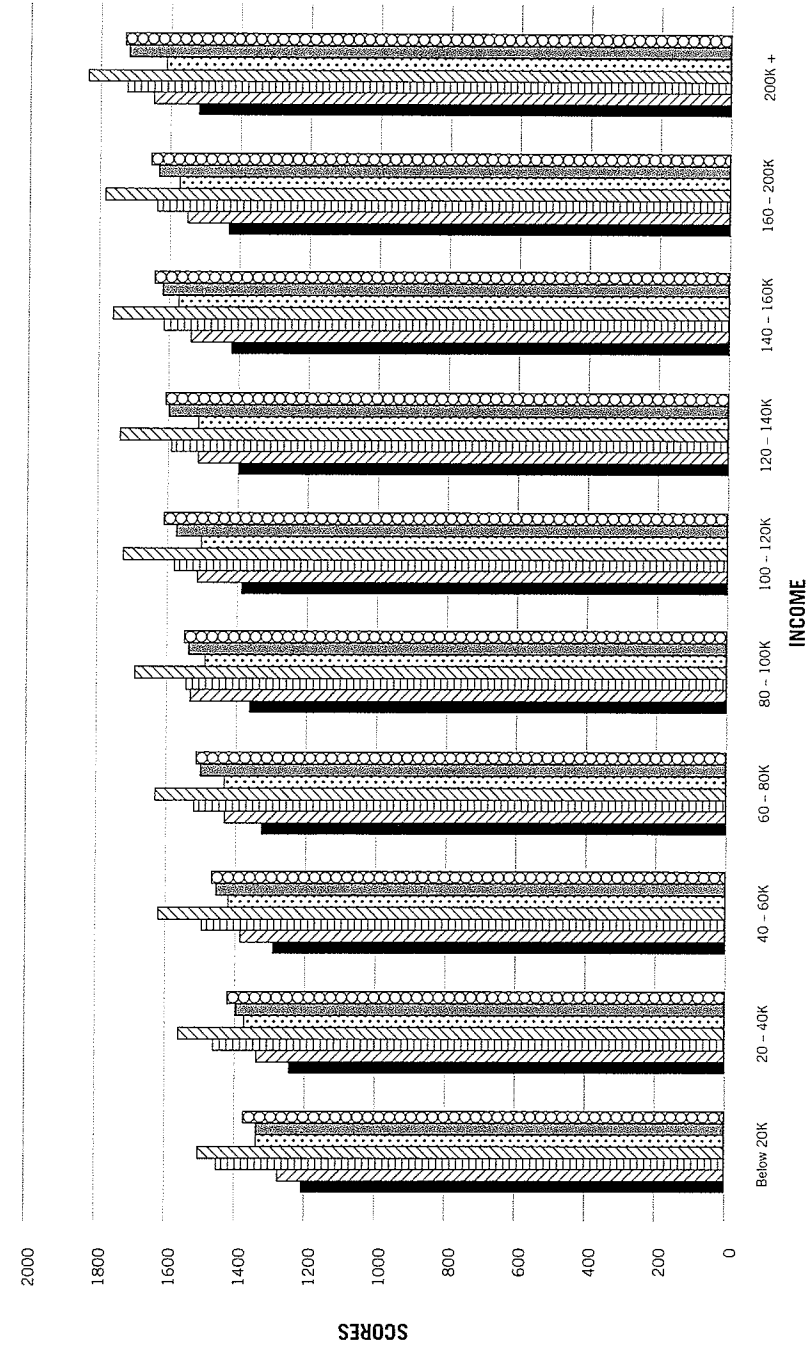
2008



Source: *MORE Courageous Conversations About Race* by Glenn E. Singleton, Copyright 2013, Corwin Press, Thousand Oaks, CA.

RACE STILL MATTERS

2011



Source: *MORE Courageous Conversations About Race* by Glenn E. Singleton, Copyright 2013, Corwin Press, Thousand Oaks, CA.



WHAT DO YOU BELIEVE TO BE THE CAUSALITIES OF RACIAL DISPARITIES?

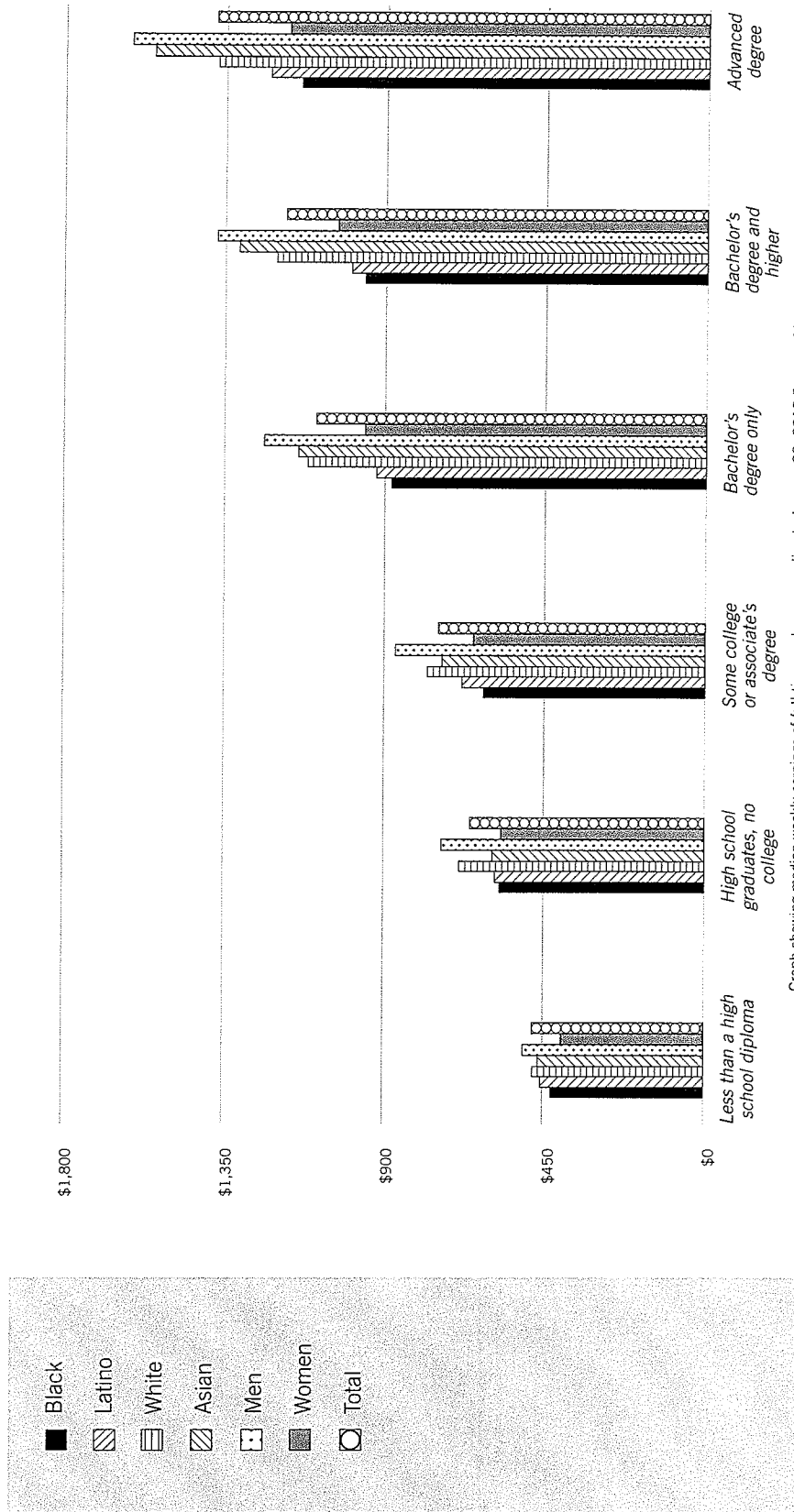
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2

3

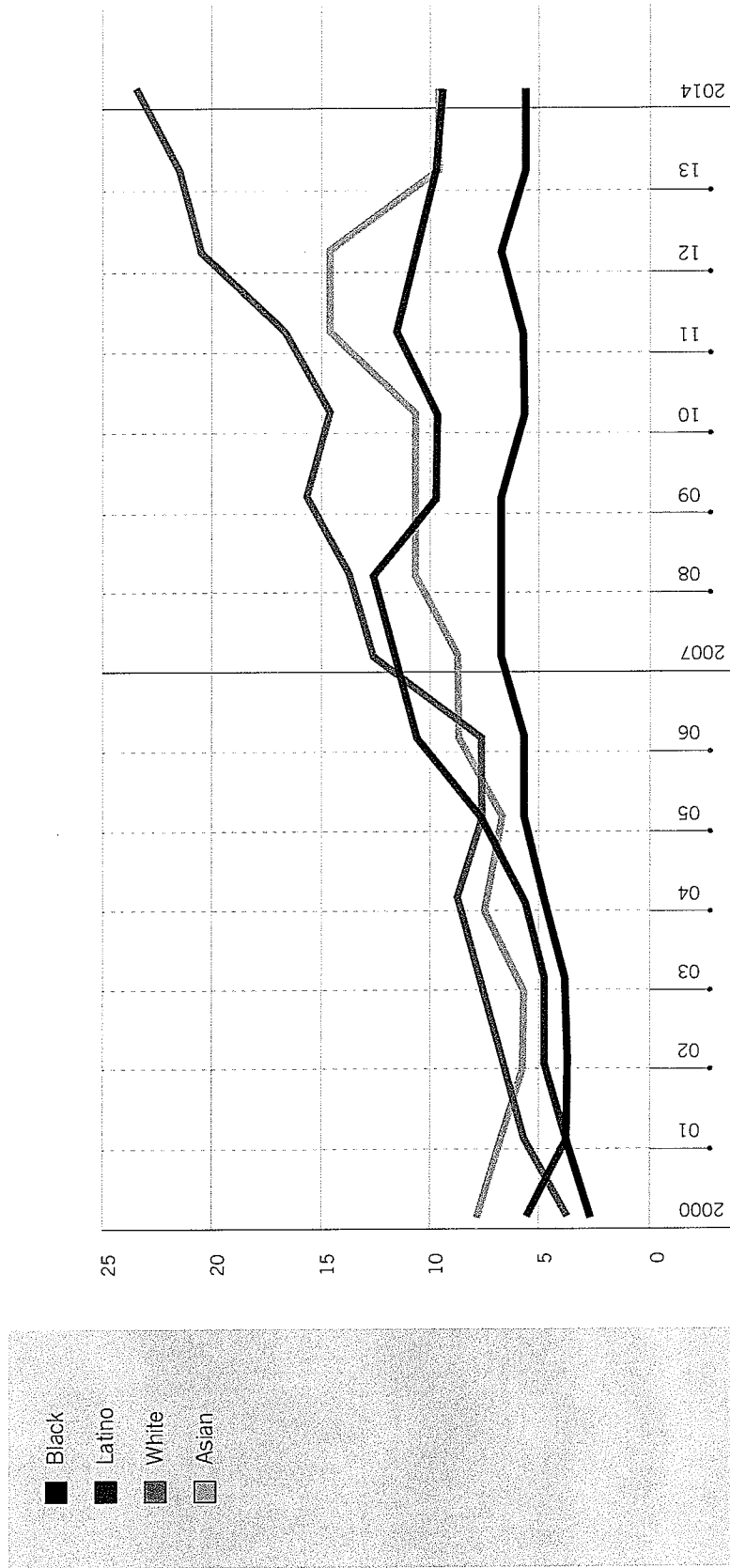
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MEDIAN USUAL WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FULL-TIME WAGE AND SALARY WORKERS AGE 25 AND OLDER BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT



Graph showing median weekly earnings of full-time workers, according to January 23, 2015 Bureau of Labor Statistics data release.

DIVERSITY AMONG CEOs AND CORPORATE DIRECTORS



Diversity Among CEOs and Corporate Directors: Has the Heyday Come and Gone?
 Based on a presentation at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York City, August 12, 2013

RACE MATTERS



Race matters. Race matters in part because of the long history of racial minorities being denied access to the political process... Race also matters because of persistent racial inequality in society—inequality that cannot be ignored and that has produced stark socioeconomic disparities... This refusal to accept the stark reality that race matters is regrettable. The way to stop discrimination on the basis of race is to speak openly and candidly on the subject of race, and to apply the Constitution with eyes open to the unfortunate effects of centuries of racial discrimination...



Hon. Sonia Sotomayor,
U.S. Supreme Court Justice (2014)

**AS MEMBERS OF THE JUDICIARY
TASKED WITH INTERVENING TO CARRY
OUT THE GUARANTEE OF EQUAL
PROTECTION, WE OUGHT NOT SIT
BACK AND WISH AWAY, RATHER THAN
CONFRONT, THE RACIAL INEQUALITY
THAT EXISTS IN OUR SOCIETY.**



DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN THE 4RS

RACE

RACIAL

RACISM

RACIST

WHAT PREVENTS YOU FROM TALKING ABOUT RACE?

FEAR

1

DISBELIEF

2

FATIGUE

3

IGNORANCE

4

THE SIX CONDITIONS

1

2

3

4

5

6

HOW MUCH IS MY LIFE IMPACTED BY RACE?

%

1-100%

RACE IN MY LIFE?

RACE IS...

RACE IS...

RACE IS...

RACE IN MY LIFE?

RACIAL CONSCIOUSNESS (?)

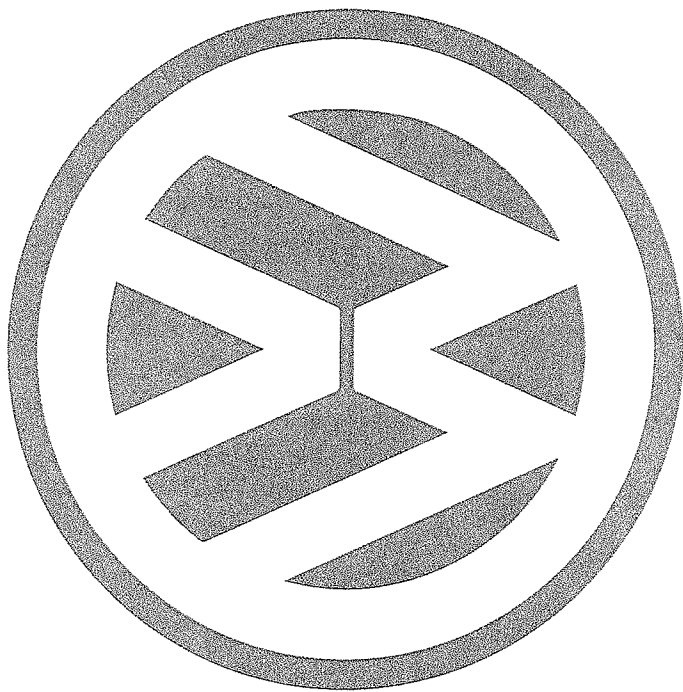
RACIAL IMPACT (100)



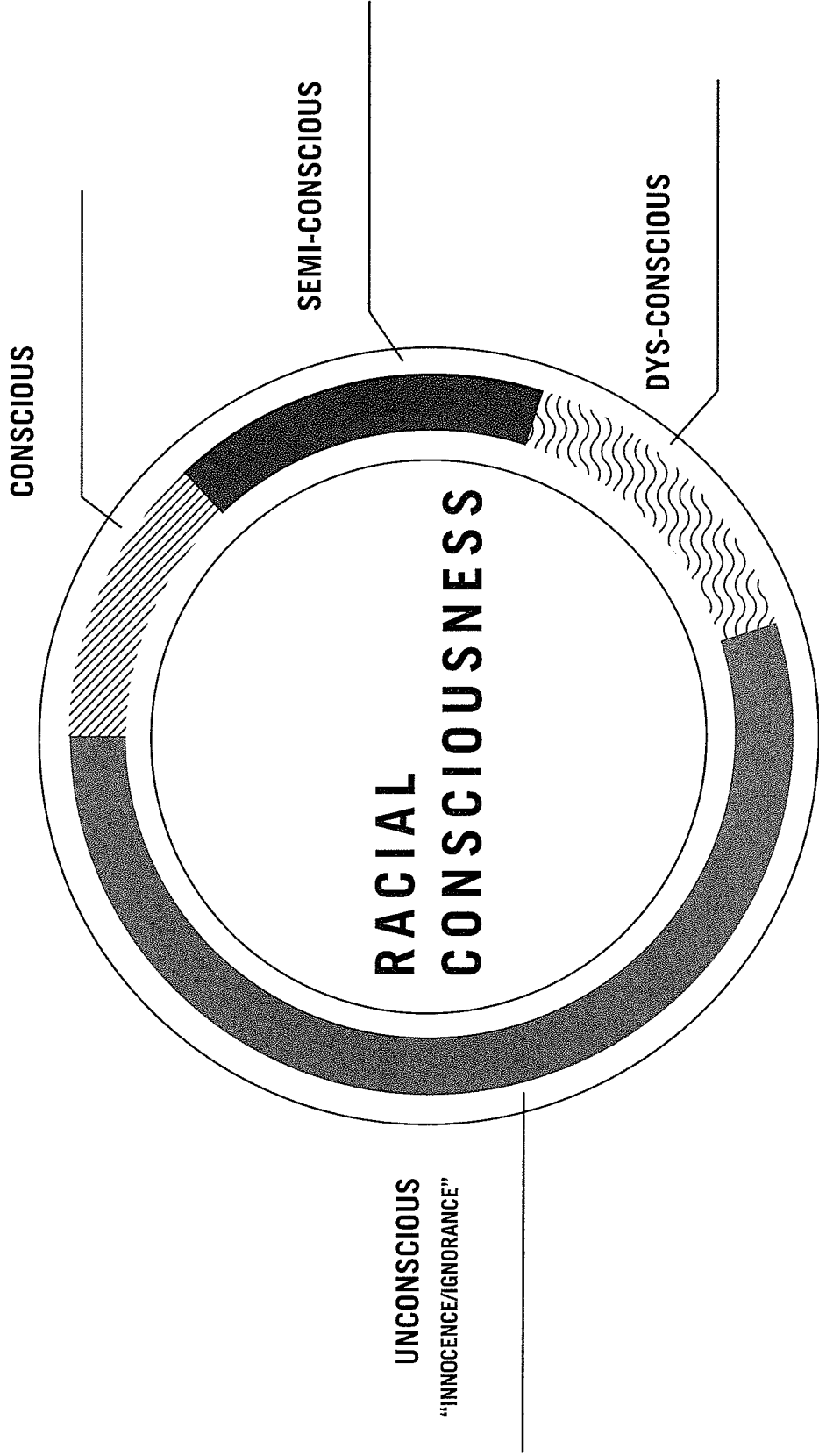
TO WHAT DEGREE AM I CONSCIOUS OF RACE IN MY LIFE?

EARLIEST

MORE RECENT



RACIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

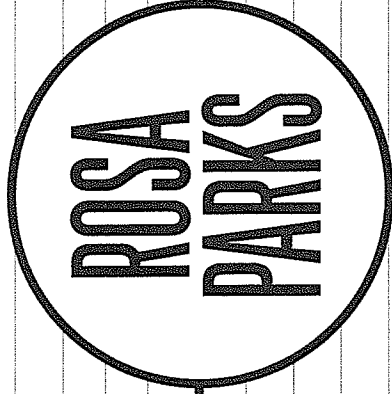


CONSCIOUS

I know I know

I know I don't know

I don't know, but I think I do



UNCONSCIOUS

I don't know, I don't know

LISTENING, INQUIRING AND RESPONDING

9 HEALTHY WAYS TO COMMUNICATE

1. Reflect back on what is being said. Use their words, not yours.
2. Begin where they are, not where you want them to be.
3. Be curious about and open to what they are trying to say.
4. Notice what they are saying and what they are not.
5. Emotionally, relate to how they are feeling. Nurture the relationship.
6. Notice how you are feeling. Be honest and authentic.
7. Take responsibility for your part in the conflict or misunderstanding.
8. Try to understand how their past affects who they are and how those experiences affect their relationship with you.
9. Stay with the process and the relationship, not just the solution.

THE ART OF MINDFUL INQUIRY

What I heard you say was...

Tell me more about what you meant by...

What angered you about what happened?

What hurt you about what happened?

What's familiar about what happened?

How did it affect you? How does it affect you now?

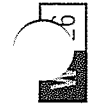
What do you need/want?

RACE MATTERS

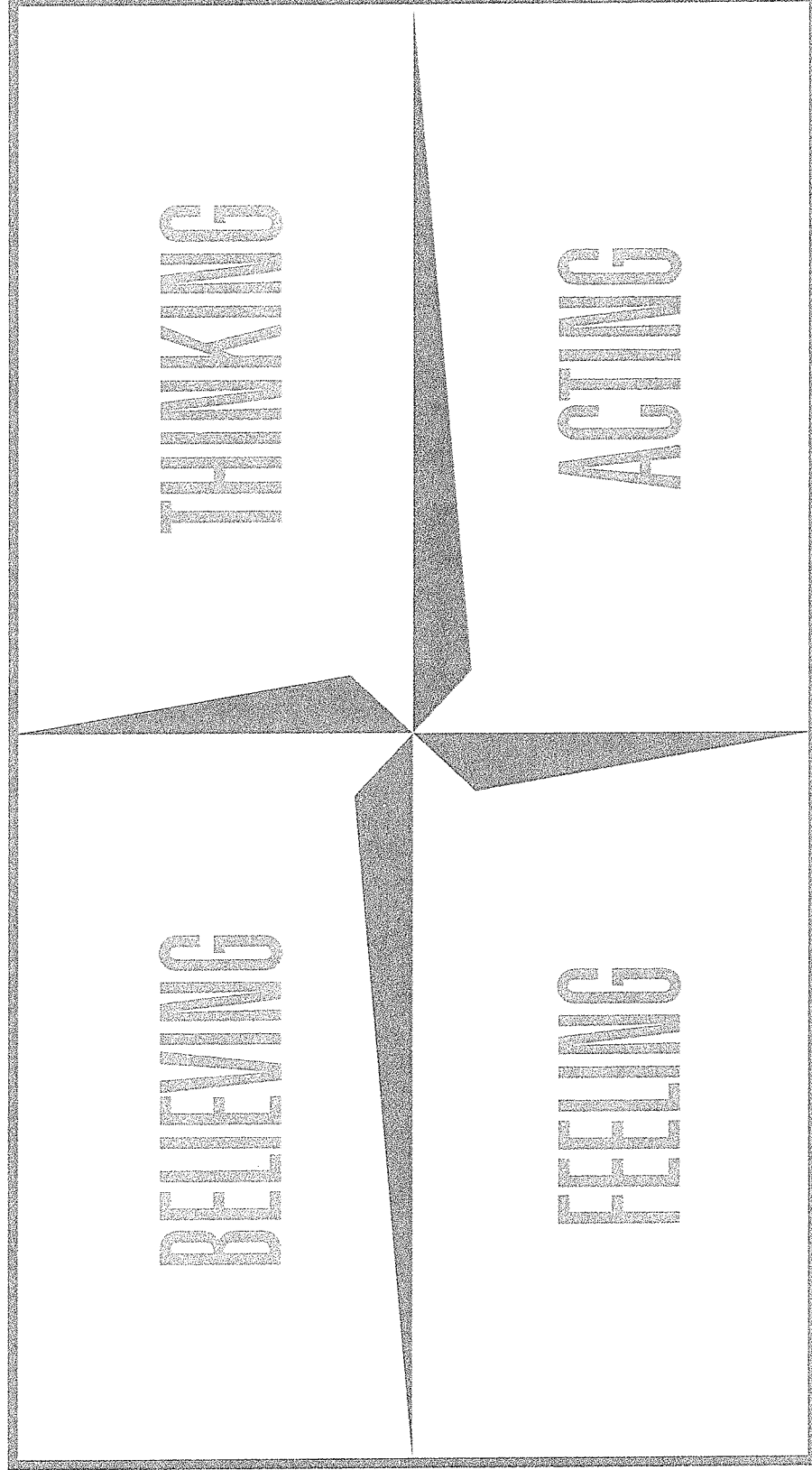


Eric Holder,
U.S. Attorney General
2008-2015

“
**A NATION
OF COWARDS.**”



COURAGEOUS CONVERSATION COMPASS



Notes:

CAN YOU DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN YOUR...

NATIONALITY

ETHNICITY

RACE

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF RACE?

COLOR

CULTURE

CONSCIOUSNESS

WHITE PRIVILEGE EXERCISE

BECAUSE OF MY RACE AND/OR COLOR...

1. I can be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
2. If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of hassle-free renting or purchasing in an area in which I would want to live.
3. I can be pretty sure that my neighbors in such a location will be neutral or pleasant to me.
4. I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.
5. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely and positively represented.
6. When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my race made it what it is.
7. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the contributions of their race.
8. I can go into most supermarkets and find the staple foods which fit with my racial/ethnic traditions; I can go into any hairdresser's shop and find someone who can cut my hair.
9. Whether I use checks, credit cards or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability.
10. I can arrange to protect my children most of the time from people who might mistreat them because of their race.
11. I can swear, or dress in secondhand clothes or not answer letters, without having people attribute these choices to the bad morals, the poverty or the illiteracy of my race.
12. I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race.
13. I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.

SOURCE: ADAPTED FROM *WHITE PRIVILEGE: UNPACKING THE INVISIBLE KNAPSACK* BY PEGGY MCINTOSH.

- 5 if the statement is often true for you.
 3 if the statement is sometimes true for you.
 0 if the statement is seldom true for you.

MY SCORE	MY PARTNER'S SCORE	FOR DAY TWO EXERCISE
1. _____	1. _____	1. _____
2. _____	2. _____	2. _____
3. _____	3. _____	3. _____
4. _____	4. _____	4. _____
5. _____	5. _____	5. _____
6. _____	6. _____	6. _____
7. _____	7. _____	7. _____
8. _____	8. _____	8. _____
9. _____	9. _____	9. _____
10. _____	10. _____	10. _____
11. _____	11. _____	11. _____
12. _____	12. _____	12. _____
13. _____	13. _____	13. _____
SUBTOTAL	SUBTOTAL	SUBTOTAL



WHITE PRIVILEGE EXERCISE

BECAUSE OF MY RACE AND/OR COLOR...

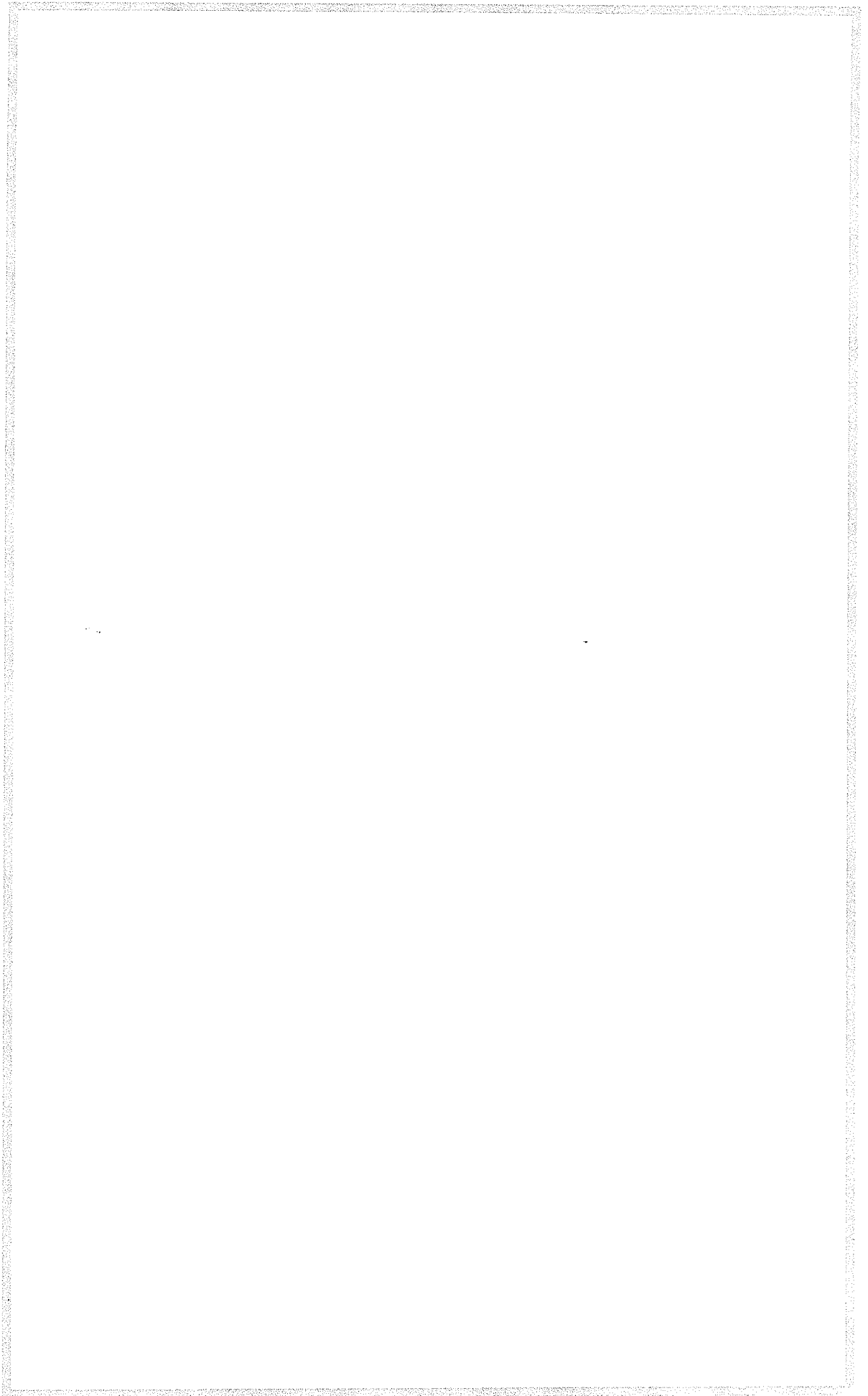
14. I can remain oblivious to the language and customs of persons of color without feeling, from people of my race, any penalty for such ignorance.
15. I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a racial outsider.
16. I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to "the person in charge," I will be facing a person of my race.
17. If a police officer pulls me over, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race.
18. I can conveniently buy posters, postcards, picture books, greeting cards and children's magazines featuring people of my race.
19. I can go home from most meetings of organizations I belong to feeling somewhat tied in, rather than isolated, out of place, outnumbered, unheard, feared or hated.
20. I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having co-workers on the job suspect that I got it because of race.
21. 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.
22. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.
23. If my day, week or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it has racial overtones.
24. I can comfortably avoid, ignore or minimize the impact of racism on my life.
25. I can speak in public to a powerful group without putting my race on trial.
26. I can choose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" color and have them more or less match my skin.

SOURCE: ADAPTED FROM *WHITE PRIVILEGE: UNPACKING THE INVISIBLE KNAPSACK* BY PEGGY MCINTOSH.

- 5 if the statement is often true for you.
- 3 if the statement is sometimes true for you.
- 0 if the statement is seldom true for you.

MY SCORE	MY PARTNER'S SCORE	FOR DAY TWO EXERCISE
14. _____	14. _____	14. _____
15. _____	15. _____	15. _____
16. _____	16. _____	16. _____
17. _____	17. _____	17. _____
18. _____	18. _____	18. _____
19. _____	19. _____	19. _____
20. _____	20. _____	20. _____
21. _____	21. _____	21. _____
22. _____	22. _____	22. _____
23. _____	23. _____	23. _____
24. _____	24. _____	24. _____
25. _____	25. _____	25. _____
26. _____	26. _____	26. _____
TOTAL _____	TOTAL _____	TOTAL _____

YOUR SCORE



HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENTS

REQUIRED

- Use, reflect on and discuss the “White Privilege” instrument with at least one other person who is racially different than you, p. 30–31. Complete the exercise worksheet on page 34.
- Read “White Is a Color” by Glenn Singleton, pages 36–37.
- Begin constructing your racial autobiography by identifying and reflecting on the earliest and the more recent experiences in which race mattered. Note your reflections on page 35.

SUGGESTED

- Read “Entitlement” by Randall B. Lindsey, pages 38–42.

HOMework ASSIGNMENTS

**MY
WHITE
PRIVILEGE
TOTAL**

**MY
PARTNER'S
WHITE
PRIVILEGE
TOTAL**

REFLECTIONS ON TOTALS

THE RACIAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY

What can you recall about the earliest and more recent events and conversations about race, race relations and/or racism that may have impacted your current perspectives and/or experiences?

EARLIEST

MORE RECENT

WHITE IS A COLOR!

BY GLENN E. SINGLETON
PACIFIC EDUCATIONAL GROUP, INC., SAN FRANCISCO, CA. ©1997

Developing and facilitating "Beyond Diversity"—a two-day seminar on deinstitutionalizing racism—has served as a powerful way for me, personally, to get in touch with the pervasiveness of racism in the United States. In fact, I am convinced that racism, more so than any other technical, social or pedagogical condition, prevents us from actualizing our professional and moral obligation to develop and liberate the innate imagination and intelligence of every American.

As I interact with seminar participants throughout the country, thought-provoking questions about racism abound. One that continuously emerges is, isn't White a color? "Isn't White a color too?" an angered high school teacher shouted out in response to my reference to some participants as people of color and to others as White people. "I feel I am a person of color," she said. Initially, my reaction was to calm this woman's rage by simply agreeing with her premise that White indeed is a color. Later, I suggested how the descriptor "people of color" carries with it seemingly inescapable persecution, terror and a circumstance of perpetual struggle that was foreign to most people with white skin. I felt that neither of us was content with my immediate response.

After a decade marked by the passage of race-based legislation in California such as propositions 187, 209 and 227, I must say I have devoted significant attention to this woman's conjecture about "Whiteness." What began as a dispassionate, intellectual probe into her question, aren't White people also people of color? has led me to the highly emotional and enlightening investigation into what it means for one to be White. A simple resolution is that White truly is a color. The more detailed discovery is...oh, boy...what a color White is. Perhaps "Whiteism"—not recognizing White as a dominating color nor the unearned power and privileges associated with having white skin; having a sense of (White) entitlement and lacking awareness of the experiences and perspectives of non-white-skinned people—is a condition that more White people must

begin to recognize, understand and acknowledge for the sake of us all!

I highlight a recent business trip to New Orleans because I believe it illuminates the presence and reality of Whiteness. My adventure began Saturday morning at San Francisco Airport where I decided to upgrade to first class on a rather large plane. Twenty-three of the 24 seats in first class were occupied by White people... perhaps a new definition of "White flight"! Quickly into the trip, one of the six White flight attendants circulated through the cabin to receive our meal requests. When the attendant arrived at my row, I was offered both options. My choice of an omelet limited the selection of the White gentleman seated beside me to the fruit plate. He became instantly irate. He reprimanded the flight attendant for servicing him last and threatened to stop flying United.

Although I have witnessed similar situations before, I was far more attuned to the racial dynamic of this particular episode. I believe the gentleman assumed his flying status was higher than mine was, which, incidentally, was not the case. His assumption, however based, suggested his belief that I, rather than he, should be served last. To pacify his soon-to-be "pain" of reverse discrimination or political correctness—two White-created phenomena—I offered him my omelet. Without hesitation, he accepted my meal without offering me as little as a "thank you." At the end of the flight, I politely asked the entitled one "If he should not be served last, who should?" Many White people will individualize this man's indecencies and suggest that "he being a jerk, has nothing to do with his being White." Conversely, I insist that his behavior is "typically White." In fact, to individualize the countless episodes like this that people of color document is what enables White people to not notice that someone is always last, excluded or ignored and perhaps those least accustomed to being "passed over" sometimes should be last as well in our multi-racial "democracy."

My flight connected through Denver International Airport where I quickly spotted the 12 non-White people, all of whom were wearing airport or airline service uniforms, amidst thousands of White people. I wonder if the White passengers felt the racial security with which they traveled. My White travel companion certainly did not notice his White dominance but took no time to gently accuse me of being "racist" when he noticed that I greeted only the African American workers. As the thought of greeting all 7,000 White people on the concourse amused me, with the gate agent as the one last non-White person to acknowledge as we boarded the connecting flight, I said to her, "Hang in there!" Once again, the first-class cabin was entirely White as were the cabin and cockpit crews. My colleague remained "politely angry" with me for the remainder of the trip.

Although New Orleans boasts of a large middle class Black population—some are African, others Caribbean or Creole—the hotel front desk staffs, the waiters, the heads of schools, patrons of the arts, diners and obvious tourists were consistently White. Conversely, the housekeepers, school custodial workers, bus drivers and homeless were Black. As my personal stress level climbed to new heights, the downtown health club offered no respite, as only two guests in the entire facility were Black. I finished my workout in record time, in order to avoid the evening rush hour during which White men and women in suits hurried by older Black folk in fast food uniforms to board the "Streetcar Named Desire" headed for the wealthy Garden District, which has remained a White neighborhood.

There is very little interaction between White and Black people in New Orleans. A Black parent of a sixth-grade student assured me that folks know their place in New Orleans and "We all just stick with our own." A disproportionately high number of White educators in New Orleans reason away racial segregation in conversations focusing on the economics and social class challenges. They want me to believe that Black



WHITE IS A COLOR!

BY GLENN E. SINGLETON
PACIFIC EDUCATIONAL GROUP, INC., SAN FRANCISCO, CA. ©1997

people do not exist in New Orleans' middle and upper classes. I wonder where they believe their fellow Black teachers as well as the numerous Black politicians and TV personalities expend leisure energy, or have they not considered this possibility? Still, I boldly patronized restaurants, clubs and retail stores that were predominantly White. I am accustomed to being the only Black airline passenger, meeting attendee or audience member, but New Orleans offered me a reality that I often chose to ignore here in San Francisco. I truly felt invisible, left out and unwelcome in the "Big Easy." New Orleans also invited me to reconsider whether Bay Area finer restaurants, hotels, shopping centers and schools are much different?

Given the stress of such a trip, one might wonder why I have accepted this work assignment in New Orleans for the past five years. Why would I continuously travel into the "eye of the storm" ...go to a place where "Whiteism" is so pronounced? My response is simple. I love the architecture, I love jazz and I particularly love the cuisine...a unique combination and context that I find nowhere else in the United States. I imagine being White, though, would have afforded me the privilege of thoroughly enjoying these wonders of New Orleans.

On my flight back, I declined the upgrade and found myself seated by a White family traveling home to Denver. The youngest of three sons, Steven, sat next to me as I attempted to write this article; his attention to me from take-off to landing was undivided. Initially, he stared at me, giving the first clue that Steven had never experienced a Black person up close. Unlike the 200 White passengers onboard, I felt the obligation to make this boy's first Black experience a positive one. I wanted to get focused on my work, perhaps take a nap, but my Black skin once again bound me to duty. Before I could help Steven adjust his safety belt, with childish discretion, he cleverly brushed against my arm to discover how Black people feel. This "skin and hair" maneuver continues to happen to me in circles

PROMPTS FOR REFLECTION

What essential questions, comments or concerns arise for you as you reflect on "White Is a Color"?

How does Singleton describe and/or define "Whiteness"?

How closely does his description/definition align with your own personal concept of what it means to be White?

What, if any, connections can you make between Singleton's journey into Whiteness and your own everyday experiences as well as the experiences of people of color in your organization?

of White adults. However, Steven's curiosity about my skin and hair seemed appropriate given his age and apparent lack of opportunities to experience non-White people. Although his parents were visibly embarrassed by Steven's curiosity and gestures, I doubt that they recognized this child's need and desire to experience a more diverse life than the current one which apparently keeps them comfortable.

So back to my angry teacher's question: I suspect that White people are the last to recognize that White is a color. This realization undeniably shatters the White belief that theirs is a universal human experience; one which is color-blind, socially prudent and economically just. "Whiteism" is as defining for White people as are injustice, struggle and inequality for non-White people of color!

When I returned home to San Francisco on Tuesday, I was greeted by a phone call from my best White friend, Eric. "How was your trip?" he asked. As I instantly reflected on my racism-filled adventure, and then thought about how foreign my racial reality is, still, to even my closest White friends, I sighed and uttered, "It was great!" Why did I lie to Eric? Because in my experience, Eric and other White people tend to redefine these patterns of White behavior as an individual's personal foible or character flaw. Clearly, White people more often do not consider themselves to be part of a White collective experience or group. Frankly, I am simply too exhausted, sometimes, to shatter another White person's belief that his is a universal human experience. But, because I realize that as long as "Whiteism" is a defining reality for White people, injustice, struggle and inequality will continue to erode the spirit of non-White people of color! The very next day, I mustered up the energy and humility to tell Eric my personal truth about New Orleans...and San Francisco too, for that matter. ■

ENTITLEMENT

BY RANDALL B. LINDSEY

Cultural Competence Theory is constructed to identify barriers that exist in society. Identifying barriers to the implementation of new ideas, programs, procedures or techniques has long been recognized as an important step in creating change in organizations (Owens, 1995; Fullan, 1993; Giroux, 1992; Freire, 1987). Barriers to cultural competence include the presumption of entitlement and unawareness of the need to adapt. In this country, issues that concern people of color and women are too often viewed as their problems within society. For Cultural Competence Theory to be applied to an organization, these barriers must be thoroughly understood. To contribute to an understanding of these barriers, this article describes white male entitlement, which is the converse of the institutionalized forms of oppressions—racism, sexism, ethnocentrism and heterosexism—that penalize people within organizations for their membership in non-dominant cultural groups.

Entitlement is the accrual of benefits solely by virtue of membership in a dominant group. Just as some people are penalized because of their membership in a particular cultural group, other people benefit because they are members of a privileged group within the dominant culture. If examined on a continuum, entitlement is the end at which some people have great power and control because of their group membership, and the other end represents institutionalized oppression in which people, because of their group membership, have relatively little institutional power or control.

It is important to understand that entitlement and oppression affect people based on their cultural group membership. Therefore, anyone seeking to shift the balance of power must understand their role in ending oppression. For entitled people, it is a moral choice that happens only through personal responsibility and personal initiative. For oppressed people, it is a recognition of oppression and a commitment to self-determination.

Issues of oppression are divisive because most members of dominant American society do not view themselves as more powerful or privileged than others in the same society, and therefore do not see themselves as stakeholders in these issues of power. More often than not, issues of oppression and entitlement are viewed by the entitled as issues belonging to the oppressed. This article describes the role of dominant group members, particularly the most entitled group members in our society, in challenging the institutionalized forms of oppression and creating culturally competent schools where all members of the school's community have access to power and self-determination. For the purpose of this article, heterosexual white males are considered the most entitled group in contemporary American society.

There is no doubt that socioeconomic status is a major factor in determining who does and who does not wield power in this country. However, the effect of socioeconomic status on poor white people, particularly for purposes of this discussion, too often blinds them to the oppression experienced by other people based on their skin color or culture. The result is antagonism toward people of color that is akin to the caste systems in other countries.

The traditional approach to examining diversity is to study the powerlessness of people of color, women, and other oppressed groups. But that is just one end of the entitlement continuum. The other end of the continuum studies the power of the entitled ones, especially the power of the white males. To understand entitlement, we must understand how those in this society vested with power are often oblivious to it or reluctant to acknowledge the dynamics of race, gender and class in the expression of power.

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The development of the United States as a nation, interwoven as it was with English law and tradition,

assumed the existence of political, social and economic rights for white men. The landmark court cases, the traditions of government, the social trends of immigrant groups and the expansion of capitalism have had as a common denominator the expansion of the rights and influence of white men. Even Jacksonian Democracy, which in the 1830s expanded voting rights to non-landowners, expanded participation in entitled society almost exclusively to white men. In contrast, the rights of African Americans and women had to be ensured through legal processes. The passage of the Thirteenth (1865), Fourteenth (1868), Fifteenth (1870) and Nineteenth (1920) Amendments of the Constitution, and the enactment of court mandates such as *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* (1954), serve as evidence that legal rights for the oppressed and disenfranchised people come only after strenuous efforts. Moreover, the guarantee of these hard-fought liberties is a continuing struggle.

Versions of history too often taught in schools rarely point to the exclusivity of American government, business and educational enterprises. Oppressed and disenfranchised Americans appear in history books as single chapters, cursory comments or footnotes. In many textbooks, they do not appear at all. One impact of this legacy of omission is an assumption of entitlement on the part of members of dominant American society, particularly white men.

When history is taught by culturally competent teachers, our society will be much more conscious of the entitlement of some groups, and much more proactive in ending oppression. Without an accurate historical perspective, people will continue to be intensely defensive and protective when assessing the social issues of the day. People of color confront racism daily and are often exasperated by white people whose response to their frustrations range from hostility to indifference. Likewise, white Americans who do not feel personally responsible for racism, and men who do not

ENTITLEMENT

BY RANDALL B. LINDSEY

understand their role in perpetuating institutionalized sexism, are frustrated by apparently unsympathetic women and people of color. Consequently, discussions of disenfranchisement and oppression, as well as entitlement, often lead to miscommunication and resentment. One side speaks from painful personal experience, while the other side perceives only anger and personal attack.

In recent times there have been few reactions to the frustrating constraints of institutionalized racism and ethnocentrism that rival the urban unrest of the 1960s and 1970s and the Los Angeles revolt of 1992. Though urban violence has historical roots in the eighteenth century, most Americans see urban race riots as an artifact of the modern civil rights movement. The race riots of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are rarely recorded in modern US history textbooks (Franklin and Moss, 1988). However, the violence spawned by modern uprisings is characterized by the fact that the upheavals were well recorded by the media. Whether the riots were in Liberty City, Miami or Los Angeles, a consistent theme emerges. People

ultimately react violently to being denied basic human rights. The response to these vocal or violent reactions to disenfranchisement and oppression have been laws and judicial decisions that extend rights to specific populations. The civil rights acts from 1865 to 1964, which continuously expanded the guarantees of citizenship to citizens who were not white male landowners; the US Supreme Court decision of 1967, which struck down anti-miscegenation laws in sixteen states; and the Nineteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution which guarantees women the right to vote are all a part of the rich body of law that speaks to the inalienable rights of people. The fact of entitlement is underscored by the need to legislate rights for all groups except for property-owning white men.

THE LANGUAGE OF ENTITLEMENT

To fully understand the power-filled end of the entitlement continuum, it is necessary to be aware of how language objectifies people and thereby dehumanizes them. Language reflects the realities of power in this society. Since the mid-1950s, educators

have bombarded students, education literature and the professional educational field with terms that attempt to explain the disparities between oppressed and entitled groups. Table One presents some of the more common terms.

The terms in the first column, second and fourth rows, describe groups that occupy the oppressed and disenfranchised end of the entitlement continuum. The ideas represented by these terms are used to explain why students from these groups fail to perform at specified levels. The use of these terms gives educators the latitude to view a student, and that student's cultural group, as the source of the student's problem. At the same time it constrains their perspectives so they disregard the group's environmental context, i.e., the institutionalized oppression to which members of that group are routinely subjected. The unquestioned use of these terms suggests that people of color, who are disproportionately represented on the oppressed and disenfranchised end of the continuum, suffer from a pathological condition. This polarity of language and perception is reflected in the daily workings of schools.

TABLE 1: WORDS USED TO DESCRIBE OPPRESSED/DISENFRANCHISED AND ENTITLED GROUPS

ENTITLED	ADVANTAGED	CULTURALLY ADVANTAGED	EDUCATIONALLY ADVANTAGED	ALIKE	SUPERIOR	CULTURALLY SUPERIOR
OPPRESSED/DISENFRANCHISED	DISADVANTAGED	CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED	EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED	DIFFERENT	DEFICIENT	CULTURALLY DEPRIVED
FIRST WORLD	MAJORITY	UPPER CLASS	UNIFORM	MIDDLE CLASS	LEADERS	
THIRD WORLD	MINORITY	UNDERCLASS	DIVERSE	POOR	LABORERS	

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The effect of using terms of oppression is that in analyzing the problems of individual students, the focus is on what is wrong with those students, implying that they must be studied and then fixed. The terms in the first and third rows describe the students who are part of the dominant culture of our country. The school leader who aspires to be culturally competent looks at the words in the first and third rows and examines the implications of those terms being used or inferred when interacting with students who represent the dominant group in our society. That the words are rarely spoken underscores the fact that entitled people do not objectify or name themselves. They only name others, people they perceive to be different from themselves. The use of the terms "disadvantaged" and "deprived," in their many permutations, implies that there is a norm by which people are compared. That norm is based on white middle-class American values and behaviors, and, more specifically, on the values and behaviors of white middle-class males. (The intent in this discussion is to illustrate that when people are denied access to a societally valued economic norm, and then are judged as being deficient for not measuring up to that standard, one has a good illustration of oppression.) By extension, these same people who are denied access to the middle class too often experience having their entire cultural group devalued in the process. These economic and cultural determinisms are rarely seen or experienced by the entitled people in our society.

School programs that refer to students and their families with the terms in the second and fourth rows oppress them first with their language and again with the judgments and perceptions that the language implies. Cummins (1988) and Sleeter (1991) contend that "Empowering education programs work with students and their home communities to build on what they bring; disabling programs ignore and attempt to eradicate knowledge and the strengths students bring, and replace them with those of the dominant society (5)." Historically, the dominant white male society has

used terminology to keep the focus of social attention on those groups with less power. Kovel (1984) used the term "thingification" to describe how members of dominant American society use linguistic terms and their underlying psychological projections to create distance between themselves and others. Terms like "them" and "you people" manipulate one's self-perception of others, and reinforce a sense of otherness. Similarly, the continued use of "man" and "he" as inclusive terms for women and men thingifies women and places them in the category of other, i.e., not men. That is why people who belong to the groups referred to by these terms react hostilely to the use of these expressions.

Delpit (1988) describes the process of "thingification" during job interviews. When a white job applicant exhibits problems, he or she is judged to be an individual who has those problems. When a person of color exhibits the same problems in an interview, the problems are assigned to members of their entire cultural group as a characteristic of that group.

Thingification is an extension of the institutionalized oppression which most of society never experienced. It is a part of "a matrix of culturally derived meanings" (Kovel, 6-7). Thingification allows the larger and empowered segment of society to express that minority groups are never quite as good as the dominant society (Kovel, 14). It gives the dominant group the power to establish, define and differentiate outsiders as others.

Entitlement breeds thingification; it initiates the process of one group using language and economics to make other groups invisible. The effects of being viewed as unable to learn, of representing an entire group of people during an interview, of having value only as a cog in the economic system, make individuals invisible. The rage of thingification and invisibility on the part of members of non-dominant groups is created by the dominant group perpetually viewing them negatively, then not acknowledging that reality (Wright 1940,

Ellison 1952, Gilligan 1983, Kovel 1984, Giroux 1992). Thingification is something the vast majority of white people, particularly white men, never experience. Yet when confronted with this information, white men often respond by denying their individual participation in the process, and by identifying themselves, not as white men, but simply as people, something which only members of the dominant group are entitled to do.

Protestations to deny whiteness eliminate neither the fact nor the problem of white privilege. American culture is color-conscious. We sort people by color, to the advantage of some and detriment of others. To dissociate oneself from whiteness by affirming humanness ignores what whiteness has done and how we continue to benefit from it. (Terry 1970, 18-19) While white people do have pressures to perform, succeed and survive, such pressures occur for heterosexual white men in a context absent of the additional and insupportable pressures of institutionalized oppression. An understanding of these pressures by all educators, particularly those in the most powerful groups in American society, is the foundation for creating a school system that addresses the needs of children as members of groups capable of learning, rather than members of groups with deficiencies which limit their full participation in school or society.

POWER

Legislative and judicial remedies to the imbalance of power in this country have always been sought by the disenfranchised, but power has been accorded to white male landowners from the very beginnings of American history. Jacksonian Democracy, which broadened the participation of American citizens in the political and economic spheres of this country, was limited almost exclusively to white men. Power, as manifested in the form of privilege, or entitlement, is part of the history, tradition and economic status of white men in this country.



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The power that accrues to the entitled in our society is so pervasive it is not seen by many who have it. This makes the goal of cultural competence all the more difficult to achieve. In much the same way that people do not appreciate their liberties until they are threatened, most entitled white men do not appreciate the power of their entitlement because they have never experienced the absence of power. Moreover, the milieu of entitlement insulates them from hearing the cries of those who live in fear of sexual assaults, battery, racist acts and other discriminations, or who protest against the systematic denial of their access to societal power.

Given that most educational policymakers and decision makers are white males, this absence of information and insight becomes especially crucial to the culturally competent leader. Many entitled members of society believe that all people in this country have the opportunity to succeed, but that they instead choose to pick the scabs of old wounds so that they do not have to put forth effort in new endeavors. Entitlement creates either unawareness or denial of the reality that all American citizens do not have a common base of inalienable rights. These beliefs and denials are supported by curricula that are silent on the pluralistic nature of our country's history and development.

Such illustrations of entitlement show that the authors of history textbooks have routinely excluded some cultural groups from their writing, and, even more insidiously, excluded major events from their writing. Excluding crucial information from students' textbooks romanticizes American history and makes it more confusing for young people to understand many contemporary social conflicts. Too often, young people who are not directly affected by oppression fail to have understanding when members of other cultural groups speak out about their experiences. This lack of understanding is frequently translated as: If I didn't experience the oppression, or witness it, then you must be overreacting.

The creating of an effectively functioning society, and by extension an effectively functioning school system which is truly culturally competent, must include an examination of entitlement that addresses such disparities in the education of our educators and the resulting perpetuation of the lack of awareness and the denial of power. Culturally competent members of entitled groups can choose to embrace the more neutral consequence of "power" or the decidedly negative consequence of "dominance" that is currently in place in most schools.

"What is at stake for white America today is not what [oppressed] people want and do but what white people stand for and do" (Terry 1970, 15). Once all Americans understand and accept that some people receive entitlements based on gender and race, that other people have impediments placed before them for the same reasons and that all Americans have responsibility to recognize that everyone is an integral part of both the problem and the solution, then true progress toward cultural competence can begin.

OPPRESSION

This section is a discussion of how social class intersects with oppression and serves to compound this already complex issue. However, the additional complexity should only serve to stiffen our resolve to best serve the needs of our nation's students. Racism is the belief that one ethnic group is superior to all others. The power to create an environment where that belief is manifested in social institutions and by the subtle or direct subjugation of subordinate ethnic groups is also racism. In the United States, racism and ethnocentrism are made even more complex by the pervasive presence of a caste system. Our society is stratified by economic classes that publicly proclaimed American values tell us are flexible and subject to change by hard work and determination. The classes are stratified by the ethnic groups within them. Ethnicity, particularly when manifested in physical

appearance and language difference from the dominant white caste, determines caste placement in American society. It limits movement from one class to another, and it subordinates the status of an upper-class member of society who is a member of a lower caste.

Racism, ethnocentrism, sexism and heterosexism are terms that carry tremendous impact. They suggest heavy indictments and responsibilities. However, more often than not they are misused. It is important, as we continue this examination of entitlement, to maintain our grasp of definitions. Failure to do so leads to the kind of ambiguity represented here: After all, the bigot is the man who applies the blow that society prepares for the racially oppressed. Emboldened by his belief, it is the bigot who burns a cross or plants a bomb in a Negro church; who strikes, jeers, excludes or merely offers the cutting slight that, when multiplied by the similar acts of his millions of cohorts, brings prejudice into direct expression (Kovel 1984). The ambiguity becomes more profound when people consider this definition of bigotry, examine their own behavior and understandably conclude that since they do not participate in any of these kinds of actions, they have no responsibility for involvement in the oppressions. When people do not know the definition of racism, or any of the oppressions, it becomes easy for them to overlook how each of us fits into these social dynamics. Howard (1993) summarized it well: "In fact, the possibility of remaining ignorant of other cultures is a luxury uniquely available to members of any dominant group" (38). Consider as well that the ignorance of other cultures includes an ignorance of the disenfranchisement and oppression they experience.

Cultural competence begins with the awareness of the dynamics of entitlement on the part of white people. Although particularly important for white males, this process is of value for all educators because they are all products of the same educational system. This is the system that prepares them to transmit the values and cultural norms of the dominant sectors of society

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to public school children. The preparation is couched in terms like “responsible citizenship” and “family life,” but in reality, educators are preparing students to sustain the status quo in American democratic society. To overtly teach students to challenge societal norms, to accept lifestyles and values that are considered deviant by Middle America, and to advocate for social change is to invite accusations of treason and anarchy. That is not what public schools are designed to do or what public school educators are expected to teach.

The culturally competent school leader understands this process and is aware of the subtle ways that entitlement and oppression are fostered. He or she understands that even educators who are not white males have, at least on an unconscious level, furthered the programs and practices that enhance opportunity for some while denying access to opportunity for others. He or she encourages fellow educators to recognize that a student’s native culture and values are important for the student’s survival in his or her family and community. The culturally competent school leader encourages teachers to complement the native values with an understanding of the values of dominant American society. At the same time, the leader works with colleagues to challenge some of the assumptions generated by dominant American values, and to make public the dynamics of entitlement.

IT IS A CHOICE

Why don’t discussions of diversity include white people and men? Entitlement. People who are white, and more particularly, people who are white males, choose whether or not to participate actively in issues of equity and cultural competence. They may be angry, guilty or indifferent to these topics. They may decry their forefathers’ actions; they may protest that they never owned slaves; they may become depressed at learning some of the history that was never taught when they were students. Or they may shrug it off and quietly declare that it is not their problem. The reality is that once an entitled person reacts, he still has the choice to address or not address his own role and the role of society in issues of power and acts that perpetuate oppression. This is not to suggest that any particular reaction or course of action should be taken, but only to acknowledge that the dynamics of entitlement do not accord people of color or women this same choice. These issues are a part of their daily existence, just as power is a daily reality for white men.

Culturally competent school leaders must value the diversity present in their school setting and then take steps to evaluate the culture of their school and its educators by clarifying values, assumptions, and cultural expectations. They must learn about the cultures of

the students and their families and assess the dynamic nature of the differences in values and expectations. They then work with their colleagues to educate everyone in the school environment and adapt the school program so that it addresses the needs of all students, not just the entitled ones.

Entitlement is an ethical and moral issue that festers at the core of this country. It is an issue tied to the freedom which we have gained as a nation. That freedom is now being sought by a diverse population in the political, social and economic corners of the country. In recent years, professional and popular literature has promulgated the notion that the economic survival of this country may rest on our ability to use the talents of an increasingly diverse workforce. While there is no doubt that this is an accurate, though cynical, projection, it must be only one brick in the construction of a secure nation. To that end we must examine the total spectrum of entitlement. The most powerful sector of the entitlement continuum must be the focus of attention. That is, the 70 percent of this country’s population which is white and the nearly half which is male. The culturally competent leader must acknowledge and articulate advantages that accrue to people based on their skin color, their gender and their socioeconomic class. ■



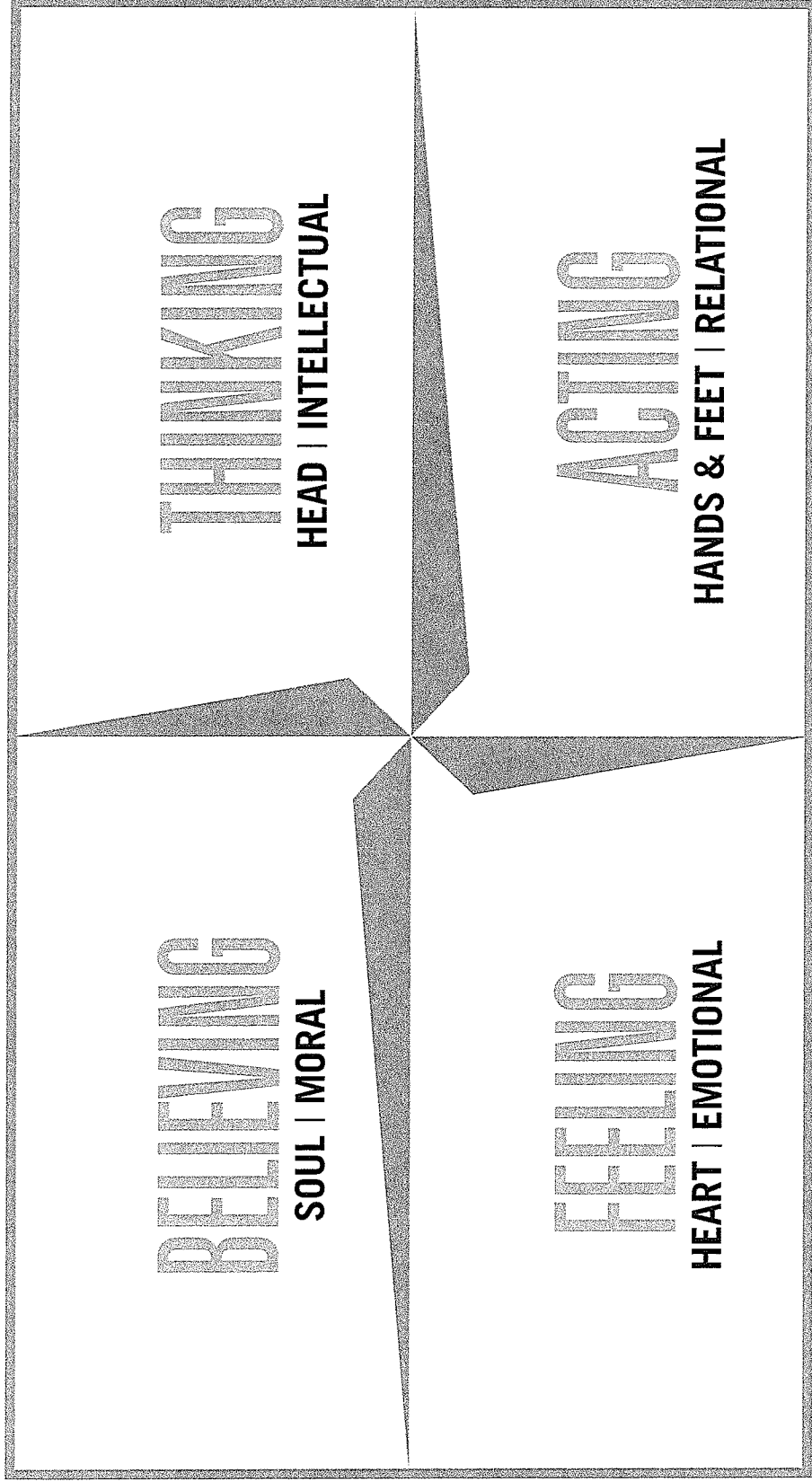
DAY TWO

Condition Six

EXAMINING WHITENESS

- The Compass: Getting Centered
- Courageous Conversations about Race: Three Tiers
- What's on Your Mind?
- White Is a Color, a Culture, a Consciousness
- Racial Affinity Groups
- Characteristics of White Culture
- Decentering Whiteness
- Unconscious/Implicit Bias
- A View of Systemic Racism
- Reverse (White) Racism & Affirmative Action
- My Personal Action Plan
- Appendix
- Selected References

COURAGEOUS CONVERSATION COMPASS



Notes:

COURAGEOUS CONVERSATION THREE “TIERS”

- 1. ENGAGE** through your own personal racial experiences, beliefs and perspectives while demonstrating respectful understanding of specific historical as well as contemporary, local and immediate racial contexts.
- 2. SUSTAIN** yourself and others in the conversation through mindful inquiry into those multiple perspectives, beliefs and experiences that are different than your own.
- 3. DEEPEN** your understanding of whiteness and interrogate your beliefs about your own association with and relationship to racial privilege and power.

FICTITIOUS 3'S

**GO BACK TO THE WHITE PRIVILEGE EXERCISE
(PAGES 30-31) AND FILL IN EITHER A
ZERO OR A FIVE IF APPROPRIATE.**

WHAT IS WHITENESS?

COLOR

Primary, Presence, Positioning
“**White Privilege**”
Stages of Avoidance: Ignorance to Competing Victimization

CULTURE

Being, Feeling and Acting White
“**White Racial Bonding**”
Avoidance | Individualism | Universality | De-Contextualization

CONSCIOUSNESS

Thinking and Reasoning White
“**White Racial Identity Development**”
Color-Blindness | Guilt/Shame | Anger | Helplessness | Anti-Racist



WHAT DO I BELIEVE TO BE SOME DEFINING ASPECTS OF WHITE CULTURE?

1

2

3

4

5

6

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE WHITE?

SEGREGATION

Most whites live, grow, play, learn, love, work and die primarily in racial segregation. Yet, our society does not teach us to see this as a loss.

INDIVIDUALISM

Whites are taught to see themselves as individuals, rather than as part of a racial group. It follows that whites are racially objective and thus can represent the universal human experience, while people of color can only represent their race.

FOCUS ON INTENTIONS OVER IMPACT

We are taught that racism must be intentional and that only bad people commit it. Thus a common white reasoning in crossracial conflicts is that as long as we are good people and don't intend to perpetuate racism, then our actions don't count as racism.

WHITE FRAGILITY

In a white-dominant society, challenges to a white worldview are uncommon. The racial status quo is comfortable for us. We haven't had to develop the skills, perspectives or humility that would help us engage constructively. As a result, we have very little tolerance for racial discomfort and respond poorly.



WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE WHITE?

UNPACKING
In what way(s) am I white?

BALANCING
In what way(s) do I challenge my whiteness?

<p>SEGREGATION</p>		
<p>ISOLATIONISM</p>		
<p>FOCUS ON INTENTIONS OVER IMPACT</p>		
<p>WHITE FEMINISM</p>		

RACIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE PRIVILEGE OF WHITENESS: STAGES OF AVOIDANCE

IGNORANCE

- Unconsciousness (I don't know, I don't know): "It never occurred to me..." or Dys-Consciousness (I don't know, but I think I do): "I have a black friend..."
- "We're all just human!"

DENIAL

- "It's all over now...": Racism is over or we've made so much progress. "We've already had that discussion."
- Blame: Racism only exists because people of color focus on it. "You bring all of this on yourself."

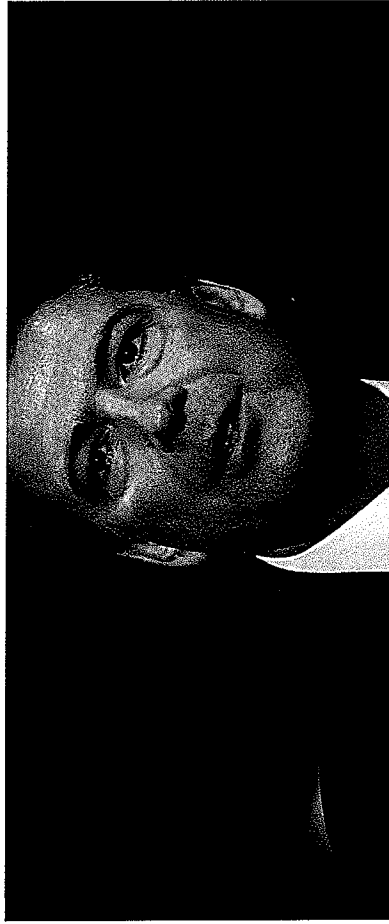
REDEFINITION

- Minimization: "Racism is a problem, but we really need to deal with poverty." "This isn't a race issue. It's about personal responsibility."
- "It's only a few people..." Incidental racism vs. institutional racism.
- Unintentionally... "I did not mean to offend."

COUNTERATTACK/COMPETING VICTIMIZATIONS

- "I'm oppressed too!"

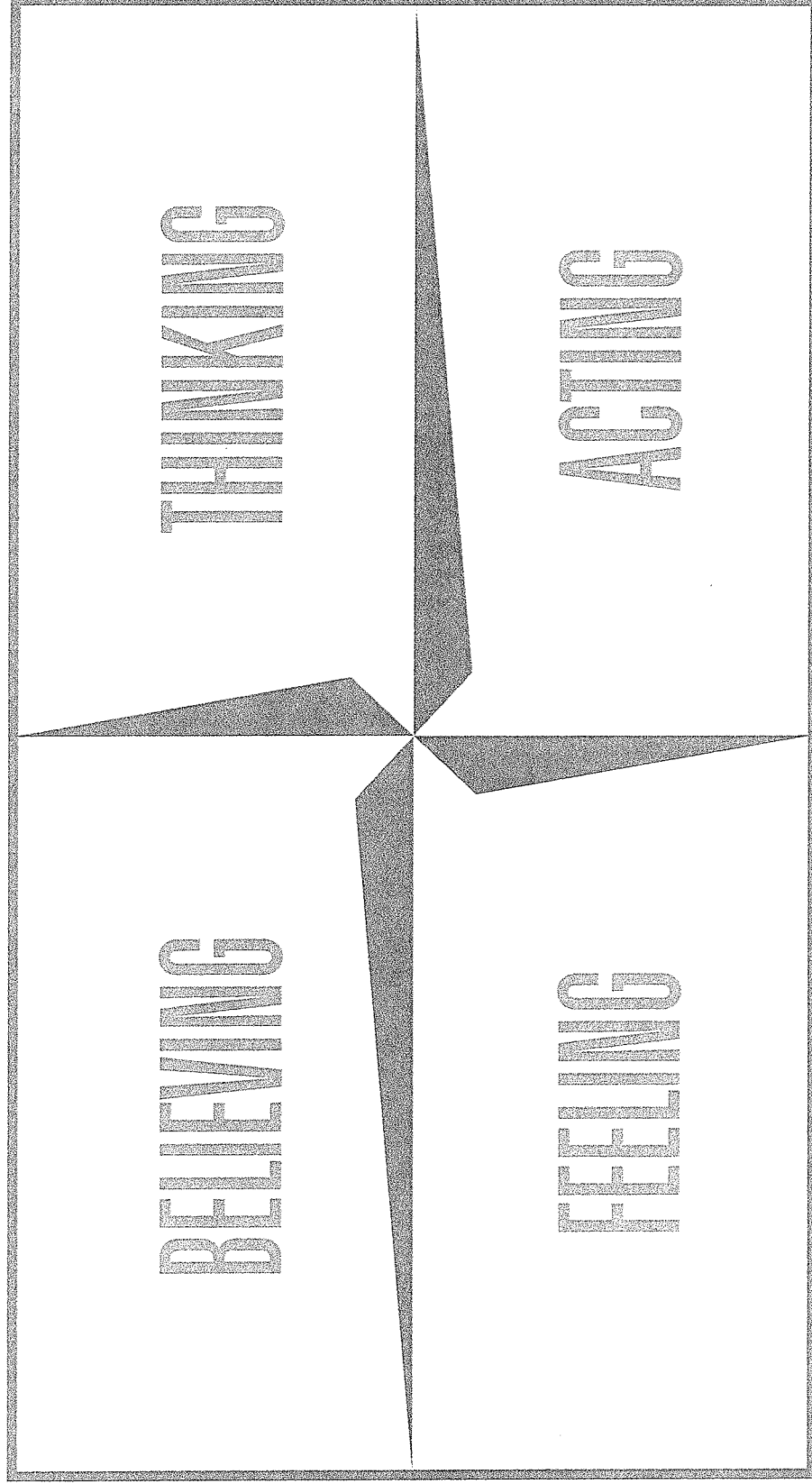
RACE MATTERS



James Comey, FBI Director

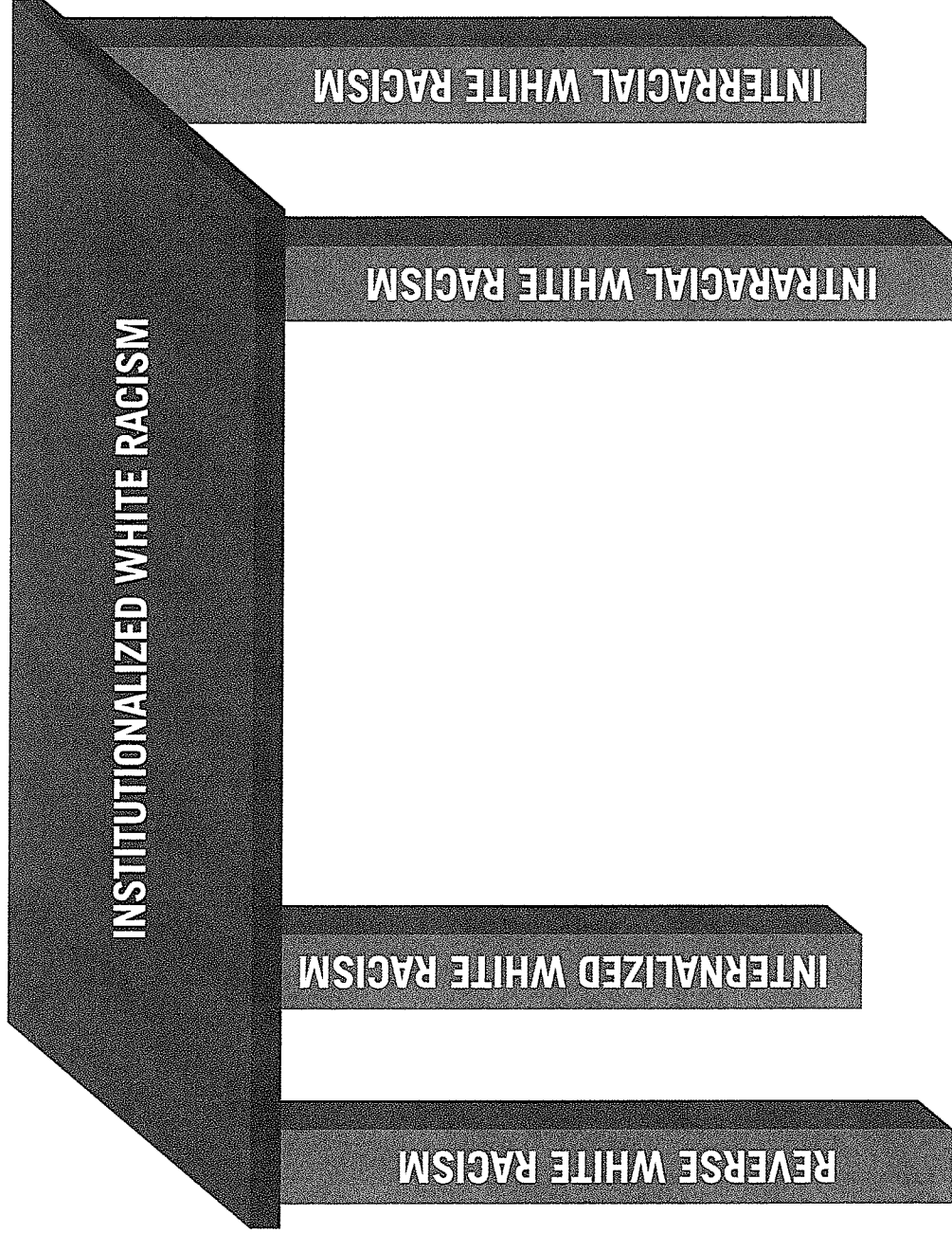
“
MANY PEOPLE IN OUR WHITE
MAJORITY CULTURE HAVE
UNCONSCIOUS RACIAL BIASES, AND
REACT DIFFERENTLY TO A WHITE FACE
THAN [TO] A BLACK FACE.”

COURAGEOUS CONVERSATION COMPASS



Notes:

HOW DOES SYSTEMIC RACISM IMPACT YOU?



Notes:

SYSTEMIC RACISM

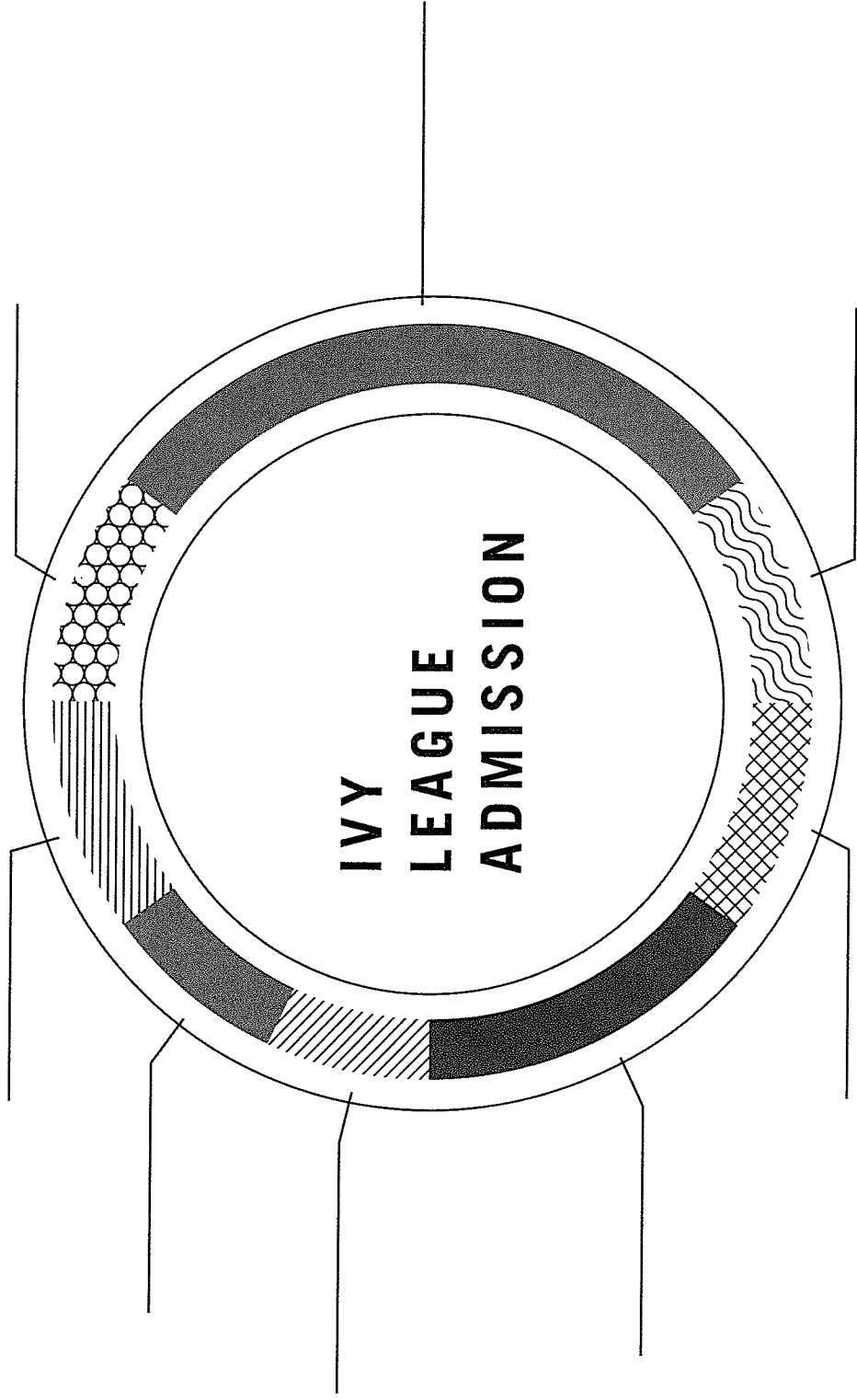
REVERSE WHITE RACISM

INTERNALIZED WHITE RACISM

INTRARACIAL WHITE RACISM

INTERRACIAL WHITE RACISM

WHO REALLY BENEFITS FROM AFFIRMATIVE ACTION?



16,000 Applicants
4,000 Admitted
2,250 Enrolled

RACE MATTERS

“

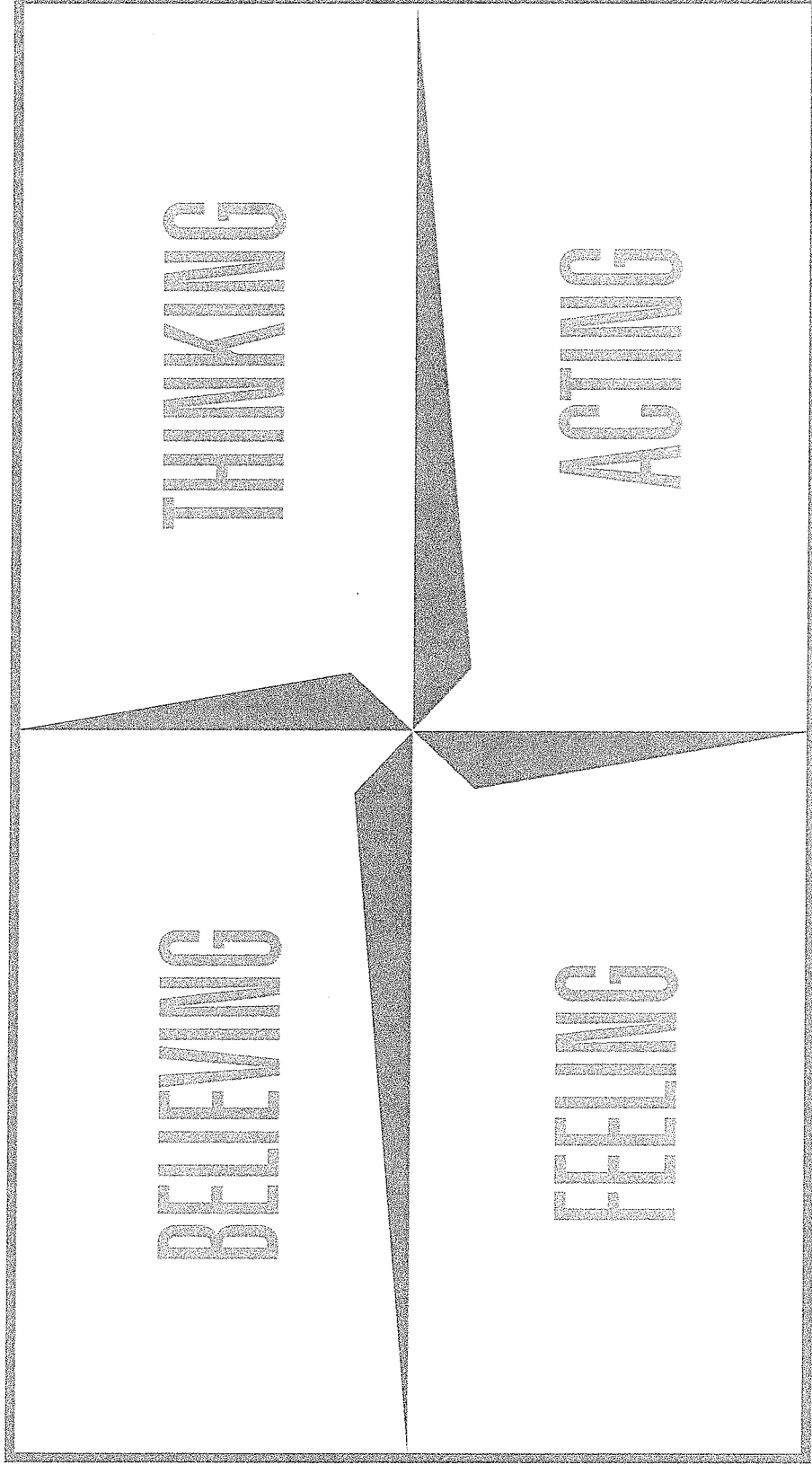
Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical;



Frederick Douglass
August 4, 1857

**BUT IT MUST BE A STRUGGLE.
POWER CONCEDES NOTHING WITHOUT
A DEMAND. IT NEVER DID, AND IT
NEVER WILL.**

MY PERSONAL ACTION PLAN: COURAGEOUS CONVERSATION COMPASS



Notes:

THANK YOU

THIS DOCUMENT IS MEANT FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES ONLY. DO NOT REPRODUCE OR DISTRIBUTE THIS DOCUMENT.



APPENDIX

“
SOMETIMES THE WAY I CHOOSE TO IDENTIFY MYSELF
MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO HEAR ME.

—Audre Lorde

SOME ASPECTS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF WHITE CULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

While different individuals might not practice or accept all of these traits, they are common characteristics of most U.S. White people most of the time.

RUGGED INDIVIDUALISM

- Self-reliance
- Individual is primary unit
- Independence and autonomy highly valued and rewarded
- Individuals assumed to be in control of their environment—"You get what you deserve"

COMPETITION

- Be #1
- Win at all costs
- Winner-loser dichotomy
- Action oriented
- Master and control nature
- Must always "do something" about a situation
- Aggressiveness and extroversion
- Decision-Making
- Majority rules (when whites have power)
- Hierarchical

JUSTICE

- Based on English common law
- Protect property and entitlements
- Intent counts

COMMUNICATION

- *The King's English* rules
- Written tradition
- Avoid conflict, intimacy
- Don't show emotion
- Don't discuss personal life
- Be polite

HOLIDAYS

- Based on Christian religions
- Based on white history and male leaders

HISTORY

- Based on northern European immigrants' experiences in the United States
- Heavy focus on the British Empire
- Primacy of Western (Greek, Roman) and Judeo-Christian tradition

PROTESTANT WORK ETHIC

- Hard work is the key to success
- Work before play
- "If you didn't meet your goals, you didn't work hard enough."

EMPHASIS ON SCIENTIFIC METHOD

- Objective, rational, linear thinking
- Cause-and-effect relationships
- Quantitative emphasis

STATUS, POWER AND AUTHORITY

- Wealth = worth
- Heavy value on ownership of goods, space, property
- Your job is who you are
- Respect authority

TIME

- Adherence to rigid time schedules
- Time viewed as a commodity

FUTURE ORIENTATION

- Plan for future
- Delayed gratification
- Progress is always best
- "Tomorrow will be better."

FAMILY STRUCTURE

- Nuclear family (father, mother, 2.3 children) is the ideal social unit
- Husband is breadwinner and head of household
- Wife is homemaker and subordinate to husband
- Children should have own rooms, be independent

AESTHETICS

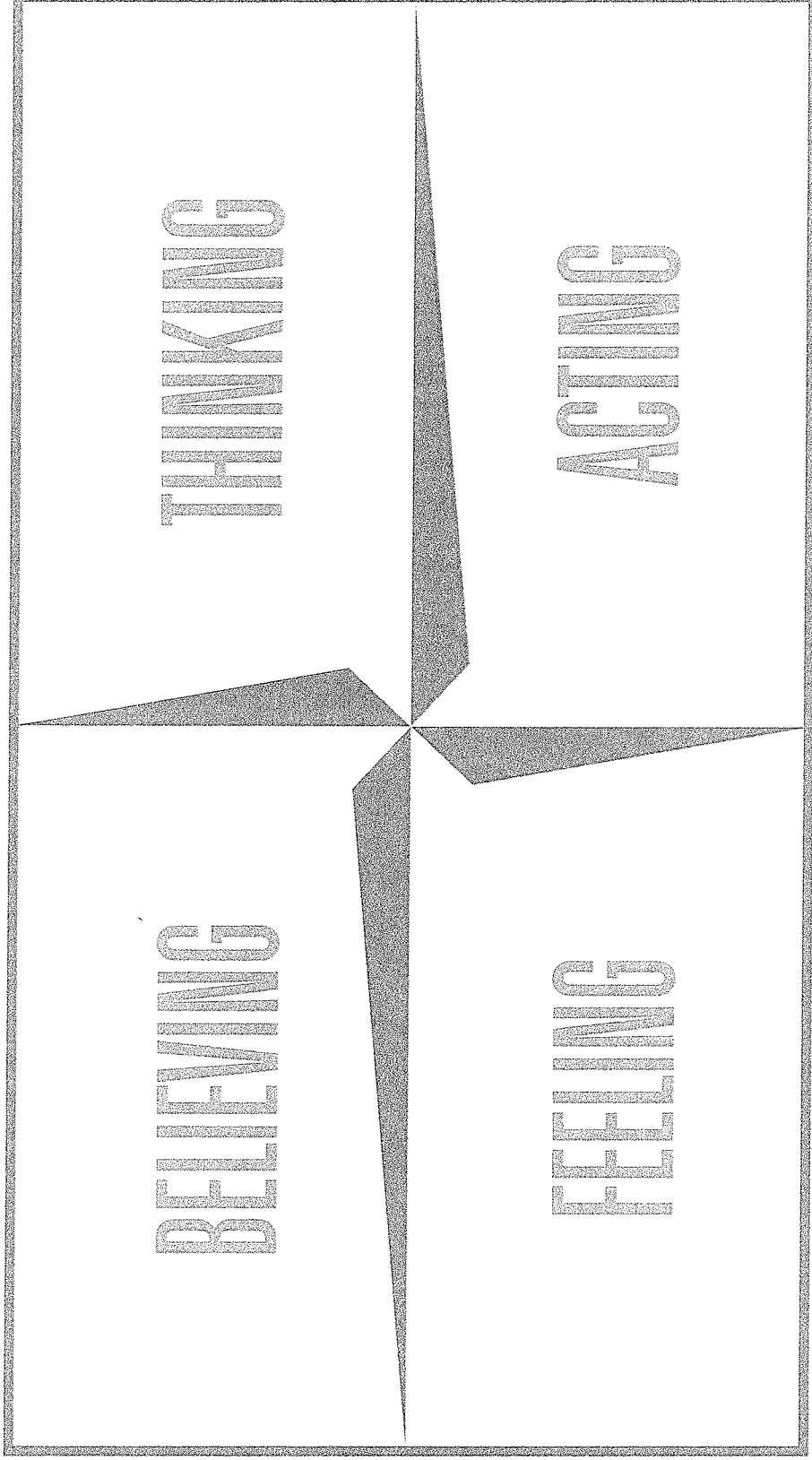
- Based on European culture
- Woman's beauty based on blonde, thin—Barbie doll
- Man's attractiveness based on economic status, power, intellect
- Steak and potatoes; "bland is best"

RELIGION

- Christianity is the norm
- Anything other than Judeo-Christian tradition is foreign
- No tolerance for deviation from single God concept



COURAGEOUS CONVERSATION COMPASS



Notes:

AS A RACIAL EQUITY LEADER...

1. I feel abnormal. I do things outside of what is seen as normal. People often get mad at me or disagree with me. I'm conflicted.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never
2. I am constructivist. I ask questions. I build on what I know about the current and existing aspects and understandings of race.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never
3. I often operate outside my comfort zone. I choose to remain uncomfortable about the impact of race in my life. My own discomfort is my indication that I'm doing the real work.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never
4. I'm in trouble. People complain about what I've said or done. I listen and hear their concerns respectfully, but I only change my behavior or act on concerns as appropriate to further the work. I don't cave in to any and all complaints.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never
5. I create and utilize primary-source documents and collect data that surfaces and reveals the presence of racism, bias and inequity. I design materials that help me and others develop a deeper understanding of racism.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never
6. I think up ways to get conversations going and to get issues of race, bias and equity on the table.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never
7. I live at the extremes emotionally. I choose to keep myself in touch with my own racial hurt and pain as well as the racial hurt and pain that so many students of color are feeling.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never
8. I balance then and now and do not confuse my vision for social justice with the current realities of my personal/internalized and our collective/institutional racism. I can be future-focused because I understand my history. My own personal inquiry into race and self-examination of racial identity helps me stay future-focused and grounded.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never
9. I do personal, autobiographical study. It helps me know who I am, racially speaking, and what I must do.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never
10. I think about, design interventions for and ask specially focused questions about students of color who are perpetually underserved in schools.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never
11. I learn from youth; I respond to youth. I seek out ways to stay informed about the feelings youth of color have as they experience the society that we have created for them.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never
12. I am patient but persistent. I am often frustrated but recognize that real change sometimes takes time.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never
13. I know who and where to turn for safety, support and understanding when the work makes me weary.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never
14. I experience racist backlash. I continually create opportunities for people of color to lead.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never
15. I am often physically, intellectually and emotionally exhausted. I often wonder if the personal toll of this work at all three of these levels is a price I can afford to pay.
Always Sometimes Rarely Never

66

We do a disservice to the cause of justice by intimating that bias and discrimination are immutable, that racial division is inherent to America... To deny this progress, this hard-won progress—our progress—would be to rob us of our own agency, our own capacity, our responsibility to do what we can to make America better.

Of course, a more common mistake is to suggest that Ferguson is an isolated incident; that racism is banished; that the work that drew men and women to Selma is now complete, and that whatever racial tensions remain are a consequence of those seeking to play the “race card” for their own purposes. We don’t need the Ferguson report to know that’s not true. We just need to open our eyes, and our ears, and our hearts to know that this nation’s racial history still casts its long shadow upon us. We know the march is not yet over. We know the race is not yet won. We know that reaching that blessed destination where we are judged, all of us, by the content of our character requires admitting as much, facing up to the truth. ‘We are capable of bearing a great burden,’ James Baldwin once wrote, ‘once we discover that the burden is reality and arrive where reality is.’ There’s nothing America can’t handle if we actually look squarely at the problem. And this is work for all Americans, not just some. Not just whites. Not just blacks. If we want to honor the courage of those who marched that day, then all of us are called to possess their moral imagination. All of us will need to feel as they did the fierce urgency of now.

**ALL OF US NEED TO RECOGNIZE AS THEY DID
THAT CHANGE DEPENDS ON OUR ACTIONS,
ON OUR ATTITUDES, THE THINGS WE TEACH
OUR CHILDREN. AND IF WE MAKE SUCH
AN EFFORT, NO MATTER HOW HARD IT MAY
SOMETIMES SEEM, LAWS CAN BE PASSED,
AND CONSCIENCES CAN BE STIRRED, AND
CONSENSUS CAN BE BUILT.**



—Speech by President Barack Obama, 50th Anniversary of the Selma to Montgomery Marches, Edmund Pettus Bridge, Selma, Alabama.

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