

Guidelines for Social Justice Work

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Agreements on Possibilities

The following guidelines may help us dialogue here with candor. Please read them through and suggest modifications that fit for you.

We agree that each of us is unique, with a background and experiences to share.

We each recognize and accept that ambiguity surrounds many ethical issues.

We agree to be open in listening to the wisdom gained from diverse experiences, and to the various opinions that form as a result.

In our listening, we will affirm the speaker, listening actively for what is within and behind the words and feelings of each.

We will not pressure each other into a false unanimity, nor will we diminish another by our own response or conduct.

We will no doubt agree and disagree, yet we will still stay in dialogue.

In doing so, we acknowledge the dignity and worth of each other.

We understand that differences are necessarily explored before reaching a more comprehensive view—perhaps, possibilities that none of us have considered before.

We know that there are many truths, and that from a synergy of these will come greater understanding.

Written by Loretta Williams, Director, Gustavus Myers Center. Boston, MA.

From: The Red Road to Wellbriety
In The Native American Way, White
Bison Inc. 2002.

Native American Code of Ethics



Appendix 2

Native American Code of Ethics

Here are some good words to reflect on individually, and to discuss in our Wellbriety Circles.

-1-

Rise with the sun to pray. Pray alone. Pray often. The Great Spirit will listen, if only you speak.

-2-

Be tolerant of those who are lost on their path. Ignorance, conceit, anger, jealousy and greed stem from a lost soul. Pray that they find guidance.

-3-

Search for yourself, by yourself. Do not allow others to make your path for you. It is your road and yours alone. Others may walk with you, but no one can walk it for you.

-4-

Treat the guests in your home with much consideration. Serve them the best food, give them the best bed and treat them with honor and respect.

-5-

Do not take what is not yours whether from a person, a community, the wilderness or from a culture. It was not earned or given. It is not yours.



Native American Code of Ethics



-6-

Respect all things that are placed upon this earth--whether it be people or plant.

-7-

Honor other people's thoughts, wishes and words. Never interrupt another or mock or rudely mimic them. Allow each person the right to personal expression.

-8-

Never speak of others in a bad way. The negative energy you put out into the universe will multiply when it returns to you.

-9-

All persons make mistakes. And all mistakes can be forgiven.

-10-

Bad thoughts cause illness of the mind, body and spirit. Practice optimism.

-11-

Nature is not FOR us; it is PART of us. The land is part of your worldly family.

-12-

Children are the seeds of our future. Plant love in their hearts and water them with wisdom and life's lessons. When they are grown, give them space to grow.



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-13-

Avoid hurting the hearts of others. The poison of your pain will return to you.

-14-

Be truthful at all times. Honesty is the test of one's will within this universe.

-15-

Keep yourself balanced. Your Mental Self, Spiritual Self, Emotional Self, and Physical Self all need to be strong, pure and healthy. Work out the body to strengthen the mind. Grow rich in spirit to cure emotional ills.

-16-

Make conscious decisions as to which you will be and you will react. Be responsible for your own actions.

-17-

Respect the privacy and personal space of others. Do not touch the personal property of others--especially sacred and religious objects. This is forbidden.

-18-

Be true to yourself first. You cannot nurture and help others if you cannot nurture and help yourself first.

-19-

Respect others' religious beliefs. Do not force your belief on others.

-20-

Share your good fortunes with others. Participate in charity.



Building Alliances Among Women of Color and White Women: Be an Ally, Not a Friend

By Kathleen Wong (Lau), assistant professor of communications, Western Michigan University

Becoming a "friend" is not equivalent to becoming an "ally." Friends may be sympathetic and genuinely supportive, but alliances require more than sympathy and support: they require action. Conversely, friends can engage in action without forming alliances. Friends can build houses, clean neighborhoods, volunteer in underprivileged communities, donate money—but if they don't spend intensive, well-planned time learning about their relationships with others and pursuing systemic change of the conditions that create inequities, they aren't truly acting as allies.

In interviews I conducted with faculty members at research-extensive universities, women of color reported their frustrations with white women's frequent inability to act as allies in their struggles. Women of color described their white women colleagues as well-intentioned and pleasant, yet expressed sadness and anger at the irony of feeling isolated while surrounded by so many friendly white women. They indicated that white woman allies were cherished, precious, and few. Many women of color reported having only one or no white allies. Paralleling a framework that has also been used to describe LGBT/straight alliance building, these women of color described two groups of white women: those who were friendly, and those who were strategic allies.

Alliances require people to move beyond empathetic grief, rage, and anger to develop cognitive communication and affective skills, to assess the structural conditions that perpetuate injustice, and to strategize action for systemic change. Allies are proactive rather than reactive. They are intentional, overt, vocal, consistent, and public about being an ally. Although there is no such thing as a "silent ally," allies do not have to be sign-waving activists.

The following guidelines map possible distinctions between friendships and alliances. This list is not meant to imply that a friend cannot be an ally or vice versa; rather, it is intended to prompt thoughtful examination of one's role as a change agent.

A Friend is Someone Who:

- Is a sympathetic listener
- Offers support privately and personally
- Wants to be supportive but is not always sure how
- Is receptive to conversation/discussion of issues
- Takes a reactive stance by responding to inappropriate comments, behaviors, actions, etc. as they arise
- Is aware that differences affect people, yet is more comfortable focusing on "common humanity"
- Offers suggestions or advice for ways to deal with an issue or incident
- Is optimistic/helps cheer up the target group members when incidents occur

An Ally is Someone Who:

- Addresses *issues*, not just incidents
- Mobilizes and organizes to respond to issues without being prompted by a target group member
- Is willing to take risks that may affect her own place, position, and authority within her (dominant) group
- Is willing to make public mistakes in front of both target groups and her own agent group(s)
- Is visible, active, vigilant, and public (even when the target person is not in the room)
- Is willing to recognize the inherent privilege and power of being a member of the dominant group
- Views membership in the dominant group as an opportunity to bring about change

BECOMING AN ALLY

What Is an Ally?

An ally is someone who takes a stand against social injustice directed at others (Whites who speak out against racism, men who are anti-sexist, etc.). An ally works to be an agent of social change rather than an agent of oppression. When a form of oppression has multiple target groups, as do racism, ableism, and heterosexism, target group members can be allies to other targeted social groups they are not part of (lesbians can be allies to bisexual people, African American people can be allies to Native Americans, blind people can be allies to people who use wheelchairs). There is no one correct way to be an ally. Being an ally is an ongoing process.

Characteristics of an Ally

- *Takes responsibility for learning about own and target group heritage, culture, and experience, and how oppression works in everyday life. Feels good about own social group membership;
- *always assumes racism/sexism/heterosexism is part of the picture
- *is comfortable and proud of own identity
- *Listens to and respects the perspectives and experiences of target group members
- *Acknowledges unearned privileges received as a result of agent status and works to eliminate or change privileges into rights that target group members also enjoy
- *Recognizes that unlearning oppressive beliefs and actions is a lifelong process, not a single event, and welcomes each learning opportunity
- *Is willing to take risks, try new behaviors, act in spite of own fear and resistance from other agents
- *Takes care of self to avoid burn-out
- *Acts against social injustice out of a belief that it is in her/his own self-interest to do so and is willing to make mistakes, learn from them, and try again
- *Is willing to be confronted about own behavior and attitudes and consider change
- *Is committed to taking action against social injustice in own sphere of influence
- *Understands own growth and response patterns
- *Understands the connections among all forms of social injustice
- *Believes she/he can make a difference by acting and speaking out against social injustice
- *Knows how to cultivate support from other allies

(Adapted from: Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice, edited by Adams, Bell, and Griffin, Routledge, 1997; and Uprooting Racism by Pual Kivel, New Society Publishers, 2002)

BEING A STRONG WHITE ALLY

Paul Kivel¹⁸

Every situation is different and calls for critical thinking about how to make a difference. [However,] some general guidelines:

1. **Assume racism is everywhere, everyday.**

Notice who speaks, what is said, how things are done and described. Notice who isn't present. Notice code words for race, and the implications of the policies, patterns and comments that are being expressed.

2. **Notice who is the center of attention and who is the center of power.**

Racism works by directing violence and blame toward people of color and consolidating power and privilege for white people.

3. **Notice how racism is denied, minimized and justified.**

Strategies of dismissal abound.

4. **Understand and learn from the history of whiteness and racism.**

Note the price that has been paid for giving up one's connection to a particular land/country of your ancestors.

5. **Understand the connections between racism, economic issues, sexism and other forms of injustice.**

Oppression is about power, and about dominant/subordinate relationships.

6. **Take a stand against injustice.**

Build courage. Take risks.

7. **Be strategic.**

Decide what is useful to challenge and what is not. Attack the source of unbalanced power.

8. **Don't confuse a battle with the war.**

Racism is flexible and adaptable. "Step by step, the longest march..."

9. **Don't call names or be personally abusive.**

Attacking people does not address the systemic nature of racial oppression.

10. **Support the leadership of people of color.**

Do this consistently, but not uncritically.

11. **Don't do it alone.**

Build support networks and allies.

12. **Talk with your children and other young people about racism.**

Build on their sense of fairness and justice.

¹⁸ Modified from Kivel, Paul, Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work For Racial Justice, Philadelphia: New Society Publishers 1995, pp. 102-104.

DOMINANT CULTURE MINDSETS

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

Perfectionism

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

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

Sense of Urgency

- continued sense of urgency that makes it difficult to take time to be inclusive, encourage democratic and/or thoughtful decision-making, to think long-term, to consider consequences

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

-----Adapted from Dismantling Racism: A Workbook for Social Change Groups, by Kenneth Jones and Tema Okun, ChangeWork, 2001

- frequently results in sacrificing potential allies for quick or highly visible results, for example sacrificing interests of communities of color in order to win victories for white people (seen as default or norm community)
- reinforced by funding proposals which promise too much work for too little money and by funders who expect too much for too little

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

Defensiveness

- the organizational structure is set up and much energy spent trying to prevent abuse and protect power as it exists rather than to facilitate the best out of each person or to clarify who has power and how they are expected to use it
- because of either/or thinking (see below), criticism of those with power is viewed as threatening and inappropriate (or rude)
- people respond to new or challenging ideas with defensiveness, making it very difficult to raise these ideas
- a lot of energy in the organization is spent trying to make sure that people's feelings aren't getting hurt or working around defensive people
- the defensiveness of people in power creates an oppressive culture

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

Quantity Over Quality

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

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

Worship of the Written Word

- if it's not in a memo, it doesn't exist
- the organization does not take into account or value other ways in which information gets shared
- those with strong documentation and writing skills are more highly valued, even in organizations where ability to relate to others is key to the mission
antidotes: take the time to analyze how people inside and outside the organization get and share information; figure out which things need to be written down and come up with alternative ways to document what is happening; work to recognize the contributions and skills that every person brings to the organization (for example, the ability to build relationships with those who are important to the organization's mission)
- only one right way
- the belief there is one right way to do things and once people are introduced to the right way, they will see the light and adopt it
- when they do not adapt or change, then something is wrong with them (the other, those not changing), not with us (those who 'know' the right way)
- similar to the missionary who does not see value in the culture of other communities, sees only value in their beliefs about what is good

Antidotes: Accept that there are many ways to get to the same goal; once the group has made a decision about which way will be taken, honor that decision and see what you and the organization will learn from taking that way, even and especially if it is not the way you would have chosen; work on developing the ability to notice when people do things differently and how those different ways might improve your approach; look for the tendency for a group or a person to keep pushing the same point

over and over out of a belief that there is only one right way and then name it; when working with communities from a different culture than yours or your organization's, be clear that you have some learning to do about the communities' ways of doing; never assume that you or your organization know what's best for the community in isolation from meaningful relationships with that community

Paternalism

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

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

Either/Or Thinking

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

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

Power Hoarding

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

Antidotes: Include power sharing in your organization's values statement; discuss what good leadership looks like and make sure people understand that a good leader develops the power and skills of others; understand that change is inevitable and challenges to your leadership can be healthy and productive; make sure the organization is focused on the mission

Fear of Open Conflict

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

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

Individualism

- little experience or comfort working as part of a team

- people in organization believe they are responsible for solving problems alone
- accountability, if any, goes up and down, not sideways to peers or to those the organization is set up to serve
- desire for individual recognition and credit
- leads to isolation
- competition more highly valued than cooperation and where cooperation is valued, little time or resources devoted to developing skills in how to cooperate
- creates a lack of accountability, as the organization values those who can get things done on their own without needing supervision or guidance
antidotes: include teamwork as an important value in your values statement; make sure the organization is working towards shared goals and people understand how working together will improve performance; evaluate people's ability to work in a team as well as their ability to get the job done; make sure that credit is given to all those who participate in an effort, not just the leaders or most public person; make people accountable as a group rather than as individuals; create a culture where people bring problems to the group; use staff meetings as a place to solve problems, not just a place to report activities
- I'm the only one
- connected to individualism, the belief that if something is going to get done right, I have to do it
- little or no ability to delegate work to others

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

Progress is Bigger, More

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

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

Objectivity

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

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

Right to Comfort

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

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

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KNOWLEDGE PURSUIT EXERCISE⁹

Instructions:

- 1) Read through the squares, noting which ones you can answer off the top of your head. Sign your name in one only, however.
- 2) Find persons in the room or with whom you interact today who might know the answers to the other squares.
- 3) Try to be the first to find out all the answers, placing the name of the person who taught you in the appropriate square.

FIND SOMEONE WHO....

Observes Yom Kippur	Knows what <i>Nisei</i> means	Is from a mixed heritage background	Knows what Rosa Parks did	Has an <i>abuela</i>
Has had his/her name mispronounced	Knows what an upside down pink triangle symbolizes	Knows who Stephen Biko was	Knows if Abraham Lincoln supported colonization of freed slaves outside of the U.S.	Knows the significance of Cinco de Mayo
Knows who said that power concedes nothing without struggle.	Knows what Juneteenth is	Knows the significance of eagle feathers	Knows why the Irish immigrated to the U.S. in the 1800s	Has been misunderstood by a person from a different culture
Can name five Caribbean countries	Knows where Cape Verde is	Can speak more than one language	Has had to overcome physical barriers in life	Has experienced being stereotyped
Can name the West Coast equivalent to Ellis Island	Knows when The Philippines was declared no longer a colony of the United States.	Considers herself a "womanist"	Can name five state names that reflect our Mexican and Spanish roots.	Knows what <i>Mahatma</i> means

⁹ Modified from "Human Bingo" used at the University of California at Irvine, and "Cultural Pursuit I" at Miami-Dade Community College. Original source unknown.

GUIDELINES FOR CHALLENGING RACISM AND OTHER FORMS OF OPPRESSION

1. **CHALLENGE DISCRIMINATORY ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR!** Ignoring the issues will not make them go away and silence can send the message that you are in agreement with such attitudes and behaviors. Make it clear that you will not tolerate racial, ethnic, religious, or sexual jokes or slurs, or any actions that demean any person or group. Your intervention may not always take place at the exact time or place of the incident, but it must be addressed promptly.
2. **EXPECT TENSION AND CONFLICT AND LEARN TO MANAGE IT.** Sensitive and deep-seated issues are unlikely to change without some struggle and in many situations, conflict is unavoidable. Face your fears and discomforts and remember that tension and conflict can be positive forces that foster growth.
3. **BE AWARE OF YOUR OWN ATTITUDES, STEREOTYPES, AND EXPECTATIONS** and be open to discovering the limitations they place on your perspective. We have all been socialized to believe many myths and misconceptions and none of us remain untouched by the discriminatory messages in our society. Be honest with yourself about your own prejudices and biases. If you do not know something, or are not sure how to handle a situation, say so, and seek the information or help that you need. Practice not getting defensive when discriminatory attitudes or behaviors are pointed out to you.
4. **ACTIVELY LISTEN TO AND LEARN FROM OTHERS' EXPERIENCES.** Don't minimize, trivialize, or deny people's concerns and make an effort to see situations through their eyes.
5. **USE LANGUAGE AND BEHAVIOR THAT IS NON-BIASED AND INCLUSIVE** of all people regardless of race, ethnicity, sex, disabilities, sexual orientation, class, age, or religion.
6. **PROVIDE ACCURATE INFORMATION** to challenge stereotypes and biases. Take responsibility for educating yourself about your own and other's cultures. Do not expect people from different backgrounds to always educate you about their culture, history, or to explain racism or sexism to you. People are more willing to share when you take an active role and the learning is mutual.
7. **ACKNOWLEDGE DIVERSITY AND AVOID STEREOTYPICAL THINKING.** Don't ignore or pretend not to see our rich human differences. Acknowledging obvious differences is not the problem, but placing negative value judgements on those differences is! Stereotypes about those differences are always hurtful because they generalize, limit, and deny people's full humanity.
8. **BE AWARE OF YOUR OWN HESITANCIES TO INTERVENE** in these kinds of situations. Confront your own fears about interrupting discrimination, set your priorities, and take action. Develop response-ability!!
9. **PROJECT A FEELING OF UNDERSTANDING, LOVE, AND SUPPORT** when confronting individuals. Without preaching, state how you feel and firmly address the hurtful behavior or attitude while supporting the dignity of the person. Be non-judgemental but know the bottom line. Issues of human dignity, justice, and safety are non-negotiable.
10. **ESTABLISH STANDARDS OF RESPONSIBILITY AND BEHAVIOR** and hold yourself and others accountable. Demonstrate your personal and organizational commitment in practices, policies, and procedures, both formal and informal. Maintain high expectations for all people.
11. **BE A ROLE MODEL** and be willing to take the risks that leadership demands. Reflect and practice anti-bias, multicultural values in all aspects of your life. Demonstrate that you respect and value the knowledge, talents, and diversity of all people.
12. **WORK COLLECTIVELY WITH OTHERS, ORGANIZE, AND SUPPORT EFFORTS** that combat prejudice and oppression in all its forms. Social change is a long term struggle and it's easy to get discouraged, but together we have the strength and vision to make a difference.

TEN THINGS MEN CAN DO TO END SEXISM AND MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

- 1) **Understand** how your own attitudes and actions perpetuate sexism and violence, and work toward changing them. Examples of typical sexist/abusive behavior:
 - Pressuring a woman to have sex (includes Rape, Date Rape).
 - Taunting or whistling at women, following women around, embarrassing women in public (Sexual Harassment).
 - Controlling women by using threatening gestures, by shouting women, blocking doorways, driving recklessly (Intimidation).
 - Verbally assaulting women by name-calling, swearing, mocking, ridiculing, criticizing, accusing, trivializing (Psychological Abuse).
- 2) **Confront** sexist, racist, homophobic, and all other bigoted remarks or jokes. Boycott comedians such as Andrew Dice Clay who verbally assault women in their acts. Boo in comedy clubs when male comedians tell sexist jokes.
- 3) **Recognize** and speak out against homophobia and gay-bashing. Discrimination and violence against lesbians and gays is wrong in and of itself. It also is directly linked to sexism (eg. men who speak out against sexism are often subject to homophobic abuse—one reason why so few men do).
- 4) **Fight for** increased state and federal funding for battered women's shelters and rape crisis centers. Volunteer where men are needed, in public schools, youth outreach programs, and political lobby groups. Contact local shelters and crisis centers to inquire about volunteer opportunities (see list on back page).
- 5) **Don't fund** sexism. Don't purchase any magazine, rent any video, or buy any piece of music that portrays women in a sexually degrading or violent manner. Protest sexism in the media.
- 6) **Support** candidates for political office who are committed to the full social, economic and political equality of women. Actively oppose candidates who are not.
- 7) **Read** about yourself. Read articles, essays, books about masculinity, gender inequality, and the root causes of sexual violence. Educate yourself and others about the connections between larger social forces and the conflicts between individual women and men. Suggested readings: M. Miedzian, *Boys Will Be Boys: Breaking the Link Between Masculinity and Violence*; P. Kivel, *Men's Work: How to Stop the Violence That Tears Our Lives Apart*; D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making*; M. Messner, *Power at Play: Sports and the Problem of Masculinity*; J. Stoltenberg, *Refusing to Be a Man*.
- 8) **Propose** curriculum changes, at every level of the educational system, which mandate courses and programs dealing with sexism and sexual violence. Urge coaches of boys and men's athletic teams to require their players to attend workshops and seminars on sexism and male violence against women.
- 9) **Organize** or join a group of men—in school, at your workplace, or among friends—to work against sexism and violence. Contact local anti-sexist men's organizations for resources and support (see listing for resources).
- 10) **Support** feminists, who are at the forefront in working to end all forms of violence against children, women and men. Commit yourself to ending oppression in all its forms.

Many of us have been conditioned to think of battering, rape, and wife-murder as "women's issues." This takes the focus off of the male perpetrators. It allows men to evade our responsibility for the outrageous level of violence women have to live with every day. But violence against women is a men's issue. The vast majority of this violence is committed by boys and men—our brothers, fathers, friends, classmates, teammates, and co-workers. It is time for all men to stand up and speak out against the abuse of women. Young males in particular need to hear from men they look up to and respect that violence against women—whether it's verbal, emotional, or physical—is never acceptable.

RESOURCES FOR ANTI-SEXIST MEN

EMERGE* (A COUNSELING SERVICE FOR MEN WHO BATTER)**
18 HURLEY ST. #23; CAMBRIDGE, MA 02141
(617) 422-1550

MEN TO END SEXUAL ASSAULT (MESA)
(A PROJECT OF THE BOSTON AREA RAPE CRISIS CENTER)
P.O. BOX 681; CAMBRIDGE, MA 02139
(617) 492-8306

COMMON PURPOSE, INC.* (A MULTI-CULTURAL AGENCY WITH TREATMENT FOR BATTERERS, TRAINING, AND PUBLIC EDUCATION)
P.O. BOX 88; JAMAICA PLAIN, MA 02130
(617) 524-7717; 945-1871; 863-5592

REAL MEN
P.O. BOX 1769; BROOKLINE, MA 02146

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

MASS. COALITION OF BATTERED WOMEN'S SERVICE GROUPS
107 SOUTH ST. 5TH FLOOR; BOSTON, MA 02116
(617) 426-8492

ROXBURY MULTI-SERVICE CENTER / COMMUNITY PROGRAM AGAINST SEXUAL ASSAULT (CPASA)
317 BLUE HILL AVE.; DORCHESTER, MA 02120
(617) 427-4470 EXT. 444

BOSTON AREA RAPE CRISIS CENTER*
99 BISHOP ALLEN DRIVE; CAMBRIDGE, MA 02139
HOTLINE: 492-RAPE

*BILINGUAL SERVICES AVAILABLE
**AFRICAN-AMERICAN-ONLY GROUPS AVAILABLE

REAL MEN IS AN ANTI-SEXIST MEN'S ORGANIZATION, FOUNDED IN BOSTON IN 1988. WE ARE AN ACTIVIST EDUCATIONAL AND POLITICAL GROUP. OUR GOAL IS TO ENCOURAGE MEN TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST SEXISM AND ALL FORMS OF MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN. TO THIS END, WE PROVIDE SPEAKERS, SPONSOR FORUMS, DISTRIBUTE LITERATURE, AND ORGANIZE PUBLIC POLITICAL ACTIONS.



**REAL MEN
WORK TO END
MALE VIOLENCE
AGAINST WOMEN**

**Safety Fund
Jane Doe**

**Safety Fund
Jane Doe**

This leaflet is co-sponsored by Real Men and the Jane Doe Safety Fund. For more information, write to: Real Men, P.O. Box 1769, Brookline, MA 02146.

Assumptions About Addressing Classism

1. Class is a confusing issue especially in the U.S. We will be focusing on the experience of class in the U. S.
2. There is lots of secrecy about class issues; they are not openly discussed and are taboo.
3. Talking about class often brings up many intense feelings, because we're dealing with survival issues. While the feelings may be different depending on our class position (e.g. shame vs. guilt), people from all classes have intense feelings about this subject.
4. Each of us is complex, we belong to many different social groups which impact on our experience of class. Women's experience may differ from men's for example, and people of color's different from white people's.
5. There is unfairness and injustice around many issues; class is one of them.
6. Even though our objective class situation may change, the impact of our childhood class experiences continues to effect us throughout our lives.
7. We all derive strengths as well as limitations from our class background.
8. Most Americans don't have an accurate class identity, have little language to talk about class, and few skills developed at bridging class differences.
9. In the U.S. class has been racialized. A significant correlation between race and poverty exists, with Black and Latino Americans three times more likely to be impoverished than White Americans.
10. We all learned oppressive beliefs, we did not ask to be taught them. While we now have the opportunity to take responsibility for them, it is not our fault we learned them. Change hinges on our ability to separate fault from response-ability.
11. Differences in class conditioning and class culture can lead to misunderstandings and tensions in mixed class relationships and organizations.
12. Stereotypes go both ways, this is different from systemic classism.
13. Everyone is at a different place with respect to understanding of, experience with, and expertise on issues of class, diversity and oppression
14. We are all interconnected. We want to balance affirming our commonalities and our differences.
15. Classism is a complex phenomenon; learning about it is an on-going process. We will not learn everything we need to know today.
16. Classism hurts us all, no matter what our class. We all have something precious to gain from ending classism.
17. The current class arrangements in society are irrational and destructive.
18. It is in the best interests of everyone to work against classism toward a more fair distribution for everyone.
19. There are multiple paths toward change. Many different groups and individuals taking small steps, together chip away at the system of classism and build toward a vision of a more just society.

Definitions and Terms

Oppression - The systematic subjugation of one (comparatively less powerful) social group by another (comparatively more powerful) social group which is sanctioned by cultural beliefs and institutional practices, the result of which benefits one group at the expense of the other. Societal institutions reflect, support, and are based on power differentials. Different manifestations of oppression (racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, Jewish oppression, ageism, disability oppression, etc.) all share the characteristics of power difference and prejudice. **Oppression = Prejudice + Social Power**

Prejudice - Inaccurate and/or negative beliefs about another social group and its members without basis in fact. Prejudice is often based on stereotypes and can occur on a conscious or unconscious level.

Social power - The access to and availability of social goods, services, and the social sanctions needed to influence others, enforce one's beliefs, or get what one wants.

Social Group - A group of people who share or are defined by a social characteristic such as race, gender, sexual orientation, or class, etc. Some social groups have comparatively more social power in our culture (agents) and some have comparatively less (targets). The maintenance of the system of oppression requires that agents and targets play appropriate roles for each group that are created by the society. We learn our roles as agents and targets through the process of socialization.

Characteristics of Agents - Empowered, privileged, superior, "namers"/normal, unaware, unconscious of needs of targets.

Characteristics of Targets - Disempowered, disenfranchised, penalized, inferior, named, different.

Right - A resource or position that everyone has equal access or availability to regardless of their social group membership.

Privilege - A right that only some people have access or availability to because of their social group membership.

Classism

Class in the US is a confusing and slippery topic. Definitions that make sense to one person may not make sense to another. These definitions are offered in hopes of starting a discussion with shared language. We consider ourselves a "classless" society or think of everyone except for a few lucky ones at the "top" or unfortunate ones at the "bottom" "middle class." Class can evade any attempt at categorization or simplistic definition. One person's definitions may not make sense to another. We present these definitions in the hope of starting a dialogue about class and how it impacts on us.

A **class** consists of a large group of people who occupy a similar economic position in the wider society based on income, wealth, property ownership, education, skills, or authority in the economic sphere.

Class - A relative social rank in terms of income, wealth, education, status, and/or power.

Classism - is the systematic assignment of characteristics of worth & ability based on social class. It is the systems of policies & practices which are set up to benefit the upper classes at the expense of the lower classes resulting in drastic income & wealth inequality. It is the rationale and the culture which perpetuates these systems and this unequal valuing.

Classism - is the institutional, cultural, and individual set of practices and beliefs that assign differential value to people according to their socioeconomic class; and an economic system that creates excessive inequality and causes basic human needs to go unmet.

Classism - Differential treatment based on social class or perceived social class.

Classism is class prejudice + social power

Status—Social status can be understood as the degree of honor or prestige attached to one's position in society.

Class Indicator - a material or experiential factor that reflects an individual's class.

Examples:	Occupational Status	Cultural Capital-what you know
Clothes	Housing-what, where, how many?	Language-vocabulary, dialect/accent, non-verbal-posture
Education	Stuff-how much and what kind	Source of Income: Salary, Trust Fund, Government Check
Assets	Values	Social Capital-who you know

Class Continuum—The ranking of individuals or families in a society by income, wealth, education, occupational status, or power; the range of experiences out of which particular class identities are defined. Lines may be drawn at different points along this continuum, and labeled differently. Class is a relative thing, both subjectively and materially; our experience varies depending on whether we look up or down the continuum. However, it is clear that everyone at the top end is mostly agent/dominant, while everyone at the bottom end is mostly target/subordinate. The following visually demonstrates this:

Targets	Mostly Targets	Mostly Agents	Agents
Poor	Working Class	Middle Class	Owning Class
			Ruling Class

Class Identity—One's predominant class experience, such as ruling class, owning class, middle class, working class, chronic poverty class.

Ruling Class—The stratum of people who hold positions of power in major institutions of the society.

Owning Class/(aka Rich)—The stratum of families who own income-producing assets sufficient to make paid employment unnecessary; about 5% of U.S. households.

Upper-Middle Class—The portion of the middle class with higher incomes due to professional jobs and/or investment income.

Middle Class—The stratum of families for whom breadwinners' higher education and/or specialized skills brings higher income and more security than working-class people have.

Lower-Middle Class—The portion of the middle class with lower and less stable incomes due to lower-skilled or unstable employment.

Working Class—The stratum of families whose income depends on hourly wages for labor, or on other non-managerial work or very small business activity that doesn't require higher education.

Poverty Class—The stratum of families with incomes persistently insufficient to meet basic human needs; about 5% of U.S. households.

Cultural Capital—The forms of knowledge, skill, education, any advantages a person has which give her or him a higher status in society.

Social Capital—Resources based on group membership, relationships, networks of influence and support.

Internalized Classism—Acceptance and justification of classism by working class and poor people, such as feelings of inferiority to higher-class people, hostility and blame towards other working-class or poor people, and beliefs that classist institutions/policies are fair are all examples of internalized subordination. Feelings of superiority to people lower on the class spectrum than oneself, a sense of entitlement, rationalizations of classist policies and institutions on the part of middle class and people on the upper end of the class spectrum are examples of internalized domination. Both internalized subordination and internalized dominance are manifestations of internalized classism.

Class Privilege—One of the many tangible or intangible unearned advantages of higher-class status, such as personal contacts with employers, good childhood health care, inherited money, speaking the same dialect and accent as people with institutional power.

Class Ally- A person from the more privileged classes whose attitudes and behaviors are anti-classist, who is committed to increasing his or her own understanding of this issues related to classism, and is actively working towards eliminating classism on many levels.

Individual Classism—This term refers to classism on a personal or individual level, either in behavior or attitudes, either conscious and intentional or unconscious and unintentional.

Institutional Classism—This term refers to the ways in which intentional and unintentional classism is manifest in the various institutions of our society.

Cultural Classism—This term refers to the ways in which classism is manifest through our cultural norms and practices. It can often be found in the ideology behind something

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Silently “standing” in the face of oppression

Prompts:

- If people routinely mispronounce your name, please “stand” up...
- If you have ever been the only person of your ethnicity or gender at work . . .
- If you have ever been asked to fill out a survey that asked for your "race" but did not include an option that accurately described your racial identity . . .
- If you do not know how you would handle it financially if you were hospitalized . . .
- If you ever felt pressured to alter your appearance, mannerisms, or language to fit in . . .
- If you have had to ask for special accommodations in a class or at a job . . .
- If a counselor or other authority figure ever discouraged you from pursuing a particular field of study or profession . . .
- If you have ever had a job where you received less pay than somebody for doing equal work . . .
- If you often see people of your race in negative roles on TV, in movies or in computer games . . .
- If you have been sexually harassed in your workplace or elsewhere . . .
- If you have felt you needed to change your body image to be accepted . . .
- If you have ever been called a derogatory name because of your ethnicity, sexual orientation or gender expression...
- If you know someone who has survived sexual assault or rape...
- If there is any dimension of your identity that you have to hide from most people in order to feel safe . . .

Once the prompts are completed, the participants are asked:

How did it feel to “stand” up?

How does oppression play out in your life?

Silently acknowledging the face of privilege

Prompts:

- If the history books you used in grade school were written from the perspective of your racial group . . . please “stand” up
- If you don’t worry about walking to your car in a dark parking lot...
- If you never went hungry or missed regular meals as a child...
- When shopping for kids’ toys or games, you know you will easily find ones that represent your ethnicity...
- If your parents owned home when you were growing up...
- If you have never worried that a traffic cop might pull you over, or that you might be singled out for security screening at the airport because of your race . . .
- If you have received, or can expect to receive, an inheritance from a family member . . .
- If you don’t ever worry that what you wear might get you unwanted attention on the street . . .
- If you can never recall being ignored when raising your hand in a classroom, or waiting in line at a restaurant or store
- If you can walk down the street hand in hand with your partner without fear of being harassed or attacked . . .
- If you own a computer and can access the internet...
- If you can go to class or work without making special arrangements to hear the lecture or read from your computer...
- If you have *never* felt that you were specifically followed around or monitored in a store by a security guard...

Once the prompts are completed, participants are asked:

How did it feel to acknowledge your privilege?

Samuels, D. (2007). Connecting to Oppression and Privilege: A Pedagogy for Social Justice. In Scott, BarBara M. and Marcia Texler Segal, (Eds.), *Race, Gender, and Class in Sociology: Toward an Inclusive Curriculum*, 6th Ed. Washington, DC: American Sociological Association.

Overcoming Anti-Semitism Within Groups

It is important to acknowledge that culture does influence the way a person thinks and behaves, but at the same time not to impose a uniform set of characteristics onto a person who is, after all, a unique individual who has found her or his own way of adapting to life.

While all Jews are affected by the anti-Semitism perpetuated throughout history and in our culture, Jewish experience in the United States is widely diverse. Keep in mind that Jews include the elderly, poor and working class people, lesbians and gay men, disabled people, people of Color (particularly Latinas/Latinos and Middle Easterners), first generation immigrants, and descendants of 17th century settlers. Some Jews are very religious; others—equally strongly identified as Jews—are completely secular.

"Anti-Semitism" has been used historically to refer to the oppression of Jews. However, Arabs are also Semites, and they experience oppression; but their oppression is different from what is described below.

Stereotyping

- Considering Jews to be aggressive, stingy, controlling, all-powerful.
- Thinking of Jewish women as pushy, loud, domineering, too intellectual, JAPs, self-righteous.
- Thinking of Jewish men as wimps, too intellectual, too passive.
- Saying of Jews who do not fit the stereotype, "You're OK, you're different from most Jews," instead of changing your stereotype.

Delegitimizing

- Negatively judging Jews who don't fit into the dominant cultural style, rather than working to create a climate where both styles can be respected.

- Negatively judging the Jewish woman who openly expresses her feelings, "argues" rather than "discusses," and comfortably assumes leadership positions in organizations.

- Negatively judging the more intellectual, quiet, non-public male style taught by some segments of Jewish culture.
- Withdrawing from Jewish people whose behavior causes you discomfort because of your cultural style.

Generalizing

- Assuming that all Jews fit the stereotype, or that all Jews have the same cultural style, background, and beliefs.
- Assuming that all Jews are White.
- Ignoring that Jewish culture has developed in different ways in different parts of the world, as well as in different parts of the United States.

Denying Significance, Personally

- Denying that a person's Jewish background has any effect on how you interact with her or how she interacts with you.
- Expecting someone to "pass," to avoid bringing up or making an issue of being Jewish, even when it is significant to her.
- Being defensive when confronted.
- Lacking concern for the pain some Jews feel living in a predominantly Christian culture.
- Not learning about Jewish holidays, cultural traditions, and experiences.

Denying Significance, Politically

- Denying that anti-Semitism is alive and well, and on the upswing in America.
- Pushing anti-Semitism to the bottom of the political list; considering it less real or less serious than other forms of oppression.
- Considering Jews to be pushy, self-serving, or divisive when they demand their concerns be included in political agendas.
- Charging Jews with paranoia when they name anti-Semitism. (Ask yourself: can any people who, less than 50 years ago, lost 1/3 of its worldwide population to attempted genocide ever be accused of paranoia?)

- Implying that to be a true member of the group-- an accepted business partner, a true socialist, a true radical--a Jew must deny or play down *his* Jewishness.
- Overlooking the active participation of Jews in important movements throughout history.

Setting Jews Apart

- Having higher expectations and standards for Jews and for Israel; assuming that Jews are smarter than others, and should be the moral standard-bearers for society.
- Asking any individual to represent the Jewish perspective, as if there were only one.
- Holding individual Jews accountable for the Israeli government's actions. Political loyalty tests--expecting American Jews to denounce Israel.
- Being quick to blame and to point out the faults of Jewish people. (If a people are elevated above the norm, they can easily become targets for those who feel frustration, disappointment, and powerlessness in their own lives.)

Suppressing Jewish Culture and History

- Learning about religious traditions and history in school, but not Jewish ones.
- Ignoring, denying, or minimizing the cultural and intellectual achievements of Jews (the flip side of elevating Jews to a super-human position).
- Not mentioning that respected people are Jewish (such as authors, artists, scientists, political activists), even when their cultural and/or religious identity informs their work.
- Using the Holocaust as an easy metaphor for any evil, and thereby discounting the enormity of that event.

Assuming that Christianity is the Norm

- Using Christian language to connote "right" or "fair," as in "the Christian thing to do."
- Referring to the "Judeo-Christian" heritage as if Jewish history existed only to culminate in Christianity, and as if Jewish history has not had its own independent evolution throughout history.

- Using "B.C." (Before Christ) and "A.D." (Anno Domini, "In the Year of the Lord") rather than "B.C.E." (Before the Common Era) and "C.E." (Common Era).

- Assuming that everyone celebrates Christmas, even if they aren't Christian.

Making Class Assumptions

- Refusing to see class differences within the Jewish community and among Jewish people.
- Being uncomfortable talking finances with Jews.
- Conversely, seeking Jews out to talk about finances.
- Assuming that all Jews have money.
- Projecting class resentments onto Jews.

Excluding

- Holding events on the Sabbath (sundown Friday to sundown Saturday), or on Jewish holidays.
- Requiring Sabbath (Saturday) work of Jews when Sunday work of Christians is not required.
- Making it difficult or uncomfortable for Jews to take time off from school/work to celebrate their holidays.
- Holding events at clubs that have been known to exclude Jews, even if they do not presently do so.
- Serving pork products (crackers, cookies, pie crusts, and potato chips often contain lard), dishes containing milk products and meat, or shellfish without offering alternative food for Kosher Jews.
- Demanding, verbally or by your actions, that Jews fit in, rather than changing the organization to embrace diversity.

Scapegoating

- Accusing Jews of "trying to take over again." Imagining a "Jewish conspiracy" or "Zionist conspiracy."
- Making particular note of Jewish people in the media or government.
- Blaming society's problems--particularly poverty--on the Jews.
- Singling Jews out as troublemakers and interferers when they ally with other peoples fighting for justice.

- Structuring an organization so that Jews are "middlemen"—the public representatives who take the blame (from above and from below), but who have little power to make changes. Or, being fooled by that structure when you're outside it into not confronting those who truly have power.
- Refusing to see the way that Jewish experience has been manipulated, throughout history, by the gentile ruling class' need to have a "middleman" as scapegoat.
- Seeing Jews as the oppressor.

Protecting Yourself

- Expecting Jews to take responsibility for calling the group on its anti-Semitism.
- Not being a good ally when a Jew does confront anti-Semitism: denying or making excuses, depreciating the seriousness of an occurrence, or simply remaining silent.

ON THE "INVISIBILITY" OF PRIVILEGE

Doors of advantage swing open so silently, so invisibly to whites that they are largely unaware of this, says Dr. Peggy McIntosh, of the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women. She writes:

"I had been taught about racism as something which puts others at a disadvantage, but had been taught not to see one of its corollary aspects, white privilege, which puts me at an advantage."

Dr. McIntosh speaks of the unearned advantages -- the privileges that ease life and progress for those who are white Americans, and that impede life chances for those who are people of color. She writes:

"I think whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege, (just) as males are taught not to recognize male privilege...(Finally) I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was "meant" to remain oblivious."

"White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, code books, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks."

Her thesis: that there is a base of unacknowledged privilege which facilitates continuing oppression. This unearned entitlement is actually conferred dominance. It is distorting, she writes:

"Whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, formative, and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work which will allow 'them' to be more like 'us.'"

Shades of 'why-can't-women-be-more-like-men' talk! Being a law-abiding person of good will isn't sufficient in itself. Prof. McIntosh writes:

- 1. As a white person, I can if I wish arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.*
- 2. I can avoid spending time with people whom I was trained to mistrust and who have learned to mistrust my kind or me.*

- 3. If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of renting or purchasing housing in an area which I can afford and in which I would want to live.**
- 4. I can be pretty sure that my neighbors in such a location will be neutral or pleasant to me.**
- 5. I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.**
- 6. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.**
- 7. When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.**
- 8. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race.**
- 9. If I want to, I can be pretty sure of finding a publisher for this piece on white privilege.**
- 10. As a white person, I can be pretty sure of having my voice heard in a group in which I am the only member of my race.**
- 11. I can be casual about whether or not to listen to another woman's voice in a group in which she is the only member of her race.**
- 12. I can go into a music shop and count on finding the music of my race represented, into a supermarket and find the staple foods which fit with my cultural traditions, into a hairdresser's shop and find someone who can cut my hair.**
- 13. Whether I use checks, credit cards, or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability.**
- 14. I can arrange to protect my children most of the time from people who might not like them.**
- 15. As a white person, I do not have to educate my children to be aware of systemic racism for their own daily physical protection.**
- 16. I can be pretty sure that my children's teachers and employers will tolerate them if they fit school and workplace norms; my chief worries about them do not concern others' attitudes toward their race.**
- 17. I can talk with my mouth full and not have people put this down to my color.**
- 18. I can swear, or dress in second hand clothes, or not answer letters, without having people attribute these choices to the bad morals, the poverty, or the illiteracy of my race.**

- 19. I can speak in public to a group of powerful white people without putting my race on trial.**
- 20. I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race.**
- 21. As a white person, I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.**
- 22. I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of color who constitute the world's majority without feeling in my culture any penalty for such oblivion.**
- 23. I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a cultural outsider.**
- 24. I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to "the person in charge," I will be facing a person of my race.**
- 25. If a traffic cop pulls me over, or if the IRS audits my tax return, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race.**
- 26. As a white person, I can easily buy posters, post-cards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, and children's magazines featuring people of my race.**
- 27. I can go home from most meetings of organizations I belong to feeling somewhat tied in, rather than isolated, out-of place, outnumbered, unheard, held at a distance, or feared.**
- 28. I can be pretty sure that an argument with a colleague of another race is more likely to jeopardize her chances for advancement than to jeopardize mine.**
- 29. I can be pretty sure that if I argue for the promotion of a person of another race, or a program centering on race, this is not likely to cost me heavily within my present setting, even if my colleagues disagree with me.**
- 30. If I declare there is a racial issue at hand, or there isn't a racial issue at hand, my race being white will lend me more credibility for either position than a person of color will have.**
- 31. I can choose to ignore developments in minority writing and minority activist programs, or disparage them, or learn from them, but in any case, I can find ways to be more or less protected from negative consequences of any of these choices.**
- 32. My culture gives me little fear about ignoring the perspectives and powers of people of other races.**

- 33. I am not made acutely aware that my shape, bearing, or body odor will be taken as a reflection on my race.**
- 34. I can worry about racism without being seen as self-interested or self-seeking.**
- 35. I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having my co-workers on the job suspect that I got it because of my race.**
- 36. If my day, week, or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it has racial overtones.**
- 37. I can be pretty sure of finding people who would be willing to talk with me and advise me about my next steps professionally.**
- 38. I can think over many options, social, political, imaginative, or professional, without asking whether a person of my race would be accepted or allowed to do what I want to do.**
- 39. I can be late to a meeting without having the lateness reflect on my race.**
- 40. I can choose public accommodation without fearing that people of my race cannot get in or will be mistreated in the places I have chosen.**
- 41. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.**
- 42. I can arrange my activities so that I will never have to experience feelings of rejection owing to my race.**
- 43. If I have low credibility as a leader I can be sure that my race is not the problem.**
- 44. I can easily find academic courses and institutions which give attention only to people of my race.**
- 45. I can expect figurative language and imagery in all of the arts to testify to experiences of my race.**
- 46. I can choose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" color and have them more or less match my skin color!**
- 47. I can travel alone or with my husband without expecting embarrassment or hostility in those who deal with us.**
- 48. I have no difficulty finding neighborhoods where people approve of our household.**

49. My children are given texts and classes which implicitly support our kind of family unit, and do not turn them against my choice of domestic partnership.

50. I will feel welcomed and "normal" in the usual walks of public life, institutional and social.

Having described this, what will we each do to lessen this imbalance of power and privilege? Will we choose to use "any of our arbitrarily-awarded power to try to reconstruct power systems..?"⁵

*

privileging

⁵McIntosh paper, which expands on this analysis, is available from the Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA 02181, \$3.50.

Cross's Stages of Racial Identity Development for People of Color¹

- 1. Pre-encounter:** Absorbs many of the beliefs and values of the dominant white culture. Personal salience of race is minimized.
- 2. Encounter:** Heightened awareness of personal/social significance of race and racism. Anger, confusion, and alienation are common emotions. Initial attempts to define one's racial/ethnic identity may be based on internalized stereotypes about one's group. Process often begins in adolescence.
- 3. Immersion/Emersion:** Characterized by the desire to surround oneself with visible symbols of one's racial identity, and an active avoidance of symbols of "whiteness." Actively seeks out opportunities to learn about his/her own history and culture with the support of same-group peers.
- 4. Internalization:** Characterized by a sense of security in one's own racial/ethnic group. Willing to establish meaningful relationships across group boundaries with those who are respectful of his/her self-definition.

Helm's Stages of White Racial Identity Development²

- 1. Contact:** Unaware of own "whiteness" and privilege. Sees racism as "individual acts of meanness" rather than as an institutionalized system. Attitudes about people of color usually based on stereotypes.
- 2. Disintegration:** Awareness of racism and white privilege increase as a result of new personal experiences. Feelings of guilt, shame, anger, denial and withdrawal are common. May desire to take antiracist action.
- 3. Reintegration:** Feels pressured by others to "not notice" racism. Feelings of guilt and denial may change to fear and anger toward people of color, "blaming the victim" for example. Avoids the issue of racism if possible.
- 4. Pseudo-independence:** Abandoning beliefs in white superiority. Has an intellectual understanding of the unfairness of white privilege, recognizes personal responsibility for dismantling racism. May distance from other whites, and seek out relationships with people of color.
- 5. Immersion/Emersion:** Actively seeking to redefine whiteness. Focus is on developing a positive white identity not based on assumed superiority, takes pride in active antiracist stance. Needs support from other whites.
- 6. Autonomy:** As internalized a positive white identity. Actively antiracist, engaged in ongoing process of self-examination. Works effectively in multiracial settings.

¹ For more information, see Cross, W.E. Jr. (1991). *Shades of Black: Diversity in African American Identity*. Philadelphia, Temple University Press. Though Cross's model is based on the experiences of African Americans, the process of identity development for other oppressed racial groups is often similar.

² Helms, J.E. (1990). Toward a model of white racial identity development. In J.E. Helms (Ed.) *Black and White Racial Identity: Theory, Research and Practice* (pp. 49-66). New York: Greenwood Press.

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Key Concepts in Justice Studies

Introduction: For the last several years I have kept my eyes open for a list of key terms in Justice Studies. While there are many books and websites that contain crucial concepts, I found no location that has consolidated them. While this list is, in no way conclusive, I offer it up as a start with the hope that people might add to this list to help make it more inclusive. As it continues to grow, I hope it is helpful for students, teachers, and activists.

Epistemological privilege: The right and responsibility of those from marginalized positions to name the strategies for change.

Self determination: The history and ability of subordinated groups to determine their own path of liberation, even when it is in contrast to what others deem appropriate.

Indigenous methods: recognizing the land upon which we do our work; valuing elders and women; emphasizing face-to-face interactions and community networking (beyond the academy); valuing humility, humor, lived experience, reciprocity, and multiple truths; and recognizing that accountability to one's people and ancestry trumps one's commitment to an institution. Indigenous methods cannot be "added and stirred" into normative practices; rather they need to be held in their own regard in order to be transformative.¹

Strategies for survival vs. strategies for liberation: Strategies for survival are those coping methods people devise when their options are limited, when making it through the immediate crisis is the most pressing concern. These approaches may be adopted individually and are short-term in effectiveness. Strategies for liberation are collectively devised approaches to hardship, stress, and inequalities that relieve the problem in both temporary and long-term ways.²

Politics of location: The politics of location asks us to come to terms with how our multiple identities (race, class, sexuality, nationality, gender, religion, etc.) and often contradictory relations to power influence our priorities, choices, alliances and outlooks on the world. It requires naming the ground we're coming from, the conditions we have taken for granted, and how our world views are shaped by the power we have access to and utilize. (Rich, 1986).³

Oppression: The systematic subjugation of one (comparatively less powerful) social group by another social group which is sanctioned by cultural beliefs and institutional practices, the result of which benefits one group at the expense of the other. Different manifestations of oppression (racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, ableism, anti-Semitism, etc.) all share the characteristics of power difference and prejudice. Oppression = Prejudice + Power.

Internalized dominance: acceptance and justification of one's power over others (due to access to resources related to one's class, race, gender, sexuality, nationality, religious privileges). This dominance is taught in families, in schools, in religious institutions, on the streets. It manifests itself in what people say, how we hold our bodies, what we do; it is both conscious and unconscious. Key aspect of internalized dominance is learning not to acknowledge it, to pretend it isn't there, to deny it. Unlearning this dominance can cost people friends, positions, a certain sense of security with the status quo but its unlearning also opens up new relationships, a sense of well being, connection to being honest and working toward justice. Characteristics of internalized dominance in relation to white supremacy: center stage syndrome, missionary white people, white is right mentality, inferior other perception.⁴

Internalized oppression: acceptance and justification of classism (racism, heterosexism, etc.) by subordinated groups, such as feelings of inferiority, hostility, and blame towards other subordinated people and the belief that classist (or racist or sexist) institutions/policies are fair. Feelings of superiority to people lower on the class spectrum than oneself, a sense of entitlement, rationalizations of classist policies.

Prejudice: Inaccurate and/or negative beliefs about a group without basis in fact. Prejudice is often based on stereotypes and can occur on a conscious or unconscious level. "A preconceived judgment or idea that is typically based on limited information."¹ Everyone has prejudices although we are taught not to admit them. Prejudice can be conscious or unconscious. One step in changing prejudices is to identify them and then read, investigate and learn more as a way to undo them. Racism and prejudice, although related, are not the same. Prejudices are individual negative judgments. Racism is prejudice plus the power to implement these attitudes. While all people may have racial prejudices, white people are the ones who have the institutional power to enforce these attitudes and policies.

Ethnocentrism: An attitude that one's own culture, society or group is inherently superior to all others. An inability to respect other's cultures. An inability to see a common humanity. Examples of ethnocentrism: thinking that English is the best language, practicing religious fundamentalism (believing that one's religion is superior to others), and believing that free women don't cover their heads.

Institutional Racism: A system of advantage based on race that, in the United States, is supported by multiple institutions (religion, health care, politics, family, education). These institutions transmit values, including racial hierarchies. These values are passed on in subtle and overt ways. An overt example: white college students are much less likely to be arrested for drug abuse than African American youth who are not in college. The education system and the criminal justice system work together to protect white students. A subtle example: which students get called on in class, which students' names and faces are remembered and not.

Unequal access to resources including money, education, information, safe neighborhoods, drinking water, land, time.

Privilege: A right that only some people have access or availability to because of their social group membership.

White privilege: System of unearned advantages afforded to white people. Advantages include: being recognized as an individual (not being held accountable for the whole group); being given the benefit of the doubt in education, banks, on the street, by police, at customs, in the drug store, etc; not being expected to know about any other cultures; making more money, having better access to health care, living longer; seeing self represented in media, in text books, on the internet, in the face of Jesus,, in the beauty products aisle at drug store; getting loans; being able to protect one's children; not being a victim of police brutality, staying out of prison; etc. A political construct first written into law in the 17th century to distinguish Anglo-descent people from black indentured servants who became slaves. For more comprehensive description see Peggy McIntosh, "On the Invisibility of Privilege."⁵

Mythical norm: A concept created by Audre Lorde to describe the social identities associated with power and success (white, thin, young, heterosexual, Christian, able-bodied, English speaking, male). The mythical norm is operative even when it is not named such that people who do not fit this norm experience exclusion, blaming, marginalization, lack of access to resources, etc. This norm is mythical in that very few people actually fit this model although all are compared to it.

Minority: Is an outdated term because most of the people in the US who are labeled "minority" are in the world's majority. Minority also assumes an inferior or minor status.

¹ Beverly Tatum, "*Why are All the Black Kids Sitting together in the Cafeteria and Other Conversations about Race*. NY: Basic, 1997.

Reverse discrimination: A perception on the part of white people that people of color are getting unfair advantages. The reason it is a misnomer is that white people aren't used to sharing—they have historically had multiple unearned privileges (having jobs pass from white hands to white hands, having access to higher education, getting paid more than everyone else, etc). If white men, for example, are used to getting all of the EMT jobs in Boston, once the system is democratized so that people of color have access to apply for the jobs, white people will feel ripped off—as if they are losing something that was rightfully theirs, when in fact, it should have never been exclusively theirs to begin with.

Ally: A person who works in coalition with people who are fighting for their rights. Allies are committed to constantly educating themselves, being self reflective and standing clear of controlling strategy, events, social movements, etc.

Characteristics of being a white ally: assume that racism is daily, insidious, often denied, minimized, and justified; be strategic; support the leadership of people of color; don't do the work alone; know the history of racism; understand connections between racism, classism sexism, colonialism; talk with children, family, neighbors, teachers, about racism; notice who is at the center of attention, who gets credit for what is said and done; take a stand even if you don't think anyone is noticing.

Guilt: An emotional way station with no train leading in or out. An important emotion to move beyond in order to be a productive ally.

Anti-Semitism: The oppression of Jews that includes stereotyping, generalizing, scapegoating, and upholding exclusionary practices. It includes assuming that Christianity is the norm, making class assumptions, suppressing Jewish culture and history, and denying the significance of the oppression Jews have faced. Overcoming anti-Semitism begins with recognizing the tremendous diversity among Jews (who include people with white skin privilege and people of color) and supporting alliance building.

Christian dominance: The superiority granted to Christianity in the US that is enforced through multiple institutions—in schools, government, and the economy (“in god we trust”).

Privatized domination: sexual, physical, and/or emotional abuse in settings that are hidden from view, hard to detect, outside of legal jurisdiction, and/or rendered personal not public.

Edwidge Danticat—Breath Eyes Memory, a novel about generations of privatized domination in Haiti fueled by CIA backing of Toussaint Louverture, dictatorship. Migration also about trying to leave memories behind when body consciousness numbed by trauma.

Simultaneity of oppressions: A term coined by the Combahee River Collective (a black feminist activist organization in Boston) in 1977 to describe the multiple oppressions that Black women experience. For Du Bois, double consciousness is based on a black/white dichotomy, on two warring souls, a duality born from the history of slavery that he conceptualized based primarily on the experiences of black men.⁶ What Du Bois was not able to do, in the words of historian Darlene Clark Hine, was account for black women's “fiveness”: Negro, American, woman, poor, black woman.”⁷ It is this fiveness that we need to comprehend in order to understand the realities of women of color in the US. This fiveness is what critical race theorists have named intersectionality—seeing race, class, gender and sexuality as interactive and operating simultaneously.

Matrix of domination: A concept created by Patricia Hill Collins to describe the penalties and privileges from multiple systems of oppression which frame people's lives. The concept is useful for understanding that one's race can not be understood as a tub on its own bottom, race intersects with other categories of domination to shape one's life chances, access to power, methods of negotiating in the world, etc.

Blaming the victim ideology: The policy, media coverage, and public perception that blame those with the least power for inequities and exploitations caused by those in power (William Ryan, 1963).

Class: A class consists of a large group of people who share a similar economic and/or social position in society based on their income, wealth, property ownership job status, education, skills, or power in the economic and political education, skills or power in the economic and political sphere. Class is determined

not just by “economic capital” (what you earn or won) but also by “social capital” (who you know) and “cultural capital” (what you know). Our class identity affects us on the personal and emotional level, not just in economic terms, since it influences how we feel about ourselves and others.²

Classism: Takes place when people are treated differently—better or worse—because of their class. Is the institutional, cultural, and individual set of practices and beliefs that assign differential value to people according to their socioeconomic class; an economic system that creates excessive inequality and causes basic human needs to go unmet. Classism appears individually, culturally and institutionally.

Class identity: One’s predominant class location, such as ruling class, owning class, middle class, working class and poverty.

Capitalism:

1. economic system in which products sold on the market for private profit.
2. consists of a two class called "capitalists" and "workers:"

capitalists: own means of production (factories, machines, institutions, media), the final product, and profits

Workers: own no capital but their own power of labor (free to work if job available)

Marx recognized that conflicts within classes—that it was more complex than two classes.

(ex: differences between those who own large corporations and small businesses). But he believed development of capitalism would cause increasing gaps in access to capital.

Dominant Ideology: The hidden stitches in the social fabric. The assumptions, policies, and action that reaffirm existing unequal power relations.

A system of beliefs about the world that involves distortion of reality at the same time that it provides justification for maintaining the status quo that is used to justify exploitation.

Ex: poverty of a people is due to their backward ways rather than due to exploitation and underdevelopment

Ex: technological and economic success of a colonizing nation due to intellectual and educational superiority rather than exploitation.

Historical amnesia: Is the convenient manner in which the dominant group disregards and alters true historical events and replaces these slots of time with fictitious events that promote their particular group in the eyes of the oppressed group and the rest of the world. This practice is unlike that of ordinary rumor that might be spread among common people in that it is further enhanced by the power of the dominant group. Such events are taught in the school system, celebrated world wide and even incorporated into the lives of those who know them to be not true.⁸

Historical amnesia feeds a profit economy. Audre Lorde has written, "Institutionalized rejection of difference is an absolute necessity in a profit economy which needs outsiders as surplus people."⁹

"Historical amnesia is starvation of the imagination; nostalgia is the imagination's sugar rush, leaving depression and emptiness in its wake."¹⁰

Double consciousness: A concept created by W. E. B. Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) to describe the process of having to live in two worlds at once. As an African American, “one ever feels his twoness—an American, a Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.” An experience of African Americans who have been excluded, veiled, living two realities.

Double consciousness is both a burden and a gift. The burden comes from having to measure yourself from a tape not of your making. The gift is being able to see the world from multiple vantage points. Double consciousness can nourish a transcendent vision. Double consciousness draws upon

² From Straight Talk about Class and Classism. Class Action. www.classism.org.

historical memory—seeing yourself as tied to a collectivity, to a history, to a culture, to a resistant tradition.¹¹

Mestiza consciousness: Gloria Anzaldúa asserts that the psychic, linguistic, and geographical location of those sandwiched between cultures nourishes what she has named “mestiza consciousness.” Anzaldúa writes, “From this racial, ideological, cultural, and biological cross-pollination, an ‘alien’ consciousness is presently in the making—a new mestiza consciousness, una consciencia de mujer. It is a consciousness of the borderlands.”¹² This consciousness comes from a melding of two realities—in this case the reality of one’s country of origin and the reality of the new country—into another, born out of one and yet larger than the sum of its parts. Like Du Bois’s double consciousness, mestiza consciousness recognizes a clashing of cultures and power inequities.

To the equation of slavery and racism, Anzaldúa adds the history of colonialism that creates internal struggles within people’s psyches. Du Bois referred to this state as “two warring ideals.” For Anzaldúa, signs of this inner war are manifested in what she has named “psychic restlessness.”¹³ This restlessness results from “mental and emotional states of perplexity. Internal strife results in insecurity and indecisiveness.”¹⁴ This restlessness comes from the willingness and sometimes the necessity to juggle multiple worldviews simultaneously. Psychic restlessness requires creativity and healing at the level of the mind, body and spirit.

Anzaldúa’s mestiza consciousness has vertical and horizontal dimensions not developed in Du Bois’s work, dimensions made possible by living a multicultural reality.¹⁵ While Du Bois assumed a dichotomy between black and white and a linear relationship between two warring poles, Anzaldúa’s mestiza consciousness is more like a balloon that has been inflated from wind coming from many directions. For Anzaldúa, who recognizes herself as a creation of indigenous, white, and Mexican blood, linear conceptualizations were not big enough to describe her consciousness.

Because mestiza consciousness takes into account identities that cross borders and are not solely determined by one national belonging, Anzaldúa’s conceptualization allows us to think about how people remember themselves as connected historically, emotionally, and psychically across borders.

Contemplative practices: any activity undertaken regularly with the intention of quieting the mind and cultivating deep concentration, calm, and awareness of the present moment. Examples: mindful movement (yoga, dance); experiences in nature; artistic practices (poetry, music); communal practices (Shabbat, fasting, Native American council circles); story telling, deep listening; solitude (prayer, meditation). All these activities can enhance social justice activism.¹⁶

Embodiment: The knowledge of one’s self in one’s body and as connected to other’s bodies spiritually, emotionally, physically, biologically, and/or sexually. A sense of one’s self that is both individual and social. Embodiment enables a person to know where his/ her body stops and another’s physical body begins. This capacity may be at the root of a person’s capacity to know him/herself as simultaneously unique and connected to the world. Embodiment is influenced by cultural messages and prescriptions about gender (including the dominant ideology that there are only two genders), race, sexuality, class, and age.

Body consciousness: Body consciousness is the social process that determines the experience of embodiment. The experience of one’s embodiment as it is affected by biological changes (puberty, aging, pregnancy, aging) and distorted by inequalities (poverty, racism, heterosexism, sexual abuse, and other traumas). Body consciousness goes beyond the idea of body image that has a psychological and individual connotation. The etymology of consciousness links an awareness of one’s embodiment to social conditions. Consciousness, as Karl Marx used the term, links individual people’s social realities, opportunities, and perspectives to the social structure of class. In a similar way, body consciousness is linked to one’s race, sexuality, culture, gender, etc.

People are born with a self-consciousness of mind and body, with an internal body image, and a sixth sense—a body self-awareness and a sense of mind-body integration. Body consciousness enables people to sense danger, intuitively know what to do, and identify how they feel. These elemental and substantial capacities depend upon residing in one’s body, being able to control what goes in and out of one’s body, and having a sense of one’s bodily integrity.

Body consciousness is a highly imaginative and simultaneously concrete awareness. It is concrete in that breathing, eating, sleeping, and simply being require some consciousness of one's body. But body consciousness occurs at the imaginative and symbolic level as well. It includes the ability to see one's self as part of one's body and to draw upon the power generated from this embodiment. Body consciousness has the potential to take into account oppressive perceptions of the body and reject what is debilitating about them.¹⁷

Globalization—the political, economic, and cultural shifts in which activity in the world is increasingly taking place between people who live in different countries—has ushered in the internationalization of production, distribution, and marketing of goods and services.

Colonization: A set of exploitative practices that are political, ideological and aesthetic. "It is also linked in minute ways to dualistic and hierarchical thinking: divisions among mind, body, spirit; between sacred and secular, male and female, heterosexual and homosexual; in class divisions; and divisions between the erotic and the Divine."¹⁸

"The process whereby people with power and wealth....take over the lands, properties and even the minds of other people who are usually not in a position to defend themselves. Religious missionaries are a famous example. Christians who followed Columbus colonized the Taino people in the West Indies, in part by enforcing Christianity."¹⁹ Colonization has an ideological component—meaning that there are cultural, religious messages used to justify or rationalize the conquest. (Christianity is more civil than pagan practices, than Santeria, for example.)

Of course, colonization has its own karma. Maury Stein talks about how the original thanksgiving, based on the conquest of Indians by British immigrants, has had karmic impact—now, people plagued by overeating, obesity, sense of never being full.

Sovereignty: The rights of people to determine their own political, economic and cultural priorities. Includes the right to educate one's own children, have control over knowledge production of one's people, and to name one's own strategies of change. Sovereignty often includes the right to one's land base as well as one's religious and cultural traditions.

Transnationalism: the permeability of national borders in the electronic transmission of capital, labor, technology and media images (Jenny Sharpe).

Diaspora—designates political and economic refugees, immigrant and exile communities that inhabit advanced industrial and newly industrializing nations. These two are linked (Tololyan)

Diaspora: A term that designates political and economic refugees, immigrant, and exile communities that live in advanced industrial and newly industrializing nations. These nations are often linked by a history of colonialism and/or imperialism.

Postmodernism: The idea that the modern world has broken down into not very well organized social fragments. (Lemert, 63).

Postcolonial: The period following formal colonization by Europe and other colonizing countries. This period often includes the continuing influence and exploitation by former colonizers through control over the economy and cultures of decolonized states. The term "post" is used widely but is problematic since it implies that colonialism is over (in the past).

Transnational feminism: Examines how histories of colonialism, post colonialism, nationalism, and globalization shape women's lives. Organizing that recognizes how social, economic and political structures of race, sexuality, gender, nation, and class shape and inform what we call feminism. In contrast to international, transnational refers to the movement of goods, bodies, and ideas across national boundaries such that the strict distinctions among nations become altered or more flexible. The permeability of national borders often includes the electronic transmission of capital, labor, technology and media images that reaffirm and create new gender hierarchies.

- ¹ The reason I clarify “certain” Indigenous methods is that those I am addressing are neither inclusive of Indigenous values nor universal among Indigenous people. Dramatic linguistic, regional, familial, historical, and cultural differences among Native people make the notion of a set or monolithic Indigenous methodology absurd. For discussion of diverse understandings of Indigenous ethics/methods see, for example, V.F. Cordova, *How It Is: The Native American Philosophy of V. F. Cordova*, eds., Kathleen Dean Moore, Kurt Peters, Ted Jojola and Amber Lacy (Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 2007); Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 2004); White Bison, *The Red Road to Wellbriety: In The Native American Way* (Colorado Springs: White Bison Inc, 2002) (in particular the appendix A1-A12); Mihesuah and Wilson, *Indigenizing the Academy*.
- ² Tracy Robinson and Janie Victoria Ward, “A Belief in Self Far Greater than Anyone’s Disbelief: Cultivating Resistance among African American Female Adolescents,” *Women and Therapy*, 11, no. 3/4 (1991):89.
- ³ Adrienne Rich, *Blood, Bread, and Poetry, Selected Prose, 1979-1985* (New York: Norton, 1986),
- ⁴ Jeff Hitchcock. *Unraveling the White Cocoon*. Kendall/Hunt 2001. p 142. Cited in Loretta Williams. “Negotiating the Difference that Difference Makes. Compilations for trainings at Simmons College. January 2003.
- ⁵ Dorothy Roberts. White Privilege Conference, Memphis, Tennessee, April, 2009.
- ⁶ Hazel V. Carby, *Race Men* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).
- ⁷ Darlene Clark Hine, “In the Kingdom of Culture’: Black Women and the Intersection of Race, Gender, and Class,” in *Lure and Loathing: Essays on Race, Identity and Ambivalence of Assimilation*, ed. Gerald Early, 338 (New York: Penguin, 1993). See also, Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
- ⁸ Definition created by Celeste Lockhart, an undergraduate at the University of Massachusetts at Boston, (Fall, 1988) based on her reading of Adrienne Rich’s essay, “Resisting Amnesia: History and Personal Life,” in *Blood, Bread, and Poetry, Selected Prose, 1979-1985* (New York: Norton, 1986), 136-155.
- ⁹ Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider* (New York: Crossing Press, 1984), 115.
- ¹⁰ Rich, “Resisting Amnesia,” 145.
- ¹¹ Diane Harriford and Becky Thompson, *When the Center is on Fire: Passionate Social Theory* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2008).
- ¹² Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera*. (San Francisco: Aunt Lute, 1987), 77.
- ¹³ Anzaldúa 78.
- ¹⁴ Anzaldúa 78.
- ¹⁵ Diane Harriford and Becky Thompson. *When the Center is on Fire: Passionate Social Theory* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2008).
- ¹⁶ Center for Contemplative Mind in Society. *The Activist’s Ally: Contemplative Tools for Social Change*. 2007, p. 1.
- ¹⁷ Becky Thompson. *A Hunger So Wide and So Deep: A Multiracial View of Women’s Eating Problems*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- ¹⁸ M. Jacqui Alexander. *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2005, p. 281.
- ¹⁹ Lemert, *Social Things* (Roman and Littlefield, 1997), 59.